



**Dr. Joseph Goebbels**  
**Articles & Speeches**  
1927-1945

There will come a day, when all the lies will collapse under their own weight, and truth will again triumph.

Joseph Goebbels



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**Pre 1933 Material**





Background: The following essay was published in the fourth issue of Der Angriff, dated 25 July 1927.

Source: "Wir fordern," Der Angriff, Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 18-19.

## **We Demand**

by Joseph Goebbels

The German people is an enslaved people. Under international law, it is lower than the worst Negro colony in the Congo. One has taken all sovereign rights from us. We are just good enough that international capital allows us to fill its money sacks with interest payments. That and only that is the result of a centuries-long history of heroism. Have we deserved it? No, and no again!

Therefore we demand that a struggle against this condition of shame and misery begin, and that the men in whose hands we put our fate must use every means to break the chains of slavery.

Three million people lack work and sustenance. The officials, it is true, work to conceal the misery. They speak of measures and silver linings. Things are getting steadily better for them, and steadily worse for us. The illusion of freedom, peace and prosperity that we were promised when we wanted to take our fate in our own hands is vanishing. Only complete collapse of our people can follow from these irresponsible policies.

Thus we demand the right of work and a decent living for every working German.

While the front soldier was fighting in the trenches to defend his fatherland, some Eastern Jewish profiteer robbed him of hearth and home. The Jew lives in the palaces and the proletarian, the front soldier, lives in holes that do not deserve to be called "homes." That is neither necessary nor unavoidable, but rather an injustice that cries out to the heavens. A government that stands by and does nothing is useless and must vanish, the sooner the better.

Therefore we demand homes for German soldiers and workers. If there is not enough money to build them, drive the foreigners out so that Germans can live on German soil.

Our people is growing, others diminishing. It will mean the end of our history if a cowardly and lazy policy takes from us the posterity that will one day be called to fulfill our historical mission.

Therefore we demand land on which to grow the grain that will feed our children.

While we dreamed and chased strange and unreachable fantasies, others stole our property. Today some say this was an act of God. Not so. Money was transferred from the pockets of the poor to the pockets of the rich. That is cheating, shameless, vile cheating!

A government presides over this misery that in the interests of peace and order one cannot really discuss. We leave it to others to judge whether it represents Germany's interests or those of our capitalist tormenters.

We however demand a government of national labor, statesmen who are men and whose aim is the

creation of a German state.

These days anyone has the right to speak in Germany — the Jew, the Frenchman, the Englishman, the League of Nations, the conscience of the world, and the Devil knows who else. Everyone but the German worker. He has to shut up and work. Every four years he elects a new set of torturers, and everything stays the same. That is unjust and treasonous. We need tolerate it no longer. We have the right to demand that only Germans who build this state may speak, those whose fate is bound to the fate of their fatherland.

Therefore we demand the destruction of the system of exploitation! Up with the German worker's state!

Germany for the Germans!

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Background: The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 15 August 1927, the newspaper Goebbels founded in Berlin shortly after taking over as the party's leader there. It is an attack on Bernhard Weiss, the Vice President of the Berlin police.

The source: "Isidor," *Der Angriff*. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 308-310.

### **Isidor**

by Joseph Goebbels

My name is Hase [Hase, German for rabbit, but also an ignoramus]. I live in the forest and don't know anything about anything. I keep out of everything. I am, one might say, politically neutral. When it is to my advantage, I can believe anything, though the facts are best. The facts are mostly wonderful. I am of the opinion that the far right and the far left must be banned. The center, of course, is out of the question. As I said, that's my opinion. I am a realist. That is comfortable, it has few dangers, and one can make a living.

But assume I didn't live in the forest any more, but in China. Some kind of fortune or misfortune has brought me there. Let's assume that. Now that would be terribly unpleasant. For in China, as is well known, everyone is Chinese, even the emperor. I would stand out. My name is Hase, and I look like a German. One would be able to recognize me immediately. Why, even the children would stand stock still in the street and call out "That's Hase."

But I would know what to do. I would grow a long pigtail and stop looking like a German. I would give up my honorable name Schmidt and rename myself "Wukiutschu." That's what I'd do. And if someone still called me "Hase," I would be very angry.

Let's assume, then, that I live in Shanghai and my father still lives in the forest. I wouldn't say anything about the forest to anyone. Just the opposite! I would behave as if we had lived for generations in Shanghai, no matter how much others wanted to doubt it. And then, let's assume that by accident the police chief of Shanghai dies. And that all the Chinese shout "Wukiutschu should be our leader!"

I would then somehow be the police chief of Shanghai. It's nice to be the police chief. One has the power to do what one wants. That is, if others let one get away with it. But they must! If they were dumb enough to say "Wukiutschu should lead us!" then they have to be satisfied with me. And if someone weren't satisfied, I'd take action, since there are always malcontents. I would therefore decree:

"It is forbidden to be dissatisfied!"

Wukiutschu

And I would rule. I know that it wouldn't be as simple as it looks. For people would come and say:

"What does Wukiutschu want? He isn't even one of our people. Wukiutschu is really named Hase and lives in the forest. He has sneaked in here. We've been here on Chinese soil a thousand years and more. Our fathers made this land livable and defended it with their lives. Back then Wukiutschu still

lived in the forest, but now he behaves as if he had always lived here. Down with him! China for the Chinese!”

That would naturally be most unpleasant for me. For if one cut my pigtail off, any child could see that these people were right. But that wouldn't happen. I would be the police chief after all, and as such have a right to respect. So I'd make another decree:

“Whoever calls me Hase is inciting class warfare. I forbid it, under penalty of imprisonment.”

Wukiutschu

Then I would have peace. I would rest in the glory of my office. I'd be fanned by Chinese coolies, receive ocean flyers, and attend every banquet. My pigtail would grow longer and longer, and I would soon forget that I once was named Hase. And the malcontents would die, and then the world would be content.

Only then would life be beautiful and dignified.

I am the pathfinder for that. One only has to know nothing like me in order to believe it firmly and unshakably.

But, as we said, this is all supposition.

For the Chinese would never be dumb enough to believe that I was Wukiutschu and to name me police chief.

Such stupid people don't exist.

It is all nothing but a fairy tale.

I am not Chinese and I don't live in Shanghai. My name isn't Wukiutschu, but Hase.

I live in the forest and don't know anything.

Background: The following essay was published in Der Angriff, 21 November 1927.

The source: "Heil Moskau!" Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 236-238.

## **Hail Moscow!**

by Joseph Goebbels

Following the celebration of the ten year anniversary of the Russian Revolution, three young Berlin communists from the Köpernick district committed suicide after they had taken a touching farewell from their comrades. They explained calmly that they had lost faith in the future of the International.

It is said of Ernst Thälmann, the communist leader, that during the Hamburg uprising he laid stone drunk in his own vomit. In Berlin-Wedding a few weeks ago, Ruth Fischer spoke at a meeting of the KPD opposition, calling for a fight against the Third International. When a representative of the KPD began to speak he was shouted down by his former comrades and thrown out the door. The affair ended in a general melee.

The tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution was recently celebrated in Moscow. As the honored guests from the entire world who had gathered to praise Moscow's principles watched, the opposition to the workers' and peasants' state stormed the gathering and took over the university. The end of the story: twelve leading Bolsheviks, nearly all Jews of the old guard, were expelled from the Communist Party.

What does this all mean?

Things are becoming clear all over. The smoke of rhetoric is vanishing, and all that remains is a miserable remnant of fantasies that absolutely no one confuses with reality. The German proletariat is one hope poorer, perhaps its last one. Marx's game is over. Nature is in charge once again, and it has made the eternal laws pitilessly and unmistakably clear: the laws of personality, struggle, and race.

Did things have to turn out this way?

Yes, a thousand times yes.

There was no other possible outcome. We have it prophesied a hundred times. If the Jews speak, the people must beware. The Jew is rootless, a ferment of decomposition. Whether he lives as a capitalist or a Bolshevik, his nature remains the same: Ahasver, the eternal destroyer. His gospel is chaos, and where he succeeds in fomenting revolution, he rises to the top. He brought the worker's movement to its present deplorable state: a mixture of phrases, cowardice, terror and class hatred. What does the cause of the proletariat have to do with pacifism, protection of the republic, the elimination of personality and the destruction of national dignity and honor? Where is it written that utopias, wishes, programs and books rule the world instead of strength and the facts? Why do you demonstrate here for the national freedom of the oppressed colonial peoples, yet forget that Germany is a province of high finance? Why shout "China for the Chinese," yet stand by in cowardice as the Jews sell Germany piece by piece and turn it over to the world dictatorship? You cry "Reaction" when one speaks of a lost fatherland. You smell treason when one names things by their right names. You retreat stubbornly and silently to your own troubles, and find that nothing remains but desperation

and suicide.

Do not say that the First, Second or Third International is responsible! Found a new one, a Fourth! It will betray you just as its three predecessors did.

The International itself is in error. It is thought out, not lived. The Jew preaches it to you because it is his last chance to hold power. It has destroyed nations and peoples. It sets citizen against citizen, destroys and poisons the community, sows mistrust between the peoples. Above it all is the triumphant mocking laughter of your enemy, of our enemy: The eternal Jew!

You stand over hecatombs of corpses. The scent of blood surrounds you. Children beg, mothers weep, nations perish! What have you gained: Nothing but chaos, hopeless, hunger, and desperation!

It that the way you want things to remain?

Stand up and demand a Germany that belongs to you, one that is free of the chains of the oppressor. This is the historic mission of the German working class.

Freedom and prosperity!

This is the war cry against the rotting world of capitalism!

Away with the empty rhetoric! Risk looking cold reality in the face.

Hold out your hand, German working men! The day of freedom is coming, if only you want it!

Adolf Hitler is showing you the way!

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Background: The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 23 January 1928. The church stands in the center of Berlin. Built in the 1890s, its ruins today are a reminder today of World War II. The source: "Rundum die Gedächtniskirche," *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 338-340. The illustration is the book's dust jacket.

## **Around the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church**

by Joseph Goebbels

This is Berlin W[est]:

Thousands and thousands of signs beam a flood of light into the gray evening so that the Kurfürstendamm is almost as bright as day. Streetcars jangle, busses rattle past, filled with people, people. Long lines of taxis and elegant limousines fill the mirror-smooth asphalt. Red, yellow, and green stoplights tell traffic to stop and go, and in the midst of it all crossing light signal the dark crowds on the curbs to attempt the dangerous trip from one side to the other. Squeals and commotion assault the ears and he who is not used to it risks losing his senses. Bright red signs announce the latest films: *Killed by Love*, *The Girl from Tauentzien*, *Just One Night*. Whiffs of heavy perfume drift past. Coquettes with the artificial pastels of modern women's faces smile; so-called men slink around, monocles flashing, false and real gems sparkle. One hears all the languages of earth; here a silent yellow Indian is next to a talkative Saxon, an Englishman elbows his cursing way through the mob and over all the roar a frozen newspaper-seller shouts the latest news from the tabloids.

In the middle of all the noise of the city, the Gedächtniskirche sends its slender spire into the gray evening. It does not belong in the midst of such raucous life. It is an anachronism standing between the cafes and cabarets, lets the droning autos roll past her stoney body, ignores the rottenness, and rings the hour.

There are many passers-by who perhaps have never looked up to her spire. The snob in his fur coat and polish saunters past, the woman of the world, a Lesbian from tip to toe, with her monocle, smoking a cigarette, in high heels walks along the sidewalk and disappears into one of the thousands places of smoke and poison whose lights shine invitingly to the evening daylight.

This is Berlin W! The stone heart of this city. Here in the niches and corners of cafes, in cabarets and bars, in Soviet theatres and parlors, intellectuals of the asphalt democracy gather. Here, here is where the politics of sixty million industrious Germans is made. Here one gives and receives the latest tips about the stock exchange and the theatre. Here one manipulates politics, pictures, medical treatments, stocks, love, theatre, the government, and public assistance. The Gedächtniskirche is never alone. She moves smoothly from day to night and night to day without a moment of stillness.

The eternal repetition of rottenness and decay, the lack of genius and true creativity, the hollowness and despair, all coated with the talmi gold of an age that has sunk into the most contradictory pseudoculture: that is what mischief surrounds the Memorial Church. One might wish that the elite of our people were found day and night along Tauentzien Street heading toward God. It is only the Israelite.

The German people is foreign and our-of-place here. One almost stands out when speaking the nation's language. Pan-Europe, the Internationale, jazz, France, and Piscator [a radical playwright of

the era]: that is the theme.

“Die Freundin [a lesbian periodical], old issues, only ten pfennig!” shouts a clever pedlar. None of the passers-by thinks he is in the wrong place. He is not in the wrong place. He knows where he is.

Berlin W is the boil on this great city of work and industry. What is produced in the north is squandered here in the west. Four million people earn their living in this stony waste, and a hundred thousand drones squander their labor in sin, depravity, and filth.

The Kurfürstendamm howls when someone steps on the toes of one of these bloodsuckers; humanity is in danger. The one person they hate to see is an honest working man. Smiling, they carry a whole people to the grave.

That is not the true Berlin. It is elsewhere, waiting and hoping and fighting. It is beginning to recognize the Judas that has sold our people for thirty pieces of silver.

The other Berlin is ready to spring into action. Day and night several thousands are working toward the day that is coming. On that day the places of decay around the Memorial Church will be demolished, transformed, and reintegrated into a risen people.

The day of justice: It will be the day of freedom!

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Background: In this 1928 article from *Der Angriff*, Goebbels assails international finance, pointing out that it is on the brink of ruining Germany. The term “World Enemy” (Weltfeind) usually meant the Jews, although in this case Goebbels doesn’t make that connection explicit.

The source: “Der Weltfeind,” *Der Angriff*. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1935), pp. 333-336.

### **The World Enemy** by Joseph Goebbels

“Three hundred men, each of whom knows the others, direct the economic fate of the continent. They find their successors from within their ranks.”

That is what one of these three hundred, who surely should know, wrote on 25 December 1909 in Vienna’s *Neue Freie Presse*: the leading capitalist, minister of the Republic, friend of the Bolsheviks, and International Jew Walter Rathenau. When he died, hundreds of thousands of the Marxist proletariat demonstrated against capitalism and Reaction, for socialism and for Rathenau.

International high finance has taken command of the sovereign rights of the German people and is now making itself at home in our former realms of power. True to the ancient law of the Jewish race, “You shall devour all the peoples,” they began with us by shattering our people’s strength to resist through war and revolution, then bit by bit by taking over the most important structures of the state body.

They now own our currency and control by far the greatest part of German production, our transportation system, and as a result of their military and diplomatic capacities, Germany’s borders. The press is almost entirely in their hands; they thus control public opinion and determine the parliament and government. With the help of German politicians they put an overseer in place, the secret Kaiser Parker Gilbert [the Agent General for Reparations from 1924-1930]. He controls the colonial budget and influences income and expenditures; the parliament and government are entirely in his hands, and the conditions of slavery that have prevailed in Germany since 9 November 1918 guarantee the continuation of this miserable state.

The Marxist parties are willing tools in the hands of these exploiters of money. With their help, world stock exchanges were able to rob the German people of its possessions. During the world-shattering military struggle they took two million of Germany’s best sons; from their blood Wall Street coined the gold bars that today obligate us to pay tribute. They used the so-called inflation to rob us of what we owned, and in place gave us a new currency, one that no longer belongs to us, but rather to our oppressors. The world enemy has the vital organs of our national body in its hands.

On the asphalt streets of modern big cities, the World Jew builds an imperialistic dictatorship of Red Gold; its pillars are the press, the workers’ movement, parliament, and the cowardice of the bourgeois parties. Each wretched day that passes is another step in the march of gold against blood. Things are moving relentlessly, and one can already determine with mathematical certainty when the last element of Germanism disappears from politics, the economy, and culture, and we will be at the end.

That is the situation! While we break our heads and chase after phantoms, money is preparing for its

last destructive blow against German labor, and today there can be no doubt that, given the continuing weaken of the German will to resist, this catastrophe is closer than we all want to believe.

The great national and international parties have long since capitulated shamefully to the lust for power of the world enemy, whether openly or not. They either work for collapse or else advance it consciously or unconsciously through cowardice and the lack of a will to resist. While parliament gives speeches and holds debates, no one knowing anything, the forces of money march directly and clearly forward in a campaign of conquest against German labor. One day we will again be unprepared to face to face the facts that confronted us in 1914 and 1918, which will then be even more terrible and unavoidable as those that prevailed when this world-historical battle first began.

Are we, then, wrong in calling for resistance? Have we Germans deserved to have our chains of slavery made from gold made from the sweat and blood of our brothers?

The lords of money are preparing their final blow. They have robbed our people of faith and will, they have shamed and dishonored us, and now want to grab us around our neck. No speeches, no begging, can stop that — only resistance, battle, attack! God will not help us. We must help ourselves.

Our life is in danger. The German people is in a constant state of emergency. Any means is appropriate to stop the enemy.

We are ready to use everything we have. If we free Germany from the insanity of gold, it will be the greatest achievement in world history! Blood against gold! Labor against money! Fists against legal paragraphs! Life against dead phrases!

That is what we march for!

19 March 1928.

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Background: The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 30 April 1928. Goebbels satirically discusses the National Socialist reasons for running for parliament. This is part of the campaign for the May 1928 Reichstag elections. Goebbels is elected, despite (or perhaps because of) his less than respectful approach to the parliamentary institutions.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 71-73.

### **Why Do We Want to Join the Reichstag?**

by Joseph Goebbels

We are an anti-parliamentarian party that for good reasons rejects the Weimar constitution and its republican institutions. We oppose a fake democracy that treats the intelligent and the foolish, the industrious and the lazy, in the same way. We see in the present system of majorities and organized irresponsibility the main cause of our steadily increasing miseries. So why do we want to be in the Reichstag?

We enter the Reichstag to arm ourselves with democracy's weapons. If democracy is foolish enough to give us free railway passes and salaries, that is its problem. It does not concern us. Any way of bringing about the revolution is fine by us.

If we succeed in getting sixty or seventy of our party's agitators and organizers elected to the various parliaments, the state itself will pay for our fighting organization. That is amusing and entertaining enough to be worth trying. Will we be corrupted by joining parliament? Not likely. Do you believe that once we march into the meeting of the illustrious parliamentarians we will propose a toast to Philipp Scheidemann? Do you think us such miserable revolutionaries that you fear that the thick red carpets and the well upholstered sleeping halls will make us forget our historical mission?

He who enters parliament perishes! Well, that is true if he enters parliament to become a parliamentarian. But if he enters with a tough and driving will to carry on an uncompromising battle against the growing corruption of our public life, he will not become a parliamentarian, rather will remain what he is: a revolutionary.

Mussolini entered parliament. Shortly afterward, he marched on Rome with his Black Shirts. The communists also sit in the Reichstag. No one is naive enough to believe that they want to work seriously and positively. One more thing: If we do not succeed in making our dangerous men immune to legal prosecution, they will all find themselves behind bars sooner or later. Will that happen if they possess parliamentary immunity? Certainly. When democracy is near its end it will resort openly to the terror of capitalistic dictatorship that it ordinarily uses covertly. But that will not happen for some time, and in the meanwhile the fighters for our faith will enjoy parliamentary immunity long enough to broaden our fighting front such that shutting them up will not be as easy as democracy would like it to be.

Another thing. Our party's agitators pay 600 to 800 marks a month [in travel costs] to strengthen the Republic. Is it not proper for the Republic to cover these costs by providing them with railroad passes? Who of you thinks that we should throw our own small change to the Jewish Dawes railroad when the Republic longs to help us out?

Is it the beginning of a compromise? Do you really think that we who have stood before you a hundred or a thousand times preaching faith in a new Germany, who have smilingly faced death dozens of times from the red mob, who have joined you in battling every form of resistance whether of official or nonofficial nature, who have bent before no command or terror, do you really think that we would lay down our weapons in exchange for a railroad pass?

If we only wanted to become representatives, we would not be National Socialists, rather I suppose German National Party members or Social Democrats. They have the most seats at their disposal and one does not need to risk one's life to compete with their leading lights. We do not have the stomach for that.

We do not beg for votes. We demand conviction, devotion, passion! A vote is only a tool for us as well as for you. We will march into the marble halls of parliament, bringing with us the revolutionary will of the broad masses from which we came, called by fate and forming fate. We do not want to join this pile of manure. We are coming to shovel it out.

Do not believe that parliament is our goal. We have shown the enemy our nature from the podiums of our mass meetings and in the enormous demonstrations of our brown army. We will show it as well in the leaden atmosphere of parliament.

We are coming neither as friends or neutrals. We come as enemies! As the wolf attacks the sheep, so come we.

You are not among your friends any longer! You will not enjoy having us among you!

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Background: The following essay was published in Der Angriff, 7 May 1928.

The source: "Mich willst du wählen?" Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 74-76.

### **And You Really Want to Vote for Me?**

by Joseph Goebbels

A citizen second class, with four convictions and eight pending cases? What a dreamer!

In an essay I wrote that each National Socialist should obey the states attorney "when there isn't any way around it," regardless of whether it was right or wrong. For that a court in Elberfeld fined me a hundred marks for inciting resistance against the states attorney.

When Hans Hustert, in jail for trying to kill Scheidemann [Chancellor in 1922], had his teeth ruined by lousy prison food, I started a collection so that this fiend could get his teeth fixed. A court in Munich fined me 50 marks for an illegal collection.

As one of my wounded comrades was going to be trephined by the Jewish doctor Levi, I organized a collection to bring this poor worker to a German doctor. A court in Munich fined me 150 marks, once again for an illegal collection.

At a mass meeting of the NSDAP, I suggested keeping an editor of Der Tag under close watch, since he had called a Hitler meeting a monkey house. The filthy fink Carlotto Graetz, who slandered the front soldier Adolf Hitler in the worst ways and tried to connect him with pimps and prostitutes, I called a Jewish pig, in order to force him to bring suit. He didn't sue, but I got six weeks in prison anyway because of "incitement to violence without result."

A case is pending against me because I am supposed to have called police chief Dr. Weiss "Isidor," though his name is Bernhard.

A second case is pending because I caricatured the above named Bernhard Weiss as Nero in Der Angriff, with the caption "Bernhard only plays thankless roles."

Then there is a third case, because the Angriff printed a cartoon of Bernhard Weiss behind the mask of a donkey, "clearly recognizable," with the text that "In the state of emergency, any ass can govern."

A fourth case is pending to force me to say who Orje is [Orje was the star of an Angriff satirical column].

A fifth pending case alleges that I drove over the leg of a poor worker. Now that was a year ago. I've never driven a car in my life, and on the day in question wasn't even in Berlin. But the state's attorney thinks that the car had the number I A 2637, and I'm just the type to do something like that. My reply that I don't know how to drive and have never had a license only made the charge more serious.

I informed a red bigwig, who by irrelevant heckling was trying to break up a meeting, that he was at

a NSDAP meeting, and that if he didn't shut up we would forgive the S.A. if, under the law, they threw him out. That led to a sixth pending case, for "incitement to violence."

Then I am supposed to have said that the [Weimar] Republic is only a junk shop, in which the bidders, auctioneers, and politicians bitched. That led to the seventh case, for "endangering the Republic."

The eighth case resulted because I said the day would come when the goal-conscious, decisive minority would march against this state of cowardly majorities, to put an end by force to usury and exploitation. This one was for "attempted treason." (! !)

As I learn from reliable sources, four new cases are in the works. What they concern I don't yet know. But that doesn't make much difference. I only need to open my mouth or use my pen to give a state's attorney of the Republic a month's work.

I have never gotten a golden toothpick from Barmat [a Jew involved in a major financial scandal].

I don't wear a silk bathrobe from him.

During the great inflation I didn't get any guilders or dollars from him.

I have never trampled on the German people or their honor. But I have always fought those cowards who left our common fatherland in need.

The subway system will not give me a villa costing 120,000 marks in the foreseeable future.

No one has my signed photograph on his desk.

Under the conditions existing since 1918, I therefore have no chance of getting anything done.

And you really want to vote for me?

Background: The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 30 July 1928.

The source: "Warum sind wir Judengegner?" *Der Angriff*. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 329-331. The illustration is the book's dust jacket.

## **Why Do we Oppose the Jews?**

by Joseph Goebbels

We oppose the Jews because we are defenders of the freedom of the German people. The Jew is the cause and beneficiary of our slavery. He has misused the social misery of the broad masses to deepen the cursed divisions between right and left in our people, to split Germany in half. This was the real reason that we lost the Great War on the one hand, and for the corruption of the revolution on the other.

The Jew has no interest in solving Germany's fateful questions. He cannot, indeed. He lives because they are unresolved. Were the German people to become a united community with freedom to act in the world, the Jew would have no place among us. He holds the trump cards when a people lives under domestic and foreign slavery, not when it is free, industrious, self-confident, and determined. The Jew caused our misery and lives from it today.

That is why we nationalists and socialists oppose the Jews. The Jew has corrupted our race, soiled our morals, undermined our values, and broken our strength. He is the reason we today are the pariah of the whole world. As long as we were German, he was a leper among us. When we forgot our German nature, he triumphed over us and our future.

The Jew is the plastic demon of decay. Where he senses filth and decay, he appears from his hiding place and begins his criminal slaughter of the peoples. He puts on a mask of friendship before those he wants to betray, without the innocent victim noticing that his neck is already broken.

The Jew is uncreative. He produces nothing, he only trades in products. With rags, clothing, pictures, gems, grain, stocks, mining shares, peoples, and states. And everything that he deals in was stolen somewhere and somehow. As long as he is against a state he is a revolutionary; as soon as he has power he preaches peace and order so that he can enjoy his theft.

What does anti-Semitism have to do with socialism? I ask the opposite: what does the Jew have to do with socialism? Socialism is the doctrine of labor. When did one ever see him work rather than plunder, steal, corrupt, and live from the sweat of others? We are socialists who oppose the Jew because we see in the Hebrew the incarnation of capitalism, which means the misuse of the people's wealth.

What does anti-Semitism have to do with nationalism? I ask the opposite: What does the Jew have to do with nationalism? Nationalism is the doctrine of blood, of race. The Jew is the enemy and destroyer of unified blood, the conscious destroyer of our race. We are nationalists who oppose the Jew because we see in the Hebrew the eternal enemy of our national honor and our ethnic freedom.

"The Jew is also a human being." Certainly. None of us has ever doubted it. We only doubt that he is a decent human being. He does not get along with us. He lives according to different internal and external laws than we do. The fact that he is a human being is not enough reason for us to be

oppressed and bullied by him in inhuman ways. He is a human being — but what kind? If someone whips your mother's face with a whip, do you say: "Thank you, he is a human being?" That is no human being, but rather a monster. How much worse has the Jew done to our mother Germany, and continues to do even today!

"There are white Jews." Sure, there are enough dirty dogs among us, even if they are Germans, who use immoral methods to oppress their own ethnic and blood comrades. But why do you call them white Jews? That assumes there is something in the Jewish nature that is inferior and contemptible. That is exactly what we think. Why do you ask us why we are opponents of the Jews when you are one, too, without realizing it?

"Anti-Semitism is not Christian." So being Christian means allowing the Jews to continue to rule, to look on as he slices skin from our bodies and then mocks what he has done. Being a Christian means to love your neighbor as yourself! My neighbor is my blood and ethnic comrade. If I love him I must hate his enemy. He who thinks as a German must despise the Jew. The one determines the other.

Christ, too, saw that love does not work in every situation. When he threw the money changers out of the temple, he did not say: children, love each other! Instead he took a whip and chased the pack out.

We oppose the Jews because we affirm the German people. The Jew is our greatest misfortune.

That will change if we are truly Germans.

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Background: The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 19 November 1928.

The source: "Wenn Hitler spricht," *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 217-218.

## **When Hitler Speaks**

by Joseph Goebbels

The nature of genius is to envision what is great and necessary, whereas talent can only recognize it. The genius usually develops a fundamental creative thought and transforms it in the most varied ways. Talent promotes many good ideas, but they almost always have been developed somewhere and somehow before. The new, the creative, the monumental, the infinite belong to the genius. Talent is satisfied with what already exists. Unlike genius, it is not unique, not timeless, not eternal in its effects. The outcome of talent is the result of diligence, endurance, and ability. Genius is creative in itself only through grace.

Angriff book coverThe deepest strength of the truly great individual is rooted in instinct. Sometimes it cannot say why this is true. It is enough to say: that is how it is. And then it is so. What hard work, knowledge, and school learning cannot understand, God reveals through the mouth of him whom he has chosen. In all areas of human endeavor, genius is a calling. The creative spirit forces the great person to be and to act as he is and acts, thereby bringing its law to fulfillment.

When Hitler speaks, the magic force of his words breaks all resistance. One can only be his friend or his enemy. He divides the hot from the cold. He spits the lukewarm out. There are people who heard him for the first time as his most fervent opponents, but after ten minutes were his most passionate supporters. He is the great simplifier who with a few words can tear away the scaffolding of Germany's divisive problems and reveal their whole rough, naked, pitiless horror. No empty phrases can stand before him. Germany's rulers knew why they banned this man from speaking. From their point of view, what Robespierre once said of Marat applies: "The man is dangerous. He believes what he says."

The people have a fine sense of whether or not one is honest with them. Over the long run national instinct cannot be deceived if a man or a movement speaks differently than it acts, if it speaks differently than it thinks. There is no doubt about Hitler. One either rejects him absolutely or sees in him the only hope to reestablish the Reich. No one who has heard him has ever doubted that he believes the worldview he represents.

That is the secret of his strength: his fanatic belief in his movement, and, therefore, in Germany. Today he is accused of stating the obvious. Unfortunately, the exact opposite is true of our politics today. Why does no one today in Germany think of putting the obvious into practice?

A statesman requires three characteristics: the gift to see with instinct, the gift to make that obvious to others, and the gift to apply it to political action. The statesman must be a visionary, a speaker, and an organizer. We see these three gifts in Hitler. His propaganda today, therefore, is more than oratory. It is policy, even if he is in the opposition. He is the intermediary between knowledge and political reality. Many have knowledge, even more can organize, but he is the only one in Germany with fateful knowledge who can use the power of the word to build future political values. Many are called, but few are chosen. We are all absolutely convinced that he speaks for us and shows the way.

Therefore, we believe in him. In his powerful human form we see in this man the grace of fate made visible, holding to his ideal with all our hopes, tying ourselves to that creative idea that drives him and us all onwards.

To the future!

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Background: The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 26 November 1928. Küttemeyer was a Berlin National Socialist killed in street fighting.

The source: "Küttemeyer," *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 256-259.

## **Küttemeyer** by Joseph Goebbels

One day, he walked into the office and asked if there was something he could do. He was unemployed, and he and his wife could barely survive on the dole. He would gladly give his services to the party. He was quiet and shy. He sat down where he was told, saying little at all about his volunteer activity. After four months of diligent labor, the files, which as the result of band and persecutions had fallen into complete chaos, were back in order. He was the first to arrive in the morning and the last to leave at night. About all he said was "good morning" and "good evening." If I happened to walk into his department, he jumped up, stood straight, shook my hand, and was as nervous as a child.

Angriff book cover "He had been a brave soldier at the front during the war. After the war he was a merchant until he was ruined by inflation. He worked on a farm, but lost his position because of his political convictions. He returned to the city, one of the army of three million unneeded German workers.

The night before the Hitler meeting he joined comrades in hanging posters. He was out until dawn, returning dead tired to his apartment. His loyal wife forced him to sleep for three hours. Then he was back to work.

His heart is bursting. His pale, haggard face is flushed with excitement, for tonight he will see and hear his Führer for the first time. At five he reports for box office duty at the Sport Palace. As he leaves the office, he asks a comrade: "I wonder who we will bury next?"

As I inspected things around 6:30, I saw him at the counter. I do not ever recall hearing him laugh before, but now he did. His face beamed with joy. He yelled something to me, but I could not understand him.

At 8:15 the supervisor said: "Küttemeyer, you have not yet heard Hitler. Add things up a minute and get into the hall!" He added the money up. To the penny. 420.40 marks. He got the receipt, then left. He was in the back row, since the hall was filled to overflowing. He stood by the doorway, with tears in his eyes, joining the over 16,000 who rose to sing "Germany, Germany above all, and in time of need more than ever."

Who can blame him for being reluctant to return to the reality of his everyday life? He engaged in lively discussion for two hours with his comrades. Then he headed home to join his wife, who had left immediately after the meeting.

He was attacked on a street corner. He defended himself. But he was outnumbered 20-1, and they beat him down. His face was smashed into a bloody *Ecce Homo*, his nose broken, the eyes bloodied, the lips torn. He staggered to a quiet spot on the riverbank, hoping to escape the bloodthirsty mob and

perhaps to meet one of his comrades who were also being chased through the streets.

A taxi drove through the rain. Filled with red scoundrels. Grinning, the driver stepped on the gas. He was like a wounded animal. A pale man with a bloody face. Go get him! A few blows to the head with a club rendered him unconscious. Throw him over the bank, into the canal! Is he dead already, or is he dying?

Someone heard a loud cry for help as the taxi sped away. A German was drowning in the cold, cold water. He was only a worker. Who cares? One of three million.

The corpse was found at 6 a.m. They found a party membership card and propaganda leaflet in his pocket. That was all. No money, no dagger, no pistol. Only a piece of paper with Hitler's name on it. The party official who went to the morgue could hardly identify him, so badly was his face beaten in.

His wife woke at 4 a.m. She thought she heard her husband shout "Mother, mother!" It was the hour that he died.

"Suicide! An accident! Drunk! Drowned!" That is what the newspapers said.

The police talked about a regrettable misstep on the riverbank. A fatally injured man falls over a meter high barrier. A man of the Jewish race is at the head of the police. The deceased is nothing but a German worker.

The hats are off and the flags are lowered! But only for a moment! Tighten the chinstraps, and begin our revenge on the destroyers of our people. Work, comrades, work!

This dead man has a right to demand that of us.

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Background: The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 10 December 1928, during the Christmas shopping season. Goebbels satirically suggests that Germans should only buy from the Jews. The title is a takeoff on a common National Socialist slogan: “Germans: Don’t buy from the Jew!”

The source: “Deutsche, kauft nur bei Juden!” *Der Angriff*. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 331-333

### **Germans, Buy only from the Jew!**

by Joseph Goebbels

Why? Because the Jew sells cheap and shoddy merchandise, whereas the German sets a proper price for good merchandise. Because the Jew cheats you, whereas the German treats you fairly and honestly. Because you can buy all sorts of trash from the Jew, but the German sells mostly only quality goods.

The Jew is your blood brother, the German the enemy of your people. The Jew provides for you by the sweat of his brow, the German is a lazy good-for-nothing. The Jew stood alongside you at the front for four years, shoulder to shoulder, and risked his life for Germany’s fame and greatness, but the German skulked about in the rear echelon. The Jew died so that Germany could live. Where can you find a Jew who did not lose everything he had in the war and revolution, and where a German who did not grow rich and arrogant? Isn’t it true that the German nailed Jesus to the cross and the Jew transformed his teaching of love into reality?

Buy only in Jewish department stores. What does the small German merchant matter to you? He should go to Palestine and sell his wares there. He does not belong with us in Germany! We are tired of this constant chattering about dying small businesses. It is so comfortable and cozy in the Jewish department store. Every kind of cheap trash is available. Such palaces are found on every street corner. Their lights shine in the dark night, the Christmas trees sparkle in the show windows, the angels swing over a sea of Kitsch, the children laugh and clap their hands, and the benevolent Jewish merchant stands in the background rubbing his hands with glee. Where can you find such a generous and energetic German merchant? What do you mean by saying that the German also wants to make a living? Why? Who does he think he is? He should go on relief like the rest of us. Why should some Germans have it better than the rest of us? That after all is the right of the Jews in Germany. Why do we have a republic if not to benefit the Jews?

Six hundred small businesses have gone bankrupt due to Jewish department stores this Christmas season in Berlin alone! Are there still that many Germans around? Quiet — by next year there will be fewer. There is not much left to go bankrupt in Germany any longer. That is how it should be. Germany for the Jews! That is what we fought and bled for. We’ll spend our last penny to that end.

Set out the Christmas tree. Daughters of Zion, rejoice! The good Germans are forging their own chains from their hard-earned coins. The Jewish financier will use them to impose eternal slavery on Germans. Who would not want to help advance world Jewry’s great benevolent work? Why do we have a neck, if not to bear a yoke? Germany has been for sale for ten years. Who does not want to help? Does anyone ask if the toy under the Christmas tree came from the Jew Tietz or the German Müller? The Jew will grow fat from the coins you give him, the German will starve. So what? Let the light shine on the Jews, let the Germans dwell in darkness. That is what the Lord of the Jews wants,

as does his lackey Finance Minister Hilferding. Property is theft, as long as it does not belong to the Jew. Not a penny for the nobility, everything for the bank and stock exchange and department store swindlers!

Christmas is the festival of love. Why should we not love the poor Jews, even make them fat? Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you! When was the Jew not our enemy? When did he not hate and persecute and slander and spit on us? Who would be inhuman enough to demand that we should treat him according to the law he applies to us: An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth?

The child whose birthday we will soon celebrate came into the world to bring love. But Christ the man learned that one cannot always get by with love. When he saw the Jewish moneychangers in the temple, he took a whip and drove them out of the temple.

Germans, buy only from Jews! Let your fellow citizens starve, and go to the Jewish department stores, especially at Christmas. The greater the injustice you do to your own people, the sooner the day will come when a man comes to take up the whip and drive the moneychangers from the temple of our fatherland.

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Background: The following essay was published in Der Angriff on 7 January 1929.

The source: "Latrinenparolen," Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 38-41.

### **Toilet Graffiti**

by Joseph Goebbels

Is it true that while working in the Ruhr you had the closest relations with Freemasons and that you were paid by them? If so, how does that square with your current attitudes?

Is it true that your sister in Berlin is married to a Jew and that you frequently visit them for lunch?

Were you educated by the Jesuits and are you still in touch with and supported by ultramontane circles, getting guidance and advice from them for your political activity? If so, what should we think about that?

Is it true that a few weeks ago you were thrown out of a Berlin bar because you did not pay your bill? If so, how does that square with your hypocritical claims of decency and honor?

Are you a morphine addict?

Is it true that you have a group of party bigwigs who pay you a large salary (the funds coming from French or Italian sources)?

Is it true that you tolerate party comrades in high positions who are morally questionable and whose lifestyles hardly agree with general standards of morality and decency?

Answer, answer! Say something!

Are those jokes? Oh, no, the questions are in bitter earnest. That is only a small sampling of the pile of questions and inquiries that have been asked of me in written or spoken form as long as I have been in Berlin. I am supposed to answer them? Should I always be ready to refute and render powerless each new lie and slander? Does not one see how absolutely embarrassing it must be to pass on such nonsense? And is there no answer to the scandalmonger or scoundrel who spreads such wild stories other than to ask me about them? Does every tramp have the right to insult me and then hide in cowardly anonymity without anyone from the Party responding to these obvious slanders? The Party, after all, is the target they hope to injure by attacks on my insignificant person. How often does one have to say the enemy uses mimicry, putting on a new mask every day, with the eternal Jew always behind it? Are you a morphine addict? Do I look like one? Do you visit a Jew? Is your sister (who is 16 and still in school) married to our deadly enemy? Are we crazy? Have I given reason to think that I am a stupid animal, a hypocrite and crook that any idiot can spit on to the applause of a crowd? If there was even a sliver of truth, one asks, would the Berlin newspapers that are always willing to attack us display such discreet reserve?

The CV [a Jewish organization] claims to operate systematically and quietly. The creature than has shamed and misused our people does not cross swords with us in public debate. First they tried to kill us with silence, then they attacked us with Red terror, then they banned our organizations and press,

and when all that failed, what did the Jew have left besides the art of lie and slander, of which he is master? He realizes that something always sticks. He paws through a thick stack of vulgarity with his dirty fingers and the fine citizen thinks: "Maybe it is not all true, but some of it must be. No one can tell such outrageous lies." Well, the Jew does lie in such an outrageous way. It ranges from Hitler's supposed Jewish bride to a small slander against the least party official. Should we defend ourselves against it, trying each week to set right the latest absurdities? The Hebrew would love that! He would put us on the defensive and we could change the name of our battling newspaper Der Angriff to The Defender. Do they think we are that stupid?

We decide how we will fight, not some anonymous Hebrew. We are not yet so sick and opium-addicted to lack the strength to provide the proper answer in this new year.

A Jew cannot insult us. We respond only by frustrating his plans. He will not succeed in getting us to change our style. I, the hiring of Freemasons, the Jesuit and bill skipper, the morphine addict and candidate for death, the chief courtier and defender of immorality and vice, will have an answer for Jewry. But it will not be the answer that the Hebrew expects.

Shall I give your our plans for action up to Easter, you innocent passerby of Jewish appearance?

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Background: The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 21 January 1929.  
The source: "Der Jude," *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 322-324.

## **The Jew** by Joseph Goebbels

Everything is discussed openly in Germany and every German claims the right to have an opinion on any and all questions. One is Catholic, the other Protestant, one an employee, the other an employer, a capitalist, a socialist, a democrat, an aristocrat. There is nothing dishonorable about choosing one side or the other of a question. Discussions happen in public and where matters are unclear or confused one settles it by argument and counter argument. But there is one problem that is not discussed publicly, one that it is delicate even to mention: the Jewish question. It is taboo in our republic.

The Jew is immunized against all dangers: one may call him a scoundrel, parasite, swindler, profiteer, it all runs off him like water off a raincoat. But call him a Jew and you will be astonished at how he recoils, how injured he is, how he suddenly shrinks back: "I've been found out."

One cannot defend himself against the Jew. He attacks with lightning speed from his position of safety and uses his abilities to crush any attempt at defense.

Quickly he turns the attacker's charges back on him and the attacker becomes the liar, the troublemaker, the terrorist. Nothing could be more mistaken than to defend oneself. That is just what the Jew wants. He can invent a new lie every day for the enemy to respond to, and the result is that the enemy spends so much time defending himself that he has no time to do what the Jew really fears: to attack. The accused has become the accuser, and loudly he shoves the accuser into the dock. So it always was in the past when a person or a movement fought the Jew. That is what would happen to us as well were we not fully aware of his nature, and if we lacked the courage to draw the following radical conclusions:

1. One cannot fight the Jew by positive means. He is a negative, and this negative must be erased from the German system or he will forever corrupt it.
2. One cannot discuss the Jewish question with the Jews. One can hardly prove to a person that one has the duty to render him harmless.
3. One cannot allow the Jew the same means one would give an honest opponent, for he is no honorable opponent. He will use generosity and nobility only to trap his enemy.
4. The Jew has nothing to say about German questions. He is a foreigner, an alien, who only enjoys the rights of a guest, rights that he always abuses.
5. The so-called religious morality of the Jews is no morality at all, rather an encouragement to betrayal. Therefore, they have no claim to protection from the state.
6. The Jew is not smarter than we are, rather only cleverer and craftier. His system cannot be defeated economically — he follows entirely different moral principles than we do. It can only be broken through political means.
7. A Jew cannot insult a German. Jewish slanders are but badges of honor for a German opponent of the Jews.
8. The more a German person or a German movement opposes the Jew, the more valuable it is. If

someone is attacked by the Jews, that is a sure sign of his virtue. He who is not persecuted by the Jews, or who is praised by them, is useless and dangerous.

9. The Jew evaluates German questions from the Jewish standpoint. As a result, the opposite of what he says must be true.

10. One must either affirm or reject anti-Semitism. He who defends the Jews harms his own people. One can only be a Jewish lackey or a Jewish opponent. Opposing the Jews is a matter of personal hygiene.

These principles give the anti-Jewish movement a chance of success. Only such a movement will be taken seriously by the Jews, only such a movement will be feared by them.

The fact that he shouts and complains about such a movement therefore is only a sign that it is right. We are therefore delighted that we are constantly attacked in the Jewish gazettes. They may shout about terror. We answer with Mussolini's familiar words: "Terror? Never! It is social hygiene. We take these individuals out of circulation just as a doctor does to a bacterium.

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Background: The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 22 April 1929, on the occasion of Hitler's 40th birthday, Goebbels explains the nature of leadership, and ends with a brief mention of Hitler.

The source: "Der Führer," *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 214-216.

## **Der Führer** by Joseph Goebbels

A leader must possess character, will, ability, and luck. If these four characteristics form a harmonious unity in a brilliant person, we have a man called by history.

Character is the most significant factor. Knowledge, book learning, experience, and practice do more harm than good if they are not based on strong character. Character brings them to their best expression. It requires courage, endurance, energy, and consistency. Courage gives a person not only the ability to recognize what is right, but also to say and do it. Endurance gives him the ability to pursue the chosen goal, even if apparently impossible obstacles stand in the way, and to proclaim it even if it is unpopular, even if it makes him unpopular. Energy mobilizes the strength to risk everything for the goal and the persistence to keep at it. Consistency gives his eye and mind the sharpness of knowledge and logic in thought and action that gives truly great people the ability to reach the eternally wavering masses. These manly virtues together comprise that which we call character. Character, in short, is style and behavior in the highest form.

Will raises character from the individualistic to the universal. Will makes the man of character into a political man. Any man of significance wants something, and indeed is ready to use every means to attain his end. The will distinguishes the man who acts from the man who merely thinks. It is the intermediary between knowledge and action. It is much more important for us to want that which is right than it is simply to know what is right. This is particularly true in politics. What good is it for me to know the enemy if I do not have the will to destroy him! Many know why Germany has collapsed, but few have the will to end its misfortunes. What distinguishes he who is called to leadership from all the rest is this: He not only has the will to want, but also the want to will.

But in politics it is also important not only what one wants, but what one accomplishes. This leads us to the third characteristic of the able political person: ability. Progress requires accomplishment. Leadership means to want something, and to be able to show the way to realize what one wants. History judges by what has been done. We Germans need to realize that. Politics is a public affair, and one cannot apply the laws of private matters to public matters. We Germans often tend to confuse the desire for something with the ability to do it, and to forgive the incompetent who says that he wanted good and proper things. "We have not brought about socialism," say the November Marxists, "but at least we wanted to." That is irrelevant, just as we do not care if someone wants to play the violin. He must be able in fact to do so. He who wants to rescue a people must above all have the necessary ability.

Character, will and ability, the three prerequisites to leadership, show themselves in capable people. They are either there, or they are not there. The fourth characteristic binds the other three together: luck. The leader must have luck. He must have a blessed hand. One must be able to see that all his actions stand under the protection of a higher power. A leader can lack everything save luck. That is

irreplaceable.

The masses do not oppose leaders. They do instinctively oppose usurpers who claim power without having the necessary will and ability. The leader is hardly an enemy of the masses. He shuns only the cheap tricks of mass flattery that feed the people with phrases rather than bread.

The leader must be able to do everything. That does not mean that he understands all the details, but he must know the basics. There are other helpful people who can keep the wheels of politics spinning.

The art of organization is one of the most important factors in the capabilities of political leaders. Organization means rightly assigning work and responsibility. The leader is the master in the clockwork of an intricate political machine.

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Today we celebrate Adolf Hitler's 40th birthday. We believe that fate has called him to show the German people the way. We greet him with honor and devotion, and wish only that he be preserved for us until his work is finished.

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Background: Horst Wessel became the most prominent martyr of the NSDAP. He wrote the words to the song which became the NSDAP anthem, the Horst Wessel Song: "Raise High the Flag." The article is dated 27 February 1930.

The source: "Die Fahne hoch!" Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1935), pp. 268-271.

### **Raise High the Flag!** by Joseph Goebbels

It was late in the evening and I was enjoying the rare pleasure of reading a good book. I was relaxed and at ease. The telephone rang. I picked up the phone with trepidation. It is worse than I expected. "Horst Wessel has been shot." Trembling with fear, I asked: "Dead?" "No, but there is no hope." I felt as if the walls were collapsing around me. It was unbelievable. It cannot be!

\*

A few days later. I step into the small hospital room on the ground floor and am shocked by the sight. A bullet in the head has done terrible damage to this heroic lad. His face is distorted. I hardly recognize him. But he is happy. His clear, bright eyes shine, though we cannot talk for long. The doctor has ordered him to keep calm. He only repeats a few words: "I am happy." He does not need to say it. One sees it by looking at him. His young, bright smile overcomes the blood and wounds. He still believes.

\*

I sat by his bed on a Sunday afternoon as streams of visitors came until evening. One can hope. He is improving. The fever has dropped, the wounds healing. He sat up part way and talked. What about? A foolish question! About us, about the movement, about his comrades. They stood outside his door today, and one after the other came by and raised his arm to salute the young leader for a moment. "I could not bear it otherwise!"

I look at his hands, which are now small and white. His strong nose stands out in the middle of his face, and two bright eyes sparkle. But the fever is back? He cannot eat, his strength gradually declines, though his spirit remains fresh and alert. He is not allowed to read. He may only talk. It is hard to obey the warning look of the nurse. Will I ever see him again? Who knows! If blood poisoning does not develop, everything will be OK.

A lonely mother sits outside. Her face reflects a question. "Will he make it?" What can one say but yes? I try to persuade myself and others.

Blood poisoning develops. By Thursday, there is little hope. He wants to talk with me.

The doctor gives me a minute. How hard it is to walk past the death watch into the room! He does not know how serious his condition is. But he senses it may be the last time: "Do not go away!" he begs. The nurse relents, and he is comforted. "Do not lose hope. The fever comes and goes. The movement, too, has suffered in the last two years, but today it is hard and strong." That consoles him. Come back!," his eyes, his hands, his hot dry lips, say, as I leave with a heavy heart. I fear I have

seen him for the last time.

\*

Saturday morning. It is hopeless. The doctor is no longer allowing visits. He is hallucinating. He does not even recognize his own mother any longer.

\*

It is 6:30 Sunday morning. He dies after a hard struggle. As I stand by his bed two hours later, I can not believe that it is Horst Wessel. His face is yellow, the wounds still covered with white band aids. Stubble shows on his chin. The half-open eyes stare glassily into the eternity that we all face. The small cold hands lie in the midst of flowers, white and red tulips and violets.

Horst Wessel has passed on. His mortal remains have given up struggle and conflict. Yet I can feel almost physically his spirit rise, to live on with us. He believed it, he knew it. He himself put it in words: He “marches in spirit in our ranks.”

\*

One day in a German Germany, workers and students will march together singing his song. He will be with them. He wrote it in a moment of ecstasy, of inspiration. The song flowed from him, born of life and bearing witness to that life. The brown soldiers are singing it across the country. In ten years, children will sing it in the schools, workers in the factories, soldiers on the march. His song makes him immortal. That is how he lived, that is how he died. A wanderer between two worlds, between yesterday and tomorrow, between that which was and that which will be. A soldier of the German revolution! Once he stood with his hand on his belt, proud and upright, with the smile of youth on his red lips, always ready to risk his life. That is how we will remember him.

I see endless columns marching in spirit. A humiliated people rises up and begins to move. An awakening Germany demands its rights: Freedom and prosperity!

He marches behind them in spirit. Many of them will not know him. Many will have gone where he now is. Many others will have come.

He strides silently and knowingly with them. The banners wave, the trumpets sound, the pipes sound, and from a million throats the song of the German revolution resounds:

“Raise high the flag!” [This was the opening line to the “Horst Wessel Song,” a poem he had written that became the NSDAP anthem.]

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Background: The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 21 September 1930. National Socialists had just won their first major electoral success, winning 107 seats in the national Reichstag election.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1935), pp. 94-96.

## **One Hundred and Seven** by Joseph Goebbels

That is a nice, round, impressive, and weighty number. Some of us recall the time when we wrote that number on a membership book and thereby documented that the number of party members was entering its second hundred. It hardly seems possible that we now have that many members in the Reichstag, that we are the second largest party, and the largest of the non-Marxist parties. We will have to adjust to our new role. Overnight we have changed from a small and despised group to a leading mass party and our victory on 14 September is unprecedented in political history. In the past a party that doubled its vote celebrated the achievement as a triumph. The Social Democrats fought for decades to get their first twenty seats. In the last two years our party has grown by a factor of ten. It has conquered bastion after bastion and fortress after fortress throughout the nation, regardless of lies, slanders, and bans. It has built a strong organization, begun fifty newspapers, and developed a battalion of the best political speakers. It had produced a flood of plans and ideas and many organizers and thinkers. This cannot be explained by ordinary means. It is a political mystery, something of a miracle.

Our duty is to transform the miracle of this political mystery into reality. The broad masses who have expressed themselves in our movement have given a clear and unmistakable statement against the Germany of today and for the Germany of tomorrow. They want a radical break with the domestic, foreign, economic and cultural policies of the past government. No more threatening assault on the System can be imagined. It is clear that the will to rid Germany of the old parties and their ideas is no longer that of a small party, but of an entire awakened nation. Our propaganda has unleashed this popular will. Now we must transform words into deeds.

Those in the center know our goals: the National Socialist movement has no desire to join the bourgeois party bosses. We have no intention of ducking responsibility. We are not purveyors of pathos, as the newspapers like to say about us. We will accept responsibility only when we can justify it to the people and the nation. We do not think holy what the Republic thinks untouchable. The National Socialist movement wants a transformation of things as they are. We have not come to prop up that which is collapsing, but rather to topple it.

The conditions under which we would be willing to use the power we have are clear. They are clear, proper, and precise to anyone who knows us. We are interested not in the good of our party, but in the good of the German people. The millions who have voted for us want National Socialism to determine the fate of the Reich. They have no interest in parliamentary horse trading, even less that we use our strength to support a collapsing system. Anyone who wants to govern with us must accept the fact that the time when one could ignore the interests of the working people is over. We also refuse absolutely to dicker for party advantage. We will take care of our party by ourselves. The government should consider only the interests of the people.

We have recovered from last week's surprising and completely unexpected triumph. Our hearts are once more hot and our minds cool. Not the other way around. We view our sudden strength with good sense, ready to use it at a moment's notice. We can govern, or we can be in the opposition. But we will do either in the spirit of National Socialism. We can sit as comfortably in the ministerial seats as in the parliamentary benches. We are at home anywhere in German politics. But wherever we are, we will untiringly serve the German people and its welfare. That is the oath we make in this happy hour that fate has blessed us with after so much sacrifice, effort and bloodshed.

We stand by the people and we fight for Germany! We want nothing for ourselves, everything for the nation! We will give our full efforts for the good of the community, striving to win back honor and prosperity for the fatherland. We will stand or fall according to Germany's fate.

Raise the banner high!

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Background: In this 1931 article from *Der Angriff*, Goebbels discusses Christmas. The article is dated December 1931.

The source: "Weihnacht 1931," *Wetterleuchten. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1939), pp. 241-242.

## **Christmas 1931**

by Joseph Goebbels

The German people faces the hardest, most severe Christmas in its history. True, there were sometimes days in the past filled with misery and sorrow, as when the soldiers of the Great War were in the trenches in Flanders and Poland making bloody sacrifices for the freedom and honor of the nation. But even through the darkest clouds, a star of hope shone above us. This year, however, the whole people is filled with gray desperation. The economy is in ruins, the factories empty, the smokestacks smoke no longer, the furnaces burn no more. The streets of large cities are filled with the army of the unemployed. Misery and poverty are guests in the farmhouses. The middle class is flat on the ground. The creative classes are robbed of the basic necessities of life and ever new and heavy clouds loom over the nation. The people are divided, torn in two. The national crisis is reflected in an ever worsening world crisis. Political life is more confused than ever before, and nowhere except with us is there a program, a thought, a will, a man.

Official Germany defends itself with desperate energy. Activism, however, is with the opposition, which must at least for now use its strength to criticize.

The people have every reason to despair of the future. Were there no National Socialist movement as the last hope of those of good will, millions of people in Germany would long since have plunged into the abyss of chaos and anarchy. We have raised the banner of a new faith. We hold it unshakably and firmly in our hand, and we give working people confidence that sooner or later Germany will change in fundamental ways that will allow for the rebuilding of a national state and therefore the beginning of the rebirth of the German people.

That is not only a promise for the future, but much more an obligation for the present. Today we carry in our hands the last hope of millions. The German people looks to us with faithful devotion. In us it sees the guarantee of the coming victory. If we fail, Germany's fate is forever sealed, and our once proud, rich and powerful cultural people will be stricken from the list of nations that make history.

A movement that includes and embodies the last hope of an entire people accepts a grave responsibility to this people and to the future. We are every hour conscious of this responsibility. In the face of mass misery that cries to the heavens, of the hopelessness of economic chaos, of the desperation of working people and the growing mood of panic in the country, we affirm before the world public that we have no responsibility for this situation and accuse before the court of history those who have led Germany into this catastrophe. They more than anyone else had at least the responsibility of extending a helping hand to the people, to do at least that which was possible to alleviate the great social misery, to lay balsam on the wounds that desperation has caused us. Instead they have tried to conceal their traitorous deeds, to accuse us of the crimes they have committed against Germany, to take from the people the last shreds of a decent existence by their unbearable and inflammatory attempt to throttle the social life of the nation. For years we have opposed this

immoral effort to reduce Germany's living standard to an intolerable level while attempting to meet the impossible demands for tribute. We opposed the fathers of this policy. The people have joined us in growing numbers. The masses have deserted official Germany for the opposition.

National Socialism has given sufficient proof that has the strength and intelligence to dissect contemporary policies, driving them more and more into a corner. Now we must convince the German people of something more: We want to help. We want to alleviate the misery. We want to reach out our rescuing hand to the hard-pressed and those battling desperation. The time has come to forge the people, under our leadership, into a great community of those suffering misery and the blows of fate.

There is little we can buy this Christmas with our limited means. But that which we buy should at least be bought in Germany, from Germans, for Germans. The small merchant is in a desperate situation. We should support him. He must be brought along the path to the coming recovery. He may not be left behind, a victim of the collapse. This year, German men and women will shop only in German shops. They will avoid the Jewish department stores where they formerly gave their hard-earned money for trifles and fooleries, money that flowed into the channels of international Marxism to be used to further enslave German labor. However gray and empty the festival of love may be this year, we should wherever possible light the candle of solidarity and camaraderie in the midst of social darkness.

The barriers of class and profession have fallen. The German worker reaches his hand to the middle class, for he knows that the middle class will also extend the hand to him. National Socialism has forged us all into a new people. The misery of one is the misery of the other. We will face the troubles of the day with a readiness to help and a true socialist spirit. Next year we will probably have prepared a wide-ranging governmental plan of action, which we shall attempt this year from the side of the opposition.

Each penny we spend should find its way to a German cash register. It should give German businessmen and merchants the possibility to survive this difficult winter. It should favor German industry and German labor. We want to see only German goods on the Christmas table. Let the Jews drown in the trifles and fooleries of their department stores. We will go to our racial brethren and do the good work of fraternal brotherly love, thereby having in these holy days the consolation that we are following the first command of our heavenly teacher.

Background: This article from Der Angriff was published just before the first round of the German presidential elections in 1932. Goebbels outlines the case for Adolf Hitler. The article is dated 7 March 1932.

The source: "Wir wählen Adolf Hitler!" Wetterleuchten. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1939), pp. 269-270.

## **We are Voting for Hitler!** by Joseph Goebbels

Adolf Hitler's goal is the union of all Germans. He experienced our people's need not in books, rather as a person born Austrian whose entire earlier life was filled with the longing for a Greater German Reich. Adolf Hitler will give this longing, which today fills 100 million Germans, political reality.

### Hitler, the Great German

Adolf Hitler's goal is to solve the social and labor questions. His knowledge of social need does not come from hearsay. For many years in Vienna and Munich, he had to earn his meager daily bread as a simple construction worker. There he came to know the people and the working class, sharing in their hard lot and their poverty. He therefore has the right to defend the German working class, wherever it may be.

### Hitler, the Führer

Adolf Hitler, the born mass leader, has as his goal to unify the German people and forge from them unprecedented strength. He works toward this goal not by words and empty phrases, but rather by founding the National Socialist German Workers' Party, which shows the way.

He began in 1919 with six comrades from the front and labor; in 1923, his movement was crushed as it reached for power. Adolf Hitler spent more than a year in prison, founding his old party anew in 1925.

Through hard, exhausting and sacrificial struggle he led the mocked and scorned little sect to the most impressive mass movement in Europe.

### Hitler, the Prophet

In the National Socialist movement, the farmer stands beside the worker, the prince beside the worker, the student next to the front soldier. Millions and millions have joined together under the idea of the German people's community. They want no differences of occupation or class. They have sworn allegiance to the German people and its historic mission.

Amidst all the desperate babble of the post-war period, a new political faith came to life. It is based in flowing, sacrificial idealism, without thereby falling prey to some romantic idol. The National Socialist movement is firmly rooted on earth, but its goals reach boldly for the stars.

Millions and millions of National Socialists have found in National Socialism new meaning and

purpose for their lives. They thank Adolf Hitler and his saving idea that they have not fallen into hopelessness and anarchy,

### Hitler, the Fighter

A man who has the strength and gifts to build a movement of millions from a small sect of seven men, a movement that today already encompasses the largest and best part of the whole German people, will also find a way to unify the entire nation, freeing it from the terrible political, worldview and social contradictions that tear apart and wound our people.

The System [the NSDAP term for the Weimar Republic] has had 13 years to prove that it does not even recognize the problem, much less solve it. Its policies have divided the people into two classes. The economy is in anarchy, the finances are in a desperate state, and millions and millions of German workers, farmers and the middle class are the victims of this fateful course. Countless people have despaired of the future of the German people and have fallen into hopelessness.

But the greater part of the nation has a new will to resist. It wants the German people to rise from blind resignation to a new ideal.

That is Adolf Hitler's work! The masses see in him their last hope. For millions, his name has become the bright symbol of the German will for freedom.

We want to put Germany's future in the hands of this man. He shows us the way. We are ready to follow him. A new German will to life is rising from shame and disgrace, from collapse and anarchy, and we are its bearers!

### Hitler, the Reich President

He who wishes that everything should stay as it is in Germany gives himself over to despair. We do not mind if he casts his vote for the representatives of this system. But we want everything in Germany to change.

He who opposes class struggle and fraternal murder, who is looking for the way out of chaos and confusion, this man will vote for Adolf Hitler! He represents an awakening young German idealism, he is the spokesman for national activism, he is the bearer of the coming economic and social renewal. That is why we cry: Give Adolf Hitler power so that the German people once again receive what is its due. For freedom and prosperity!

Background: In this 1932 article from *Der Angriff*, Goebbels openly favors dictatorship. The article is dated 1 September 1932.

The source: "Goldene Worte für einen Diktator und für solche, die es werden wollen," *Wetterleuchten. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1939), pp. 325-327.

**Advice for a Dictator  
And for Those Who Want to Become One**  
by Joseph Goebbels

1. A dictatorship requires three things: a man, an idea, and a following ready to live for the man and the idea, and if necessary to die for them. If the man is lacking it is hopeless; if the idea is lacking, it is impossible; if the following is missing, the dictatorship is only a bad joke.
2. A dictatorship can rule against a parliament when necessary, but never against the people.
3. Sitting on bayonets is uncomfortable.
4. A dictator's first task is to make what he wants popular, bringing the will of the nation in tune with his own will. Only then will the broad masses support him in the long run and join his ranks.
5. A dictator's highest duty is social justice. If people sense that the dictator only represents a thin upper class that has nothing to do with them, they will see the dictator as a hateful enemy and quickly overthrow him.
6. Dictatorships will rescue a nation when they know better ways than the previous governmental forms that they are fighting, and when their power is so anchored in the people that they do not depend on weapons, but rather on their followers.
7. A dictator does not need to follow the will of the majority. He must however have the ability to use the will of the people.
8. Leading parties and masses is the same as governing a nation. He who ruins a party will lead a nation into the abyss. Political ability is not demonstrated by using treacherous methods to rise to a ministerial chair on the labor of others.
9. Dictatorships must be able to survive on their own spiritual reserves. It will not work if what is good in their ideas comes from their opponents, and what does not come from their opponents is bad.
10. The ability to speak is no shame. It is shameful only when actions do not follow words. To speak well is good. To act bravely is even better. The typical reactionary can neither speak nor act. He has somehow gained power, but has no idea what to do with it.
11. Nothing is more foreign to dictatorial thinking than the bourgeois concept of objectivity. A dictatorship is by its very nature subjective. It takes sides by its nature. Since it is for one thing, it must be against another. If it does not do the latter, it runs the risk of having people doubt its honesty about the first.

12. A dictatorship speaks openly about what it is and what it wants. Nothing is farther from it than to hide behind a facade. It has the courage to act, but also the courage to affirm.

13. Dictatorships that hide behind the law to give themselves an appearance of legality even if their actions disagree, are short-lived. They will collapse of their own incompetence, leaving behind chaos and confusion.

14. Only those who lack the courage to join a party value being above party. When worlds collapse, when foundations shake, when revolutionary fevers spread through peoples and nations, one must join a party, one must be for or against. He who stands between will be torn apart by the contradictions, a victim of his own indecisiveness.

15. It may sound grotesque, but it is true: The nature of a dictator must be clear from his name. One cannot rule with a name like Müller or Meier. And the claim to a title must be fought for. It can not be gained by swindle.

16. A true dictator depends on himself. His false counterpart hides behind the rules and depends on legal paragraphs to justify his actions.

17. Everything great is simple and everything simple is great. The little man likes to conceal his insignificance through complexity.

18. The army exists to defend the country against external threats, not to suppress the people in the interests of a thin layer of usurpers. A dictatorship that cannot defend itself with its own supporters deserves to be displaced.

19. Primo de Rivera [the Spanish dictator who lost power in 1930] fell because his power rested on guns, but he earned only hatred and scorn from the people.

20. Mussolini's work is unshakable, for he is his people's idol. He gave back to Italy what has always been the surest and best foundation of a state: confidence.

Background: The Nazi-Sozi is one of Goebbels's earliest publications, written before he moved to Berlin. First published in 1926, it was revised and reissued by the party's Eher Verlag in 1931.

Translation of the 1927 edition.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, *Der Nazi-Sozi* (Elberfeld: Verlag der Nationalsozialistischen Briefe, 1927).

## **The Nazi-Sozi** by Joseph Goebbels

### Ten Commandments for Each National Socialist

The homeland is the mother of your life — never forget that!

1. Your fatherland is Germany. Love it more than anything else, and more in deed than in word.
2. Germany's enemies are your enemies; hate them with your whole heart.
3. Each people's comrade, even the poorest, is a part of Germany; love him as you love yourself.
4. Ask for yourself only duties. Then Germany will regain its rights.
5. Be proud of Germany; You may take pride in a fatherland for which millions gave their lives.
6. He who insults Germany insults you and your dead. Punch him.
7. Don't cause mischief, but where someone denies you your rights, God gives you the right to use your fists.
8. Do not be a crackpot anti-Semite, but keep away from the Berliner Tageblatt.
9. Live your life such that you will not need to be ashamed in a New Germany.
10. Believe in the future, for that is the only way you will gain it.

### **No Politics**

*“No, no! I'll stay away from politics. That is nothing but betrayal and swindle. After the revolution one could catch people with all these stupid phrases. That time is past. We are smarter today than back then. I don't believe any of that nonsense any more. I do my work and don't think about politics. That's it. Period. Enough!”*

“Pardon me! If you believe that, our common enemy — call him whatever you wish, capitalism, the Jew, parliament, democracy, or Marxism — reached his goal.”

*“Why? I don't understand.”*

“Their goal is for the German people to ignore politics. It can create, serve, work like a serf — the

Jew will control politics.”

*“You are relentless. So whom should I trust today? Name me one party from the right or the left that hasn’t buried us in slogans and promises, and name me even one that has fulfilled even a tiny part of its promises!”*

“You are right. All the parties have lied and betrayed the people. None has been honest, or attempted to put into practice what it promised in theory. They pay attention to the people only during elections. But are the parties Germany, and is disappointment with their betrayal doubts about our future? If the parties are bad, then throw them out and join the people in fighting the parties!”

*“No! It is too late for that! We no longer have the courage, the determination, to proclaim to today’s Germany the life will of a new Germany.”*

“You could better say I, not we. We have courage, faith, and determination. What about you? What do you think about the future?”

### **The Economy and Politics**

*“I still have one small hope. The economy. I believe that the enormous creative power of the German people will save us. Labor, the economy, is our hope. We must work more and talk less!”*

“A nice roar, lion! But that is a platitude. I suggest you go to the three million unemployed, like some voice in the wilderness, and preach to them that ‘We must work more and talk less!’ Perhaps that will make the nonsense you are proclaiming clearer than anything I can or want to do.”

“The economy is our hope! That is what Walther Rathenau said as he made the first broad steps toward incorporating German production into the international syndicalist thinking of American high finance. So you believe in the economy. The economy is directly linked with politics as a vital life factor of our people. Name me one people in history that has had, or been able to maintain, a sound economy without healthy, goal-oriented politics! And name me a people with a clear, instinctual politics that was not able to find a way to build a healthy economy!

Your view is simply nonsense, something that one can say only if one is a dolt paid by the Jew, or a bourgeois idiot. Politics, not the economy, determines the fate of a people. Healthy politics leads to the necessary economic policy. A sound economy not based on strong politics is unthinkable.

Of course, one can’t say that today’s statesmen are conducting politics.

### **The Nature of Politics**

Politics is responsible action that serves people. Its goal is to create the conditions that will enable this people to build a life from this hard earth, to maintain and defend its life, to increase in number, and to assure freedom and prosperity for its descendants.”

### **Youth and Politics**



*“And you want to conduct this kind of politics in your movement? With green youth who have hardly any experience with life? With radicalism and lots of noise? With street fights and terror against those with other opinions? With total opposition to the state and its natural foundations?”*

“Yes, that is what we want! We want this kind of politics because no one else is doing it. The old experienced leaders of the people who can’t complain enough about us inexperienced youngsters can’t do it. Neither can the well educated bourgeoisie or the intelligentsia, nor the tame political homebodies and mother’s boys. Neither this state, nor those who conduct ‘politics’ for it.

But permit me a few little corrections. If we conduct our politics with ‘inexperienced youngsters’ — whom we call the youth, German youth — we do so proudly, knowing that Germany’s youth has escaped the poison of the present day to find a way to a New Germany. We don’t care if this youth has experience with life or not. Sure, you are experienced in life, but you don’t understand anything at all about politics. I know 18-year-old lads in our S.A. whose every sentence would put you to shame. We do not conduct radical politics, but where radicalism is necessary we are not cowardly enough to reject it. The bourgeois gentleman complains about radicalism, perhaps because no one in his state is radical. And we resort to terror whenever terror is used against us. We don’t scream for the police like any old veteran’s association, nor do we hide like cowardly members of the bourgeoisie behind their fences and wait like cowards for whatever fate has in store. We step onto the streets and use our fists against terror. We practice the theory of power, and conduct maneuvers to prepare for a later assault on the bourgeois class state.”

## **Class Struggle**

*“That means that you have become a party favoring class struggle! You called yourselves a workers’ party! That was the first step. You called yourself socialist. That was the second step. Now you are speaking of the bourgeois class state. That is the third and final step.*

*How are you any different than Marxism?”*

“There is nothing more hypocritical than a fat, well-fed citizen complaining against proletarian thinking about class struggle.

You got through the winter just fine. Your very person is an incitement to class struggle. What gives you the right to puff out your nationalist breast and complain about the proletariat’s class struggle? Has not the bourgeois state been an organized class state for nearly 60 years? Did it not give birth to the historical necessity of proletarian class struggle thinking? Did you not get your reward for your class state on 9 November 1918? In the face of Marxist insanity, are you not able to see how it came out of your old reactionary bourgeois error?

Are you not ashamed as a well-nourished Middle European to battle undernourished, empty-eyed, starving, unemployed proletarians?

Yes, we call ourselves a workers’ party! That is the first step. The first step away from a bourgeois state. We call ourselves a workers’ party because we want to free labor, because for us creative labor is the element that drives history, because labor to us is more than possession, education, class, and family origin.

That is why we call ourselves a workers' party!

## **Social and Socialist**

Yes, we call ourselves socialist! That is the second step. The second step against the bourgeois state. We call ourselves socialist as a protest against the lie of social bourgeois pity. Your talk of 'social legislation' is absurd. It is too little to live on but too much to die on.

We want our rights according to nature and the law.

We want our full share of what Heaven has given us, and what we have created with our own hands and minds.

That is socialism?

## **The Class State**

Now let us speak about the bourgeois class state. Why? Because this bourgeois state has become a class state. Because this state does not value achievement and will, but rather pays heed only to education, wealth, and tradition. We speak of a bourgeois class state because this bourgeois state rejects what is most holy in the lives of peoples, transforming the love of one's ethnicity into a greedy love of wealth, excluding thereby 17 million German-feeling, German-thinking proletarians. What the bourgeois citizen wanted is irrelevant. What he achieved is decisive. If he wanted a strong Germany, what did he get? He got an international slave colony that on 9 November 1918 was ready to collapse under the blows of the rebels.

That is the truth. We protest against the idea of class struggle. Our whole movement is a grand protest against class struggle, which has excluded our people from the course of history. However, we call things by their proper names. Seventeen million people see class struggle as their only hope because they learned that over 60 years from the right. Why do we have the moral right to complain against proletarian class struggle if we do not first thoroughly destroy the bourgeois class state and replace it with a new socialist structure of German community."

## **Hand and Mind**

*"And who is going to help you to overcome the old state and build a new one?"*

"We trust the healthy instinct of the creative German people. The day will come when even the last person will see. One day the hands and minds will rise up to protest; then we will accuse, we will judge.

Our task is to all we can to hurry that day.

Then we will come together, blue collar workers and white collar workers. Then we will see who really loves his fatherland more than party and class. That is when young workers of the future will build a third Germany.

Then the inexperienced youth will have its say. Like chaff in the wind, old wisdom and experience will blow away.

We will take Germany's fate in our hands. We will resolve the question of socialism, radically and completely, disregarding tradition, education, wealth, social standing and class. Our only concern will be the future of the creative German people.

### **Nationalist and Socialist**

Then we will prove that National Socialism is more than a comfortable moral theology of bourgeois wealth and capitalist profit. A new spirit of nationalism will grow from the ruins, displaying the most radical form of ethnic self defense, a new socialism that will create the necessary foundation."

### **Marxist Desperation**

*"You talk of socialism! Is it not right for the German worker, after the past 60 years have proven the complete bankruptcy of his political ideal, to feel despair about socialism and the future of his class?"*

"Never! Because:

1. He fought for 60 years not for socialism, but for Marxism. Marxism, whose theories are fatal to peoples and races, is the exact opposite of living socialism.
2. Marxism was never the political idea of a German worker. He only accepted this jumble of Jewish ideas because he had no other choice in his struggle for the freedom of his class.
3. Marxism is the death not only of nationally-minded peoples, but above all of the class that fights with total devotion for its realization: the working class.

The worker has no right to doubt socialism, but rather the duty to doubt Marxism. The sooner he does that, the better. The clock has almost struck midnight."

### **Anti-Semitism**

*"You make a lot of noise about the fact that you oppose the Jews. Isn't anti-Semitism outdated in the twentieth century? Isn't the Jew a human being like everyone else? Aren't there decent Jews? Isn't it bad that we 60 million fear 2 million Jews?"*

"You miss the point. Try to think logically:

1. If we were only anti-Semites, we would be out-of-place in the twentieth century. However, we are also socialists. For us, the two go together. Socialism, the freedom of the German proletariat and thereby of the German nation, can only be achieved against the Jews. Since we want Germany's freedom, or socialism, we are anti-Semites.

2. Sure, the Jew is also a human being. None of us has every doubted that. But a flea is also an animal, — albeit an unpleasant one. Since a flea is not a pleasant animal, we have no duty to defend and protect it, to be of service to it so that it can bite and torment and torture us. Rather, our duty is to make it harmless.

The same is true of the Jew.

3. Sure, there are decent (weiße) Jews. More of them very day. That however, is not evidence for the Jews, but rather it is evidence against them. The fact that one calls scoundrels among us decent ‘Jews’ is proof that to be Jewish carries a stigma, else one would call deceitful Jews ‘decent (gelbe) Christians.’ The fact that there are so many decent Jews proves that the destructive Jewish spirit has already infected wide circles of our people. It is encouragement for us to carry on the battle against the Jewish world plague wherever possible.

4. It is a bad sign for you, not for us, that 60 million fear 2 million Jews. We do not fear these 2 million Jews, but rather we fight against them. You, however, are too much of a coward to join this battle, and behave like a cat on a hot stove.

If these 60 million fought the Jews as we do, they would have nothing more to fear. It would be the Jews’ turn to fear.”

### **Monarchy or Republic?**

*“Show your true colors. Are you monarchists or republicans?”*

“We are neither.

1. The question of the form of government is irrelevant for us today. A people that is being destroyed under the dictates of Versailles has other things to worry about than the question of monarchy or republic.

2. This question can be decided by the people only when it is free.

However, we do say:

A good republic is better than a bad monarchy, and a good monarchy is better than a bad republic. Both forms of government have their advantages and disadvantages. Only a free people can make that choice. However:

It is hard to conceive of a worse government than what we have today. It is certainly not a republic. It is an international used goods market in which the loudest shouters and highest bidding Hebrews call themselves statesmen and commissars.”

### **Black-White-Red or Black-Red-Gold**

*“Hand on your heart, now, and swear to tell the truth.*

*Are you black-white-red [the radical party colors] or black-red-gold [the centrist colors]?"*

“Neither the one nor the other:

1. We do not care if the Scheidemann/Stresemann republic collapses under black-white-red or black-red-gold. We might prefer black-gold, since they would at least die wearing their own colors.
2. We will be able to decide on a common flag only when the German people holds to a single idea and has a single will. The movement that brings about such a people’s community will also give its colors to the whole people. We are confident that that will be us.”

## **Our Program**

*“Every party has a program. What is yours? Since you want to win over the German worker, what do you offer him?”*

“If we were party bigwigs or Jews, we would play down the whole litany of our promises. Nothing is easier than that. It is hard to speak the truth. Harder still to hear and understand it. However, we know that it alone is the way to salvation:

1. Sure, each party has its program. But no party has ever carried out its program. They could not do so in the past, not will they be able to in the future, because all previous programs have been impossible to implement.
2. Our program is short and sweet: the freedom of the creative German people. The path to that is clear and simple: to free the German worker and make him once again a part of the nation.

We will do anything necessary to achieve that goal. We will not hold back from a social revolution if the nation’s freedom demands it. We are not afraid to break the chains that have been wrapped around our nation if that is necessary to guarantee basic necessities for German workers.

3. We promise nothing to the German worker but this: that we will fight to the last breath for his right to exist, regardless of what it costs and what results. We offer the most that one can offer a people and its oppressed class:

A battle for freedom and prosperity!”

## **Our Demand**

*“And what does the German worker have to do?”*

“In this world, nothing comes from nothing. The German worker must realize:

1. If he wants to be free, he will have to sacrifice. No one will make him free. He must do it himself. Since freedom is the greatest good, he must be willing to give everything he has: Life itself.
2. The goal is always directly related to the resources. Only liars promise heaven in exchange for a membership book.

We do say this: Freedom is everything. We therefore demand everything that we have: a long, hard struggle filled with poverty and worry and difficulty and hunger and danger, requiring constant sacrifices of health, pleasure, happiness, and contentment.

That is what the German worker must do.

At the end, however, is the most beautiful reward: a free Germany filled with creative labor.”

## **The Bourgeoisie**

*“Doesn’t Marxism have a point when it says that the N.S.D.A.P. a petty bourgeois movement led by worn-out officers, students, and doctors? How can the worker believe that you want to liberate him? You will not be able to dissuade him of his conviction that the worker can only be freed by the worker.”*

“You are saying a lot of nonsense in a single breath. Listen:

1. The N.S.D.A.P. is not a petty bourgeois movement, but rather a protest against the corruption (Verbürgerlichung) of socialism in social democracy. Our leaders do not belong to the petty bourgeois, but rather the likes of Scheidemann, Leinert, Noske, Bauer do — although they have been grand bourgeois for a long time.
2. Name one worn-out officer, student, or doctor in the N.S.D.A.P. leadership. My friend, if an officer, student, or doctor is a Marxist leader — I could name a hundred of them for you — he is a ‘worker leader.’ If he is an N.S.D.A.P. leader, he is a ‘worn-out creature.’
3. You ask how they could free the worker! If your question is justified, the worker will first have to throw out piles of rotten Jewish literature from the labor movement, which insults labor leaders and in reality misuses the labor movement for their own vile goals. And just look around: Do you see ‘the worker’ who is supposed to free the worker all by himself? What about ‘workers’ like Scheidemann, Wels, Noske, Bauer, and all the rest? They have all become big fat members of the bourgeoisie. Their battle against the bourgeoisie was only from envy, and as soon as they joined the bourgeoisie themselves they stopped fighting and were no longer envious.

Not only German workers lead the German labor movement. There are also former members of the bourgeoisie who have overcome it, renegades who fight not from envy, but rather because of hatred against a class that brought Germany to the edge of the abyss. They did not come to the proletariat to become bourgeois, but rather from a deep sense of responsibility, having found the way to a creative growth of the strength of the people.

The German worker will extend his hand. From hand and mind will spring the miracle of the future: the third Reich.”

## **Proletariat and Working Class**

*“If I understand you rightly, you are saying that the N.S.D.A.P. is a proletarian party with a*

*bourgeois leadership?”*

“I see that you can only think in the ways of the past. The Germany that we want will overcome all of these old, outmoded concepts. We are neither bourgeois nor proletarian. The concept of bourgeois is dead, and the concept of proletarian will never have life again. We want neither the bourgeois world that is declining today, nor the proletarian-Marxist future that is the goal of Jews and Jewish lackeys.

We want the Germany of labor. What does that mean? We want a Germany in which labor and accomplishment are the highest moral and political values. We are today a workers’ party in the best sense of the word. Once we have taken over the state, Germany will become a state of labor, a workers’ state.”

*“Those are fine words. But what is behind them? Or are you trying to conceal with phrases the fact that you have not thought things through?”*

“Not at all, my friend! Do understand me. The Germany of the future will rest on new foundations. It is nonsense to believe that the bourgeois class could carry out this transformation, while at the same time it is responsible for the current state that must be transformed, the bourgeois state of today. That, of course, does not mean that members of the bourgeois class will be unable to join in building the new Germany. As a class, however, the bourgeoisie has played out its role in history and will have to give way to the creative spirit of a younger, healthier class.

In its place a young class is coming. We will not call it the proletariat, because that is an insult to the German worker coming from Jewish sophistry. It is the community of workers. This community of workers includes all who work for Germany’s future, blue collar or white collar.

The hand will be lead by the mind, and the mind will be kept secure by the brutal strength of the hand as they together build their new German state. This complementarity of hand and mind will forge white and blue collar workers together. If the Jew leads the German worker, he will always confuse things through the false call of the International.

Together, German minds and German hands will find the only slogan that leads to freedom:

German workers of the mind and hand, unite!”

## **International and National**

*“In other words, you want to set the Marxist International against a national German socialism?”*

“Exactly! We finally understand each other.”

*“But permit me one more question. If I understand you correctly, the enemy — whether we call him the Jew, capital, or whatever — thinks and feels internationally. If so, he can only be fought using international methods. Will the result be a socialist International that will forever destroy the capitalist International?”*

“My friend, I think that everything I’ve been saying has been in vain. We can never come to an

understanding. Try to think logically:

1. Yes, we have clearly seen that the enemy is building his International on the backs of Europe's nations. Germany hardly has any national forms of capital today: railroads, mines, factories, money, gold, the Reich Bank, everything has been transformed into shares of stock and these are in the hands of Jewish bankers in London and New York. Yet shares of stock are in themselves worthless. They do not run on railroad tracks, they do not mine coal, they do not produce food or goods, they do not make money and earn no money. They serve only to earn interest. If we had a true German state, all German shares of stock held by Jewish banks would be declared worthless, treated only as scraps of paper, and a government of national labor would be established in Germany. Since we do not have such a state, we must be content with the blessings of being a Dawes colony. We have no national property, no national capital, meaning property and capital that belongs to the people, to the nation. Instead, everything is administered by an international bank syndicate. National capital does not act internationally, but rather international economic hyenas act internationally with it.

2. Of course the battle against this world power must be fought internationally, and it would be short-sighted of us not to support every movement throughout the world that joins our front. The goal of this battle, however, is not a world socialist republic — there never was such a thing and never will be. It exists only in the brains of Jews who betray workers, and in the minds of misled German workers. The goal is the establishment of new national, socialist states. And we do not expect all that much from the common struggle of the peoples against the International of money through international methods. We know all the barriers that stand between understanding among peoples. And the International of capital will not be stupid enough to enslave all the peoples in the same way and at the same time. The turn of one after the other will come. No one will think of the others. Each people will hope to save itself by giving in, until it is too late and it is devoured by the capitalist Moloch.

Besides, my friend, we do not have time to wait for others. We are at the edge of final collapse, and it is a crime to hope for the help of those who have never helped us in the past, and who probably will not help us in the future.

We have one principle: God helps those who help themselves!

3. If you speak of a socialist International, you prove that you lack the most elementary understanding of peoples and governments. There has never been a great political idea — and socialism certainly is such an idea — that has an international collection of states following it. The principle of history is not unity, but rather variety. It always was so, and always will be so. Battle makes states and peoples, and whoever does not fight is doomed to decline.

You may say that that is terrible. That it is. We have to accept it and fight. History is ruled by eternal natural laws, not by Marxist phrases about brotherhood.

Nature does not want unity, but rather variety. It does not want a human mish-mash, but rather a humanity that consists of differing peoples and races, under which the strong will always overcome the weak.

We understand that, and we want to act accordingly. We want to forge the weapons that will help of



German people survive the struggle for existence in this hard world of battle in which the strong triumph over the weak.

We call that national!”

## **Production and the Social Problem**

*“That is all fine and good. But now you must show your true colors. So far, everything has been talk. Here is the cardinal question: How do you intend to solve the social problem?”*

“Let us go to the core of the question: What is the nature of the social problem? Seventeen million proletarians are at the mercy of capitalism, which controls all the means of production. They are forced to sell their only capital, their labor, at the lowest price. They thus, and rightly, feel left out of a people, a state, or a nation that silently tolerates such a situation. Under such conditions, the inner unity of a people collapses. The people separates into two parts, one that wants to protect this state, and one that is against this state. Such conditions rule a people out as a force in the larger course of history.

The solution of the social question, therefore, means no more nor less than re-incorporating an oppressed part back into the nation, involving it in all vital aspects of the state and economy, and thereby permitting the nation once more to influence the great flow of history.

To this end, we demand:

1. Everything that nature gave to the people: territory, rivers, mountains, forests, treasures under the earth and the air above, everything belongs in principle to the people as a whole. Should a people's comrade own these goods, he must feel himself obligated to the state as the administrator of the people's possessions. If he administers them poorly, or to the harm of the community, the state has the right to take these possessions from him and make them once again the possession of the community.

2. Production, in as far as it requires human strength, abilities, inventiveness, entrepreneurship, and genius remains the possession of the individual. The state guarantees that those contributing to production, whether physically or mentally, share in the ownership and profits.

3. Production that is essentially completed, which no longer requires strength, ability, inventiveness, entrepreneurship and brilliance (e.g., the transportation system, trusts, conglomerates) will be brought back to state ownership.

This closes the great circle of production, and it once again includes all productive workers.

In implementing this demand, we free labor from the chains of wage slavery. The result will be a free people with a free economy on free land: the people's community.”

## **Parliament and Parties**

*“Does this require a new party? Why have you not taken this program some one of the*

*parliamentary parties? Surely they would be ready to argue for it.”*

“I can’t stop laughing! Maybe you are right. Any party would certainly be willing, if it could win a million votes by doing so. We, however, don’t care about voting totals and parliament. We don’t want to ‘represent’ our program in the Reichstag, but rather we want to implement it. That separates us from all the other parties. The others represent, speak, debate, vote, and collect their pay. We act. We are building the strength with which we will one day conquer this state. We will then act pitilessly and brutally, using the power of the state to carry out our will and our program.

We no longer believe in the swindle of parliament and parties. It is nothing more than a huge system of cattle-trading that exploits the strength and labor of the German people.

A parliamentarian is a drone living off the German national body. Parliament is a busy swarm of bees, but instead of honey it produces manure and cabbage. Although this manure and cabbage is far worse than the farmer’s, it is a thousand times better paid.

The money and prosperity of the people is squandered. The Jew is behind everything and lets his puppets talk, vote, collect their pay — but he governs.

When they want something from us, we are the free and sovereign people that exercises its will through its elected representatives. When we want something from parliament, we are a mob. That is what one calls democracy.

*“Well, then what? What do you want instead? There has to be a government! If you want to get rid of parliament, you must have something better.*

*What do you have in mind?”*

## **Dictatorship and Corporate State**

“History teaches that a young, determined minority that overthrows a corrupt, rotten, stinking majority takes control of the state and its resources for a time and establishes a dictatorship using state power to create the conditions to carry out its new ideas until it has triumphed completely. That will also be true with us. Once we conquer the state, this state is our state. We and we along will be responsible for this state. We are a party, and have to be one, in our battle against a corrupt system. We are not, of course, a parliamentary party. But the moment that we overthrow this system, we become the state. They will use dictatorial power to form the state according to our principles. We, as a responsible minority, will force our will on a weak, rotten, incompetent and stupid majority, behind which the Jew hides and follows his evil plans. We will do what has to be done to rescue the people.

We want to free Germany, nothing more. If the German people is unwilling to become free, we do not care.

The greater part of the German people is today so materialistic, so cowardly, that it can only be made happy against its will, and by force.”

*“Well, that may make sense. But you surely don’t want a permanent dictatorship. Something has*

*to follow.”*

“Of course! We have already thought about that, and made our will clear. We do not want to keep the people from ruling. We only want to fight for and establish the conditions that alone can assure life on this planet. Once they have been fought for and established, our task will be fulfilled. We will have a National Socialist state.

Instead of democracy’s parliamentary system, we will have an economic parliament of the National Socialist state. It will be chosen by the totality of the working German people. Everyone will have a vote. This election, however, will not involve parliamentary parties, but rather by the great professions within the people’s community. German professions are organized down to the smallest detail, and provide the guarantee that each working German will have the right to have his will, his accomplishments, and his responsibility taken into consideration by the state. The economic parliament will manage economic policy, not state policy.

That will be managed by the Senate. It will consist of about 200 personalities, chosen by the dictator from all groups and classes. It will lead the state. These 200 will be the elite from the whole people. They will provide the government with advice and support. They will be appointed for life. In the event of death, another will be appointed.

The senate will select the chancellor. He will have full responsibility for the whole policy of the Reich, both domestic and foreign. He will be ready to give his life for that policy if necessary.

The chancellor will choose his ministers and officials. He will also have full responsibility over them, which means he can appoint and fire them at will.

Whether this system is headed by a president or a monarch will not matter. The chancellor is the decisive person, and we will be sure that he is up to the job.”

## **The Will to Power**

*“This system is astoundingly simple and clear. It is almost too simple to happen. But let’s assume that such a program could be implemented once the state was conquered.*

*How are you going to conquer the state? You know that this state is based on power, that it is a police state, one crasser and more brutal than we had before the war. It has recovered somewhat, is stabilizing, concentrating its strength, and sitting on our backs using every means of power available. Let’s assume that your minority party grows stronger and stronger, as you believe. There will come a time when the growth stops. You will have fighters from the whole of the German people on your side. But you will never win a majority. The majority will always be against you, and the state with all its strength will be on its side. Then what?”*

“My friend, you are beginning to understand. That is the first thing you have said that follows logically. Then what? That ‘Then what’ can only be understood by he who is a fighter, both in his heart and with his fists, by the conqueror. The others will have no answer.

What then?! Then we clench our teeth and get ready. They we march against this state, then we risk

the final great step for Germany. We will change from revolutionaries of the word to revolutionaries in deed.

We will make a revolution!

We will throw out parliament and found the state on the strength of German fists and German minds.”

*“But you do not have what it takes to take that action.”*

“We are not talking about an action, my friend. You are thinking 1918 and Kapp [the 1918 Kapp Putsch]. Those were revolts, Putsches, soldier strikes, nothing more.

We want a revolution. A revolution overthrows an old world and builds a new one. At their core, revolutions are creative, constructive. True revolutions are never lost. They are the end and beginning points of historical epochs.

True, we lack the means to conquer this state. The others have everything with which they can defend this state: weapons, the press, propaganda, parliament, majority, money, and power. But one thing they always lack, the most important thing that we have and what now gives us the greatest certainty of victory.”

The will to power!

It is the will to power that always and everywhere triumphs, whatever the cost. It is brutal action that accepts poverty and hunger, worry and terror, for the sake of the great goal. It is the willingness of the few to sacrifice, and it will ultimately triumph over the bellies and pleasures of the fat, well-fed majority.

The will to power creates the means to power. If others have the weapons, we have what they do not have: the will to use force. This will creates weapons when it needs them.

He who believes in his world is ready to die for it. The democrat no longer believes in democracy, so he defends himself with paid serfs. He is ready to live for parliament, but no longer willing to die for it.”

## **War and Pacifism**

*“So, you depend on strength. You do not respect justice and the law, but rather your will is justice and the law, and behind it stands the brutal power of the fist.”*

“Yes, we rely on strength. We depend on strength not because we do not respect justice or the law, but rather because justice and the law are dead ideas in today’s Germany.

There are no judges any longer in Berlin. Justice and the law are trod under foot, and one no longer even bothers to hang the cloak of law over barbaric injustices. One practices oppression and despotism by intent. It all happens in the name of the majority. He who has the majority is right, and

he who is in the minority lacks rights. He is persecuted, mocked, and given over to despotism.

We want justice for the German people. Since one is not willing to give us that justice, we demand it with our brutal fists. The right to life of the people is more important to us than the right to life of a parliamentary majority. Our will is the will to live. Since justice is always on the side of life rather than death, we have a right above democracy, and if one refuses to give us that right, we fight for it with power.”

*“You are always disturbing the peace. You do not want peace and order, but rather battle. War is your final goal!”*

“Now you’re almost beginning to cry! You speak piously of peace. Do we have peace today? It is peace when millions of people are on the street, without work, without food? It is peace when innocent children starve, when the people beg, when this flourishing land of Germany is turned into a desert? We have had constant war since 1918, and this war grows more grim and brutal each day. Read the news from the international stock exchanges. They are the war dispatches from the headquarters of the economic battles. See the German workers and families who are the dying and dead of the war.

That is your peace. It is the peace of a cemetery. Your order is the grim order of death. No, my friend, that we do not want. We proclaim war against it. We want to call the people to throw off its torturers, to break the chains the Jew has laid on us.

Only struggle can save a people from dying and lead it to true peace. The eternal principle of nature is not justice, but rather strength. That is why we want to harden our people so that it will be able to survive the battles on this earth.

Pacifism does not assure peace. The opposite! History teaches that peoples who are no longer willing to defend their lives, with force if need be, die shamefully. We want to protect our people from that. They should become strong in will and spirit. No one may disgrace it, or treat it as a pariah.

We want justice, and justice means freedom, prosperity, and living space. If we are denied this right, we will fight for it.

This battle for freedom, prosperity, and living space includes everyone from the highest to the lowest. It is a matter of the entire people.

The unified strength of 80 million Germans possessed with the will to life are a better guarantee of peace than any lie about human rights.”

## **Germany’s Freedom**

*“How will it all end?”*

“It will end with the freedom of the German people on German soil. Each productive German will enjoy the life and prosperity this freedom will provide. It will provide the moral and spiritual strength on which we will build in the new century.

The freedom means more than a new system of government. We want to create the new human being, who will be able to develop a better worldview because of the conditions we have fought for.

**This future will be ours, or it will not exist at all.**

**Liberalism is dying. Long live socialism.**

**Marxism is dying so that nationalism can live.**

**Then we will build the new Germany, the nationalist, socialist third Reich!”**

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Background: This widely distributed National Socialist pamphlet first appeared in 1929. This is from a 1932 copy. At least several hundred thousand copies were printed.

The source: Joseph Goebbels and Mjölfnir, Die verfluchten Hakenkreuzler. Etwas zum Nachdenken (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher, 1932).

## **Those Damned Nazis**

by Joseph Goebbels

### Why Are We Nationalists?

We are nationalists because we see the nation as the only way to bring all the forces of the nation together to preserve and improve our existence and the conditions under which we live.

The nation is the organic union of a people to protect its life. To be national is to affirm this union in word and deed. To be national has nothing to do with a form of government or a symbol. It is an affirmation of things, not forms. Forms can change, their content remains. If form and content agree, then the nationalist affirms both. If they conflict, the nationalist fights for the content and against the form. One may not put the symbol above the content. If that happens, the battle is on the wrong field and one's strength is lost in formalism. The real aim of nationalism, the nation, is lost.

That is how things are today in Germany. Nationalism has turned into bourgeois patriotism and its defenders are battling windmills. One says Germany and means the monarchy. Another proclaims freedom and means Black-White-Red [the colors of the German flag]. Would our situation today be any different if we replaced the republic with a monarchy and flew the black-white-red flag? The colony would have different wallpaper, but its nature, its content, would stay the same. Indeed, things would be even worse, for a facade that conceals the facts dissipates the forces today fighting against slavery.

Bourgeois patriotism is the privilege of a class. It is the real reason for its decline. When 30 million are for something and 30 million are against it, things balance out and nothing happens. That is how things are with us. We are the world's Pariah not because we do not have the courage to resist, but rather because our entire national energy is wasted in eternal and unproductive squabbling between the right and the left. Our way only goes downward, and today one can already predict when we will fall into the abyss.

Nationalism is more wide-reaching than internationalism. It sees things as they are. Only he who respects himself can respect others. If as a German nationalist I affirm Germany, how can I hold it against a French nationalist who affirms France? Only when these affirmations conflict in vital ways will there be a power-political struggle. Internationalism cannot undo this reality. Its attempts at proof fail completely. And even when the facts seem to have some validity, nature, blood, the will to life, and the struggle for existence on this hard earth prove the falsity of fine theories.

The sin of bourgeois patriotism was to confound a certain economic form with the national. It connected two things that are entirely different. Forms of the economy, however firm they may seem, are changeable. The national is eternal. If I mix the eternal and the temporal, the eternal will necessarily collapse when the temporal collapses. This was the real cause for the collapse of liberal society. It was rooted not in the eternal, but in the temporal, and when the temporal declined it took

the eternal down with it. Today it is only an excuse for a system that brings growing economic misery. That is the only reason why international Jewry organizes the battle of the proletarian forces against both powers, the economy and the nation, and defeat them.

From this understanding, the young nationalism draws its absolute demand. The faith in the nation is a matter for everyone, never a group, a class or an economic clique. The eternal must be distinguished from the temporal. Maintaining a rotten economic system has nothing to do with nationalism, which is an affirmation of the Fatherland. I can love Germany and hate capitalism. Not only can I, I must. Only the annihilation of a system of exploitation carries with it the core of the rebirth of our people.

We are nationalists because as Germans, we love Germany. Because we love Germany, we want to preserve it and fight against those who would destroy it. If a Communist shouts "Down with nationalism!", he means the hypocritical bourgeois patriotism that sees the economy only as a system of slavery. If we make clear to the man of the left that nationalism and capitalism, that is the affirmation of the Fatherland and the misuse of its resources, have nothing to do with each other, indeed that they go together like fire and water, then even as a socialist he will come to affirm the nation, which he will want to conquer.

That is our real task as National Socialists. We were the first to recognize the connections, and the first to begin the struggle. Because we are socialists we have felt the deepest blessings of the nation, and because we are nationalists we want to promote socialist justice in a new Germany.

A young fatherland will rise when the socialist front is firm.

Socialism will become reality when the Fatherland is free.

### Why Are We Socialists?

We are socialists because we see in socialism, that is the union of all citizens, the only chance to maintain our racial inheritance and to regain our political freedom and renew our German state.

Socialism is the doctrine of liberation for the working class. It promotes the rise of the fourth class and its incorporation in the political organism of our Fatherland, and is inextricably bound to breaking the present slavery and regaining German freedom. Socialism, therefore, is not merely a matter of the oppressed class, but a matter for everyone, for freeing the German people from slavery is the goal of contemporary policy. Socialism gains its true form only through a total fighting brotherhood with the forward-striving energies of a newly awakened nationalism. Without nationalism it is nothing, a phantom, a mere theory, a castle in the sky, a book. With it it is everything, the future, freedom, the fatherland!

The sin of liberal thinking was to overlook socialism's nation-building strengths, thereby allowing its energies to go in anti-national directions. The sin of Marxism was to degrade socialism into a question of wages and the stomach, putting it in conflict with the state and its national existence. An understanding of both these facts leads us to a new sense of socialism, which sees its nature as nationalistic, state-building, liberating and constructive.



The bourgeois is about to leave the historical stage. In its place will come the class of productive workers, the working class, that has been up until today oppressed. It is beginning to fulfill its political mission. It is involved in a hard and bitter struggle for political power as it seeks to become part of the national organism. The battle began in the economic realm; it will finish in the political. It is not merely a matter of wages, not only a matter of the number of hours worked in a day — though we may never forget that these are an essential, perhaps even the most significant part of the socialist platform — but it is much more a matter of incorporating a powerful and responsible class in the state, perhaps even to make it the dominant force in the future politics of the fatherland. The bourgeoisie does not want to recognize the strength of the working class. Marxism has forced it into a straitjacket that will ruin it. While the working class gradually disintegrates in the Marxist front, bleeding itself dry, the bourgeoisie and Marxism have agreed on the general lines of capitalism, and see their task now to protect and defend it in various ways, often concealed.

We are socialists because we see the social question as a matter of necessity and justice for the very existence of a state for our people, not a question of cheap pity or insulting sentimentality. The worker has a claim to a living standard that corresponds to what he produces. We have no intention of begging for that right. Incorporating him in the state organism is not only a critical matter for him, but for the whole nation. The question is larger than the eight-hour day. It is a matter of forming a new state consciousness that includes every productive citizen. Since the political powers of the day are neither willing nor able to create such a situation, socialism must be fought for. It is a fighting slogan both inwardly and outwardly. It is aimed domestically at the bourgeois parties and Marxism at the same time, because both are sworn enemies of the coming workers' state. It is directed abroad at all powers that threaten our national existence and thereby the possibility of the coming socialist national state.

Socialism is possible only in a state that is united domestically and free internationally. The bourgeoisie and Marxism are responsible for failing to reach both goals, domestic unity and international freedom. No matter how national and social these two forces present themselves, they are the sworn enemies of a socialist national state.

We must therefore break both groups politically. The lines of German socialism are sharp, and our path is clear.

We are against the political bourgeoisie, and for genuine nationalism!

We are against Marxism, but for true socialism!

We are for the first German national state of a socialist nature!

We are for the National Socialist German Workers' Party!

Why a Workers' Party?

Work is not mankind's curse, but his blessing. A man becomes a man through labor. It elevates him, makes him great and aware, raises him above all other creatures. It is in the deepest sense creative, productive, and culture-producing. Without labor, no food. Without food, no life.

The idea that the dirtier one's hands get, the more degrading the work, is a Jewish, not a German, idea. As in every other area, the German first asks how, then what. It is less a question of the position I fill, and more a question of how well I do the duty that God has given me.

We call ourselves a workers' party because we want to rescue the word work from its current definition and give it back its original meaning. Anyone who creates value is a creator, that is, a worker. We refuse to distinguish kinds of work. Our only standard is whether the work serves the whole, or at least does not harm it, or if it is harmful. Work is service. If it works against the general welfare, then it is treason against the fatherland.

Marxist nonsense claimed to free labor, yet it degraded the work of its members and saw it as a curse and disgrace. It can hardly be our goal to abolish labor, but rather to give new meaning and content. The worker in a capitalist state — and that is his deepest misfortune — is no longer a living human being, a creator, a maker.

He has become a machine. A number, a cog in the machine without sense or understanding. He is alienated from what he produces. Labor is for him only a way to survive, not a path to higher blessings, not a joy, not something in which to take pride, or satisfaction, or encouragement, or a way to build character.

We are a workers' party because we see in the coming battle between finance and labor the beginning and the end of the structure of the twentieth century. We are on the side of labor and against finance. Money is the measuring rod of liberalism, work and accomplishment that of the socialist state. The liberal asks: What are you? The socialist asks: Who are you? Worlds lie between.

We do not want to make everyone the same. Nor do we want levels in the population, high and low, above and below. The aristocracy of the coming state will be determined not by possessions or money, but only on the quality of one's accomplishments. One earns merit through service. Men are distinguished by the results of their labor. That is the sure sign of the character and value of a person. The value of labor under socialism will be determined by its value to the state, to the whole community. Labor means creating value, not haggling over things. The soldier is a worker when he bears the sword to protect the national economy. The statesman also is a worker when he gives the nation a form and a will that help it to produce what it needs for life and freedom.

A furrowed brow is as much a sign of labor as a powerful fist. A white collar worker should not be ashamed to claim with pride that of which the manual laborer boasts: labor. The relations between these two groups determine their mutual fate. Neither can survive without the other, for both are members of an organism that they must together maintain if they are to defend and expand their right to exist.

We call ourselves a workers' party because we want to free labor from the chains of capitalism and Marxism. In battling for Germany's future, we freely admit to it, and accept the odium from the liberal bourgeoisie that results. We know that we will succeed in bringing new blessings out of their curses.

God gave the nations territory to grow grain. The seed becomes grain and the grain becomes bread. The middleman of it all is labor.

He who despises labor but accepts its benefits is a hypocrite.

That is the deepest meaning of our movement: it gives things back their original significance, unconcerned that today they may be in danger of sinking into the swamp of a collapsing worldview.

He who creates value works, and is a worker. A movement that wants to free labor is a workers' party.

Therefore we National Socialists call ourselves a worker's party.

When our victorious flags fly before us, we sing:

“We are the army of the swastika,  
Raise high the red flags!  
We want to clear the way to freedom  
For German Labor!”

Why Do We Oppose the Jews?

We oppose the Jews because we are defending the freedom of the German people. The Jew is the cause and beneficiary of our slavery. He has misused the social misery of the broad masses to deepen the dreadful split between the right and left of our people, to divide Germany into two halves thereby concealing the true reason for the loss of the Great War and falsifying the nature of the revolution.

The Jew has no interest in solving the German question. He cannot have such an interest. He depends on it remaining unsolved. If the German people formed a united community and won back its freedom, there would be no place any longer for the Jew. His hand is strongest when a people lives in domestic and international slavery, not when it is free, industrious, self-aware and determined. The Jew caused our problems, and lives from them.

That is why we oppose the Jew as nationalists and as socialists. He has ruined our race, corrupted our morals, hollowed out our customs and broken our strength. We owe it to him that we today are the Pariah of the world. He was the leper among us as long as we were German. When we forgot our German nature, he triumphed over us and our future.

The Jew is the plastic demon of decomposition. Where he finds filth and decay, he surfaces and begins his butcher's work among the nations. He hides behind a mask and presents himself as a friend to his victims, and before they know it he has broken their neck.

The Jew is uncreative. He produces nothing, he only haggles with products. With rags, clothing, pictures, jewels, grain, stocks, currencies, peoples and states. He has somehow stolen everything he deals in. When he attacks a state he is a revolutionary. As soon as he holds power, he preaches peace and order so that he can devour his conquests in comfort.

What does anti-Semitism have to do with socialism? I would put the question this way: What does the Jew have to do with socialism? Socialism has to do with labor. When did one ever see him

working instead of plundering, stealing and living from the sweat of others? As socialists we are opponents of the Jews because we see in the Hebrews the incarnation of capitalism, of the misuse of the nation's goods.

What does anti-Semitism have to do with nationalism? I would put the question this way: What does the Jew have to do with nationalism? Nationalism has to do with blood and race. The Jew is the enemy and destroyer of the purity of blood, the conscious destroyer of our race. As nationalists we oppose the Jews because we see the Hebrews as the eternal enemy of our national honor and of our national freedom.

But the Jew, after all, is also a human being. Certainly, none of us doubts that. We only doubt that he is a decent human being. He does not get along with us. He lives by other laws than we do. The fact that he is a human being is not sufficient reason for us to allow him to subject us in inhumane ways. He may be a human being — but what kind of a human being is he! If someone slaps your mother in the face, do you say: “Thank you! He is after all a human being!” That is not a human being, it is a monster. Yet how much worse has the Jew done to our mother Germany, and is still doing today!

There are also white Jews. True, there are scoundrels among us, even though they are Germans, who act in immoral ways against their own racial and blood comrades. But why do we call them white Jews? You use the term to describe something inferior and contemptible. Just as we do. Why do you ask us why we oppose the Jews when you without knowing it are one too?

Anti-Semitism is not Christian. That means that it is Christian to allow the Jews to go on as they are, stripping the skin from our bodies and mocking us. To be a Christian means to love one's neighbor as oneself! My neighbor is my racial and blood brother. If I love him, I have to hate his enemies. He who thinks German must despise the Jews. The one requires the other.

Christ himself saw that love did not always work. When he found the moneychangers in the temple, he did not say: “Children, love one another!” He took up a whip and drove them out.

We oppose the Jews because we affirm the German people. The Jew is our greatest misfortune.

It is not true that we eat Jews for breakfast.

It is true that slowly but surely, he is stealing all that we have.

Things would be different if we behaved as Germans.

### Revolutionary Demands

We do not enter parliament to use parliamentary methods. We know that the fate of peoples is determined by personalities, never by parliamentary majorities. The essence of parliamentary democracy is the majority, which destroys personal responsibility and glorifies the masses. A few dozen rogues and crooks run things behind the scenes. Aristocracy depends on accomplishment, the rule of the most able, and the subordination of the less capable to the will of the leadership. Any form of government — no matter how democratic or aristocratic it may outwardly appear — rests on compulsion. The difference is only whether the compulsion is a blessing or a curse for the

community.

What we demand is new, decisive, and radical, revolutionary in the truest sense of the word. That has nothing to do with rioting and barricades. It may be that that happens here or there. But it is not an inherent part of the process. Revolutions are spiritual acts. They appear first in people, then in politics and the economy. New people form new structures. The transformation we want is first of all spiritual; that will necessarily change the way things are.

This revolutionary act is beginning to be visible in us. The result is a new type of person visible to the knowing eye: the National Socialist. Consistent with his spiritual attitude, the National Socialist makes uncompromising demands in politics. There is no if and when for him, only an either — or.

He demands:

The return of German honor. Without honor, one has no right to life. A nation that has pawned its honor has pawned its bread. Honor is the foundation of any people's community. Losing our honor is the true cause of the loss of our freedom.

In place of a slave colony, we want a restored German national state. The state is not an end in itself for us, but rather a means to an end. The true end is the race, the sum of all the living, creative forces of the people. The structure that today calls itself the German republic is not a way to maintain our racial inheritance. It has become an end in itself with no real connection to the people and their needs. We want to abolish the slave colony and replace it with a people's state in freedom.

Want work and bread for every productive national and blood comrade. Pay should be according to accomplishment. That means more pay for German workers! That will stop the senseless fighting in which we engage today.

First provide housing and food for the people, then pay reparations! No democrat, no republican, has the right to complain about this demand, for it was first raised by a banner carrier of November Germany [the Weimar Republic, beginning in November 1918]. We only want to make the slogan a reality.

Provide essentials first! First we must meet the critical needs of the people, then we can produce luxury goods. Provide work for those willing to work! Give the farmers land! The German foreign policy that today sells what we have at below-market rates must be completely transformed and must focus radically on the German need for space, drawing the necessary power-political conclusions.

Peace among productive workers! Each should do his duty for the good of the whole community. The state then has the responsibility of protecting the individual, guaranteeing him the fruits of his labor. The people's community must not be a mere phrase, but a revolutionary achievement following from the radical carrying out of the basic life needs of the working class.

A ruthless battle against corruption! A war against exploitation, freedom for the workers! The elimination of all economic-capitalist influences on national policy.

A solution to the Jewish question! We call for the systematic elimination of foreign racial elements

from public life in every area. There must be a sanitary separation between Germans and non-Germans on racial grounds exclusively, not on nationality or even religious belief.

Down with democratic parliamentarianism! Establish a parliament based on occupations which determines production. Policies will be determined by a political body that earns its place by the laws of strength and selection.

The return of loyalty and faith in economic life. The complete reversal of the injustice that has robbed millions of Germans of their possessions.

The right of personality before that of the mob. Germans always will have preference before foreigners and Jews.

A battle against the destructive poison of international Jewish culture! A strengthening of German forces and German customs. The elimination of corrupt Semitic principles and racial decay.

The death penalty for crimes against the people! The gallows for profiteers and usurers!

An uncompromising program implemented by men who will implement it passionately. No slogans, only living energy.

That is what we demand!

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Background: Goebbels delivered this speech in Munich on 31 July 1932, the day of the national elections to the Reichstag.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Gebt Raum dem jungen Deutschland," *Revolution der Deutschen*. 14 Jahre Nationalsozialismus (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1933), pp. 91-106.

## **Make Way for Young Germany**

by Joseph Goebbels

My fellow citizens:

It is really rather remarkable that I, a Prussian, can speak in the Bavaria of Held and Stützel [opposition politicians]. These gentlemen behave as if Germany ended at the Main River. They claim to be the defenders and proponents of the nation and of Christian culture, yet they stand at the side of the Prussian Marxism of Severing, Braun, and Grzesinski [politicians of the Social Democratic Party]. They want people to believe that fate of the church and the fatherland should best be put in their hands, yet they form coalitions with those who deny God and betray the fatherland. They resist the reawakening German nation in the form of National Socialism.

These gentlemen should realize that their political days are numbered. We took care of the political hacks of Social Democracy in Prussia and we will do the same with the hacks of the Bavarian People's Party!

The days are gone in which one could draw lines through Germany, when the nation tore itself apart, when we were first of all Bavarians or Prussians, Catholics or Protestants. National Socialism has brought the German people once more to an inner unity that transcends class, occupation, or Church membership. That unity is the best guarantee of the power, strength, and future of the Reich. Those who benefited from our internal conflicts sense that their last days have come. As long as we quarreled with each other they could carry on their cowardly political business at our expense, but now their parasitic political life is over. Now they are shouting that socialism or the church are in danger! No, the Marxist traitors were the ones who betrayed socialism, and the church was betrayed by those who claimed to defend Christianity but in reality made coalitions with God-denying atheists, thus destroying the foundations of national and Christian morality.

We have two Marxist parties for the workers. Are things going well for workers?

We have two Catholic parties. Has Catholicism been saved? No, the opposite is true. Ever since the Marxist parties in Germany began their fevered games, the workers have lost their jobs and their prosperity, and since the Christian-Catholic parties have joined with Marxism, God-denying atheism has gone about its work unhindered. These parties are the cause of the misery of the German people; the best thing for Germany is to kick this dead system's fat hacks in the rear.

These gentlemen have recently had a small taste of what is to come in Prussia. What must Severing, Braun, and Grzesinski be thinking? The good old days at Aranjuez [the site of the Spanish Royal Palace — this is a contemporary reference that I do not understand] are gone. They were ever so comfortable. They had fourteen years in power, fourteen years to translate their program into reality. They took power as socialists, as men of the people, and the broad masses gave them power. There as probably never been a system that began with as much support as this new government had in 1918.

They had power, they had signed an honorable peace treaty, they wanted to realize socialism, to bring on an age of freedom, beauty, and dignity. We lost the war, they said, but the people won. When the Treaty of Versailles was forced on the people, they said that the rich would pay for it, but the people would enjoy social progress. They wrote a constitution in Weimar. It was supposed to give the people freedom of belief and freedom of opinion, and they ruled under this constitution for fourteen years. They signed treaties they knew could not be fulfilled, and at home they oppressed the nation by brute force and an iron hand.

In 1927 the Prussian Prime Minister Braun declared that he was determined to root out National Socialism. The only thing that got rooted out was Dr. Braun himself. Minister Severing declared that the fire department could deal with National Socialism. He pretended to be strong, declaring that he would leave office “only by force.” A lieutenant and ten men were enough to chase him out the back door.

Mr. Höltermann declared a few weeks ago that all the Iron Front [a coalition of parties opposing the NSDAP] needed to do was put on its jackets and the ghost of the S.A. would vanish. A few days ago, in an interview with a foreign correspondent, he said that things has changed so suddenly in Prussia that nothing could be done about it. That’s the way things go. The unexpected happens, and these political hacks felt a bit too secure in their cushy positions.

Hitler is still around. Grzesinski and Braun aren’t! The Social Democrats seem to think God gave them their ministerial offices. But power not only has to be seized, it has to be earned, and he who does not deserve power will eventually have to surrender it.

Grzesinski, the Berlin Police President, spoke a few weeks ago in Leipzig. He asked why no one chased that foreigner Hitler out of the country with a dog whip! Hitler is still around. Grzesinski is the one who got chased out. He may not have been chased off with a dog whip, but don’t give up hope—it may happen yet!

The party hacks accused National Socialism of making easy promises to make itself popular, which explains its broad following. Well, we National Socialists are prepared to do things better, but first these hacks will have to leave their offices. As long as we are in the opposition, we have the right to criticize and they have the duty to govern.

The gentleman say that one may criticize, but only in moderation. Criticism must be directed against mistakes that must be criticized. If the government’s mistakes are minor, one can criticize gently. But when the government’s mistakes endanger the entire nation, the opposition has to do more than open its mouth; it has to yell. If the government envies our comfortable position in the opposition, they are free at any time to give up the burdens of office for the pleasures of opposition. They need only resign their offices. As long as they sit firm, however, we can do nothing other than criticize them.

They say we want power! Certainly, of course we want the power to implement our ideas, and as long as power is in their hands we have to attempt to win it.

Power doesn’t belong to you, it belongs to the people. You are the people’s servants, and when you use power poorly, the people will take it away from you. That has to be made clear to the people when one criticizes the government, and that we have certainly done.



The government's parties say that we could join them, we could form a coalition. If we want to squeeze in, they can make room for us.

That is out of the question! We National Socialists have no desire to sit next to you, we want to get rid of you. You must make way for young Germany.

The governing parties say that it would be nice if we learned the art of governing. They are for example willing to give us the Welfare Ministry and teach us politics. But education requires two, one who teaches, and one who wants to learn. They say we want total power?! We say "Yes!" They ask if there is to be only one party? We say "Yes!"

We do not think thirty parties are to Germany's advantage, but rather its misfortune. The parties are the beneficiaries of our division; they use politics only to preserve their own interests through their control of the government. They have spread the pestilential stench of their coalitions across Germany, and that is why these parties must vanish.

They have lost their right to exist over the past fourteen years. They were born to help the people, but they have become the people's greatest enemy. One can say of them what the Englishman Cromwell said as he dissolved Parliament: "The people elected you to eliminate their misery, and you have become their greatest misery. We are therefore putting an end to your chatter. Is there a virtue you still possess or a vice that you do not possess? You came to help the people, but I tell you that you were never a government."

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you, is not Germany today in the same situation?

Isn't it necessary to eliminate these parties, and isn't it time to put an end to their useless activity?

They will not go happily, one can understand that; it is sweet to hold and use power. They are comfortable in their offices. They have governed for fourteen years, and would be ready to do so for fourteen more. If they were a decent government, they would go before the people and say: This is what we have done in fourteen years. If you want us to continue, vote for us. If you want things to be different, and if you think the other side could rule better than we, then vote for them.

A real government would be too proud to say that it was a real government. A real government does something! Frederick the Great did that when he gave hundreds of thousands of peasants land; he entrusted the administration of his land to thousands of soldiers. Thousands of civil servants ran his government. The finances were solid, the economy was healthy, the land was strong internally and internationally. Such a king did not need to talk about the future; he could point proudly to what he had accomplished. But the men of this government can only talk about what they want to do. They said conditions were more than we could handle or that we are the unhappy victims of the war that is responsible for everything.

That is not true, and even if it were true it would be the worst condemnation of Social Democracy, for it was they who wanted to lose the war. They were the traitors in 1918. They used outward collapse to take power at home, they were willing to sell the entire nation into slavery to bring down a system they hated.

They can't hide the truth any longer. We will compare their promises with their accomplishments, we will remind them of what they said at the beginning and of what has happened since. Where are the jobs, the prosperity, the freedom, the beauty, the dignity they promised? Where is the socialism, where the international peace, where the disarmament, where the silver lining, where the growing economy, where the elimination of unemployment, where the reduction of taxes?

They say the National Socialists are dreamers, that they ignore the facts.

Who is ignoring the facts? Those who promised a Reich of beauty and dignity in 1918, or those who saw in the revolution a disaster for our nation?

Who is ignoring the facts? Those who signed the Treaty of Versailles and thought it could be fulfilled, or those who opposed signing the treaty, even if they only had seven men?

Who is ignoring the facts? Gustav Stresemann, who saw the Dawes Pact as the ray of hope on the horizon, or Adolf Hitler, who sitting in Landberg Prison raised the warning that if the treaty were signed it would mean enormous misery, misfortune, unhappiness and unemployment for Germany?

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, for you certainly have not forgotten: who is ignoring the facts? The ministers who promised the people in 1929 that the Young Plan would rescue the economy, eliminate unemployment and reduce taxation, or we who opposed the referendum on the Young Plan? The government accused us of being traitors and rabble rousers. We had to grit our teeth as our civil servants were driven from their office and robbed of their dignity and livelihoods, as our Führer was hauled into court and our S.A. men sent to jail.

Was it easier to sit in a ministerial office and get fat while deceiving the people with illusions, or to resist? Was it more popular to lay dead comrades in their graves, or to accuse the National Socialist movement over the radio of being rabble rousers, traitors, and the enemies of the workers? Now we see the results of their policies. These results do not come out of the blue, for we foresaw them, we predicted them.

Our finances have collapsed, the economy is in ruins, the factory chimneys have stopped smoking and the furnaces are cold. Seven million unemployed are on the streets, the middle class is ruined, the specter of civil war is about, farmers are driven off the land, the people are divided by class and occupation.

Everywhere the battle cry sounds: Catholics, Protestants, Bavarians, Prussians, the middle class, the workers. One almost is forced to the conclusion that there are no Germans in Germany any more. Germany is torn apart, the plaything of international forces. They stand on our bleeding backs. The nation needs all its strength domestically; it no longer wants to, no longer is able, to turn its strength outward. That is the result of their failed party politics. They have mobilized interests against each other, they have awakened the lower instincts. They have become defenders of selfishness and pleasure; the result is that the nation is divided and will be struck from the list of great nations.

I ask you: Do you think that this can continue without plunging the people into dreadful misfortune?! Do you believe this has all happened by chance, do you believe that our misery has come from

nowhere? And that it may vanish just as it came?! You will join me in answering “No.”

A nation does not collapse by accident. Every collapse has its causes, and if one eliminates the causes one can save the nation from danger. The parties that caused this situation have neither the strength nor the will to change it.

When men plunge a nation into misery, and have had fourteen years to do something about it, but don't, instead grow comfortable in it, the nation must conclude that the misery can be alleviated only by removing those who caused it.

We will eliminate the misery only by eliminating the parties and the men that caused it. That is the goal of the National Socialist movement.

We are not surprised that the other parties are defending themselves. The Social Democrats can see that the end is near. They still attempt to slow the National Socialist movement by lies and slanders. They say that Hitler tolerates Papen, and that the S.A. uniforms are paid for by the taxes of the Emergency Decree.

If Hitler had any intention of tolerating a cabinet, he would borrow the experts from the Social Democrats.

Of course that party cannot understand that an S. A. man pays for his own uniform. One must remember that the Social Democratic party hacks got their frock coats from the Sklareks [Jews engaged in a major financial scandal].

These gentlemen still seem to live in the year 1918. They would simply like to forget about the intervening years; they want to make us responsible for their own shameless deeds, following the old practice of accusing someone else of one's own sins. The murderer isn't guilty, but his victim. They have worn cylinder hats for fourteen years; now they want to wear the worker's cap again. For fourteen years they have forgotten about the people. We get to admire them only in the illustrated magazines. They got fat and the people starved. Now they suddenly want to forget it all.

Now they even steal our methods. We have carried the Swastika for twelve years. Now they are waving those Sklarek arrows [a reference to the three parallel arrows, the symbol of the Iron Front, the anti-Nazi coalition]. We have greeted each other for twelve years with “Heil Hitler.” Now they stretch out their hand and say “Freedom.” How should one take that? Is it a wish or an observation? One has to assume it is an observation, since it is hard to imagine that a party that has had power for fourteen years could want anything more. They had fourteen years to fulfill their wishes; why haven't they done so and realized freedom? Now they pretend they are in the opposition.

For fourteen years they have spoken only of law and order and peace, but now they talk of barricades and uprisings and resistance and “giving way only by force” and “taking off their jackets.” When one has been in the government fourteen years, one forgets what the masses smell like. Schiller's words from “Kabale und Liebe” apply here: “It's gone flat, Luise.”

No one believes them any more. They sound false, hollow, and weak, particularly given their unfortunate record.

They talk of their great leaders and in newspaper articles ask how one can throw out such a spotless man as Severing in so brutal and unscrupulous a manner. We have already shown them “how.” If Severing is one of the spotless leaders of the Social Democrats, one can imagine how clean the rest of them are. Their posters proclaim: “The Nazis lie, the Nazis lie!” The crazy always think that the sane are crazy.

They write that ninety percent of the German people have nothing, ten percent have everything. Should things stay that way? To change it we have to get rid of the party hacks who haven't done anything about it for fourteen years.

They ask if we want to do it all by ourselves, without any help from them at all. They worry what will become of them. We National Socialists hope to find a “place” for them. They ask us rudely — as if they were a decent party — well, what do you really want?

It is none of your business what we want. We will do it with the people, not you.

Let me satisfy a bit of your curiosity. First we want to get rid of you, then march in on 31 July.

Surely you do not expect me, the representative of a movement of fifteen million people, to come before you and beg for your vote. It is not my goal to deceive you, but to persuade you. If someone will vote only for a party that promises him something, I say: don't vote for us, vote for someone else. We don't promise you a bed of roses. We believe that the good of the individual depends on the good of the whole; that is the sum of the good of each individual.

Germany fell into misfortune only after the individual believed he should pursue his interests at the cost of the general welfare.

Germany's misery will end when the individual sees the general welfare as the best guarantee of his own own.

Twelve years ago we appeared in public for the first time. People laughed at us, they mocked and joked about us, they called us utopians and dreamers. Seven men founded this gospel in 1919, In the twelve years since they have grown to an army of fifteen million. All of us are the bearers and pathfinders, the witnesses, of this unique popular movement.

Wherever we look today, we see an awakening people on the march, a young generation of fighting activists who have torn down the old barriers. They are men who are not first of all Bavarians or Prussians, Catholics or Protestants, middle class or proletarian, but rather their first loyalty is to their land, their people, their nation.

We believe that the two thousand year old longing of our people for inner unity is being fulfilled. We have thrown down the glove before class struggle and occupational lines. We have been slandered, mocked, beaten bloody and thrown in jail. Despite that, or I say because of it — our movement has grown strong.

This seed should grow on 31 July. 31 July will show if Germany will find new inner unity that will break the chains of Marxism, or if it will collapse entirely, still bound by those chains.

Background: Given on 9 January 1928 to an audience of party members at the “Hochschule für Politik,” a series of training talks for party members in Berlin.

The source: “Erkenntnis und Propaganda,” Signale der neuen Zeit. 25 ausgewählte Reden von Dr. Joseph Goebbels (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1934), pp. 28-52.

## **Knowledge and Propaganda**

by Joseph Goebbels

My dear fellow party members!

Our topic this evening is hotly disputed. I realize that my viewpoint is subjective. There is really little point to discussing propaganda. It is a matter of practice, not of theory. One cannot determine theoretically whether one propaganda is better than another. Rather, that propaganda is good that has the desired results, and that propaganda is bad that does not lead to the desired results. It does not matter how clever it is, for the task of propaganda is not to be clever, its task is to lead to success. I therefore avoid theoretical discussions about propaganda, for there is no point to it. Propaganda shows that it is good if over a certain period it can win over and fire up people for an idea. If it fails to do so, it is bad propaganda. If propaganda wins the people it wanted to win, it was presumably good, and if not, it was presumably bad. No one can say that your propaganda is too crude or low or brutal, or that it is not decent enough, for those are not the relevant criteria. Its purpose is not to be decent, or gentle, or weak, or modest; it is to be successful. That is why I have intentionally chosen to discuss propaganda along with a second theme, knowledge. Otherwise, our discussion this evening would be of little value. We have not gathered to discuss lovely theories, but rather to find ways of practically working together to deal with our everyday challenges.

What is propaganda, and what role does it have in political life? That is the question of greatest interest to us. How should propaganda look, and what is its role in our movement? Is it an end in itself, or only a means to an end? We must discuss that, but we can do that only when we begin with the origin of propaganda itself, namely the idea, then move to the target of propaganda, namely people.

Ideas in themselves are timeless. They are not tied to individuals, much less to a people. They rest in a people, it is true, and affect their attitudes. Ideas, people say, are in the clouds. When someone comes along who can put in words what everyone feels in their hearts, each feels: “Yes! That is what I have always wanted and hoped for.” That is what happens the first time one hears one of Hitler’s major speeches. I have met people who had attended a Hitler meeting for the first time, and at the end they said: “This man put in words everything I have been searching for for years. For the first time, someone gave form to what I want.” Others are lost in confusion, but suddenly someone stands up and puts it in words. Goethe’s words become reality: “Lost in silent misery, God gave someone to express my suffering.”

Some kind of idea is at the beginning of every political movement. It is not necessary to put this idea in a thick book, nor that it take political form in a hundred long paragraphs. History proves that the greatest world movements have always developed when their leaders knew how to unify their followers under a short, clear theme. That is clear from the French Revolution, or Cromwell’s movement, or Buddhism, Islam, or Christianity. Christ’s goal was clear and simple: “Love your neighbor as yourself.” He gathered his followers behind that straightforward statement. Because this

teaching was simple, crisp, clear, and understandable, enabling the broad masses to stand behind it, it in the end conquered the world.

One then builds a whole system of thought on such a brief, crisply formulated idea. The idea does not remain limited to this single statement, rather it is applied to every aspect of daily life and becomes the guide for all human activity — politics, culture, the economy, every area of human behavior. It becomes a worldview. We see that in all great revolutionary movements, which begin with a clear, crisp, understandable, all-encompassing idea. They spread more and more and become a mirror of life that reflects all activities of the peoples, and indeed in a particular way.

Then one can say that a person has a worldview—not because he knows a lot or has read a lot—but because he sees all of life from a certain standpoint, and measures everything by a certain standard. I am a Christian when I believe that the meaning of my life is the heavy responsibility to love my neighbor as myself. Kant once said: “Act as if the principle of your life could be the principle for your entire nation.” I am a National Socialist not when I want this or that from politics, rather when I consider all aspects of daily life. I must act in all things by putting the good of the whole above my personal good, by putting the good of the state above my personal good. But then I also have the guarantee that such a state will be able to protect my personal life. I am a National Socialist when I see everything in politics, culture or the economy from this standpoint. I therefore do not evaluate the theater from the standpoint of whether it is elegant or amusing, rather I ask: Is it good for my people, is it useful for them, does it strengthen the community? If so, the community in turn can benefit, support and strengthen me. I do not see the economy as some sort of way of making money, rather I want an economy that will strengthen the people, make them healthy and powerful. Then too I can expect that this people will support and maintain me. If I see things in this way, I see the economy in National Socialist terms.

If I develop this crisp, clear idea into a system of thought that includes all human drives, wishes, and actions, I have a worldview.

As an idea develops into a worldview, the goal is the state. Knowledge does not remain the property of a certain group, but fights for power. It is not just the fantasy of a few people among the people, rather it becomes the idea of the rulers, the circles that have power. The view does not only preach, but it is carried out in practice. Then the idea becomes the worldview of the state. The worldview has become a government organism when it seizes power and can influence life not only in theory, but in practical everyday life.

Now we must consider who is the carrier, the transmitter, the guardian of such ideas. An idea always lives in individuals. It seeks an individual to transmit its great intellectual force. It becomes alive in a brain, and seeks escape through the mouth. The idea is preached by individuals, individuals who will never be satisfied to have the knowledge remain theirs alone. You know that from experience. When one knows something one does not keep it hidden like a buried treasure, but rather one seeks to tell others. One looks for people who should know it. One feels that everyone else should know as well, for one feels alone when no one else knows. For example, if I see a beautiful painting in an art gallery, I have the need to tell others. I meet a good friend and say to him: “I have found a wonderful picture. I have to show it to you.” The same is true of ideas. If an idea lives in an individual, he has the urge to tell others. There is some mysterious force in us that drives us to tell others. The greater and simpler the idea is, the more it relates to daily life, the more one has the desire to tell everyone

about it.

If I believe that the nation must be governed by the principle that the common good comes before the individual good, I will tell it to those to whom it applies. As soon as I realize that this principle is not only of a transcendental nature, but that it applies to daily life, I have the need to tell it to those in the economic world. And if I see it applies to culture as well, I have the need to tell it to those people involved in cultural activities. The great masses will never be won simply by such a sentence; it must cast its shadow over all areas of human life.

You see how an idea spreads and becomes a worldview, and how the bearer, the individual, reaches out to form a community, and how an organization, then a movement grows from the individual. The idea is no longer buried in the heart and mind of an individual. Now there are four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, fifty, eighty, a hundred, and ever more. That is the secret of ideas; they are like a wildfire that cannot be restrained. They are like a gas that seeps through everything. Where an idea finds entry, it enters, and soon that person is influencing others. The others cannot stop it. They may believe they can stop the fire by force. They may even be able to do so for two, or ten, twenty, or fifty years. But that is not significant in the larger course of world history. It is irrelevant if something happens today or tomorrow, or even years in the future.

It is possible to slow an idea by force for a certain period of time. In reality, however, that advances the idea, for force drives out that which is weak. The elements that do not really belong collapse. Suddenly, the individual becomes a community, a movement, or if you prefer, a party.

Each movement begins as a party. That does not mean it has to follow the methods of parliamentary parties. We see a party as a part of the people. As an idea spreads, becoming a worldview that spreads to the community, the community will want to give the idea practical form. The party will feel the necessity to organize. Someone will suddenly have the idea: “You think the way I think. You are working over there, I am working here, and we know nothing of each other. That is absurd. It would be better if we worked together, if I did my part and you did yours. Would it not be good if we met every month and talked?” That is an organization. Gradually, a strong organism develops, a party ready to fight for its ideals. A party that does not want that will indeed continue to preach its ideals, but will never bring them into reality.

A recent example may help. Our movement is often accused of losing its character as a movement. We are accused of taking the vast, broad and ever-moving system of thought of the völkisch movement and forcing it into a Procrustean bed. We supposedly had to chop off the legs of the movement that stuck out, eliminating important parts of the völkisch idea. National Socialism is only a surrogate for the real movement, some say. In fact, the völkisch movement ran aground on this matter. Each declares his own particular interest central to the völkisch movement, and accuses anyone who does not share his views as being a traitor to the cause. That is the way the völkisch movement was before the war. If someone had been able to take this great idea — and the völkisch idea was greater than the Marxist idea — and develop out of it a tightly disciplined political organization, then the völkisch idea, not the Marxist idea, would have won on 9 November [1918]. Marxism won because it had a better understanding of political conditions, because it had forged the sword it would later use to conquer the state. If a völkisch organizer had understood how to form a great movement — it is a question of life or death for our nation — the völkisch idea, not Marxism, would have won. It was a worldview, but it did not understand how to form a party and how to forge

the sharp sword that would have enabled it to conquer the state.

The state needs a worldview. Christianity also conquered the state, and in the moment that it conquered the state it began to carry out practical political activity. You can with justice claim: “Yes, but at the moment Christianity took over the state, it began to cease being Christian.” That is the tragedy of all great ideas. At the moment they enter the realm of this life of sin, of the all-too-human, they leave the heavens and lose their romantic magic. They become something normal. We are not discussing whether or not one can change the nature of life. Things have gone on this way for millions of years, and will go on in the same way for millions more. You will have to ask a higher power why that is so. At the moment an idea takes practical form, it loses its angel’s wings, its romantic mystery. If someone had had the courage to strip the völkisch idea of its romantic mystery, if one had taken account of the hard facts, it would not look as romantic today as it does to some dreamers. But it would have kept millions of German children from starving. For me, it is more important that a nation lives than that an idea remains as pure as possible in the heads of a few dreamers.

You can see that a movement needs an organization if it is to conquer the state — and it must conquer the state if it wants to do something of positive and historic significance. I have often met the kind of wandering apostle who says: “Well, everything you are doing is fine, but you really must also take a stand against foreign words in the German language.” And another comes along who says: “Well, everything you say is good, but you must have a point in your program that says allopathy is dangerous, and you must support homeopathy.” If the movement were led by such apostles, the Jew would end up in charge. The Jew would find something new every day until nothing was left. It is not the task of a revolutionary fighting movement to settle the dispute between allopathy and homeopathy, rather its task is to take power. The movement must have a program such that every honest fighter can stand behind it. Now, it is certainly true that the modern German cultural establishment produces every manner of nonsense. I know that this nonsense is poisoning the German national soul. There are those who say: “Something has to happen. You have to do something. If you want to fight the movie industry, you must build your own theater, even if it at first has only the most primitive equipment. And if you see that the children are being poisoned by what they read in school, you must begin to win children’s souls and give them the antidote.” My reply is simple: You can spend ten years giving the antidote to the poison that is produced by a badly led cultural establishment, but a single decree from the Ministry of Culture can destroy all your work. If you had spent that ten years winning fighters for the movement, the movement would have conquered the Ministry of Culture! Everything else is mere piecework.

If a movement wins political power, it can do those positive things it wants to do. Only then does it have the power to protect its accomplishments. At the moment a movement or party wins control of the state, its worldview becomes the state and its party becomes the nation. The nation is not the 60 million people who live in it. That is a confused mixture. One says yea, the other nay. That is not a nation. A nation is characterized by consciousness. Instinct alone is not enough. Only when I am aware that I am a member of the nation, when I am consciously a German, do I belong to the German people. The Great Elector did not say: “Think and remember that you are a German.” Rather, he said: “Consider well that you are a German.” Consideration is at the level of consciousness. Such consciousness belongs to the entire nation. Adolf Hitler rightly answered the court in Munich in this way when he was asked: “How could you think of establishing a dictatorship over sixty million with such a tiny minority?” His reply: “If an entire nation has become cowardly, and there are only a



thousand left who want something great, and who have to power to transform the state, then these thousand people are the nation.” If the others let a minority conquer the state, then they must also accept the fact that we will establish a dictatorship.

The same is true of a movement. If a movement has the strength to take over the state, than it has the power to transform the state. I am the last to complain that the Marxists rule us today. As long as we do not have the strength to overcome them, they have the political right to rule us. I am surprised how little they use that right. I would do things differently. That is their tragic misunderstanding of their own worldview. I do not complain that the gentlemen of the Berlin Police use their power against us, only that they call themselves democrats and claim that they allow freedom of thought and of speech. That is nonsense. That is lying hypocrisy, for in truth these gentlemen are dictators.

If a movement has the strength to take over government positions of power, then it has the right to form the government as it wishes. Anyone who disagrees is a foolish theoretician. Politics is governed not by moral principles, but by power. If a movement conquers the state, it has the right to form the state. You can see how these three elements combine ideals and personalities. The idea leads to a worldview, the worldview to the state, the individual becomes a party, the party becomes the nation.

The important thing is not to find people who agree with me about every theoretical jot and tittle, but rather that I find people who are willing to fight with me for a worldview. Winning people over to something that I have recognized as right, that is what we call propaganda. At first there is knowledge; it uses propaganda to find the manpower that will transform knowledge into politics. Propaganda stands between the idea and the worldview, between the worldview and the state, between the individual and the party, between the party and the nation. At the moment at which I recognize something as important and begin speaking about it in the streetcar, I begin making propaganda. At the same moment, I begin looking for other people to join me. Propaganda stands between the one and the many, between the idea and the worldview. Propaganda is nothing other than the forerunner to organization. Once it has done this, it is the forerunner to state control. It is always a means to an end.

Although I must hold unshakably and unalterably to the idea, propaganda adjusts itself to the prevailing conditions. Propaganda is always flexible. It says different things here than it does there. It cannot be polished, laminated and stuffed; rather it must occupy the space between the one and the many. I talk differently on the streetcar with the conductor than I do with a businessman. If I did not, the businessman would think I was crazy and the streetcar conductor would not understand me. That means propaganda cannot be limited. It changes according to whom I am trying to reach. Let me tell a good story about a party member in Berlin who since 1919 has promoted the National Socialist idea. At first, he beat his head bloody against a wall, which we want to avoid. He began by distributing the wildest anti-Semitic publications on the street. He knew it was bad stuff, but there was nothing better, so he read these books or newspapers in the subway. Everyone could see that he was a harmless crank, and when he stood up and left his newspapers behind, someone regularly would say: “Sir, take your newspaper along with you.” He would angrily take his paper and leave it with the conductor, saying: “Here, German brother.” And the conductor certainly thought he came from the nuthouse. He gradually realized that the methods that worked with friends and comrades do not work with strangers.

In other words, there is no ABC of propaganda. One can make propaganda, or one cannot. Propaganda is an art. Any reasonably normal person can learn to play the violin to a certain degree, but then his teacher will say: "This is as far as it goes. Only a genius can learn what remains. You are not a genius, so be content with what you have learned." I can certainly teach any reasonable person the absolute basics of propaganda. But I will soon recognize the limits. One is either a propagandist, or one is not. It is wrong to look down on a propagandist. There are people who say a propagandist is merely a good drummer. This displays a certain envy and lack of ability. They are mostly mediocre philosophers whom the masses ignore. You have seen often enough — no one can deny it — that our movement has good speakers. Since our opponents do not have good speakers, they say: "Well, they are only good drummers." Hitler was called the "Drummer of National Unity" for five years. When they realized that this drummer had ideas that didn't fit into their way of thinking, he was suddenly a "crazy politician" who had to be dealt with. It is foolish to look down on propagandists. The propagandist has a certain role within the party. It is good for our young movement that we are young and lacking in really great leaders — though naturally not in comparison to other parties. The great leaders we have cannot stick to a particular area, but must be able to do everything. They must be propagandists, organizers, speakers, writers, etc. They must be able to get along with people, find money, write articles, and a lot more. That is why it is wrong to say that Hitler is merely a drummer. That is what is great about him, and what separates him from everyone else. He is a politician, and also a propagandist, while the leaders of other parties understand neither politics nor propaganda. You can see how propaganda relates to the worldview and to the organization. After we have finished the hard work of moving the idea and the worldview from the individuals to the masses, propaganda has the task of taking the knowledge of the mass and enabling it to take over the state.

Let me give an example.

What good would it do if everything we know to be right stayed in our few heads! The few would doubt the rightness of the idea, since they would see that no one was joining them. And if we did not have the people — from the lowliest S.A. man who distributes newspapers to the best speaker, or the leader of the party, all our lovely knowledge would be useless, for only we would know it. The others would continue their nonsense, and the German people in the end would perish.

Propaganda is absolutely necessary, even if it is only a means to an end. Otherwise, the idea could never take over the state. I must be able to get what I think important across to many people. The task of a gifted propagandist is to take that which many have thought and put it in a way that reaches everyone from the educated to the common man. You will all grant me this, and as further evidence I can recall a Hitler speech in Jena. Half the audience were Marxists, half students and university professors. I had a burning desire to speak with both elements afterwards. I could see that the university professor and the average man had understood what Hitler said. That is the greatness of our movement, that it can use language to reach the broad masses.

Of course, the style will vary according to the speaker. It would be a big mistake to expect everyone to treat the idea in the same way, for as great as it is, so different are the individuals who are to be reached by it. You will surely hear some people say that they like one speaker, while others prefer another. It would be a mistake to try to make the soft-spoken speaker into a thundering orator, or a thundering orator into a soft-spoken chap. Neither would accomplish anything. The soft-spoken speaker would never reach the heart no matter how hard he tried, nor would the thundering orator succeed in speaking quietly. Everyone would go home dissatisfied. The bigger our movement gets,

the more kinds of people it can house, and each will reflect the movement a little differently. No two things in God's world are alike. Everything is a little different. Thus one person reflects things differently than another.

As propaganda draws an ever-growing following to the idea, the idea broadens, becomes more flexible. It no longer stays in a few heads, but wants to include everything. At that moment it becomes a comprehensive program. We can happily see that that is the case in our movement. You will never find millions of people willing to die for a book. But millions of people are willing to die for a gospel, and our movement is becoming more and more a gospel. All that we have come to know in our individual lives is joining to form a great faith that lives unshakably in our hearts. Each of us is willing, if necessary, to give his all for it. No one is willing to die for the 8-hour day. But people are willing to die so that Germany will belong to the Germans. What Adolf Hitler prophesied in 1919 is becoming clearer every day: "Freedom and Prosperity!" The movement is increasingly freeing itself from the all too human, and becoming a powerful force. The time is coming when people will not ask us what we think about the 8-hour day; but rather when Germany is seized with desperation they will ask: "Can you give us back faith?" If a movement has brought the idea from the individual to a worldview, building in the end a clear gospel for which each is ready to die, that movement is near victory. That does not happen in the study, but rather in battle, in bitter battle each day with the enemy, bringing him to see how he has led the nation down the wrong path. I must say that I learn the most from reading the Berliner Tageblatt [A newspaper hostile National Socialism]. That is a fine example of the Jews at work. From the Jewish standpoint, I've never noted a single mistake, whereas the nationalist papers make mistakes all the time.

I now want to outline the essential characteristics of propaganda. We have already agreed that propaganda is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. Its task is to spread the knowledge of National Socialism to the people, or to a part of the people. If propaganda does that, it is good; if not, it is bad. The German Nationalists claimed that Hitler's propaganda before 9 November 1923 was too loud, too noisy, too popular. Hitler replied: "Munich must become National Socialist. If I achieve that my propaganda will have been good. If I had wanted to make you happy, it would have been bad. But that was not my intention." You cannot evaluate propaganda in midcourse, but rather you have to wait until it reaches its maker's goal. You cannot say that our propaganda was wrong because the government banned it. That is false. Under Jewish police officials, our propaganda would be wrong if it were not banned, for that means it would be harmless. The fact that it is banned is the best evidence that we are dangerous. If the ban is lifted, do not come to me and say that the Jew has seen the error of his ways. It will be lifted when the Jew sees that it is not achieving his purpose. You can say what you want. The Jew will put away his dagger only when he sees that it is better not to use it against a propaganda method, or when he sees that the dagger has already done its duty.

Success is the important thing. Propaganda is not a matter for average minds, but rather a matter for practitioners. It is not supposed to be lovely or theoretically correct. I do not care if I give wonderful, aesthetically elegant speeches, or speak so that women cry. The point of a political speech is to persuade people of what we think right. I speak differently in the provinces than I do in Berlin, and when I speak in Bayreuth, I say different things than I say in the Pharus Hall [A meeting hall the NSDAP often used in Berlin]. That is a matter of practice, not of theory. We do not want to be a movement of a few straw brains, but rather a movement that can conquer the broad masses. Propaganda should be popular, not intellectually pleasing. It is not the task of propaganda to discover intellectual truths. I find them by thinking, or at my desk, anywhere but in a meeting hall. That is

where I transmit them. I do not enter the meeting hall to discover intellectual truths, but to persuade others of what I think to be right. I learn methods there that I can use to reach others with what I have found to be right. The speaker or propagandist must first understand the idea. He cannot do that in the middle of making propaganda. He must start with it. Through daily contact with the masses, he learns how to communicate that idea. It is not the task of propaganda to discover knowledge, but to transmit knowledge. It must adjust to those it wishes to reach with that knowledge. The propagandist's speeches or posters that are aimed at farmers will be different than those aimed at employers; those aimed at doctors will be different than those aimed at patients. He will adjust his propaganda to fit those he is speaking to. You can see that all the critical standards used by other parties to evaluate propaganda miss the point, and that most complaints about the NSDAP's propaganda result from a false understanding of propaganda. If someone tells me: "Your propaganda has no civilized standards," I know there is no point in even talking with him.

It makes no difference if propaganda is at a high level. The question is whether it reached its goal. My first goal when I came to Berlin was to make the city aware of us. They could love us or hate us, as long as they knew who we were. We have reached that goal. We are hated and loved. When someone hears the term National Socialist, he does not ask: "What is that?" Once we have reached the first goal, we can work on turning hate to love and love to hate, but never to indifference. The battle against indifference is the hardest battle. There may be two million people in this city who hate my guts, who persecute and slander me, but I know that I can win over some of them. We know that from experience. Some of those who persecuted us and fought most bitterly against us are today our most determined supporters. You see that the important thing for propaganda is that it reach its goal, and that it is a mistake to apply critical standards that are irrelevant.

Let me give another example. If someone asks me what I think of another person, it is silly for me to say: "I like him, but he cannot play the piano." The answer will be: "So what? He is a corporate lawyer. Why don't you see if he is good at what he does?" That is a good answer. And it applies just as well to propaganda.

Our propaganda follows a clear line. Adolf Hitler once told me that it is not necessary to give a programmatic speech to a public meeting. The public meeting requires the most primitive approach. If the fine gentlemen say: "You are only a propagandist," the answer is this: "Was Christ any different? Did he not make propaganda? Did he write books, or did he preach? Was Mohammed any different? Did he write learned essays, or did he go to the people and say what he wanted to say? Were not Buddha and Zarathustra propagandists?" True, the philosophers of the French Revolution built their intellectual foundations. But who got things moving? Robespierre, Danton, and the others. Did these men write books, or did they speak in popular meetings? Look around today. Is Mussolini more an author or a great speaker? When Lenin took the train from Zurich to Petersburg, did he repair to his study and write a book, or did he speak to thousands? Fascism and Bolshevism were built by great speakers, by masters of the spoken word! There is no difference between the politician and the speaker. History proves that great politicians were always great speakers: Napoleon, Caesar, Alexander, Mussolini, Lenin, name whomever you want. They were all great speakers and great organizers. If a person combines rhetorical talent, organizational ability, and philosophical ability, if he has the ability to transmit knowledge and to gather people under his banner, then he is a brilliant statesman.

If someone tells me today: "You are a demagogue," I answer him in this way: "Demagogy in the

good sense is simply the ability to get the masses to understand what I want them to understand.” Of course, I can adjust to the feelings of the broad masses, which is demagogy in the bad sense. Then I change not only the form of what I want to say, but also the content.

You cannot tell me that things have changed. Formerly, speakers built movements; today we live in the age of the press, and it is the writers who are influential. This theory is obviously false. Of course the press is important. But if you examine well-written editorials, they turn out to be speeches in disguise. The Marxists did not win through their editorials, but rather because each Marxist editorial was a little propaganda speech. They were written by agitators. They sat in their offices or in smoke-filled bars, writing not elegant, intellectual and polished essays, but rather brutal, direct words that the average man understood. That is why the masses devoured the Red press. We must learn from their example. Marxism did not win because it had great prophets — they had none. Marxism won because its nonsense was promoted by agitators of the ability of August Bebel and Lenin. They led Marxism to victory. If the völkisch movement had had such agitators at its disposal, its stronger intellectual foundations would surely have led it to victory. Some critics complain: “All you do is criticize! You only complain. You can’t do things any better yourselves!” Others say that “the Angriff [Goebbels’s newspaper in Berlin] is entirely negative. Say something positive for a change.” Well, I am not in a position to say anything positive about Isidor Weiss [the Jewish Vice Chief of Police in Berlin, and a regular Goebbels target]. I can only be negative. And there is nothing positive I can say about the Republic. There is nothing positive about it. I can say something positive only when I eliminate the negative. The most brilliant statesman on earth could do nothing with this Republic. And Marxism preached only the negative for sixty years. The result was that it took over the state on 9 November 1918. Hitler once said: “Keep those know-it-alls who always want to do something positive away from me.” We can do something positive only when we have first gotten rid of the negative. A leader does not emerge from a conference table. He develops from the masses, and the more a true leader rises from the masses, the more he draws the masses to him. The mass is the weak, cowardly, lazy majority of people. One can never entirely win the broad mass. The best elements from the mass must be put in a form where they can be victorious. That is the task of a brilliant mind. We thank fate that it has given us one of these minds, a mind superior to all others, whom we willingly serve. That is the proof that we will win. If others find their wisdom in majority rule, but a movement is led by one person, that movement will win. When it wins is irrelevant. It will win because that is the way things are. Look around as much as you want. You will everywhere see our movement’s intellectual foundations.

The task of the leaders and followers is to drive this knowledge ever deeper into the hearts of our shattered nation. Each must make that clear, each must think things through. Everything we do must be clear. We will never give up. If everything is clear, one does not have to be an outstanding speaker. If he can say it all in a few words, he is a propagandist. If we have an army of such propagandists, from the littlest to the Führer himself, and if each spreads our crystal-clear knowledge to the masses, the day will come which our worldview takes over the state, when our organization seizes the reins of power, when we are no longer members of a slave colony, but rather citizens of a political state that we ourselves have formed.

That is our task on this planet: to create the foundation on which our people can live. When we do that, this nation will create works of culture that will endure for eons in world history!

Background: This article lays out Goebbels' public thinking on propaganda in 1931.  
The source: "Wille und Weg," "Wille und Weg (later Unser Wille und Weg), 1 (1931), pp. 2-5.

## **Will and Way** by Joseph Goebbels

It is the task of National Socialist theory to construct a program that can hold its own in the daily political struggle. We have worked on this program since the start of the movement. Its basics are laid out in the 25 points [the party's official program, adopted in 1920]. The 25 points provide the foundation of all of National Socialist practice.

Cover of Wille und Weg  
The National Socialist movement develops from political practice. It stems not from a desktop, but rather from real life. That distinguishes it from every other contemporary German political organization.

A good theory is the most practical thing in the world. That has been true for the National Socialist movement, and will remain so. In the long term, practical work is impossible unless it is supported by a programmatic theory, which in turn can find its methods and goals only from practice.

It will not be the goal of this magazine to spread and deepen National Socialist theory and practice. That is, we do not intend to add another programmatic and theoretical attempt to those the movement already has, and which certainly help to give us an intellectual face to outsiders. Rather, our goal is to show practitioners the methods they can use to gradually gain power by winning the souls of the people.

Political methods always presume a political goal. Only when the goal is crystal clear and unchangeable is it possible to determine the foundations of practical work. The means one uses to reach the goal is political will.

Therefore, the goal of these pages, written from those in the field for those in the field, is this: We want to take the existing and developing theory and program of National Socialism and determine what is necessary for them to be realized in the political arena. A political program whose proponents do not gain power is useless, for it can not be applied to practical life. Without power, no political platform will have historical significance. More than any other art, the art of politics is far removed from the dry theories of the desktop. They come from daily life, and exist for daily life.

There are a variety of ways to gain power. There are illegal means to gain power through brute force; one can also gain power legally by winning a majority in an election. There are revolutions, Putsches, uprisings. But each of these methods requires a political group to win the sympathies of the broad masses, if it wishes over the long run to maintain its power. But the sympathy of the people does not come of itself; it must be won.

The means of gaining that support is propaganda. The task of propaganda is not to discover a theory or to develop a program, but rather to translate that theory and program into the language of the people, to make them comprehensible to the broad masses of the people. The goal of propaganda is to make what the theorists have discovered clear to the broad masses.

Theoreticians found a political movement. Propagandists follow close behind. The theoreticians give a movement its intellectual foundations, the propagandists put the programmatic content of the movement into the coinage of the people, and spread it to them.

It would hardly be worthwhile to argue about who is most important in the struggle for power. The propagandist is nothing without the theorist, but the theorist is also nothing without the propagandist. One can't give political knowledge to the people without the proper means of propaganda. Even the most brilliant political theories will have no impact unless they are put in a form that the people can understand.

The great accomplishment of the National Socialist movement is that it created a synthesis of both elements of the art of politics.

The foundation of National Socialist theory is firm. Naturally it needs disciplined and thoughtful development, but the task of a worldview is not to explain the what of political life, but rather the how. A worldview does not govern the things of life, but rather the relationships of those things. The task of explaining this relationship in the details of public life, of persuading the broad masses of its desirability, is the task of our political propaganda.

No other political movement as understood the art of propaganda as well as the National Socialists. From its beginnings, it has put heart and soul into propaganda. What distinguishes it from all other political parties is the ability to see into the soul of the people and to speak the language of the man in the street. It uses all the means of modern technology. Leaflets, handbills, posters, mass demonstrations, the press, stage, film and radio — these are all tools of our propaganda. Whether or not they serve or harm the people depends on the use to which they are put.

In the long run, propaganda will reach the broad masses of the people only if at every stage it is uniform. Nothing confuses the people more than lack of clarity or aimlessness. The goal is not to present the common man with as many varied and contradictory theories as possible. The essence of propaganda is not in variety, but rather the forcefulness and persistence with which one selects ideas from the larger pool and hammers them into the masses using the most varied methods.

Therefore, we named this magazine "Will and Way." The will of the National Socialist movement is laid out in its program. The way changes every day. Since we do not have political power, we can not realize the ideas of National Socialism. We must therefore give all our energy to achieving power. We will gain power only with the people, not against them. They will join us when it feels as we do, when it is persuaded that what we want is correct.

Thus National Socialist propaganda is the most important aspect of our political activity. It is in the foreground of our practical goals. Without it, all our knowledge would be fruitless, without effect. Propaganda must put knowledge in a fresh form. It must spread it to the people, it must convince people of the necessity of our knowledge. It wins new fighters for the movement. It makes members out of supporters and martyrs out of members.

Today, we have a tight network of National Socialist propaganda throughout the country. It should be clear to any observer that we are preparing not only for the tasks of today, but for the future. National

Socialist propaganda serves to educate the people. Its task is not only to win them for the tasks of today, but to assist in the transformation of the character of the broad masses. We are convinced that a new politics in Germany is possible only after a complete transformation of our national character, after an entirely new national way of thinking. This is our most pressing task, and in working for these tasks today we are doing the best preparatory work for the great political tasks of tomorrow.

National Socialist propagandist is the teacher of the people. National Socialist propaganda is the art of teaching the people. Today we are in the opposition. The propaganda we carry out today will become practically organized and wide-ranging national education after we take power.

The goal of this monthly is to create the foundations, to show the ways and means through which we can reach these high goals. We intend to strengthen and sharpen our will for our political goals. We want to deal with our practical daily tasks. We want to give ourselves the steely firmness that is necessary to survive the nerve-wracking daily battles.

But this will must not be directed aimlessly at the people. This will must be focused in a clear direction. It must be directed to the nation, organized, disciplined, focused and clear. We want to show the way that leads from success to success until victory is attained. Our goal in these pages is to bring will and way together in an unified synthesis of practical techniques. We are not writing for the general public, but rather for those active in daily politics throughout the country. It is a forum for discussion firmly tied to the party. Each who has something to say has the right and duty to speak. We will here exchange experiences, make proposals, criticize mistakes and suggest improvements.

These pages should over the course of time become a resource that political fighters will need for their daily battles. They should receive teaching, education and strength. They will receive the power to bring our ideas to Germany, and learn the ways and means to put a good theory into effective practice.

The knowledge of our movement is sealed by the blood of the 200 who died for it. To transform this will into reality is our daily task in the struggle for power.



Background: The monthly periodical for the NSDAP's propagandists was *Unser Wille und Weg*, for which Goebbels wrote a monthly discussion of the situation for its early years. This is his essay from the August 1931 issue.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, "The Situation," *Unser Wille und Weg*, 1 (August 1931), 134-140.

### **The Situation** by Joseph Goebbels

Dr. G. A creeping, latent civil war has plagued Germany for years. The parties of class struggle have organized the international proletariat against the breakthrough of National Socialist Germany and week after week, one might even say night after night, the flag bearers of German consciousness are dying on the streets of large cities.

No pen can record the misery that national Germany has had to suffer since 1918. Beaten down and demoralized, deserted by those whose duty and task it should have been to at least guarantee each citizen his constitutional rights, persecuted and enslaved, oppressed and thrown into prison — that has been the fate of German youth since 1918.

It seems as if the bloody civil war that has afflicted Germany has now reached its epitome. It seems to be daily, unchangeable reality that National Socialists are murdered on the streets. The press is not concerned any longer. The opposite! The large organs of international Jewdom make attackers out of the persecuted and pile cowardly slanders on them as they lay in their own blood.

Those abroad cannot forever ignore these conditions that cry out to the heavens. Foreigners do not see in the bloody excesses of the German Left Germany's present explosive situation. Germany's greatest political crisis is visible where Red murder celebrates its greatest orgies in the cities and countryside.

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It is the crisis that we have predicted for years, that we said was the inevitable and unavoidable consequence of the tribute policies that our leaders have followed since 1918. The reparations crisis, as the journalists call it, can no longer be concealed. When the largest banks fail, when public financial institutions close their doors, when the government requires the authority of the Reich President to rule under Article 48 [this was the constitutional provision that allowed the chancellor to govern without a parliamentary majority, assuming the Reich President was agreeable] with emergency decrees to oppose the financial catastrophe that approaches with sinister certainty, one no longer needs rhetoric to prove that the German people stands at the brink of ruin, that it is only a question of time and pace until this catastrophe becomes total.

The events that have occurred in Germany with breathtaking speed during the month of July were not unexpected for us. The opposite! We have always and everywhere warned against them. In opposition to all official sources, we warned during the referendum against the Young Plan that the tribute Germany had paid since 1918 with borrowed money would one day destroy the whole German economy.

That crisis has come. True, Brüning's cabinet has succeeded in keeping their heads above water

through draconic measures and emergency decrees, but there is no doubt that the least difficulty in public life will lead to an intolerable situation that will make clear to everyone what is today hidden behind the facade of a creeping dictatorship.

One can do anything with Article 48, except coin money. One can close banks, one can open them. One can prohibit public speeches, ban newspapers. Anything at all is possible if one approaches the Weimar Constitution with sufficient unscrupulousness.

The law that Brüning's government released against the press shortly before their trip to Paris is copied almost verbatim from Tsarist censorship laws. Since the proclamation of this emergency decree in Germany, it is simply impossible for opposition representatives to do what their conscience demands. It no longer takes a clear and provable offense to ban a newspaper for weeks. One can now ban a newspaper simply because of its opinions, needing only to claim that it is a danger to public safety. We guarantee that a socialist bigwig does not need to be nervous when we write something against him, nor does a Jew need to feel insecure when we write something against him.

That is how we will act under this emergency decree. Whenever the political situation intensifies and signs of crisis appear in public life, one issues ban after ban against the National Socialist press. It is hardly worth the effort to list them all. It would be easier to list those newspapers that still appear, and list the others under a banner saying: "Banned by the beneficiaries of the present regime!"

We find ourselves in the midst of a constitutional crisis. Only a few realize its extent. The Weimar Constitution exists almost only on paper. There is no longer freedom of opinion and conscience in Germany. Political life is being strangled in intolerable ways. One denies work and prosperity to people's comrades willing to work. Millions of people are threatened with creeping ruin, and the government defends itself against those protesting their social misery, even if they are only defending themselves with words and political opinions.

The National Socialist movement will have to consider whether it should ruthlessly discredit this intolerable regime of terror before world opinion. It has no support in the constitution. The time will come when we clearly tell the world that the present government is unconstitutional, that it violates the holy principles of democracy, and that the national opposition is not in any way willing to hold to agreements that this regime has made with world powers.

Implementing Article 48, the Weimar Constitution requires the presence of an immediate state of emergency that so threatens public safety as to require dictatorial measures by the Reich government to restore order.

That is in no way the case when Brüning all too freely uses the means of Article 48. The opposite! This cabinet and its measures are endangering public safety. There was a simple way to restore absolutely stable conditions: One should have entrusted the victorious National Socialist movement with the formation of a government on 14 September 1930 [the date of the previous Reichstag election]. One could have given it power in the Reich, and at the same time dissolved the Prussian parliament, the largest province in the country.

But they did not want to do that. They knew that a new German domestic policy would require an entirely different tune.

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Things thus had to develop in a different way. Once again, the German people stands before a gray fall and a terrible winter. Rumors are that the unemployment rate will rise dramatically this fall and winter, probably increasing to eight to ten million. Poverty will strike Germany to an extent that will make all that has come before look like child's play.

One can force into silence the voice of conscience that the National Socialist opposition has raised. That, however, will not feed a starving people, and those from whom one has taken everything turn in the end to desperate actions.

With some mockery, the foreign press has repeatedly said that the indifference, one might almost say the resignation, with which the broad masses have accepted the present government's dictatorial measures, is inexplicable. That is only partly correct. The masses are not indifferent, much less resigned. They are waiting with discipline to see what will come. One can only thank the leadership of the National Socialist movement that the anger of the people has not broken out, that even under the greatest trials of its supporters it has held to the strictest legality.

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All that, however, hinders us not in the least from using every means that the National Socialist people's movement has to gain power legally and constitutionally. One such method is the referendum. A referendum will help clean things up in Prussia.

One can only smile when reading the commentaries about the Prussian referendum in those journals supporting paying reparations. They have no arguments left with which to defend their weak position. They have to use their old method of appealing to the world to keep their leaky ship afloat.

France opposes the referendum. The Social Democratic press was not embarrassed to use this argument. As always, this treasonous party has followed policies that are for the good of France, not for the good of the German people. Whether or not the referendum passes, it is clear that millions and millions of Prussian-minded men and women oppose the Black-Red dictatorial government. And if it does not succeed on 9 August, we will remember the saying: Postponed is not the end of it!

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During July, international discussion focused on the Hoover Plan and its political consequences. We discussed the background to this action in our last issue. We rejected Hoover's offer then as entirely unsatisfactory. It is our duty even more today to note that the clever diplomats and financial experts of the French government have made of a bad beginning an even worse ending.

The French government seized the initiative from the American president. French banks had bought up the short-term credits extended to Germany, and at the decisive moment took them back without pity from German economic life. The impossible situation in which Germany depended entirely on unlimited credit became evident, and the great crisis took its inevitable course

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The world drew back at the last moment. If Germany had been left to itself during the crisis and if France had decided to make ruthless use of the means it had, Germany's fate would have been decided. That we still live and breathe, that the German people still can eat and a few still have jobs is entirely do to France's grace. The oppressor nation is able at any moment to repeat the bloody game, and Germany belongs entirely to Paris. The authority of the state, so much praised among us, is in the hands of French high finance, and Germany's collapse will be determined in Paris.

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That's why Brüning took a trip. That is why he spoke in Paris and London. These were not spontaneous political visits. They were begging missions of the most humiliating type. One needed credit not to rescue the people, but rather to protect the government against threatening collapse. How the newspapers rejoiced as Brüning and Curtius went to Paris. They were delighted by billions in loans that would result from these negotiations. Once again, streams of money would flow to Germany, and our economic life would prosper because of a wealth of credits and loans.

Brüning came back from London a defeated man. There was no longer talk of a long-term two billion loan. It took an effort to persuade the powers gathered in London (influenced by the moral pressure of the finance groups behind them) not to withdraw any further short-term credits from Germany.

Now they are silent. But only as long as it pleases them to be so. Germany is at their mercy, and although Brüning was not forced to accept the intolerable political conditions that some suggested the grace period he won is only a reprieve. He was given a period of grace to use in the coming months to work with the Marxist provincial governments to quiet the national opposition, the never silent conscience of the nation, thus taking from an unnerved and impotent people those political rights that are the last hope to escape Versailles, Dawes, and Young.

France was not satisfied with a general attack on Germany's currency. France went after England with the same cynical force that it has used against us since 1918. The offensive against the pound even brought difficulties for the usually imperturbable Bank of England.

Nourished by the tribute it extracts from Germany, France is establishing a dictatorship over Europe that shames not only every freedom-loving German, but also every honorable European. France is in fact the troublemaker of Europe, and recent developments on international financial markets have proved National Socialism's long-standing argument for the necessity of cooperation between Germany, Italy, and England to oppose this Negro-nation that is well along the way to plunge all of Europe into irreparable misfortune.

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The works is moving. Old altars have fallen, new altars are being built. And the new altars have withstood the storms of the age only in part. The empire of the Bolshevists is collapsing. Stalin's most recent speech had to curry favor with international capitalism. He gave up the fundamental principles of the communist worldview and offered peace to the individualist system he had previously opposed.

Desperation afflicts the peoples. Europe and Germany suffer under unprecedented skepticism about the world.

If National Socialism did not exist, we would all have long-since sunk into desperation. But we have a faith and hope to hold on to. The National Socialist worldview can master the spiritual and political crisis that afflicts Germany and Europe. Even more deeply rooted in us is the knowledge that only with us and through us is a resurrection of the German nation possible, and that only after Germany has taken a new form can Europe gain its true, lasting peace.

National Socialism is firmly in the flow of the age. Plagued by no skepticism or desperation, it is striving toward the future, to victory over the powers of liberal democracy.

1 August 1931.

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New Year Speeches



Background: Goebbels gave an annual speech on New Year's Eve in which he reviewed the old year and sometimes made predictions for the new one. This is the first of the series.

The source: "Zum Jahreswechsel 1933/34," Signale der neuen Zeit. 25 ausgewählte Reden von Dr. Joseph Goebbels (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1934), pp. 337-344

## **The New Year 1933-34**

by Joseph Goebbels

My fellow German citizens!

My goal is not to add a bitter taste to the holiday's festive glass of cheer. I believe that every level and class of the German people has reason to celebrate today with confidence. And there is no reason to be moderate. We Germans over the last 20 years have had too much pain, sorrow, and disappointment to run the risk of overdoing our celebration. A bit of pain is behind all our joy, and the cheer with which we look back on the past year and forward to the coming one is filled with earnestness and proud manliness.

But now we raise our hearts and see with satisfaction that a year of success is behind us, and that the blessing of heaven has fallen on the German people. Our whole hearts rejoice. It is a kind of joy that looks back with pride on what has been accomplished, and that gives strength for new plans and decisions. The powerful movement that has seized the entire German people in the past year is a movement of life that is filled with a firm and faithful optimism that gives endurance and strength. We Germans have once more learned to love life in all its splendor. We affirm it and accept all its demands, even if they be hard and pitiless. National Socialism affirms life, it does not deny it. We draw from it the joyful strength that so wonderfully fills us in the last hours of the passing year.

No one is left out. It fills the festive streets of the great cities and the lonely alleys and paths of our German villages. It fills huts and palaces, the rich and the poor. It fills the heart of the lonely wanderer who greets the new year in the snow-capped and towering mountains, or those who are part of the crowds on Berlin's Unter den Linden. It was a blessed year. The German people found themselves once more, and regained a hope that lets them look confidently into the coming year.

What a difference from the New Year's Eve of a year ago. Then the Reich stood before the abyss. The people were torn by hatred and civil war. The parties and the government lacked the strength even to recognize the catastrophe, much less to deal with it. Collapse and desperation were rising wherever one looked, and the specter of Bolshevism was everywhere. But today? The Reich is once more strong and powerful, the people more united and firm than ever before, led by a strong hand who is dealing with the problems we face. Where once there was hopelessness and despair, today a whole nation is filled with faithful devotion.

A year of unprecedented victories and triumphs is behind us. What twelve months ago seemed the product of an overactive imagination has become reality. The flags of national renewal fly over the Reich, and a revolution of vast extent has captured the German people and given them back their true nature.

There were probably only a few last 30 January, when the great transformation began, who imagined that a new era of German history was beginning, and that within a year the revolution would be over.

Remember 21 March, 1 May, the unforgettable days in Nuremberg, 1 October, and 12 November. A wonderful transformation unified the nation, one that future generations will scarcely be able to comprehend. They will judge the year 1933. It will go down in history as the year the German nation finally broke free of its two thousand years of misery.

What an astonishing collection of significant political, cultural and economic events mark this year of German awakening! It finally destroyed the Marxist nonsense that had tortured the German people for six decades, condemning them to political impotence. Only a year ago it threatened the Reich, ready at any moment to seize power. Today we know of it only through stories. It was replaced by the idea of a true community of the people that was not the empty theory of a meeting hall, but rather step by step and piece by piece became a total and happy reality. The socialism that we preached for years found its living expression in the active participation of all Germans, perhaps the most wonderful and exciting event of the past year.

Twelve months ago the parties carried on their nonsense in the parliaments, government crisis followed crisis, and the fate of the Reich was determined by special interests that used the holy idea of Germany only for their party's benefit. This contemptible parliamentarianism, whose only Christmas gift to the people was the collapse of a cabinet, is gone. The German people overwhelmingly has affirmed one man and one idea. A movement fully aware of its responsibility governs the Reich.

The people itself, however, could not support the new regime any more strongly than it does. People, state and nation have become one, and the strong will of the Führer is over us all. The eternal quarreling particularism that threatened the Reich has been overthrown. Germany once more stands before the world as an unshakable unity, and no one inside our outside of our borders is able to damage the interests of the German nation by using some kind of group within the Reich.

This political foundation had to be established if the government had any intention of dealing with the big problems of the day, if it was to do everything possible to deal with the specter of unemployment. The government had not only the intention to do something, it acted. It attacked unemployment with impressive measures. With God's help, it was able to do even more than it promised: over two million people are at work again, and even the hard winter did not slow us down. The entire world admires this accomplishment of the German people, gained by our will and toughness. The world is just as astonished as it watches the German people fight hunger and cold; the first half of the battle has already been won. It fills us with pride that in this first National Socialist winter no one, however poor and needy, has been left alone, that none of us, no matter how heavy our burdens, has gone uncared for through winter's cold months, that we have done our duty and need not fear anyone's gaze.

Is it any wonder that courage, confidence and optimism in growing measure fill the German people? Is not the flame of a new faith rising in the people from this sacrificial readiness? This people is noble, brave, generous, willing, and full of devotion under the care of a strong hand, and it may rightly believe that it is spotless and pure, and that it has the blessing of God.

Is there any reason to doubt that we will return this people to its just place among the nations of the world? We have had the courage to break with the unacceptable methods of international post-war diplomacy and claim the absolute right of the German nation to national honor and equality. We



knew from the beginning that it would take a tough battle. Today we think we can say that we will win if we keep our nerve.

The year 1933 ends under this happy sign. With nostalgia we look back once again. It was a proud and manly year. It was a year of beginning and renewal, the first since the end of the war of which we can say that it ended for Germany better than it had begun.

As always, we stand at the helm even more firmly after the battle. The new year is before us, with its new challenges and tasks. Nothing will be given to us; we will have to seize it. Hard and challenging problems await us. We will need all our strength and intelligence to hold the ground that we have won, to increase it, to build on it, for only from it can we make the leap to new territory.

The comradeship of the people that has begun in so wonderful a way is not something that has found eternal root in German hearts. It is the foundation from which we will find the strength to bring a victorious end to coming battle against hunger and cold, and then to begin in the spring a second great campaign against the unemployment that we will eliminate in the coming year.

A major political problem in the coming year will be to give a new and organic structure to the Reich. Based on the firm ground of tradition, a reform must be implemented that will give the same unity to the Reich as to the people. The National Socialist idea and movement will fill both people and state for all time. Then we will be able to view our foreign problems with calmness. The people and nation stand on firm ground. No power on earth can split them apart.

The tasks before us are large and difficult, almost discouragingly so. Only our strong and fanatic faith will give us the strength to solve them. If the German people stay united and work together, it will master fate and build a new future. Peoples never lose because of inadequate weapons, only through a lack of self-confidence and will.

Let us then stand together and enter the new year with courage. The whole people should be confident of the government's thanks. Each of us is proud that we serve the people in a high position. We are all members of the people, we express its spirit and its will. The lowliest of our people is dearer to us than the king of another nation. And we would rather be the lowliest citizen of our nation than the king of another.

This nation has displayed remarkable heroism both during the war and thereafter. Covered with scars, it has recovered from the blows dealt us by fate. It lives once more and will live as long as we faithfully affirm its life.

No one has the right to become weary. Everyone is needed, each in his place. We know full well how much need remains in Germany, but we will never surrender to it. We do not stick our head in the sand, but rather we raise it high and offer it to fate.

No one should lose courage. Only he who thinks he is lost is lost.

In these last hours of the year, we join in humble thanks to the great God who gave us the gift of doing our work loyally and industriously. We ask his blessings for the coming year, and promise that we will not be unworthy of his blessings.

The year of revolution is over. The year of construction is beginning.

We give our respectful greeting to the General Field Marshall and Reich President [Hindenburg], who in the past year was once more the loyal Ekkehard of his people. May fate preserve him for us for many years to come. We give our loyalty and eternal allegiance to the Führer, who, never wavering, bore the flag through storms and dangers. May he stay strong and healthy, and complete his work.

I wish a happy New Year, filled with struggle and victory, to all good Germans at home and to our brothers on the other side of the border.

We will not fail if we have the courage to be stronger than the misery that once defeated Germany.

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Background: This is Goebbels' new year address to Germany, delivered on 31 December 1938. Goebbels has this to say about the speech in his diary entry for 1 January 1939: "I gave my New Year speech last night over the radio. It went relatively well. I am entirely satisfied with it." The source: *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1941), a collection of Goebbels' speeches and writings from January 1939 to September 1941.

## **The New Year 1938-39** by Joseph Goebbels

We are at the close of the most successful year in the history of the National Socialist government. It is rather strange how hard it is to find the right words for the events of the past year. Everyday language is not enough to express what we feel in this emotionally festive hour, to say what moves us so deeply.

There is no doubt that the year 1938 was unique in German history. It fulfilled a thousand-year dream of the German nation. The Greater German Reich has become reality.

All other political events pale before this historical fact. Other events may be important, but in comparison they are but of passing interest. The return of over ten million Germans to the Reich is an event of historic significance that goes far beyond the year. It will affect the most distant future.

Things are happening all too quickly. The years are filled with dramatic events. They are so exciting and intense that we sometimes are not able to appreciate them individually. Hardly is one political problem resolved and along comes another. We often fail to be thankful enough to our age and to ourselves. Given the rapid pace in which history is happening, we incline all too easily to forget the difficulties that were involved. We can easily consider the government's successes as obvious, things that had to be. If last year we had a harvest of unprecedented size in our barns, we can easily believe that it was the result of political good fortune and a kind of historic miracle.

Of course, a certain element of luck is involved in historical successes, and the sheer scope of the Führer's success does seem miraculous. But the kind of luck we are having is the kind that, as Moltke once said, is enjoyed only by those who work for it. The historic miracle we are experiencing is one of those miracles that are mysterious and inexplicable in their totalities, but are brilliantly clear in individual events.

As long as we are speaking of miracles, it is worth asking why the National Socialist government has been so blessed with miracles, but not its predecessors. In those preceding governments, there was usually a party that never tired of maintaining that it had particularly close relations with God. Still, there were no miracles. They waited for one. They did not happen.

The most miraculous thing about miracles is that they always come when one does not simply wait for them, but works and fights for them. That is what has happened here. The Führer did not bring about the miracles of 1938 by waiting for them. He gathered and organized the strength of the nation and used it courageously. It paid off. There was certainly risk involved. Without big risks, history never grants big successes. This is further proof of the proverb that the world belongs to the brave.

It is characteristic of historic miracles that they seem almost impossible until they happen, and when

they happen, it sometimes looks as if it had been easy. It is therefore no great thing to recognize a historic miracle that has happened. One must believe in ones yet to come.

That is the important thing about the big historic events of the past year. The people did not waver during the difficult tensions that were involved, and had to be involved. The broad masses of the people have a primitive and incorruptible ability to believe that everything is possible and reachable if one devotes one's full energies and fights with a strong and courageous heart.

This ability to believe is rather weak in some circles, above all in those with money and education. They may trust more in pure cold reason than a glowing idealistic heart. Our so-called intellectuals do not like to hear this, but it is true anyway. They know so much that in the end they do not know what to do with their wisdom. They can see the past, but not much of the present, and nothing at all of the future. Their imagination is insufficient to deal with a distant goal in a way such that one already thinks it achieved.

They were also unable to believe in the victory of National Socialism while the National Socialist movement was still fighting for power. They are as little able today to believe in the greatness of our national German future. They perceive only what they can see, but not what is happening, and what will happen.

That is why their carping criticisms generally focus on laughable trivialities. Whenever some unavoidable difficulty pops up, the kind of thing that always happens, they are immediately inclined to doubt everything and to throw the baby out with the bath water. To them difficulties are not there to be mastered, but rather to be surrendered to.

One cannot make history with such quivering people. They are only chaff in God's breath. Thankfully, they are only a thin intellectual or social upper class, particularly in the case of Germany. They are not an upper class in the sense that they govern the nation, but rather more a fact of nature like the bubbles of fat that always float on the surface of things.

Today, they seek to give good advice to National Socialist Germany from abroad. We do not have to ask them for it. They focus all their energies on the small problems that always are there, complain about the cost and believe that crises and unavoidable tensions are on the way. They are the complainers who never tire of bringing National Socialist Germany before the so-called court of world opinion. In the past they always found willing and thankful followers. Today, they only have a few backward intellectual Philistines in their camp.

The people want nothing to do with them. These Philistines are the 8/10 of one percent of the German people who have always said "no", who always say "no" now, and who will always say "no" in the future. We cannot win them over, and do not even want to. They said "no" when Austria joined the Reich; they said "no" when the Sudetenland followed. They always say "no" as a matter of principle.

One does not need to take them all that seriously. They do not like us, but they do not like themselves any better. Why should we waste words on them? They are always living in the past and believe in success only when it has already happened, but then waste no time in claiming credit for it.

The people want nothing to do with these intellectual complainers. The year 1938 was filled with great and sometimes unnerving tension. But they are delighted at the close of this year with the Führer's great historical successes.

This people are once more happy about life. Never before has there been such a happy Christmas as that of a week ago, and never before have we looked forward with so much confidence and courage to a new year as we do to 1939.

It is always hard to bid farewell to a year. Each year has many joys and sorrows. Each has its high points and low points. We would not want to miss a single year of our lives.

It has never been as difficult, however, to bid farewell to a year as it is to the year 1938. It was a splendid year, crowned with victory and success, a year without equal.

The ten million Germans who returned to the Reich feel this above all. They join us for the first time in celebrating the new year.

A year ago they gathered in dark cellars and blacked out rooms to listen to the radio as I gave the political report for the year. The voice of the nation reached them as they sat in the prisons or concentration camps that Austrian clericalism, with its pure Christian neighborly love, had established. They could do nothing but long for the Reich.

Now they are part of the great German fatherland. They sit in their rooms and dwellings. They are surrounded by comfortable warmth and are filled with pure and cheerful joy.

They are united with us. For the first time, 80 million Germans of the great German motherland join in celebrating the new year.

I take pleasure in this festive hour to send over the radio the last greetings of the passing year to all from Flensburg to Klagenfurt and from Aachen to Tilsit. We 80 million Germans are united in this great Reich in the center of Europe. We have a common fatherland and serve common national goals.

In these last hours of the old year I greet Germans everywhere. I greet the Germans in the Reich. I greet the Germans throughout the world, in foreign countries and in distant continents. I greet the Germans on the high seas. And in the name of countless millions of Germans I send our common greeting to the Führer.

Never were our wishes for him heartier and deeper than in this hour. We thank him for the Greater German Reich that is now a reality. Only his courage, his steadfastness, his actions, and his nerves made this great miracle possible.

It has been six years since we gathered with him at the end of 1932 at the Obersalzberg. It was at National Socialism's gravest hour. The movement had experienced a depressing electoral loss and many had begun to lose faith in ultimate victory. Those who always live in the past were saying that Hitler's star was sinking.

More than ever, however, we believed in him and in his strong and unshakable belief in the greatness

of the Reich and the historic mission of the German people. Because he believed so firmly and unshakably, the Greater German Reich has become reality.

Today we once more join with him in this strong and unshakable belief in the greatness of the Reich and the historic future of the German nation. Loyal and unshakable, we trust this man and his historic mission, and will do everything to ensure that his orders will always find a ready and determined people.

In the closing hours of the old year, we Germans join for the first time in a great national community and give our warm and fervent thanks to the Almighty, who so blessed our land in this last year. We pray that he give the Führer strength and health. May he rest always in God's divine grace!

We promise the Führer that we will remain his most obedient and loyal followers.

The year 1938 has been the most blessed year in Germany's history. May it be followed by a new year also filled with success and victory! May it bring our land and its people blessing and good fortune!

I greet all Germans, above all those who in the past year carried the heaviest burdens, deprivations, sorrows, and responsibilities. You have the thanks of the fatherland.

May God hold his hand of blessing over Germany in the future.

We join at the end of this year in a single prayer from all Germans to the Almighty:

May our people and Reich be eternal,  
and long live the Führer!

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Background: This is Goebbels' New Year address to Germany, delivered on 31 December 1939. The source: "Jahreswechsel 1939/40. Sylvesteransprache an das deutsche Volk," Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1941), pp. 229-239.

## **The New Year 1939-40** by Joseph Goebbels

It is harder for me than it was in years past to recall the old year for my listeners. Certainly there is no lack of material. To the contrary, the year 1939 was so dramatic and filled with historical splendors that one could fill a library writing about them. One hardly knows where to begin.

Much that happened in the past year already seems as if it happened years or even decades ago. It was a year burned into the book of history. It will surely give the historians enough material to write about for decades to come. They will explain the events and look into the motives and drives of the central characters. They will attempt to explain all that moved us so deeply, all that we have done, and they will probably fall short in the attempt. Whether friend or foe, supporter or opponent, all will have to admit that this was a great and eventful year, a year in which history was made, in which the face of Europe changed, in which the map took new form. More than that, our people began to restore its national life in 1939, beginning a great effort finally to throw off the chains of constraint and slavery and to once again take our place as a great power after our deep fall [after 1918]. When the diligent historians investigate this year, the worries and difficulties we all had will be forgotten; the sacrifices will appear in a milder and more becoming light, the tears shed will be concealed and the blood that has been shed will be the cement that forever holds our Reich together.

From the beginning, it was clear to everyone who could not only read history, but also experience it, that this year would deeply affect the fate of Germany and the European peoples. True, the first two months were relatively uneventful, but he who saw clearly knew it was only the calm before the storm. Everyone felt that it would be a year of important decisions.

On 13 February the ethnic Germans in Bohemia and Moravia made it clear that their legal, economic, and social situation in the former Czechoslovakia had not become better since the solution of the Sudeten problem, but had in fact worsened. On 22 February, the Slovaks called for independence. At the beginning of March there were severe persecutions of Germans in Prague, Brünn and other cities in Bohemia and Moravia. On 8 March the Carpathian-Ukrainian government in Prague protested against the appointment of a Czech general as Carpathian-Ukrainian interior minister. On 10 March, the Czech government deposed the Slovakian government and the persecution of Germans in Bohemia and Moravia intensified. It was clear that the time had come to settle the problems in these areas, which had been cultivated by Germans for centuries. On 13 March, the Slovakian leader Tiso visited the Führer, and on 14 March the Czech President Dr. Hacha placed the fate of Bohemia and Moravia in the hands of the Führer.

The goddess of history looked down to earth. German troops entered Bohemia and Moravia, and with breathless excitement the German people and the whole world saw the Führer take up residence in the castle of Prague. Slovakia declared independence on the same day, and the day after the Führer issued his historical decree establishing the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The Slovaks put themselves under the protection of the Reich. The issue of Bohemia and Moravia found its final historic solution. On 22 March, the Memel District returned to the Reich.

Parallel to these developments, the Polish question was intensifying. As early as 5 January, the Führer received the Polish Foreign Minister Beck at the Obersalzberg. He reminded him of Danzig's German character and made suggestions for improving German-Polish relations. These proposals fell on deaf Polish ears. After the reactions from London and Paris to these developments, one knew why.

On 31 March, soon after the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, London hate papers printed lies about German troops gathering on the Polish border. Chamberlain reported to the House of Commons on English-Polish negotiations, and gave a formal declaration of British support to Poland.

The London warmongering clique thus gave Warsaw the freedom to act, in the secret wish that Warsaw would begin the conflict that the London plutocrats needed in order to begin their long desired and carefully prepared military measures against the Reich.

The government in Warsaw understood. Beginning in April, terror and persecution of ethnic Germans climbed beyond the previous normal and tolerable level. On 13 April, severe anti-German persecutions occurred on the Danzig border. The terrorist attacks on Germans rose throughout Poland after Germany began its efforts to improve relations. German consulates reported countless persecutions every day to Berlin. On 8 May, 300 ethnic Germans were expelled from Neutomischel County. The German theater was closed in Bromberg on 9 May. Two Germans were killed by Poles in Lods on 15 May. A Danzig citizen was killed by Poles in Kalthof on 21 May.

One can understand this only after learning that on 15 May the Polish War Minister Kasprzycki was in Paris for secret talks, and that the German representative in Warsaw reported to Berlin on 8 May that maps were being distributed in Polish cities that showed the border moved into German territory past Beuthen, Oppeln, Gleiwitz, Breslau, Stettin, and Kolberg.

The situation in Danzig intensified under Polish pressure. On 15 June, the German ambassador lodged an official protest against insults and slanders against the Führer. Border incidents and other problems increased through June and July. On 4 August, the Polish government made an insolent and provocative ultimatum against rumors of alleged resistance against Polish customs officials. Danzig rejected the ultimatum on 7 August. The German government expressed its concern to the Polish representative on 9 August. Poland apparently felt itself under England's protection, and gave an unsatisfactory reply on 10 August. On 18 August, the SS Home Defense was mobilized to protect the German city of Danzig. Things were in motion.

English plutocracy attempted to wash its hands of the situation and claim innocence, seeking to build a moral alibi for the war it wanted. But even a blind man could see what England was doing.

On 24 August, the customs negotiations between Danzig and Poland ended because of Polish intransigence. Poland called up further reserves and intensified its provocations. On 25 August Poland further intensified the situation by firing on a German plane with a Reich Secretary on board on international airspace.

The reaction of the London warmongering clique to the events they had encouraged was clear; on 25 August they demonstratively signed a British-Polish alliance. The day after, a million and a half



Poles were under arms.

The Führer spoke to the German Reichstag on 27 August. He announced that he wanted to solve three problems: Danzig, the Corridor, and improving Germany's relations with Poland in a way that would guarantee peaceful cooperation.

Lively diplomatic efforts between Berlin, Rome, London and Paris occurred between 28 and 31 August. The Führer yet again attempted a peaceful solution by announcing that the German government was expecting a Polish emissary. Poland replied by provocatively announcing general mobilization on 30 August. Polish radio on 31 August declared German proposals to solve the existing problems unacceptable. German consulates reported 55 instances between 25 and 31 August of the most serious Polish attacks on ethnic Germans. Polish troops committed a series of serious border violations on 31 August.

The result was that German troops marched into Poland on 1 September. The Führer spoke to the Reichstag and announced that force would be met with force. The same day, Danzig proclaimed its union with the Reich.

The following lightning campaign in Poland was unique in all of history. On 2 September, the Jablunka Pass was taken. The Polish army in the Corridor was destroyed on 4 August. Bromberg was captured on 6 September. The Westernplatte fell on 7 September. Lodsch was captured on 10 September. The encirclement of Radom was completed on 12 September. 52,000 Poles laid down their weapons. Posen, Thorn, Gnesen, and Hohensalza were captured on 13 September. Gdingen fell into German hands on 15 September. Brest-Litovsk fell on 17 September. The encirclement of Weichselbogen um Kunto was completed successfully on 18 September. 170,000 Polish prisoners marched into captivity. Warsaw capitulated on 27 September. Modlin fell two days later. The Polish army was defeated and destroyed.

Over 700,000 Poles were captured. The booty was enormous. Over a half million guns, 16,000 machine guns, 32,000 artillery pieces and over 3 3/4 million rounds of artillery munitions fell into our hands.

The London warmongering clique did not lift a finger to support its Polish ally. England saw the solution of the German-Polish problem only as an excuse to begin the long-desired battle with the German people.

The English warmongers had achieved their first goal. Ever since the Munich Agreement, London had more and more been winning the upper hand. They increasingly influenced the governments in London and Paris. The year 1939 was increasingly characterized by Germany's encirclement. London plutocracy used the extremely tense situation to prepare war against Germany. Chamberlain and Halifax were in Paris on 10 January. Chamberlain told the House of Commons on 5 February that the full forces of the Empire were ready to assist France. On 18 March, Britain and France protested the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. War was avoided only because France and England were not ready for it. But as the Protectorate was established, the anti-German press campaign in London and Paris reached its first peak.

At the same time, the London warmongering clique spread alarming rumors to conceal the true

situation. A lying report on 19 March claimed that Germany had given Romania an ultimatum. The Norwegian Foreign Minister denied reports from Paris about alleged German threats against the Nordic states on 21 March. On 24 March, England guaranteed the security of Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and the Eastern states. Not a day passed in which the English press did not predict some sort of German attack or spread lies about German threats against the smaller states.

Paris played the same tune. The French government passed emergency measures to strengthen the navy on 28 March. The English Chief of Staff Gort visited France.

The English-French warmongering clique now made a desperate attempt to bring Russia into the alliance against Germany. The English Commerce Minister Hudson traveled to Moscow on 28 March. London newspapers printed lies on 31 March that German troops were gathering on the Polish border. The same day, Chamberlain told the House of Commons that England would stand by Poland and Romania.

The Führer on the following day warned the English encirclers in a speech at Wilhelmshaven. On 5 April, Lord Stanhope said that the air forces of the English fleet were on alert. London established a munitions ministry on 20 April, in case of necessity. The Führer replied to these warmongering actions on the part of English plutocracy in a speech to the German Reichstag on 28 April. He declared the provisions of the German-English naval accord null and void, and also the German-Polish agreement of 1934.

A day before, England had introduced the draft, and negotiations between England, France and Russia began on 14 June in Moscow. London's goal was to organize an attack on Germany from both East and West.

At the same time, English propaganda made the foolish attempt to confuse the German people by leaflets, radio and the press, the same thing they had so often done in the past. The plans failed. The German people stood firmly and unanimously behind the Führer. The English attempt to bring Russia into its encirclement campaign collapsed.

The British Ambassador returned from London to Berlin on 25 August. The Führer presented him with a generous proposal for a lasting understanding between Germany and England. The English government did not intend to respond to this constructive proposal. Their answer came on 28 August. England claimed that it had received assurances from the Polish government that it would negotiate with the Reich government. The Führer replied to the English government on 29 August that the Reich government was ready to accept the English proposal and expected the Polish negotiator on Wednesday, 30 August. On the evening of 30 August and despite the absence of the Polish delegate, the Reich Foreign Minister gave the English Ambassador in Berlin a sixteen point proposal to resolve the questions of Danzig, the Corridor, and German-Polish minority issues.

Poland replied with force, and the Führer had no alternative but to answer force with force.

Paris and London demanded the withdrawal of German troops from Poland on 1 September. The German Reich government rejected the demand. Mussolini's attempts to resolve the situation on 2 September collapsed because of England's stance. On 3 September, London and Paris gave Germany an ultimatum, and declared war against the Reich soon after.

Now the mask fell from the faces of the London warmongering clique. When the government was shuffled on 3 September, leading members of the warmongering clique joined the cabinet. Churchill and Eden became official inciters of British war policy.

The war of the Western powers against the Reich had begun. The Führer's foreign policy had succeeded in destroying Britain's campaign of encirclement. England and France were alone against Germany.

The Reich faced a new challenge. All necessary internal measures had been taken to ensure a victorious conclusion to the war. On 28 August, rationing of food and consumer items was introduced. A Ministry for Defense was established on 30 August. Comprehensive economic measures were announced on 1 September, and a Reich Defense Commission with extensive powers was established on 5 September. Measures to guarantee the necessities of life for dependents of soldiers were implemented on 20 October. As early as 6 November, we could increase food rations. On 16 November, clothing rationing was introduced, and on 20 November better rations for those working at night or in demanding occupations.

The front and the homeland celebrated Christmas as a firm and unshakable community. The Führer was with his troops at the West Wall to celebrate Christmas Eve and Christmas Day. The year 1939 ended with the German people holding to an unshakable confidence in victory.

Another year is behind us, the proudest and most important year of the National Socialist regime. We see its passing with honor and respect. It was a German year in Europe's history. We honor the sacrifices that the entire German people have made in this year. Some were affected more than others. We have done all we could to see that the burdens are fairly shared. This war involves the whole people. It is a war for our national existence. It has not yet seen its full extent on every front. No one can doubt that the warmongering cliques in London and Paris want to stifle Germany, to destroy the German people. They admit that openly today. They reserve their sanctimonious phrases about defeating Hitlerism, but not the German people, only for the stupid. We know what they are doing from experience, and a child once burned is more cautious the second time. No one in Germany listens to them. They want to attack the Führer through Hitlerism, the Reich through Hitlerism, and the German people through the Reich. All the Führer's attempts at peace bore no fruit with them. We 90 million in the Reich stand in the way of their brutal plans for world domination. They hate our people because it is decent, brave, industrious, hardworking, and intelligent. They hate our views, our social policies, and our accomplishments. They hate us as a Reich and as a community. They have forced us into a struggle for life and death. We will defend ourselves accordingly. All is clear between us and our enemies. All Germans know what we are doing, and the entire German people is filled with fanatical resolve. There is no comparison here to the World War. Germany today is economically, politically, militarily, and spiritually ready to respond to the attack of the enemy.

It would be a mistake to predict what will happen in the New Year. That all is in the future. One thing is clear: It will be a hard year, and we must be ready for it. Victory will not fall into our laps. We must earn it, and not only at the front, but at home as well. Everyone has to work and fight for it.

Therefore in this hour as we bid farewell to a great year and enter a new one, the homeland greets the

front. We greet soldiers in bunkers and the front lines, at airbases and in the navy. The homeland and the front join in a common greeting to the Führer. May a gracious fate keep him healthy and strong; then we will look with assurance into the future. Today more than ever he is Germany, the faith of our people, and the certainty of its future. We bow in honor before the great sacrifices of our people. The sacrifices of the past and those yet to come must not be in vain. We owe that to the Reich and its future.

As we raise our hearts in grateful thanks to the Almighty, we ask his gracious protection in the coming year. We do not want to make it difficult for him to give us his blessing. We want to work and fight, and say with that Prussian General: "Lord, if you cannot help us or choose not to, we ask at least that you do not help our damned enemies!"

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Background: This is Goebbels' new year address to Germany, delivered on 31 December 1940. The source: Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), a collection of Goebbels's speeches and writings from January 1939 to September 1941.

## **The New Year 1940-41** by Joseph Goebbels

One of the most significant years in German history ends today. Not only the Reich, but Europe as a whole changed greatly during its course. States, nations, and peoples have been transformed, and changes in the balance of power occurred that one would not have thought possible over decades, much less one short year. People would have thought me a fool and a dreamer, certainly not a politician to be taken seriously, had I prophesied in my New Year address last year that we would now have a front reaching from Kirkenes to Biskaya, that German soldiers would be standing watch along this 5000 kilometer long front, that Norway would be under German protection up to the Arctic Circle, that France would be militarily destroyed, that England would be suffering under the German counter blockade, that it would be receiving attacks by day and night on its centers as revenge from the German Luftwaffe, that it would be reeling from the blows of our army and struggling for its very existence, and that London would be begging for help from the rest of the world to survive even a few months longer. I would have been asked: "How are you even going to get to Kirkenes? Where are the ships you will need? And France has tough and brave soldiers. Its army is well-equipped and armed. It is rich, it has much support, and do not forget the Maginot Line! We have painful memories of the World War, in which we fought for weeks to gain a half a kilometer of land and soaked the French soil with streams of German blood." I would have heard all that and more.

Today such comments are long forgotten. We hardly remember them. We can hardly recall that they were once made seriously. Time passes quickly, and we have all gotten used to accepting our unprecedented successes and historic victories.

Being a prophet is a thankless task. Things always exceed what we prophesy. Things are on the move, transforming the prejudices, obscurities, and complexities of the past with a hard, but orderly hand. How can we even begin to say what tomorrow will bring when we can hardly understand what is happening today!

It is however an important principle of clear political judgment that one must be able to understand the future in terms of the past. One must not cling to yesterday, but think about tomorrow, to research, but also to act. Only respect for the past gives one the strength to recognize what is coming. The bourgeois is afraid of action, but is impressed by past successes and victories. He easily forgets the battles that have been won and the things that have been accomplished, since he generally had little to do with planning and executing them. Before something happens he cannot have too much fear, afterwards he has all the courage he needs.

As we reviewed 1939 a year ago, the first four months of this gigantic war were over. We could look back on big, proud, and unprecedented victories by the German army. Poland was no more. The German army stood on the border of the present General Gouvernement. The threat to the Reich from the east was over, and worries about a two-front war were a matter of the past.

Still, the central question of the military situation remained unresolved. With uncertain expectation

the people heard the rumblings of distant thunder. The West was armed, and its dark and threatening speeches rolled over the Reich. If one had believed French statesmen at the time, it was only a matter of weeks before the Reich fell apart. A Paris newspaper wrote that we would be standing in lines outside French field kitchens.

Are Mr. Churchill and his satellites speaking any differently today? In their wild desperation and helplessness they are using the same silly language to conceal their fear of coming events. They are grasping at straws that will fail as soon as they are really believed.

Our opponents have always talked more than we do. Before something happens they talk a lot, only to grow suddenly silent when it actually happens. When things did not seem to be happening, they made the grandest threats against us. It has always been their fate to make the same mistake our enemies did during our struggle for power — they failed to take the Führer seriously. They ignored his warnings and when he was silent concluded that he did not know what to say or do. Three weeks before Hitler became chancellor, the then chancellor said that Hitler's day was over. Schuschnigg railed against the Reich two hours before he was driven in shame from the chancellor's palace in Vienna. Benesch had already packed his bags when he maintained that he had a plan to deal with the apparently hopeless situation. Polish statesmen dreamed of a victory at the gates of Berlin as German guns were already shelling Warsaw. Two months before France's collapse Monsieur Reynaud innocently showed diplomats a map of how Germany would be divided into separate parts. Is Mr. Churchill doing any different today? In his speeches and in the newspapers he explains the peace conditions for Germany once the war is over, while the British Isles in fact are bleeding heavily and gasping for breath. From our beginnings to the present, National Socialism's enemies seem determined to prove the accuracy of the old proverb: "The Lord makes blind those whom he wishes to punish."

Might I ask what Monsieur Reynaud would have done a year ago had he known what 1940 would bring France, or what Mr. Churchill would do now if he knew England's fate in 1941? We National Socialists seldom make prophecies, but we never make false ones. Had one believed the Führer back then, the world would have been spared much misery. Things probably had to happen as they did, however, since a new order of the coming proportions can be born only with pain, and the historic sins of the western democracies must find their historic recompense.

Whatever they may want, the new Germany is the instrument of fate. At the front and at home we have a community of 90 million, ready for any danger or threat. We have the good fortune to have a Führer who has led us down a straight path from the earliest beginnings onward. He can depend on his soldiers, workers, farmers, officials, and professionals. They understand him as he understands them. During the hard months of the war we have had but one thought: victory. We will work and fight for it until the last foe is conquered.

In these last hours of the old year we recall with thanks the great victories given us by fate, and celebrate them before the world. We will never flag nor fail. We bring the sacrifices the war requires with good cheer. No power in the world will make us deny our duty, or forget even for a moment our historic task of maintaining the freedom of our people.

I greet the entire German people at the end of this great and eventful year. I greet the men at home whose hard work supports the war, the workers at the wharves and munitions factories. I greet the

women who accept all the difficulties and challenges the war brings, who have jumped in everywhere to replace the men who have gone to the front, who in the midst of it all still give birth. I greet the children, the countless German children who are touched by the hard facts of war, who often have left their parents' homes in regions threatened by air attacks. I greet our workers, our farmers, our professionals, who together are a people who have proven worthy of the time in which we live.

Are warmest and most grateful greetings go to our soldiers. I express the wishes and greetings of the homeland. From the depths of our heart to think of our brave army, our glorious Luftwaffe, and our victorious German navy.

The homeland and the front form a big family as we bid farewell to a year that was full of challenges, but also of big historic victories. The German people bows in praise before the Almighty, who has so clearly blessed us in the past year by standing by us in battle and crowning our weapons with victory. He knows that we are waging this war for a better peace, that we are fighting for the happiness of people who have so often been oppressed by their governments.

The entire German nation, at home and at the front, joins in a warm thanks to the Führer. 90 million glowing hearts greet him. It is with him both in good times and bad, just as it knows that the Führer is always with his people. We Germans wish him happiness and blessing for the new year, a strong, firm and sure hand, health and strength in all his efforts. Long may he live, long may he protect the people as the first fighter for a true and real peace and for the happiness, honor, and fame of his people. The world admires him, but we may love him. We all extend our hands to him and hold firmly and inseparably to him.

The old year is over. A new one comes. May it be no less full of happiness, blessing, and proud victory than the last!

Background: 1943 had seen Stalingrad, and a general series of reversals for Germany across all battlefields. Nonetheless, Goebbels finds reason for cheer as he looks forward to 1944. The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Sylvesteransprache Dr. Goebbels am 31 Dezember 1943," *Deutschland im Kampf*, ed. A. J. Berndt and von Wedel, Nr. 101/104 (Berlin: Verlagsanstalt Otto Stollberg, 1944), pp. 135-139.

**Goebbels on New Year's Eve**  
**31 December 1943-44**  
Joseph Goebbels

My German Comrades!

The year 1943 is nearing its end. It will never be forgotten by us who fought and worked and lived through it. It was the most difficult year of the war so far, one that subjected us to great moral and material tests. It gave us the task of holding that which we conquered in our glorious offensives of the earlier war years, which is the foundation of our final victory, and of defending it against the raging storm of our enemies with courage and without wavering. In large part we succeeded. We have had, it is true, to accept losses and setbacks, but they in no way are decisive for the outcome of the war, nor are their causes to be sought in any failure in our morale or materiel during this long war. The cowardly betrayal of the Italian king and a clique of generals cost the Axis camp the economic and military strength of an ally, and it could not be avoided that the general war situation was affected thereby. We had to pull back our lines in the East as well as in the South. The resulting withdrawals of our troops gave the enemy side a welcome opportunity to speak of the military collapse of the Reich, or even to make overhasty reports of approaching victory. They were fundamentally mistaken.

Our war position has indeed become tighter than it was at the end of 1942, but it is more than sufficient to guarantee us a certain final victory. One need only compare the successes of the other side with what they had hoped for to realize that our prospects of full victory have not been affected by the events of this year. The English and Americans are not at the Brenner Pass, but rather far from Rome. The Bolshevist offensive army has not been able to reach the German Reich's border as they wanted and planned to; our army in the East instead is offering bitter resistance far from our critical territory and interests. The amphibious operations Churchill promised have not occurred, and their constantly promised arrival will meet a battle-ready German Wehrmacht wherever they may come. In a word: the loss of an ally on our fighting front presented us with great and sometimes dangerous difficulties, but we have dealt with them. That in the end is the important thing. The outcome of a war is dependent not on wishes and intentions, but only on facts. The enemy did not succeed in the past year in affecting in a serious way our war effort in any critical area. If the great test of a war is that it brings challenges that can only be met by using all moral and material resources, the German people passed the test in the past year. It will doubtless go down in history as the most glorious of this great struggle for our existence. It is true that we looked back on more glorious victories in the first years of the war than we do this time. This year we had to prove ourselves. We had to prove to ourselves and to history that we could overcome great, even the greatest, difficulties, that we would not fail, but rather that our courage and our tough endurance are growing, and that we did. The year 1943 was thus a hard but proud year for us. It deserves a just evaluation. We have withstood it. The enemy broke his teeth on our military and moral resistance. What that means for the future of the war cannot yet be seen. That is true above all of the Eastern Front. Our soldiers there have survived a test of their steadfastness in the past year that puts everything that came before in the shadows. The OKW



Report summarizes in two or three lines heroism that cannot be put in words. It is frightening to realize that we Germans on our own, with but a few small but brave allies, are waging hot and bitter battles to protect a part of the world that in large part has not deserved it. Each fighting German soldier is therefore closer to our hearts than a thousand overly clever newspaper writers of a certain press that at best have good advice, but scarcely find a word of recognition and thanks for the heroic and sacrificial struggle that our Wehrmacht is also fighting for the preservation of the life of their peoples. The danger of Bolshevism, which threatens all of Europe, could be successfully resisted in the past year. Our troops have surpassed themselves. If the Soviets believed they could drive to our borders, the most recent battles in the wide spaces of the East have probably taught them how vain these hopes were.

It will forever be the greatest shame of the century that England and the United States joined with Bolshevism in their hate-filled battle for military success against our venerable continent. They will also not gain victory; to the contrary, at most they will ruin the economic foundations of their own nations. Only shame will remain. Perhaps it must be that way to speed along the inner decay of this rotten plutocratic government system. One can speak here only of perverse political and military cooperation. Despite that, it is an enormous danger for us and for Europe, and we must gather all forces to meet it. There is no point in hoping for the aid of other threatened peoples and states. They indeed see the danger, but no power in the world can make them do anything about it. They resemble the rabbit that looks hypnotized at the snake until it is devoured. We are mostly dependent on ourselves to successfully carry out this battle for our existence and the existence of our continent. And we can do it. The economic and military strength of the Reich has grown greatly since the beginning of the war when we faced a far greater danger, which the enemy himself must grant. Europe is largely in our hands. The enemy will leave no method untried in the coming year to rip important positions from the hands of our war leadership. If he is to do this, the state of things requires that he take dangerous risks in the West, which until now he has successfully avoided. He tried to replace them by an air offensive, which everyone knows, and which the enemy even openly admits, is directed more against our war morale than our war potential. I speak of an air offensive, which is a very polite and restrained circumlocution for a completely unsoldierly way of fighting that has no historical parallel in its coarseness and brutality. Through the centuries, it will remain the second great shame of the English and the Americans. During the First World War they tried starvation against women and children. Now they are using phosphorus to beat down a fine and decent nation that demands nothing more than a decent and free life.

What worked for the enemy in the First World War will fail him in the Second World War. There is no point in even speaking about it. Our people survived so brilliantly the test of enemy air terror during the year 1943 that the enemy can bury the hopes he had for it. The nights of bombing have indeed made us poorer, but also harder. The misery of air terror is to some degree the mortar that holds us together as a nation in the midst of all dangers. Our people have not fallen apart during the nightly fire storms as our enemies hoped and wished, but rather has become a firm and unshakable community.

That is the most valuable lesson of the year 1943. Under the pressure of events, we have to a certain extent become accustomed to the horrors of modern war. The English people will have to get used to them again, too. The air war is pleasant for the enemy only so long as it is one-sided. When it becomes two-sided again, the outbursts of joy on the part of the London press will soon fall silent. British and American pilots however will soon face defensive measures in the entire Reich during

their brutal attacks on German cities and their civilian population that will spoil their fun. There is no weapon in this war that does not in time bring forth a counter-weapon. That will be true here, too. The enemy's air war has only limited effects on our war effort. That is also not his goal. Our production campaign is not affected in any serious way, so the further successful continuation of the war is for us absolutely assured. We assume that the English and the Americans will try an invasion in the West during the coming spring. They will have to because Stalin, their supreme lord and ruler, wants them to. Then it will become clear who is right, the enemy side or us. In any event, the English and American public can see what their soldiers have to expect from the battles in Italy, and should not forget that the German Wehrmacht defending Rome is still fighting far at the edge of our zone of interest, while our life is at stake in the West. It is very probable that the war will thereby enter its decisive stage.

Our prospects for victory are more than favorable. It is in general a thankless task to play the prophet in such a critical time. However, the German leadership has never faced coming events with such sovereign calm as it does now. Of course the enemy side presents its chances as absolutely certain. The example of Italy proves, however, that it suffers from the fateful disease of overestimating its own strength and underestimating that of its opponent. It is easy to expect, therefore, that English and American soldiers will have an unpleasant surprise in the coming year. They will have to thank their governments, which will lead them blindly into bloody misfortune. A decisive element in victory is a consciousness of the justice of one's cause. We certainly have enough of that. We know very well why we are defending Europe; neither the English nor even less the Americans know what they are fighting for. But they will have to shed the most blood. No one will die gladly for a government based on arrogance and class pride, in which the workers are the slaves of the money moguls, and whose leaders coin lovely social phrases but carefully avoid social actions. But a soldier will defend as his own life a state that is his own, that is a social state in the truest sense of the word, that provides the average man with the chance to rise, that defends in its policies and war leadership only the interests of the whole people and not a small layer of plutocrats, a nation whose best sons lead it to prosperity and happiness. If the English and the Americans come, they will meet such a state, and such soldiers of the National Socialist Germany they hate so much, as to teach them that the effects of their cowardly and stupid propaganda are different now than they were in 1918.

I need not waste words about what this war means to us. Our enemies have left no doubt of that. We are defending our existence. It is good for us to know that. It does not make us weak, but hard. A defeat would destroy us all. The English and Americans would take our commerce, our ships, mines, factories and machines, the Bolsheviks our men and children. What remained would no longer be a nation, only a heap of millions of starving and ragged slaves, defenseless and stupidly vegetating and, as the enemy wishes, posing no danger for its torturers and suppressors. Over against that is the victory that we can and will achieve. It will open the door for us to the final freedom and independence of our people. Then we will be on the road to peace and free labor, the reconstruction of our homeland and a deep social happiness that rests in the community of us all. Truly that is a goal that is worth all the labor, sorrow and exertion of this war. Who would not want to accept them, no matter how difficult it might seem! They are the prerequisites for our coming freedom from all the chains, for the salvation of all of civilized humanity. If I am asked what the primary virtue that will lead us to victory is, I can give but one answer: loyalty to ourselves, loyalty to our vision of the world and to our political affirmation of faith. In November 1918, the Reich plunged into the deepest depths of national disgrace because it was failed by its leadership in the final hour and became disloyal to its cause. Just before the end, it lacked the last moment of endurance that in the end makes that possible

which seems impossible. That endurance is the most important thing. A nation must fight courageously and intelligently for its existence. But that is not enough. When events intensify and march with giant steps to their culmination, racing toward the crisis, the main thing is that the leadership and people keep their nerve, stubbornly and persistently overcoming dangers and difficulties, letting nothing distract them from the continuation of the course that they once saw as correct, keeping their eye only on the good star of their fate. Suddenly one day the clouds that hid the sun will clear and the sky will again be bright. So it will be in this war, too.

What should I say at the end of this almost concluded stormy year to thank the whole nation for its devotion, hard work, loyalty and sacrifice, for its bravery, its contribution of wealth and blood? I do not know where to begin or where to stop. The front and the homeland have outdone themselves. The party as the political leader of the people has accomplished great things. In the countless sorrows and difficulties of everyday life during the war, particularly in the areas affected by the air war after the worst terror attacks, it is an example of how to deal with every difficulty. More than that, true to its traditions as a soldier's party, it has sent millions to the German front. This is to its great honor, and it far surpasses what is demanded of the German people in general. Here, too, it has proven that it remains a party of fighters.

Countless party members defend Germany's existence at the front; tens of thousands of its leaders and members have sealed their loyalty to the Fatherland with death. The movement consisted of volunteers as it fought for the Reich between 1919 and 1933; once again it is mostly volunteers who stream from its ranks to the front, and continue to stream there from its youth organization, to stop the danger that looms over Germany and all of Europe. This party that grew out of struggle and stands today in the midst of it as well greets its Führer at the end of this and at the beginning of the next year. It greets him in the name of his people, whose honor and pride it is to lead. Countless millions of German soldiers bearing weapons on every front join in this greeting, as do countless millions of German workers and farmers who forge the weapons and give the nation its daily bread. It is also the greeting of millions of German women and mothers who speak in the name of their children, both those who have been born and those who will be born, for whom they wish a good future. They put their fate confidently in the hand of the Führer and in his soldiers. In passionate thankfulness the homeland remembers the fighting front and promises that no trick, no terror, and no power of the enemy will weary it or make it bend. Gathered around the Führer, we German people stand at the end of this hard year of war and step courageously into an as yet unknown future. We know that it will be our future. Fate will give us nothing; we must fight for it. We want to do that. With stubborn doggedness we await the enemy, whether he sneaks over our cities at night, whether he rams against our front in the East with superior numbers of men and material, whether he gets his head bloodied in the South or whether he finally risks an attack on the Atlantic Wall. Wherever he attacks us, he faces a front of German men, and in the homeland where these are lacking, German women, boys, and girls. The year 1944 will find us ready. Trained in the great lessons of history, educated in the spirit of National Socialism, with the example of our fathers before our eyes, we accept the struggle for our existence. In the end it will open the way for us to the future. With such a Führer as we have and such a people as we are and always want to be, who can doubt our victory! What we won in the first half of this war by bravery we must defend with stubbornness in its second half. That we will do with all the strength of our heart. There is none among us who does not know why.

**OUR HITLER**



Background: Goebbels gave a speech every year on Hitler's birthday. This was the first. Hitler had only been in power for two-and-a-half months.

The source: From the published version of the text from Goebbels' book *Signale der neuen Zeit*. 25 ausgewählte Reden von Dr. Joseph Goebbels (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1934), pp. 141-149.

## **Our Hitler**

### Goebbels' 1933 Speech on Hitler's Birthday

The newspapers today are filled with congratulations for Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler. The nuances vary, depending on the tone, character, and attitude of the newspaper. All, however, agree on one thing: Hitler is a man of stature who has already accomplished historically important deeds and faces still greater challenges. He is the kind of statesman found only rarely in Germany. During his lifetime he has the good fortune not only to be appreciated and loved by the overwhelming majority of the German people, but even more importantly to be understood by them. He is the only German politician of the post-war period who understood the situation and drew the necessary hard and firm conclusions. All the newspapers agree on this. It no longer needs to be said that he has taken up Bismarck's work and intends to complete it. There is enough proof of this even for those who do not believe, or who think ill of him. I therefore do not think it necessary for me to discuss the historical significance and still unknown impact of this man on the eve of the day on which, far from the bustle of the Reich capital, Adolf Hitler completes his 44th year. I feel a much deeper need to personally express my esteem for him, and in doing so I believe that I am speaking for many hundreds of thousands of National Socialists throughout the country. We shall leave it to those who were our enemies only a few months ago and who then slandered then to praise him today with awkward words and embarrassing pathos. We know how little Adolf Hitler appreciates such attempts, and how much more the devoted loyalty and lasting support of his friends and fellow fighters corresponds to his nature.

The mysterious magic that he exerts on all who come in contact with him cannot alone explain his historic personality. There is more that makes us love and esteem him. Through all the ups and downs of Adolf Hitler's career, from the beginning of his political activity to the crowning of his career as he seized power, he has always remained the same: a person among people, a friend to his comrades, an eager supporter of every ability and talent. He is a pathfinder for those who devoted themselves to his idea, a man who conquered the hearts of his comrades in the midst of battle and never released them.

It seems to me that one thing has to be said in the midst of the profusion of feelings. Only a few know Hitler well. Most of the millions who look to him with faithful trust do so from a distance. He has become to them a symbol of their faith in the future. Normally the great men that we admire from a distance lose their magic when one knows them well. With Hitler the opposite is true. The longer one knows him the more one admires him, and the more one is ready to give oneself fully to his cause.

We will let others blow the trumpets. His friends and comrades gather round him to shake his hand and thank him for everything that he is to us, and that he has given to us. Let me say it once more: We love this man and we know that he has earned all of our love and support. Never was a man more unjustly accused by the hate and slanders of his ill-wishers of other parties. Remember what they said about him! A mishmash of contradictory accusations! They did not fail to accuse him of every sin, to

deny him every virtue. When he nonetheless overcame in the end the flood of lies, triumphing over his enemies and raising the National Socialist flag over Germany, fate showed its favor toward him to the entire world. It raised him from the mass of people and put him in the place he deserved because of his brilliant gifts and his pure and flawless humanity.

I remember the years when — just released from prison — he began to rebuild his party. We passed a few wonderful vacation days with him on his beloved Obersalzberg high above Berchtesgaden. Below us was the quiet cemetery where his unforgettable friend Dietrich Eckart is buried. We walked through the mountains, discussed plans for the future, and talked about theories that today have long since become reality. He then sent me to Berlin. He gave me a difficult and challenging task, and I still thank him today that he gave me the job.

A few months later we sat in a room in a small Berlin hotel. The party had just been banned by the Marxist-Jewish police department. Heavy blows were falling on it. The party was full of discouragement, bickering and quarreling. Everyone was complaining about everyone else. The whole organization seemed to have given up.

Hitler, however, did not lose courage, but immediately began to organize a defense and helped out where he was needed. Although he had his own personal and political difficulties, he found the time and strength to deal with the problems and support his friends in the Reich capital.

One of his fine and noble traits is that he never gives up on someone who has won his confidence. The more his political opponents attack such a person, the more loyal is Adolf Hitler's support. He is not the kind of person who is afraid of strong associates. The harder and tougher a man is, the more Hitler likes him. If things fall apart, his capable hands put them together again. Who would have thought it possible that a mass organization that includes literally everything could be built in this nation of individualists? Doing that is Hitler's great accomplishment. His principles are firm and unshakable, but he is generous and understanding toward human weaknesses. He is a pitiless enemy of his opponents, but a good and warm-hearted friend to his comrades. That is Hitler.

We saw him at the party's two large Nuremberg rallies, surrounded by the masses who saw in him Germany's hope. In the evenings, we sat with him in his hotel room. He was dressed in a simple brown shirt, the same as always, as if nothing had happened. Someone once said that the great is simple, and the simple is great. If that is true, it surely applies to Hitler. His nature and his whole philosophy is a brilliant simplification of the spiritual need and fragmentation that engulfed the German people after the war. He found the lowest common denominator. That is why his idea won: he modeled it, and through him the average man in the street saw its depth and significance.

One has to have seen him in defeat as well as victory to understand what sort of man he is. He never broke. He never lost courage or faith. Hundreds came to him seeking new hope, and no one left without receiving renewed strength.

On the day before 13 August 1932, we met in a small farm house outside Potsdam. We talked deep into the night, but not about our prospects for the next day, but rather about music, philosophy, and worldview issues. Then came the experiences one can only have with him. He spoke of the difficult years of his youth in Vienna and Munich, of his war experiences, of first years of the party. Few know how hard and bitterly he had to fight. Today he is surrounded by praise and thanks. Only

fifteen years ago he was a lonely individual among millions. The only difference between him and they was his burning faith and his fanatic resolve to transform that faith into action.

Those who believed that Hitler was finished after the party's defeat in November 1932 failed to understand him. Only someone who did not know him at all could make such a mistake. Hitler is one of those persons who rises from his defeats. Friedrich Nietzsche's phrase fits him well: "That which does not destroy me only makes me stronger."

This man, suffering under financial and party problems for years, assailed by the flood of lies from his enemies, wounded in the depths of his heart by the disloyalty of false friends, still found the limitless faith to lift his party from desperation to new victories.

How many thousands of kilometers have I sat behind him in cars or airplanes on election campaigns. How often did I see the thankful look of a man on the street, or a mother lifting her child to show him, and how often have I seen joy and happiness when people recognized him.

He kept his pockets filled with packages of cigarettes, each with a one or two mark coin. Every working lad he met got one. He had a friendly word for every mother and a warm handshake for every child.

Not without reason does the German youth admire him. They know that this man is young at heart and that their cause is in his good hands. Last Easter Monday we sat with him in his small house on the Obersalzberg. A group of young hikers from Braunau, where he was born, came by for a visit. How surprised these lads were when they got not only a friendly greeting, but all fifteen lads were invited in. They got a hurriedly prepared lunch and had to tell him about his hometown of Braunau.

The people have a fine sense for the truly great. Nothing impresses the people as deeply as when a person truly belongs to his people. Of whom but Hitler could this be true: As he returned from Berchtesgaden to Munich, people waved in every village. The children shouted Heil and threw bouquets of flowers into the car. The S.A. had closed the road in Traunstein. There was no moving either forward or back. Confidently and matter-of-factly, the S.A. Führer walked up to the car and said: "My Führer, an old party member is dying in the hospital and his last wish is to see his Führer."

Mountains of work were waiting in Munich. But Hitler ordered the car to turn around and sat for half an hour in the hospital at the bedside of his dying party comrade.

The Marxist press claimed he was a tyrant who dominated his satraps. What is he really? He is the best friend of his comrades. He has an open heart for every sorrow and every need, he has human understanding. He knows each of his associates thoroughly and nothing happens in their public or private lives of which he is not aware. If misfortune happens, he helps them to bear it, and rejoices more than anyone else at their successes.

Never have I seen his two sides in anyone else. We had dinner together on the night of the Reichstag fire. We talked and listened to music. Hitler was a person among people. Twenty minutes later he stood in the smoldering, smoking ruins of the Reichstag building and gave piercing orders that led to the destruction of communism. Later he sat in an editorial office and dictated an article.

For those who do not know Hitler, it seems a miracle that millions of people love and support him. For those who know him, it is only natural. The secret of his success is in the indescribable magic of his personality. Those who know him the best love and honor him the most. One who has sworn allegiance to him is devoted to him body and soul.

I thought it was necessary tonight to say that, and to have it said by someone who really knows him, and who could find the courage to break through the barriers of reserve and speak of Hitler the man.

Today he has left the bustle of the capital. He left the wreaths and hymns of praise in Berlin. He is somewhere in his beloved Bavaria, far from the noise of the streets, to find peace and quiet. Perhaps in a nearby room someone will turn on a loudspeaker. If that should happen, then let me say to him, and to all of Germany: My Führer! Millions and millions of the best Germans send you their best wishes and give you their hearts. And we, your closest associates and friends, are gathered in honor and love. We know how little you like praise. But we must still say this: You have lifted Germany from its deepest disgrace to honor and dignity. You should know that behind you, and if necessary before you, a strong and determined group of fighters stands that is ready at any time to give its all for you and your idea. We wish both for your sake and ours that fate will preserve you for many decades, and that you may always remain our best friend and comrade. This is the wish of your fellow fighters and friends for your birthday. We offer you our hands and ask that you always remain for us what you are today:

Our Hitler!

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Background: Every year on the occasion of Hitler's birthday (with the exception of 1934), Joseph Goebbels gave a radio speech in praise of Hitler. This is the second in the series, delivered in 1935. Goebbels diary entry for 19 April 1935 reads: "Dictated my speech for the Führer's birthday. It went very well."

The source: Adolf Hitler. Bilder aus dem Leben des Führers (Hamburg; Cigaretten Bilderdienst, 1936).

### **Our Hitler:**

A Radio Speech to the German People  
in Honor of the Führer's Birthday (1935)  
by Joseph Goebbels

Hitler at a hotel window  
Fellow citizens! Two years ago on 20 April 1933, only three months after Adolf Hitler came to power, I spoke to the German people on the occasion of the Führer's birthday. It was not my goal then, nor is it now, to read out loud a passionate newspaper article. That I shall leave to better stylists. Nor will I praise Adolf Hitler's historic work. I intend today, on the Führer's birthday, the very opposite. I believe it is time to portray to the entire nation the man Hitler, with all the magic of his personality, all the mysterious genius and irresistible power of his personality. There is probably no one left on the planet who does not know him as a statesman and as a remarkable popular leader. Only a few, however, have the pleasure of seeing him as a man each day from close up, to experience him, and as I might add, to come as a result to a deeper understanding and love for him. These few wonder how it is possible that a man who only three years ago was opposed by half of the nation stands today above any doubt and every criticism. Germany has found a unity which will never be shaken. Adolf Hitler is the man of fate, who has the calling to save the nation from terrible internal conflict and shameful foreign disgrace, to lead it to longed-for freedom.

That one man has captured the hearts of the whole nation, despite the sometimes difficult and unpopular decisions he had to make, is perhaps the deepest, most amazing secret of our age. It cannot be explained only by his accomplishments, for it is just those who have had to make the heaviest sacrifices for him and for national reconstruction, indeed who must still bring them, who have sensed his mission in the deepest and most joyful way. They are the ones who have the most honest and passionate love for him as Führer and as a man. That is the result of the magic of his personality and the deep mystery of his pure and honest humanity,

It is of this humanity, which those who are nearest to him see most clearly, of which I speak today.

All genuine humanity is characterized by simplicity and clarity in being and in action. It displays itself in the smallest as well as the greatest matters. The simple clarity that is evident in his political nature is also the dominating principle of his entire life. One cannot imagine him putting on a front. His people would not recognize him were he to do so. His daily meals are the simplest, most modest, imaginable. He dines no differently, whether it is with a small group of friends or at a state banquet. At a recent reception for officials of the Winter Relief program and old party member asked him if he could have an autographed copy of the menu as a souvenir. He paused for a moment and then laughed: "That's fine. The menu stays the same here; anyone is welcome to look it over."

Adolf Hitler is one of the few state leaders who avoids medals and decorations. He wears only a single high medal that he earned as a simple personal soldier displaying the greatest personal bravery.

That is proof of modesty, but also of pride. There is no one worthy to decorate him, other than he himself. Any form of ostentation is foreign to him, but when he represents the state and his people, he does so with impressive and appropriate grace. Behind all that he is and does are the words of the great soldier Schlieffen, who wrote: "Be more than you seem!" His industry and determination in reaching his goal far exceed normal human strength. Several days ago I returned to Berlin at 1 a.m. after several hard days and was ready for sleep, but he wanted a report from me. At 2 a.m. he was still alert, still at work all alone in his home. For two hours he listened to a report on the construction of the national highways, a theme that would seem distant from the great international problems with which he had been occupied the entire day from early in the morning to late at night. Before the last Nuremberg rally, I was his guest for a week in Obersalzberg. The light shone from his window each night until 6 or 7 a.m. He was dictating the great speeches he would give a few days later at the rally. His cabinet approves no law that he has not studied to the smallest detail. His military knowledge is comprehensive; he knows the details of each weapon, each machine gun as well as any specialist. When he gives a speech he knows each detail. His working method is entirely clear. Nothing is further from him than nervousness or hysterical tension. He knows better than anyone else that there are a hundred problems to be solved. He chooses the two or three he finds most central and works on them, undistracted by the remaining ones, for he knows that if he solves the great problems, the problems of second or third magnitude will solve themselves.

His approach to problems shows both the determination necessary to deal with essentials and the flexibility essential in the choice of methods. He has principles and beliefs, but he knows how to reach them by careful selection of methods and approaches. He has never changed his basic goals. He does today what he determined to do in 1919. But he has always been flexible in the methods he used to realize his goals. When he was offered the vice chancellorship in August 1932, he rejected the offer. He had the feeling that the time was not yet ripe and that the ground offered to him was too small to stand on. But when he was offered a wider door to power on 30 January 1933, he walked courageously through it. It was not the full responsibility he wanted, but he knew that the ground he knew stood upon was sufficient to begin the fight for full power. The know-it-alls understood neither decision. Today they must reluctantly grant that he was superior not only in his tactics, but also in the strategic use of the principles in ways they short-sightedly failed to see.

Two pictures last summer vividly showed the Führer in all his aloneness. The first showed him greeting the Wehrmacht just after he was forced to bloodily put down the treason and mutiny of 30 June. His face showed the bitterness of the difficult hours he had experienced. The second photograph was of him leaving the house of the dying marshal and Reich president in Neudeck. His expression shows the shadow of pain and sorrow in the face of pitiless death that in a few hours would tear from him his fatherly friend. With almost prophetic foresight he told us in his innermost circle on New Year's Eve that 1934 would be a dangerous year, one which would likely see the death of Hindenburg. Now the inevitable had happened. One thing was plain in his granite face: the pain of an entire nation, a pain that would not descend to mere complaining.

The entire nation not only honors him, it loves him deeply and fervently, for it has the feeling that he belongs to them. He is flesh of its flesh and spirit of its spirit. That shows itself in the smallest aspects of everyday life. It is plain in the camaraderie in the Reich Chancellery between the least SS man and the Führer. When he travels, he sleeps in the same hotel and under the same conditions as everyone else. Is it any wonder that the least of those around him are the most loyal?! They have the instinctive feeling that his is no facade, but rather the result of his inner and obvious spiritual nature.

Several weeks ago, 50 young German girls from abroad, who had completed a year of schooling and were now about to return to their suffering home countries, visited the chancellor, hoping to see him for a moment. He invited them all to dinner. For hours they had to tell him of their modest lives. As they were leaving, they suddenly sang the song "If All Become Untrue," and tears flowed from their eyes. In the midst of them stood the man who has become the incarnation of eternal Germany, giving them friendly and good-hearted consolation to encourage them on their difficult journey.

He came from the people and remains a part of them. He who negotiated for two 15-hour days at a conference with diplomats of mighty England, who mastered arguments and facts on the great questions of Europe, can speak with complete ease to ordinary people, and can with a comradely "Du" restore the confidence of a fellow war veteran who greets him with a nervous heart after perhaps days of wondering how to greet him and what to say. The weakest approach him with confidence, for they sense that he is their friend and protector. The entire nation loves him, because it feels as safe in his arms as a child in the arms of its mother.

This man is a fanatic in his cause. He has sacrificed his personal happiness and private life. He knows nothing other than the work that he does as the truest servant of the Reich.

An artist becomes a statesman, and his historic work reveals his remarkable abilities. He needs no external honors; his greatest honor is the enduring permanence of his labors. But we who have the good fortune to be near him each day receive light from his light and want only to be obedient followers behind his flag. Many times he has told the circle of his oldest fellow fighters and closest friends: "It will be terrible when the first of us dies and there is an empty place here that can no longer be filled." May a gracious fate ordain that he live the longest, that for many decades the nation will continue under his leadership along the path to new freedom, greatness and power. That is the honest and passionate wish that the entire German nation lays in thankfulness at his feet. Not only we who stand near him, but the last man in the most distant village, join in saying:

"He is now what he always was, and always will be: Our Hitler!"

Background: This is the speech for Hitler's 47th birthday in 1936.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Unser Führer. Rundfunkansprache Dr. Goebbels zum Geburtstag Adolf Hitlers," Völkischer Beobachter, April 1936, p. 2.

## **Our Führer**

Radio Address by Dr. Goebbels on Adolf Hitler's Birthday (1936)

My German comrades!

Tomorrow, Monday, the Führer celebrates his 47th birthday.

As in previous years since the takeover of power, I take the opportunity on this festive occasion to speak to the whole German nation. On this day, our people thinks with rare unanimity and unique determination about the man who has become the personification of Germany's resurrection for all Germans, whether in the Reich or throughout the world, and who is the symbol of a strong and revitalized Reich.

Tomorrow morning, this whole people wishes to proclaim its love and honor to the Führer, but also its thankfulness for his impact on humanity and on history. Among them are those countless millions who cast their votes for him on 29 March of this year, and thus ceremonially affirmed that they saw him as the embodiment of faith in our national future, and of the security and honor of the Reich. Never before in history has one man so embodied the confidence and feeling of togetherness of a whole people. I am happy that tonight I am the interpreter of all these feelings.

We are still in the midst of the Führer's constructive work. Each of us has enough troubles and challenges to face, and there are countless tasks that confront us. And, of course, Adolf Hitler has not resolved all the tensions and differences, all the misunderstandings and frictions within the German people. But on this we can all agree: that Germany's leadership is in the best, most loyal and most dependable hands of Adolf Hitler, and that in him, in his person, and in his human and political impact, there is the assurance that these remaining problems will in good time find an appropriate organic solution. Like a rock in the ocean, he stands firm against all the troubles and difficulties of everyday life, the peaceful place in the flood of events.

The impact of his historic acts are already so deeply driven into the heart and soul of the whole German people that it seems entirely unnecessary to waste even a word about them. And that is not the reason that I wish to speak this evening about his birthday tomorrow. I want to speak personally about him. The whole world knows him as a statesman and Führer: Few have the privilege of seeing him close up as a person and to sense daily his personal force.

Millions of Germans were deeply moved by the gripping words of his speech on the election of 29 March of this year. They heard him say that he had given the German people strength for three years, and that now the German people must give him strength. He had often strengthened the nation's faith; now the nation had to strengthen his faith.

Over the past three years, those of us who are close to him have often seen how necessary strength and faith are to his work. No day or night, no hour, passed that did not bring for him a mass of work and challenges. It is often the case that a people comes to take the successes of its policies in a

matter-of-fact way, that it gradually gets used to them.

It has no idea of the effort, of the courage, of the responsibility that are necessary to make those successes possible. Most people only become aware of that when dangers surface alongside the successes, the dangers that a far-sighted statesman has always seen and taken into account, which he has struggled with alone during long, sleepless nights. As great as the miracle of Germany's rebirth seems to us, greater still is the miracle of how one man, in a time when complete hopelessness had seized the widest circles of his people, found the courage and the strong and unshakeable heart that were needed. It is not easy to lift a people up from the ground; it takes not only intelligence, but also daring.

But even more, what does it mean when a man takes on the burdens of Atlas upon himself and earns not only the confidence and love of his own people, but becomes a factor in the morale of the entire world!

Over these three years, the Führer has had the courage to face a Europe that was in danger of collapse because of its senile dishonesty, giving it the truth that was at first bitter and painful, but which in the end restored its honor. He gave a sterile system new movement. He became in foreign policy what he had long been in domestic policy: a great simplifier who took the most complicated and intricate problems that Europe was incapable of solving and found natural and understandable approaches.

The peace plan that he recently presented to the world is a masterpiece of constructive and simplifying work. It is European in the broadest and most modern sense. Future historians will undoubtedly see it as a deep and liberating breath on the part of the world that was trapped in its contradictions, and had become lifeless.

All of this assures the Führer of the confidence and blind allegiance of the broad masses of our people. The love that they bring him is directed above all to his person, to his deep and powerful humanity, that comes to expression in all of his words and deeds. On the afternoon of 29 March the first surprising election results came over the wires, reaching the whole world through the ether and giving powerful expression to the German miracle. There was hardly a politically aware person not only in Germany, but throughout the world, who did not think of the man who was the creator and builder of this miracle. He was at his home in Berlin with a group of young girls from the BDM [the NSDAP organization for girls] who had come from every corner of the Reich to the Wilhelmplatz [the seat of Hitler's government] to express their love and support with modest bouquets of flowers. They had coffee with him, and he let them talk of their joys and sorrows. He gave their every word and gesture his full attention, not leaving them for even a second. That is the miracle of a man who will transform the small and apparently insignificant into a new world, and who gathers from the small and apparently insignificant the strength to do great things that move the world.

Before him, the German people was really never a world people in the real sense of the word. He gave them the will for that. The calm dignity he shows in representing the Reich is a model for the entire nation. The simplicity of his character is bound to the monumentality of his historic impact, displaying generosity in matters and things that deserve it, paired with determination toward things and people that require it. He is not only called the Führer, he is the Führer.

His relationship to children never ceases to move and amaze us. They approach him with complete

trust, and he meets them with the same trust. Children must have the natural ability to know that he belongs to them with heart and soul. Perhaps they realize dimly that he alone is to be thanked for the fact that for German children, a German life has once again become worth living.

When the Führer made his last appeal to the German people from Cologne on 28 March, the eve of the great day of German affirmation, the whole nation was deeply moved. One had the sense that all of Germany, every class, occupation and religious confession, had become one great, all-encompassing house of God, a place where their advocate approached the throne of the Almighty to bear witness of their will and deeds, and to ask his grace and protection for a future that was still uncertain and unclear to us. It was a call to fate, one never heard before in the German language with such monumentality. In Cologne, we saw hard and strong men who had faced many a danger break out in tears at the Führer's final words. It seemed to us that heaven could not fail to hear the cry of a people for freedom and peace.

That was religion in the deepest and most mysterious sense. A nation affirmed God through its advocate, and put its fate and its life confidently in his hands.

Afterwards, we took a short, deserted route to the railway station and sat in a dark compartment of the almost silent train, watching silently as we passed the cities and villages of this productive German province. In the distance we could see the chimneys and furnaces of the Ruhr. Thousands and thousands of lights glittered across the fields. Beneath us, hammers thundered, machines sang, drills rattled and sirens wailed. It was the song of labor that even now did not slumber. Masses of people were gathered at the stations where we made brief stops. They were probably following a mysterious, silent inner force, waving and cheering once again to the man whose voice had called them. But he sat silently at the window of his compartment and traveled through his land, through his people, and probably had the happy feeling of resting deeply and comfortably in the heart of his nation.

And the next day, this heart broke forth. People went to the voting booths with firm and confident step, to the north and south, the east and west, young and old, high and low, and helped him to build the unshakable foundation he needed to speak to the world in the name of this whole people in defense of its national right to life. Where else on this broad planet is there a statesman as firm and confident as he?

Respected in the whole world, but loved by his own people! That is the highest that a person can achieve in this earthly life.

Tomorrow, from wherever Germans dwell, their best wishes will rise to him. May a gracious fate keep him healthy and strong, and grant him a blessed hand. And may he be with us for a long, long time, for if he is with us, all is well.

He is for us what was for us, and he will remain for us what he is for us:

Our Hitler!

Background: This is the speech for his 49th birthday in 1938. Austria had been incorporated into the Reich a month earlier.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, “‘Es gibt Männer, die man achtet, bewundert und verehrt — den Führer aber lieben wir.’ Die Rundfunkrede des Reichsministers Dr. Goebbels am Vorabend des Geburtstages des Führers,” Völkischer Beobachter, 21 April 1938.

## **Our Hitler**

### Goebbels' 1938 Speech on Hitler's 49th Birthday

The Führer has probably never had so many happy people gathered about him for his birthday as in this year. All the 75 million people of the Greater German Reich stand before him to express their heartfelt best wishes and deepest thanks to him. In the truest sense of the word, this is a holiday for the entire nation. The banners of National Socialism fly from north to south and east to west. And beyond our borders, millions upon millions of our ethnic clan join with the citizens of the Reich in a unique affirmation of loyalty, connectedness and faithful attachment.

The highest form of joy there is on this earth is to make other people happy. Who has had this joy in fuller measure than the Führer himself. The unhappiest people on whom God's sun shone has become the happiest in this wide world. Not one German in our great fatherland would wish to be a member of another people or a citizen of another state. That for which all good Germans have always longed and hoped has now become reality under the blessed hand of the Führer: a single people in a great, free, and strong Reich.

However justified it is for us Germans to rejoice in this new national good fortune, to be always aware of it, we may also not forget that it did not just fall into our laps like a ripe fruit, but rather that we had to earn it through difficult battle with hard and sometimes bitter sacrifices.

The success that we as a nation may so happily enjoy is the result of great challenges, endless work, and deep responsibility. The Führer was the one who over the past years had to bear most of the challenges, work, and responsibility.

People realize this instinctively. In recent weeks, the broad masses of our people joined spontaneously and ever more loudly in the cry: We thank our Führer! They were joined by those in German Austria, and soon it was as if a fanfare resounded throughout the whole Reich. This had a deeper significance. People found their own way of expressing a feeling of thanks that today is shared by all people of German blood. It is a feeling of thanks that can no longer be put into words, but rather it can only call to action.

Often we sat next to the Führer on the terrace of his home on the Obersalzberg. Far in the distance between the mountains, German Salzburg would appear in the silvery sunlight. His mind at least, with all its cares and longings, leapt over the distance and sensed what history would bring, making for a moment reality of imagination. Long columns of people stood outside the Berghof [Hitler's mountain home], waiting to march past the Führer. They came from all parts of our great Reich, bringing flowers and mementos, and were heartened by being able to look into the beloved face of the man whom they saw as the embodiment of all our national hope.

It always brought tears when groups or individuals from German Austria came. They usually did not

say very much; only rarely was there a shout from their ranks. Usually they marched past the Führer in deep silence. If he called for some of them to come to him, they could rarely answer his questions because their voices became lost in tears.

In these moving moments, we saw in the Führer's face that the pain of his people was his pain, that he shared their pain and misery, that no one could suffer more for his homeland than he.

We remember those nighttime hours of a Wednesday in March, already part of history, in which the former Herr Schuschnigg gave his treasonous speech in Innsbruck, and the first alarming reports reached Berlin. The Führer strode with long steps across the room, and his face displayed godly anger and holy fervor. Here was the best German, whose cradle was in Austria, and who had a far greater right to speak in the name of German Austria than the then spokesman for this so-called independent state. He was deeply wounded by cowardly treachery. This was the decisive turn in events. There was no going back: either Schnuschnigg would succeed once again in legitimizing his terror regime through an election swindle, or the people itself would rise up and appeal to heaven for its rights.

Here we learned the Führer's true greatness. The two days of nervous tension that followed showed him at the height of his tactical and strategic command of the means and methods of a well planned and considered political program.

The people still had no idea of what was taking place. They went about as if nothing had happened, walking down Wilhelmstraße to Wilhelmplatz with only a shy and respectful glance toward the Reich Chancellery. Here the Führer lived, here he worked, here he bore all the burdens and responsibility.

Until the decisive Friday when things finally started rolling, and the Führer gave the order to march late in the night.

None of us would have been embarrassed by our tears as after midnight we heard on the radio the Horst Wessel Song being sung for the first time in Vienna. The hour of salvation had come.

If one were to ask me what the greatest difference between a parliamentary democracy and an authoritarian system was, I would answer:

The greater the danger, the more a parliamentary democracy is inclined to pull back, but the more a true leadership personality faces it. It was never a question for the Führer that he had to be with his people at the hour of liberation, and indeed, there where the decision itself was happening.

It is but one proof more of his deep political instinct, rooted in his connection to national feeling and thought, that the hour of greatest danger was also the hour of his greatest triumph.

How moving it was as he crossed the Innsbruck bridge, entering his hometown and birthplace Braunau for the first time in many years. We saw pictures in the newspapers of women giving him flowers as he stepped on Austrian soil.

The eyes of these women shone with the deepest and purest joy, such that one cannot imagine more



beautiful human faces. We saw a picture of a man who climbed onto the Führer's automobile with his hands raised as if in prayer, and we had the sense that here the depths of the human soul came to the most perfect expression.

Probably never before have the hearts of all Germans beat faster or more passionately than in these afternoon and evening hours. The nation knew that the Führer was on the soil of our German Austria, and never did his beloved voice seem warmer and nearer than on this evening, when he spoke in Linz for the first time in his homeland. Hundreds and hundreds of kilometers from us, and yet near to us all, he spoke of the joy that filled his heart.

That was the Führer as a person, the same man who then spoke in Vienna as a statesman and ruler of the national fate as he made his greatest announcement to the German people [that Austria had been incorporated into the German Reich]. How he must have felt then, he who as a young man had so often demonstrated in Vienna's streets for the Greater German Reich, and who was therefore persecuted, mistreated and arrested by the dwarfs of the Hapsburg regime.

The dreams of his youth had been realized. He had entered the soul of his people as a man and as the Führer.

Bringing a miracle that was no miracle, only the result of tireless work blessed by the hand of the Almighty.

Perhaps it is also a religious act to put his whole life in the service of his people, and to work and act for the happiness of people. It is a religion without empty phrases and dogma, which nonetheless springs from the deepest depths of our soul. That is how our people understands it. We Germans are today perhaps more faithful and pious than others who, though they never tire of praising God with their lips, have hearts that are cold and empty.

It is therefore no empty phrase when all of us in our great Reich join with those beyond its borders, across seas and continents, in asking the Almighty to grant the Führer long years of health, strength, and a blessed hand. That is the deepest and holiest wish of all the children of our ethnic group and of our blood. May the ether bring through my voice this national prayer of a people to the furthest corner of the earth where Germans dwell, live, and breathe. It is a deep prayer, full of hope, faith, and national pride.

There are men one respects, men one admires, and men one honors. We love the Führer. He is the great symbol of the resurrection of our people, towering over our age.

He is to us what he was to us, and he will remain to us what he is to us: Our Führer!

Background: His 50th birthday in 1939 was celebrated in grand style.

The source: Die Zeit Ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1941).

## **Our Hitler**

### Goebbels' 1939 Speech on Hitler's 50th Birthday

In an unsettled and confused world, Germany tomorrow celebrates a national holiday in the truest sense of the word. It is a holiday for the entire nation. The German people celebrate the day entirely as a matter of the heart, not of the understanding.

Tomorrow the Führer finishes his fiftieth year. The entire German nation takes pride in this day, a pride in which those peoples who are friendly with us also take deep and hearty part. Even those who are neutral or oppose us cannot ignore the strong impact of the events. Adolf Hitler's name is a political program for the entire world. He is almost a legend. His name is a dividing line. No one on earth can remain indifferent to his name. For some, he represents hope, faith, and the future, for others he is an exemplar of confused hatred, base lies, and cowardly slander.

The highest that a person can achieve is to give his name to an historical era, to stamp his personality indelibly on his age. Certainly the Führer has done that. One cannot imagine today's world without him.

Treitschke once said that men make history. If this is true, when more so than in our era? He has shown his simplicity and depth in the most wonderful way. Adolf Hitler has influenced not only the historical development of his country, but one can say without fear of exaggeration that he has given all of European history a new direction, that he is the towering guarantee of a new order for Europe.

Our part of the world looks vastly different today that it would without him, not to mention his impact on our own people and nation. He has given the German nation an entirely new face through revolutionary internal transformations.

Someone who saw Germany for the last time in 1918 would scarcely recognize it today. The people and nation are entirely different. What seemed like a miracle only a short while ago is self-evident today.

About a year ago the Führer solved the problem of joining Austria to the Reich. The whole people celebrated his 49th birthday then. 7 1/2 million Germans had returned to the Reich. A Central European problem one almost believed to be unsolvable was miraculously solved.

On the eve of his 50th birthday, we can happily see that once again the map of Europe has changed in the Reich's favor, and — unique in world history — this change has occurred without bloodshed. It came as the result of a clear desire to establish peace in an area of Europe in which the contradictions were so severe that there was danger that they sooner or later would cause a general European conflagration.

This new peace in the threatened areas is not a peace of tired, moralistic theories that are endangered as often as the false bourgeois democrats praise them. It is much more a peace that is built on practical realities

Such a peace could be built only on the foundations of a higher, instinctive understanding growing from the knowledge that only strength gives a people the opportunity to finally resolve problems.

Successful policies require both imagination and reality. Imagination as such is constructive. It alone provides the strength for powerful, flexible historical conceptions. Realism on the other hands brings the ideas of political fantasy in agreement with hard reality.

The Führer possesses both characteristics in a unique harmony seldom seen in history. Imagination and reality join in him to determine the goals and methods of political policy. His contemporaries are constantly astonished and amazed by seeing how he brilliantly brings goals and methods together to influence history. He has no stubborn ideas, no tired tactical doctrines, to dim his vision and reduce his political imagination. His inflexible principles are joined with changing and flexible political methods that have lead to the greatest and most unexpected successes for Germany.

That is nothing new for us old National Socialists. We learned to admire the Führer's political abilities in the earliest phases of our party's hard struggle for power in the Reich. They were demonstrated in many small and apparently unimportant ways at the time, though they were then for us and the movement as important as the goals and problems of today.

Then too there were doubters who failed to see the greatness and brilliance of the Führer's decisions during the struggle for power. They favored the false wisdom that Clausewitz discussed: they wanted nothing but to escape danger. We are therefore not surprised or anxious to see the same or similar happenings in internal German politics that we earlier saw in the National Socialist movement.

The only thing that has changed over the years is the scale of the Führer's actions; his methods and goals have remained the same. Back then we saw in him the political instincts of a truly historic genius, able to understand problems and find the simplest and clearest solution to them from his own greatness and certainty. That is why we were then his most loyal and obedient servants of this man and his work, entirely aside from the human element.

So what we see today is nothing new for us old National Socialists. We therefore have no doubt of the outcome of Germany's current battle for its national existence. Our whole people has the same instinctive feelings, which are the cause of the blind and unshakable confidence it places in the Führer.

The man in the street is usually not in a position to understand the entire political situation. He lacks the practice, the experience and above all the background necessary to form a clear and certain judgment. It is therefore entirely understandable why he dislikes theories and programs, and prefers to place his firm and confident faith in a personality.

A nation inclines to doctrines only when it is poor in personalities. But when a man of historic greatness stands at its head, one who not only wants to lead but is able to do so, the people will follow him with its whole heart, giving him its willing and obedient allegiance. Even more, it will put all of its love and their blind confidence behind him and his work.

A nation is willing to sacrifice when it knows what it is sacrificing for and why it is necessary. That

is true in Germany today. None of the numerous slogans that the broad masses of our people heard in the years after 1918 has had such powerful effect on the entire nation as the phrase “One People, one Reich, one Führer!”

The first two phrases were heard for the first time in 1937 at a singing festival in Breslau. The Führer stood high on the platform against the gathering darkness. Hundreds of thousands of people had gathered from every corner of the nation and from everywhere in Europe where Germans dwell to hear him speak. Suddenly, from the corner of this army of hundreds of thousands where the Austrians stood came the call “One people, one Reich.” It gripped and fascinated the whole crowd, and for the first time gave concise but clear expression to a program.

A year later we saw the Führer on a hot Sunday afternoon standing on the platform at the Schloßplatz in Breslau once again. German gymnasts performed before him. As the racial comrades from the Sudetenland passed before him, without command or order, they suddenly formed a wall before him. These people who had come from the Sudetenland to Breslau only to see his face, refused to move. Weeping women seized his hand. One could not understand what they were trying to say, since tears drowned their voices.

Once again, it was only a few months before the problem they had brought to the Führer was solved.

The Greater German Reich, in the truest sense of the word, has now become a reality. Even more, the Führer has given his peace to Central Europe. It is clear that this is not to the pleasure of those democratic enviers of the National Socialist Reich. Through the Treaty of Versailles they had build a ring of trouble spots around Germany that they could use to keep the Reich in constant difficulties.

A man has come from the broad masses of the German people who removed these trouble spots with the firmest measures. Democracy sees its hopes vanishing. That explains their rage and moralistic disappointments. Their hypocritical prayers came too late. The enemies of the Reich are at the end of their rope. They look ridiculous, and cannot understand why.

We greet their hysterical cries with sovereign contempt, a sovereign contempt shared by the entire German people. The German people know that the Führer has restored it to its rightful position in the world. The Reich stands in the shadow of the German sword. Germany’s economy, culture and popular life are blooming under a security guaranteed by the army. The nation, once sunk into impotence, has risen to new greatness.

We remember all of this as we begin to celebrate the 50th birthday of the man whom we thank for our nation’s might and our people’s greatness. No German at home or anywhere else in the world can fail to take the deepest and heartiest pleasure in participation. It is a holiday of the nation, and we want to celebrate it as such.

A people fighting for its fate must now and again stop in the midst of the tumult of events to remind itself of its situation, methods and goals. Today is such a time. The nation puts on its best clothing and stands before its Führer united in loyalty and brotherhood, to bring him their heartiest best wishes on his 50th birthday. These are the wishes of all Germans in the Reich, as well as those in every other nation and continent. Germans throughout the world join with us who have the good fortune to live in the Reich in these warm and thankful wishes. To this choir of a hundred million are joined the voices

of all those peoples want true peace and order in Europe, who love its history and its culture.

As we begin to celebrate the Führer's 50th birthday in this festive hour as a great national community, we join in a fervent prayer to Almighty God that he graciously preserve in the future his life and work. May he grant the German people's deepest wish and keep the Führer in health and strength for many more years and decades. Then we will not need to fear for the future of the Reich. The fate of the German nation rests in a strong and sure hand.

We, the Führer's oldest followers and fellow fighters join together at this festive hour with the hearty wish that we have always had on the birthday of this man: May he remain for us what he is and always was:

Our Hitler!

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Background: The 1940 speech was the first of those given during the war. In his diary entry for 20 April, Goebbels recorded: “Last evening I spoke over the radio on the Führer’s birthday. With great success, I believe. Unfortunately one can’t tell on the radio.”

The source: I use the published version of the text from Goebbels’ wartime book *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1941). The text of the speech is also available in any German newspaper of 20 April 1940.

## **Our Hitler**

### Goebbels’ 1940 Speech on Hitler’s Birthday

On 3 September last year, two hours after English plutocracy declared war on the German Reich, the British Prime Minister Chamberlain gave a radio speech to the German people in the most broken German. One might call it the first English act of war, and it proved to be the first, worst, and most fateful psychological error that the British plutocracy could make. Chamberlain did not betray who had given him the right to speak to the German nation. He was of the opinion that the German people he was attempting to speak to was in about the same intellectual and spiritual condition as it was after the capitulation of 9 November 1918, when it gave itself up to the arbitrary lust for revenge of the Western powers. The point of the speech was that England had no intention of waging war against the German people, but rather intended to help them. Germany needed only to accept the simple British proposal to get rid of the Führer or so-called Hitlerism, and the result would be a quick and easy peace. We can remark in passing that during the seven months of the war, British plutocracy had long since stopped telling the world such hypocritical platitudes. Its best and most eloquent publicists have long since made it clear that the goal of British plutocracy is to destroy the German people and the German Reich. They wish to return it to its state after the Peace of Westphalia in the year 1648.

At the beginning of the war, however, they sang the same old song. It was a bit too familiar to our ears to be effective. Its melody was dull and worn out. British plutocracy had tried to persuade the Boers during the South African war of the same thing. Britain was only fighting Krugerism. As is well known, that did not stop them from allowing countless thousands of women and children to starve in English concentration camps. During the World War as well, England was supposedly fighting only against the Kaiser, not the German people. Yet after we fell for the British swindle, we were forced at Versailles in 1919 to accept the most disgraceful and humiliating peace treaty of modern history.

But that is aside from the point. If the German people took any notice at all of the whining remarks of the English prime minister, it observed the lying tone even in the first days of the war. It took only a psychological interest in the speech. Mr. Chamberlain probably did not realize that the German people were fully aware that their struggle for existence had begun, and that they would think it infamous and entirely foolish for the head British plutocrat, of all people, to attempt to persuade them to give up their sharpest and best defensive weapon, namely the relationship between the Führer and the nation. It was really the most stupid thing that London could have done at that critical time. In his encouragement to separate from the Führer, Chamberlain hit the most sensitive part of the German people’s soul. One might just as well try to persuade a believing and trusting child that he should leave his parents in the lurch at a moment of danger.

It is really more proof of the unlimited stubbornness with which the leading and governing English plutocratic class likes to see the world outside England. It has not the least idea of the transformation

the German people has undergone since 1918, and particularly in the last seven years. It may be that in more peaceful times our people have debated minor and trivial issues heatedly, even fought about them. One likes something, the next one does not. We Germans obviously come from the most varied political camps. We adult Germans were around before National Socialism. We had rather vague political positions and worldviews. Countless Germans were then members of other parties and adherents of other worldviews. It is even possible that some of us still have remnants of former views. That may be true, and is not all that bad. We Germans do all agree on one thing, though: There is nothing that can separate us from the love, obedience and confidence we have in and for the Führer. We all know that that is the strongest weapon that the German nation has in its battle for existence.

For the first time in German history, the political instinct of our people finds its expression and fulfillment in a leading personality. That is why the connection we feel to the Führer is so deeply rooted, and why particularly in challenging times this relationship of confidence between Führer and people reaches a degree that is incomprehensible to the so-called democratic peoples.

We face a hard test today. Modern war is fought not only with weapons. We see in the recent past a growing comprehensiveness to military thinking. War today is waged on all fronts, on the economic front and above all on the front of the struggle for the souls of nations. This war is a gigantic struggle that affects every area of popular life. It is not unknown to us that the British plutocratic class has won its past victories by destroying the spiritual foundations of its enemies, using selfish and dirty means to advance its own interests.

That is why London has always been particularly active in the battle for the popular soul. It does not cost much, and saves a lot of blood and money. Until the arrival of National Socialism, the German people were particularly susceptible in this regard. That explains why we first failed spiritually on 9 November 1918, collapsing only after that in all other areas. The Führer's educational work has made the German people forever immune to such attempts in the future. Plutocratic England is whistling in the wind when it even attempts to speak to the German people, which explains why it increasingly is giving up the numbing and seductive phrases it tried during the first weeks of the war. The German people simply laughs at them. It will accept neither orders nor advice or even good cheer from London. The whole flood of lies that London has unleashed against the Reich vanishes without having any effect at all.

Instead, the German people see in the Führer the incarnation of its national strength and a shining example of its national goals. He is a people's leader in the truest sense of the word. We recall a scene from a newsreel from the first weeks of the Polish campaign. The Führer and his generals are gathered around a map in a conference room. Ideas are weighed and plans forced. Anyone can see immediately that serious military problems are being discussed. The camera moves slowly away from the generals and focuses on the Führer, off to one side. The eye is struck by the man to whom we all look, his face worn with cares, weighed down by his thoughts, an historical personality, great and alone. We saw this scene from the Polish campaign much later at the premiere of the Luftwaffe film "Baptism of Fire" in a large Berlin theater. One generally does not credit the Berliners with much respect for their leaders, but as the Führer's face appeared on the screen, a deep, quiet, silent movement spread through the packed theater. No one said a word, but all felt the same. Millions of people have seen the picture since then, and still this picture has a deep impression on viewers, as countless letters and messages tell us.

During the Polish campaign, people quickly browsed through the columns covering the huge battle of annihilation against the Polish army, then looked for information about where the Führer was, how he was feeling, what he was doing. Seldom has a people been so interested in the life and thoughts and wishes of a man. That is entirely natural, indeed it could not be otherwise. Every German instinctively senses the seriousness and dangers of the hour. His word, even his wish, is for we Germans an order.

How could an English merchant's soul understand that? Mr. Chamberlain recently said at an opulent breakfast held in his honor by the City of London that the polite applause he received was not the result of orders, as was the fashion in Germany. We could only laugh. How little the present British prime minister understands the German people that he has in a careless moment unscrupulously compelled to fight for its existence, and how this people will disappoint him and the British plutocratic class that stands behind him! He is leading an old and sinking world against a young and modern people, a people that since 1918 has survived a terrible lesson and has finally found itself. It is deeply conscious of its good fortune in having found in National Socialism the realization of its political faith and in the Führer the embodiment of its desire for a leading personality.

We are living in a great and decisive age. The German nation is gathering its whole strength together to defend its national life. The front and the homeland form a closed unity in common brotherhood, knowing that the fate of the German people is at stake. That is why, as foreign observers and reporters constantly note with astonishment, all Germans are filled with a calm, almost sovereign confidence. Today, we are fighting and working, that is all. No one complains and no one asks why. Our people certainly as war-related burdens and difficulties to deal with. All wait nonetheless for the Führer's order. When he calls, all are there.

We want to trust him and follow him! That is what the German people say today. This resolve gives us as a people and a nation enormous power, which other countries call the German miracle. It is a riddle to the world, but obvious to us! We can hardly imagine how things once were or how they could be any different.

Tomorrow we celebrate the 51st birthday of the man who brought this miracle about. We will not do so in loud and noisy parties, but rather as a people in the midst of battle and work. In the past, in Berlin above all, we gathered along the sidewalks of the east-west avenue to watch his soldiers march past, and greeted him with storms of heils. This time there will be no parade, no uproar. Yet the love that binds us to him and the confidence we gave him is even more passionate, even deeper.

Tomorrow he may see in spirit a great parade of our people march past, both from the Front and the homeland — soldiers, farmers, and workers — all, all those who are filled with his spirit and who are defending Germany's life.

One wish fills the entire nation, whether at the front or at home, be they German soldiers in Norway and Denmark or the men of our U-boats and warships, or the soldiers up against the Western Front or the millions in the bunkers and interior positions, or the dead-tired flyer high in the heavens, or the farmer plowing his field, or the worker at the roaring machine, or the thinkers of the mind and spirit, or above all the millions of German mothers and their children:



The entire people has one thought: Long live the Führer!

May he lead us as he always has through grave and difficult times to a shining German victory. May he remain what he is to us and always was:

Our Hitler!

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Background: The 1941 speech was given two months before the preemptive attack on the Soviet Union.

The source: Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1941).

## **Our Hitler**

### Goebbels' 1941 Speech on Hitler's Birthday

We Germans do not have sufficient historical distance to evaluate the full scope of the age in which we are living. We are children of our age. We have been formed by our age, and we in turn are forming it. It will be the task of later generations to evaluate it properly and to determine what is really admirable and what is simply normal. Future generations will surely envy the fact that we have lived a life of struggle, that we had the good fortune to have political passion, a passion that Heinrich von Treitschke once said finds little room in the hearts of most people.

There are rare moments in the middle of the pressures of daily life when we suddenly are struck by the feeling that everything before us is history, and that a new world is now being born. We experience the birth pangs of all that is young and new, and realize that this new world is replacing the old and sinking one, with all its peculiarities, tenseness and prejudice. If there are men who make history, if great historical developments are the product of individual personalities, then the riddle of our era is to be explained only by the grace of a brilliant human being. It is no cliché to say that everything we experience today and for which we expend our best energies would not be, or at least would be very different, were it not for one man who forged the path and showed the way, giving meaning, content, and direction to our age. We are experiencing the greatest miracle that history offers: a genius is building a new world.

When is this more evident than today, as the entire German nation and countless millions beyond its borders send their thanks, their honor, their admiration, their deepest hopes and their unshakable faith in him and his historic mission, to the Führer on his 52nd birthday? They are the feelings that most deeply move each German above all. There will be in this hard year of war no noisy popular festivals, no parades, no splendid public performances. But these feelings are expressed even more deeply and warmly by those who do their daily duty, be it by our best fighting men at the front or at home in the armaments industries. The German people honors the Führer on his birthday by pledging redoubled efforts to support his work. Our love and honor for him give wings to our struggle and to our work for victory.

Two years ago we celebrated his 50th birthday with the most splendid parade that the Reich capital had ever seen. The German people saw clearly for the first time how strong the Reich had become under six years of National Socialist government. We hoped then that the Führer's efforts to preserve peace for our nation and the world would succeed. Already the fanfares of hatred were sounding from London and Paris, calling for war at any price. We knew that if our enemies once more forced the Reich to fight for its national existence, the German people for the first time in their history would be united in all their branches, prepared spiritually, economically and militarily, ready to present the world with a miracle of strength, manliness, sovereign political and spiritual superiority, military power and precision.

Our eternal enemies declared war on us in September of that year, and since then the German miracle has become reality. The German soldier defeated the enemy wherever he met him. In breathtaking

victories unique in history, brilliant offensives defeated Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. England has been thrown from the continent, and the British Empire is receiving powerful blows in the homeland, on the Atlantic and in North Africa that are shaking its foundations. If one asks how our enemies could declare war on the Reich under such conditions, the only answer is that they did not believe in the enormous power of a great personality nor in the strength of his work. They still thought of Germany as it had been in November 1918, cowardly, exhausted, defenseless against the false promises of its enemies, with no knowledge of its national mission and without determined and strong leadership. They did not think it possible that one man could bring about a miracle that would lift this people from the pit to which it had fallen and lead a wonderful regeneration that made it once more conscious of its strengths. Only rarely have the German people experienced a true national task. While other nations in the world did what was necessary to secure their political and economic security by establishing the necessary military bases and reserves of raw materials, we Germans poured out our blood chasing phantoms. For the first time in this war, Germany is a strong power, defending its interests, which are not the increased profits of a capitalist ruling class, but rather the preservation of its national existence.

Each of us knows this today. We gave no illusions as we fight the war. We all know what it is about. We know that its outcome will determine our national life. We know that it must be won by the whole people for the whole people, and that a German victory will mean that the Reich is firmly guarded on all sides and that Germany's national existence is secured. That will give our people the possibility to live and work politically and economically.

Foreign visitors who visit the Reich during the war are amazed at the calm with which the German people look at current and coming events. Nothing would be more false than to assume this was the result of indifference or lack of interest. Our confidence rests on security. Our people do not know, and do not even want to know, what the Führer is planning and how he will gain victory. They simply trust him. He will choose the right way, as he has always done. Our people had no worries before the Western offensive as to how the Führer would break through the Maginot Line to attack France. They simply believed that he had a plan and the means. When Holland, Belgium and France were defeated within six weeks as the world held its breath, the German people were more pleased than surprised. They saw only renewed confirmation of their faith in the Führer. Our people know that if the nation is loyal, obedient and dutiful, and if each does his job, Germany is unbeatable and victory after victory will accompany our troops.

What enormous strength lies in this confidence! How childish and silly, to the contrary, are the repeated stupid efforts by British plutocracy to shake this confidence, to bring the people in conflict with the Führer, to weaken the fighting spirit of our army by lying rumors. Every German soldier today knows that we have only been defeated when we succumbed to such a temptation, and that Germany has always been triumphant which it was conscious of its strength and directed it outwardly, not inwardly.

The winter in which London placed such great hopes is long over. We filled it with feverish preparations. The entire nation worked day and night to supply our army with a surplus of weapons and munitions. The internal organization of our national life continues to function flawlessly, and the burdens war brings with it are fairly distributed and bearable for everyone. The attempts of British plutocracy to win victories on the periphery or to cause the German people to doubt or lose courage during the long waiting period have been in vain. These attempts had no impact on us. The German

people did not only wait during the winter, they also fought and worked. We did not make as much noise about it as did the English. The enemy has already seen the results of our preparations in the campaign in the Southeast, in North Africa, in the Battle of the Atlantic, and in the air war against the English motherland. That all goes to show that wars are not won through newspaper articles, but rather with ideas, soldiers, weapons, and munitions. A people wins when it has the prerequisites to victory, when it wants to win, and when it must win. All that is true for us.

This evening we look back along the path we have followed since September 1939, and forward to what is still shrouded in darkness, illuminated by the light of our faith. It is the path to final victory. We have never believed in it as firmly as we do today. The Führer leads us, and that is the best foundation of our confidence.

When Mr. Churchill spoke recently about the outcome of this war, he declared that England would win, he just did not know how. We reply: The Führer will win because he also knows how he will win. He has filled the nation with his spirit. It is tuned to his will. This time, they will survive the great test of faith that will decide their future, ending the 400-year series of German mistakes and failures. That is why this age is so great for us Germans and why, despite the war, it is so encouraging. Our people have a chance, one that we will use. An armed people, led by one will and filled with fanaticism — that is victory!

A man who has created such things stands far above any words of praise. The nation can only bow in thankfulness before him. We all do that in this hour. We thank the fate that sent us the Führer in the midst of our deepest need. We, his old fighting companions throughout the German Reich and our soldiers at the Front above all are grateful to fate that it gave us in our early years the strength and insight to recognize his greatness and to be with him from the beginning along his eventful way to victory and triumph. Who among us would chose to miss even one day of these last hard years, always filled with battle and work? Who among us does not think it his highest good fortune, indeed the real meaning and fulfillment of his life, to have been with him as he won the revolution, and to be with him now as he is winning the great war for Germany's life and freedom? We have fought at his side long enough to know both from experience and knowledge that victory is as good as certain. We only must remain strong, faithful, brave and upright, striding with heads high toward the hour of our proudest triumph.

Thus we greet him on the eve of his birthday. The entire nation joins in this greeting, and in expressing its deepest and most profound thankfulness for him. Our soldiers bear his names on their lips, wherever they may stand or march. Our workers sing his name as they work. Our men on the battle fronts, above all those in the Southeast and North Africa who defend the nation's security, our officers and soldiers of the air force who carry death and destruction to the British Isles, our men in the navy who have set an iron ring around Great Britain, they all greet him as their supreme commander. Our farmers and workers greet him as their Führer and our women thank him for fighting for the future of their children. The German youth gives him their strongest faith. He is ours. He has made this people what it is today. Where would we be if he had not come?

We ask a gracious God to keep him healthy and to grant success to his work for the freedom of our people. Then we need not fear the future. Then the German people can face the proudest period of their historical development. Once the flags of our revolution fluttered over the entire Reich. Now we long for that happy day, and fight for it with all our might, when the flags of our victory will fly over

the entire Reich.

Tomorrow we celebrate his fanatic devotion to his work. Despite the war, a festive air fills the whole nation. It is his day, and it is our day. It reminds us once more what our lives have become because of him. We therefore wish him what we have always wished for: May he remain for us what he was and is:

Our Hitler!

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Background: The 1942 speech.

The source: "Führergeburtstag 1942," Das eherne Herz (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 286-294.

## **Our Hitler**

### Goebbels' 1942 Speech on Hitler's Birthday

The film *The Great King* is playing in the movie theaters of the Reich. It treats the hard trials and historic challenges that Frederick the Great endured during the critical phase of the Seven Years War before he led his army to final victory over his enemies. The film takes the unique figure of this great Prussian king off his pedestal and removes the anecdotal incrustations in order to show us how things really were and what really happened. The film avoids the usual portrayal of the attributes of this historic figure, instead giving us a personal and human picture of a unique statesman and military genius. As curious as it may sound, today he seems to us even greater in his defeats than in his victories.

Shallow popular accounts of the great Prussian king sometimes make it seem as if he dealt easily with the difficulties and problems of warfare. In this film, however, we see a struggling titan with a deep heart who endured for seven years an inferno of sorrow, pain of every conceivable physical and spiritual nature, the deepest human disappointments and the hardest tests. He was alone, deserted, almost toothless, the wreck of a man plagued with gout. Then came the day when Berlin jubilantly received its returning king. He sat in tears in the Charlottenburg Palace chapel after an almost inconceivable release from the nameless miseries and anxieties he had faced as the thundering tones of Grauns' "Te deum" resounded from the organ.

It is clear that such a portrayal of the life and struggles of our greatest Prussian-German king is somewhat risky, even if it is more historically accurate and more educational for our day. It is more pleasant to present historical persons and events in a way pleasing to the average person. Nothing is easier to believe than that the great victories in history were the result of military and political superiority, that the goddess of war ever smiles, even to think that presenting an occasional danger or threat defames the reputation of historical personages.

This film presents history from a different standpoint. It shows the human side of a true genius as a way of emphasizing his superhuman attributes. The greatness of this historic figures grows not from themselves, but rather from the weight of fate they bear. The physical suffering, the spiritual burdens and the temptations of the heart allow the character of a great man to stand out more vividly, they mark his outline more clearly. The film shows why Frederick II earned the right, uniquely, to bear the name "Great." Despite the numbing blows of fate that often drove him to the edge of the abyss, he found the strength to rise triumphant above the trials and defeats. He set a shining example of steadfastness in misfortune to his people, his soldiers, his doubting generals, wavering ministers, conspiring relatives and protesting civil servants.

This film proves the sound political and historical instincts of our people. It makes no compromises, presenting unadulterated historical truth. It is not the usual historical romance. Despite what one might expect, the broad masses have taken it as a wakeup call, making it into a success with hardly a precedent in the history of German film. No one fails to be moved deeply by this film. The parallels to the present, the words that great king speaks, the spiritual crises that he and his people overcame

through battle and passion, sometimes seem so striking that the makers of this film felt obliged to remark that it was planned not just before Christmas for educational purposes, but rather in the early summer of 1940, with no idea of today's duties and challenges. The contemporary significance of the words and the resemblance of many events to those of today is not the result of conscious propaganda, but rather of deep historical laws.

That is the truth. Each century has its historical mission. They do not repeat themselves, indeed are so bound to their era that posterity can hardly bring more than historical understanding for the political problems of past epochs. What remains is the ways in which history is made, the style and manner of expression that a statesman or military genius uses, the resistance that raises him far above his era, above all the superhuman strength with which he meets the challenge. How can the fact that Frederick defeated the Austrians be relevant to our day? His value for the present generation is in the worth of his personality, in the powerful strength of his historic genius, in his faith that moved mountains, in his steadfastness in misfortune, in the completeness with which he fulfilled his secular mission and in the heroic isolation with which he bore the dark shadows of his fate. He was the one who said that he who wants to transform the world cannot at the same time enjoy it.

We are living in a time that is being transformed, one that therefore cannot be enjoyed. As perhaps never before in history, the fate of our people is in the hands of a single generation. Its desire for life, for self-assertion must decide whether we are at the beginning of new and unprecedented age for our people or whether we perhaps stand at the end of our history. Such moments in the rise and fall of nations always exert a powerful magic on brave and manly people. They see in the dangers and burdens a change to prove their mettle, which they know they must do if they are not to be weighed in the balance of fate and found wanting. The path to victory leads ever through the depths of danger and historical testing. A people must withstand many trials during a war. It must be armed against the tricks of a fickle fate that likes to subject its favorites to hard and bitter testing, until they finally wears the wreath of victory on their brow.

A generation blessed with a great personality in such dangerous times is to be envied. In the course of this war people have found all sorts of causes that might bring victory. Some thought of greater economic and military resources, or a higher population, or a better geographical position, or the famed bravery of soldiers or tough civilian morale. One pitted system against system and world view against world view, seeking whose chances of success were better. We believe, however, that victory will fall to the side with the better leadership, as it always has. Leadership is crucial. If it also has the better material resources at its command, no power in the world can keep victory from it.

We have come through a winter whose hardness and length have no equal in human history. It posed challenges to our leaders, to the front and to the homeland that we only now realize. Later generations of historians will write the accounts of this most moving chapter of the great battle. No one among us can doubt the almost legendary heroism German soldiers demonstrated. If ever our people have shown that we are not only able along with our allies to assume the leading role on our continent, but that we have a historical right to do so, it was here. The German people proved its merit this past winter. A nation that survives such a test is destined for victory.

How often in these last hard weeks and months the German people looked in spirit to the Führer. Never has the whole nation felt so bound to him as in these hard times, which have spared no one. We felt as if we had to see him, be it only in a photograph, to gain the strength each needs to

overcome the difficult daily tasks we all face. Each of us has felt obligated to him! Each word that he spoke to the nation was for every man woman and child, for every soldier, worker and farmer an order! All were with him, without many words and without being told! The whole nation lived in the unspoken assurance that while we were dealing with our lesser or greater troubles, he was fighting his gigantic battle in the East. He planned until late into the night, weighing and risking, standing watch at his headquarters. From there his will flowed to the most distant part of the battlefield, filling even the last soldier in the most embattled unit.

The power of his personality is felt nowhere more powerfully than at the front. A soldier must feel led, else he cannot endure the daily risk of life. When does he need that more than in those hours when he must risk his life for that of the nation, far from his commander, following the leading of duty and conscience. This is where the value of a great and powerful personality is proven, that which as Goethe says is the highest blessing among mankind. The confidence that there is one who stands above all, who knows all and weighs all, who knows the sorrow and pain of his people even without daily contact, who feels each individual loss that touches a mother, a woman, or children, yet still is able to summon the strength to advance the greater national life of his people — this confidence lets one endure all the sacrifices and burdens of the day more easily.

Nothing is harder than to accept the responsibility for the future of a great nation. It requires not only courage, the readiness to risk all, bravery of soul and steadfastness of the heart, but above all renunciation. From this renunciation grows the historical personality able to endure the lonely heights at which the sole duty is to serve the cause.

This is how the German people saw the Führer in the past winter. Surrounded by his aides, politicians, and generals, surrounded by the love of countless millions of people, and yet in the end relying on himself, carrying the heavy burden of responsibility on his shoulders alone, fighting for the life and fate of his people. No matter how high we may climb, whatever the burdens we may carry, each of us has at least one who is still above him, on whom we may rely, whom we may obey, because he leads and orders, because he takes the heaviest weight from us when it grows too great for us, who fills us with new strength when we lose courage, begin to doubt, or tire. He reminds us of the great lessons of our time, of our worldview, and gives us new life. Whether we have the great fortune who work in his vicinity or even with him personally, or whether we are called to fight for him as unknown soldiers, workers, or farmers, we all feel a strength that supports and sustains us. We feel ourselves safe in the protection of a man who has changed our century. We need only follow. His task is to show the way. He stands alone, waging a titanic battle with fate for the life of our people.

On the eve of his 53rd birthday, the whole nation gathers around the loudspeaker. It is far more than a festive event. It confirms what all Germans sense and feel, indeed more deeply and with greater obligation than ever before. In some sense it is a renewal of our loyalty and faith, proven already a million-fold through deeds, through uncounted sacrifices, at the risk of body and life, in a multitude of bitter deaths. It does not need words.

If ever the German people has felt united in thought and will, then it is in this: to serve him and to obey his commands. The sounds of heroic and titanic music streaming from every German heart raises our confession to a solemn and holy height. When we finish our celebration, the voices of men and the sounds of instruments will join in the great conclusion to the Ninth Symphony. As the powerful Ode to Joy sounds and a sense of the greatness and scope of these times reaches even to the



most remote German hut, as its sounds reach to distant countries where German forces stand watch, each of us, man or woman, child or soldier, farmer or worker, or civil servant will know both the seriousness of the hour and the joy of being a witness and a participant in this great historical epoch of our people.

We call the eternal power that rules over us the Almighty or God or Fate or the Good Father, he who as the Ninth Symphony says, lives beyond the stars. We ask the Almighty to preserve the Führer, to give him strength and blessing, to favor his work, to increase our faith, to make our hearts steadfast and our souls strong, to give our people victory after its battles and sacrifices, to bring the times to fulfillment.

There is no greater good fortune on earth than to serve a brilliant leader, to do his work. May we do that each day. The difficulty of our day is also its greatness. We would change places with on one.

In gratitude and loyalty, we send the Führer our greetings. An unbreakable band unites the front and the homeland. Germans throughout the world are united in the fervent wish that we bring each year on the eve of his birthday:

May he remain to us what he was and is:

Our Hitler!

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Background: The 1943 speech came a few months after the defeat at Stalingrad, at a time when Germany's prospects were looking increasingly uncertain. This speech took on the grim war situation at some length before turning to Hitler himself. German morale reports found that people took Goebbels speech as evidence that the war situation was serious, and that its end was nowhere in sight. The source: The German text of the speech is available in any German newspaper of 20 April 1943. Helmut Heiber also includes the text in his two-volume Goebbels Reden, based on a tape of the speech. His version is a more accurate text of what Goebbels actually said (some minor modifications were made in the printed version used).

## **Our Hitler**

### Goebbels' 1943 Speech on Hitler's Birthday

The German people celebrate the Führer's birthday this year in a particularly somber manner. This fourth year of the war has been the hardest yet, and an escape from its burdens and sorrows, or its end, is nowhere in sight. Its enormous political and military events span all five continents. Wherever one looks, peoples and nations are affected by its pains and sacrifices. Hardly a nation has been spared the grave political and economic impacts of this vast military drama.

Here and there critics of weak nerve and character, usually from those nations least impacted by the war, question whether human culture and civilization will be able to survive the war at all, and make worried calculations as to what part of humanity's proud inheritance will remain once the war is over.

In the midst of the trials and burdens of the moment, it is all too easy to forget that this war, in contrast to those of the past, has a thoroughly national or racial character. That is why both sides fight with such bitter determination. The participant peoples know that this time it is not a matter of a more or less significant change in national boundaries, but rather a matter of national survival.

A small event has had world-wide effects. But it would be false to see the real cause in that event. Back then our opponents had a thousand chances to meet our just demands without in the least harming their own power, image, or prestige. The enemy did not want it that way. They wanted war because as the English prime minister said as early as 1936, Germany had become too strong.

Now and again we must remind ourselves to look back on the start of this war to understand its progress to the present state. A hypocritical enemy propaganda is constantly at work to conceal the war's true causes, to make people forget the liberal-democratic phrases of yesterday and accept the seductive ones of today, to make the guilty seem innocent and the innocent seem the cause of this great misfortune.

We need only to recall the Führer's many unfortunately unsuccessful attempts to prevent this war by limiting armaments to a rational level. He made every conceivable effort to prevent the clash of nations that he foresaw. And how often he has tried to end this war at the earliest possible moment.

It was all in vain. The wicked forces that wanted this war cynically and frivolously desired, and still desire, all-out war. What are the misery and misfortune of the world's peoples, their own included, to them? They want only their personal enrichment and unlimited power over all the nations and continents. They did not come from the people, as we did. They therefore will never understand the real needs of their people.

Their brutal cynicism, the result of their alien, indeed their perfidious attitudes, causes them to passionately hate the National Socialist people's movement and the National Socialist German people and nation, and above all the Führer himself. They see him as a newcomer to the business of leadership, which to them always means the betrayal of the people under the rule of money.

Just as the enemy's hated world is personified for us by certain men, so, too, certain men personify the world we love and defend. By the nature of such an enormous war, he who leads it gives it its mark. And not only that. Just as he feels its good fortune and successes with double or triple depth, so too he feels two or three times as deeply the misfortunes of grim fate. Naive people may imagine that leadership in times of peace is easy and pleasant, but even they sense that in war, with the heavy responsibilities it brings, those at the bottom who need only follow orders have it much easier than those at the top who must give the orders. They are the Atlases who bear the world on their shoulders.

Every great figure in history has at times been filled with the intoxicating feeling of holding, like God, the fate of the nations in his hands. Much more common, however, are long hours of bitter and passionate struggles for historical responsibility, of silent and desperate battles with forces that sometimes seem superhuman, of struggles against an unjust and hard fate which sometimes brings to ruin carefully made plans and destroys hopes that once seemed near.

It is easy to speak and write about the beginning or the end of military crises. Only he is in the position to judge who has himself faced a crisis with only the strength of his own strong heart. Long days and long nights over weeks and months leave their unmistakable marks on his face. The sorrow and pain of individual people pile up around him as a mountain of sorrows and pain of the entire people.

While the normal individual must master only his own fate, however difficult it may be, the Führer bears the fate of the entire nation. During critical moments, millions of eyes look toward him. They gain consolation and hope from his face, from the firmness of his manner, from the certainty of his gestures, from the confidence of his appearance.

People often say that the Führer is the image of the German people. That is true in a way deeper than we often think. If one could watch the face of our nation change during this war, we would see the same transformation that we see with serious pride in the face of the Führer. The lines, the hardness, the decisiveness, but also the deep passion for the people and, in a broader sense for a humanity forced into so much bitter difficulty against his will and plans, are unmistakable.

How cynical in contrast are the stupid and frivolous grins of the current leader of Britain during his public appearances. One hardly has to ask which of these two enjoys war, and who therefore wanted and provoked it. The face of the guilty one betrays him.

Despite all their shouting, our enemies have not been able to weaken the magic force of the Führer's personality. It grows in power every day. In a time like ours, so short of great men, the presence of such a man on our side amazes even our enemies.

It is clear why Anglo-Saxon agitators spread their lies and slanders about the Führer and his work.

They realize that his programs and aims are reaching the whole world, even their own nations. A nation has no greater possession than such a powerful, timeless personality who casts his spell on both friend and foe.

Even some in Germany may complain that the Führer is totally absorbed in his work during the war, though it is the decisive factor in all that is happening. His behavior is in eloquent contrast to that of his counterparts with the enemy, who never miss an opportunity to stand in the spotlight. They apparently need that, perhaps because they sense that their lives and work will not last all that long.

Men of real historical stature are above such behavior. They do not draw their strength from the changing applause of publicity, but rather from their historical mission which fulfills a higher law. We know of no great historical achievement that did not involve the hardest blows of fate. Indeed, the hardness and bitterness of the tests demonstrates their true worth.

When we look back on the past two fearful winters when the Führer stood at the head of the army to meet and overcome an almost unconquerable fate, we remember Prussian-German history. He and we do not need to shy away from the comparison. The German people, betrayed by its entirely cowardly leadership in the late fall of 1918, became weak, and the hardest fate fell upon it. In the past two winters, however, the Führer and his people have proven that they are prepared to overcome historical failures and to pay the price of a great victory.

It is not easy for me, in his fourth birthday of the war, to portray the personality of the Führer in its proper relationship to the sweeping events we are witnessing. He himself is entirely absorbed in his work, the end of which he foresees. Though we may sometimes regret his intense commitment, his modest style and nature bring him even closer to our hearts. In the great, breathtaking victorious phase of the war, we admired and honored him. Today we have learned to love him from the depths of our hearts as we have seen him overcome with bitter determination the hard and painful blows of fate. What a consolation it is for a nation to have as its leader a man who embodies for all an unshakable confidence in victory! He shows no trace of the chattering that our enemies love so much, but rather we see only a realism driven by deep fanaticism.

Often in the course of this war people have praised the technical weapons and claimed that the final victory would be determined by the amount and quality of material. We do not want to underestimate their importance. Even more important, however, is the spiritual readiness of a warring nation to bear all, even the worst, rather than to bow to the strength of the enemy. The Führer embodies this attitude for us. Before he gave his all to the cause of peace; now he gives it all to the cause of war.

He did not want war and did everything in his power to prevent it. Now that it has been forced upon him, he stands at the head of his people to wage it with every means. How often in the history of our movement have we seen him avoid a conflict that he thought unnecessary or harmful, but once it became unavoidable he fought to victory, whatever the obstacles. So it is today.

We gather on the evening before his 54th birthday according to our custom. We do so as a united and determined nation, bring him greetings of honor, thankfulness, and every possible good wish for his person and for his historic mission. We do it this year with particular confidence.

The danger that surrounds us has not weakened us, but rather made us fully alert. When a people

must take the greatest risks to ensure its survival, it is well advised to banish the devils of doubt and discord so as to concentrate completely on its historical mission. It is not possible to make this clear in all its details to every citizen. It must therefore find expression in the will and the orders of the Führer.

Confidence is the best moral weapon of war. When it begins to fail, the beginning of the end has arrived. No matter where we look, we see no cause for such concern. It exists only in the propaganda dreams of our enemy. The more hopes they put in the moral weakness of the German people, the greater will be their disappointment.

The fact that we do not speak of Germany's confidence every day is no reason to believe that it is absent. One usually does not need to talk about the obvious. If anything has become obvious to we Germans, it is the loyalty and absolute subordination of all at the front and at home to the man who embodies for us not only the German present, but also our expectations for Germany's future.

I say this in the name of the entire German people, the spokesman of whom I now feel myself more than ever to be. I say it in the name of millions of soldiers in every branch of the armed forces who are fulfilling their hard duty at the front, in the name of millions of workers, farmers and artists, of millions of women, who bear the difficulties of the war with patience and bravery, and in the name of the German youth, who bear his name with pride.

As a nation of 90 million, we lay before him our faith. We believe in a German victory because we believe in him. Our good wishes for him rise from the deepest depths of our heart. God grant him health and strength and his grace. Loyally and faithfully we want to follow him wherever he may lead. He is our faith and our proud hope. We will walk firmly into the future his hand points toward.

A people that calls such a leader its own, that follows him with such unconditional loyalty, is destined for greatness. It need only desire that greatness.

We, the Führer's old fighting comrades gather around him now as always in the decisive moments of our struggle. We belong to him. We were the first he called. How often we walked with him through trials and dangers. At the end of the way was always the shining goal.

So it is today. We never want to lose sight of it. With our gaze fixed on the goal we will fight and work on. We are the example of faith, of bravery, of unchanging conviction. We are the old guard of the party that never wavers.

As the first soldiers of our people, our wish for the Führer on his birthday is the same one that has always moved our hearts. May he remain in the future what he is today and always will be: Our Hitler!

Background: This was the penultimate of Goebbels' annual speeches on Hitler's birthday. The news of the war was increasingly grim.

The source: The German text can be found in any German paper dated 20 April 1944. Helmut Heiber also includes the text in his two-volume *Goebbels Reden*, based on a tape of the speech. His version is a more accurate text of what Goebbels actually said (some minor modifications were made in the printed version used).

## **Our Hitler**

### Goebbels' 1944 Speech on Hitler's 55th Birthday

German citizens!

Not only fortune, but also reputation is always shifting during a war between great men and nations. It is therefore difficult, perhaps even impossible, to determine the political and military importance of individual events in the midst of war. What yesterday seemed a brilliant move can within several weeks or months prove a major mistake, and that which seemed short-sighted and mistaken can later become a decision of deep wisdom. Only when a war is over, and usually some time after that, once its lasting results have become clear to all, is it possible to objectively weigh and evaluate its individual events.

That was true of every past war, and presumably of this one as well. The war can be evaluated only as a whole. Beside the events of the moment, a war has larger historical significance. Only a trained and practiced eye can understand that larger significance during the war itself. For example, consider the vast differences in Frederick the Great's reputation during the Seven Year War, particularly from 1760 to 1763. His personal reputation and that of his work during his day was influenced by partisan considerations, but today we evaluate him historically, that is, objectively and justly. His individual actions and decisions were evaluated in various ways. Given the circumstances of the time, some seemed to lead to victory, others to defeat. Even those in his entourage could not properly evaluate them.

A genius acts from instinct, sometimes consciously but often unconsciously, which raises his actions out of the ordinary sphere. Great, timeless personalities have to fulfill not only the tasks of the moment, but larger historical missions as well. Unfortunately, the two do not always agree. A war of vast historical significance brings with it the heaviest sacrifices and burdens. The less these problems are seen by people in their broader historical significance, the likelier the struggling generation will be misunderstand them, or even to think them avoidable.

This explains why those at the time and posterity evaluate historical events differently. We can think of numerous historical examples. We can hardly understand today why the contemporaries of Alexander the Great or Caesar or Frederick the Great did not understand their true significance. To us there are no secrets any more.

It is somewhat surprising that those who may get the most excited about historical misunderstandings are also the ones who are least able to make the proper historical judgment regarding their own day. They are people who have the ability to evaluate the events and developments of earlier eras, but who lack the capacity to judge the historical happenings of their own era in a way that posterity will respect.

Which of the events of the present war will be significant in a hundred years? It is difficult to judge individual events, but even today one can with some assurance predict the factors that will influence posterity's evaluation of this great drama of the European peoples. It is not a matter of things whose traces, even by our present understanding, will have vanished several years after the war is over. For example, few signs of the damage to Germany's cities caused by enemy air terror are likely to remain ten years after peace comes. What is likely to be recalled are the attitudes and behavior of those who withstood the terror.

Whether Europe becomes Bolshevik or whether we succeed in rescuing our continent and its people from this deadly threat will influence the future of many, perhaps all, future generations. This is the decisive historical significance of this war. The man who in the end frees our continent from its spiritual and military difficulties will be at the conclusion of the vast struggle, from the standpoint of history, the man of the war.

That does not change the fact that his opponents have done and are doing everything in their power to hinder the historical mission of the man who stands above his times. They are using their material superiority in population and weapons in an attempt to bring his work to naught. But all this will only increase the honor history will give him and add immortal fame to his name. Once the foul mist of vile and despicable wartime polemics has lifted, he will suddenly appear as the great historical figure of this enormous international drama, both to the living and even more to the coming generations.

And what of his opponents, who were ready and willing to throw the two thousand year history and civilization of our continent into chaos? They will be of interest only as the dark background to the greatness and foresight of this shining figure.

Was not this also true when we were fighting for power? How often did the Führer battle long-forgotten political parties when rescuing the Fatherland? How often did cowardly journalists attempt to persuade us that they were not only his equal, but his political superiors! Today even their names are forgotten. All that remains is the historical personality, one who stands above his times, and who despite all the challenges that sometimes seemed insurmountable found the solution to the German dilemma and saved the nation.

Victory determined everything then, as it will today. The end of this war will bring with it either the end of European history and any historical meaning from our point of view, or our victory will give our continent a chance for a new beginning. The fame belongs alone to the man who saved Europe from its most terrible danger, who despite the turns of triumph and defeat came through at the end and thereby saved not only his own nation, but the continent. This conclusion springs not from any desire for fame or national superiority, which is granted nonetheless by the sense of justice of the best in every nation who understand the graveness of the hour.

I am sure that I speak to the heart not only of every old National Socialist, but to that of every German. We all feel part of a historic mission. For us, the goal of the war is not only clear, it is also unalterable and unchangeable. The longer the war lasts, the more fanatically and committedly we pursue it. To seek the goal means to follow the Führer, to do his work with loyalty and devotion, to turn in the midst of the storms of the war every personal thought and deed toward him. We are happy to have him on our side, for he incorporates not only our firm faith in victory, but also the constancy

of our national leadership, the character of our war outlook, and the integrity of our war aims.

We only need to look over our borders to foreign and enemy peoples to see what he means to the nation and what he is to us all. It is easy and comfortable during times of great national successes, especially when they have been achieved without great cost of blood and sacrifice, to join the crowds of those shouting praises for the accomplishments of the national leadership, which everyone can see. It is harder to stay loyal to the cause in the middle of a long struggle for a nation's very existence. Such a struggle demands the full energy of those who are not spared periods of sleeplessness or even occasional nervous exhaustion. But the harder and more bitter the circumstances, the more their deeper historical significance is revealed.

We old National Socialists have never seen the Führer in a different role. Our greatest honor was always to stand by him in such hours, to protect his rear as he stepped forward into still unknown and dangerous territory, to give him the certainty that he was never alone. The National Socialist movement, the core of our present national community, developed in circumstances like these. The virtues of our movement, which overcame all barriers and obstacles during the hard years of the struggle for power, have become during this war the virtues of our fighting people, tested a million-fold by trial and danger: Our loyalty to ourselves finds its most visible but also its deepest expression in our loyalty to the Führer.

When has there ever been such a fruitful relationship between a people and its leader, and vice versa?

People of other countries see their leaders as the representatives of class interests, of parliamentary majorities more or less cleverly constructed, as necessary evils in the absence of a better alternative, or as the result of blind mass terror that stands upon millions of corpses.

For us, the Führer is the spokesman and the agent of the will of the whole nation. Despite all the prophecies of the enemy, there has not been a single case, from the beginning of the war until today, in which a soldier broke his oath to the Führer or in which a worker in the home front renounced his loyalty to the Führer by ceasing his labors.

We know that the enemy is unable to understand this, and attributes it to force or violence. But what we as a people and leadership have accomplished cannot be brought about by such methods. Other forces must be at work, forces of loyalty and community that cannot be understood by people who are unable to perceive them. That which we sowed before the war begun has grown to fruition: the rich harvest of solidarity between the leadership and the whole people.

Permit me the freedom in this speech to say some things to the entire German people, at home and at the front, about the Führer personally. I have had the good fortune to be at his side during the period of struggle for power and during this great war, to be present at many, indeed most, of the particularly happy and critical hours. I never saw him doubt or waver. He always followed the call of his blood, and where it called he went, regardless of the difficulties. He stands above all other statesmen of our time in that he recognized danger at the proper time and took courageous action. The German people thanks him for that today, as will one day all of civilized humanity.

If there is a divine gift to leading peoples and nations which allows great historical leaders to perceive instinctively the necessary and right, and to combine this knowledge with an unerring sense



of what needs to be done at the moment, he is that blessed man. That the parliamentary mayflies on the other side fail to realize this is more a proof of his abilities than of their absence. Even the best leadership sometimes suffers defeats and reverses. They are in fact the test that proves its merits. For all people and nations, war is a hard and pitiless force that separates the strong from the weak and the industrious from the lazy.

Has the Reich and its leadership ever failed the test? Have we ever stood confused and desperate before approaching fate, unsure of what to do? We have always stood ready. A man always stood at the head of our people who was a bright and shining example. Even under the hardest blows he stood firm and the confidence of his heart turned the greatest misfortunes to our advantage.

We don't speak about it often, but we all know it. Never has the German people looked with such faith toward its Führer as in the days and hours when it knew the full gravity of the situation. It did not lose heart, but rather affirmed even more firmly and strongly its goals.

When we looked back on November 1918, we could not rid ourselves of the bitter feeling that it was in part our own responsibility. But this time we have earned victory, and the goddess of history will not withhold it from us. The price of our coming victory is our loyalty. The war is not an occasion for loose talk and empty promises. It is a time to realize what we have so often said in the past. It depends on our oath to the flag and on the silent oath in our hearts.

Wherever in Europe our soldiers stand in battle or on watch, wherever Germans work, wherever German farmers sow and harvest, wherever inventors, artists, and scholars ponder with crinkled brow the future of the Reich, wherever mothers pray for victory and children trust in it with quiet confidence, in distant nations and continents, on every ocean, wherever Germans breathe, the warmest wishes from the truest hearts for the Führer rise to the heavens.

The fact that he stands at the head of our nation is for us all the surest sign of coming victory. Never was he so near to us as in the moment of danger, never were we so bound to him as when we felt that he needed us as we needed him.

Through this we have dashed the great hopes of our enemy. They hoped that we would do what they could not. It was the only way we could be defeated. We have done what is necessary for victory.

I am happy to speak to the German people at this hour. We have affirmed in the past year our support and our confidence in the Führer's work. On his birthday we want also to speak the words that come from the depths of our heart. We want to tell him what he is to us all, both in the trials of the moment and in the shining future.

We all wish him health and strength and a blessed hand. He must know that he can always rely on his people. When trial and danger is before him, we will stand more firmly behind him. We believe in him and in his historical mission, and believe that in the end he will be crowned with victory. He will be the man of the century, not his opponents. He gave this century its meaning, its content, its goal. Affirming the meaning and understanding the content, we will reach the goal. He points the way. He commands, we follow. We, his old and tested comrades, march in the first row behind him. We are tested by danger, steeled by misfortune, hardened by storm and trial, but also crowned with the first victories and successes of the coming new world. We are at the head of a countless multitude who

carry and defend the future of the Reich.

We defend the cause of the nation, which has found its visible form in the Führer .

In this battle between life and death, he is and will remain for us what he always was: Our Hitler!

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Background: The Third Reich was in ruins, and even Goebbels had little to offer to raise hopes of victory.

The source: This was printed in most remaining German newspapers on 20 April 1945.

## **Our Hitler**

### Goebbels' 1945 Speech on Hitler's 56th Birthday

German citizens!

At the moment of the war when — so it seems — all forces of hate and destruction have been gathered once again, perhaps for the final time, in the west, the east, the southeast, and the south, seeking to break through our front and give the death blow to the Reich, I once again speak to the German people on the eve of 20 April about the Führer, just as I have done every year since 1933. That has happened at good and bad times in the past. But never before did things stand on such a knife's edge, never before did the German people have to defend their very lives under such enormous danger, never before did the Reich have to draw on its last strength to protect its threatened self.

Times such as these are rare in history. They are unique and unparalleled for the fighting generation that must survive them. Historical events of similar nature and extent fade in our memory under the pain that we bear, under the sorrows that almost overwhelm us, under tortured questions about our own future and that of our brave, sorely-tested people...

This is not the time to speak of the Führer's birthday in the usual way or to present him with the usual best wishes. More must be said today, and by one who was won the right both from the Führer and the people. I have been at the Führer's side for more than twenty years. I have seen his rise and that of his movement from the smallest and most improbable beginnings up to the seizure of power, and gave my best efforts to them as well. I have shared joy and sorrow with the Führer, from unprecedented historic victories to the terrible setbacks in the remarkable years from 1939 until now. I stand beside him today as fate challenges him and his people with its last, most severe test. I am confident that fate will give him and his people the laurel wreath of victory. The fact that Germany yet lives, that Europe and the civilized world have not yet fallen into the dark abyss that looms before us, is thanks to him alone.

He will be the man of this century — who was sure of himself despite terrible pain and suffering — who showed the way to victory. He is the only one who remained true to himself, who did not cheaply sell his faith and his ideals, who always and without doubt followed his straight path toward his goal. That goal may today be hidden behind the piles of rubble that our hate-filled enemies have wrought across our once-proud continent, but which will once again shine before our burning eyes once the rubble has been cleared.

Times like those we experience today demand more of a leader than insight, wisdom, and drive. They demand a toughness and endurance, a steadfastness of heart and soul, that appear only rarely in history, but that when they do appear produce the most admirable achievements of human genius. Burkhardt said in his *Observations on World History*: "The fates of people and of states, of entire civilizations, can depend on whether an extraordinary person can bring forth the proper strength of soul and action. Normal minds and spirits, no matter how numerous, cannot replace such a person."

Who can deny that only the Führer has the right to feel these words apply to him and his deeds in our and many coming generations? What can enemy statesmen say in response? They have nothing but superior numbers, their stupid and insane destructiveness and their diabolical lust for annihilation, behind which lurk the chaos of the collapse of civilized humanity. What has come of their loud and emotional theses of happiness, what of their Atlantic Charter and their Four Freedoms? Only hunger, misery, pestilence, and mass death. A whole raped part of the earth cries out against them. Once flourishing cities and villages in every nation of Europe have been transformed into fields of craters, and hundreds of thousands, even millions of women and children in the north, east, and southeast of the continent sigh and weep under the raging scourge of Bolshevism.

The most shining culture the earth has ever seen sinks in ruins and leaves only memories of the greatness of an age destroyed by satanic powers. The peoples are shaken by the most severe economic and social crises, which are but foretastes of the terrible events to come. Our enemies claim that the Führer's soldiers marched as conquerors through the lands of Europe — but wherever they came, they brought prosperity and happiness, peace, order, reliable conditions, a plenitude of work, and therefore a decent life. Our enemies claim their soldiers came to the same lands as liberators — but wherever they come there is poverty and misery, chaos, devastation and destruction, unemployment, hunger and mass death. And what remains of their so-called freedom is a life that no one would dare call decent even in the darkest corners of Africa.

Here is a clear broad outline of a program of construction that has proved itself useful, humane and beneficial, positive and forward-looking, in its own as well as in all the other lands of Europe. It stands against the fantasies of Jewish-Plutocratic-Bolshevist destruction. Here stands a man, sure of himself, having a clear and firm will, against the unnatural coalition of enemy statesmen who are only the lackeys and tools of this world conspiracy. Europe once had the choice between these two. It chose concealed anarchy, and must today pay for its mistake with million-fold agony. It will not have much time any more to choose its fate a second time. It is a matter of life or death!

A British newspaper wrote a few days ago that the result of the insane policies of the enemy powers would surely be a revolution of the European peoples against the Anglo-American plutocracy, and that Hitler was the man who was hindered by the same plutocracy through an unholy alliance with Asiatic Bolshevism as he began to bring Europe political and economic happiness. That is how it is, and nothing can whitewash our plutocratic enemies of their crimes.

Opposing this apparently all-powerful coalition of destructive satanic forces brings with it tests and burdens of superhuman nature, but that is not dishonorable — the opposite in fact! To bravely accept a battle that is unavoidable and inescapable, to wage it in the name of divine providence, to have confidence in it and its eventual blessing, to stand before fate with a pure conscience and clean hands, to bear all suffering and every test, never even thinking of being untrue to one's historic mission, never wavering even in the most difficult hours of the final battle — that is not only manly, it is also German in the best sense of the word! Would our people not accept this task and not fight for it as if it were the word of god, it would not deserve to live any longer, and would lose any possibility of further life.

What we experience today is the last act of a powerful drama that began on 1 August 1914 and which we Germans gave up on on 9 November 1918 just before the end. That is why we had to begin again

on 1 September 1939. What we hoped to spare ourselves in November 1918 we have paid for two- or threefold today. There is no escape — unless the German people surrenders any kind of decent human life and is ready to forever live in a way that would shame even the most primitive African tribes.

If it is manly and German as Führer of a great and brave people to depend wholly on oneself in this struggle, relying on one's own strength and certainty as well as the help of god in the face of an enemy who threatens with overwhelming numbers, to fight rather than to capitulate, then it is just as manly and German for a people to follow such a Führer, unconditionally and loyally, without excuse or reservation, to shake off all feelings of weakness and uncertainty, to trust in the good star that is above him and us all. This is all the more true when that star at times is covered by a black cloud. Misfortune must not make us cowardly, but rather resistant, never giving a mocking watching world the appearance of wavering. Rather than hoisting the white flag of surrender that the enemy expects, raise the old swastika banner of a fanatic and wild resistance, renewing the oath that we swore so often in the happy and safe days of peace, thanking god again and again that he gave us a true leader for these terrible times, feeling bound in our hearts to his sorrows and trials, thus showing the enemy world that they can wound but not kill us, that they can beat us bloody but not force us down, torture us, but not demoralize us!

Is there a single German who disagrees? After six years of battle, could our people debase itself so low as to forget honor and duty, surrendering in the turmoil of the moment its holy and inalienable right to its great future for a pot of soup? Who would dare suggest that? Who holds us in such contempt that he believes that now, just as we stand before the final and decisive round of the war, we would be untrue to all our sworn ideals, that we would throw all our hopes for the future of our Reich overboard, giving up in the midst of the confusion of misfortune that has overcome us on ourselves, our land and people, and the lives of our children and children's children?

The world speaks of loyalty as a German virtue. How could our people have withstood the tests of this war without it, and how could it survive the war's coming end without it? For it is ending! The war is nearing its end. The insanity that the enemy powers of unleashed on humanity has gone beyond all bounds. The whole world feels only shame and disgust. The perverse coalition between plutocracy and Bolshevism is collapsing! Fate has taken the head of the enemy conspiracy [U.S. President Roosevelt had died the week before]. It is the same fate that the Führer escaped on 20 July 1944 [the date of an assassination attempt on Hitler], amidst the dead, the wounded and the ruins, so that he could finish his work — through pain and trials it is true, but nonetheless as providence ordained.

Once more the armies of the enemy powers storm against our defensive fronts. Behind them is the slaving force of International Jewry that wants no peace until it has reached its satanic goal of world destruction. But its hopes are in vain! As he has done so often before, god will throw Lucifer back into the abyss even as he stands before the gates of power over all the peoples. A man of truly timeless greatness, of unique courage, of a steadfastness that elevates the hearts of some and shakes those of others, will be his tool. Who will maintain that this man can be found in the leadership of Bolshevism or plutocracy? No, the German people bore him. It chose him, it by free election made him Führer. It knows his works of peace and now wants to bear and fight the war that was forced upon him until its successful end.

Within a few years after the war, Germany will flourish as never before. Its ruined landscapes and provinces will be filled with new, more beautiful cities and villages in which happy people dwell. All of Europe will share in this prosperity. We will again be friends of all peoples of good will, and will work together with them to repair the grave wounds that scar the face of our noble continent. Our daily bread will grow on rich fields of grain, stilling the hunger of the millions who today suffer and starve. There will be jobs in plenitude, the deepest source of human happiness, from which will come blessing and strength for all. Chaos will vanish. The underworld will not rule this part of the world, but rather order, peace, and prosperity.

That was always our goal! It is our goal today. If the enemy powers had their way, humanity would drown in a sea of blood and tears. War would follow war and revolution would follow revolution, finally destroying the last remnants of a world that was once beautiful and lovely, and that will be so again.

But if we achieve our goals, the project of social construction begun in Germany in 1933 and was rudely interrupted in 1939 will be taken up again with renewed strength. Other peoples will join in — not because we force them to, but rather of their own free will — because there is no other way out of the world crisis. Who could show the way save the Führer! His work is the work of order. His enemies have only a devil's work of anarchy and devastation to set against his work.

German history is not rich in great statesmen. But where one has appeared he usually had something to say and give not only to his own people, but to the world. What would there be European about Europe had not German kaisers and kings, counts and generals and their armies repeatedly withstood the onslaughts from the east! Usually only a disunited continent stood behind them that either did not understand or even fell upon Germany in the midst of its saving work for Europe. Why should it be any different today? At the present state of things, which the war is just before, or perhaps even in the midst of, a peripeteia, it is difficult to understand this great battle between peoples. One thing, however, can no longer be disputed: If there had been no Adolf Hitler, if Germany had been led by a government like those in Finland, Bulgaria, or Rumania, it would long since have become the prey of Bolshevism. Lenin once said the path to world revolution leads through Poland and the Reich. Poland is already in the possession of the Kremlin, despite all the attempts of the Anglo-Americans to conceal it. If Germany had followed, or would follow, what would become of the rest of our continent?

To ask the question is to answer it. The Soviets would probably already be at the Atlantic coast, and England sooner or later would receive its just reward for its betrayal of Europe that finds its most wretched expression in its marriage with Bolshevism. In the United States too, one would soon think differently of the dreadful world phenomenon that a Jewish press entirely and fully conceals from the American public.

If the world still lives, and not only our world but the rest of it as well, whom has it to thank other than the Führer? It may defame and slander him today, persecuting him with its base hatred, but it will have to revise this standpoint or bitterly regret it! He is the core of resistance to the collapse of the world. He is Germany's bravest heart and our people's most passionate will. I permit myself to make a judgment that must be made today: If the nation still breaths, if it still has the chance of victory, if there is still an escape from the deadly danger it faces — it is thanks to him. He is steadfastness itself. I have never seen him fail or falter, or weaken or tire. He will go his way to the

end, and there awaits not the end of his people, but rather a new and happy beginning to an era in which Germanism will flourish as never before.

Listen, Germans! Millions of people look to this man from every land on the earth, still doubting and questioning whether he knows the way out of the great misfortune that has befallen the world. He will show the peoples that way, but we look to him full of hope and with a deep, unshakable faith. We stand behind him with fortitude and courage: soldier and civilian, man, woman and child — a people determined to do all to defend its life and honor. He may look his enemies in the eye, for we promise him that he does not need to look behind him. We will not waver or weaken. We will never desert him, no matter how desperate and dangerous the hour. We stand with him, as he stands with us — in Germanic loyalty as we have sworn, as we shall fulfill. We do not need to tell him, for he knows and must know: Führer command! — We will follow! We feel him in us and around us. God give him strength and health and preserve him from every danger. We will do the rest.

Our misfortune has made us mature, but not robbed us of our character. Germany is still the land of loyalty. It will celebrate its greatest triumphs in the midst of danger. Never will history record that in these days a people deserted its Führer or a Führer deserted his people. And that is victory. We have often wished the Führer in happy times our best on this evening. Today in the midst of suffering and danger, our greeting is much deeper and more profound. May he remain what he is to us and always was — Our Hitler!

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**Miscellaneous Speeches**





Background: Goebbels gave this speech on 18 March 1933, just six weeks after Hitler took power. The occasion was the opening of a women's exhibition in Berlin. Goebbels lays out clearly what National Socialism intends to do to change the role of women in society.

The source: "Deutsches Frauentum," Signale der neuen Zeit. 25 ausgewählte Reden von Dr. Joseph Goebbels (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1934), pp. 118-126.

## **German Women** by Joseph Goebbels

German women, German men !

It is a happy accident that my first speech since taking charge of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda is to German women. Although I agree with Treitschke that men make history, I do not forget that women raise boys to manhood. You know that the National Socialist movement is the only party that keeps women out of daily politics. This arouses bitter criticism and hostility, all of it very unjustified. We have kept women out of the parliamentary-democratic intrigues of the past fourteen years in Germany not because we do not respect them, but because we respect them too much. We do not see the woman as inferior, but rather as having a different mission, a different value, than that of the man. Therefore we believed that the German woman, who more than any other in the world is a woman in the best sense of the word, should use her strength and abilities in other areas than the man.

The woman has always been not only the man's sexual companion, but also his fellow worker. Long ago, she did heavy labor with the man in the field. She moved with him into the cities, entering the offices and factories, doing her share of the work for which she was best suited. She did this with all her abilities, her loyalty, her selfless devotion, her readiness to sacrifice.

The woman in public life today is no different than the women of the past. No one who understands the modern age would have the crazy idea of driving women from public life, from work, profession, and bread winning. But it must also be said that those things that belong to the man must remain his. That includes politics and the military. That is not to disparage women, only a recognition of how she can best use her talents and abilities.

Looking back over the past years of Germany's decline, we come to the frightening, nearly terrifying, conclusion that the less German men were willing to act as men in public life, the more women succumbed to the temptation to fill the role of the man. The feminization of men always leads to the masculinization of women. An age in which all great idea of virtue, of steadfastness, of hardness, and determination have been forgotten should not be surprised that the man gradually loses his leading role in life and politics and government to the woman.

It may be unpopular to say this to an audience of women, but it must be said, because it is true and because it will help make clear our attitude toward women.

The modern age, with all its vast revolutionary transformations in government, politics, economics, and social relations has not left women and their role in public life untouched. Things we thought impossible several years or decades ago are now everyday reality. Some good, noble, and commendable things have happened. But also things that are contemptible and humiliating. These

revolutionary transformations have largely taken from women their proper tasks. Their eyes were set in directions that were not appropriate for them. The result was a distorted public view of German womanhood that had nothing to do with former ideals.

A fundamental change is necessary. At the risk of sounding reactionary and outdated, let me say this clearly: The first, best, and most suitable place for the woman is in the family, and her most glorious duty is to give children to her people and nation, children who can continue the line of generations and who guarantee the immortality of the nation. The woman is the teacher of the youth, and therefore the builder of the foundation of the future. If the family is the nation's source of strength, the woman is its core and center. The best place for the woman to serve her people is in her marriage, in the family, in motherhood. This is her highest mission. That does not mean that those women who are employed or who have no children have no role in the motherhood of the German people. They use their strength, their abilities, their sense of responsibility for the nation, in other ways. We are convinced, however, that the first task of a socially reformed nation must be to again give the woman the possibility to fulfill her real task, her mission in the family and as a mother.

The national revolutionary government is everything but reactionary. It does not want to stop the pace of our rapidly moving age. It has no intention of lagging behind the times. It wants to be the flag bearer and pathfinder of the future. We know the demands of the modern age. But that does not stop us from seeing that every age has its roots in motherhood, that there is nothing of greater importance than the living mother of a family who gives the state children.

German women have been transformed in recent years. They are beginning to see that they are not happier as a result of being given more rights but fewer duties. They now realize that the right to be elected to public office at the expense of the right to life, motherhood, and her daily bread is not a good trade.

A characteristic of the modern era is a rapidly declining birthrate in our big cities. In 1900, two million babies were born in Germany. Now the number has fallen to one million. This drastic decline is most evident in the nation's capital. In the last fourteen years, Berlin's birthrate has become the lowest of any European city. By 1955, without emigration, it will have only about three million inhabitants. The government is determined to halt this decline of the family and the resulting impoverishment of our blood. There must be a fundamental change. The liberal attitude toward the family and the child is responsible for Germany's rapid decline. We today must begin worrying about an aging population. In 1900 there were seven children for each elderly person, today it is only four. If current trends continue, by 1988 the ratio will be 1 : 1. These statistics say it all. They are the best proof that if Germany continues along its current path, it will end in an abyss with breathtaking speed. We can almost determine the decade when Germany collapses because of depopulation.

We are not willing to stand aside and watch the collapse of our national life and the destruction of the blood we have inherited. The national revolutionary government has the duty to rebuilt the nation on its original foundations, to transform the life and work of the woman so that it once again best serves the national good. It intends to eliminate the social inequalities so that once again the life of our people and the future of our people and the immortality of our blood is assured.

I welcome this exhibition, whose goal is to explain and teach, and to reduce or eliminate harm to the individual and the whole people. This serves the nation and popular enlightenment, and to support it

is one of the happiest duties of the new government.

Perhaps this exhibition titled "The Woman" will represent a turning point. If the goal of the exhibition is to give an impression of women in contemporary society, it does so at a time when German society is undergoing the greatest changes in generations. I am aware of how difficult this is. I know the obstacles that had to be overcome to give this exhibition a clear theme and a firm structure. It should show the significance of the woman for the family, the people, and the whole nation. Displays will give an impression of the actual life of women today, and will provide the knowledge necessary to resolve today's conflicting opinions, which were not primarily the result of the contemporary women's movement.

But that is not all. The main purpose of the exhibition "The Woman" is not only to show the way things are, but to make proposals for improvement. It aims to show new ways and new opportunities. Clear and often drastic examples will give thousands of German women reason to think and consider. It is particularly pleasing to us men in the new government that families with many children are given particular attention, since we want to rescue the nation from decline. The importance of the family cannot be overestimated, especially in families without fathers that depend entirely upon the mother. In these families the woman has sole responsibility for the children, and she must realize the responsibility she has to her people and nation.

We do not believe that the German people is destined by fate to decline. We have blind confidence that Germany still has a great mission in the world. We have faith that we are not at the end of our history, but rather that a new, great and honorable period of our history is now beginning. This faith gives us the strength to work and not despair. It enabled us to make great sacrifices over the past fourteen years. It gave millions of German women the strength to hope in Germany and its future, and to let their sons join in the reawakening of the nation. This faith was with the brave women who lost their husbands and breadwinners in the war, with those who gave their sons in the battle to renew their people. This faith kept us standing during the need and desperation of the past fourteen years. And this faith today fills us with new hope that Germany will again find its place in the sun.

Nothing makes one harder and more determined than struggle. Nothing gives more courage than to face resistance. During the years when Germany seemed destined to decline, a new kind of womanhood developed under the confused veneer of modern civilization. It is hard, determined, courageous, willing to sacrifice. During the four years of the great war and the fourteen years of German collapse that followed, German women and mothers proved themselves worthy companions of their men. They have borne all the bitterness, all the privation and danger, and did not fail when hit by misfortune, worry, and trouble. As long as a nation has such a proud and noble womanhood, it cannot perish. These women are the foundation of our race, of its blood, and of its future.

This is the beginning of a new German womanhood. If the nation once again has mothers who proudly and freely choose motherhood, it cannot perish. If the woman is healthy, the people will be healthy. Woe to the nation that neglects its women and mothers. It condemns itself.

We hope that the concept of the German woman will again earn the honor and respect of the entire world. The German woman will then take her pride in her land and her people, in thinking German and feeling German. The honor of her nation and her race will be most important to her. Only a nation that does not forget its honor will be able to guarantee its daily bread.

The German woman should never forget that.

I declare this exhibition open. May it reveal all the former errors and show the way to the future.

Then the world will once again respect us, and we will be able to affirm the words of Walther von der Vogelweide, who had this to say about the German woman in his famous poem:

He who seeks  
Virtue and proper love,  
Should come to our land.  
There is much joy.  
Long may I live there.

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Background: In this speech given on 18 August 1933, Goebbels develops his thinking on the directions German radio would take. The occasion was the opening of a radio exhibition. As Goebbels notes, a cheap radio receiver, the Volksempfänger, had just been introduced as a way of making the radio affordable for the average citizen.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Der Rundfunk als achte Großmacht," Signale der neuen Zeit. 25 ausgewählte Reden von Dr. Joseph Goebbels (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1938), pp. 197-207.

## **The Radio as the Eight Great Power**

by Joseph Goebbels

My fellow people's comrades!

Napoleon spoke of the "press as the seventh great power." Its significance became politically visible with the beginning of the French Revolution, and maintained its position for the entirety of the 19th century. The century's politics were largely determined by the press. One can hardly imagine or explain the major historical events between 1800 and 1900 without considering the powerful influence of journalism.

The radio will be for the twentieth century what the press was for the nineteenth century. With the appropriate change, one can apply Napoleon's phrase to our age, speaking of the radio as the eighth great power. Its discovery and application are of truly revolutionary significance for contemporary community life. Future generations may conclude that the radio had as great an intellectual and spiritual impact on the masses as the printing press had before the beginning of the Reformation.

The November Regime [the NSDAP term for the Weimar Republic] was not able to understand the full significance of the radio. Even those who claimed to have awakened the people and gotten them involved in practical politics were without exception almost blind to the possibilities of this modern method of influencing the masses.

At best, they saw it as an easy way to distract the masses from the difficulties of our national and social life through games and entertainment. Only reluctantly did they think of using radio for political purposes. As in all other things, they viewed radio through the mildew of an ostensible objectivity. They left the radio and its development to its technical and administrative experts, limiting their own use of it for partisan purposes to times of particular domestic crises.

It goes without saying that the National Socialist revolution, which is modern and intent on action, as well as the popular upheaval we have led, must change abstract and lifeless methods in the radio. The old regime was content simply to fill empty offices or change the faces, without however changing the spirit and content of public life. We on the other hand intend a principled transformation in the worldview of our entire society, a revolution of the greatest possible extent that will leave nothing out, changing the life of our nation in every regard.

This process, which has been visible to the layman in the last six months, was naturally not random. It was systematically prepared and organized. We have used our power in the last six months to carry out this transformation. We spent the period before 30 January in winning power, having then the same goals that we have carried out in the six months since we took power.

It would not have been possible for us to take power or to use it in the ways we have without the radio and the airplane. It is no exaggeration to say that the German revolution, at least in the form it took, would have been impossible without the airplane and the radio.

It is in fact a modern revolution, and it has used the most modern methods to win and use power. It therefore does not need saying that the government resulting from this revolution cannot ignore the radio and its possibilities. To the contrary, it is resolved to use them to the fullest extent in the work of national construction that is before us, and in ensuring that this revolution can stand the test of history.

That means a series of important reforms in the organization and content of the radio. On the one hand, these reforms will assure the organic continuation of the radio and its further development both in the near and long term. They will also mean a transformation of its whole nature, bringing it in tune with the modern community of our people.

As in all other areas, the changes are primarily spiritual in nature. The radio must be brought out of the stubborn emptiness of its technical limitations into the lively spiritual developments of our age. It is not possible for the radio to ignore the times. More than any other form of public expression, it has the duty to meet the needs and demands of the day. A radio that does not seek to deal with the problems of the day does not deserve to influence the broad masses. It will soon become an empty playground for technicians and intellectual experimenters. We live in the age of the masses; the masses rightly demand that they participate in the great events of the day. The radio is the most influential and important intermediary between a spiritual movement and the nation, between the idea and the people.

That requires a clearly expressed direction. I have spoken of this often with regards to various areas of our spiritual life. There can be no lack of direction, either with people or with things. The moral value or lack thereof depends not on words, but on content. The direction and the goal always determine whether something is good, useless or even harmful for our people.

A government that has determined to bring a nation together so that it is once more a center of power in the scales of great world events has not only the right, but the duty, to subordinate all aspects of the nation to its goals, or at least ensure that they are supportive. That is also true for the radio. The more significant something is in influencing the will of the broad masses, the greater its responsibility to the future of the nation.

That does not mean we want to turn the radio into a spineless servant of our partisan political interests. The new German politics rejects any partisan limitations. It seeks the totality of the people and nation, and the reconstructive work it plans or has already begun includes all who are of good will. Within the framework of these great tasks, the radio, if it is to remain living, must hold to and advance its own artistic and spiritual laws. Just as its technical methods are modern and distinct, so too are its artistic capacities. It is only distantly related to the stage and film. It is rarely possible to bring a powerful stage or film presentation to the radio with no changes. There is a style of speaking on the radio, a style of drama, of opera, of radio show. The radio is in no way a branch of the stage or film, but rather an independent entity with its own rules.

It faces particular demands to be contemporary. It works with the tasks and needs of the day. Its duty is to give immediate events lasting meaning. Its actuality is both its greatest danger and its greatest strength. It gave impressive evidence on 21 March and 1 May of its ability to reach the people with great historical events. The first event acquainted the entire nation with a major political event, the second with an event of social-political significance. Both reached the entire nation, regardless of class, standing, or religion. That was primarily the result of the tight centralization, the strong reporting, and the up-to-date nature of the German radio.

Being up-to-date brings one close to the people. We call our revolution a popular one for good reason. It came from the depths of the people. It was carried out by the people, and done for them. It dethroned absolute individualism and put the people once again at the center. It broke with the weary skepticism of our intellectual leadership, which in the end turned out to be only a thin layer of morbid big-city intellectualism that left the masses alone in their hopeless misery.

The problems that we in the government face today are the same problems that face the man in the street. The problems we treat over the ether in plays, speeches, addresses and dramas are the problems that directly concern people. The better the radio recognizes them and treats them in fresh and varied ways, the better it will fulfill its tasks and the more the people will resolve to deal with these problems.

Before we reach this ideal situation in our radio policies, there are a series of preparations and problems to deal with. These are primarily organizational. Probably as a result of the period behind us, which ignored spiritual and political responsibilities, the art of organization developed to an intolerable degree. This disease of the age infected radio stations as well. Here too one organized not what had to be organized, but whatever could be organized. A hundred cooks spoil the soup, a hundred bureaucrats spoiled any spiritual accomplishments. The more committees, review committees, bureaucrats and higher offices there were in the German radio system, the less its political accomplishments. Here more than anywhere else, there were no personalities who took pleasure in responsibility. The spiritual energy, the flexibility necessary to reach the people in changing times, may not be the responsibility of boards, commissions or committees. They only get in the way. Here, too, faster than is generally believed, we will clearly and resolutely introduce the leadership principle.

Excessive organization can only get in the way of productivity. The more bureaucrats there are, the more obscure the internal structures, the easier it is for someone to hide his inability or incompetence behind some committee or board. And not only that. Excessive organization is always the beginning of corruption. It confuses responsibility and thus enables those of weak character to enrich themselves at public expense.

That is what formerly happened in the German radio system. There were huge salaries that lacked any justification given what was accomplished, outrageous expense accounts, generous insurance policies, usually inversely related to any positive achievements. There are some today who claim to have been the "fathers of radio." One can only say to them that they were not the ones who developed radio, but rather that they made no productive use of it in hard times. They only knew how to exploit it for their own benefit. It would surely be good for those who really built the German radio if they did not have to stand beside these fortune hunters with their fat wallets and empty consciences. As the saying has it: "Tell me your friends and I'll tell you who you are."

I need not say that the government of the National Socialist revolution will not be moved in its resolve to bring order here. We will eliminate excessive organization as quickly as possible, replacing it with Spartan simplicity and economy. We will also systematically increase productivity in all areas. We will bring to the microphone the best spiritual elements of the nation, making the radio into the most multifaceted, flexible means of expressing the wishes, needs, longings, and hopes of our age.

We do not intend to use the radio only for our partisan purposes. We want room for entertainment, popular arts, games, jokes, and music. But everything should have a relationship to our day. Everything should include the theme of our great reconstructive work, or at least not stand in its way. Above all it is necessary to clearly centralize all radio activities, to place spiritual tasks ahead of technical ones, to introduce the leadership principle, to provide a clear worldview, and to present this worldview in flexible ways.

We want a radio that reaches the people, a radio that works for the people, a radio that is an intermediary between the government and the nation, a radio that also reaches across our borders to give the world a picture of our character, our life, and our work. The money produced by radio should in general go back to it. [German radio listeners had to pay a radio license fee.] If there are surpluses, they should be used to serve the spiritual and cultural needs of the whole nation. If the stage and publishing suffer from the rapid growth of radio, we will use the revenues not necessary for the radio to maintain and strengthen our intellectual and artistic life. The purpose of radio is to teach, entertain, and support people, not to gradually harm the intellectual and cultural life of the nation. One of my main tasks in the near and more distant future will be to keep a reasonable balance in this regard. I am convinced that the radio as well as the stage, publishing, and film will benefit.

With the opening of this exhibition, a systematic campaign to advertise for new radio receivers begins. We will use the knowledge of propaganda we gained in the past years. Our goal is to double German radio listenership. That will result in a financial foundation that will not only enable radio to carry on its mission, but also will support the entire intellectual and cultural life of the nation. We will strengthen the stage, film, music, and publishing, providing a firm financial foundation.

This year's radio exhibition opens in this spirit. Its keynote is the People's Receiver [a cheap radio receiver]. Its low price will enable the broad masses to become radio listeners. Science and industry have done what they could, earning the thanks of the government and of the whole nation. May the radio leadership now do its part. Then we will together accomplish our goal. If science, industry and intellectual leaders work hand in hand, and if their common efforts are supported by a steadfast sense of the highest political responsibility, then we will leave behind the many mistakes and errors of the past and open a new era of German radio. It will open new paths not only for Germany's political life, but for the work of radio throughout the world.

This exhibition stands in the shadow of this great task. It is a start, a beginning, an expression of German courage and German confidence.

It is our dearest wish that science, industry and the intellectual leadership of German radio from now on will follow a new path, at the end of which stands our common, great goal:

One People, one Reich, one will, and a glorious German future!

In this sense I declare the 10th German Radio Exhibition open.



Background: On the occasion of the first Nuremberg Rally that followed Hitler's 1933 takeover of power, Goebbels gave a speech discussing the bad press Germany was receiving because of its racial policies.

The source: "Rassenfrage und Weltpropaganda," Reichstagung in Nürnberg 1933 (Berlin: Vaterländischer Verlag C. A. Weller, 1933), pp. 131-142. This was the illustrated volume put out by Julius Streicher to commemorate the rally.

## **The Racial Question and World Propaganda**

by Joseph Goebbels

The National Socialist revolution is a typical German product. Its scale and historical significance can only be compared with other great events in human history. It would be false and misleading to compare this revolution to other transformations in recent European history. True, it shares their impulses, their energy, and perhaps even their methods, with some exceptions. But its foundations, causes, and therefore results are entirely different. It could not have happened without the war and the November Revolt, at least in its speed and power.

The Versailles treaty of non-peace stood in its way. Poverty, unemployment, desperation, and decay accompanied it through all its ups and downs. An over-refined democratic parliamentarianism that today seems almost grotesque found its last and highest expression. It provided the stage on which National Socialism rose to power. We told our opposition often enough that although we were using its weapons and rules for our purposes, we had nothing intellectually or politically in common with them. To the contrary, our goal was use these means to put an end to them and their methods, to finally eliminate their theories and policies. Both in theory and practice, National Socialism opposes liberalism.

Just as liberalism after the French Revolution had various effects on every nation and people, depending on their nature and character, the same is true today for the forces that oppose it. German democracy was always a particular playground of European liberalism. Its innate tendency towards excessive individualism was foreign to us, which lost it any connection to real political life after the war. It had nothing to do with the people. It represented not the totality of the nation, but turned into a perpetual war between interests that gradually destroyed the national and social foundations of our people's existence.

National Socialism was able to overcome this condition of continual spiritual, economic, and political crises only because the German people themselves regained their composure, and found a political idea and organization that corresponded to the character of the German nation. National Socialism is a completely German phenomenon. It can only be understood in the framework of German conditions and forces. Like Mussolini once said about Fascism, "it is not for export."

Nonetheless, we see the National Socialist revolution as an event that affects the entire world. Besides, the solution of the German Question cannot be without consequences for the future constellation of Europe. It is a warning for the entire liberal world that Germany has replaced democracy with an authoritarian system, that liberalism broke under the blows of the national uprising, that parliamentarianism and the party system are outdated concepts for us.

The past three years have proven that the strength of a new idea is stronger than the resources of an

outdated worldview, even when it defends itself with the instruments of state. A new kind of authority has been established in every area of public life in Germany.

The insane belief in equality that found its crassest expression in political parties is no more. The principle of personality has replaced the notion of popular idiocy. A united German nation was born, despite all the labor pains. It is not surprising that those who benefited from parliamentarianism struck their tents when they saw that National Socialism was firmly established. They decided to take up their activity beyond our borders. That does not mean they have given up on Germany. They believe their hour may not be near, but that it will eventually come.

They do all they can to cause the Reich domestic and international difficulties. These pacifists from head to toe do not even hesitate to urge bloody war against Germany in the foreign papers that are not yet wise enough to refuse them space.

One cannot make sense of this situation without understanding the significance of the racial or Jewish Question.

The National Socialist government also cannot ignore it. Our laws suffer hard and often unjustified criticism abroad, above all from International Jewry itself. But one should not forget that dealing with the Jewish Question through legal means was the best approach. Or should the government have followed the principles of democracy and majority rule and let the people themselves solve the problem?

History has never had a revolution less bloody, more disciplined and more orderly than ours. In attempting to deal with the Jewish question and to approach the matter legally for the first time in Europe's history, we are only following the spirit of the age. Defending against the Jewish danger is only part of our plan. When it becomes the only issue when National Socialism is discussed, that is Jewry's fault, not ours. It has attempted to mobilize the world against us in the secret hope of winning back the territory it has lost.

This hope is not only in vain, it also carries with it a series of dangers and difficulties for Jewry itself. It cannot prevent arguments throughout the world not only against our policies, but also for them. The discussion has taken on an extent that both in the immediate and distant future could have extraordinarily unpleasant consequences for the Jewish race.

Richard Wagner once called the Jews the "plastic demon of decomposition" and Theodor Mommsen meant the same when he saw them as the "ferment of decomposition." In contrast, the Aryan sees himself as a creative creature. There may be a certain tragedy inherent in the nature of the Jews, but is it our fault that this race works destructively among the peoples and is a constant danger to their domestic and international security?

The fundamental differences between the two races were responsible for the repeated explosions during the November years [1918-1933]. As long as the Jews remain anonymous, they are secure. The moment they lose their anonymity, the racial problem became acute and required a suitable solution. We certainly do not hold the Jews solely to blame for the German spiritual and economic catastrophe. We all know the other causes that led to the decline of our people. However, we have the courage to recognize their role in the process and to name them by name.

It was difficult for a time to persuade the people of this, for public opinion was entirely in Jewish hands.

On a Berlin stage run by the Jews, a steel helmet bearing the words "Away with the filth!" was swept into the dust heap. The Jew Gumbel said the dead of the war had "fallen on the field of dishonor." The Jew Lessing compared Hindenburg with the mass murderer Haarmann. The Jew Toller said heroism was "the most stupid ideal." The Jew Arnold Zweig spoke of the German people as a "horde that needed to be unmasked," as the "animalistic power of the eternal Boche," and as a "nation of newspaper readers, a herd of voters, businessmen, murderers, marchers, operetta lovers, and bureaucratic cadavers."

Is it surprising that the German Revolution also broke this unbearable yoke? When one further considers the alienation of German intellectual life by International Jewry, its corruption of German justice that finally led to the fact that only one out of every five judges was German, the takeover of the medical profession, their predominance among university professors, in short, the fact that nearly all intellectual professions were dominated by the Jews, one has to grant that no people with any self esteem could tolerate that for long. It was only an act of national renewal when the National Socialist revolution took action in this area.

People abroad often do not know the real causes of German Jewish legislation. The statistics are most persuasive.

Nonetheless, we held back at the beginning of our work. We had more important things to do than to take on a question of such great scope. It is entirely the fault of Jewry that things turned out differently. The boycott and atrocity propaganda they made in other countries was an attempt by International Jewry to accomplish by means of public opinion in other countries what had been made impossible by our takeover in Germany. They attempted to cause difficulties for Germany's rebirth through a worldwide boycott campaign, and to render it ineffective.

We finally resorted to a counter-boycott during that critical period. The fact that their racial comrades still in Germany suffered loss is thanks to their racial comrades beyond our borders, who were trying to cause difficulties for us. They only caused economic difficulties for their own race. We can predict the future consequences for Jewry. We have not done anything to encourage them, they are simply the product of the times. Many clever Jews have already realized what they have done, above all to those remaining in Germany, who were the most directly affected. They shouted their warnings. But they could not overcome the radical wing, and in the end had to let things take their course for better or worse. This radical wing has delivered an extraordinarily hard blow to World Jewry and its allies. They put the Jewish Problem up for debate, and where it is debated the results can only be unpleasant. Jewry's strength is in its anonymity; if it loses that, the results can only be harmful.

The recent Zionist Conference in Paris shows the hopeless situation World Jewry has been driven into by its radical wing. When one of the various Jewish groups is no longer united, when there are only fruitless debates, it is a sign that Jewish power is on shaky ground. That is already beginning to have consequences for Jewry.

These events reveal the racial problem in all its difficulty. It will not fade away until Europe's

peoples solve it. It will be solved when the people for their own good do what is necessary for their security.

Our country still faces a world boycott by International Jewry, even if it is not as open as it was earlier, and we are still threatened by a cleverly thought out and systematically executed world conspiracy. The fight against young Germany is a fight by the Second and Third Internationales against our authoritarian state. The countries that tolerate or promote it, sometimes in the mistaken belief that they are thus reducing troublesome German competition on the world market, are bringing upon themselves and their future a danger that we have overcome.

They can do what they want; Germany has overcome the danger. It has taken radical steps to drive out Bolshevism and its ideological content along with its racially-linked concepts.

If our battle against anarchy results in the racial problem becoming a world problem, that was not our intention, but it is fine with us. The conspiracy being forged against Germany will not lead to our destruction, but it will inevitably open the eyes of all the peoples of the world.

Let me in closing say a few words about the measures we are taking against the world propaganda directed against us. It is clear that such a major campaign against Germany's peace and security cannot go unanswered. World propaganda against us will be answered with world propaganda for us.

We know what propaganda is, its power, and its ways and means. We did not learn it in school, but became its masters while doing practical work. Our untiring educational campaign succeeded in uniting Catholics and Protestants, farmers, the middle class and workers, Bavarians and Prussians, into a unified German people. We joined the power of persuasion with the power of the idea. We depended only on ourselves, conquering the state with the power of faith and the power of the word. Who cannot believe that we will succeed in persuading the world of the integrity of our actions? A calm presentation of our case may not win love, but it will at least win growing respect. The truth is always stronger than the lie.

The truth about Germany will get through to the other nations, also in respect to the racial question. We have done what is necessary, and therefore fulfilled our duty. We do not need to fear the world's judgment.

The world is cordially invited to send its journalists and representatives to Germany so that they can see for themselves the courage and determination of the government and people to remove the last remnants of the war and the November revolt, and to introduce a balance of power that will guarantee Germany a secure existence, honor, and its daily bread. No one who sees this nation at work can have doubts about its future. The more foreigners visit us, the more friends young Germany will win.

Our foreign situation today is identical to our domestic situation when we began. Those who attended our meetings then were struck by the crass contrast between what the enemy newspapers wrote about us and what we actually are. Visitors to Germany today have the same experience. Their experiences will be the beginning of respect. Any fair, thinking and objective person, wherever he may come from, will find a people and a government trying to overcome the difficulties of the postwar period by its own strength, and who are attacking the problems they face with hard, manly pride. We need to show the world what we once showed the other parties: We never lose our nerve.

Modesty, clarity, firmness, and decency are the virtues that our kind of German thinking wants to see in the world. There is nothing that is impossible. That which seems impossible can be made possible by the power of the spirit.

Germany will not founder on the racial question; to the contrary, the future of our people depends on solving it. As in so many other areas, here we also shall be pathfinders for the world. Our revolution is of enormous significance. We want it to find the key to world history in the solution of the racial question.

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Background: This speech was delivered to the annual congress of the NSDAP on 13 September 1935. He wrote in his diary on 15 September: "A brilliant success. The Führer was genuinely enthused. A storm of applause, My material was deeply moving."

The source: This text is taken from the English translation published by the NSDAP in 1935. The quality of the translation is not the best.

## **Communism with the Mask Off**

by Joseph Goebbels

In the beginning of August, this year, one of the most authoritative English newspapers published a leading article entitled "Two Dictatorships", in which a naive and misdirected attempt was made to place before the readers of the paper certain alleged similarities between Russian Bolshevism and German National Socialism. This article gave rise to an extraordinary amount of heated discussion in international centres, which was only another proof of the fact that an astonishing misconception exists among the most prominent West European circles as to the danger which communism presents to the life of the individual and of the nation. Such people still cling to their opinion in face of the terrible and devastating experiences of the past eighteen years in Russia.

The author of the article stated that the two symbols which are to-day opposed to one another, namely that of Bolshevism and National Socialism, stand for regimes which "in essential structure are similar and in many of their laws-their buttresses-are identical. The similarity is moreover increasing." He went on to say:

"In both countries are the same censorships on art, literature, and of course the Press, the same war on the intelligentsia, the attack on religion, and the massed display of arms, whether in the Red Square or the Tempelhofer Feld."

"The strange and terrible thing is", he declared, "that two nations, once so widely different, should have been schooled and driven into patterns so drably similar."

One sees here much verbiage and little understanding. The anonymous writer of this article has obviously not studied the essential and fundamental principles either of National Socialism or Bolshevism. He considers merely certain superficial phenomena and he has not taken cognisance of what serious journalists have had to say on the matter in question or compared his views with their objective statements. This entirely erroneous judgment of the case might be passed over with a shrug of the shoulders and considered merely as part of the daily order of things, were it not for the fact that the two problems here discussed belong in their essentials to political phenomena which are important for the future of Europe. Moreover this strikingly cursory judgment on the problem is not merely a single case but has to be taken in conjunction with a much wider and more influential section of West European opinion.

In contradistinction to this, I shall try here to analyse Bolshevism into its basic elements and show these as clearly as I can to the German and European public. This is not an easy task, in view of the fact that the Propagandist Institutions of the Communist International are undoubtedly well organised and have not been unsuccessful in putting before the public of the world, outside of the Russian frontiers, an entirely false picture of Bolshevism. This picture is an extraordinarily dangerous one because of the tension which it can and must naturally cause. Let us also note the profound hatred in

liberal circles throughout the world in regard to National Socialism and its practical constructive work in Germany. Hence the possibility here also of mistaken judgments, such as these already mentioned. They pass by what is essential. International communism would entirely do away with all national and racial qualities which are founded in human nature itself; in property it sees the most primary cause of the break-down of world trade in the capitalist system. Accordingly it exploits this through an extensive and carefully organised and brutal system of action, setting aside personal values and sacrificing the individual to a hollow mass-idol that is only a travesty of actual life itself. At the same time it ignores and destroys all the idealistic and higher strivings of men and nations, through its own crass and empty materialist principles. On the other hand, National Socialism sees in all these things—in property, in personal values and in nation and race and the principles of idealism—these forces which carry on every human civilisation and fundamentally determine its worth.

Bolshevism is explicitly determined on bringing about a revolution among all the nations. In its own essence it has an aggressive and international tendency. But National Socialism confines itself to Germany and is not a product for export, either in its abstract or practical characteristics. Bolshevism denies religion as a principle, fundamentally and entirely. It recognises religion only as an “opium for the people.” For the help and support of religious belief, however, National Socialism absolutely places in the foreground of its programme a belief in God and that transcendental idealism which has been destined by Nature to bring to expression the racial soul of a nation. National Socialism would give the lead in a new concept and shaping of European civilisation. But the Bolshevics carry on a campaign, directed by the Jews, with the international underworld, against culture as such. Bolshevism is not merely anti-bourgeois; it is against human civilisation itself.

In its final consequences it signifies the destruction of all the commercial, social, political and cultural achievements of Western Europe, in favour of a deracinated and nomadic international cabal which has found its representation in Judaism. This grandiose attempt to overthrow the civilised world is so much more dangerous in its effects because the Communist International, which is a past master in the art of misrepresentation, has been able to find its protectors and pioneers among a great part of these intellectual circles in Europe whose physical and spiritual destruction much be the first result of a Bolshevist world revolution.

Bolshevism, which is in reality an attack on the world of the spirit, pretends to be intellectual itself. Where circumstances demand, it comes as a wolf in sheep's clothing. But underneath the false mask which it here and there assumes there are always the satanic forces of world destruction. And where it has had the opportunity of practising its theories it has created “The Paradise of the Workers and Peasants”, in the shape of a fearful desert of starving and hungering people. If we are to take the word of its doctrine then we find a terrible contradiction between its theory and its practice. Its theory is glowing and grandiose but it carries poison in its attractive gloss. Over against this, what we have from it in reality is terrible and forbidding. This is shown in the millions of sacrifices which have been made in honour of it, through executions with the sword, the axe or the hangman's rope or hunger. Its teaching promises “the fatherland of the workers and peasants”, which shall know no frontiers, and a classless social order which will be protected against exploitation through the state, and it preaches an economic principle in which “everything belongs to everybody” and that thereby a real and universal world peace will be ushered in.

Millions of workers on hunger-wages such as are not thought of in western Europe, millions of afflicted and sorrowing peasants who have been robbed of their land, which is being completely

ruined by the stupid experiment of a paralysing collectivism, famine which claims millions of victims year after year in a country of such vast extent that it might serve as a granary for the whole of Europe, the formation and equipping of an army which, according to the claims of all leading Bolsheviks, is to be used for carrying out the world revolution, the brutal and merciless domination of this madly-led apparatus of State and Party at the hands of a small terrorist minority which is mostly Jewish—all this speaks another language, a language which the world cannot listen to permanently because it rings with the story of nameless suffering and indescribable hardships borne by a nation of a hundred-and-sixty million people.

The fact that, in order to carry out its aims, Bolshevism uses propagandist methods which are perceptible only by those which have experience in such things and are entirely accepted in good faith by the average citizen makes this Terror International extraordinarily dangerous for other states and peoples. This propaganda starts out from the principle that the end sanctifies the means, that lies and slander, the terrorising of the individual and of the mass, robbery and burnings and strikes and insurrection, espionage and sabotage of armies can and ought to be made use of, and therewith that the aim of revolutionising the whole world must be specially and solely kept in view. This extraordinarily pernicious method of influencing the masses of the people does not stop before anything or anybody. Those alone are competent to deal with it who see into its secret driving forces and are capable of adopting the necessary contrary measures. This propaganda understands how to adopt every instrument to its purpose. It takes on an intellectual shape in intellectual circles. It is bourgeois with the bourgeoisie and proletarian with the proletariat. It is mild and passive where that attitude suits and it is pugnacious wherever it meets opposition that needs to be suppressed.

Bolshevism carries on its International propaganda through the Komintern.

A few weeks ago this apparatus for world destruction made public to the whole of Europe its plan of campaign for the annihilation of the nations and the states, all arranged and set forth in its tactical and strategical elements. Yet the bourgeois world, whose extirpation was announced openly and without any reserve whatsoever, failed to make any public protest of indignation and unite all the forces at its command as a definite counter-defence.

The cry of warning was raised only by those states in which Bolshevism has been finally overcome through the restoration of national principles. But this cry of warning was laughed at by the threatened bourgeois world and set aside as an exaggerated alarm.

Swept clear of internal enemies and united under the National Socialist standard, Germany placed herself at the head of the groups marshalled in the fight against the international bolshevisation of the world. Herein she is quite aware that she is fulfilling a world mission which reaches out beyond all national frontiers. On the successful issue of this mission depends the fate of our civilised nations. As National Socialists, we have seen Bolshevism through and through. We recognise it beneath all its masks and camouflages. It stands before us derobed of its trappings, bare and naked in its whole miserable imposture. We know what its teachings are, but we know also what it is in practice.

Here I shall give an unvarnished picture, which is backed up in all particulars by incontestable facts. If there is a spark of reason left in the world, and the faculty for clear thinking, then the states and peoples must be shocked at the prospect and induced to come together for their common defence against this acute danger.



I leave the methods and practices of the Communist Propaganda and theory within and without Russia to speak through examples which appear to me to be symptomatic. These examples could be replaced and supplemented by thousands of others, all of which when taken together show up the terrible aspect of this world disease.

Murder of individuals, murder of hostages and mass murder are the favourite means applied by Bolshevism to get rid of all opposition to its propaganda.

In Germany three hundred National Socialists fell victims to the Communist terror practised on individuals. On the 14th January 1930, Horst Wessel was shot through the half-opened door of his house by the Communist, Alberecht Hohler-called Ali-his accessories being the Jews, Salli Eppestein and Else Cohn. On the 9th of August 1931, the police captains, Anlauf and Lenck, were shot down in the Bülowplatz in Berlin. The Communist leaders, Heinz Neumann and Kippenberger, were accused as instigators of the murder. Shortly afterwards Heinz Neumann was arrested in Switzerland because of a passport which was invalid and a request for extradition made by Germany was not granted, on the plea that it was a "political crime." These are only some single examples of the communist terror wreaked on individuals. As further instances of the blood lust and cruelty to which they bear evidence we may turn to the hostage murders which took place in previous years.

On April 30th 1919, in the Courtyard of the Luitpold Gymnasium, in München, ten hostages, among them a woman, were shot through the backs, their bodies rendered unrecognisable and taken away. This act was done at the order of the Communist Terrorist, Eglhofer, and under the responsibility of the Jewish Soviet Commissaries, Levien, Levien-Nissen and Axelrod. In 1919, during the Bolshevich regime of the Jew, Bela Kun, whose real name was Aron Cohn, in Budapest twenty hostages were murdered. During the October Revolution in Spain eight prisoners were shot at Ovièdo, seventeen in Turon; and in the barracks at Pelàno, to protect a communist attack, thirty-eight prisoners were placed at the head of the insurgents and some of them shot. At the Komintern Congress, on July 31st, 1935, the communist leader, Carcio, expressly declared that this revolution was carried through "under the leadership of the communists."

This list of bloodshed becomes all the more fearful and horrible when we add to it the apparently incredible number of mass murders carried out by the Communists. As a classical prototype of this, we have the Paris Commune of the year 1871, which was passionately celebrated by Karl Marx and is approved today by modern Soviets as the model of the Bolshevich World Revolution. The number of victims who fell in that terrible year 1871 can no longer be ascertained. The Jewish Tschekist, Bela Kun, made an experiment which rivalled the Paris Commune in bloodshed when he ordered the execution of 60,000 to 70,000 people in the Crimea. For the most part, these executions were carried out with machine-guns. At the Municipal Hospital in Alupka, 272 sick and wounded were brought out on stretchers in front of the gate of the Institution and there shot. The truth of this has been officially confirmed in the report made to the Geneva Red Cross. During the 133 days of his Terror Rule in Hungary the Jew, Bela Kun, had innumerable men murdered. The names of 570 of those have been given in official documents. In November 1934, the Chinese Marshal, Tschiangkaischek, made public the information that in the province of Kiangsi one million people were murdered by the communists and six millions robbed of all their possessions. All these blood-stained and horror-raising events have reached a climax in the mass murders committed throughout Soviet Russia.

According to returns given by the Soviets themselves and taking reliable sources into account, the number of persons executed within the first 5 years of Soviet rule must be placed at about 1,860,000, in round numbers. Of these, 6,000 were teachers and professors, 8,800 were doctors of medicine, 54,000 were army officers, 260,000 soldiers, 105,000 police officials, 49,000 gendarmes, 12,800 civil servants, 355,000 persons of the upper classes, 192,000 workers, 815,000 peasants.

The Soviet statistician, Oganowsky, estimates the number of persons who died of hunger in the years 1921/1922 at 5,200,000. The Austrian Cardinal-Archbishop, Monsignor Innitzer, said in his appeal of July 1934, that millions of people were dying of hunger throughout the Soviet Union. During his speech delivered before the House of Lords on the 25th of July, 1934, the Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking on reports relative to the famine victims in Soviet Russia in 1933, said that the number was nearer to six than three millions.

We have thus before our eyes a full picture of this fearful and harrowing mass terrorisation which is only approximately paralleled by even the most blood-curdling examples of war or revolution that are recorded in the history of the world. This is the actual system of bloodshed and terror and death which is carried out by hysterical and criminal political maniacs who would have it copied in every country and among every people with the same terrorizing practices, in so far as they might find the possibility of doing so.

In view of all this, it would be idle to bring forward proofs of the spirit of discipline and generous consideration which the National Socialists showed in carrying through their revolutionary aims.

Such is “the strange and terrible” resemblance between the methods followed by the two regimes which the writer of the article in the English newspaper alleges to be similar in “essential structure.” But the facts to which I have referred do not fill out the picture. Revolutions cost money. Propaganda campaigns throughout the world must be financed. Bolshevism procures the means of doing so after its own fashion.

In the summer of 1907 Stalin led the notorious bomb attack at Tiflis on a money transport from the State Bank. Thirty persons fell victims to the attack. The 250,000 roubles which were robbed from the transport, were sent to Lenin, who was then in Switzerland. They were to be at his disposal for revolutionary purposes. On the 17th of January 1908 the Jew, Wallack-Meer, who now goes by the name of Litwinow and has been Chairman of the Council of the League of Nations, was arrested in Paris in connection with the bombing and robbing of the transport at Tiflis.

The Communist Party in Germany organised and led the plunder expeditions there and also the robbery of explosives from official depots. The list of such cases brought before the Courts of the Reich is very long. In this list are thirty crimes described as major and extreme cases. To them must be added the burnings and bombings organised and perpetrated without any consideration whatsoever for the lives of innocent persons.

On the 16th April 1925, there was an explosion in the Cathedral of Sophia, which had been organised and carried out by the Bolshevics. In July 1927 the Communists set the Palais de Justice at Vienna on fire. To celebrate the Lenin Feast, on 22nd January 1930, the Simonoff Monastery at Moscow, a building dating from the 14th century, was blown up. On the night of 27th/28th February 1933 the Reichstag in Berlin was set on fire as a signal for the armed communist rising. Through the medium

of strikes, street fights and armed risings, the first preparatory stage of the Bolshevick revolution is meant to be effected. The methods used are the same in all countries. A long series of revolutionary acts which might be added on all sides furnish a striking witness of this. In one of its propagandist publications, the Komintern boasted that it had organised nearly all the strikes which have taken place during recent years. These strikes find their violent sequel in street fights. From the street fight to the armed rising is but one step. In this sequence, the following risings took place: October 1917 in Russia, January 1919 the Spartacus rising in Germany, 1920 the Max Hoelz revolt in Vogtland, and the Red Army in the Ruhr district, 1921 in Central Germany, September 1923 at Hamburg, December 1924 at Reval, on the 23rd October 1926, 22nd February 1927 and 21st March 1927 at Shanghai. December 1927 in Canton, October 1934 in Spain, April 1935 in Cuba and May 1935 in the Philippines.

Bolshevick propaganda aims its chief blows against the armed forces of a country; because the Bolshevics know that if they were to adopt the principle of trying to secure support from the majority of the people they could never carry out their plans. Force, therefore, is the only means left to them; but in every well-ordered state this meets with the opposition of the army. The Bolshevics accordingly feel bound to introduce their disintegrating propaganda within the ranks of the army itself. Their idea is to corrupt it from within and thus render it ineffective as a bulwark against anarchy.

Before the advent of National Socialism to power in Germany there was the closest cooperation between the Soviet espionage and the Communist organisations here. A foreign department of the O.G.P.U. operated officially in our country. It was the special representative and directive agent of the Communist espionage. The aim of this espionage was not only to obtain military secrets in a traitorous way, but also to carry on a system of sabotage among the police and the army. Part of the programme was to introduce a mutinous spirit into the Reichswehr and by an increasing work of revolutionary instruction to bring about a revolt of the soldiers and sailors in the German defence forces. From July 1931 to December 1932 one-hundred-and-eleven cases of high treason were dealt with before the German Courts. These cases originated with the activities of the Communist Party. Furthermore, there was an extraordinary number of cases of espionage of a treasonable character in the industrial factories. The most boorish example of the interference of "Soviet Diplomats" for the purpose of creating domestic political trouble in another country is afforded by the Jewish Soviet Ambassador, Joffe, who had to leave Berlin on the 6th November 1918, because he had utilized the diplomatic courier to transport sabotage material which was to be used to undermine the German army and make the revolution possible. What were called "Revolution Funds" were used in great part by Liebknecht for the purchase of weapons for the German Communists, and partly also for the production of propaganda material to be used among the army. On the 26th December 1918, one of the Socialists members of the Reichstag, the Jew, Dr. Oskar Cohn, declared that on the 5th of the previous month, he had received 4 million roubles from Joffe for the purpose of the German Revolution.

We can now see that all these activities were meant for the purpose of bringing about the downfall of the German Reich through the undermining and corruption of the German Army.

Amid all these single acts of terror, of hostage murders and mass murders, plunder and arson, strikes and armed risings, espionage and sabotage of armies, we see the Communist World Propaganda showing its forbidding and grimacing countenance. An idea and a movement which has used such

dastardly and revolting means to secure power and to hold it can maintain itself only by chicanery, slander and falsehood. These are the typical methods used by Bolshevism in its propaganda; and they are applied in different ways according to the suitability of the occasion. Thus, for example, we can understand how it is that crises, catastrophes etc. which happen in other countries outside the Soviet Union are exploited by the Bolshevist Propaganda, whereas we are told that within the Soviet frontiers a work of social construction is in progress that has banished economic distress and created a State in which there is no unemployment. The real truth is that a condition of commercial disorder exists throughout the country and an industrial collapse which baffles description. The "Land without Unemployment" contains hundreds of thousands and even millions of beggars and homeless children who throng the streets of the big cities, and hundreds of thousands who are condemned to banishment and forced labour.

While in all the other countries alleged Capitalist and Fascist dictatorships are in power, Russia affords an example of freedom and democratic order. So we are told.

In reality this land is wilting under the Jewish-Marxist rule of force, which will stop at no means to maintain itself in power. The pretended freedom and right of self-determination among the nationalities constituting the Soviet Union turns out in fact to be a process of enslavement and extirpation of those nationalities themselves. The pretended liberation of colonial and semi-colonial peoples through the international proletariat is, when looked at in its true light, a blood-stained and ruthless example of Soviet Imperialism of the worst kind.

In Germany itself, before our advent to power, the pronouncements of the Communist Party varied unscrupulously according to the condition of the times. At first Germany was "a semi-colonial sacrifice to the Versailles Powers and was held down through the League of Nations." But when the National Socialist movement began to make headway among the German public, the Communist Party put forth a programme of "social and national liberation." Then they proclaimed a proletariat confederacy between Berlin and Moscow and against Versailles and the League of Nations. Today a military pact has been made with Paris and Prague and the Soviets have entered the hitherto defamed League of Nations, which used to be known as "The Robber League."

The so-called peace policy of the Soviet Union practically shows itself in world-revolutionary intrigues among the other countries, in unscrupulous stirring-up of conflicts between the various states, while at the same time it is arming at a fantastic rate in preparation for a war of aggression. People in West-European countries talk of a social order without class distinction; but in Russia itself, there is a violent differentiation between the privileged and dispossessed castes. The Soviet propaganda speaks of "a paradise of children that contains the happiest youth in the world."

The real state of the case however shows us millions of unsupported children, the existence of child labour and even the death penalty for children. Bolshevist propaganda deceitfully talks of the "emancipation of woman through communism". The truth is that the institution of marriage has been completely set aside, that there is a terrible disintegration and abolition of family life, that there is an absence of employment for women and a state of prostitution that is alarmingly on the increase.

Such a regime, in which theory and practice are in glaring contradiction, cannot possibly maintain its position except by the propagation of falsehood and unscrupulous hypocrisy.

Before the 30th January, 1933, each time that a workman was murdered by order of the Communists the crime was imputed to the National Socialists. There were constant false reports of mutinies among the Storm Troops and honest German workmen were branded as strike-breakers. When Horst Wessel was assassinated the public horror became so great that the Communists had to bow before it; and, to clear themselves, they put forward the story that this dastardly political misdeed arose from an altercation between rival claimants to a mistress. When Norkus, who was a member of the Hitler Youth, was stabbed by some communist brutes the "Rote Fahne" barefacedly declared that Norkus was killed by a Nazi spy; so that the Nazis were alleged to have murdered a seventeen-year-old member of their own party in order to procure material to have the German Communist Party forbidden by law. The same happened when Maikowski and Gatschke were assassinated.

When National Socialism showed up the work of the Communist Party in Germany the Communist International started the propagandist atrocity stories against National Socialism. The London mock trial was meant to acquit the Communist Party of any guilt of burning the Reichstag by claiming that it had been supported and approved by leading National Socialists. The dead member of the Reichstag could not deny what had been falsely attributed to him. Later on, however, avowals were made by people who had formerly been communist leaders, that not a single word of the truth was contained in the memorandum. The whole thing was avowed by them to have been falsified in all its details for the purpose of bringing National Socialism into discredit before the world. Jurists and journalists of repute, and even an English Lord, descended to the level of making marionettes of themselves at this London mock trial.

Since that time the communists have been carrying on a world-wide systematic work of propaganda against Germany, because they recognise and realise that the National Socialists are their most dangerous enemies. Among the eternally recurring themes of this communist agitation are the stories of war preparations in the interests of German imperialism, preparations for a revanche against France, annexations in Denmark and Holland and Switzerland, in the Baltic States and the Ukraine etc. and a German crusade against the Soviet Union, dissensions in the Party and the Government, especially between the Party and the Army, growing discontent among the masses, assassinations of leading men in Germany or attempts on their lives, preparations for an inflation and the coming of a complete economic collapse, the murder and torturing of prisoners, religious persecutions and cultural vandalisms of all kinds.

These propagandist falsehoods are sent out through thousands of channels and in thousands of ways, bourgeois intellectualism-sometimes unconsciously, sometimes consciously-is pressed into the service of this campaign of defamation. In all European capitals there are large offices for the spread of this poison throughout the world and large subsidies are furnished by the Komintern to prepare and carry out the work. These organisations are constant centres of unrest among the nations. They never tire of stirring up trouble every way they possibly can.

That is Bolshevich propaganda. That is the form in which it clothes itself and lives, using falsehood and slander and chicanery, so as to make the nations suspicious of one another and hate one another, thus spreading a general spirit of unrest; because the Bolshevics know so well that they can never bring the communist idea to triumph except in an age that is distracted and sceptical.

In Germany we have religious controversies which arise from profound questions of conscience but have nothing whatsoever to do with a denial of religion. These controversies are exploited sometimes

by harmless and sometimes malicious critics and a parallel is drawn between them and the absolutely dogmatic atheism of the Bolshevich International. To realise the grotesqueness of the parallel it is only necessary to point to a few examples in the theory and practice of Communism.

In the programme of the Communist International it is openly and freely declared that the struggle against every kind of religion must be carried on ruthlessly and systematically. Lenin declared that “religion is the opium of the people and it is a species of fusel oil.” These statements are published in the fourth volume of his “Works.”

At the second Congress of Atheists, Bucharin declared that religion must be “destroyed with the bayonet.” The Jew, Gubermann, who, under the name of Jaroslowski, is the leader of the Association of Militant Atheists in the Soviet Union, has made the following declaration: “It is our duty to destroy every religious world-concept... If the destruction of ten million human beings, as happened in the last war, should be necessary for the triumph of one definite class, then that must be done and it will be done.”

In its issue of 6th November 1930 *The Atheist*, the monthly periodical which is the central organ of the Association of Militant Atheists, wrote the following: “We shall burn down all the churches of the world and raze all the prisons to the ground.” In all educational establishments throughout the Soviet Union religious instruction is forbidden and in its place there has been introduced a systematic instructional course in Marxist atheism. Children under the age of 18 are forbidden to take part in religious services and prayers. The Church Law of the 8th April 1929 has established a situation in which spiritual and religious communities are deprived of all rights. All the clergy and their families belong to the dispossessed class of Soviet citizens, thus automatically losing their right to work or earn their livelihood, and they are liable to be removed from their domicile at any time whatsoever.

Such is the theory and world concept of the juridical principles underlying Bolshevich atheism, and such principles are accordingly carried out in practice.

Up to 1930, 31 bishops, 1,600 clergy and 7,000 monks were murdered under the Soviet regime. According to statistics available for 1930, there were then confined in prisons, under starvation conditions, 48 bishops, 3,700 clergy and 8,000 monks and nuns. The “International League against the Third International” at Geneva issued statistics on August 6th 1935, showing that in Russia 40,000 priests had been arrested, banished or murdered. Nearly all the Orthodox churches and chapels have been either destroyed or else closed to religious worship and converted into clubs, cinemas, barns etc. Prior to our advent to power, the atheist propaganda carried out by the Marxists in Germany, whose forces we have overthrown, took its stand in favour of the dreadful state of things which I have described. The Social Democratic “League of German Freethinkers” alone had a membership of 600,000. The Communist “League of Proletarian Freethinkers” had close on 160,000 members. Almost without exception, the intellectual leaders of Marxist atheism in Germany were Jews, among them being Erich Weinert, Felix Abraham, Dr. Levy-Lenz and others. At regular meetings, held in the presence of a notary public, members were requested to register their declaration of withdrawal from their church for a fee of 2 Marks. And thus the fight for atheism was carried on. Between 1918 and 1933 the withdrawals from the German Evangelical Churches alone amounted to two-and-a-half million persons in Germany. The programme which these atheistic societies laid down in regard to sexual matters is amply characterised in the following demands publicly expressed at meetings and distributed in leaflet form:

1. The complete abrogation of those paragraphs of the law dealing with the crime of abortion, and the right to have abortion procured free of charge in State Hospitals.
2. Non-interference with prostitution.
3. The abrogation of all bourgeois-capitalistic regulations in regard to marriage and divorce.
4. Official registration to be optional and the children to be educated by the community.
5. Abrogation of all penalties for sexual perversities and amnesty to be granted to all persons condemned as “sexual criminals.”

Truly a case of methodical insanity, which has for its aim the wilful destruction of the nations and their civilization and the substitution of barbarism as a fundamental principle of public life.

Where are the men behind the scenes of this virulent world movement? Who are the inventors of all this madness? Who transplanted this ensemble into Russia and is today making the attempt to have it prevail in other countries? The answer to these questions discloses the actual secret of our anti-Jewish policy and our uncompromising fight against Jewry; for the Bolshevic International is in reality nothing less than a Jewish International.

It was the Jew who discovered Marxism. It is the Jew who for decades past has endeavoured to stir up world revolutions through the medium of Marxism. It is the Jew who is today at the head of Marxism in all the countries of the world. Only in the brain of a nomad who is without nation, race and country could this satanism have been hatched. And only one possessed of a satanic malevolence could launch this revolutionary attack. For Bolshevism is nothing less than brutal materialism speculating on the baser instincts of mankind. And in its fight against West European civilisation it makes use of the lowest human passions in the interests of International Jewry.

The theory underlying this political and economic fanaticism was excogitated by a Jew named Karl Mordechai, alias Marx, the son of a Rabbi in Treves. A variant of the same theory sprang from the brain of another Jew called Ferdinand Lassalle. He was the son of the Jewish Chaim Wolfsohn from Loslau, who changed his name first to Losslauer and then to Lasel and finally to Lassalle. The Labour Minister of the Paris Commune was the Jew, Leo Fraenkel. The Jewish terrorist, Karl Cohen, was the friend of Marx. On the 7th May 1866, in Unter den Linden, Berlin, this Cohen made two attempts to murder Bismarck by shooting at him.

In Pre-war days the editorial staff of the “Vorwaerts”, the German Socialist organ, already employed 15 Jews, the majority of whom subsequently became leaders of Communism in Germany. Among these were Kurt Eisner, Rudolf Hilferding, and Rosa Luxemburg. During the Great War the Polish Jews, Leo Joggisches and Rosa Luxemburg, were at the head of the driving forces intent on bringing about Germany’s military downfall and the subsequent world revolution. Another Jew-Hugo Haase-subsequently chairman of the U.S.P.D. (Independent German Socialist Party) demanded the refusal of war credits on August 4th 1914.

On the 10th November 1918, there was formed the “Council of Six Representatives of the People”

which included the Jews Hasse and Landsberg. On the 16th December 1918, was held the first meeting of the “General Congress of the Workers’ and Soldiers’ Soviet of German.”. In this congress the Jews, Cohen-Reuss and Hilferding, were the principal speakers. The armed forces of Germany were represented by the Jew Hodenberg, for the VIII Army, the Jew Levinsohn, for the IV, the Jew Siegfried Marck for the Army Dept. A, Nathan Moses for Dept. B. Jacob Riesenfeld represented the Army group of Kiew and Otto Rosenberg represented the Army group of Kassel.

The first Communist Party Congress was held in Berlin on the 31st December 1918, at which the Jewess Rosa Luxemburg was elected leader. The Reich Conference of the Spartacus movement, held on the 29th December 1918, was formally opened by the official representative of the Soviet Union, a Jew named Karl Radek Sobelsohn, whilst Rosa Luxemburg appeared as one of the official speakers.

On the night between the 6th and 7th April 1919, after the removal of the Jew Eisner in Munich, the Soviet Republic was proclaimed there. The leading part in this was taken by the Jews Landauer, Toller, Lipp, Erich Muehsam and Wadler. On the 14th April 1919, a second Soviet Government was formed in Munich, with the Jews Leviné-Nissen, Levien and Toller

at its head. The Press of the German Communist Party in Berlin was controlled by the Jews Meyer, Thalheimer, Scholem, Friedlaender etc. The lawyers who functioned on behalf of the German Communist Party were the Jews Litten, Rosenfeld, Joachim, Apfel, Landsberg etc. The well known Bolshevich Jew Raffes, writes: “The hatred of Czarism against the Jews was justified; because from the ’sixties onwards in all the revolutionary parties the Government had to deal with the Jews as the most active members.”

At the second Congress of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Russia, in 1903, the split occurred which divided the party into Bolshevics and Menshevics. In the one as well as in the other of these parties the authoritative positions were held by Jews. These were as follows:

In the Menshevics: Martor (Zederbaum), Trotzki (Bronstein), Dan (Gurwitsch), Martynow, Liber (Goldmann), Abramowitsch (Rein), Goreff (Goldmann) etc.

In the Bolshevics: Borodin (Grusenberg)-subsequently Leader of the bolshevich Revolutionary movement in China, at present Bolshevich Commissary in Mongolia. Frumkin, Hanecki (Fuerstenberg), Jaroslowski (Gubelmann)-Leader of the atheist movement in the Soviet Union and throughout the world, Kamenew (Rosenfeld), Laschéwitsch, Litwinow (Wallach),-at present Foreign Soviet Commissary and formerly Chairman of the League of Nations, Ljadow (Mandelstamm), Radek (Sobelsohn), Sinowjew - 1919 to 1926 leader of the Communist International, Sokolnikow (Brilliant), Swerdlow-close friend and co-worker of Lenin.

In the beginning of August 1917, the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevich Party was opened. The presiding committee was made up of 3 Russians, 6 Jews and 1 Georgian. On the 23rd October 1917 the historic session of Z.K. (Central Committee) was held. Here the armed revolt was decided upon. For the purpose of taking over the leadership of the revolt a “Political Bureau” and a “War Revolutionary Centre” were established. These political and military centres of the Bolshevich Revolution were made up of 2 Russians, 6 Jews, 1 Georgian and 1 Pole.



In the English “Collection of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia”, which was presented to Parliament in April 1919, by Command of His Majesty, Report No. 6 contains the following: A telegram from Sir M. Findlay to Mr. Balfour (received on 18th September 1918):

“Following is report by Netherlands Minister at Petrograd, 6th September, received here today, on the situation in Russia, in particular as affecting British subjects and British interests under Minister’s protection: . . .

“At Moscow I had repeated interviews with Chicherin and Karahan. Whole Soviet Government was sunk to the level of a criminal organisation. Bolshevics realize that their game is up, and have entered upon a career of criminal madness. . .

“The danger is now so great that I feel it my duty to call the attention of the British and all other Governments to the fact that if an end is not put to Bolshevism in Russia at once the civilisation of the whole world will be threatened....I consider that the immediate suppression of Bolshevism is the greatest issue now before the world, not even excluding the War, which is still raging and unless, as above stated Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world as it is organised and worked by Jews who have no nationality and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things. The only manner in which this danger could be averted would be a collective action on the part of all Powers.”

On the 13th November 1934 the newspaper The Moment, which is brought out at Warsaw and is one of the East European leading Jewish journals, published an article (In No. 260B) which was entitled “Laser Moisséjewitsch Kaganowitsch” (Stalin’s deputy and right-hand man). The article states: “He is a great man, this Laser Moisséjewitsch-he will one day rule over the country of the Czars... His daughter, who will soon be 21, is now Stalin’s wife. . . and he is good to the Jews - Laser Moisséjewitsch. You see, it is good to have a man in one of the key positions.”

Of the so most authoritative functionaries from the Party and State in the highest councils of the U.S.S.R. we find that more than 20 are Jews and only 17 Russians, whereas the percentage of Jews to the whole population of the U.S.S.R. is only 1.8.

The People’s Commissary for the Interior (formerly Tscheka or O.G.P.U.) is the Jew Jagoda. In the Communist International (the “General Staff of the World Revolution”)-the Jew Pjatnitzki plays the most important role.

The leadership of the Bolshevich revolutionary movement in all countries lay and still lies in Jewish hands. In some countries, such as Poland and Hungary, they are in exclusive control of this movement.

In the trial against the Jewish communist Schmelz in March 1935, the Polish Police Commissioner Landèbzrski declared as witness that 98% of those arrested in Poland on charges of communistic intrigues were Jews.

The actual leader in the movement for the Bolshevisation of China is the Jew Borodin-Grusenber.

Therewith we may close the account.

That is Communism with the mask off. That is its theory, its practice and its propaganda. I have given a bald and staid account of facts which have been gathered mostly from official sources; but this account points to a state of affairs which is so terrible and revolting in all its effects that it must shock the average civilised human being. This gospel of “the emancipation of the proletariat from the yoke of capitalism” is the worst and most brutal kind of capitalism that can be imagined. It has been thought out, set afoot and led under the inspiration of the Mammon worship and materialist thought which is incarnated in international Jewry, scattered throughout every country of the globe. It is no social experiment. It is nothing else than a mammoth system for the expropriation and despoiling of the Aryan directive classes in all the nations, and the substitution of the Jewish underworld in their place. Those people who put themselves forward here as the apostles of a new teaching and the liberators of mankind are in reality figures that herald anarchy and chaos for the civilised world.

There is no longer any political question at issue here. This thing cannot be judged or estimated by political rules or principles. It is iniquity under a political mask. It is not something to be brought before the bar of world history but rather something that has to be dealt with by the judicial administration of each country. It must be met with the same ruthless and even brutal means with which it strives to usurp power or hold power in its hands. Here there can be no bargaining; because the danger that threatens Europe is acute. Overnight it might break in among the civilised nations of the world and spread universal catastrophe. Those States that make peace with it will soon learn from experience that it is not they who will tame Bolshevism but that Bolshevism will bring them under its heel. It cannot be said that the Komintern has changed its practices. It is and remains what it always was—the propagandist and revolutionary machinery which is avowedly intended to bring about the downfall of the West.

Bolshevism is the declared enemy of all nations and of all religions and of all human civilisation. The World Revolution is now, as always, its acknowledged and proclaimed goal. Stalin himself has said, as the organ of the War Commissariat, “The Red Star”, in January 1935, triumphantly announced: “Under Lenin’s banner, in the proletarian revolution, we shall triumph over the whole world.” And the communist emigrant, Pieck, said at the Seventh World Congress of the Komintern, held on the 28th July this year: “The triumph of Socialism in Soviet Russia proves at the same time that the triumph of Socialism throughout the whole world is inevitable.” On the day before the Congress was held, “L’Humanité” (the organ of the French Communists) greeted it with the outburst: “Long live the Komintern, the General Staff of the World Revolution.”

Traffic with Bolshevism is not possible either on a political basis or on the basis of general principles in life. The acknowledgement of the Soviet Union on the part of the United States has given rise to an increase in communist propaganda, innumerable strikes and general unrest throughout America. The military pact between France and the Soviet Union led shortly afterwards to an increase of communist votes at the municipal elections, in which they won 43 mandates and thus doubled the number of mandates formerly held by them, while all the other parties lost accordingly. The military alliance between Czecho-Slovakia and the Soviet Union led to sabotaging in the army and to an unexpected increase of communist votes at the elections which followed.

Whoever has made pacts with Bolshevism will have reason to rue his act.

Nothing could be farther from our minds than the wish to prescribe for other nations and their governments or even to counsel them. We do not mix up in their domestic affairs. We only see the dangers that threaten Europe and we raise our voices in warning, so that the magnitude of those dangers may be recognised.

As far as we ourselves are concerned, we have completely overcome this menace. Indeed perhaps, outside of his work in Germany, the greatest service which our Führer has rendered the world is that here in Germany he has set up a barrier against world Bolshevism against which the waves of this vile Asiatic-Jewish flood break in vain. He has taught us not only to recognise Bolshevism as the world's greatest enemy but also to meet it face to face and crush it. Instead of this teaching he has supplied a new and better and nobler ideal for the liberation of a whole nation. In the Sign of this Idea we have fought our battles and brought our banners to victory. This ideal has enabled us to free Germany from the menace of Bolshevism and banish it once and for all from the German nation. Today we know how to cope with these insidious forces.

The nation has been rendered immune against the poison of the red anarchy. It has repudiated the false and hollow catch-words of the communistic world propaganda. Seriously and industriously and with patience and discipline it has given itself to the solution of problems which arise out of its own destiny. History will one day give due credit to the Führer for having saved Germany from the most acute and deadly peril by overthrowing Bolshevism and thereby saving the whole civilisation of the West from the abyss that yawned before it.

I hope that it will not be left to posterity to recognise the greatness of this historic mission, but that it will be acknowledged by our contemporaries and that they will decide to act upon the truth of its teachings. As the true and loyal Old Guard of the Führer and the Party, we rejoice that we are standing under his banners in this most decisive struggle that the history of the world has experienced.

*The following note is appended to the end of Goebbels' speech:*

“In the famine spring that is now coming in, shall similar events recur as those which took place in the year 1933, when numberless innocent people in the Ukraine, the Volga district, in the Northern Caucasus and other areas perished of hunger?”

“The undersigned organisations have until now taken up the position that questions of humanity and provision for relief ought to be considered independently of political and social interests. They consider it a duty of the most elementary human and purely charitable nature not to remain silent about these conditions but to allow the voice of conscience speak again. For the sake of the starving and dying people, and to avoid a catastrophe such as that of 1933, they demand that the situation should be made entirely clear and that the necessary provision for relief should be assured.”

The signatory organisations are:-

The Interdenominational and International Relief Committee for the Hunger Areas in the Soviet Union, the Interdenominational and International Russian Relief Work of the European Headquarters for Church Relief Action, and The Jewish Russian Relief.

Such are the authorities to which Dr. Goebbels refers in speaking of the famine conditions which exist in Russia under the Bolshevite regime.

Background: In this speech, Goebbels addresses Czechoslovakian artists and journalists who were visiting Berlin. The speech was given on 11 September 1940. His diary entry for 14 September 1940 notes: "My speech to the Czechs was a tremendous success. It entirely changed their outlook. Even I hadn't expected that to happen."

The source: "Das kommende Europa. Rede an die tschechischen Kulturschaffenden und Journalisten," *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), pp. 314-323.

## **The Coming Europe**

by Joseph Goebbels

I welcome the opportunity to speak to you on a number of questions that in my view must be openly discussed if relations between the Reich and the Protectorate are to be improved. I believe it necessary to do so now, despite the war. I fear that once the war is over, we will not be able to discuss these matters as calmly as we now can.

As intelligent people, you know that the greatest events in the history of Europe are now taking place. I am firmly convinced — how could it be otherwise! — that things will turn out to our advantage.

When England falls, we will have the chance to reorganize Europe in a way that befits the social, economic, and technical possibilities of the twentieth century.

Our German Reich went through a similar process about a hundred years ago. It was splintered into larger and smaller entities, just as Europe is divided today. This collection of small states was possible as long as the transportation system was such that it took considerable time to travel from one small principality to the next. The invention of the steam engine, however, rendered this situation untenable. Before the development of the railroad, one needed 24 hours to go from one place to another, but only three or four hours were necessary thereafter. Before the steam engine one could travel 24 hours before reaching a customs boundary, but even the most fanatic proponents of federalism found it intolerable once it took five hours, then three, then two, and finally only half an hour.

There were also forces in the Reich back then who attempted to remedy the situation through negotiation. History proved that their way was false, and in a rather common way. History follows harder laws than those that usually prevail at the negotiating table. You will recall perhaps Bismarck's words from those years. He said that German unity would come not through speeches and decisions, but through blood and iron. This was controversial at the time, but history proved its correctness. The unity of the Reich was established through battles. A large number of the peculiarities of the individual areas, along with their prejudices, narrow-mindedness and limited horizons were overcome. They had to be overcome, since the Reich otherwise would not have been able to compete with the other powers in Europe. Our unification was the foundation of our ability to overcome these problems.

Naturally there were Bavarians or Saxons or Wurtembergers or people from Baden or Schaumburg-Lippe who were unhappy about developments, but in the end their prejudices vanished and their attention turned to the greater goal, the new Reich.

Of course, the Bavarian remained a Bavarian, the Saxon a Saxon, the Prussian a Prussian. But they

saw beyond their provincial origins to a larger community, and in the course of the decades learned that a whole series of economic, financial, foreign, and military problems could be resolved through the community.

The greatness of the Reich was the result of this process — a process that seems obvious to us today, but which many back then some could not or would not understand. They were the prisoners of their prejudices, and lacked the strength to overcome them and imagine a better world. Only a few could look beyond their own age.

The railroad is no longer the most modern method of transportation, having been replaced by the airplane. A modern airplane covers a distance in an hour or an hour and a half for which a train needs twelve hours. Technology has brought not only tribes, but also peoples closer together than could even be imagined in the past. In the past one needed 24 hours to speak from Berlin to Prague through a newspaper. Today I only need a second. Standing before this microphone, one can simultaneously be heard in Prague, Slovakia, Warsaw, Brussels, and Den Haag. I once needed twelve hours to travel from Berlin to Prague by train. Now I can fly in an hour. Technology has once again brought people closer together. It is certainly no accident that this technology has developed only recently. The population of Europe has grown, presenting Europe with entirely new problems in agriculture, the economy, finance, and the military. And the continents, too, have grown closer as a result of new technology. Europeans are more and more realizing that our differences are only family squabbles when measured against the vast problems that the continents must solve.

I am convinced that, just as we look back with some amusement on the narrow-minded conflicts between German provinces in the 1840's and 1850's, our posterity in fifty years will look back with similar amusement on what is going on today in Europe. They will see the "dramatic battles between nations" of small European states as family squabbles. I am convinced that in fifty years we will no longer think in terms of nations, but of continents, and that entirely different, and perhaps much larger, problems will concern Europe.

Do not think that, as we bring about a certain order in Europe, we do it to harm individual nations. The freedom of individual countries must be brought in harmony with the conditions of the present and with simple questions of practicality. Just as a member of a family does not have the right to disturb everyone else's peace, an individual nation does not have the right to resist the larger order.

We have never intended to promote this ordering or reordering process by force. Although we are Germans, we do not wish to injure the economic, cultural or social characteristics of the Bavarians or Saxons. It is no more in our interest to injure those, say, of the Czech people. However, the two peoples must understand each other. We must be either friends or enemies. As I believe you know well from history, the Germans can be terrible enemies, or good friends. We can extend our hand to a friend and work with him. We can also destroy an enemy.

The peoples who have joined this ordering process, or who will join it, have to decide if they will participate whole-heartedly and loyally, or if they will resist it. That will not change the facts. You may be sure that once the Axis powers have defeated England, they will not allow major political, economic or social changes in the re-organized Europe. If England cannot stop it, neither can the Czech people. If you have understood recent history, you will know that today's political power situation cannot and will not be altered.

Therefore, gentlemen, I speak realistically, with no appeal to sentiment. It makes no difference whether you like this or not. Whether you applaud it or not, the facts remain the same. I believe that when one cannot change a situation and must accept certain disadvantages because of it, one would be foolish not to accept its advantages as well. Since you have become a part of the Reich, I do not see why the Czech people would prefer to oppose the Reich rather than to accept its advantages.

You have had to accept a series of political changes. I know that they were not pleasant. No one knows that better than I. I know that you have had to give up things that you enjoyed in the past, and I know that one does not adjust to such a situation overnight. There are certain matters that are much more unpleasant than they seem from the perspective of the Reich.

Nonetheless: If you have to accept the disadvantages, I believe you should also accept the advantages. Let me give an example.

In 1933, we faced the Jewish Question. Everyone in the world knew that we opposed the Jews. We discovered the disadvantages of anti-Semitism, but we also got the benefits. We had to accept the fact that we were slandered and attacked throughout the world. We also got the advantages — namely excluding the Jews from theater, film, public life, and the government. When we were later attacked as enemies of the Jews, we at least could say: It was worth it. We got something for it.

You, gentlemen, have had a chance to visit the Reich. I made sure that you had done so before speaking to you. You have seen the Reich in the middle of a war, and will be able to imagine how it will look in peace. Our well-populated Reich and Italy will lead Europe. That will happen. There is no changing it. For you, this means that you are part of a large Reich that will give a new order to Europe. It will put an end to a situation that clearly cannot satisfy people. We are about a work of reform that I am sure will be a major chapter in European history. Can you imagine the importance of the Reich after the war?

You know that we have made energetic efforts not only in politics, but also in the cultural and economic spheres. You know that we want the people to join in these measures and their results. Let me give an example: Formerly, German films had an audience of 86 million. In the future, the audience will be much larger. It is up to you whether you want to participate, or stand aside. You can be sure that in the latter case, we have the ways and means to eliminate Czech films. We do not want to do that. We would rather you join with us. Nor do we want to suppress your cultural life. On the contrary, we want a lively cultural exchange. But that can happen only on the basis of loyalty. You must accept the present situation without leaving a back door open and thinking that if things go wrong, you will have a way out.

Take the history of the National Socialist movement as an example. Some members of our party carry a special badge with a gold wreath around it. That says: “I was a National Socialist when there was no advantage to it. I fought for this movement before it came to power.” They affirmed the movement at a time when its victory was not at all certain. Affirming a cause when it has won takes no great intelligence. But if you announce your loyalty before the victory is gained, gentlemen, you will give us full confidence in your loyalty.

I believe that you have to work through this matter. I have done the same thing myself. Recently I

have read quite a number of Czech books and seen quite a few Czech films. I have read numerous reports about Czech cultural activities. I really regret that I cannot recommend most of the products of your cultural life to the German people. Things must first be cleaned up. I would for example like to have the German people see a number of Czech films. Do you want to be satisfied with the Czech market, or would you like your films to be shown throughout the Reich? Does it not fill you with pride to go to Hamburg and say: "That is my harbor?" Would you not like to look at the German fleet and say: "That is the fleet that protects us," or see the heroic German army and say "That is the army that also protects our people with iron strength?" I think that is more beneficial than saying: "Oh well, I guess we have to go along!," but only half-heartedly.

You and the Czech people will have to make up your minds. Do not tell me that the Czech people wants this or that. I think I know something about leadership. A people thinks the way its intelligentsia teaches it to think. It has the ideas of its intellectual leaders. It is your intellectual duty to make clear to the Czech people the decision they should make. Should you not tell them that the Czech people have chosen the right side? You have seen Rotterdam. That should enable you to properly evaluate the decision your president made [to accept German occupation].

No one should say: "Well, perhaps one could have avoided that." We do not act according to whim. We, too, are servants of fate, and cannot act any differently than we do. We are only the instruments of history. One should not say: "Without National Socialists, there would be peace in Europe." No, there would have been others to act in our place. When the time is ripe things must happen, just like an apple falls from the tree when it is ripe. We cannot stop fate; it would roll right over us.

In other words, you have the choice of making these facts clear to your people, of giving them a broader perspective than they formerly had. I believe that if you look back on the war's development so far, you will conclude: "We have chosen the better side. Things could not continue as they were. That would have been possible only by holding Germany down, which is unthinkable."

Today you have the opportunity of accepting all the advantages that the German Reich has to offer. You have our protection. No one can attack you. You have the opportunity to tell all of Germany of your virtues. You have the opportunity to send your music to Germany, your films, your literature, your press, your radio. You know that the German people have a great interest in culture. We cannot and do not want to change that. We are not dictators, but rather instruments of the will of our people.

As I said, we offer you cooperation. I have offered you here a foundation for understanding. We do not ask anything dishonorable of you, or that you become parvenus or lackeys, or whatever.

That gives no pleasure in the long run. But I do not believe that it is asking too much that, in this dramatic moment in European history that will lead to new forms of human community, we come to an understanding about these matters, to create clarity and decide if we will be friends or foes.

We want to know if we are friends of foes of another people's intelligentsia. Over the past few years, we have proven our abilities as enemies. If you display a positive and active loyalty, you will see what kind of friends we can be. Friendship between the German and Czech peoples will result.

My task today has been to make that clear to you. I believe we could work together, and that we will. I am firmly convinced that if you are willing to show loyalty, you will do us and your Czech people a

big favor. One cannot go by what people say today. The average man does not see very far. The task of the intelligentsia is to help him see further, to help him imagine things that will be. The role of the intelligentsia is to open the way to coming events, not be blind servants of the present.

I therefore urge you to speak of these matters to the Czech people. If we did it, the Czech people would not believe us. We are National Socialists, and they might think we were speaking egotistically, even though our only goal is to establish clear relations between two peoples who have to get along with each other. You live there, we live here. Only a vast natural catastrophe that destroyed our people could change the present situation. Since that is not likely, we will have to get along. Whether we like each other or not is irrelevant. What is relevant is that we want to give the millions of Europe a common basis and a common ideal. England has until now resisted this ideal. England has attempted to keep Europe in disorder, since it saw that as the best defense of its island existence. But it is falling under the gigantic blows of our army. Once it falls, we will have the chance to bring peace to Europe. You are warmly invited to join us.

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Background: In this speech given on 29 September 1940, Goebbels discusses the duties of the German youth during the war. Goebbels explains that the Hitler Youth (HJ) and the League of German Girls (BDM) are taking on part of the parental role, since fathers are at war and mothers are working to support the troops.

The source: "Die Jugend und der Krieg. Ansprache zur Eröffnung der Jugendfilmstunden in Berlin," Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), pp. 324-330.

## **Youth and the War**

by Joseph Goebbels

This Sunday afternoon, the Youth Film Festival for the winter 1940/41 opens, held in conjunction with the Hitler Youth, the League of German Girls, and the Reich Propaganda Office of the NSDAP. As was the case last year, it will have an extraordinarily important role in youth work.

The Youth Film Festival began in 1934/35. It included 371 events with a total of 217,354 visitors. The event grew until 1939/40, when 8,244 events drew 3,538,224 visitors. Between 1934 and 1940, a total of 19,694 events drew a total of 9,411,318. This impressive result, like so much that has been done by National Socialism, began small and grew gradually. The first youth film festival was held in Cologne in 1934. As a result of experiences there, the second season expanded to the entire Reich. The Youth Film Festival grew from year to year, both in scope and significance, until now it reaches small towns and even those areas without a theater.

From the beginning, the goal was to use the German film as a way of systematically educating the German youth. The goal was also to give the youth another method of entertainment and education. During the season, this important festival should give the youth an overview of all areas of German film. Entertaining and cultural films are shown along with those having more political significance. Youth films are organized by the Press and Propaganda Office of the Reich Youth Leadership along with the Reich Propaganda Office of the NSDAP, Film Department. Each Gau office has a Hitler Youth official directly responsible for organizing the youth film festival.

This is an important way of meeting the needs of the youth, especially during the war. The problem of the youth is especially difficult during difficult times. The war makes serious demands on the whole nation, including the youth. They need to display the necessary character to master the resulting difficulties, and to help those in authority to meet them as well.

Often, fathers are in the field or engaged in other work important to the war and are unable to give the attention to the education of their children they would normally give in times of peace. The mother at the same time is overloaded with work and problems. Often she, too, is involved in war production, working to see to it that our soldiers have the munitions they need, or working with the Red Cross, Mother's Assistance, the National Socialist Welfare Organization, or the Winter Relief. The education of the youth does not follow its normal course. The HJ and the BDM have the double duty to jump in to relieve the parents of burdens that under the circumstances they cannot handle. The educational and other activity of the HJ and BDM are hampered during the war by a thousand difficulties unknown in peace. The necessary meeting rooms are lacking. They have been taken over by the army or used for storage. Blackout regulations make evening activities, which are very important, impossible to the normal extent. In parts of the Reich, the risk of air raids simply makes systematic educational work impossible. Alongside their usual tasks, the HJ, and BDM have

responsibilities to the Führer, the nation, and parents.

Educating the youth during war can only be done successfully by working closely with the youth themselves. The youth is not only the object, but also the subject of its own education. Much that as a matter of course is done at home or at school during peace is just as clearly impossible during war. Through their attitude and life style, the youth must render superfluous much of the educational work that relevant organizations handle during peace. The war is not only a great equalizer, it is a great educator. Only what is essential can survive its hard laws. It transforms all values. Things that we thought important or even essential during peace, we gladly give up during war to serve the common cause. War once involved only a small part of the population, whereas today it requires heroic work by all. Since our enemy is waging war even against children, children also must play their part. During the World War the English blockade was particularly directed against German women and German children, and had a major role in the fact that at the critical hour we no longer had the strength to resist the English and French threat.

Our enemy intended to use the same weapon in this war, and hoped for the same result. The German leadership, however, had taken the necessary precautions to render the English blockade ineffective. Nonetheless, the war is ultimately aimed at the coming German generation, and it is therefore more than symbolic that they have followed the flag to defend the German cause on the battlefield. The public knows the statistics on the number of fallen and wounded, particularly leaders of the HJ. They do not need to be repeated. They are compelling proof that the youth have made this war into their cause.

The coming generation must fight the war at home. They are participants in it. They must display strong character and good behavior. When a nation is fighting for its future, which after all is the future of its children, the youth have to be involved, they have to support the battle with their full energy. They must show through discipline, order, industry, and attitude that they are worthy of their age, and of the men who are risking their lives. Cocky know-it-alls or big-mouthed boasters only look stupid. Particularly in the midst of a war in which millions of men are risking their lives for the nation, the youth must again learn respect for sacrificial manhood. They must also learn to honor women and mothers who are fighting for the continuation of their nation. They should be obedient and modest, and above all do their duty. That does not mean they have to act according to the proverb: "Go through the land with hat in hand." That was an idea of the past that we have left behind. Modesty is not the same as subjection, and a well-bred, disciplined lad of good character does not need to be a pussyfoot. Millions of soldiers today follow orders and do their duty. They have been willing to give up their own independence to serve the Fatherland in the community of the army. How much more should we expect that of German boys and girls during a war! They will become grown up, mature people of our great, proud nation, and many of them later in life will be giving orders to others. That is why they must learn obedience now, especially in a time when everything hangs on us all on doing our duty obediently.

The HJ and the BDM are there to help parents educate their children, since parents today are often in a position themselves to do only part of the job. Every father in the field and every mother at home or on the job must know that their dear child is in good hands with the HJ or the BDM. They must be confident that boys and girls are being brought up to be decent men and women.

The time in which we are living is unique. It makes increased demands on us all, the youth included.

One or another may occasionally be inclined to overestimate the demands of the age. But later, when the war is over, crowned by proud victory, we will all look back on the duties and obligations we now have with joy and satisfaction. We will forget our current troubles. The months we now endure with faith and bravery will in retrospect be glorious. It was the same when the National Socialist movement was fighting for power. As soon as the battle was over and the Führer was in power, the old fighters looked back longingly to the time in which they had fought for power. The times when we worked for the movement, sometimes at the risk of our lives, looked wonderful. Who among us, including many who joined us at 14, 15, or 16 would now want to have missed the National Socialist movement's struggle for power! How wonderful it is for the boys and girls of that period to look back and remember what they went through, and in a way that proved their worth! It is today their fondest memory.

The same will some day be true of this war. When it is over and we rejoice in victory, we will remember with pride everything we are now going through. We will recall how we worked for victory with all our being.

It is a good thing for the German youth to fully experience these great days. They should do their best for the war, giving their courage, their idealism, and their faith.

The coming youth film festival should serve these ends. The German youth is gathered throughout the Reich for the first program of the year 1940/41. These programs will occur at regular intervals, and will show the German youth the best work of the German film industry. Over the coming winter, they will be entertained, taught and built up. Again and again, German boys and girls will gain new enthusiasm.

We are not like the English plutocrats who teach their young children to wear frock coats and top hats. Anyone who needs to do that later can learn how later. We are teaching our youth what is difficult to learn later, namely attitude and character. The foundations must be laid early in life. Following the Führer's teaching, we are setting a new ideal for the education of our youth. The Hitler Youth has taken his name. It is the only organization in the Reich that does bear his name. That puts a heavy responsibility on it. Above all, it places on the youth an obligation to imitate the man whose name they bear, and to follow him.

The Führer is the shining example for the German youth. He demands that during the war they show a proper attitude, character, obedience, and discipline. In this sense and according to his command, the German youth must live, work, and create.

I give my warmest and heartiest greetings to the entire German youth, which today is gathered in movie theaters throughout the Reich, and declare the Youth Film Festival for 1940/41 has begun.

Background: This is Goebbels' Christmas Eve speech in 1941, delivered over the radio. The source: "Weihnacht 1941. Rundfunkrede an das deutsche Volk zum Heiligenabend.," Das eiserne Herz (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 138-144.

## **Christmas, 1941** by Joseph Goebbels

As I speak on Christmas Eve over the radio to the German people, I am the spokesman for the homeland to all our soldiers who are far from home during this war Christmas of 1941. I know that countless people envy my ability to speak over the ether to millions of Germans in many lands and continents. How many men and women, fathers, sons and daughters, wish they could stand in my place and greet their sons, husbands, brothers, or fathers! How many soldiers and Germans abroad wish they could step to the microphone and speak to their mothers, fathers, children, or brothers and sisters.

I must today speak for them all. I must extend the greetings and deepest wishes from here to there and from there to here. I will say little of politics this evening. We all know what we Germans have to say about world conditions and the future. Everyone knows that we must withstand the storms of the age until victory is ours. That has become clear in recent years, and I do not need to say anything about it.

Instead, I want to talk of the thoughts and feelings that move all of us this Christmas Eve. I will speak for half an hour as one person to another. We will consider the difficulties of the century in which we stand, and look both backwards and forwards.

There are few presents under the Christmas tree this year. The effects of the war are evident there as well. We have sent our Christmas candles to the Eastern Front, where our soldiers need them more than we do. Rather than producing dolls, castles, lead soldiers, and toy guns, our factories have been producing things essential for the war effort. Our troops are the first priority.

But gifts are not the most important thing about Christmas anyway. Since we can no longer celebrate Christmas as generously and wastefully as in the past, perhaps we will remember even more its spiritual nature. Instead of giving outward gifts to our family, friends, and community, today we will express our love to one another and our faith in all that holds us together. We long for a golden bridge to extend to all those whom we love across the distant reaches, countries, oceans, and continents.

All eyes look to the homeland. Our soldiers and Germans abroad above all have learned how beautiful it is in the past year. That may be why they have fought so bravely and loyally for it. They wanted to protect it from the horrors of war. All that they left behind when they heeded duty's call they hope to find upon their return just as it was when they left. The war has become a school that has increased the love all of us have for the homeland. Whatever the difficulties of today or tomorrow, the individual finds there the meaning of his devotion, his sacrifice, his bravery. In this third war Christmas, we celebrate more spartanly and more modestly than before, but we are protected and guarded against the threats of our enemies. We must thank those who defend us, our sons, fathers, and brothers, who have learned only in distant lands among foreign peoples how dear their fatherland and their people are.

The great task demands the same sacrifice from us! The hardest demands are on our soldiers. They are spending their third Christmas away. The homeland is the center about which all their thoughts and wishes circle. Their greatest pride must be that they are defending the homeland and protecting it from the fury of war. They have learned the terrors of modern warfare, with which they are daily surrounded. It is surely worth their great and brave exertions to see to it that their village and their Fatherland do not meet the same fate as countless villages and cities in enemy countries. Think of what would have become of their parents, their wives and their children if they had not defended the homeland! Each German soldier should remember that. The homeland can only be as they imagine, and as they hope to find it upon their return, if millions of its fathers and sons defend it.

The same is true for all Germans abroad. They often live in an entirely foreign, sometimes hostile, world. It should not surprise us that we are not always loved as we defend our right to life. Envy and distrust, hatred and persecution often surround our fellow countrymen. We read about it occasionally in the newspapers, but they experience it every day. In a tiny minority, they are the targets of propaganda hostile to Germany. They are mocked, harassed, see their houses searched, and are put in prison. Why else would they bear it all with pride and dignity? They love the homeland even more deeply than we, and give their full devotion. For us, speaking German is a matter of course, but they are spat on for it. We read German newspapers every day, they get them months later and pass them from hand to hand as a message from the beloved homeland. We listen to the German radio every night, they tinker for hours with their sets to get a few words from the homeland. We see our German films and newsreels whenever we care to, but they have to gather secretly to watch a copy of a film like "The Western Campaign," which we have practically forgotten about.

They, too, would rather be at home than abroad, but they stay at their post to serve the fatherland. They are not worn down by hatred and suspicion. They are the pioneers of Germandom in the world. They are not out to conquer the world, as our enemies say, but to defend their ethnicity. This Christmas Eve we think of them as well as our soldiers, because we know that Christmas is a deeply German holiday that binds us all together. Perhaps they think today that although their tasks are difficult, they still have it easier than Germans abroad had it during the World War, during which they often learned nothing from the homeland other than what our enemies wanted them to hear. Today, they are at least connected to us by radio. They receive our news and speeches, hear German music and German songs, learn of the heroic battles of our troops. In brief, their imaginations have a bridge that each day carries them back home.

And they can be at ease. They will not experience the shame of 1918, when the German people's collapse struck them like a numbing blow. Today the homeland knows what is expected of it, and is giving its full efforts. They have not deserted us and we will not desert them. The homeland would not be worth the sacrifices that millions are making for it were it not ever striving to be worthy of them. Certainly it is not easy. It must give up many familiar habits and accept a thousand large and small privations. Those who live in areas being attacked from the air have much to bear, and deserve the highest praise and warmest recognition.

The whole nation is worthy of the great era in which we live. Still, all the burdens of the homeland are but a fraction of the sacrifices, burdens and privations, the actions and the dangers, that our soldiers endure, or of the persecutions that Germans abroad constantly endure. We at home, God knows, have no reason to complain. We have to accept the war's demands. The war has only made us

harder. We will not win by weakness. We must be brave and ever ready. Victory will not be given to us; we have to earn it. Everyone must do his part. Even on this Christmas Eve that must be the focus of our thoughts. The time will come when the war's demands are past. At a later Christmas, we will look back on this Christmas Eve. In the fond light of memory, none of us will wish we had missed it. All the dead of the war will stand as shining heroes before our eyes, those who gave their lives to win a better life for their nation.

There is probably no one among us who in this hour does not look up to heaven. The war has taught us not only to be strong against our enemies, but also to accept our fate and the will of its godly ruler. We thank the Almighty for the proud victories that he again has given us. We will continue fighting until total victory is ours.

Our time together has come to an end. Our soldiers sit together and talk of home. At home we think only of them, and speak in spirit with them. Germans abroad think once more of the great Reich of the Germans. Then we will all return to the troubles and difficulties, burdens, sacrifices, and privations of everyday life. We may never forget that we all have a responsibility, each in his own way, to work and fight for a rapid victory.

We keep our eye fixed on it. We do not doubt it for a minute. In thinking of the Führer, who on this evening, too, is everywhere where Germans gather, we are reminded of the Fatherland. It will be larger, more beautiful, more prosperous after the war is over. It will be a proud and free homeland for us all. We want to thank the Führer for that. He can depend on his people at the front, at home, and in the wide world. He leads us, and we follow him. Without a shadow of doubt, we follow him bearing the flag and the Reich. The flag and the Reich shall be pure and unstained when the great hour of victory comes.

I greet you from the depths of my heart. Earlier we sang of peace on earth in our songs. Now the time has come to fight for it. Peace through victory! That is our slogan.

May my words bring a scent of the homeland far to the East and the West, to the front against Bolshevism, to North Africa's deserts, to the seas where our submarines and warships sail, to the most distant nations and continents and the farthest corner of the earth where a German heart still beats, but also to the homeland itself, to the cities and the countryside, to every hut and every home.

Background: This long speech by Joseph Goebbels is also his most famous. It was delivered on 18 February 1943 to a large audience in Berlin. The battle of Stalingrad had ended, and the true seriousness of the war was evident to everyone.

The source: "Nun, Volk steh auf, und Sturm brich los! Rede im Berliner Sportpalast," *Der steile Aufstieg* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1944), pp. 167-204.

## **Nation, Rise Up, and Let the Storm Break Loose** by Joseph Goebbels

Only three weeks ago I stood in this place to read the Führer's proclamation on the 10th anniversary of the seizure of power, and to speak to you and to the German people. The crisis we now face on the Eastern Front was at its height. In the midst of the hard misfortunes the nation faced in the battle on the Volga, we gathered together in a mass meeting on the 30th of January to display our unity, our unanimity and our strong will to overcome the difficulties we faced in the fourth year of the war.

It was a moving experience for me, and probably also for all of you, to be bound by radio with the last heroic fighters in Stalingrad during our powerful meeting here in the Sport Palace. They radioed to us that they had heard the Führer's proclamation, and perhaps for the last time in their lives joined us in raising their hands to sing the national anthems. What an example German soldiers have set in this great age! And what an obligation it puts on us all, particularly the entire German homeland! Stalingrad was and is fate's great alarm call to the German nation! A nation that has the strength to survive and overcome such a disaster, even to draw from it additional strength, is unbeatable. In my speech to you and the German people, I shall remember the heroes of Stalingrad, who put me and all of us under a deep obligation.

I do not know how many millions of people are listening to me over the radio tonight, at home and at the front. I want to speak to all of you from the depths of my heart to the depths of yours. I believe that the entire German people has a passionate interest in what I have to say tonight. I will therefore speak with holy seriousness and openness, as the hour demands. The German people, raised, educated and disciplined by National Socialism, can bear the whole truth. It knows the gravity of the situation, and its leadership can therefore demand the necessary hard measures, yes even the hardest measures. We Germans are armed against weakness and uncertainty. The blows and misfortunes of the war only give us additional strength, firm resolve, and a spiritual and fighting will to overcome all difficulties and obstacles with revolutionary élan.

Now is not the time to ask how it all happened. That can wait until later, when the German people and the whole world will learn the full truth about the misfortune of the past weeks, and its deep and fateful significance. The heroic sacrifices of heroism of our soldiers in Stalingrad has had vast historical significance for the whole Eastern Front. It was not in vain. The future will make clear why.

When I jump over the past to look ahead, I do it intentionally. The time is short! There is no time for fruitless debates. We must act, immediately, thoroughly, and decisively, as has always been the National Socialist way.

The movement has from its beginning acted in that way to master the many crises it faced and overcame. The National Socialist state also acted decisively when faced by a threat. We are not like

the ostrich that sticks its head in the sand so as not to see danger. We are brave enough to look danger in the face, to coolly and ruthlessly take its measure, then act decisively with our heads held high. Both as a movement and as a nation, we have always been at our best when we needed fanatic, determined wills to overcome and eliminate danger, or a strength of character sufficient to overcome every obstacle, or bitter determination to reach our goal, or an iron heart capable of withstanding every internal and external battle. So it will be today. My task is to give you an unvarnished picture of the situation, and to draw the hard conclusions that will guide the actions of the German government, but also of the German people.

We face a serious military challenge in the East. The crisis is at the moment a broad one, similar but not identical in many ways to that of the previous winter. Later we will discuss the causes. Now, we must accept things as they are and discover and apply the ways and means to turn things again in our favor. There is no point in disputing the seriousness of the situation. I do not want to give you a false impression of the situation that could lead to false conclusions, perhaps giving the German people a false sense of security that is altogether inappropriate in the present situation.

The storm raging against our venerable continent from the steppes this winter overshadows all previous human and historical experience. The German army and its allies are the only possible defense. In his proclamation on 30 January, the Führer asked in a grave and compelling way what would have become of Germany and Europe if, on 30 January 1933, a bourgeois or democratic government had taken power instead of the National Socialists! What dangers would have followed, faster than we could then have suspected, and what powers of defense would we have had to meet them? Ten years of National Socialism have been enough to make plain to the German people the seriousness of the danger posed by Bolshevism from the East. Now one can understand why we spoke so often of the fight against Bolshevism at our Nuremberg party rallies. We raised our voices in warning to our German people and the world, hoping to awaken Western humanity from the paralysis of will and spirit into which it had fallen. We tried to open their eyes to the horrible danger from Eastern Bolshevism, which had subjected a nation of nearly 200 million people to the terror of the Jews and was preparing an aggressive war against Europe.

When the Führer ordered the army to attack the East on 22 June 1941, we all knew that this would be the decisive battle of this great struggle. We knew the dangers and difficulties. But we also knew that dangers and difficulties always grow over time, they never diminish. It was two minutes before midnight. Waiting any longer could easily have led to the destruction of the Reich and a total Bolshevization of the European continent.

It is understandable that, as a result of broad concealment and misleading actions by the Bolshevik government, we did not properly evaluate the Soviet Union's war potential. Only now do we see its true scale. That is why the battle our soldiers face in the East exceeds in its hardness, dangers and difficulties all human imagining. It demands our full national strength. This is a threat to the Reich and to the European continent that casts all previous dangers into the shadows. If we fail, we will have failed our historic mission. Everything we have built and done in the past pales in the face of this gigantic task that the German army directly and the German people less directly face.

I speak first to the world, and proclaim three theses regarding our fight against the Bolshevik danger in the East.



This first thesis: Were the German army not in a position to break the danger from the East, the Reich would fall to Bolshevism, and all Europe shortly afterwards.

Second: The German army, the German people and their allies alone have the strength to save Europe from this threat.

Third: Danger faces us. We must act quickly and decisively, or it will be too late.

I turn to the first thesis. Bolshevism has always proclaimed its goal openly: to bring revolution not only to Europe, but to the entire world, and plunge it into Bolshevik chaos. This goal has been evident from the beginning of the Bolshevik Soviet Union, and has been the ideological and practical goal of the Kremlin's policies. Clearly, the nearer Stalin and the other Soviet leaders believe they are to realizing their world-destroying objectives, the more they attempt to hide and conceal them. We cannot be fooled. We are not like those timid souls who wait like the hypnotized rabbit until the serpent devours them. We prefer to recognize the danger in good time and take effective action. We see through not only the ideology of Bolshevism, but also its practice, for we had great success with that in our domestic struggles. The Kremlin cannot deceive us. We had fourteen years of our struggle for power, and ten years thereafter, to unmask its intentions and its infamous deceptions.

The goal of Bolshevism is Jewish world revolution. They want to bring chaos to the Reich and Europe, using the resulting hopelessness and desperation to establish their international, Bolshevik-concealed capitalist tyranny.

I do not need to say what that would mean for the German people. A Bolshevization of the Reich would mean the liquidation of our entire intelligentsia and leadership, and the descent of our workers into Bolshevik-Jewish slavery. In Moscow, they find workers for forced labor battalions in the Siberian tundra, as the Führer said in his proclamation on 30 January. The revolt of the steppes is readying itself at the front, and the storm from the East that breaks against our lines daily in increasing strength is nothing other than a repetition of the historical devastation that has so often in the past endangered our part of the world.

That is a direct threat to the existence of every European power. No one should believe that Bolshevism would stop at the borders of the Reich, were it to be victorious. The goal of its aggressive policies and wars is the Bolshevization of every land and people in the world. In the face of such undeniable intentions, we are not impressed by paper declarations from the Kremlin or guarantees from London or Washington. We know that we are dealing in the East with an infernal political devilishness that does not recognize the norms governing relations between people and nations. When for example the English Lord Beaverbrook says that Europe must be given over to the Soviets or when the leading American Jewish journalist Brown cynically adds that a Bolshevization of Europe might solve all of the continent's problems, we know what they have in mind. The European powers are facing the most critical question. The West is in danger. It makes no difference whether or not their governments and intellectuals realize it or not.

The German people, in any event, is unwilling to bow to this danger. Behind the oncoming Soviet divisions we see the Jewish liquidation commandos, and behind them terror, the specter of mass starvation and complete anarchy. International Jewry is the devilish ferment of decomposition that finds cynical satisfaction in plunging the world into the deepest chaos and destroying ancient cultures

that it played no role in building.

We also know our historic responsibility. Two thousand years of Western civilization are in danger. One cannot overestimate the danger. It is indicative that when one names it as it is, International Jewry throughout the world protests loudly. Things have gone so far in Europe that one cannot call a danger a danger when it is caused by the Jews.

That does not stop us from drawing the necessary conclusions. That is what we did in our earlier domestic battles. The democratic Jewry of the “Berliner Tageblatt” and the “Vossischen Zeitung” served communist Jewry by minimizing and downplaying a growing danger, and by lulling our threatened people to sleep and reducing their ability to resist. We could see, if the danger were not overcome, the specter of hunger, misery, and forced labor by millions of Germans. We could see our venerable part of the world collapse, and bury in its ruins the ancient inheritance of the West. That is the danger we face today.

My second thesis: Only the German Reich and its allies are in the position to resist this danger. The European nations, including England, believe that they are strong enough to resist effectively the Bolshevization of Europe, should it come to that. This belief is childish and not even worth refuting. If the strongest military force in the world is not able to break the threat of Bolshevism, who else could do it? (The crowd in the Sportpalast shouts “No one!”). The neutral European nations have neither the potential nor the military means nor the spiritual strength to provide even the least resistance to Bolshevism. Bolshevism’s robotic divisions would roll over them within a few days. In the capitals of the mid-sized and smaller European states, they console themselves with the idea that one must be spiritually armed against Bolshevism (laughter). That reminds us of the statements by bourgeois parties in 1932, who thought they could fight and win the battle against communism with spiritual weapons. That was too stupid even then to be worth refuting. Eastern Bolshevism is not only a doctrine of terrorism, it is also the practice of terrorism. It strives for its goals with an infernal thoroughness, using every resource at its disposal, regardless of the welfare, prosperity or peace of the peoples it ruthlessly oppresses. What would England and America do if, in the worst case, Europe fell into Bolshevism’s arms? Will London perhaps persuade Bolshevism to stop at the English Channel? I have already said that Bolshevism has its foreign legions in the form of communist parties in every democratic nation. None of these states can think it is immune to domestic Bolshevism. In a recent by-election for the House of Commons, the independent, that is communist, candidate got 10,741 of the 22,371 votes cast. This was in a district that had formerly been a conservative stronghold. Within a short time, 10,000 voters, nearly half, had been lost to the communists.

That is proof that the Bolshevik danger exists in England too, and that it will not go away simply because it is ignored. We place no faith in any territorial promises that the Soviet Union may make. Bolshevism set ideological as well as military boundaries, which poses a danger to every nation. The world no longer has the choice between falling back into its old fragmentation or accepting a new order for Europe under Axis leadership. The only choice now is between living under Axis protection or in a Bolshevik Europe.

I am firmly convinced that the lamenting lords and archbishops in London have not the slightest intention of resisting the Bolshevik danger that would result were the Soviet army to enter Europe. Jewry has so deeply infected the Anglo-Saxon states both spiritually and politically that they are no longer have the ability to see the danger. It conceals itself as Bolshevism in the Soviet Union, and

plutocratic-capitalism in the Anglo-Saxon states. The Jewish race is an expert at mimicry. They put their host peoples to sleep, paralyzing their defensive abilities. (Shouts from the crowd: "We have experienced it!"). Our insight into the matter led us to the early realization that cooperation between international plutocracy and international Bolshevism was not a contradiction, but rather a sign of deep commonalities. The hand of the pseudo-civilized Jewry of Western Europe shakes the hand of the Jewry of the Eastern ghettos over Germany. Europe is in deadly danger.

I do not flatter myself into believing that my remarks will influence public opinion in the neutral, much less the enemy, states. That is also not my goal or intention. I know that, given our problems on the Eastern Front, the English press tomorrow will furiously attack me with the accusation that I have made the first peace feelers (loud laughter). That is certainly not so. No one in Germany thinks any longer of a cowardly compromise. The entire people thinks only of a hard war. As a spokesman for the leading nation of the continent, however, I claim the right to call a danger a danger if it threatens not only our own land, but our entire continent. We National Socialists have the duty to sound the alarm against International Jewry's attempt to plunge the European continent into chaos, and to warn that Jewry has in Bolshevism a terroristic military power whose danger cannot be overestimated.

My third thesis is that the danger is immediate. The paralysis of the Western European democracies before their deadliest threat is frightening. International Jewry is doing all it can to encourage such paralysis. During our struggle for power in Germany, Jewish newspapers tried to conceal the danger, until National Socialism awakened the people. It is just the same today in other nations. Jewry once again reveals itself as the incarnation of evil, as the plastic demon of decay and the bearer of an international culture-destroying chaos.

This explains, by the way, our consistent Jewish policies. We see Jewry as a direct threat to every nation. We do not care what other peoples do about the danger. What we do to defend ourselves is our own business, however, and we will not tolerate objections from others. Jewry is a contagious infection. Enemy nations may raise hypocritical protests against our measures against Jewry and cry crocodile tears, but that will not stop us from doing that which is necessary. Germany, in any event, has no intention of bowing before this threat, but rather intends to take the most radical measures, if necessary, in good time (After this sentence, the chants of the audience prevent the minister from going on for several minutes).

The military challenges of the Reich in the East are at the center of everything. The war of mechanized robots against Germany and Europe has reached its high point. In resisting the grave and direct threat with its weapons, the German people and its Axis allies are fulfilling in the truest sense of the word a European mission. Our courageous and just battle against this world-wide plague will not be hindered by the worldwide outcry of International Jewry. It can and must end only with victory (Here there are loud shouts: "German men, to arms! German women, to work!").

The tragic battle of Stalingrad is a symbol of heroic, manly resistance to the revolt of the steppes. It has not only a military, but also an intellectual and spiritual significance for the German people. Here for the first time our eyes have been opened to the true nature of the war. We want no more false hopes and illusions. We want bravely to look the facts in the face, however hard and dreadful they may be. The history of our party and our state has proven that a danger recognized is a danger defeated. Our coming hard battles in the East will be under the sign of this heroic resistance. It will

require previously undreamed of efforts by our soldiers and our weapons. A merciless war is raging in the East. The Führer was right when he said that in the end there will not be winners and losers, but the living and the dead.

The German nation knows that. Its healthy instincts have led it through the daily confusion of intellectual and spiritual difficulties. We know today that the Blitzkrieg in Poland and the campaign in the West have only limited significance to the battle in the East. The German nation is fighting for everything it has. We know that the German people are defending their holiest possessions: their families, women and children, the beautiful and untouched countryside, their cities and villages, their two thousand year old culture, everything indeed that makes life worth living.

Bolshevism of course has not the slightest appreciation for our nation's treasures, and would take no heed of them whatsoever if it came to that. It did not do so even for its own people. The Soviet Union over the last 25 years built up Bolshevism's military potential to an unimaginable degree, and one we falsely evaluated. Terrorist Jewry had 200 million people to serve it in Russia. It cynically used its methods on to create out of the stolid toughness of the Russian people a grave danger for the civilized nations of Europe. A whole nation in the East was driven to battle. Men, women, and even children are employed not only in armaments factories, but in the war itself. 200 million live under the terror of the GPU, partially captives of a devilish viewpoint, partially of absolute stupidity. The masses of tanks we have faced on the Eastern Front are the result of 25 years of social misfortune and misery of the Bolshevik people. We have to respond with similar measures if we do not want to give up the game as lost.

My firm conviction is that we cannot overcome the Bolshevik danger unless we use equivalent, though not identical, methods. The German people face the gravest demand of the war, namely of finding the determination to use all our resources to protect everything we have and everything we will need in the future.

Total war is the demand of the hour. We must put an end to the bourgeois attitude that we have also seen in this war: Wash my back, but don't get me wet! (Every sentence is met with growing applause and agreement.) The danger facing us is enormous. The efforts we take to meet it must be just as enormous. The time has come to remove the kid gloves and use our fists. (A cry of elemental agreement rises. Chants from the galleries and seats testify to the full approval of the crowd.) We can no longer make only partial and careless use of the war potential at home and in the significant parts of Europe that we control. We must use our full resources, as quickly and thoroughly as it is organizationally and practically possible. Unnecessary concern is wholly out of place. The future of Europe hangs on our success in the East. We are ready to defend it. The German people are shedding their most valuable national blood in this battle. The rest of Europe should at least work to support us. There are many serious voices in Europe that have already realized this. Others still resist. That cannot influence us. If danger faced them alone, we could view their reluctance as literary nonsense of no significance. But the danger faces us all, and we must all do our share. Those who today do not understand that will thank us tomorrow on bended knees that we courageously and firmly took on the task.

It bothers us not in the least that our enemies abroad claim that our total war measures resemble those of Bolshevism. They claim hypocritically that that means there is no need to fight Bolshevism. The question here is not one of method, but of the goal, namely eliminating the danger. (Applause for

several minutes) The question is not whether the methods are good or bad, but whether they are successful. The National Socialist government is ready to use every means. We do not care if anyone objects. We are not willing to weaken Germany's war potential by measures that maintain a high, almost peace-time standard of living for a certain class, thereby endangering our war effort. We are voluntarily giving up a significant part of our living standard to increase our war effort as quickly and completely as possible. This is not an end in itself, but rather a means to an end. Our social standard of living will be even higher after the war. We do not need to imitate Bolshevist methods, because we have better people and leaders, which gives us a great advantage. But things have shown that we must do much more than we have done so far to turn the war in the East decisively in our favor.

As countless letters from the homeland and the front have shown, by the way, the entire German people agrees. Everyone knows that if we lose, all will be destroyed. The people and leadership are determined to take the most radical measures. The broad working masses of our people are not unhappy because the government is too ruthless. If anything, they are unhappy because it is too considerate. Ask anyone in Germany, and he will say: The most radical is just radical enough, and the most total is just total enough to gain victory.

The total war effort has become a matter of the entire German people. No one has any excuse for ignoring its demands. A storm of applause greeted my call on 30 January for total war. I can therefore assure you that the leadership's measures are in full agreement with the desires of the German people at home and at the front. The people are willing to bear any burden, even the heaviest, to make any sacrifice, if it leads to the great goal of victory. (Lively applause)

This naturally assumes that the burdens are shared equally. (Loud approval) We cannot tolerate a situation in which most people carry the burden of the war, while a small, passive portion attempts to escape its burdens and responsibilities. The measures we have taken, and the ones we will yet take, will be characterized by the spirit of National Socialist justice. We pay no heed to class or standing. Rich and poor, high and low must share the burdens equally. Everyone must do his duty in this grave hour, whether by choice or otherwise. We know this has the full support of the people. We would rather do too much rather than too little to achieve victory. No war in history has ever been lost because of too many soldiers or weapons. Many, however, have been lost because the opposite was true.

It is time to get the slackers moving. (Stormy agreement) They must be shaken out of their comfortable ease. We cannot wait until they come to their senses. That might be too late. The alarm must sound throughout the nation. Millions of hands must get to work throughout the country. The measures we have taken, and the ones we will now take, and which I shall discuss later in this speech, are critical for our whole public and private life. The individual may have to make great sacrifices, but they are tiny when compared to the sacrifices he would have to make if his refusal brought down on us the greatest national disaster. It is better to operate at the right time than to wait until the disease has taken root. One may not complain to the doctor or sue him for bodily injury. He cuts not to kill, but to save the patient's life.

Again let me say that the heavier the sacrifices the German people must make, the more urgent it is that they be fairly shared. The people want it that way. No one resists even the heaviest burdens of war. But it angers people when a few always try to escape the burdens. The National Socialist government has both the moral and political duty to oppose such attempts, if necessary with

draconian penalties. (Agreement) Leniency here would be completely out of place, leading in time to a confusion in the people's emotions and attitudes that would be a grave danger to our public morale.

We are therefore compelled to adopt a series of measures that are not essential for the war effort in themselves, but seem necessary to maintain moral at home and at the front. The optics of the war, that is, how things outwardly appear, is of decisive importance in this fourth year of war. In view of the superhuman sacrifices that the front makes each day, it has a basic right to expect that no one at home claims the right to ignore the war and its demands. And not only the front demands this, but the overwhelming part of the homeland. The industrious have a right to expect that if they work ten or twelve or fourteen hours a day, a lazy person does not stand next to them who thinks them foolish. The homeland must stay pure and intact in its entirety. Nothing may disturb the picture.

There are therefore a series of measures that take account of the war's optics. We have ordered, for example, the closing of bars and night clubs. I cannot imagine that people who are doing their duty for the war effort still have the energy to stay out late into the night in such places. I can only conclude that they are not taking their responsibilities seriously. We have closed these establishments because they began to offend us, and because they disturb the image of the war. We have nothing against amusements as such. After the war we will happily go by the rule "Live and let live." But during a war, the slogan must be "Fight and let fight!"

We have also closed luxury restaurants that demand far more resources than is reasonable. It may be that an occasional person thinks that, even during war, his stomach is the most important thing. We cannot pay him any heed. At the front everyone from the simple soldier to the general field marshal eats from the field kitchen. I do not believe that it is asking too much to insist that we in the homeland pay heed to at least the basic laws of community thinking. We can become gourmets once again when the war is over. Right now, we have more important things to do than worry about our stomachs.

Countless luxury stores have also been closed. They often offended the buying public. There was generally nothing to buy, unless perhaps one paid here and there with butter or eggs instead of money. What good do shops do that no longer have anything to sell, but only use electricity, heating, and human labor that is lacking everywhere else, particularly in the armaments industry.

It is no excuse to say that keeping some of these shops open gives a lovely impression to foreigners. Foreigners will be impressed only by a German victory! (Stormy applause). Everyone will want to be our friend if we win the war. But if we lose, we will be able to count our friends on the fingers of one hand. We have put an end to such illusions. We want to put these people standing in empty shops to useful work in the war economy. This process is already in motion, and will be completed by 15 March. It is of course a major transformation in our entire economic life. We are following a plan. We do not want to accuse anyone unjustly or open them to complaints and accusations from every side. We are only doing what is necessary. But we are doing it quickly and thoroughly.

We would rather wear worn clothing for a few years than have our people wear rags for a few centuries. What good are fashion salons today? They only use light, heat and workers. They will reappear when the war is over. What good are beauty shops that encourage a cult of beauty and take enormous time and energy? In peace they are wonderful, but a waste of time during war. Our women and girls will be able to greet our victorious returning soldiers without their peacetime finery.

(Applause)

Government offices will work faster and less bureaucratically. It does not leave a good impression when the office closes on the dot after eight hours. The people are not there for the offices, the offices are there for the people. One has to work until the work is done. That is a requirement of the war. If the Führer can do that, so can his paid employees. If there is not enough work to fill the extended hours, 10 or 20 or 30 percent of the workers can be transferred to war production and replace other men for service at the front. That applies to all offices in the homeland. That by itself may make the work in some offices go more quickly and easily. We must learn from the war to operate quickly, not only thoroughly. The soldier at the front does not have weeks to think things over, to pass his thoughts up the line or let them sit in dusty files. He must act immediately or lose his life. In the homeland we do not lose our lives if we work slowly, but we do endanger the life of our people.

Everyone must learn to pay heed to war morale, and pay attention to the just demands of working and fighting people. We are not spoilsports, but neither will we tolerate those who hinder our efforts.

It is, for example, intolerable that certain men and women stay for weeks in spas and trade rumors, taking places away from soldiers on leave or from workers who are entitled to a vacation after a year of hard work. That is intolerable, and we have put an end to it. The war is not a time for amusement. Until it is over, we take our deepest satisfaction in work and battle. Those who do not understand that by themselves must be taught to understand it, and forced if need be. The harshest measures may be needed.

It does not look good, for example, when we devote enormous propaganda to the theme: "Wheels must roll for victory!" with the result that people avoid unnecessary travel only to see unemployed pleasure-seekers find more room for themselves in the trains. The railroad serves to transport war goods and travelers on war business. Only those who need a rest from hard work deserve a vacation. The Führer has not had a day of vacation since the war began. Since the first man of the country takes his duty so seriously and responsibly, it must be expected that every citizen will follow his example.

On the other hand, the government is doing all it can to give working people the relaxation they need in these trying times. Theaters, movie houses, and music halls remain in full operation. The radio is working to expand and improve its programming. We have no intention of inflicting a gray winter mood on our people. That which serves the people and keeps up its fighting and working strength is good and essential to the war effort. We want to eliminate the opposite. To balance the measures I have already discussed, I have therefore ordered that cultural and spiritual establishments that serve the people not be decreased, but increased. As long as they aid rather than harm the war effort, they must be supported by the government. That applies to sports as well. Sports are not only for particular circles today, but a matter for the entire people. Military exemptions for athletes are out of place. The purpose of sports is to steel the body, certainly with the goal of using it appropriately in time of the people's greatest need.

The front shares our desires. The entire German people agrees passionately. It is no longer willing to put up with efforts that only waste time and resources. It will not put up with complicated questionnaires on every possible issue. It does not want to worry about a thousand minor matters that may have been important in peace, but are entirely unimportant during war. It also does not need to be constantly reminded of its duty by references to the great sacrifices of our soldiers at Stalingrad. It

knows what it has to do. It wants everyone, high and low, rich and poor, to share a spartan life style. The Führer gives us all an example, one that must be followed by everyone. He knows only work and care. We do not want to leave it all to him, but rather we want to take that part of it from him which we are able to bear.

The present day has a remarkable resemblance for every genuine National Socialist to the period of struggle. We have always acted in the same way. We were with the people through thick and thin, and that is why the people followed us. We have always carried our burdens together with the people, and therefore they did not seem heavy to us, but rather light. The people want to be led. Never in history has the people failed a brave and determined leadership a critical hour.

Let me say a few words in this regard about practical measures in our total war effort that we have already taken.

The problem is freeing soldiers for the front, and freeing workers for the armaments industry. These are the primary goals, even at the cost of our standard of social life. This does not mean a permanent decline in our standard of living. It is only a means to reaching an end, that of total war.

As part of this campaign, hundreds of thousands of military exemptions have been canceled. These exemptions were given because we did not have enough skilled labor to fill the positions that would have been left open by revoking them. The reason for our current measures is to mobilize the necessary workers. That is why we have appealed to men not working in the war economy, and to women who were not working at all. They will not and cannot ignore our call. The duty for women to work is broad. That does not however mean that only those included in the law have to work. Anyone is welcome. The more who join the war effort, the more soldiers we can free for the front.

Our enemies maintain that German women are not able to replace men in the war economy. That may be true for certain fields of heavy labor. But I am convinced that the German woman is determined to fill the spot left by the man leaving for the front, and to do so as soon as possible. We do not need to point out Bolshevism's example. For years, millions of the best German women have been working successfully in war production, and they wait impatiently to be joined and assisted by others. All those who join in the work are only giving the proper thanks to those at the front. Hundreds of thousands have already joined, and hundreds of thousands more will join. We hope soon to free up armies of workers who will in turn free up armies of fighting front soldiers.

I would think little of German women if I believed that they do not want to listen to my appeal. They will not seek to follow the letter of the law, or to slip through its loopholes. They few who may try will not succeed. We will not accept a doctor's excuse. Nor will we accept the alibi that one must help one's husband or relative or good friend as a way of avoiding work. We will respond appropriately. The few who may attempt it will only lose the respect of those around them. The people will despise them. No one expects a woman lacking the requisite physical strength to go to work in a tank factory. There are however numerous jobs in war production that do not demand great physical strength, and which a woman can do even if she comes from the better circles. No one is too good to work, and we all have the choice to give up what we have, or to lose everything.

It is also time to ask women with household help if they really need it. One can take care of the house and children oneself, freeing the servant for other tasks, or leave the house and children in care of the



servant or the NSV [the party welfare organization], and go to work oneself. Life may not be as pleasant as it is during peace. But we are not at peace, we are at war. We can be comfortable after we have won the war. Now we must sacrifice our comforts to gain victory.

Soldiers' wives surely understand this. They know it is their duty to their husbands to support them by doing work that is important to the war effort. That is true above all in agriculture. The wives of farmers must set a good example. Both men and women must be sure that no one does less during war than they did in peace; more work must instead be done in every area.

One may not, by the way, make the mistake of leaving everything to the government. The government can only set the broad guidelines. To give life to those guidelines is the job of working people, under the inspiring leadership of the party. Fast action is essential.

One must go beyond the legal requirements. "Volunteer!" is the slogan. As Gauleiter of Berlin, I appeal here above all to my fellow Berliners. They have given enough good examples of noble behavior and bravery during the war such that they will not fail here. Their practical behavior and good cheer even during war have earned them a good name throughout the world. This good name must be maintained and strengthened! If I appeal to my fellow Berliners to do some important work quickly, thoroughly, and without complaint, I know they will all obey. We do not want to complain about the difficulties of the day or grump to one another. Rather we want to behave not only like Berliners, but like Germans, by getting to work, acting, seizing the initiative and doing something, not leaving it to someone else.

What German woman would want to ignore my appeal on behalf of those fighting at the front? Who would want to put personal comfort above national duty? Who in view of the serious threat we face would want to consider his private needs instead of the requirements of the war?

I reject with contempt the enemy's claim that we are imitating Bolshevism. We do not want to imitate Bolshevism, we want to defeat it, with whatever means are necessary. The German woman will best understand what I mean, for she has long known that the war our men are fighting today above all is a war to protect her children. Her holiest possession is guarded by our people's most valuable blood. The German woman must spontaneously proclaim her solidarity with her fighting men. She had better join the ranks of millions of workers in the homeland's army, and do it tomorrow rather than the day after tomorrow. A river of readiness must flow through the German people. I expect that countless women and above all men who are not doing essential war work will report to the authorities. He who gives quickly gives twice as much.

Our general economy is consolidating. That particularly affects the insurance and banking systems, the tax system, newspapers and magazines that are not essential for the war effort, and nonessential party and government activities, and also requires a further simplification of our life style.

I know that many of our people are making great sacrifices. I understand their sacrifices, and the government is trying to keep them to the necessary minimum. But some must remain, and must be borne. When the war is over, we will build up that which we now are eliminating, more generously and more beautifully, and the state will lend its hand.

I energetically reject the charge that our measures will eliminate the middle class or result in a

monopoly economy. The middle class will regain its economic and social position after the war. The current measures are necessary for the war effort. They aim not at a structural transformation of the economy, but merely at winning the war as quickly as possible.

I do not dispute the fact that these measures will cause worry in the coming weeks. They will give us breathing room. We are laying the groundwork for the coming summer, without paying heed to the threats and boasting of the enemy. I am happy to reveal this plan for victory (Stormy applause) to the German people. They not only accept these measures, they have demanded them, demanded them more strongly than ever before during the war. The people want action! It is time for it! We must use our time to prepare for coming surprises.

I turn now to the entire German people, and particularly to the party, as the leader of the totalization of our domestic war effort. This is not the first major task you have faced. You will bring the usual revolutionary élan to bear on it. You will deal with the laziness and indolence that may occasionally show up. The government has issued general regulations, and will issue further ones in coming weeks. The minor issues not dealt with in these regulations must be taken care of by the people, under the party's leadership. One moral law stands above everything for each of us: to do nothing that harms the war effort, and to do everything that brings victory nearer.

In past years, we have often recalled the example of Frederick the Great in newspapers and on the radio. We did not have the right to do so. For a while during the Third Silesian War, Frederick II had five million Prussians, according to Schlieffen, standing against 90 million enemies. In the second of seven hellish years he suffered a defeat that shook Prussia's foundations. He never had enough soldiers and weapons to fight without risking everything. His strategy was always one of improvisation. But his principle was to attack the enemy whenever it was possible. He suffered defeats, but that was not decisive. What was decisive is that the Great King remained unbroken, that he was unshaken by the changing fortunes of war, that his strong heart overcame every danger. At the end of seven years of war, he was 51 years old, he had no teeth, he suffered from gout, and was tortured by a thousand pains, but he stood above the devastated battlefield as the victor. How does our situation compare with his?! Let us show the same will and decisiveness as he, and when the time comes do as he did, remaining unshakable through all the twists of fate, and like him win the battle even under the most unfavorable circumstances. Let us never doubt our great cause.

I am firmly convinced that the German people have been deeply moved by the blow of fate at Stalingrad. It has looked into the face of hard and pitiless war. It knows now the awful truth, and is resolved to follow the Führer through thick and thin. (The crowd rises and like the roaring ocean chants: Führer command, we follow! Heil our Führer!" The minister is unable to continue for several minutes.)

The English and American press in recent days has been writing at length about the attitude of the German people during this crisis. The English seem to think that they know the German people much better than we do, its own leadership. They give hypocritical advice on what we should do and not do. They believe that the German people today is the same as the German people of November 1918 that fell victim to their persuasive wiles. I do not need to disprove their assertions. That will come from the fighting and working German people.

To make the truth plain, however, my German comrades, I want to ask you a series of questions. I

want you to answer them to the best of your knowledge, according to your conscience. When my audience cheered on 30 January, the English press reported the next day that it was all a propaganda show that did not represent the true opinion of the German people. (Spontaneous shouts of Pfui!” “Lies!” “Let them come here! They will learn differently!”) I have invited to today’s meeting a cross-section of the German people in the best sense of the word. (The minister’s words were accompanied by stormy applause that increased in intensity as he came to the representatives of the army present at the meeting.) In front of me are rows of wounded German soldiers from the Eastern Front, missing legs and arms, with wounded bodies, those who have lost their sight, those who have come with nurses, men in the blush of youth who stand with crutches. Among them are 50 who bear the Knight’s Cross with Oak Leaves, shining examples of our fighting front. Behind them are armaments workers from Berlin tank factories. Behind them are party officials, soldiers from the fighting army, doctors, scientists, artists, engineers and architects, teachers, officials and employees from offices, proud representatives of every area of our intellectual life that even in the midst of war produce miracles of human genius. Throughout the Sportpalast I see thousands of German women. The youth is here, as are the aged. No class, no occupation, no age remained uninvited. I can rightly say that before me is gathered a representative sample of the German population, both from the homeland and the front. Is that true? Yes or no? (The Sportpalast experiences something seen only rarely even in this old fighting locale of National Socialism. The masses spring to their feet. A hurricane of thousands of voices shouts yes. The participants experience a spontaneous popular referendum and expression of will.) You, my hearers, at this moment represent the whole nation. I wish to ask you ten questions that you will answer for the German people throughout the world, but especially for our enemies, who are listening to us on the radio. (Only with difficulty can the minister be heard. The crowd is at the peak of excitement. The individual questions are razor sharp. Each individual feels as if he is being spoken to personally. With full participation and enthusiasm, the crowd answers each question. The Sportpalast rings with a single shout of agreement.)

The English maintain that the German people has lost faith in victory.

I ask you: Do you believe with the Führer and us in the final total victory of the German people?

I ask you: Are you resolved to follow the Führer through thick and thin to victory, and are you willing to accept the heaviest personal burdens?

Second, The English say that the German people are tired of fighting.

I ask you: Are you ready to follow the Führer as the phalanx of the homeland, standing behind the fighting army and to wage war with wild determination through all the turns of fate until victory is ours?

Third: The English maintain that the German people have no desire any longer to accept the government’s growing demands for war work.

I ask you: Are you and the German people willing to work, if the Führer orders, 10, 12 and if necessary 14 hours a day and to give everything for victory?

Fourth: The English maintain that the German people is resisting the government’s total war measures. It does not want total war, but capitulation! (Shouts: Never! Never! Never!)

I ask you: Do you want total war? If necessary, do you want a war more total and radical than anything that we can even imagine today?

Fifth: The English maintain that the German people have lost faith in the Führer.

I ask you: Is your confidence in the Führer greater, more faithful and more unshakable than ever before? Are you absolutely and completely ready to follow him wherever he goes and do all that is necessary to bring the war to a victorious end? (The crowd rises as one man. It displays unprecedented enthusiasm. Thousands of voices join in shouting: "Führer command, we follow!" A wave of shouts of Heil flows through the hall. As if by command, the flags and standards are raised as the highest expression of the sacred moment in which the crowd honors the Führer.)

Sixth, I ask you: Are you ready from now on to give your full strength to provide the Eastern Front with the men and munitions it needs to give Bolshevism the death blow?

Seventh, I ask you: Do you take a holy oath to the front that the homeland stands firm behind them, and that you will give them everything they need to win the victory?

Eighth, I ask you: Do you, especially you women, want the government to do all it can to encourage German women to put their full strength at work to support the war effort, and to release men for the front whenever possible, thereby helping the men at the front?

Ninth, I ask you: Do you approve, if necessary, the most radical measures against a small group of shirkers and black marketers who pretend there is peace in the middle of war and use the need of the nation for their own selfish purposes? Do you agree that those who harm the war effort should lose their heads?

Tenth and lastly, I ask you: Do you agree that above all in war, according to the National Socialist Party platform, the same rights and duties should apply to all, that the homeland should bear the heavy burdens of the war together, and that the burdens should be shared equally between high and low and rich and poor?

I have asked; you have given me your answers. You are part of the people, and your answers are those of the German people. You have told our enemies what they needed to hear so that they will have no illusions or false ideas.

Now, just as in the first hours of our rule and through the ten years that followed, we are bound firmly in brotherhood with the German people. The most powerful ally on earth, the people itself, stands behind us and is determined to follow the Führer, come what may. They will accept the heaviest burdens to gain victory. What power on earth can hinder us from reaching our goal. Now we must and will succeed! I stand before you not only as the spokesman of the government, but as the spokesman of the people. My old party friends are here around me, clothed with the high offices of the people and the government. Party comrade Speer sits next to me. The Führer has given him the great task of mobilizing the German armaments industry and supplying the front with all the weapons it needs. Party comrade Dr. Ley sits next to me. The Führer has charged him with the leadership of the German work force, with schooling and training them in untiring work for the war effort. We feel

deeply indebted to our party comrade Sauckel, who has been charged by the Führer to bring hundreds of thousands of workers to the Reich to support our national economy, something the enemy cannot do. All the leaders of the party, the army, and government join with us as well.

We are all children of our people, forged together by this most critical hour of our national history. We promise you, we promise the front, we promise the Führer, that we will mold together the homeland into a force on which the Führer and his fighting soldiers can rely on absolutely and blindly. We pledge to do all in our life and work that is necessary for victory. We will fill our hearts with the political passion, with the ever-burning fire that blazed during the great struggles of the party and the state. Never during this war will we fall prey to the false and hypocritical objectivism that has brought the German nation so much misfortune over its history.

When the war began, we turned our eyes to the nation alone. That which serves its struggle for life is good and must be encouraged. What harms its struggle for life is bad and must be eliminated and cut out. With burning hearts and cool heads we will overcome the major problems of this phase of the war. We are on the way to final victory. That victory rests on our faith in the Führer.

This evening I once again remind the whole nation of its duty. The Führer expects us to do that which will throw all we have done in the past into the shadows. We do not want to fail him. As we are proud of him, he should be proud of us.

The great crises and upsets of national life show who the true men and women are. We have no right any longer to speak of the weaker sex, for both sexes are displaying the same determination and spiritual strength. The nation is ready for anything. The Führer has commanded, and we will follow him. In this hour of national reflection and contemplation, we believe firmly and unshakably in victory. We see it before us, we need only reach for it. We must resolve to subordinate everything to it. That is the duty of the hour. Let the slogan be:

Now, people rise up and let the storm break loose!

(The minister's final words were lost in unending stormy applause)

Background: Goebbels gave his famous speech on Total War on 18 February 1943. Now it is four months later, 5 June 1943.

Goebbels has this to say about the speech in his diary entry of 6 June 1943:

“The meeting in the Sportpalast was at 4 p.m. The mood cannot be compared to that of 18 February [the Total War Speech]. That is the result of differences in the situation and the entirely different nature of the meeting. The main audience on 18 February consisted of party members, but this time they were primarily Berlin armaments workers. Still, the atmosphere was extraordinarily good. Speer spoke first about armaments. He was persuasive. The statistics he gave were better than people expected, and earned enormous applause. Speer speaks calmly and reasonably, but very effectively. His speech will doubtless have great impact on the German and world publics.... My speech follows. It works mostly through its realism. I deal with all the questions that concern the German people today, with excellent effect. Of course one cannot compare the mood of the meeting with that of 18 February, as I already said. But that may be more an advantage than a disadvantage. If we worked for storms of applause, it would certainly have had a negative impact on those in the West suffering from Allied bombing. They want realism above all, and cannot understand that Berlin is applauding while those in the West endure the bombing. I am very satisfied with the results of this meeting. Our people fundamentally are decent. At the moment they do not want calls to outward enthusiasm, but rather thorough discussion of questions relating to the political and military situation. That is what happened in this meeting. It followed the traditional format of our earlier meetings in the Sportpalast. I hope this speech will result in a major change in morale.”

The source: “Überwundene Winterkrise. Rede im Berliner Sportpalast,” *Der steile Aufstieg* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1944), pp. 287-306.

### **The Winter Crisis is Over**

by Joseph Goebbels

The winter crisis is over. We may at times during the gray preceding months have looked at the situation with a grim expression, but we never resigned ourselves to the blows of fate. The opposite. With unprecedented exertions, the leadership and the people fought against them. Quietly and without much ado, great things have been accomplished. The enemy’s war of nerves is having no effect on us. In November 1918 the German people fell prey to the tricks of its enemy. We learned from the hard results of our moral failure. (Loud agreement accompanies the minister’s words.) Our opponent then promised us peace, freedom, happiness, and prosperity. They told us that they, too, had raised the red flags over their ships and trenches. As the German people followed the urgings of Jewish criminals and lowered their flags, the then British Prime Minister Lloyd George said cynically: “Now we have them. We can do what we want to them!”

Such a tragedy happened once in German history. It will never happen again. It will not happen this time because we know what is going on, and we hold all the elements for a truly decisive victory in our hands. They cannot defeat us with lies and promises. That was only possible through force. But we are using force against force. (Jubilant agreement.) The leadership, the people, and the front are of one opinion. We have no workers who want to strike, and above all no Jewish rabble-rousers who might mislead them into it! (Long-lasting, thundering applause.) We are a people at arms, determined to defend our honor and our territory to the last breath. There is no group in Germany that would be ready to work with the enemy. Should an individual have such criminal intentions, he will be rendered harmless as soon as he is noticed. (Jubilant agreement and applause.) We have obligations to the dead as well as to the living, to the soldiers at the front and also you workers in the homeland.

He who threatens the security of the German nation will risk his own life. The laws of war are harsh. Millions of German soldiers today have to be ready to die on the battlefield for their people. We would not deserve to lead this nation if we tolerated to any degree whatsoever any threat to the homeland.

Our people are fulfilling their war duties as one would expect. Naturally the war is harder in its fourth year than it was in its first. No one in Germany, by the way, wanted or welcomed the war. That is not at issue. What the Philistine calls mood is not a decisive military factor. The wounds inflicted on all the combatant peoples in this drama of nations are sometimes very painful. The bloom of our youth is in battle. They must bring the hardest sacrifice of blood, just as do those who live in the areas suffering from bombing attacks. Through his brutal and cynical methods, the enemy is giving us a foretaste of what he has prepared for us should we prove weak.

Even in England the foolish talk of an “exciting war” has stopped, and one prefers not to be reminded of it. Given the anguish this world-wide struggle has brought to all the nations, even those not involved, who dares to speak of a superficial patriotism! Mood belongs at a family gathering or a springtime excursion. The war demands of every nation a manly attitude. Soldiers show this attitude. They are in the fourth year of difficult conditions, or in almost their third year in the barbaric East, fulfilling their hard duty, risking their lives a thousand times when the situation demands. They have given up vacations, a normal life, comfort, and the quiet of home to defend the life and freedom of the nation. Workers and farmers, too, display the correct attitude. They do not think of escaping the hard duties of the war. Millions of women and mothers display it. They protect and care for their families and free their men for the front by standing by the machine or behind the plow. They do not complain, even give birth to children in the midst of it all to guarantee the life of their nation. That all demands more than mood, which is changeable. It is one thing today, something different tomorrow.

What can I say to praise the hard-tested population in the areas affected by the air war! They resist the effects of criminal enemy bombing terror with unprecedented heroism. Overnight families lose all that they have, sometimes the father, sometimes the mother, sometimes their growing children. They stand before the smoking ruins of their house or apartment for which they have worked and saved their entire lives. How can they be consoled by the thought that their heavy sacrifice is necessary if their people and nation is to live, that however bitter their fate may be, it must be endured. Only an attitude that withstands all the bitterness of their sorrow gives them the strength to go on. Perhaps the Jewish press in London and Washington brings a mood to the war that is lacking in the German people. That is because they never suffer themselves. The mood of their racial comrades in Germany is probably different than theirs. That is because the war that they helped to bring about is having its impact on them as well. One can disagree about the mood of the combatant peoples in this fourth year of war. There is no doubt that the National Socialist attitude has remained firm. We Germans are doing our duty, fighting and working with unprecedented fanaticism, and securing thereby the foundations for our coming victory. It will not be given to us. We can only earn it through great national sacrifice by all of us.

Every attempt by the enemy to seduce the German people fails to overcome this National Socialist attitude. It gives us the strength to bear all the problems any war brings with patient and dogged pride, be they defeats, twists of fate, increased demands, heavy sacrifices, and so on. We do not only speak of peace, we fight for it. We are doing everything in our power to keep fighting until the enemy sinks to the earth. (The masses show their agreement and unshakable confidence in victory by lively

applause.) That is the foundation and goal of our whole war policy. We will not permit conditions to develop that would keep us from being ready for the final decisive fifteen minutes. We view things from a deeper and broader perspective, doing what it takes to continue the war. That may lead to measures that are here or there unpopular, but they are necessary for a successful end to the war. That applies above all to the food situation.

The unusually harsh winter of 1941/42 led to enormous losses of grain, to a total loss of winter oil fruits, and major reductions in the potato and vegetable crops. As a result, about 1.7 million tons of grain intended for animal feed had to be used for bread. The meat ration had to be increased in fall 1942 to make up for major reductions in other foodstuffs. That had a major impact on animal stock. The 1943 harvest was a good one. Potatoes and vegetables are also in better supply. It was necessary to do something about the animal population to avoid serious problems later. A reduction in the meat ration by 100 grams per person a week was unavoidable. We were able to make small adjustments in the fat and bread rations. It is, of course, not possible to replace 100 grams of meat per person a week with egg whites. But we had no choice. Our food policy takes the long view. It uses what we have carefully. It makes sure that the existing rations can be supplied, and that we never find ourselves in the situation where food shortages make a continuation of the war impossible.

Everyone understands and approves, even if the result is a temporary reduction. One may not forget that millions of foreign workers are involved in our domestic production, and they must eat if they are to work, and that many hundreds of thousands, we are proud to say, have followed the flag. That all impacts the food situation, but it also increases our military strength.

We at least know why we in the homeland have to make these sacrifices. They seem to me more than bearable, especially given the sacrifices those in the areas subject to bombing attacks have been enduring nearly every night. Our enemies are attacking all they have with brutal cynicism, hoping to destroy their morale. They admit that openly. The German cultural monuments that they are destroying will be their eternal shame. But they want more than that. They are waging war against the morale of our people, destroying civilian life, killing old people, women, and children, and they do not even bother to cloak their infamous bloody terror. (The minister's remarks draw repeated shouts of pfui and disgust.) The Church of England declared a few days ago that bombs do not distinguish between men, women, and children. Even this seems mild when compared to the demonic hatred and triumph in the London Jewish papers. We Germans are not the sort of people who beg for mercy from an enemy who is out to destroy us. We know that there is only one effective answer to British-American bombing terror: counter-terror. (The masses have listened intensely to the minister's words. Now they break into spontaneous, long-lasting, and repeated stormy applause.)

The entire German nation is filled with but one thought: to repay like with like. (Again there is a storm of enthusiasm.) We do not boast or threaten. We only take notice. Each English voice today that finds the bombing war against German women, old people, and children to be a humane or even Christian method to defeat the German people will one day give us welcome grounds for our answer to these crimes. (Repeated applause affirms the minister's comments.) The British people have no reason to triumph. They will have to pay the bill for the actions of their leaders, who are carrying out the orders of their Jewish masters and rabble-rousers.

Until then, we must seek to endure the sometimes difficult consequences of British-American air terror. We must allow these crimes to wash over us with dogged toughness. It is a part of war, and on



the success with which our nation bears it depends to a great degree the coming victory.

I have recently been in the threatened areas in the west and northwest to see things for myself. The average citizen in the Reich has no idea what people there must endure, under what primitive conditions they must reestablish their shattered lives, what high morale and attitude they still display. He who still thinks he has the right to complain about this or that inconvenience of the war should turn his gaze to Essen, Dortmund, Bochum, Wuppertal, or the other cities in the region and blush with shame that he even dares compare his troubles and complaints with the suffering of the population there. (The stormy applause of the masses expresses their sympathy and pride at the courageous attitude of the population in the air raid districts.) If anyone has the right to complain, it is those in the west and northwest. They do not do so. They fight with astonishing strength of spirit and fanatic determination against fire and devastation. On nights of bombing, men, women, and children stand guard, protecting insofar as it is possible their homes and belongings, displaying miracles of bravery against which in the end British-American terror will shatter. (Shouts of Bravo!, and long-lasting applause.) Each scientist and researcher who work against enemy war technology, each worker and engineer building our new bombers, each young pilot who studies from morning to late at night to one day attack the enemy criminals, may each of them keep this part of our people before his eyes and work untiringly to speed the hour of revenge. (Jubilant agreement interrupts the minister. There are passionate expressions of glowing hatred against the murderous terror sown by the British-Americans.)

I speak as a son of my West German homeland to all Germans, but above all to my own people. I know what you have had to bear in recent weeks. I also know that whatever sorrow may befall you personally or to our homeland, you will maintain the proper attitude. We who live on the border have always had a hard time of it. Just as we did not bow after the First World War to enemy occupation nor to the separatism they encouraged, so also our cities and villages will never bow to the British bombing terror. The enemy can bomb our houses to rubble. The hearts of the people will burn with a hatred that cannot be extinguished. The hour of revenge will come. (Strong applause.) After the war, it will be the duty of the entire nation to reward their heroism by rebuilding their houses and cities more beautifully than before. Life will flourish once more, and far into the future children and children's children will speak of the courageous endurance of their fathers and mothers, who through their heroism will have won unfading wreaths for the coats of arms of their proud cities.

The English are using the air war against us. We are using submarines against them. The results of the air war are more visible, but the submarine campaign is more important to the war in the long run, since its wounds are deeper. Through May of this year, 26.5 million BRT of enemy shipping have been sunk by the German navy and Luftwaffe. The significance of that figure is clear when one remembers that German submarine warfare nearly brought England to the ground in 1917 and 1918 while sinking only about 12 million BRT.

Of course, the English admitted that only after the war; during the war they, along with the Americans, boasted just as today about their new construction and cast doubt on our statistics. Whatever new ships the enemy may launch, they cannot replace what we have sunk. Also, the supplies and work force that go into constructing ships cannot be used for other war production. And his work force, the foundation of war production, does not compare with ours. They only thing the enemy may do better at than we is boast. Even trees in America do not grow up to heaven. We have every reason to disregard the enemy's fantasy statistics. We do not entirely ignore them, but either do

we overestimate their importance.

The nature of combat on sea is changeable. Periods of great success are followed by periods of defeat, depending on the state of our attacking forces on the one hand and the enemy's defensive abilities on the other. The battle is being fought not only on the oceans, in the air, or on the battlefields, but also in scientific institutes and laboratories. Every new method of attack is in time followed by a new method of defense, and each new defensive technique provokes a new method of attack. That is especially true in a life and death struggle, the submarine war, for example. The periods of greatest success by our submarines have been followed by periods of less success. But the enemy always boasts too soon when he thinks he has finally won. He has often enough declared the submarine danger over, only to be persuaded in short order of the contrary. He really has every reason to be cautious in his predictions. For example, we sank 629,000 tons in October 1940, but only 203,000 in January 1941. Three months later in April 1941, the figure was 1,000,211 BRT of enemy shipping. Then, too, the British Admiralty first boasted as the statistics fell, but three months later the English public was again in a panic.

The struggle at sea is hard and dangerous. It is fought with growing mercilessness by both sides. Our submarine crews know how important their work is to the war. In the end, the balance of fate will tip in our direction. Over the long run the enemy must expect devastating losses. His supply routes will be cut again, destroying his chance of success. A war of such scale is not measured in centimeters.

This much we know: the German people can be confident. Its vast efforts for total war have not been in vain. They will be used one day. (Stormy shouts of Bravo!) Our enemies can wonder when and how. They may believe that the initiative has shifted permanently to them and that Germany's leadership is waiting with fear and trembling for their actions. The future, however, will decide who should be anxious. We are waiting, but in a different way than the enemy believes.

They speak of the invasion of Europe as if that were the most obvious thing in the world. The Jews want the invasion most of all, presumably since none of them will be involved. They will be playing the battle songs. The American and British soldiers will have to pay the bloody tab. Our army is waiting for them. (Jubilant agreement and shouts of Bravo!) Dunkirk and Dieppe are warnings against a British-American invasion. Roane Waring, the commander of the American Legion, recently returned from a trip to North Africa. He said: "The American forces have suffered terrible losses. The losses are far more than what Eisenhower has admitted, and worse is ahead. Tunis is only a foretaste of what is waiting for us in Europe."

The British military observer Cyrill Falls adds the following warning: "I want to warn against underestimation. There will be bloody battles once the Allied forces run against Axis fortifications. Europe will not be conquered quickly. We must not make the mistake of underestimating the fortifications in France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Italy, and in the Southeast. We must realize that attacking them will cost us much in blood and tears."

The Jews are pressing for those tears to play out the bloody drama to its end. Churchill and Roosevelt are only their tools.

Perhaps one or two super-objectivists will think my characterization of the enemy leaders too crass, but I am saying what I mean. What else can one say about those who on the one hand speak of

freedom from want and fear, but on the other shoot 12,000 Polish officers through the neck in the Forest of Katyn. On the one hand they sing “Onward Christian Soldiers,” while on the other they burn down churches. On the one hand they claim to be fighting for the sovereignty of the small states, but on the other they want to plunge them into Bolshevist chaos. On the one hand they represent the crassest form of capitalism, on the other the crassest collectivism. So many statements, so many contradictions! How can one reconcile them without concluding that we are dealing with a band of crooks who are striving for world domination, and who want to subject Europe to Jewish world rule? The only reason they went to war against us is because we were the last bastion in the way of their infernal Jewish-plutocratic-Bolshevist goals. They rule vast and rich empires, but have proven themselves unable to organize them and use their peoples effectively. They reach for war to rule poor nations and take from them the little they do possess. This is a criminal conspiracy. Either we will defeat it, or decent and productive humanity will be destroyed.

It does the enemy coalition no good to attempt to conceal these matters. The Soviets may abolish the Comintern, but they remain wolves in sheep’s clothing. The plutocrats may permit their hired newspapers to discuss plans for social reform, but the expert sees behind all the talk the merciless face of Jewish world capitalism that is seeking to seduce and drug the nations of Europe. One will have to doubt the justice of the universe and the meaning of history if we do not withstand the enemy. It is all too clear why their criminal leaders are trying to conceal their blood guilt, now that the nations are beginning to awaken. Using the tested Jewish method, they shout: “The victim is guilty, not the murderer!” They fill the world with hypocritical lamentations and toss out their old views and convictions, the intellectual documents of a declining world, whenever they become a nuisance. They present themselves to an astonished world as great reformers out to improve the world, they who always opposed any reasonable new order in the world, indeed launched a war to hinder it!

We are flattered that we have forced the Soviets to at least outwardly dissolve the Comintern, that instrument for world destruction. But the Jews in London and Washington are gloating too soon if they think that will stop National Socialism’s educational work. A lying peace of paper cannot undo a practice that has raped, tortured, starved, and murdered countless millions of human victims. Bolshevism’s tactical move is only another reason for us to reveal to the world its planned crimes. It may take years, as it did during our struggle for power, until their terrible plot fails.

People are increasingly recognizing the work of the Jews around the world. It does them no good to use parliaments and courts to protect their parasitic existence. It will not be long before the whole world cries out against those guilty of causing this terrible drama between nations. We want to be sure that the questions are answered. (Long-lasting applause.) In the Fifteenth Protocol of the Elders of Zion it is written: “When the king of the Jews receives the crown upon his holy head that Europe will offer him, he will become the patriarch of the entire world.” The Jews have often been near that triumph, just as they believe they are today. But always before they fell from the heights to the depths. This time, too, Lucifer will fall. (The minister’s statement is received with renewed stormy approval.) Our Europe will offer them not a crown, but the mailed fist (Applause.) The Jew will not be the patriarch of the world, but rather the leper, the scum, the victim of his own criminal desires, who will break against our strength and our knowledge. (Renewed stormy applause.)

In the face of this danger to the world, sentimentality is out of place. It may be that some do not understand the importance of the Jewish Question, but that will not stop us. Ridding all Europe of Jewry is not a matter of morality, but rather a question of international security. The Jew will always

act consistently with his nature and racial instincts. He cannot do otherwise. Just like a potato beetle destroys potatoes, the Jew destroys nations and peoples. There is only one solution: to deal radically with the danger. (Agreement and shouts from the crowd.) Wherever one looks among our enemies, one sees Jew after Jew. Jews are behind Roosevelt in his brain trust, Jews are behind Churchill as his prompters. Jews are the rabble-rousers behind the entire English-American-Soviet press. Jews hidden in the Kremlin are the real bearers of Bolshevism. The International Jew is the mortar that holds the enemy coalition together. With his world-spanning connections, he builds the bridges between Moscow, London, and Washington. The war is his doing, he directs it from the shadows, and he will be its only beneficiary.

We are facing the most dangerous enemy in the world. He is not unbeatable. Just as we defeated him within Germany, we will break his power, which now threatens us from abroad. (Lively applause.) He is resorting to bloodthirsty fantasies of revenge. That is good, for he is only showing his true face. A few days ago one of its most prominent representatives announced a new White House peace plan. It includes: "The complete occupation of Germany and its rule by an Anglo-Bolshevist-American military government. A takeover of the entire German administration, a complete dissolution of German industry, and sending all German troops for an undetermined period as workers in the occupied territories, especially Siberia. Germany may never again become a strong power. After the most spartan food supply is left for the German people, the remaining agricultural products will be sent to the enemy powers. Germany may not remain a unified nation. Education toward a German national consciousness will be banned. The products of German industry should benefit the German people only to the extent necessary for them to feed themselves."

Is there anyone in Germany who pays any heed to this program? It reflects precisely what the Jews in the Kremlin have planned for us. We know that. No one has any illusions.

Even the small group of super-objectivists must now be clear that the hour has come. Today's Germany otherwise has no use for them. Our dead have left obligations for us, and we the living are under obligation to do their will. Anyone who doubts victory has no right to be part of our community. (Stormy applause from the crowd testifies that thousands agree that Dr. Goebbels has expressed what we all think.) Whoever pays attention to what the enemy says is a traitor to our cause. (Growing applause.) Who harms our war efforts by passing on enemy rumors and sins against our people, for which hundreds of thousands of soldiers have died heroic deaths. We must take immediate action against these talkative chaps. (Lively agreement and shouts of "Right!") There may only be a few of them, but the enemy thinks he can use them. We want to live in a clean war atmosphere. Our people demand that mentally ill world apostles, even if they act unintentionally and are a laughable minority, go to jail.

Lloyd George, the British prime minister during the First World War, wrote in his memoirs: "If Germany had had a leader of the stature of Bismarck or Moltke instead of Bethmann-Hollweg and Falkenhayn, the outcome of the great battle between the military autocracies and the democracies would in all likelihood have been different. Germany's mistakes rescued us from the results of our own mistakes."

We now have the strong national leadership that we lacked then. (These words lead the crowd to express enthusiastically its admiration and confidence in the Führer.) It knows what to do to ensure that the current British prime minister will not be able to say the same thing about the German people

at the end of this war.

Rumors and loose talk fade before the war's hard realities. It will be decided by powerful weapons and strong hearts. The German people possess these in full measure. They need only be used. True and loyal allies, the Axis nations, stand at our side. They, too, are fighting for their lives. Nearly all of Europe is working to support our war effort. The fruits of our common fighting and industry will one day come. After victory, our part of the world will be a powerful continental community comprised of free peoples who have devoted themselves to a great common cause. That is the only way Europe can continue to live. Otherwise, it will fall apart and become easy prey for anarchy and Bolshevism. No real European can want that.

I am nearly finished. Today more than ever before, the German people in this war have been given a great historical opportunity. Each of us more than ever has the duty to use this opportunity for his life and the lives of his children. The nation will prove worthy of the great hour and earn its proudest victory. But it will not be given to us; it can be earned only by steady determination in battle and work. No one knows better than we how hard it is and how many bitter sacrifices it demands. But our future will be still harder and more bitter if we do not meet the challenge. Every war brings its trials. Only then can a nation display its toughness and its historical stature. No power on earth can spare us the trial; it is sent by Fate itself and must be withstood, for there is no other way. After a great trial, the weather clears up, as the great Prussian king once said, and the skies are once more bright. We have experienced that ourselves too often during the war to forget it now. What remains is manly courage that accepts the blows of fate, and in the end withstands them.

Unlike the enemy coalition, the German people have the good fortune to have a clear worldview. We do not need to disregard our program to meet the demands of the war. To the contrary, it is affirmed by those demands. Once we have mastered this war, a new era of German growth, German socialism and German national strength will come.

The great teachings of the party gained over our fourteen year struggle for power are today the guiding star of the whole nation in this world struggle. Their continuing power gives the nation strength for the tests of the war. If Germany stays united and marches to the rhythm of its revolutionary socialist outlook, it will be unbeatable. Our indestructable will to life, and the driving force of the Führer's personality guarantee this. (Stormy, jubilant agreement; thundering applause for several minutes testifies to the admiration of the Führer.)

We still cannot measure what it means to have a man at the head of the nation who incorporates the will to live and the confidence in victory of the whole people. We lost the World War above all because we lacked such a great leading personality. We will win this war because this time he is there. (Renewed enthusiastic agreement.) Our chances of winning today are far greater than they were then, yet the British prime minister believes we would have won that war had we had strong national leadership. Today we have it. What more do we need to believe in victory! Every mishap of war only strengthens our faith. In the midst of the war's ups and downs, we turn our gaze to the Führer to restore our strength. We cannot be defeated, unless we defeat ourselves. But the German people are far from such suicidal behavior today. The enemy may attack our nerve with tricks, deviousness, and evil. No one will do him the favor of weakening. He will have to resort to weapons, and our soldiers will give the proper response on the battlefield.

Germany and its allies are facing the most infernal plot against the freedom of humanity that history has ever known. We need not fear its threats. We face it with our heads held high. It will fall under the blows of the German sword, as often as it may be necessary. They enemy will receive no mercy. Let us eliminate all weakness of heart, all pity, all good-natured gullibility. The German nation is forced to defend its very life. It will fight wherever there is opportunity. Victory is waiting at the end.

Our enemy does not believe it. We will prove it to them. (When the minister had concluded, a unending and thundering storm of applause began. The masses sprang up and applauded the minister stormily.)

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Background: Allied air attacks were heavy by June 1943. Here Goebbels is speaking to a memorial service for people killed by a bombing attack in Wuppertal. The speech was given on 18 June 1943. The source: "In vorderster Reihe. Rede auf der Trauerkundgebung in der Elberfelder Stadthalle," *Der steile Aufstieg* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1944), pp. 323-330.

## **In the Front Ranks**

by Joseph Goebbels

A sad and moving occasion brings me back today to the city of my youth. I stand here as the representative of the Führer and of the entire German people to bid farewell to the dead of Wuppertal, victims in the ruins left by British air terror. Before the front and the homeland, I bow with pride and sorrow to the civilian dead who paid for their loyalty to the Reich with their lives. This moving ceremony is particularly sad for me, since it affects a city in which I spent the best years of my political struggle.

Countless proud memories bind me to this city, its people, and the entire province of Rhineland-Westphalia. I speak to you as a son of this land blessed in peace, praised in songs, a land that whatever fate befell it never lost its ties to the homeland. I lived and worked here for many years. The roots of my public work are here. A group of loyal National Socialists formed around me here in 1924, 1925, and 1926. From here we carried the banner of the National Socialist revolution deep into the Rhineland and the Ruhr. It is our common homeland, before whose dead we bow in this hour.

I return today to bid farewell to the dead of this city. Among them are many people dear to me, with whom I have passed countless hours of joy and pleasure, but also sorrow and disappointment in the eternal struggle for the Reich. I have the right to speak not only as the Führer's delegate and not only as the representative of the German people, but also in the name of the hard-tested people of this beautiful province. I express the feelings of sorrow and proud bitterness that move the heart of every German. The pain and sorrow shared by so many families in the areas affected by the bombing attacks are a part of the sorrow and pain of the entire German people. In the past we shared the pleasures of the proud resurrection of our national life. Today we share in brotherhood the pain and sorrows that the war brings to so many German families.

I stand amidst you, my Rhineland-Westphalian fellow citizens, to say that this province is not fighting alone at some lost position. The entire German people is with you, and surrounds you with love and loyalty. With proud admiration the nation watches the tough, bitter endurance of this part of our people in the face of enemy air terror. The enemy may leave cities and villages in soot and ashes, but can never break the human heart. The enormous sorrows and burdens, pain and tortures, that are laid on the shoulders of this population are part of the larger war. It is the duty of the German nation to take upon itself as many as it can as fast as it can. What can be done to ease your material difficulties is being done. The Reich government is doing all it can, in cooperation with the local party and government offices, to bring help. The enemy may have left your houses and apartments in ruins. You can be sure that when victory has been won, the entire German people will bring to bear its enormous strength to rebuild the destroyed villages and cities of this province and make them more beautiful than they were before. New life will spring from the ruins around us. That which has been destroyed will be rebuilt, but now we must do everything possible to enable life to go on, even if under primitive conditions. All the damage cannot be repaired. We cannot bring the dead back to life. They have fallen on the field of honor while fighting for Germany's freedom and greatness, just

as the soldiers at the front. Whether man, woman, or child, they were victims of a cynical enemy that is trying to win by evil and perfidious air terror what he is unable to do by force of arms: to break our people's morale. I do not need to talk about that. We all know what this war is about. The enemy himself has told us often enough that, if we are weak, we will have a peace compared to which war is a blessing. They are about an insidious attempt to exterminate the greatest and proudest people on earth. The German nation is resisting with unanimity, strong weapons, and the strong hearts of men, women, and children. With unprecedented moral strength, they are withstanding the enemy's insidious attacks, its cowardly assault on their national honor, unity, and steadfastness. Our dead are their witnesses. We are obligated to them. As we lay them in mother earth, we know that they repose in the same grave of honor in which our soldiers on the front sleep. They German people receive their inheritance. Their day will come when we will take revenge for them.

I wish to speak so loudly here that no one can fail to hear. I stand here as an accuser before the world public. I accuse the enemy of conducting brutal air terror for no other reason than to torture a defenseless civilian population, to inflict sorrow, horrors, pain, and death upon them as a way of forcing them to betray their nation. Such an attempt will never succeed. These cowardly deeds will only bring eternal shame on the nations whose governments carry on such contemptible and insidious warfare against women, old people, and children.

The enemy knows that he is doing only limited damage to our armaments and war industries. That is not his goal. His goal is to torture defenseless civilians, to bring death to their homes and dwellings, and to attempt to break German morale. It is his last attempt to salvage his otherwise hopeless military strategy. Numerous murdered women, old people, and children testify against the Anglo-American plutocrats. They join me in accusing a military policy that mocks all standards of human decency. Countless destroyed schools, hospitals, churches, and cultural monuments join me raising their hands from amidst the ruins to condemn a military strategy that commits such crimes.

It will do the enemy no good to use the tried and true methods of the Jewish men behind the scenes by turning the accused into accusers and the accusers into the accused. The guilt for waging war against civilian populations rests clearly with the Western plutocrats. They can never wash their hands of their responsibility. This type of air terror comes from the sick brains of plutocratic world destroyers. The Führer did all he could to avoid the war, and to wage it in humane ways after it was forced upon him. England above all rejected his efforts. From the murder of children in Freiburg on 10 May 1940 to the present, a long series of sorrow and deep human misery caused by the British-American bombing war against German cities testifies against England and the USA and their cowardly and terrible plutocratic leaders.

The enemy even admits his guilt in careless moments. He does not conceal his hopes that the air war will break the powers of resistance of the German people in the homeland. An official spokesman recently said openly on the English radio: "One catches oneself feeling happy that men, women, and children are forced to suffer so terribly." It is almost a direct incitement to murder German women and children when some time ago a British new agency wrote: "For Heaven's sake, get to work on the German civilian population. That is the only way to break their morale." Even the Church of England recently said: "We cannot support the campaign to prohibit air attacks on cities because they kill civilians. We are all equal to the bombers. Bombs do not distinguish between men, women, and children."



So says the English church. The Anglo-American military leadership differs only in that they not only make no distinctions between men, women, and children, but do not even wish to. They intentionally and cynically carry the war to civilian areas, turn them into a battlegrounds, and force women, the aged, and children to live and fight like soldiers. The fate and the future of our people is being decided not only at the front, but also in the homeland. The children who fall to enemy terror prepare the way for millions of other children in the future. The women who lose their lives to enemy bombing terror prepare the way for millions of women to give birth in the coming decades and centuries. As I speak to you in deepest sorrow and proudest memory of those who have fallen in this city and throughout the Reich, I know that I express the deepest feelings of the people of this province. The sacrifice of life that so many of your fellow citizens have made for the freedom and future of the fatherland is but a reason and obligation for you to continue your bitter resistance to enemy air terror. It is not customary to speak of hatred at a graveside. Death usually brings not only sorrow, but also a kind of reconciliation. But in this case, it cries for revenge. The dead whose memory we honor today are the victims of the enemy's cold, calculating cynicism. The cynicism will end only when it is beaten down by painful, repeated counter-blows. Through me, the German people praise our dead. We understand their deaths in this sense, and know they did not die in vain. The hour is coming when we will defeat terror with counter-terror. The enemy is committing one bloody deed after another. He will have to pay the bill one day. Countless engineers, workers and builders are at work to speed that day. I know that the German people are waiting impatiently. I know the thoughts that fill our hearts as we remember those who have fallen in the air war. The name of the enemy has been written deep into our hearts during the past sorrowful weeks. That will be the basis for our coming actions.

Until that day, the people of this district must bear their heavy burdens with National Socialist steadfastness. The whole nation breathlessly follows the battle. The cities that survive despite the fire and rubble will receive unfading laurels on their coats of arms. When the happy day of victory rings out across the Reich, which we all not only long for, but are doing all we can to bring about, the flags of our Reich will rise high from the ruined streets and buildings. More than any other province of the Reich, these areas will be able to say:

The war put us in the front ranks of the fighting home front. It showed us its dreadful face. Now we have the first right to bow before the goddess of history to receive the laurels of victory.

Background: On 26 June 1943, Goebbels gave a speech to open the 7th German Art Exhibition. This was an annual event, continued even during the war.

The source: "Unsterbliche deutsche Kultur. Rede zur Eröffnung der 7. Großen Deutschen Kunstausstellung," *Der steile Aufstieg* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1944), pp. 339-346.

## **Immortal German Culture**

by Joseph Goebbels

Were one to imagine Western culture without its contributions from Germany and Italy, much would be missing. As obvious as this may be, one has to repeat it now and again to give a short but persuasive reply to the enemy's arrogant talk. They love to pretend to be the protectors and defenders of an art and culture that they themselves have not created, or to which they made at best a modest contribution that could vanish without much harm to the cultural edifice. The art treasures they possess were mostly stolen by their armies in Europe or the rest of the world. They have hardly any cultural achievements of their own, and those that they do have stem from the spiritual consciousness of that part of the world that they today are trying to destroy. Cities such as Nuremberg and Munich or Florence and Venice contain more eternal manifestations of Western culture than the entire North American continent. What musicians do the English have to compare with Beethoven or Richard Wagner, and what artists can the Americans present to match Michelangelo or Leonardo da Vinci? They talk of human culture. We have it, and remain today its guardians, wardens, and protectors.

We have to remember that to properly understand and appreciate the gigantic struggle the Axis powers are engaged in. We are fighting for the basic values that Europe has created in its thousands of years of history. Even more, we are fighting for the very source of these values, both in the past and for the future. The very roots of Europe are threatened. The nations that made the greatest contribution to the West are fighting for their material and spiritual existence. Were they to surrender, our continent would lose everything. The very roots of its growth, that have borne so much fruit over two millennia, would be cut off.

It is stupid, and easy to refute, when our enemies maintain that they are fighting only the present leadership of the Axis powers, not their peoples. That is what they have always said, but forgotten when the time came to act, as for example in 1918 and 1919. Second, these regimes are the natural expression of their peoples' modern political thinking. They have no other reasonable form of government. The claim that their autocratic structure takes the life from art, even makes its further progress impossible, is easily refuted both theoretically and practically. These regimes are not nearly as autocratic as they are accused of being. They actually have stronger democratic traits than the traditional democracies, and besides the history of culture shows that everywhere and at every time art does not ask under which political system it lives. Churches and secular buildings were built over the centuries by tyrannical popes and kings. The best of Europe's paintings come from ages filled with the noise of the battlefield. Demonic noble families promoted the highest flowering of the visual arts, while their citizens lived in fear.

Even ignoring the past, the present refutes the stupid and base claims our enemies use to conceal their actions, which oppose or destroy culture. It is a rape of sound understanding to justify the crazed attacks of English or American terror planes on German or Italian cities on cultural grounds. German or Italian cultural centers that were built over centuries are reduced to soot and ashes in a brief hour. This is far more than an attempt to terrorize our population, much less to attack our armaments

production. This is evidence of an historical inferiority complex that wants to destroy what the enemy is incapable of producing himself, and has never created in the past. European humanity must blush in shame that a 20-year-old American, Canadian, or Australian terror flyer can destroy a painting by Albrecht Dürer or Titian, that he can destroy the work of the most honored names in history, though he and millions of his countrymen have not even heard of them. There can be no apology for such behavior. It is a cold, cynical, calculating attack by the spoiled child of Europe. These upstarts from the New World turn against the Old World because it is richer in soul and spirit. Its eternal artistic accomplishments stand against skyscrapers, cars, and refrigerators.

Is it not interesting that the English leadership has destroyed dozens of German theaters, while England itself does not have even a single serious theater? And the Americans are not even worth mentioning. They lay waste to Europe's cities and its cultural landmarks, since there is nothing to compare them to in Chicago or San Francisco. Their bombing terror will destroy that part of European art and culture that they cannot buy.

We know what they are up to. This war is about more than our daily bread, our living space, and our peace. More than ever before we have to defend our most valuable possessions, the things that make life worth living, without which human life is meaningless, like the lives of our enemies from the steppes of the east.

War is indeed a great destroyer, but it also contains constructive elements that suddenly appear in the midst of its destructive work. It robs us of our senses, yet also gives them back. Never before have our continent's people been able to see so clearly where Europe stands and what we must do. Times of comfortable peace may make the lure of material comfort seem all too satisfying. War wipes it all away. It drives away dullness and indifference, and returns us to the roots and sources of our strength, teaching that man does not live by bread alone. Never have the German people had such a drive toward intellectual and spiritual things as they do today. I am not speaking of the less pleasant manifestations of war, which are always there. But one should look to our theaters, concert halls, museums, and art exhibitions. Day and night, summer and winter, tens and hundreds of thousands of Germans sit or stand there astonished at so much beauty. We have become richer, more fulfilled, and better as a result of the war.

It would be a mistake to explain this development exclusively on material grounds. The German people are not spending their money on art because there is no other way to spend it, as is sometimes said. The path to art is the path to their hearts. The present with its pain and misery drive us to the consoling certainties of our people, and where are they more visible than in art? We see in it the answer to the destructive fury of our enemies. We learn today to appreciate what they cannot understand, since it is threatened. It is of no importance if this occasionally occurs in primitive ways, or as some know-it-alls call it, Kitsch. Over time things will work themselves out. We were all beginners once, and what pleased us as children often does not please us once we are mature. A large part of our people still is in its childhood years in this regard, which leaves room for systematic education and development. Despite all our rich and glorious past, we are a people at its beginning. Everything is open before us. We need only to reach out.

It would be more than serious if today's artists did not want to understand that. Never have they had a more eager public than they have today. One must recall the past to know what that means. New pictures, sculptures, plays, novels, symphonies, and operas are no longer of interest only to

intellectual critics in the newspapers, as was once often the case. Today they must withstand the eye and ear of the people. Even more, they have to endure comparison with the great works of the past, which the popular consciousness today has begun to understand, and which provide the standards for the new fans of art. Goethe's maxim is truer today than it ever was: artists must create, not talk. The age offers each the opportunity to test his talents. In contrast to the past, each has an equal chance. No one can complain that he had no chance to speak, as long as he has something to say. Let him reach for the pen, the brush, the chisel, and the compass and speak with the instruments of his art and his calling to an age that is waiting for enlightenment.

It is almost a miracle that in the midst of this gigantic battle, art is able to exist, almost untouched by the storms of our people's gigantic and fateful struggle. Were any proof needed of National Socialism's support for the arts, this is that proof. That does not mean that artists can ignore what is going on around them. There may be an artist here or there who believes that since his art does not concern the war, the elementary laws of war have no application to him. He must be reminded of his duty, perhaps rather firmly. His work, even if not related to the war, is not an end in itself. He is still working for his people, which is enduring the heaviest burdens and deepest sorrows. It has a right to expect the artist to recognize that, particularly since he enjoys creative freedom in the mist of war that he never had in times of normal and unmolested peace.

In this fourth year of the war, I have the honor to open in the Führer's name the 7th Great German Art Exhibition in the House of German Art in Munich.

The beautiful and impressive exhibition is not independent of its age. Its form is influenced by it. It contributes to the war at the front. Our artists here give the best evidence of their energy and their creative fanaticism.

As in the past war years, the Führer cannot be with us. But his spirit is even more with us. This cultural monument, the building, and the exhibition, are his work. It was built in peace, maintained and expanded in war, and points to a happy and blessed peace. Its splendor today gives us a sign of what will be when the victory comes, in which we believe more today than ever before.

I greet the Führer in this great age, of which he is the creator. The scaffolding is still there and only the expert can see what its creator has in mind. But we can all believe in it.

We do that with all the strength of our hearts.

Selected Articles



Background: The article is dated 27 January 1934.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Mehr Moral, aber weniger Moralin!" Wetterleuchten (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1939), pp. 382-385.

## **More Morality, Less Moralism!**

Joseph Goebbels

Every revolution has its mistakes, ours too. That is not in itself bad, since they mostly disappear on their own or with time. The important thing is that those in charge keep their eyes open and do not remain silent when they ought to speak out of fear of the public. Obviously, an historic revolution of vast extent brings a mass of nonsense to light along with its enormous benefits.

It becomes dangerous only when the nonsense is left to grow, thus hemming in and strangling the healthy, organic development of the revolution.

It is time today to expose some of this nonsense that has accompanied the National Socialist revolution to the full light of day, to examine it without pity.

That is even more necessary, since otherwise some of this nonsense over time may gradually corrupt the style and nature of our revolution, leaving to posterity an image of our nature and goals that in no way corresponds to National Socialist convictions and views.

Certainly there is need for public regulation of the great moral foundations of our national life. However, some nonsense is also spreading that attempts to reach beyond that to establish a code for the purely personal conduct of individuals.

That leads eventually to a moralism that is everything other than National Socialist.

Peculiar people whose life is either behind them, or have no right to have one ahead of them, preach moralism in the name of our revolution. This moralism often has nothing in common with true morality. They proclaim ethical laws that might be appropriate for a nunnery, but are entirely out of place in a modern cultural state.

An example. In a major central German city an advertising poster for a soap company showed a fresh, attractive girl holding the soap package in her hands. A moral knight who unfortunately had the right to determine the fate of this poster forbade its distribution on the ground that it offended the moral sensibilities of the population, since the woman in the poster was holding the soap in a place "that for moral reasons cannot be described more precisely."

What is moral about this? The person announcing the ban, who presumes that other people share his dirty fantasies, or the German people and the National Socialist movement, that are rightly upset and in opposition to such a ridiculous action?

Investigating the matter, we find that this wonderful citizen discovered his attraction for National Socialism three months after we took power, which however did not stop him from issuing the ban in the name of National Socialism.

Things have gone so far that this company of moralists does not stop at the borders of private life. They would love to establish purity committees in cities and the countryside that would keep an eye on Müller's and Schulze's love and marriage life. It is true that they do not want to go so far as to ban kissing altogether, as in the familiar operetta, since it is too popular a pastime. If it were up to them, however, they would turn National Socialist Germany into a wasteland of muttering and complaining, a place where denunciation, spying, and extortion were the order of the day.

These same moralists often turn to government offices with the request to ban films, plays, operas, and operettas, since the dancers, stars, etc., apparently represent a grave danger to public decency. If we gave in to their demands, we should soon see only old ladies and men on the screen or the stage. The theaters would be empty, since the public generally does not attend them to see the same people they see in church or old people's homes.

Save us from these hypocritical creatures who have no genuine strong conception of life, and who in reality preach no honest morality. They generally are life's losers, protesting life itself. Eternal life and its laws will hardly make way for them; at most, they will hide behind a screen of contemptible hypocrisy and dishonest prudery.

They think that the German woman should not go out alone, she should not sit alone in a restaurant, she should not go out with a boy or even an S.A. man without a chaperone for a Sunday afternoon excursion, she should not smoke, she should not drink, she should not wash up and make herself pretty, in short she should do everything to keep the evil interest of a man away from her. That is, at least, is how these midget moralists think a German woman should behave. And woe to the poor womanly creature who has the misfortune to transgress against one of these laws. Of course, no German woman will have bobbed hair, since only Jewesses and other contemptible creatures do that.

Have these moral trumpeters any idea how they slander and demoralize millions of German women with their preaching, women who bravely and honestly do their duty in life and on the job, who are good comrades to their men and sacrificing mothers for their children?

Don't they realize that they embarrass National Socialism throughout the world, that they are thirty years too late, or that one must take them to task because they are beginning to be annoying? There are good and bad women, decent and less decent women, some with bobbed hair, some without. Whether or not they powder their noses is not a sign of their inner worth, and if they occasionally smoke a cigarette at home or in society, they do not need to feel rejected or cast out.

In any event, these moralists should not sit in judgment over women, whether they are enemies or even if like all real men they wish women happiness, relaxation, and domestic peace, though their stuffy superiority would keep women from it.

They think it is not National Socialist to enjoy life, but rather one should only look at the dark side of human existence. Pessimism and suspicion are the best teachers in our earthly vale of sorrows. A true National Socialist has no cause to protect these miserable creatures. Primitiveness and absolute rejection of pleasure are the only character values to these people. If one has a clean and a dirty collar, one puts the dirty one on to give evidence of his hatred of bourgeois values. A man with a good and a bad suit wears the bad one, particularly for festive occasions, for it shows the astonished world how revolutionary his outlook is. He dislikes joy and laughter; people should have nothing to

laugh about.

Are we living in a pietistic state, or in the age of life-affirming National Socialism?

No one can suspect us of wanting to live lives of ostentation or luxury. The Führer and many of his close comrades neither smoke nor drink nor enjoy sumptuous living. Those, however, who want to rob a nation of sixty million of every pleasure and all traces of optimism are contemptible, entirely aside from the fact that their foolish desires would drive countless people into poverty and misery.

Every banned activity makes more people unemployed; if no one can drive a car, the automobile factories will shut down, if no one wears a new suit, the looms and tailors will have nothing more to do; if people no longer attend movies or the theater, hundreds of thousands of stage and film employees will depend on public assistance.

To take joy and pleasure from a people means to make it unfit for its struggle for its daily bread.

He who does that sins against our reconstruction efforts and embarrasses the National Socialist state before the whole world.

The result would be a dreary impoverishment of our public life. That we will not accept.

We do not want to abolish pleasure, but rather to let as many as possible share in it. That is why we encourage people to attend the theater, that is why we give workers the opportunity to dress well for festive occasions. That is the reason behind Kraft durch Freude. That is why we shake off the agents of a prudish hypocrisy, why we do not allow decent, hard-working people who have every reason to need relief from their hard daily labors, who need to reaffirm life, to recover from the weariness, cares, and burdens of every day, to have their necessary pleasures ruined by the eternal chicanery of these pedants.

We need more affirmation of life and less complaining! More morality, but less moralism!



Background: Joseph Goebbels book *The Battle for Berlin* was an account of the beginning of the NSDAP in Berlin. This section describes a battle in a meeting the NSDAP had organized in the Wedding district of Berlin, a communist stronghold. Goebbels chose the location as a provocation to the Marxists.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, *Kampf um Berlin* (Munich: Verlag Franz Eher, 1934), beginning on p. 63. The book was first published in 1932.

### **The Battle in the Pharus Hall**

It was a provocation the likes of which Berlin had never seen. Marxism thinks it presumptuous if a person with nationalistic sentiments expresses them in a working class district. And in Wedding [a working class district of Berlin]?! Red Wedding belongs to the proletariat! It had been that way for decades, and no one had the courage to object and prove that was not the case.

And the Pharus Hall? — that was the uncontested domain of the K.P.D. [the Communist Party of Germany]. They held their party congresses there. Almost every week they gathered their most loyal and active members there. Here one had heard only talk of world revolution and international class solidarity. Here of all places the NSDAP scheduled its next meeting.

It was an open declaration of war. We meant it that way and the opponent understood it that way. Our party members were jubilant. Everything was now at stake. The future of the Berlin movement would be risked boldly and bravely. It was win or lose!

The decisive day of 11 February [1927] neared. The communist press outdid itself with blood-thirsty threats. We would face a tough reception, we would not want to come back. At the labor and relief offices, people openly said that we would be beaten to a bloody pulp.

We had no idea of the danger that threatened us then. I myself did not yet know Marxism well enough to foresee the possible consequences. I shrugged my shoulders as I read the dark prose of the red press and awaited expectantly the decisive evening.

Around 8 p.m. we drove in an old rusty car from the city center to Wedding. A cold gray mist hung under a starless sky. Our hearts were bursting with impatience and expectation.

As we drove down Müllerstraße it was already clear that the evening did not bode well. Groups of dark figures stood on every street corner. They apparently planned to teach our party members a bloody lesson before they even got to the meeting.

Dark masses of people stood outside the Pharus Hall, expressing their rage and hate with loud and impudent threats.

The leader of the protective forces cleared a way for us and reported briefly that the hall had been packed since 7:15 p.m. and had been closed by police. About two-thirds of the audience were Red Front fighters. That was what we wanted. There would be a decision. We were ready to give it all we had.

Entering the hall, we encountered a warm, stifling aroma of beer and tobacco. The hall was hot. A

lively roar of voices filled the hall. People were packed in tightly. We reached the podium only with difficulty.

No sooner was I recognized than hundreds of voices filled with rage and revenge thundered in my ears: "Bloodhound! Murderer of workers!" Those were the mildest words they shouted. But a welcoming group of some party members and S.A. Men answered with passion. Excited battle cries sounded from the platform. I saw immediately that we were a minority, but a minority determined to fight, and therefore win.

It was still our custom then for an S.A. leader to chair all of the party's public meetings. Here too. Tall as a tree he stood up front and asked for silence with his upraised arm. That was easier said than done. Mocking laughter was the answer. Insults flew toward the platform from every corner of the room. People growled and screamed and raged. There were world revolutionaries scattered about who apparently had gained the courage they needed by drinking. It was impossible to quiet the hall. The class-conscious proletariat had not come to discuss but to fight, to break things up, to put an end to the Fascist specter with callused workers' fists.

We were not uncertain, even for a moment. We also knew that if the enemy did not succeed this time in what he had threatened, the future success of the movement in Berlin was assured.

Fifteen or twenty S.A. and S.S. men stood before the platform in uniforms and arm bands, an impudent and direct provocation to the Red Front fighters. Behind me was a select group of reliable people ready at any moment to risk their lives to defend me from the onrushing red mob with brutal force

The communists made an obvious mistake in their tactics. They had scattered small groups throughout the hall, but clumped most of the rest in the right rear of the hall. I recognized immediately that there was the center of unrest, and if anything was to be done, we first had to deal ruthlessly with it. Whenever the chair tried to open the meeting, a dark chap stood up on a stool and shouted "Point of Order!" Hundreds of others yelled the same after him.

If one takes from the mass their leader, or also their seducer, they are leaderless and easily controlled. Our tactic therefore was to silence this cowardly troublemaker at any cost. He felt secure back there, surrounded by his comrades. We tried to do this peacefully a few times. The chair shouted over the uproar: "There will be discussion afterward! But we determine the rules of order!"

That was an ineffective attempt at an unsuitable object. The screamer wanted to throw the meeting into confusion by his endless shouts and bring things to the boiling point. Then a general melee would result.

As our efforts to bring the meeting to order peacefully proved unsuccessful, I took the head of the defensive forces to the side, and immediately after groups of his men slipped through the thundering communist masses. Before the astonished and surprised Red Front troops realized what was happening, our comrades had hauled the troublemaker down from his stool and brought him through the raging crowd to the podium. That was unexpected, but what followed was no surprise. A beer glass flew through the air and crashed to the floor. That was the signal for the first major meeting hall battle. Chairs were broken and legs ripped from tables. Glasses and bottles suddenly appeared and all

hell broke loose. The battle raged for ten minutes. Glasses, bottles, table and chair legs flew randomly through the air. A deafening roar rose; the red beast was set free and wanted its victims.

At first it looked as if we were lost. The communist attack was sudden and explosive, completely unexpected. But soon the S.A. and S.S. men distributed throughout the hall and in front of the platform recovered from their surprise and counterattacked with bold courage. It quickly became clear that although the Communist Party had masses behind it, these masses became cowards when faced with a firmly disciplined and determined opponent. They ran. In short order the red mob that had come to break up our meeting had been driven from the hall. The order that could not be secured by good will was gained by brute force.

Usually one is not aware of the stages of a meeting hall battle. Only later does one recall them. I still remember a scene that I will never forget; on the podium stood a young S.A. man whom I did not know. He was hurling his missiles into the on-coming red mob. Suddenly a beer glass thrown from the distance hit him on the head. A wide stream of blood ran down his face. He sank with a cry. After a few seconds he stood up again, grabbed water bottle from the table and threw it into the hall, where it clattered against the head of an opponent.

The face of this young man is engraved in my memory. This lightning-fast moment is unforgettable. This gravely-wounded S.A. man would soon, and indeed for all times, become my most reliable and loyal comrade.

Only after the red mob had been driven howling, growling and cursing from the field could one tell how serious and costly the battle had been. Ten lay in their blood on the platform, most with head injuries, two with severe concussions. The table and stairs to the platform were covered in blood. The whole hall resembled a field of ruins.

In the midst of this bloody and ruined wasteland, our tree-high S.A. leader resumed his place and declared with iron calm: "The meeting will continue. The speaker has the floor."

Never before or since have I spoken under such dramatic conditions. Behind me, groaning in pain and bleeding, were seriously injured S.A. comrades. Around me were broken chair legs, shattered beer glasses and blood. The whole meeting was icily silent.

We lacked then a medical corps. Since we were in a proletarian district, we had to have our seriously wounded carried out by so-called worker volunteers. There were scenes outdoors of unimaginable inhumanity. The bestial people who were supposedly fighting for universal brotherhood insulted our poor and defenseless injured with phrases like: "Isn't that pig dead yet?"

Under such conditions it was impossible to give a coherent speech. Scarcely had I begun to speak when another group of volunteers entered the hall to carry off a seriously wounded S.A. man on a stretcher. One of them, encountering the brutal apostles of humanity outside the door and their unflattering and crude language, shouted for me in desperation. His voice could be heard loudly and unmistakably on the platform I interrupted my speech and went through the hall, where there were still scattered communist commando groups. Still surprised by what had happened, they stood quietly and shyly to the side. I bade farewell to the seriously wounded S.A. comrades.

At the end of my speech, I spoke for the first time of the unknown S.A. man.

An amusing and satisfying episode of this bloody battle should also be mentioned. When the discussion period was announced, a pathetic chap who claimed to be a member of the Young German Order stood up. He gave an emotional appeal for brotherhood and peace between the classes, and complained passionately about the useless immorality of all this bloodshed, and announced that only in unity was there strength. As he then bowed to the meeting and prepared to launch into a patriotic poem to conclude his noble nonsense, the crowd laughed loudly when an honest S.A. man made the appropriate interruption: "Shut up, you little birthday orator!"

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That amusing intermezzo brought the battle of the Pharus Hall to an end. The police had cleared the street outside. The S.A. and S.S. left without any difficulty. A decisive day in the history of the National Socialist movement in Berlin was behind us.

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Background: This is Goebbels' discussion of Hitler's speaking ability, taken from an illustrated book on Hitler published in 1936.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Der Führer als Redner," Adolf Hitler. Bilder aus dem Leben des Führers (Hamburg: Cigaretten/Bilderdienst Hamburg/Bahrenfeld, 1936, pp. 27-34.

## **The Führer as a Speaker**

by Dr. Joseph Goebbels

There are two fundamentally different kinds of speakers: those who use reasoning, and those who speak from the heart. They reach two different sorts of people, those who understand through reason, and those who understand through the heart. Speakers who aim for the reason are generally found in parliaments, those who speak from the heart speak to the people.

The speaker who uses reason, if he is to be effective, must command a wide range of statistical and factual material. He must be a master of dialectic as the pianist is master of the keyboard. With ice cold logic, he develops his line of thinking and draws irrefutable conclusions. He is most effective with people who work primarily or exclusively with reason. Big and compelling successes are denied him. He does not understand how to fire up the masses for a great cause. He is limited to educational discourse. Since he is cold, he leaves his listeners cold. At best he persuades people, but never mobilizes them and sets them marching regardless of their own ideas or the element of personal risk involved.

The speaker from the heart is different. He may have the skills of the master of reasoning. They are, however, only tools he uses as a true rhetorical virtuoso. He has abilities not found in the reasoning speaker. He combines clear diction with simple argumentation, and instinct tells him what to say and how to say it. Language is united with ideas. He knows the secret corners and aspects of the mass soul and knows how to reach and touch them. His speeches are masterpieces of declamation. He outlines people and conditions; he inscribes his theses on the tablet of the age; with deep and noble passion he explains the pillars of his world view. His voice reaches out from the depths of his blood into the depths of the souls of his listeners. He brings to expression the secrets of the human soul. He rouses the tired and lazy, fires up the indifferent and the doubting, turns cowards into men and weaklings into heroes.

These rhetorical geniuses are the drummers of fate. They begin their work alone in dark and dismal historical epochs and suddenly and unexpectedly find themselves in the spotlight of new developments. They are the speakers that make history.

As any great man, a gifted speaker has his individual style. He can only speak as he is. His words are written into his body. He speaks his own language, whether in posters or letters, essays, addresses or speeches.

There are many examples in history that prove that great speakers resemble each other only in their effects. The nature of their appeals to people, their appeals to the heart, vary with the time, the nation, and the character of the epoch. Caesar spoke differently to his legions than Frederick the Great did to his army, Napoleon differently to his guard than Bismarck did to the members of the Prussian Parliament. Each used language that his hearers understood and used words and thoughts that reached their emotions and found an echo in their hearts. The daemon of their era gave each the ability to

speak in a way that raised them above his century as one of the eternal proclaimers of great ideas, one of those who makes history and transforms nations.

The various races seem to have differing abilities in this realm. Some seem too reserved to practice the art, others seem practically predestined to it. One speaks of Latin eloquence, for example. The wealth of average and important speakers in the Roman peoples is also some proof of this. It also seems true that rhetorical ability in these nations finds a public that understands it and gives it the widest possibility of success.

In the past, our German people was not particularly gifted in this regard. We had more than enough statesmen and soldiers, philosophers and scientists, musicians and poets, builders and engineers, geniuses of planning and organization. But we always lacked those with rhetorical gifts. No one after Fichte's classic speeches to the German people was able to reach the people's hearts, until Bismarck. When Bismarck departed, no one followed until the collapse after the World War brought forth a new preacher. In between we had at best serviceable speakers, suitable for everyday or parliamentary use or service on boards of directors, but who encountered only icy reserve when they spoke to the people.

This was probably the result of the times. There were no great ideas, no powerful projects. Rhetoric sank into a morass of self-satisfaction. The only apparent exception, Marxism, was secretly allied with them and its speakers represented a materialism that could never release the spark of true genius.

But revolutions bring forth true speakers, and true speakers make revolutions! One should not overestimate the role of written or printed words in revolutions, but the secret magic of the spoken word reaches directly the emotions and the hearts of people. It reaches the eye and the ear, and the electrifying force of the masses seized by the human voice sweeps with it the wavering and the doubting.

What would happen to a statesmanly genius whose fate had for some reason placed in an inferior position if he lacked the power of speech and the explosive force of the word! It gives him the ability to make ideas from ideals and realities from ideas. With its help, he gathers people to his flag who are ready to fight with him; driven by it, men risk their health and their lives to bring a new world to victory. An organization comes from the propaganda of the word, a movement from the organization, and that movement conquers the state. The important thing is not whether an idea is right; the decisive thing is whether one can present it effectively to the masses so that they become its adherents. Theories remain theories when living men do not give them expression. Living people in difficult times follow only an appeal that reaches their hearts because it comes from the heart.

It is difficult to place the Führer within these categories. His ability to reach the masses is unique and remarkable, fitting no organizational scheme or dogma. It would be ridiculous to think he attended some sort of speaker school; he is a rhetorical genius who developed his own abilities with no help from anyone else. One cannot imagine that the Führer ever spoke differently than he does today, or that he will ever speak differently. He speaks his heart, and therefore reaches the hearts of those who hear him. He has the amazing gift of sensing what is in the air. He has the ability to express things so clearly, logically and directly that listeners are convinced that that is what they have always thought themselves. That is the true secret of the effectiveness of Adolf Hitler's speeches. The Führer is neither a speaker from reason nor from the heart. He uses both, depending on the needs of the

moment. The essential characteristics of his speeches to the people are: clear organization, irrefutable logical reasoning, simplicity and clarity of expression, razor-sharp dialectic, a developed and sure instinct for the masses and their feelings, an electrifying emotional appeal that is used sparingly, and the ability to reach out to the souls of the people in a way that never goes unanswered.

Long ago when he was still far from power, the Führer spoke to a meeting filled primarily with his political opponents. From the beginning, he was rejected. For two hours he struggled with the stubbornness of his audience, addressing all their problems and objections until at the end there was only thundering agreement, jubilation and enthusiasm. As he concluded, someone yelled from the highest row: "Hitler is Columbus!"

That got to the heart of it. He had stood the egg on its end. He clarified the confused and mysterious nature of the age. He showed his hearers in a clear and simply way that the man in the street had long sensed, but had not found the courage to express. Hitler said what everyone thought and felt! More than that, he had the civil courage in the face of nearly everyone else to express with iron logic what had to be done.

The Führer is the first person in Germany to use speech to make history. As he began, it was all he had. He had only a strong heart and his pure word. Using them, he reached the deepest depths of the souls of his people. He did not speak like everyone else. He could not be compared with them. He understood the cares and worries of the little man and spoke about them, but they were for him only brush strokes on the dreadful painting of Germany's collapse. He did more than simply talk about them, he was not a mere reporter like the others. He took the events of the day and gave them a larger national significance that put them in context. He appealed to the good, not the bad instincts of the masses. His speaking was a magnet that drew to him whomever in the people who still had iron in his blood.

Stupid and empty-headed bourgeois people for a time were pleased to disparage him as a "drummer." They made themselves ridiculous, but did not realize it. Since they entirely lacked rhetorical ability, they thought his was a lesser form of leadership. They strove for power without realizing that Marxism had taken power from them by force, and would give up that power only as the result of force. They formed groups when they needed a national movement. They attempted putsches when revolution was in the air. They held the masses in contempt because they did not want to lead them. The masses bow only to him who puts them under his uncompromising command. They obey only him who knows how to give orders. They have a fine instinct for determining if something is really meant, or only said.

It is perhaps a classic proof of the inner strength of the German people that it heard the appeal of a man who went his own way, in opposition to the state and society, the press and public opinion, apparently against all reason and good sense. It is also a classic proof for the outstanding rhetorical brilliance of the Führer that his word alone was enough to transform an entire period, to defeat an apparently strong state and to bring in a new era.

An historic figure who has such impact must command all the skills of the spoken word. That is the case with the Führer. He speaks as confidently before workers as before scientists. His words strike deep into the hearts of farmers and city-dwellers. When he speaks to children, they are deeply moved. The magic of his voice reaches men's secret feelings. He translates historical philosophy into the

language of the people. He has the ability to call up long forgotten history and make those who hear him feel as if they had always known about it. There is no element of superiority in his speaking, the kind of thing one sees in the speeches of the educated.

His words always focus on the central ideas of our people, our nation, and our race. He can express things in a thousand different ways. The listener never feels that he has heard it before. The masses hear the same major ideas of our national renaissance in ever new forms. There is nothing doctrinaire in his style. If he makes an assertion, it is proven by a multitude of examples. The examples are not taken only from the experiences of a particular area or class, thus leaving everyone else untouched. They come from everywhere in the nation, such that each is spoken to. They are chosen with such care that even the blindest opponent must in the end grant that, unlike the parliamentary speakers, this man believes what he says.

Ordinary life is presented in a way that grips the hearers. The problems of the day are not explained only with the difficult tools of a worldview, but with wit and biting irony. His humor triumphs; one cries with one eye and laughs with the other. Every tone of daily life is touched upon.

A sure sign of a good speech is that it not only sounds good, but reads well. The Führer's speeches are stylistic masterpieces, whether he improvizes at the podium, speaks from brief notes, or speaks from a manuscript at an important international occasion. If one is not in his immediate vicinity, he cannot tell if the speech is a written speech delivered extemporaneously, or an extemporaneous speech delivered as if it were written out. His speeches are always ready to be printed. The picture would not be complete if we did not point out that the Führer is a master of rhetorical discussion. The last time the public had an opportunity to see him in action was his reckoning with the Social Democrats in the Reichstag in 1933, when he responded to the then Representative Wels. One had the feeling that a cat was playing with a mouse. Marxism was driven from one corner into another. Wherever he sought cover, he faced destruction. With breathtaking precision, one rhetorical blow after another fell on him. Without a manuscript or notes, the Führer gave a major, long-desired attack on Social Democratic parliamentarians who here received their coup de grace. How often in the past he had defeated them when they dared to show up in our meetings. Back then they had the ability to turn shameful defeats into brilliant victories in their newspapers the next day. Now the whole nation saw then fall into his hands. It was a debacle.

Judges and states attorney had learned to respect his rhetorical offensives. They asked the accused or the witness Hitler naive sounding questions or tried to lead him onto thin ice with innocent sounding questions. The 1924 trial on the uprising of 8-9 November 1923 turned into a triumphant success for the accused, since the Führer overcame the mountains of files, hostility, and misunderstanding through the shining strength of his obvious truthfulness and the power of his gripping eloquence. The Republic probably regretted that Leipzig Reichswehr trial in 1930, in which it tried to destroy the Führer and his movement. They gave him a platform from which the whole people heard his rhetorical effectiveness. One recalls today with a shudder that a Jewish-Communist attorney fired questions at him for nine hours straight, but recalls with satisfaction that Jewish Bolshevism found an opponent whose words and ideas wrestled it to the ground.

We saw and experienced the Führer as a speaker at the Party Rally of Freedom in 1935. He spoke fifteen times within a period of seven days. Not once did he repeat a thought or a phrase. Everything was new, fresh, young, vital, and compelling. He spoke in one way to officials, another to the S.A.



and S.S. men, one way to the youth and another to the women. In his major speech on culture, he explained the deepest secrets of the arts, and his speech to the Wehrmacht was understood by the last soldier in the last battalion. The entire life of the German people was spanned by his speeches. He is a proclaimer of the word who can express its thousand-fold nature through the grace of God.

The Führer it at his best, however, before a small audience. Here he is able to reach each individual member of the audience. His speaking carries away the listener, who never loses interest because he always feels spoken to directly. He may speak about a random theme with an expertise that astonishes the specialists, or in speaking about everyday matters suddenly raise them to universal significance.

On such occasions the Führer can be more intimate and precise than a public speech permits. He can go into the heart of things with irrefutable logic. Only one who has heard him in such a setting can understand his full brilliance as a speaker.

One can say that his speeches to his people and the world have an audience unprecedented in world history. They are words that inspire the heart and have a lasting impact in forming a new international epoch. There is probably no educated person in the world who has not heard the sound of his voice and who, whether he understood the words or not, felt that his heart was spoken to by magical words. Our people is fortunate to know the voice the world hears, a voice that puts words into thoughts and uses those thoughts to move an era. This man is a man with the courage to say yes and no, without qualifying them with an if or a but. Millions of people are suffering from bitter sorrow, great troubles, and terrible need. They see hardly a star of hope through the dark clouds that cover Europe's sky. No one is able to dispel the despair they face. But in Germany, God chose one from countless millions to speak our pain!

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Background: This article is dated 21 January 1939. This was in part the result of negative American reaction to the anti-Jewish pogrom of November 1938. President Roosevelt had criticized Germany policy explicitly. Goebbels is unhappy with American reactions to National Socialism, and suggests the Americans ought to stop criticizing Germany. It was first published in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, then in many other newspapers.

The source: "Was will eigentlich Amerika," *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), pp. 24-30.

## **What Does America Really Want?**

by Joseph Goebbels

The American press has the noble right to complain about Europe. It makes vigorous use of this right, particularly when Germany is involved. National Socialist Germany is a thorn in its eye.

The Third Reich has been the target of its mockery, hatred, lies, and slander since 30 January 1933, especially from that part controlled by the Jews. The American press takes particular pleasure in criticizing Germany on grounds of humanitarianism, civilization, human rights, and culture. It has every right to do so. Its humanity is shown in most vivid form by lynchings. Its civilization is shown in economic and political scandals that stink to high heaven. Its human rights are displayed by eleven or twelve million unemployed, who apparently chose to be so. And its culture exists only because it is always borrowing from the older European nations. Such a nation is certainly justified in sneering at ancient Europe, whose nations and peoples looked back on centuries, even millennia, of cultural achievements long before America was even discovered.

The American press replies to our complaints by saying that it has nothing against Germany, only against National Socialism. That is a poor excuse. National Socialism today is Germany's guiding political idea and worldview. The entire German nation affirms it. To criticize National Socialism today therefore means to criticize the entire German people.

It will not do to say that National Socialism is a dictatorship, and that there are still many in Germany who, inwardly at least, reject it. That simply is not the case. It is a fantasy that exists only in the minds of democratic politicians and journalists, but has nothing to do with the facts. There is no doubt about it: the public campaign against Germany is a conscious and intentional provocation aimed at the German Reich and the German people.

Generally, it does not make any difference to us. We Germans do not depend on the love or grace of other nations; we live from our own national strength. The time is long past when Germany expected its salvation from abroad. Such international help was always lacking when it was most needed during the postwar period. It appeared only when international money and stock capital believed that it could earn vast profits that could be earned nowhere else by helping Germany.

We could simply say that America is far away, with a big ocean separating us. What do we care about what they think, write, or say about us? That was fine as long as America's highly developed hate campaign against Germany kept within certain bounds. But when it infects even official circles rather than merely newspapers and radio stations it becomes more serious.

This campaign reached unbelievable heights after 10 November 1938. American public opinion,

influenced by the Jews, is trying to interfere to an intolerable degree in German domestic politics. They think that can use methods against Germany that are normally unheard of in relations between civilized nations.

We know very well who the instigators and beneficiaries are. They are mostly Jews, or people who are in their service and who are totally dependent on them.

For example, it is not surprising that the New York press attacks Germany so strongly. Over two million Jews live in New York and public, and especially economic life, there is entirely under their control.

The German press so far has generally responded to this filthy and despicable campaign of hatred only sporadically and in a restrained manner. Only after official personages in the United States got involved did we think it necessary to say something. For example, the American Interior Secretary Ickes publicly declared on 19 December 1938 that no American could accept a medal from the hands of a brutal dictator that with the same hand robbed and tortured thousands of people, that saw a day when it committed no new crime against humanity as a day wasted. Put simply, that is not a style of speaking that is customary in relations between states.

The American Undersecretary of Secretary of State Welles responded to German protests by saying that Ickes's statement represented the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the American public. One does not know what to say. What does he mean! Was the American president ever personally attacked in the German press, or America's leading men slandered? We have been very restrained, even though we certainly had every reason to discuss this or that matter of American domestic policy.

Such things are not our concern. American statesmen, not us, determine American domestic policy. We are concerned only with Germany's affairs. We also have no reason or intention of smuggling German political ideas into America. The very opposite, since the methods that we use are purely German. They are only valid in Germany. But we do believe that just as we respect the internal affairs of other countries and avoid polemics against them, they should treat us in the same way.

One cannot say that that is true of the United States of North America at present. Nearly the whole press, radio, and film industry support the worldwide campaign against Germany.

Senator Pitman put the matter bluntly on 22 December 1938: "The American people do not like Germany's government."

We happen to think that the American people have nothing to do with the matter. If they do not like Germany, it is because of the hate campaign. This campaign is conducted by certain international scoundrels who lack conscience and scruples. They are doing it both for foreign and all too transparent domestic reasons.

The Lima Conference is behind the anti-German campaign. North America hopes to encourage South American hostility against Germany, and really against Europe as a whole. They do not like German competition in the South American market. The enormous North American armaments industry is also calling up images of a coming war against the totalitarian governments for business reasons.

We have no intention of answering the criticisms that the American Jewish press raises against Germany by looking at America's domestic affairs. It is enough to observe that although Germany is the poorest country in the world in terms of foreign currency reserves and raw materials, it has not only abolished unemployment, but has a labor shortage. North America, meanwhile has between eleven and twelve million unemployed, even though it is rich in foreign currency reserves and raw materials. Most of the American press ignores this situation. It cannot deny it, of course. It claims that German success is contemptible, since it used methods of hate and contempt.

This is entirely backward. The seven million Germans who got jobs after National Socialism took power in Germany are not interested in the methods that gave them jobs. It reminds one of the familiar joke. Two workers are halfheartedly trying to remove a paving stone. A passerby watches for a while, then grabs a pickax and yanks the stone out. One worker says to the other: "Well, sure, if you use force..."

The American press uses the same argument. It cannot deny National Socialism's successes. It can only say: "Well, sure, if you use force..." It thinks the German people had to make too great a sacrifice for these successes.

The German people sees things differently. It knows that certain restrictions in some areas were necessary for national reconstruction. The American public is practically drowning in wealth, prosperity, foreign currency, gold bars, and raw materials. It can hardly imagine how an intelligent, hardworking, and courageous people can get along without all those advantages.

However that may be, future developments concern us.

No one but Germany has the right to judge Germany's domestic affairs. No one has the right to turn one people against another, to incite discord and promote ignorance that lead to international crises.

Mr. Eden, the ambassador of international world democracy, found the right audience a few weeks ago in New York when he attacked National Socialism. The most prominent representatives of American international industry, economics, and finance were gathered. Mr. Eden would have done better to tell the eleven or twelve million unemployed where they could find jobs. He seems to have realized that his hate tirade might have found a less friendly reception there than it did from the audience to which he did speak.

Jewry applauds whenever Germany is attacked. Jewry hates National Socialism for reasons that do not need to be mentioned. Jewry is our enemy, it should be our enemy, it must be our enemy. The question is whether the American people want to make the Jews happy by engaging in fruitless conflict with the German Reich and the German people. That we do protest against. That is neither necessary nor helpful.

We have nothing against the American people. We know and respect their political views and internal affairs, even if we might do things differently. We believe we have the right to expect the same of American public opinion about Germany. We also fail to see the benefits of such controversy. What good will it do America? Does it think it can starve Germany using the same methods as those of the World War?

Every economic action has two sides. It affects not only its target, but also the side that uses it. American cotton farmers, sitting on piles of unsold cotton, know this well.

It is time to recommend peace and good sense. American public opinion is going the wrong way. It would benefit by returning to the old, tested practices of international courtesy and good manners, and by treating Germany in the way normal among civilized nations.

We do not expect our appeal to have a great impact on American attitudes. Still, we think it our duty to speak plainly.

Given the influence of the Jews on parts of American public opinion, we again stress the shortsightedness and uselessness of such methods, and ask the world this question: "What does America really want?"

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Background: This article is dated 11 March 1939, and was published originally in the official National Socialist newspaper the Völkischer Beobachter. Goebbels actually wrote the article a month earlier, according to his diary entry of 5 February 1939.

The source: "Kaffeetanten," Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), pp. 64-69.

## **The Coffee Drinkers** by Joseph Goebbels

We feel it necessary to take up a current issue. The problem is the shortage of coffee that recently surfaced in several parts of the Reich, and has not yet been entirely overcome.

It is actually rather depressing that one must speak of this matter in public. However, there is a certain category of our contemporaries who take pleasure in exploiting every German shortage to amuse themselves or discredit the National Socialist regime.

Coffee is hardly a necessity of life, or an indispensable pleasure. It is certainly a pleasant thing. Conversation flows over a pot of coffee, yes? Limiting coffee consumption, or even giving it up entirely for a while, however, hardly damages one's health. The opposite, in fact. It is true that, as Mussolini said in his speech at the May Field, National Socialism and Fascism share a dislike of a comfortable and pleasant life.

If coffee is in short supply for a while, it is hardly a necessity of life. It would be something different if potatoes or bread were lacking, things that are necessary for daily life. Coffee is a pure luxury item that one enjoys when one has it, but can easily give up when necessity or economic pressures require.

If coffee is in short supply, every German must know that it is not because of the government's ill will that is unwilling to let the people enjoy a cup of coffee, but rather because of a national need, an economic requirement given Germany's situation, one that people have to accept.

The duty of every loyal person in such a situation is to reduce or entirely give up the luxury item in question, and to resume it only when sufficient supplies are again at hand, when the problem is overcome.

The reasons for the coffee shortage, which is still not entirely overcome, are clear enough. They have to do with foreign currency reserves and exports. The situation became evident early in January. One must remember that coffee consumption in Germany has increased about 50% since 1933. 2,160,000 sacks of coffee were imported in 1933, 3,290,000 in 1938. Coffee consumption in Germany has not decreased, but rather increased greatly since the Führer took power; the difference is that more people are drinking coffee.

That is a socialist development. In 1932 only the prosperous drank coffee. The unemployed had no money to buy coffee, so there was no shortage. But now the seven million who were unemployed in 1932 are working. They are now and again able to enjoy life's pleasures. That inevitably leads to occasional shortages in certain areas of our food and luxury goods supplies.

It should really please every German that increasing numbers of our people can enjoy life's

pleasures, even if the result is an occasional personal inconvenience.

The fact that we have to limit our coffee consumption somewhat and cannot import more coffee is the result of shortages of foreign currency, which everyone knows we need for things more important than coffee. It is not a matter of “guns instead of coffee,” but given the current world situation it seems to us more important to build up our military forces than to supply our coffee drinkers with all the coffee they desire. We hardly need to say that we have no desire or ability to pay for the coffee we import in cash. We must pay for our imports with German goods that we export.

Coffee in Germany is only a pleasant beverage. It is not a daily drink for the broad working masses, for whom it is too expensive. Still, the economic barometer shows that there has been a dramatic increase in coffee consumption since the pre-war period. Per capita consumption in 1913 was 2 kilograms, 1.6 in 1932 and 2.3 in 1938. Things are absolutely in order.

But for a few weeks one saw lines of coffee lovers outside the shops in big cities. A certain sort of person who never drank coffee before suddenly felt it necessary to announce his taste for it. That was not only disgraceful, it was a scandal.

A few weeks ago a prominent foreigner who is sympathetic to National Socialism noted the lines outside the shops in the streets of Berlin. He thought they must be in line for potatoes or bread. When he discovered that these people were waiting in line for coffee, he could only shake his head.

There is no doubt that some people have taken pleasure in hoarding coffee. They did this in part to ensure their own supply — as if coffee were a necessity of life — but also in part to make difficulties for the National Socialist government. For example, a woman from Berlin’s better circles in the Wilmersdorf district was caught with eight quarter pounds of coffee that she had bought from various shops. She explained she wanted to be sure she had enough. Well, that’s one way of looking at it.

Such people are naturally only a ridiculous minority, but they are in the position to damage our people’s good name. And it is always the same people. They give reluctantly to the Winter Relief drive, they abuse the National Socialist government and the National Socialist movement, oppose everything that we do, lose heart in every crisis, find the party block warden in their building an annoyance, are convinced adherents to confessional movements, love political jokesters, and get their news from foreign radio stations or newspapers.

Naturally they do not think it beneath their dignity to enjoy the benefits of the National Socialist state. Their thanks is to cheerfully vote no in the referendum to approve Austria’s joining the Reich. They have no idea what national discipline means. Their political behavior is disgraceful. Everything that comes from abroad is chic, everything that we do is shocking.

It is of course self-evident for party members not only to reduce, but to eliminate their consumption of foodstuffs or luxury items that are in short supply in Germany. Old party members have learned in the long years of struggle to pay heed to the health of the people. These old party members, however, become outraged when they see that the beneficiaries of their consideration are these thoughtless and inconsiderate people who had as little to do with National Socialism’s rise to power as they do in its current endeavors.

These people do not have the intelligence to see that Germany today is fighting for its economic existence that will decide its very future. If the battle brings even a few annoyances, these people see enough reason to criticize the National Socialist state, forget its previous successes and cry about their missing cup of coffee. A few weeks ago, the hostile foreign press ran pictures of lines of these coffee drinkers and their friends outside of the shops. The hostile press naturally did not say that they were waiting for coffee, but rather claimed they were waiting for potatoes or bread and spread to the world fables that famine had broken out in Germany.

We do not consider these stupid and thoughtless people worth taking seriously, except when their behavior harms Germany's prestige in the world. That is what happened here.

These people, by the way, have no reason to complain about the economic difficulties that Germany is facing. They made no protest in 1919 when the Treaty of Versailles forced us to give up our colonies. We were the ones who protested. They did not oppose in any way the Dawes Plan or the Young Treaty, which devoured our last economic reserves. In fact, they branded us traitors when we opposed them.

Their cowardly acquiescence explains why Germany has no colonies, and therefore cannot cover our needs from our own resources. There is no question that if the return of Germany's colonies suddenly became a hot issue, these people would grouse, complain, criticize, and predict a new world war. I do have to tell these intellectual souls that we have no intention whatsoever of taking heed of their tender sensibilities by changing our economic policies, which serve the interests and needs of the entire German people, and particularly the working people.

These dear people simply will have to learn patience and adjust to things as they are. At the worst, they will less frequently enjoy complaining about the party and the state over a cup of coffee, saying things like: "Did you hear, Frau Meyer, that our new block warden is our doorman? What does one say? My husband says that is Bolshevism. But don't pass it on. We don't want any unpleasantness!"

We old National Socialists pay no attention to people who talk and bitch like that. We cannot ignore the fact, however, that these coffee drinkers are using a ridiculous shortage of coffee that decent people do not worry about in the least to stand in line outside the shops as if famine had broken out in Germany. That is distressing and dreadful, and we do not want to see such pictures in the future.

We have seen to it that these coffee lines have vanished from German cities. Decent people, when coffee is in short supply — as it is today — either reduce their consumption or stop drinking it entirely. The coffee drinkers can wait until there is once again enough coffee. Then they can return to their coffee parties and say things like "Well, Frau Meyer, what do you think about that? Things are pretty bad, they are pretty bad!"



Background: This article is dated 18 March 1939, and was published originally in the official National Socialist newspaper the Völkischer Beobachter.

The source: "Die große Zeit," Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), pp. 70-76.

## **Great Days** by Joseph Goebbels

We look back on an historic week.

Last week in this space, we discussed a certain clique of ignorant and narrow-minded people who have no sense for the great era in which we live, who lose their nerve and their inner and outer composure at any difficulty. It makes no difference what is happening. They simply lack open-mindedness, and in comparison to those who are alert to what is happening can only be thought poor and pitiable.

Last Sunday we took the opportunity to discuss the shortage of coffee, and expressed our displeasure with such people. One regrets that they live in our era, because they really do not deserve it.

Our appeal to national discipline sounded rather odd as the growing rumblings from Czecho-Slovakia were increasing by the hour, throwing all of Europe into tension and uncertainty.

Last Sunday and Monday, the various political conflicts began to intensify. The German people began to pay attention. In the past six years, we Germans have become especially sensitive to foreign issues. Even the slightest reaction in the international arena causes our people to pay particular attention to foreign affairs. That was the case here as well. From Monday on, and deep into the night, the people of Berlin gathered at the Wilhelmplatz and outside the Reich Chancellery to await events. That is always a sign that the people are beginning to pay increased attention to world events. They had the impression that storm warnings were out, and they were right. As always, the nation waited in disciplined quiet for the Führer's decisions and conclusions.

Tuesday was a nerve-wracking day for all the relevant offices in the Reich capital. Hour by hour, the former Czecho-Slovakia was disintegrating into its various parts. The blunder of the Treaty of Versailles existed only to form a military base against Germany. It was near collapse. It was no longer able to fulfill the tasks given it by the Western European democracies in the fall of 1938. In Bohemia, they wanted to establish "an advanced outpost against the Germanic bloc." As recently as 27 September 1938, the French newspaper "Epoque" wrote: "Czecho-Slovakia is certainly an important strategic card in France's game, particularly for the air force. Bohemia's wide spaces are a wonderful base for the air force. If the Bohemian bases were at France's disposal and were occupied by the Russians, the Allied squadrons would be in the position to strike at the heart of Germany."

This military mission for Prague's chauvinists was now obsolete. Czecho-Slovakia's hour had come. New forces had appeared in Europe, and they were ordering things in this area by different laws. The inner logic of the situation resulted in the collapse of the rotten structure artificially established and held together by Versailles. But new life sprang from the ruins. The old era was replaced by a younger and more dynamic era.

As State President Hacha came to talk with the Führer shortly after midnight on Tuesday evening, the future of the ancient German lands of Bohemia and Moravia was already determined. It was determined by historical necessity, which was speaking a clear and unmistakable language.

A night of nerve-wracking tension passed. As the Führer finished his proclamation to the German at 5 a.m., an historical decision had taken place.

Shortly after, radio stations told the world that the historic provinces of Bohemia and Moravia had returned to the federation of the Greater German Reich. State President Hacha himself had asked the Führer to assume the protection of these provinces, noting that he “was confidently placing the fate of the Czech people and nation in the hands of the Führer of the German Reich.”

The so-called Czecho-Slovakia ceased to exist. In a single night a nation vanished that in reality had never been a nation. It was the state for which France and England were presumably ready bring Europe to a crisis in fall 1938, perhaps even to plunge it into war. On 4 September 1938 the London “Observer” had written that the British people were ready to stand against the New Order “like a block of steel, and an overwhelming alliance would stand at its side, as in the last war.” Similar voices came from Paris, and had there not been more reasonable, clear-sighted, and clear-thinking statesmen in England and France, the gambling politicians of democracy would have undoubtedly succeeded in provoking an unpredictable catastrophe for the sake of this artificial state. But now the house of cards has fallen.

The night from Tuesday to Wednesday also was a clear affirmation of the correctness of the policies Chamberlain and Daladier had followed in the Czech question, which explains the total lack of reaction in the Western democracies to the collapse of the former Czecho-Slovakia. Naturally the professional warmongers in the hostile German-hating lying press are stuttering out a few emotional diatribes and impudent insults against Germany, but none of them is of any political significance. Nothing can change the facts, and it is evidence of the growing realization in the Western democracies that no significant figure is raising any objection. The justice of Germany’s position is too clear to be disputed.

On Wednesday, the Führer hurried to Bohemia and Moravia to be with the troops marching in, and that evening the Führer’s standard flew over the Castle in Prague. The German people held its breath. Even the last man knew that history was being made. An historic act of symbolic significance was ending a process that could have led to war or peace. The Führer’s clarity, courage, and intelligence are the reason that the signs pointed to peace, not to war.

The Reich Protectorates of the historic provinces of Bohemia and Moravia were proclaimed. It was the conclusion of a historical process that had begun around the year 1000, when the earliest chronicler of Bohemia, the Slav Comas, already thought Bohemia a part of Germany. Through the years, Bohemia and Moravia were bound by feudal ties and other connections to the German Reich. Prague itself has the oldest German university. The most beautiful buildings of the city were built by Germans: the cathedral, the Charles Bridge, the Teyn and Nicholas churches. The prosperity and economic successes of these peoples and provinces have always been strongest when they were under the protection of the Reich.

Now it continues. Central Europe has won back peace. An system has been created in which the

stronger of the two neighbors is eager for peace and the weaker has accepted the protection of the stronger, not the other way around. It is a thoroughly reasonable and logical arrangement of the relations between the two peoples. If the weaker has power, it will inevitably attempt to oppress the stronger and weaken its sense of nationhood, since it is the only way to ensure its position. The stronger, on the other hand has no such need. Because it is stronger, it can afford to be generous and to establish a system that gives justice to both nationalities.

That is what has happened here. It is a truly historic decision, and the German people have accepted it as such.

The situation leads us to speak once more to the complaining know-it-alls who at the moment have the good sense not to say anything in the face of the facts. These know-it-alls are always prominent when the nation faces a crisis or when a shortage surfaces. In the face of major successes, they fade into the background, since there is no chance to criticize the National Socialist government or the National Socialist worldview. They cannot understand why we National Socialists, and the whole German people, love our era. This historical event gives us an opportunity to tell them:

We love this era because history is being made. Our hearts beat faster because it has a manly character, because it more important than the temporary difficulties that are part of every great era. We simply cannot understand how some people in the midst of this exciting age can be bothered only by a temporarily reduced coffee ration, or reduced critical freedom, or dogmatic or religious hair-splitting. We love our era because it gives us tasks and challenges, because in it a man has given the German nation life again after many decades of stagnation. We love our age because in a blessed hour problems have been solved that had existed for many hundreds of years, because these problems, so at any rate it seemed, were solved with an almost playful ease that seemed to lay observers almost necessary or self-evident.

This era is our era. We give it the full strength of our heart and mind because it eliminates reasons for conflict and brings about true peace, because it is a proving ground for real talents and manly abilities, because this era is Germany's great opportunity in which we can help as obedient servants of the Führer. We love this era because its successes and victories lead us to forget all the related troubles and discomforts, because it has taught us to despise a life of safety, ease, and comfort, because the greatness of the era leads us to dare to take on big and apparently unsolvable problems. We National Socialists say openly that we have only pity and contempt for those ignorant people who have no sense at all of the historic era in which we live. How impoverished must the hearts and minds of those be who cannot recognize such an age, who cannot comprehend the great triumphs happening around them because foolish trifles like a temporary shortage of coffee cause them discomfort.

We are not living in their era. They did not bring it about, nor do they have any influence on it.

But we are bound to the era by the laws we follow. Wherever the Führer may act, we stand by him in loyal obedience and thank fate that it gave us such a great era. We experience the era with all our being, and in its blessed hours are always overjoyed that we are the children of this era.

Background: Article from 25 March 1939.

The source: "Die Moral der Reichen," Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), pp. 84-89.

## **The Morals of the Rich**

by Joseph Goebbels

It is easier for the rich to be moral than it is for the poor. Wealth protects the wealthy, but encourages the poor to take action.

A rich man, for example, would never think of stealing bread. Only someone who is hungry but has no money steals bread. When the rich man is hungry, he has more than enough bread and everything else besides to quell his hunger.

Likewise, a rich man with a car will never travel without a ticket on the subway. Aside from the fact that he could easily buy a ticket, he has a fancy car waiting in front of his fancy house.

The rules of social conduct are also stricter when one is poor. The poor are crammed together in huge apartment buildings, while the rich live in large houses with enough rooms so that everyone can find a place away from everyone else in the family when necessary. In an apartment building, on the other hand, where people live on top of each other, one has to turn off the radio by a certain hour, since the neighbor wants to get to sleep, sleep he needs if he is to get up and go to work tomorrow. In a big house one can let the radio blare all night, since the nearest house is 30, 40, or 100 meters away.

The poor live a more disciplined life than the rich, otherwise they could not get along with each other.

It is absurd for the rich to complain that certain rules apply to the poor that are not at all necessary for the rich.

As far as morals go, the most moral people are those who have had an exciting life already. As the proverb has it, the old whore prays the loudest. Nature makes morality easy at that point, and it is easy to understand why at an advanced age one might attempt to atone for a wild life. One wants to forget a notorious past, and therefore loves to preach morality to those who are still in the middle of life, or have not even yet begun to live. Everything is suddenly turned around. The old demand morality of the youth, especially when they used their own youth to the fullest.

This is true not only of individuals, but also of peoples. This is the real reason why we are not at the moment able to agree with the democracies, England above all.

The English talk a lot about political morality. They have everything they need. They established a world empire at a time when politics was not all that concerned about morality. Now they are defending their empire with moral platitudes.

They do not even think about stealing food since they are not hungry. They have enough food whenever they want it. They can joke about our Four Year Plan since they have at their disposal the enormous wealth of their empire. The boundaries of their national life can be very lax, not to say

democratic, since they face no threat to their national existence.

It is not so easy for us Germans. We have been a fully unified nation only for the last six years. We are still young and bear the scars of our former discords. We have to be cautious, sometimes even strict, lest the old wounds reopen.

The English can afford the luxury of so-called freedom of opinion. It costs them nothing. The unity of the empire is in no danger. The whole English people is united in a single nation. They need no startling actions or “fait accomplis,” since they have everything they need, or even could wish for.

It would never occur to the English to add to their nation, since the English people have been united for centuries.

We, however, were forced to such things. We had no choice. We do it not because we feel superior, but because we must in order to survive. That has nothing to do with morality from either the English or the German side. One should be wary of using terms that have an entirely different meaning in political life than they do in private life.

Leading officials in England recently have been saying that while it is true that England has protectorates, English protectorates exist only to guard the freedom and culture of the peoples who live there.

Europe grinned as this profound wisdom was revealed. The English have the ability to conceal the truth with moralistic phrases, sometimes concealing rather dubious situations that otherwise would provoke some excitement.

They are such moralists today because they have their sheep safely in the barn and would like to forget their past. They find nothing wrong with the fact that Europe is divided into haves and have-nots. They have no idea that the have-nots may not be happy with the situation. They would never even think of changing the way things are. The world is the way God wants it. He ordained that the English have everything and the other peoples of the world are poor, and therefore dependent on the English.

London has a newspaper that is prototypically English. It is called the Times. It is mostly very refined and serious and only rarely throws insults. It is extraordinarily moralistic and thinks that its God-given task is to deliver political rebukes to the rest of the world. It thinks itself called to comment on everything that goes on in the world, and embodies the typical English notion of how things ought to be. The remarkable thing is that sometimes the English actually believe what they say. They know how to be so insolent and blatantly deceptive that one does not know what to say. They hold to their lies so strongly, even when they are proven false, that one who does not understand the mentality might easily believe that they had fallen for their own lies. That is not the case. It is only proof of the remarkable national discipline that the English press maintains, despite all the talk about the freedom of opinion.

At the moment, however, the English press really has gone too far. No one else believes it any longer. Everywhere in Europe, people wink when the English begin to speak on difficult political matters. They invite people to morning and evening prayers, where they hope to do a little political

business or cattle trading.

Were they battling for their national existence, they would doubtlessly use every means at their disposal. However, they have always thought it better to fight to the last Frenchman, Russian, or American.

An example of the depth of London's lies is the recent story about an alleged German ultimatum to Rumania. London invented the whole thing to rouse the world public against the Reich. Both Berlin and Bucharest immediately denied it in the strongest terms. But the English certainly did not look like sinners who had been found out. To the contrary, despite the forceful denials they continued to speak about the matter as if they were not sure whether it were true or not.

That is how the English are now, always were, and presumably always will be. They have no right to tell us what to do.

How did we ever reach the point where we listened to their moral advice? When the discussion turns to political morality, the best thing the English press could do is to stay out of the discussion.

For the past few weeks, the English have been broadcasting the news in German. They do it cleverly, giving the impression of loving the truth and of having almost scientific objectivity. They are doing that in the hopes of winning listeners in Germany that they will be able to use when things get tough. Then they will not be as objective as they now seem to be. They will revive the old atrocity stories that they used to rouse the whole world against Germany during the World War.

Now they seem surprised that German radio has begun to broadcast news in English. Soon they will start to complain. They cannot imagine that any other nation in Europe has the same rights that they have.

Their moral trumpeting in the past weeks as German troops marched into Bohemia and Moravia is a classic example of the English mentality, but with one exception: the moral trumpeting does not seem to work any longer.

All of Europe at present is revolted by England acting as its moral aunt, sitting on the sofa of its empire, secure in its own wealth, complaining about others. Europe has changed since the war. The poor nations are also the young nations. They want to live. They will live. The Archbishop of Canterbury will not stop them. They have seen through the rich. England can no longer dismiss the demands of the have-nots with pious phrases. Their mimicry will not work any longer.

John Bull should be advised to remove the mask so that Europe will be able to see what is behind the fog of phrases England is using to confuse world opinion. Their empire was built through war, oppression, concentration camps, starvation, and blood.

We Germans are glad to listen to moral advice, but only from those who have the right to give it. England does not. When people are talking about political morality, the Empire had best remain silent. We have some friendly advice for London. Do not shout so loudly. You are not alone. The whole world is laughing itself to death at pious talk of morality coming from those who reek of blood.

Background: This article is dated 24 June 1939.

The source: "Die abgehackten Kinderhände," Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), pp. 181-187.

## **Children With Their Hands Chopped Off**

by Joseph Goebbels

The English are well known throughout the world for their lack of political scruples. They are experts at the art of hiding their misdeeds behind a facade of virtue. They have been at it for centuries, and it has become such a part of their nature that they hardly notice it any longer. They carry on with such a pious expression and deadly seriousness that they even convince themselves that they are the exemplars of political virtue. They do not admit their hypocrisy to themselves. It never happens that one Englishman says to another with a wink or a smile "We don't want to fool ourselves, do we now." They do not only behave as if they were the model of piety and virtue — they really believe that they are. That is both amusing and dangerous.

One has to be on the alert when dealing with them. They managed to conquer the world because they never encountered a worthy opponent. In the last three centuries we Germans often had comparable strength in Europe, but we were usually far inferior when it came to exploiting national and international opportunities. The English were unshakably confident in their belief that Great Britain's world domination was a sign of divine providence. Those who attempted to resist, or defend themselves against the empire were ruthlessly suppressed, using the occasional low blow when it was necessary. The English always talked about their nobility and sense of fair play, but they were anything but when circumstances required. We saw enough proof of that at the end of the war, and in the years from 1919 to 1933.

We Germans, on the other hand, have been a political people only in the past few years. England recognizes this change as a major political danger in Europe. It was entirely different before the war. England then could do to Germany what it wanted. We were a harmless people who went about our business, giving the world our poets, musicians, and philosophers, never realizing that there were other nations just waiting for the opportunity to knock us flat.

England was at the center of it all. It found the occasion, the method, and the results. The war caught Germany entirely by surprise, proof that we had not wanted it. Then England got moving. English propaganda turned the whole world against us. One had not thought them capable of it. The experts found its planning and execution brilliant. English propaganda was limited to a few powerful slogans. With devilish depravity, they were spread systematically throughout the entire world and pounded into the brains of millions of people. At the end, they were helpless victims of mass hypnosis.

There were really only a few slogans that the English spread throughout the world. They spoke of children's hands chopped off, eyes poked out, women raped, and old people tortured.

Long years of anti-German propaganda campaign persuaded the whole world that Germany was a nation of barbarians, uncivilized and inhumane, and that it was the moral and cultural obligation of the rest of the earth to destroy Germany and to break its power. Only then could the world know peace and friendship. That made it easy for the rest of the world to join England in fighting Germany.

We Germans had no idea how to respond. We watched the English campaign with honest stupidity. The good German citizen shook his head and wondered how anyone could lie like that. We suffered the consequences at the end of the war. During the last months of the war, England attempted to hammer into the minds of the German population the idea that it was fighting our government, not us. The English did not want to hurt the German people, their war propaganda said. The Kaiser had to go. Then the European nations could end the war.

American President Wilson proclaimed his well-known Fourteen Points. In brief, they announced that the Allies did not want to force peace on the Germans, that none of the warring countries should have to pay reparations, or be otherwise harmed, or lose national honor or territory. The Allies' only demand was to replace the Kaiser with a republic, after which peace with honor would follow for everyone.

These stupid lies were brewed by the English. Wilson was simply the Foreign Office's loudspeaker. And good old Germany believed what England got the Americans to say. We fell into the trap. We did everything that England wanted, and had to pay the bill in the end.

When the news of the German revolution reached London in November 1918, they could hardly believe it. Even the highest circles doubted it. One of England's leading men of the time later said privately that London had not thought it possible that the German people would fall for the swindle.

The results were catastrophic. Germany was robbed of its honor and its land. We were disarmed and robbed of our merchant fleet and navy, and of our colonies. We were given an impossible reparations burden. Its only purpose was to wreck the German economy.

Still, it did have one good result. It taught the German people something. On the one hand Germany was impoverished, but the way was paved for the National Socialist renaissance. Its battle was directed against the Treaty of Versailles, as well as those who benefited from it both at home and abroad. It disposed of those who had signed the Treaty of Versailles and presented those who supported them with the choice either of setting the shameful treaty aside or of being confronted with accomplished facts on the part of a Germany once more strong.

Germany today has been transformed and educated by National Socialism. It joins the great powers, a nation entirely different than that of 1914, and especially 1918. The German people has become political. If it were today as it formerly was, it would be in danger of falling prey to another English swindle, just like that of the war. England is trying to do exactly the same today as it did with such success during the war. England's swindle today is just as blatant, dirty, and impudent as it was back then. They think we are as dumb today as we were then. The men in London think the German people today are as dumb as they rightly thought we were in 1914 and 1918. This is their mistake.

Today the English newspapers openly write that the task of English propaganda is to drive a wedge between the German people and its leadership. But we hear that as clearly as they do, and the German people draws the proper conclusion. That is the goal of English propaganda! They want to split Hitler and the nation. Naturally they find hypocritical and smooth-sounding arguments, just as they did during the Kaiser's day. They say that Germany must return to the camp of the civilized nations. Oh? To the circle of civilized nations that we have come to know during the past 25 years? Those civilized nations that even after the end of the war allowed millions of mothers and children to



starve, that sent Negroes to bring culture to the Rhine, that shot Schlageter, stole our colonies, exploited Germany, and coldly and cynically broke their most solemn promises to us, the promises the German people had been deceived by?

It was easy to fool Germany back then. Today, we Germans respond differently. And we now have ways to defend ourselves against London's lies once the English propaganda machine moves into high gear. It floods the public with scare after scare, spreading countless lies with the most pious expression. They report rebellions by German soldiers, insurrections and strikes in working class districts, growing conflicts between classes, anarchy in the Protectorate. They sympathize with a small circle of opposition clergy and make that cause of a few complaining intellectuals into the cause of England and the entire civilized world.

It does not work any longer. Our people have been educated in the school of National Socialism. We no longer naively accept England's shamelessness. We are defending ourselves, even counterattacking as is the National Socialist custom. And how! Our counterattack is powerful, and hits dead center. When they throw mud at us, we do not stand back 30 meters and wave our little sword. We have developed thick skins. We are not refined aesthetes who get queasy in the midst of political disputes. That annoys the enemy.

The experienced English propagandists for the first time are seeing an opponent facing them whom they did not previously think they had to worry about. They are being surpassed in an area in which they once were the undisputed master. The National Socialist movement has taught the German nation not only to defend against propaganda, but to use it itself. We Germans know something about propaganda. During our struggle for power our enemies had absolute power, yet we threw them to the ground. We are not as defenseless today as we once were. Today we have the most powerful army in the world. We defend an idea that fills us with holy conviction, and we wield a propaganda that hits its target, that is experienced and hardened by battle. We use this spiritual weapon with pleasure and enthusiasm.

The new version of the charge of chopped of children's hands will not work with the German people any more, nor will it persuade most of the rest of the world. People see through John Bull. The world's people know what is going on. England can look for allies wherever it wants, but it will not find them in Germany. There it will find nothing but thundering laughter. Our advice to the propaganda experts in the Foreign Office is to get rid of their old lies and find better ones that will be worth our while to deal with.

If the English want a fight with Germany, they will not be fighting the Führer or a small ruling circle, but a united nation of 80 million Germans. They might want to find a way other than armed conflict. That would have no prospect of success, and would in fact present England with the real danger of losing its Empire. One does London a favor by encouraging it to be realistic, to have a clear understanding of Germany, and to stop the bombast and empty threats. It must face the hard and unchangeable facts.

Background: This article was published shortly after the war began.

The source: "Englands Schuld," Illustrierter Beobachter, Sondernummer "Englands Schuld," p. 14.

## **England's Guilt** by Joseph Goebbels

It is a major error to assume that England's plutocrats slipped into the war against their will or even against their intentions. The opposite is true. The English warmongers wanted the war and used all the resources at their disposal over the years to bring it about. They surely were not surprised by the war. English plutocracy had no goal other than to unleash war against Germany at the right moment, and this since Germany first began to seek once again to be a world power.

Poland really had little to do with the outbreak of war between the Reich and England. It was only a means to an end. England did not support the Polish government out of principle or for humanitarian reasons. That is clear from the fact that England gave Poland no help of any kind whatsoever when the war began. Nor did England take any measures against Russia. The opposite, in fact. The London warring clique to this day has tried to bring Russia into the campaign of aggression against Germany.

The encirclement of Germany long before the outbreak of the war was traditional English policy. From the beginning, England has always directed its main military might against Germany. It never could tolerate a strong Reich on the Continent. It justified its policy by claiming that it wanted to maintain a balance of forces in Europe.

Today there is still another reason. The English warmongers conceal it. It is crassly egotistic. The English prime minister announced the day the war began that England's goal was to destroy Hitlerism. However, he defined Hitlerism in a way other than how the English plutocracy actually sees it. The English warmongers claim that National Socialism wants to conquer the world. No nation is secure against German aggression. An end must be made of the German hunger for power. The limit came in the conflict with Poland. In reality, however, there is another reason for England's war with Germany. The English warmongers cannot seriously claim that Germany wants to conquer the world, particularly in view of the fact that England controls nearly two thirds of the world. And Germany since 1933 has never threatened English interests.

So when Chamberlain says that England wants to destroy Hitlerism in this war, he is in one sense incorrect. But in another sense, he is speaking the truth. England does want to destroy Hitlerism. It sees Hitlerism as the present internal state of the Reich, which is a thorn in the eye of English plutocracy.

England is a capitalist democracy. Germany is a socialist people's state. And it is not the case that we think England is the richest land on earth. There are lords and City men in England who are in fact the richest men on earth. The broad masses, however, see little of this wealth. We see in England an army of millions of impoverished, socially enslaved, and oppressed people. Child labor is still a matter of course there. They have only heard about social welfare programs. Parliament occasionally discusses social legislation. Nowhere else is there such terrible and horrifying inequality as in the English slums. Those with good breeding take no notice of it. Should anyone speak of it in public, the press, which serves plutocratic democracy, quickly brands him the worst kind of rascal. They do not hesitate to make major changes in the Constitution if they are necessary to preserve capitalist

democracy.

Capitalism democracy suffers from every possible modern social ailment. The lords and City people can remain the richest people on earth only because they constantly maintain their wealth by exploiting their colonies and preserving unbelievable poverty in their own country.

Germany, on the other hand, has based its domestic policies on new and modern social principles. That is why it is a danger to English plutocracy. It is also why English capitalists want to destroy Hitlerism. They see Hitlerism as all the generous social reforms that have occurred in Germany since 1933. The English plutocrats rightly fear that good things are contagious, that they could endanger English capitalism.

That is why England declared war on Germany. Since it was accustomed to letting others fight its wars, it looked to the European continent to find those ready to fight for England's interests. France was ready to take on this degrading duty, since the same kind of people ruled France. They too were ready for war out of egotistic reasons. Western European democracy is really only a Western European plutocracy that rules the world. It declared war on German socialism because it endangered their capitalist interests.

A similar drama began in 1914. England had more luck during those four and a half years than it is having today. Europe's nations had no chance to see what was happening. The nations of Europe today have no desire to play the same role they played during the World War. England and France stand alone. Still, England is trying once again to wage war without making any personal sacrifice. The goal is to blockade Germany, to gradually bring it to submit by starvation. That is longstanding English policy. They used it successfully in the Napoleonic wars, and also during the World War. It would work now as well, if the German people had not been educated by National Socialism. National Socialism is immune to English temptations. English propaganda lies no longer work in Germany. They have gradually lost their effectiveness in the rest of the world as well, since German propaganda today reaches far beyond its borders. This time, English plutocracy will not succeed in driving a wedge between the German people and their leadership, though that is their goal.

The German nation today is defending not only its honor and independence, but also the great social accomplishments it has made through hard and untiring work since 1933. It is a people's state built on the foundation of justice and economic good sense. In the past, England always had the advantage of facing a fragmented Germany. It is only natural that English plutocracy today seeks to split the German people and make it ripe for new collapse.

English lying propaganda can no longer name things by their proper names. It therefore claims that it is not fighting the German people, only Hitlerism. But we know this old song. In South Africa, England was not fighting the Boers, only Krugerism. In the World War, England wanted to destroy Kaiserism, not the German people. But that did not stop English plutocracy from brutally and relentlessly suppressing the Boers after that war or the Germans after our defeat.

A child once burned is twice shy. The German people were once victims of lying English war propaganda. Now it understands the situation. It has long understood the background of this war. It knows that behind all English plutocratic capitalism's fine words, its aim is to destroy Germany's social achievements. We are defending the socialism we have built in Germany since 1933 with

every military, economic and spiritual means at our disposal. The bald English lies have no impact on the German people.

English plutocracy is finally being forced to defend itself. In the past, it always found other nations to fight for it. This time, the English people must themselves risk their necks for the lords and City men. They will meet a unified German people of workers, farmers, and soldiers who are prepared to defend their nation with every means at their disposal.

We did not want war. England inflicted it on us. English plutocracy forced it on us. England is responsible for the war, and it will have to pay for it.

The whole world is waking up today. It can no longer be ruled by the capitalist methods of the 19th century. The peoples have matured. They will one day deal a terrible blow to the capitalist plutocrats who are the cause of their misery.

It is no accident that National Socialism has the historical task of carrying out this reckoning. Plutocracy is collapsing intellectually, spiritually, and in the not too distant future, militarily. We are acting consistently with Nietzsche's words: "Give a shove to what is falling."

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Background: Goebbels launched a weekly German journal called *Das Reich* in May 1940. This is Goebbels's lead editorial from the first issue.

The source: "Die Zeit ohne Beispiel," *Das Reich*, 23 May 1940, pp. 1, 3.

## **A Unique Age** by Joseph Goebbels

History does not repeat itself. As with everything creative, its imagination and opportunities are inexhaustible. However, it always follows eternally valid laws. Because these laws are ignored or violated in the same or similar ways by nations or people, they apparently lead to similar situations or results.

It is therefore wholly wrong to compare this war with the World War, or to seek parallels in their phases. The age in which we live, and this war, are unique in nature and conduct, unparalleled in history. He who attempts to evaluate them by past standards runs the risk of making the worst political and military mistakes.

Even our national situation, and the whole international one, is entirely different than 1914. Because of the sterile foreign policy of the period, we were forced into a two-front war with intolerable military burdens. Furthermore, our people was not psychologically prepared for war. The people had no idea why it was fighting, nor what it was fighting for, and the government did nothing to let it know what the situation was, and what the future would be. The German government missed every diplomatic opportunity to stop London's encirclement plans. They practically gave their trump cards to the enemy. At the beginning of the war, they were prepared only for the most favorable circumstances, and were thus surprised by unfavorable developments. There formerly had been much better and more promising opportunities to fight the war that had now become unavoidable. They were surprised at the worst possible time, and then declared war themselves, which was to be of decisive psychological significance.

Today, the situation is reversed. The Führer's brilliant statesmanship succeeded by tireless diplomatic efforts in destroying attempts at encirclement, either in advance or through military means. False claims of neutrality, intended only to provide a march route to Germany, were destroyed, and a dangerous two-front war avoided. Germany's back is secure in this battle of fate. And our psychological war is being waged most successfully, not only at home, but also in the rest of the world. The nation knows exactly what is at stake. It knows what it is doing, is fully aware of what would happen if it lost the war, and knows the opportunities it will have if it wins. Every conceivable resource is being used in this gigantic struggle. The opponent lost one trump card after another, even before the war began. The Führer prepared for this historic conflict with care and foresight, planning for the worst, and thus preparing for the best. And at the critical hour, the Western plutocracies declared war, clearly putting themselves in the wrong.

During the World War, we faced a deadly blockade. Germany had prepared only militarily, and that in an inadequate way. It was defenseless against a blockade. It had neither practice nor experience, and thus either took no measures at all, or took them so late that they did more harm than good. The rationing system was corrupt, which was a heavy psychological burden for people, and also made a consistent implementation of necessary economic measures impossible. It is therefore no surprise that the Reich succumbed to its enemies in this area in November 1918.

Today our situation in no way resembles the former situation. True, the English-French plutocracy tried again to use the old methods of economic encirclement against the Reich, but these methods have lost their effectiveness. We prepared for a blockade. We knew its deadly effects from the World War, and thus did everything we could to be ready for it. We are prepared economically to wage war. The experiences of the World War were helpful. Our enemies mocked our Four-Year Plan, but it prepared us to survive even the tightest blockade. The Reich secured its economic and agricultural resources in such good time that we are safe from any unpleasant surprise. Corruption is impossible due to the most severe penalties. The Reich has sufficient reserves of raw materials to fight for as long as necessary.

Militarily, we entered the World War without taking full advantage of our enormous population resources. We were then the strongest military power in the world, but could not resist the attack of the entire world. The tragedy of the first historic weeks of the gigantic battle was that we lacked the divisions on our endangered right flank, divisions that we could have had. All the later measures could not help.

Today, the German military has the most modern technical equipment imaginable. The German population is being used fully. The German military is therefore prepared for any offensive. Everything is happening as planned, according to a firm system. Our army's achievements are beyond all praise. They are admired by the whole world.

In 1914, we were completely on the defensive psychologically. The Reich viewed the war from a middle class perspective, without realizing that we faced a world of enemies who were determined to use every method of falsehood and incitement. The German leadership had no experience in the battle for public opinion. It had no concept at all of the people's dynamism. It settled for loud shouts of patriotism rather than any real confidence or sovereign spiritual attitude, which alone lead to victory. We faced hate-filled, treacherous and slanderous international enemies who knew how to make the leadership of the Reich look bad in every matter.

How different is our situation this time! Here, too, Germany is clearly on the attack. It knows how to use the weapon of truth with sovereign assurance. Its news policy is fast, practiced, clear and powerful. It is prepared in every last detail to deal with public opinion at home and in the world. The German nation did not enter this war with the momentary enthusiasm of a bonfire, but rather the German people are fighting with clarity and determination. Thus it is no longer possible to use the international atrocity stories that were so extraordinarily dangerous to the Reich during the World War.

And the German army today has the magic aura of invincibility and of a glorious revolution, which is of enormous importance. True, the world is still wavering between limitless hatred and unlimited admiration in its evaluation of this so-called German miracle. But it really was no miracle. Guided by the hand of a genius of historic greatness, the National Socialist system has been victorious. This man's inspiring effect has awakened the spirit of a new ideal from the old German virtues: the precision of thinking and labor, the fanaticism of systematic preparation, a readiness to sacrifice, the greatest intelligence paired with imagination and inventiveness, sovereign knowledge, boundless enthusiasm on the part of the whole people, a youthful spirit of attack — in short, the ability to make of the German misery forced upon us by our enemies a brilliant virtue. What is it that from the

beginning has guaranteed the success of the German military on every battlefield of this war? For the first time in history, creative German genius is freed of all bureaucratic and dynastic restrictions, and now has full freedom. Germany had always been as strong as it is today, but it did not know it. Never before in its history was it able to discipline itself, to use its full strength, and to develop a government structure that allowed it to make full use of its political and military opportunities.

That is yet another reason why a comparison to 1914 is completely wrong. The German people held on for four years only because its inner strength was so strong that it survived all the weaknesses and failures of its government. Today, it is different. The German people is able to fully use its national reserves of strength. What is winning today is a system prepared in 14 years of struggle and in seven years of practical work. It was given its creative spirit by a brilliant political and military genius, and can now live from its own strength.

It is very easy for foreigners to attribute our political and military successes to an improbable sequence of good luck. It is the kind of luck that, as Moltke once said, only the virtuous have over the long term. We therefore face no really serious political or military developments in this war. Our enemies may be forced to imitate our methods, which they hate so much. One often says in the enemy camp that National Socialism can be fought only by using National Socialist methods, or something similar. However, we know only too well how much sweat, how much work, how much experience, and above all how much time, is necessary to achieve even the first successes. Today the enemy camp is shouting: "Arms, arms! More planes, more tanks!" Blind fools! We have exerted our full energy, with an unequaled national rhythm, sacrificing our people's ease and comfort, to reach our goals. In the seven years we sacrificed to build our military, foreigners mocked our slogan: "First guns, then butter!" Today it is clear that one cannot conquer cannons with butter, but that cannons can conquer butter. From today's standpoint, they did us a favor in 1918 by taking our old weapons from us. We had to build our German military from the ground up so that it is not only the largest, but also the most modern, army in the world. We spared no expense, no sacrifice, no effort, to ensure that if war came, we would have to, have to, have to win it, or else lose our life as a nation.

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Reynaud will not be able to persuade the world that France and England can recover from the first terrible blows they have received. The parallels that their newspapers draw to 1914 — parallels that show their anxiety and bad conscience — are entirely wrong. In 1914, we had real weaknesses in our national defenses that our enemies could exploit. Today that is no longer the case. Our enemies are recalling retired old generals in their mid-70's and 80's, hoping they can provide a second "miracle on the Marne." We can tell them that history does not repeat itself. It is too much to hope for that after agitating, threatening, and terrorizing the world for years, they can overcome their enemy by an unearned miracle.

Miracles, too, have to be earned. Plutocracy has no way to escape today. It is trapped. It began this war confident that it could wage this war without bloodshed, using only economic blockade. Now it faces the hard necessity of having to fight. Thank God, they have left us in no doubt about what they would do to us if we lose: They prophesy the dissolution, dismemberment and destruction of our Reich and nation. Every German knows that. We had time enough to reflect on it during the long, hard winter months — all of us, German soldiers, farmers, and workers.

The lords of the western plutocracies now have to fight these soldiers. Our farmers grow the daily bread for these soldiers, and the workers behind the front forge their weapons. They all know that in

these days, weeks, and months, Germany's fate for a thousand years to come will be decided. They are deeply aware of living in a unique age. They want to prove worthy of it, thus proving that they are a unique people as well.

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Background: This article is dated 2 June 1940, and appeared originally published as the lead in *Das Reich*, a prestige weekly.

The source: *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941).

## **Missed Opportunities**

by Joseph Goebbels

In Germany people say that the Führer is always right. Abroad, one says he is always lucky. That is only partly true. The Führer has earned his luck. He makes it easy for fate to help him. He acts according to the principle that in politics one must always be ready to take advantage of an opportunity. There is nothing more contemptible than a statesman who fails to rise to an opportunity. The Führer's enemies practically fall into his hands. That is proof that they are chosen by fate to collapse. A tired and exhausted world declines not only because of its weaknesses, but above all because of its mistakes, its illusions, its faulty sense of reality, and its missed opportunities. It confirms the truth of the proverb: "God makes blind those whom he wishes to punish." The entire history of National Socialism and its enemies is further proof.

On 14 September 1930, for example, the Führer won his first great electoral victory. The NSDAP won 107 seats in the German Reichstag. The democratic republic faced two choices: to recognize the Führer or to destroy him. The first would have been reasonable and logical, the second difficult but not impossible. The republic did neither. They watched things happen like the rabbit views a snake, giving themselves up to their fate. Only when it was too late, they founded the Iron Front. Only after the National Socialist movement was too big to be stopped by force did the republic try that means, and only when he was the man of the hour did it condescend to take him seriously. The last chance came on 13 August 1932. Once more they missed it, and gave the Führer the time he needed to prepare for National Socialism's final victory over the parliamentary resistance. This missed opportunity cost the democratic republic its life.

The same story repeated itself in the international arena after the take over. The right day for France and Germany to have taken on the National Socialist movement and the resulting National Socialist state would have been 30 January 1933, or 31 January at the latest.

The Western European plutocrats had two choices: they had either to destroy this new Germany immediately, or to seek a lasting peace with it. The first was at the time still possible, the second would have meant some sacrifice, but nothing all that expensive. It would also have been reasonable and logical. Neither happened. Once again the enemy fell into illusions that did not hurt Germany, but robbed its enemies of sound human judgment.

Our departure from the League of Nations gave our enemies abroad a new, though more difficult, opportunity. They either should have declared war or made peace. Again, they did neither. Again they were hypnotized like the rabbit in front of the snake. They hoped for a German revolution and were so blind that they failed even to study the National Socialist movement, though they knew that it wanted to change the entire balance of power in Europe.

They complained about the introduction of universal military service, but did nothing. They responded to the occupation of the Rhineland with empty threats, but did nothing. There was but a single attempt by the enemy to find a midrange solution: the naval agreement with England. Even

that was neutralized through the infamous incitement to war that came from London, which destroyed any possible positive effects of that treaty.

Schuschnigg, for example had the opportunity to be the savior of Austria and the father of the Anschluss — the Führer showed him how. Instead, he missed the opportunity and depended on England's protection. At the critical hour, he stood alone. It is almost tragi-comic to see how the Führer's enemies always make the wrong choice. Benesch was in a position to resolve the crisis early on by granting partial autonomy to the Sudeten Germans, which would have removed any grounds for attack on the part of the Reich. He waited too long, made his compromises too late, and like all his predecessors had to pay for it in the end. Beck and Rydz-Smigly could have come to terms with Germany. They only needed to return Danzig to the Reich and accept a small corridor through their corridor. One can hardly imagine that such a step could have saved Poland a year ago. But the men in Warsaw lamented the situation and depended on England, and the temporary Polish state fell in 18 days.

One may say that history is there to teach us lessons! After the experiences of the past three years, one begins to doubt it. Those who opposed the National Socialist movement or the National Socialist state had the ambition to try it themselves, and each paid a high price. We are not even referring to the deafening shouts of enemy propaganda, so embarrassingly stupid that we consider it beneath our dignity to pay any heed to it. But the enemy always had statesmen whose job it really should have been to think more clearly, to consider the real facts of the situation, and avoid expending their wisdom only in well-paid newspaper articles. Even in October of last year, and at the height of his military triumphs of the Polish campaign, the Führer gave his famous speech to the Reichstag in which he offered London and Paris a reasonable and inexpensive peace.

What kind of devil was leading the West European plutocrats to mockingly reject his offer instead of eagerly accepting it! A foreign newspaper wrote a few days ago that if this offer were repeated in its original form, all those money bags in London would eagerly accept it. But if they worked for war with all their strength, why did they not at least prepare for it with all their strength as well?

People often ask: What are Churchill, Chamberlain, and Reynaud really thinking? My answer: About nothing at all. They are thinking just as little as Scheidemann and Braun and Brüning did in their day. They are possessed by such a proud and arrogant superiority complex that they do not believe they have to think at all. Were I English or French, I would be desperately asking what my government had done during the five hard months of winter. The answer has to be: Nothing at all, other than finding cheap victories on paper, fabricating lies and slanders, and urging the hated Germans to start a revolution. That revolution would bring defeat and the partition of the Reich. It would mean the return of a political gigolo like Otto Hapsburg as King of Austria, the loss of the Rhine and Ruhr to France, and Pommeria, Siliesia, and Brandenburg to Poland. The Germans would have to be pleased to eat their meals in French field kitchens at the points of bayonets.

What a delight!

Now our western offensive breaks loose on these plutocrats. They told their soldiers that they needed only to wait at the Maginot Line and hang their washing on the Siefried Line. Now they must send those soldiers into hard and bloody combat.

If one believed the speeches these statesmen gave in the past, one would have to think that they would be delighted with the state of things. They have the war they wanted. Yet they are suddenly yammering that we attacked them. That is not what they wanted. They were thinking of a bloodless war in which German soldiers would not fight, but rather German women and children would starve. Their plan has suddenly collapsed. They sit in their churches and pray. They hypocritically call upon God as their ally, and beg the rest of the world to pull their chestnuts out of the fire and to cool down the soup they have cooked. They hypocritically complain about the fate they have brought upon themselves, and in the same breath invite others to join them.

What can one say to these intellectual athletes and their absolutely crazy proclamations? They do not grow weary of filling the air with their loud cries for help. They remain impudent, superior, stupid and cowardly, small tradesman of politics, who were foolish enough to take on a historical genius who once said he could not forgive fate for giving him only nonentities as opponents.

Is anyone left who will ask for London's protection? The refusals come from every direction on the compass. And what shall we do with the talkative old gentlemen in London and Paris who, like our former domestic opponents, missed every opportunity and have suddenly begun to talk a bit more quietly? The best thing to do would be to leave them in the hands of their own people for their just reward. Once they realize the scale of the coming catastrophe, they will know what to do with statesmen who have been weighed and found wanting.

History will remember them as gravediggers of a rotten and weary world. One must only give a shove and it will collapse.

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Background: This article is dated 12 January 1941.

The source: "Aus Churchills Lügenfabrik," Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), pp. 364-369.

## **Churchill's Lie Factory**

by Joseph Goebbels

There is no point to debating Mr. Churchill about English ship losses or the damage caused by German air attacks. He follows the time-honored British policy of admitting only that which is impossible to deny, then cutting it in half, while at the same time doubling or tripling the enemy's losses. This balances the accounts. The astonishing thing is that Mr. Churchill, a genuine John Bull, holds to his lies, and in fact repeats them until he himself believes them. That is an old English trick. Mr. Churchill does not need to perfect it, as it is one of the familiar tactics of British politics, known to the entire world. They made good use of the trick during the World War, with the difference that world opinion believed it then, which cannot be said today. That is because at the end of the World War British plutocracy believed that Germany would never recover. In part from indifference, but also in part from boastfulness, they made the mistake of telling the world the tricks they had used to defeat the Reich. In the memoirs written by British statesmen, Mr. Churchill in particular, one could see that the London plutocrats had no problem lying to high heaven during the war. They were even proud of fooling Germany in so easy and clever a fashion. They revealed their methods. They are not believable any longer. We only need to refer to the World War and note that the same men are determining English news policy as did from 1914 to 1918, and everything becomes clear.

That is of course rather painful for those involved. One should not, as a rule, reveal one's secrets, since one does not know if and when one may need them again. The essential English leadership secret does not depend on particular intelligence. Rather, it depends on a remarkably stupid thick-headedness. The English follow the principle that when one lies, one should lie big, and stick to it. They keep up their lies, even at the risk of looking ridiculous.

That applies to the dramatic events now taking place at sea and in the air. Despite his own knowledge and the facts, Mr. Churchill keeps saying that England is in a good position, and he is not in any way influenced by contrary facts. The Royal Air Force has pulverized Hamburg, destroyed every railroad station in Berlin, and left German war production in ruins, all the while never hitting a clinic, hospital, orphanage, old people's home, or any kind of civilian target at all. The German Luftwaffe, on the other hand, has never been particularly interested in military or industrial targets. It is instead magnetically drawn to churches, schools, institutions for homeless children, and workers' homes. They particularly like embassies, consulates, or American businesses. They fly randomly over English cities until they have found such a target, then dive down and drop their bombs. They want to drive the USA into the war. If perchance the German Luftwaffe manages to bomb an industrial city like Cardiff, Reuters reports: "Unknown airplanes attacked something or another somehow, somewhere. The damage is still unclear, but no military or industrial targets were hit. Further details will follow." The world public can wait for the details until the war is over. Should the neutral press somehow manage to report serious damage despite English censorship, the king sets to work to attack the world's tear ducts. He personally visits the damaged city. English workers are there to cheer enthusiastically. They seem to have nothing better to do than to plant the Union Jack in the midst of the still smoking ruins, or to dance the Lambeth Walk in the middle of the blackened walls, and to cheer the king as he goes on his way. This will apparently continue until not a single stone in

England is left standing on another, and the long-awaited moment to begin the glorious English offensive against the accursed German devil arrives. It all moves His Majesty to the degree that he takes £200 from his vest pocket (about 2000 Reich marks) and puts it in the poor box. His Majesty's visit ends with a visit to a harbor, where the king watches a ship being unloaded. Reuters happily announces the cargo is American frozen meat, which proves first that Atlantic ship traffic is functioning normally, and second that His Majesty is in good physical and mental condition, despite the seriousness of the situation.

How different we Germans are! If the Führer does not speak, it is proof that he is uncertain and sees no way out. If he does speak, one can conclude that the situation in the Reich is catastrophic and people desperately need reassurance. If he does not speak of a rapid victory, it is because he does not believe in it. If he does speak of it, he is just trying to confuse the world. If he meets with the Ducé, it means there is a rift in the Axis. If he does not meet, it is because the rift is too deep to repair. If he visits the troops, he is fleeing the situation at home. If he does not, it is, of course, because he is afraid of the soldiers. In England, people give three cheers when fat and meat rations are reduced. In Germany, that would naturally lead to a revolution. In England, snow and ice speed up the passenger and freight system, but in Germany they throw it into total chaos. German methods of warfare are contemptible and foolish, but one is not embarrassed to imitate them. English methods are exemplary, humane, liberal, and advanced, but they do not work, they have no success, and are therefore quietly dropped. When we announced a few years back that we preferred cannons to butter, all England protested. Now, however, the English have eaten the butter, while we have the cannons. They now have to follow the same principle through which we built our army, but that does not change the fact that these methods are dumb, short-sighted, narrow-minded, and shallow because they were invented by National Socialism. There is no point to talking with the English. As long as Mr. Churchill is at the helm, John Bull will win every time. What a pity that it always loses the offensive.

Mr. Churchill recently strolled through the ruins of the City of London after a major German Luftwaffe attack. Reuters naturally reported that the public applauded him energetically and shouted "Good old Winston! Keep it up!" When one asked him about peace, he answered: "After we have won!" One could find that impressive, if one did not know him better. But we know him. We know it is all a front, that he sees no way out, and that he is so far into his criminal policies that there is no way back any longer. He looks strong, but has nothing left, and can only hope for a miracle.

There will not be a miracle. Luck is always on the side of him who has earned it, and history in the end has always sided with those fighting for high ideals who are not willing to give up. Mr. Churchill is not such an idealist. He represents a rotten and corrupt world. He is a man of the 18th century who drapes himself with the symbols of the 19th century, hoping thereby to win the battles of the 20th century. This is a world of unlimited individual profiteering at the cost of other people and nations. It has been replaced in Europe by new ways of building nations. The future is theirs. A believing, sacrificing youth is gathered under its banners. This youth will win not only because it is well armed; it will win because it is young, because it represents a revolution, because it has mobilized powerful and dynamic forces that can no longer be resisted. The wheel of history can not be held back, not even by Mr. Churchill. In his more rational moments, he probably realizes that he is fighting for a lost cause, that his time is past, that he has no hope of catching up.

He is in fact one of those people who always wants evil, but nonetheless does good. He gave our

revolution the decisive final push. Were it not for him, it probably would have taken much more time to reach completion than it now will. In the end, we really have to thank him. Because of him, we will need only as many months to reach our goal as we otherwise would have needed in years, or even decades.

There is no point in trying to convince him of that. He belongs to those stubborn people who can only be convinced by the facts. Let us bring about those facts.

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Background: This article is dated 2 February 1941.

The source: "Winston Churchill," Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), pp. 380-384.

## **Winston Churchill**

by Joseph Goebbels

"There is only one way to break the resistance of the Boers: the most severe suppression. In other words, we must kill the parents to teach the children respect for us."

So wrote the correspondent of the English newspaper Morning Post during the Boer War. He was the same man who reported about an English punishment expedition to the Mamund Valley: "We went systematically from village to village, destroying the houses, ruining the wells, breaking the towers, felling the larger shade-giving trees, burning the harvest, and destroying the water reservoirs. . . After fourteen days the valley was a desert and our honor was satisfied."

According to Lady Asquith, the wife of the then English Prime Minister, this war reporter, who meanwhile had advanced to First Lord of the Admiralty, responded to the outbreak of the World War with cheerful laughter. During a speech in Dundee, a woman from the gallery yelled: "You've never told the truth. The truth is a stranger to you." He introduced the phrase "terminological inexactitude" to the world, a discreet way of avoiding the rather crude word "lie." He resorts regularly to the phrase when he is caught in an untruth. His swindles are world-renowned. The English battleship "Audacious" was sunk on 27 October 1914. Not only did he deny the fact, he even published falsified pictures of a sister ship of the "Audacious" with this caption: "The 'Audacious' returns to the fleet." As early as 1900 he wrote in one of his books: "I then had no idea what a great and undoubtedly useful role deceit plays in the life of those nations that enjoy democratic freedom."

The reader will already have guessed whom we are speaking of. It is Mr. Winston Churchill, W.C. in short, currently the English prime minister and the first violin in the hellish concert that the whole demo-plutocratic world is playing against the Axis powers.

It is not easy to give a character sketch of this man who lacks all character. He is one of those political chameleons who can change his color as needed and his opinions a thousand times, and makes energetic use of these abilities. He lies not only out of necessity, but for the sheer pleasure of it, for it is part of him. As one leading English newspaper wrote after the bitter experiences of the World War, he is a political juggler who unfortunately always leads his country in the wrong direction.

One must know Churchill if he is to understand England's present policies and military leadership. They, like he, are wholly without direction or plan, an endless chain of actions and improvisations that now and again seem to prosper at first, but in the end regularly just miss success.

Last spring, for example, Mr. Churchill had the crazy idea of occupying Norway. The Führer beat him to it by a nose, which has not stopped him from claiming a brilliant success. The German army threw the British troops out of Norway in a glorious victory. Mr. Churchill nonetheless gave a speech to the survivors of the British destroyers "Hardy" and "Ellipse" in which he said: "You are the forefront of the army that we will use in the course of the summer to cleanse Norway of the dreadful

filth of Nazi tyranny.”

Everyone knows what actually happened. England had to be content to save the last remnants of its defeated divisions from Western Europe. It stopped talking about a renewed occupation of Norway. But that did not trouble Churchill. He had been through it during the World War with his disastrous Gallipoli invasion. He had walked through streams of English blood and become hard to the sentiments that might have affected anyone else after such a catastrophe. His cynicism about a war that affects millions of human lives is unparalleled. His autobiography has an interesting passage comparing the wars in India to a proper European war: “The suppression of the poor Indians could hardly be compared to a proper European war. It was like a paper chase rather than racing in a real derby. Well, one has to take what the age offers.”

That is how Churchill lives and loves. One has to see a current photograph of his face to grasp the true depravity of plutocracy. This face has not a single good characteristic. It is marked by cynicism. The ice-cold eyes are free of any emotion. This man strides over corpses to feed his blind and limitless personal egotism. The cigar butt in his mouth is the last sign of a lifestyle that has outlived its time. The English Labor leader Lansbury wrote about him in the Daily Herald on 12 July 1919: “He has no scruples other than concern for himself and no interests but those of the ruling class. In all his endeavors, he has always managed to find a corner for himself at the feeding trough of the state, and usually one of the best paid and most pleasant corners at that.”

We have nothing to add to that. England will one day pay a heavy price for this man. When the great catastrophe breaks over the island kingdom, the British people will have him to thank. He has long been the spokesman for the plutocratic caste that wanted war to destroy Germany. He distinguishes himself from the men behind the scenes only through his obvious cynicism and his unscrupulous contempt for humankind. He wants war for war's sake. War is an end in itself to him. He wished it, pushed for it, and prepared for it out of a stupid, destructive drive. He is one of those characters of the political underworld who rise through chaos, who announce chaos, who cause chaos. For countless people the war brings vast suffering, for countless children hunger and disease, for countless mothers and women streams of tears. For him, it is no more than a big horse race that he wants to take part in.

He now has what he wanted. England is in the middle of the gravest struggle in its history, from which it will be lucky to emerge with its mere existence. The big race has begun, and he who wanted it so much is the English prime minister. He will not be able to escape the crucial hour. When Chamberlain was his superior, he could duck ultimate responsibility. No longer. He must stand and fight.

It does not surprise us that he is fighting to some extent. No one can escape his character, not even Mr. Churchill. He loses himself in feverish fantasies and confuses dreams without the shadow of truth with reality. In situations from which there is no escape he resorts to mystic-sounding phrases. His outbursts against the Reich and the Führer display ordinary gutter language that is usually rejected even by warring enemies. He spits out insults against the German people in his impotent rage. In all this we see him without any mask, a caricature of John Bull, a toothless bully, a monstrosity born of filth and fire that one must render harmless if the world is to have peace.

England's tragic fate is that it is led by him and has tied its fate to his. He was the one who persuaded Great Britain to ignore its historic opportunity and take the rapid path to its downfall. When the



history of the fall of the island kingdom is one day written, the title of the critical chapter will have to be “Churchill.”

It is always good to see a tyrannical system embodied in one man. That is the case here. That makes our attack easy. At least we know where we are. Churchill — that means war, as long as he is around. He never wanted anything else, and will never be able to want anything else.

Well, now he has it, as does the nation that must fight and suffer. He will fall with the war and through it, and on his grave will be the millions of curses of those he has seduced. That and only that is what England has deserved.

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Background: This article is dated 6 July 1941. The German offensive in the East had been underway for two weeks.

The source is *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1941), a collection of Goebbels's speeches and writings from January 1939 to September 1941.

### **The Veil Falls** by Joseph Goebbels

Hundreds of thousands of young German soldiers have been crossing our eastern border and marching through the famed "workers' and peasants' paradise." Had National Socialism not been victorious, many of them would today be members of the League of Red Fighters, readers of the Red Flag, and singers of adoring hymns to the "workers' fatherland." At the end of their meeting they would have praised "wise Stalin," "the leader of the world revolution" and the "bringer of earthly happiness." A London newspaper wrote a few days ago that the danger of the eastern campaign for Germany was that our young men might be infected as they came into direct contact with Bolshevism. We must prepare that newspaper for a disappointment. Our soldiers are indeed experiencing first hand what people call Bolshevism. First, however, National Socialists are immune from any infection by the intellectual and spiritual disease that Moscow preaches, and second they are learning not only the theory of Bolshevism, but also its practice. The result of the acquaintance will be distressing both for Moscow and London.

The Soviet Union knew what it was doing when it sealed itself off from the rest of the world from its earliest days. No matter how socialist it declared itself in its programs and proclamations, it dared not do what National Socialist Germany, for example, did hundreds of thousands of times: to send its own farmers and workers on their own ships to distant countries, where they could on the one hand enjoy and admire the beauties of these lands, but also compare conditions there with those in their own land. They learned to love their people and fatherland, with its order, cleanliness and social justice. Bolshevism could maintain its social illusion only because its deceived population lacked any opportunity for comparison. When one has lived for 25 years in a dark cellar, a kerosene lamp looks like the sun, and for those who were citizens for twenty-five years of the so-called Soviet Union, the most dreadful hovel seemed a palace and a piece of bread the food of the gods, since he heard every day that those in non-Bolshevist countries did not get anything to eat at all. Moscow was a world to itself. An insidious mixture of dogmatic party doctrine, clever Jews and greedy state capitalists rode the conglomerate of peoples that made up the Soviet Union. Those who could remember pre-Bolshevist times, even if by hearsay, were slaughtered. Since they did not see or visit other countries, it was easy to deceive the drugged citizens that the Soviet Union was a paradise instead of the hell it was in reality. It was one of the biggest and cleverest cases of popular deception in all of human history.

Shortly after our National Socialist revolution, a number of communists who had fled Germany after committing political crimes returned, saying they would rather be in a German prison than so-called free citizens in the so-called Soviet Union. Our soldiers marching into the East now can see with their own eyes what these victims of Bolshevik seduction experienced. The veil is falling. The mystery with which Bolshevism so gladly (and with good reason) surrounded itself is surrendering its secrets. Moscow is being revealed.

We hear about it in the tales of officers who are sent from the front to Berlin for a day. We read it in

countless letters from soldiers that reach the homeland. Rarely has an army begun its victorious march into an enemy land with such curiosity, and probably never has what they actually saw been so much worse than their worst expectations. It is simply indescribable. Bolshevism is being revealed as a disgusting mixture of phrases and poverty, of stubborn doctrine and a complete lack of constructive thinking, of splendid socialist phases and the most distressing social decay. It is mass betrayal in the truest sense of the word.

What was supposedly going to infect our soldiers has had the opposite effect. Perhaps an occasional soldier previously thought National Socialist teaching about Bolshevism was a bit exaggerated. He finds that reality is even worse. The same thing happened with his comrades, who as they marched into the ghettos of Poland like Litzmannstadt, Krakow, and Warsaw realized not only the accuracy, but also the pressing necessity of our anti-Semitic views. When they returned home, they reproached us for understating the dangers. Our soldiers in the East will have the same opinions of Bolshevism when they return.

It is outrageous that this spiritual infection wanted to conquer Europe, indeed the entire world. It would be like a cholera patient who maintained that he alone was healthy, and that it was his right and duty to infect those whose health he saw as sickness, in order to make them as healthy as he.

It is no accident that the question of Bolshevism is being discussed just as all this is being revealed. A wave of awakening is rolling through Europe. The peoples who have maintained a healthy core are setting aside their various differences and spontaneously heading to the Eastern Front. Mr. Churchill, meanwhile, is hurrying to seal the international alliance between democracy and plutocracy, despite the cynical orgies over the past 25 years in the so-called worker' paradise. Things that belong together should be together. We have no doubt that the Jewish band that Mr. Churchill surrounds himself with has made it easy for him to find his way to the Kremlin. The wise Stalin can be pleased; the more the peoples of the Soviet Union learn about the horrors of his regime, the louder the admiration he receives from the plutocratic newspapers on Fleet Street. They are astonished at his courage and steadfastness, comparing him to Mr. Churchill himself, flooding him with waterfalls of praise. We have nothing to add. We only hope to use our best efforts to reach even the last person susceptible to Bolshevism with the truth about the abyss before which he stands.

The OKW reports that in the Minsk area 20,000 Bolshevik soldiers deserted to the German lines after shooting their political commissars. 52,000 new deserters were announced today. This is more than a symptom. It is a sign to the Jewish-terrorist ruling class of Bolshevism that its end is near. It seeks in vain to turn the tide. Listeners to German radio programs in the Russian language, even those who merely pick up a German leaflet, are executed. The cowardly band of liars in the Kremlin seems to sense that its end is near. Moscow newspapers are full of bloodthirsty attacks on those spreading panic and rumors, defeatists, and fifth columnists. The style reminds us of the days just before our takeover in the Reich, when the class-conscious proletariat was warned against attending our meetings. They were afraid of the truth then as now. They watch in horror as their finely woven web of lies is torn apart and the ground on which they stand begins to shake. World history will be their world court.

We sent a commission of doctors, jurists, journalists, and radio people to Lemberg. They returned with drawn faces. What they saw there cannot be described. Our newspapers have printed only a portion of the dreadful things that happened under Bolshevism. We have pictures of murdered

Ukrainians that we refuse to release to the public, since we fear that viewers would lose all faith in humanity. Given the usual methods of execution, it is practically an act of grace when a bestial soldier rips open the womb of a Ukrainian woman and nails the embryo to the wall. The human eye is not strong enough to see a long series of such photographs. It is hell on earth. The teaching that led to all of this cannot exist in a world in which we wish to live. It must be wiped out.

We know that Mr. Churchill and his cowardly but well-paid journalists will trivialize or ignore our proofs. He sees what he wants to see, and does not see what fails to please him. But that will not hinder us from making our charges before the world. The war that we are waging against Bolshevism is a war of moral humanity against spiritual rotteness, against the decline of public morals, against spiritual and physical terror, against criminal policies whose makers sit on mountains of corpses in order to see whom their next victim will be.

They were preparing to plunge into the heart of Europe. Human imagination is insufficient to picture what would have happened if their animal hordes had flooded into Germany and the West. The Führer's order to the army on the night of 22 June was an act of historic magnitude. It will probably prove to be the critical decision of the war. The soldiers obeying his order are the saviors of European culture and civilization, saving it from a threat from the political underworld. Germany's sons once again are defending not only their own land, but also the whole civilized world. Schooled firmly in the teaching of National Socialism, they storm eastward, tearing the veil of history's greatest deception, and giving their own people and the world the opportunity to see what is, and what will come.

They hold in their hands a torch that will keep the light of humanity from going out.

Background: This is Goebbel's lead article from Das Reich, dated 20 July 1941, shortly after the invasion of the Soviet Union began.

The source: Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941).

## **Mimicry**

by Joseph Goebbels

The Jews are masters at fitting in to their surroundings, without in any way changing their nature. They are mimics. They have a natural instinct that senses danger, and their drive for self-preservation usually gives them the proper ways and means to escape danger at no risk to their lives or any need for courage. It is difficult to detect their sly and slippery ways. One has to be an experienced student of the Jews to recognize what is happening. Their response when they have been uncovered is simple and primitive. It displays a perfidious shamelessness that is successful because one usually does not think it possible to be so shameless. Schopenhauer once said that the Jew is the master of the lie. He is such an expert on twisting the truth that he can tell his innocent opponent the exact opposite of the truth even on the plainest matter in the world. He does this with such astonishing impudence that the listener becomes uncertain, at which point the Jew has usually won.

The Jews call this chutzpah. Chutzpah is a typically Jewish expression that really cannot be translated into any other language, since chutzpah is a concept found only among the Jews. Other languages have not needed to invent such a word, since they do not know the phenomenon. Basically, it means unlimited, impertinent, and unbelievable impudence and shamelessness.

As long as we had the doubtful pleasure of having to put up with Jews, we had more than enough examples of the typical Jewish characteristic they call chutzpah. Cowards became heroes and decent, industrious, and brave men became contemptible idiots or fools. Fat and sweaty stockbrokers presented themselves as communists saving the world, and decent soldiers were characterized as beasts. Normal families were mocked as breeding pens, while group marriages were praised as the highest form of human development. The most disgusting junk the human mind could create was presented as great art while real art was ridiculed as Kitsch. The murderer was not guilty, but rather his victim.

It was a system of public deception that, when applied long enough, lames a people both culturally and spiritually and over time strangles any kind of defense. Before National Socialism, Germany was in the midst of such deadly danger. Had our people not come to its senses at the last possible moment, our country would have been ripe for Bolshevism, the most devilish infection the Jews can bring upon a people.

Bolshevism, too, is an expression of Jewish chutzpah. Turbulent Jewish party leaders and clever Jewish capitalists managed the most shameless coup one can imagine. They mobilized the so-called proletariat to class struggle by ruthlessly exploiting real or imagined problems. Their goal was total Jewish domination. The crassest plutocracy used socialism to establish the crassest financial dictatorship. A world revolution was to expand this experiment from the Soviet Union to the rest of the world. The result would have been Jewish world domination.

The National Socialist revolution was a death blow to this attempt. Once international Jewry realized that agitation was no longer sufficient to take over the various European nations, they decided to wait

for a war. They wanted it to last as long as possible, so that at its end they could institute Bolshevik terror and force on a weakened, drained and impotent Europe. This had been the goal of Moscow's Bolsheviks from the beginning of the war. They wanted to join in only when easy and safe victory was assured, meanwhile holding down sufficient German forces to keep Germany from a decisive victory in the West. One can imagine the howls of rage in the Kremlin as they realized one Sunday morning that the Führer's sword had cut through their web of lies and intrigues.

Until then, the Jewish Bolshevik leaders had cleverly kept in the background, probably in the mistaken belief they could fool us. Litwinov and Kaganowitsch were hardly seen in public. Behind the scenes, however, they were about their dastardly work. They tried to persuade us that the Jewish Bolsheviks in Moscow and the Jewish plutocrats in London and Washington were enemies. Secretly, however, they were planning to strangle us. That is proven by the fact that they made up with each other the moment their devilish game was revealed. The ignorant peoples on both sides who surely were astonished at such a sight were calmed down by tactful measures.

In Moscow, for example, the Jews abolished the Atheist Federation, even though it had been a matter of honor only a few days earlier for leading Soviet bigwigs to belong to it. Religious freedom was now guaranteed in the entire Soviet Union. Lying news items were spread in the world press announcing that praying was once more allowed in the churches, among other swindles. The English could not quite bring themselves to play the Internationale on the radio every night, since in Mr. Eden's interesting distinction the Bolsheviks were not allies, only fellow combatants. The Internationale would have been a bit too strong for the British people at the moment, but they are hard at work presenting Stalin as a great statesman and wonderful social reformer who can be compared only to Churchill. They are doing their best to find other similarities as well between the glorious democracies in Moscow and London.

Remarkably, they are not all that far from the truth in this regard. They look different only to those who do not know much. To experts, they are as alike as two peas in a pod. The same Jews are at work, whether on stage or behind the scenes. When they pray in Moscow and sing the Internationale in Moscow, they are doing what Jews have always done. They are practicing mimicry. They adjust to the conditions around them, slowly, step by step, so as not to unsettle or awaken others. They are angry at us for uncovering them. They know we recognize them for what they are. The Jew is secure only when he can remain hidden. He loses his balance when he senses that someone sees through him. The experienced Jewish expert immediately sees in the insults and complaints the familiar Old Testament outbursts of hate. They have come our way so often that they have lost every element of originality. They are only of psychological interest to us. We wait calmly until Jewish rage has reached its epitome. Then they start falling apart. They spout nonsense, and suddenly betray themselves

The material on Radio Moscow or Radio London and the articles that appear in the Bolshevik and plutocratic organs are simply indescribable. London always gives priority to Moscow, which allows it to preserve good manners and blend into the landscape. Moscow's Jews invent lies and atrocities, the London Jews cite them and blend them into stories suitable for the innocent bourgeois. They do it only from professional obligation, naturally. The dreadful crimes in Lemberg that horrified the entire world were, of course, not committed by the Bolsheviks, but rather were an invention of the Propaganda Ministry. It is quite irrelevant that German newsreels made the proof available to the entire world. Obviously we suppress the arts and sciences, whereas Bolshevism is a true center of

culture, civilization and humanity. We personally were pleased at a recent statement by Radio Moscow. It was so absurd and despicable that it was almost flattering. We assume the Jewish speaker recalls the good old days in Berlin. Unless they have a very short memory, they must recall that all their insults will only lead to a thrashing at the end. Every evening they announce that they want punch our nose, us and all the other Nazi pigs. Sure, you want to, but doing it is something rather different, gentlemen! The whole affair has a certain tragicomic tone. The Jews talk as if they were really strong, but soon they have to move their tents and run like rabbits from the approaching German soldiers. Qui mange du juif, en meurt!

One could almost say that anyone with the Jews on his side has already lost. They are the best pillar of the coming defeat. They carry the seed of destruction. They hoped this war would bring the last desperate blow against National Socialist Germany and an awakening Europe. They will collapse. Already today we begin to hear the cries of the desperate and seduced peoples throughout the world:

“The Jews are guilty! The Jews are guilty!”

The court that will pronounce judgment on them will be fearful. We do not need to do anything ourselves. It will come because it must come.

Just as the fist of an awakened Germany has struck this racial filth, the fist of an awakened Europe will surely follow. Mimicry will not help the Jews then. They will have to face their accusers. The court of the nations will judge their oppressor.

Without pity or forgiveness, the blow will strike. The world enemy will fall, and Europe will have peace.

Background: This article from Das Reich is dated 28 September 1941. The source: "Das Tor zum neuen Jahrhundert," Die Zeit ohne Beispiel (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), pp. 584-589.

## **The Door to a New Era**

by Joseph Goebbels

"I was confused in the past, and could not believe in anything great. But now I have seen it all, and ask that if I remain alive, you accept me as a member of the great German workers' party. If I die, I die gladly for Germany, and am persuaded of everything."

Those are the words of soldier Joseph Zezetka from Donawitz, taken from a letter to the local group leader of his home town. Millions of similar letters have come from the Eastern Front in the last three months. They give the German people a picture of the hardships and difficulties of the Eastern campaign, of its dangers and physical and mental strains, but also of the firm and unshakable confidence that our soldiers have in victory. No propaganda, no news reports, no pictures could do the job better. Lying enemy propaganda never tires of saying that we are giving the German people a false or incomplete account of the battle in the East. Letters from our soldiers are the best refutation. They write from direct experience, mostly to their closest kin, people from whom they have no need to conceal the truth. They tell the unvarnished truth. They add or subtract nothing. They are the most reliable witnesses of the accuracy of our accounts of the gigantic battle being fought in the East between Europe and its most dangerous and devilish enemy.

There are people unable to appreciate the scale of these military operations. They see things in the scale to which they are accustomed, using the standards with which they are familiar. Such people do not realize that a world battle without precedent is occurring. Bolshevism is using every available resource to resist annihilation. It is a matter of life or death. Only one of us will survive. One must consider what would have happened if the Führer had not acted to deal with the Soviet danger. Only then can one understand what is at stake. Our soldiers are witnesses to Moscow's plans. They have seen with their own eyes the preparations made for the destruction first of Germany, then of Europe. They also have first hand experience with the Soviet system, and can see the true conditions in the paradise of workers and farmers. This will have a major influence on the future. Just as there was no argument about the Jewish question in Germany after the Polish campaign, there will be no debate any longer about Bolshevism once the Eastern campaign is finished. This is more than a campaign or even a war. It is an historic battle with fate in the broadest sense of the word.

The same is true of its dimensions. It is understandable that its extent and force exceed all comparison. But it is ridiculous when foreign, above all neutral, observers evaluate it from their narrow provincial frameworks. When, for example, so-called military writers in Zurich or Bern who have the wisdom of a third-grade school boy write that the operations in the East are not comparable to the area to be conquered, one can say that the battles of annihilation are taking place in areas larger than Switzerland. But what good does it do to talk to our critics about numbers or territory? When we took a hundred thousand prisoners during the World War, schools closed, factories flew the flags, and church bells rang for eight days. Today it seems matter of course to us. Yet such a victory is as important today as it was back then. Today, too, military victories are gained by such spiritual and physical efforts on the part of the soldiers as can scarcely be understood by laymen. Any important victory is gained by sweat and blood. In the homeland, we do our work day by day and hour by hour, while at the front a heroism that cannot be put in words is taking place. In the newsreels, we see



German soldiers cross vast stretches of mud and slime. Stuka pilots dive on enemy positions and supply lines. Riflemen wait by the roadside for a whispered order to charge 20 meters through withering machine gun fire. Engineers stand neck-deep in a river to finish a bridge in the midst of enemy artillery fire. With bare chests, gunners stand next to their weapons and send death and destruction to the enemy. We see pictures of flyers and riflemen, engineers, and artillerymen, looking nearly dead as they lie in a ditch or lean against a wall for fifteen minutes of dreamless sleep. Then they are at it again, flying, marching, bridge building, firing guns, despite their weariness snapping at the enemy's heels to keep him from recovering.

The OKW reports say only that the operations are going according to plan. Now and again the victory announcement fanfares sound over the radio and we all hold our breaths. A victory beyond anything in the past has happened.

Our neutral critics can talk all they want. With all their literary and social skills, they probably could not conquer a Soviet village. Their know-it-all articles do not reflect well on them, particularly since they are in no danger themselves as long as the heroic German army is defending Europe, and therefore them as well. They would not have much opportunity to write military criticism if the German army stood aside and let Bolshevism march past. As experience shows, only the German army is in a position to stop that from happening. These people may know a lot and have so many clever things to say, but the Soviets would put an end to them rather quickly. The intelligentsia in the East, at least as much of it as still exists, can speak to that point. They have learned by experience. The so-called intelligentsia in Zurich, Bern, and Stockholm have not learned much. Hatred of National Socialism has blinded them. They are not objective, they are downright prejudiced, to put it politely. They speak about European culture and civilization. Each German soldier fighting in the East does more for that than they do with all their chatter, chatter that is possible only because that same German soldier holds his protective sword over them. That is the way things are.

One has to stay that, even if it stirs up a hornets' nest. We know these so-called neutral intellectuals. They do not deserve the name. They do not understand what is happening. They look backwards instead of forwards. They have no idea of what was, and still less of what is coming. They would like to pick things up after the war where they left them when it started. Their sterile fantasies are not sufficient to build the future. They think the possible to be impossible, not to mention that which seems impossible. Nine years ago, they said our political success was impossible. How can they predict our future successes in foreign and military affairs! They can only be persuaded by the facts. If there are no facts for two weeks, they are ready to discard a new age. They investigate the past with scientific thoroughness, but the present is a book with seven seals.

If potatoes are in short supply in Germany for two weeks, they believe that the German people are ready to revolt. They see signs of the collapse of morale if coffee or beer or cigarettes are in short supply, and if the German people fail to welcome such shortages with cheers. If Mr. Churchill gives one of his stupid, bombastic, absurd speeches, they watch eagerly to see how Germany responds. We do not respond at all. We know that Mr. Churchill and his plutocratic clique want our annihilation. We are indifferent to whatever they may say. We just get to work to help the Führer win.

We let no one muddy our view of the greatness of our age. We know that only sacrifice and privation and unprecedented efforts can defeat the sinister threat from our hating, envious enemy. We are prepared. Of course there are the cares and burdens of everyday life. Who would deny that? And who

would deny that we all prefer peace to war, and that each of us in quiet moments is making plans for a happier future? We have learned to love life in the midst of danger, and occasionally our fantasies may mislead us with pleasant thoughts of peace and security, of splendor and celebration.

But what does that have to do with Mr. Churchill's hopes that we grow weak and cowardly, or that we even for a moment fall prey to his clever seduction? We spit in his face. He has always been the incarnation of hatred and destruction toward our nation. We know exactly what he would do to us, to our families and our children if we ever fell into his hands. His Jews have revealed that often enough when they raged impotently against us. He cannot fool us. The narrow-minded Swiss politicians remind us of Reichstag representatives from the Economic Party or the Christian Social People's Welfare. They laughed at us as we battled Marxism for the future of the Reich. When the Red Front collapsed, they were forgotten and buried.

This great and unique era is following its course. Time never stands still. It is marching with giant steps toward the future. Happy is he who follows at its heels, for he will be a witness to the blessed hour when the door to a new century opens.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called Das Reich in 1940. He generally wrote the lead article each week. This essay is dated 5 October 1941.

The source: "Die Sache mit der Leichenpest" Das eherne Herz (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 30-36.

## **The Matter of the Plague**

by Joseph Goebbels

German news policy has not had an easy time of it in the past weeks. Vast military operations were being planned about which the enemy had no idea, and of which, of course, he could be given no inkling, so the OKW report [the daily military communique] for a while had to depend on stereotypic phrases such as military actions in the east were following their expected course. Nothing more could be said without running the risk of giving the Soviet military leadership valuable information, thereby endangering the planned operations.

In the interests of the war, German news policy was forced into silence, which naturally led to a certain nervousness on the part of the German people. English and Bolshevist propaganda thought that their hour had come. They could speak, we could not. All the nonsense from London and Moscow over the past weeks would take a long time to discuss. It is also unnecessary to repeat any of it. It is already trash, tossed aside by the fiery storm of earth-shaking military operations whose long-term effects we still cannot entirely foresee. Silence was worth it.

In all their chattering and boasting, the Bolshevists and the English entirely forgot to pay attention. They thought our reluctance to answer their simple and ridiculous lies was the result of weakness, so one day Budjenny and his five armies found themselves in our trap. We won a battle that will go down in history as a classic battle of annihilation. Now all the uproar is on the other side.

We have often seen similar things during the war. They always follow the same plan, and one would assume that our opponents have learned something. There is no evidence that they have. They run into the mousetrap as soon as they smell the cheese, with the result that their premature shouts of victory lead to a moral defeat as well. If only they could shut up and wait! But no, they take their illusionary successes seriously and keep talking big. If we had made even a small percentage of the mistakes they have made, not even a dog would take a piece of food from us. It began with Poland and continues in the Soviet Union. They have always made false predictions. They still have the gall to present themselves to the world as pure and incorruptible fanatics for truth who present things as they are, while we, they claim, abolish freedom of the press, send lie after lie into the world, and lie so much that even we do not know the truth any longer.

It is true that we have made some mistakes during the war. We do not hesitate to admit it. By and large, however, we have told the truth. In contrast to England, we have correctly estimated the military, economic, and psychological strengths of the warring powers. We do not need to be embarrassed when one reminds us of our speeches and articles from 1939 or 1940. Can Mr. Churchill say the same? He missed the bus just before the Norwegian campaign. Then there was the unbreakable Maginot Line, the Ruppel Pass that could be held forever, the island of Crete that England would defend as dearly as its own life, or the Stalin Line, which was to be defended to the last man, but then suddenly never even existed. All swindles and lies!

One ought to be able to assume that English news policy has lost all credibility with neutral nations. To the contrary! Swedish and Swiss newspapers cite its lies every day with general satisfaction, printing our facts only when they can no longer be denied. There are even some unteachable people among us who cannot resist turning secretly and quietly, behind closed doors, to Radio London in order to enrich their political and military knowledge with English swindles. Two recent death sentences and a series of prison terms prove that. What are they doing wrong? Their behavior is not only criminal, it is tremendously stupid. They can hardly seriously maintain that the plutocrats in London are producing expensive German-language programming to keep Herr Bramsig and Frau Knöterich informed about the political and military situation. They openly admit that they are doing it to throw our people into uncertainty and sow dissension between the leadership and the nation. Their news is directed entirely toward this goal, and serves only this purpose. Herr Bramsig and Frau Knöterich volunteer, with no compulsion, to hear such nonsense. Do they gain anything? Hardly! First, they run the risk of ending up in jail as traitors, and secondly, even if that does not happen, they wind up with new worries and sleepless nights, since they have no way to separate right from wrong and truth from falsehood.

The English, for example, estimated our casualties at three million during the weeks we were silent. That naturally was utter nonsense. First, the English are in no position to estimate our losses, and second they do not care to, since they want to cause unrest in the German population through their enormously exaggerated figures. We cannot reply to their lies, since we want to provide only accurate figures, which simply are not available at the moment. We therefore have to restrict ourselves to saying that our losses are at the expected levels, which we can say in good conscience given the facts available to us. The prison-deserving listeners to Radio London run around for three or four weeks with a casualty total of three million, whispering it to others, only to learn one day that although our losses are certainly painful to those directly involved, they are not even 10% of the English figures.

Aside from the criminal nature of such behavior, does it really pay to listen to the English? We have to listen to them for professional reasons. Cross our hearts, we would be delighted if we were free from this unpleasant duty. It is so boring and stupid that it gradually revolts us. Remember, too, that we know how things really stand, and thus can separate truth from swindle, something Herr Bramsig and Frau Knöterich cannot do. No one gives them speeches about the real state of things. If our radio and press are silent, it usually means operations of truly gigantic scope are being prepared. It is the duty of each German to wait with confidence — a confidence, by the way, that is justified by countless historic successes. When Herr Bramsig and Frau Knöterich secretly listen to Radio London, they are being played for fools by our most bitter enemies.

That is not only criminal, it is absolutely unfair. The Führer and his military and political staff are working day and night, and not for themselves, but for the people that means everything to them. Just before the great successes, they often hold their breaths, wondering if everything will work, if things will really turn out as planned, if perhaps somewhere unforeseen problems will surface. Then they are delighted to once again announce a great victory to the people, compensating it for the long period of silence. Our soldiers march day and night through dust and rain, destroying bunkers and fortifications, wading through streams and swimming across raging rivers, having only one thought: to close the pocket at the right time and to seal the enemy within an unbreakable wall.

Meanwhile, Herr Bramsig and Frau Knöterich sit at the radio listening to Mr. Churchill. That is

thankless, contemptible, and vile. It lacks even the most basic respect for the work and responsibility of the leadership. I know that when Radio London hears this, they will jump to the defense of Herr Bramsig and Frau Knöterich. They deserve nothing less. The London Jews and plutocrats would like nothing better than such a conversation. They are too dumb and foolish to be worth the trouble. And besides that, we lack both the time and the inclination. We have better things to do. We have no obligation to do them a favor. Our goal is to serve the German people, to help them to win this war, since we know that it is our last, but also our greatest chance. We know well enough the terrible consequences British propaganda had for us in the World War. We do not want to risk that danger a second time. If we had had someone then able to stand up to London's lies, this war probably would not have been necessary. This time, we have learned our lesson thoroughly and forever more.

Take the following example. The German army does not attack Kiev for weeks, both to save German lives and because the leadership knows that the city will fall into our hands as the result of the great battle of encirclement that finished last Sunday. One naturally can say nothing about such a plan, since the enemy will hear of it and take precautions. While we are making feverish preparations, Britain's propaganda can spread all the lies it wants without any fear of us contradicting them. They claim our attack has stopped because the plague has broken out in Kiev. Herr Bramsig and Frau Knöterich hear that over English radio and pass the rumor on. A woman or mother whose husband or son is near Kiev worries unnecessarily, and we cannot tell the truth, since we must conceal it in the interests of our soldiers.

Does not such rumor mongering deserve not only prison, but also the contempt of the entire people? We cannot excuse it on grounds of stupidity. We are fighting for our lives. Let us be not only as strong as lions, but as clever as serpents. We must defeat the enemy both through strength and intelligence. If Frau Bramsig and Frau Knöterich do not have enough brains in their heads to see that during a war one may not listen to the enemy, then they must receive exemplary punishment.

That, too, is a requirement of victory.

Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called Das Reich in 1940. This essay is dated 9 November 1941.

The source: "Wann oder Wie?", Das eherne Herz (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 78-84.

### **When or How?**

by Joseph Goebbels

Only during the course of this war has it become clear how sick postwar Europe was, and what comprehensive measures it needed, needs, and will need, to return it to health. Just as a harmless cold sometimes allows a series of other illnesses to take hold, an event not of particular significance in itself can plunge a whole region of the world into confusion. Those who do not understand politics, which is the process of history, sometimes believe that the occasion is the cause of great human catastrophes and national transformations. The shot fired in Sarajevo, for example, occasioned the World War, but did not cause it. Europe was ready for such a war, and had been for some years. Only Germany's leadership did not want to see the danger, and thus found itself in a war that it could have fought more effectively at an earlier time, but instead faced it at the worst possible time. When one knows that a pitiless enemy is seeking the best position from which to shoot, one is well advised to shoot first. An irresponsible national leadership lets things gradually intensify without wanting to see the danger. It gives the call to arms when it is too late.

It is thus understandable that during the course of a great struggle for the existence or death of whole nations, the actual occasion that led to the struggle fades from human thought. In the midst of the gigantic dimensions of the war today, the occasion of its beginning in August 1939 seems almost trivial. The city of Danzig was to return to the Reich, and Germany was to receive a corridor through a corridor. These more than modest requests on Germany's party were ignored by our enemies. Indeed, they were used as a pretext for war, with the consequences spreading like an earthquake across the continent. All the old or partially solved problems of Europe broke loose once again. Consider the questions facing Europe at the time. The Treaty of Versailles held our region in its chains, a socialist Germany with a growing population compressed into too small a space was being strangled by dying plutocracies, the young Axis powers were denied access to the riches and raw materials of the world and condemned to a slow decline ending in national death, England with the help of its obedient servants, was using any available opportunity to throw the continent into uproar and confusion, 170 million people in the Soviet Union were condemned to a wretched existence while Bolshevism was building an army that could fall upon the continent in a time of crisis, with the firm intention of bringing about barbaric national revolutions that would destroy economic, social, cultural, and community life.

These problems must all be resolved by this war, whether we like it or not. We must follow the laws in effect from its beginning. None of us has a way out any longer. We cannot postpone or delay anything. Each individual campaign of the war is necessary on its own. Were we not to fight them today, we would have to do so tomorrow, probably under much less favorable conditions. No one should imagine that Europe's problems would have been solved had Poland given up Danzig and allowed a corridor, or if England and France had accepted the Führer's offer of peace at the end of the Polish campaign. Does anyone believe that England would have gone to sleep or that the Soviet Union would have concluded that it had built its revolutionary army only as a toy? No, war would have returned in a few years, with the difference that the enemy would have learned the military

lessons of the Polish campaign and improved its weapons to a degree that might have been beyond our capacities to handle.

Fate treats us in a hard and pitiless way, but it intends our good. It forces us to make decisions that we might not make if our enemies seemed agreeable, which doubtless would mean a deadly threat later on. The basic problems of our region have become clear, and their solution can no longer be delayed. It is more than a solution to various territorial difficulties; it is a matter of everything. That explains the war's dimensions. There are connections between the various theaters of this war which sooner or later would have led to war, whatever the circumstances. In the midst of all the spiritual and physical burdens of this war, indeed of any war, we cannot forget that. The important question is not when the war will end, but rather how it will end. If we win, all is resolved: raw materials, food supplies, living space, the foundations of the social transformation of our state, and the national independence of the Axis powers. If we lose it, all that and much more will be lost: our whole national life itself.

That national life is exactly what our opponents question. They may differ in their ideas of how the Reich and its allies might be most efficiently and permanently destroyed. One calls for the dissolution of our military and economic unity, another for dividing us into smaller states, a third for birth control and the reduction of our population to 10 million, a fourth for the sterilization of every one of us under the age of sixty. But they all agree on one thing: in the firm resolve that if they once again defeat Germany, we must this time be crushed, destroyed, exterminated and wiped out. This time we cannot expect another Treaty of Versailles that would leave even the slightest chance of national recovery. The more hopeless the military situation looks for the other side, the more bloodthirsty their Old Testament fantasies of revenge become. Their slogans may sound seductive to the ears of the ignorant, but behind their humanitarian hypocritical phrases is a naked desire for destruction. The Axis powers are fighting for their very existence. The troubles and difficulties the war brings us all pale before the inferno that awaits us if we lose.

There is no point in concealing the truth. Clarity is never a cause of weakness, always a cause of strength. If a great national prophet had told the German people in 1917 everything that would happen to them after the capitulation of November 1918, we probably would have won the war instead of losing our breath in the last quarter of an hour. A political genius of the magnitude of Adolf Hitler was necessary to repair the damage done in November 1918 through a 20-year battle. Even then, his efforts often hung by a thread. There will be no second chance. The chance we have today is our greatest. It is also our last. We must every day be clear about that. The soldier must realize that as he goes into battle, the worker as he goes to work, the farmer, when he harvests the nation's daily bread, the engineer, the scientist, the civil servant, the doctor, the artist, wherever they may serve the nation. It must be our prayer every morning and every evening. It must be the motivating force of all we are and do.

We can win, and we will win. It will require a gigantic national effort by the whole people. No one can stand aside, it involves us all. Just as winning the war will benefit us all, losing it will destroy us all. As always at the decisive moments in our history, our people holds its fate in its own hand. We are the blacksmiths of our future, more today than ever before. We must show the other nations the way to end the general European confusion. Can we blame fate for giving us a last hard challenge before the last great triumph? Did anyone believe that our historic mission of reordering the continent would fall into our laps, without much exertion on our part? History gives no gifts, only

opportunities. He who does not reach for and hold them loses everything.

That is how things are, and we must accept them as they are. We know all too well the great sacrifices the war demands from nearly everyone. But are not the sacrifices of the defeated nations much greater than ours, even if they are no longer in the war? Although we are bearing the heaviest burdens of the war, we still have the highest living standard of any European nation. We must accept limitations in every area of life, but nowhere are they unbearable. We must work as never before. The battle for the destiny of our people demands the whole of our devotion, energy and readiness. However difficult it may be, however, one needs only to look around to find someone for whom things are even more difficult. The war is hardly just a matter for soldiers, it is a hard, bitter, and bloody necessity for the entire nation. We did not want this war, despite our constricted and almost hopeless situation back then; it was forced upon us. But now we are at war. The worst is behind us. Now it is the duty of every last man and woman in the country to be filled with a firm and resolute conviction that this war must be fought to a conclusion such that it need not be repeated. We owe that to ourselves and to our posterity.

Let us then work and fight until victory is ours! Do everything that will lead to victory and avoid everything that stands in its way. Do not ask when it will come, but rather do everything to be sure that it will come. The day will come when fate gives our nation and those who fought for it the laurel wreath of victory. Then the deep lines on the face of our people will shine with the blessing of the century.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called Das Reich in 1940. This essay is dated 16 November 1941. All Jews in Germany had recently been required to wear the yellow star in public. The source: "Die Juden sind schuld!" Das eherne Herz (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 85-91.

## **The Jews are Guilty!**

by Joseph Goebbels

The historic responsibility of world Jewry for the outbreak and widening of this war has been proven so clearly that it does not need to be talked about any further. The Jews wanted war, and now they have it. But the Führers prophecy of 30 January 1939 to the German Reichstag is also being fulfilled: If international finance Jewry should succeed in plunging the world into war once again, the result will be not the Bolshevization of the world and thereby the victory of the Jews, but rather the destruction of the Jewish race in Europe.

We are seeing the fulfillment of the prophecy. The Jews are receiving a penalty that is certainly hard, but more than deserved. World Jewry erred in adding up the forces available to it for this war, and now is gradually experiencing the destruction that it planned for us, and would have carried out without a second thought if it had possessed the ability. It is perishing according its own law: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

Every Jew is our enemy in this historic struggle, regardless of whether he vegetates in a Polish ghetto or carries on his parasitic existence in Berlin or Hamburg or blows the trumpets of war in New York or Washington. All Jews by virtue of their birth and their race are part of an international conspiracy against National Socialist Germany. They want its defeat and annihilation, and do all in their power to bring it about. That they can do nothing inside the Reich is hardly a sign of their loyalty, but rather of the appropriate measures we took against them.

One of these measures is the institution of the yellow star that each Jew must wear. We wanted to make them visible as Jews, particularly if they made even the least attempt to harm the German community. It is a remarkably humane measure on our part, a hygienic and prophylactic measure to be sure that the Jew cannot infiltrate our ranks unseen to sow discord.

As the Jews first appeared several weeks ago on the streets of Berlin graced with their Jewish star, the initial reaction of the citizens of the Reich capital was surprise. Only a few knew that there were still so many Jews in Berlin. Everyone suddenly found someone in the neighborhood who seemed like a harmless fellow citizen, who perhaps complained or criticized a bit more than normal, and whom no one had thought to be a Jew. He had concealed himself, mimicked his surroundings, adopting the color of the background, adjusted to the environment, in order to wait for the proper moment. Who among us had any idea that the enemy was beside him, that a silent or clever auditor was attending to conversations on the street, in the subway, or in the lines outside cigarette shops? There are Jews one cannot recognize by external signs. These are the most dangerous. It always happens that when we take some measure against the Jews, English or American newspapers report it the next day. Even today the Jews still have secret connections to our enemies abroad and use these not only in their own cause, but in all military matters of the Reich as well. The enemy is in our midst. What makes more sense than to at least make this plainly visible to our citizens?

In the first days after the introduction of the Jewish star, newspaper sales in Berlin went through the roof. Each Jew on the street bought a newspaper to conceal his mark of Cain. As this was banned, one began to see Jews on the streets of the west side of Berlin in the company of Gentile foreigners. These Jewish lackeys actually should wear the Jewish star themselves. The excuse they give for their provocative conduct is always the same: the Jews are after all human beings too. We never denied that, just as we never denied the humanity of murders, child rapists, thieves and pimps, though we never felt the need to parade down the Kurfürstendamm with them! Every Jew is a decent Jew who has found a dumb and ignorant goy who thinks him decent! As if that were a reason to give Jews a kind of honorable escort. What nonsense.

The Jews gradually are having to depend more and more on themselves, and have recently found a new trick. They knew the good-natured German Michael in us, always ready to shed sentimental tears for the injustice done to them. One suddenly has the impression that the Berlin Jewish population consists only of little babies whose childish helplessness might move us, or else fragile old ladies. The Jews send out the pitiable. They may confuse some harmless souls for a while, but not us. We know exactly what the situation is.

For their sake alone we must win the war. If we lose it, these harmless-looking Jewish chaps would suddenly become raging wolves. They would attack our women and children to carry out revenge. There are enough examples in history. That is what they did in Bessarabia and the Baltic states when Bolshevism marched in, even though neither the people nor their governments had done anything to them. There is no turning back in our battle against the Jews — even if we wanted to, which we do not. The Jews must be removed from the German community, for they endanger our national unity.

That is an elementary principle of racial, national, and social hygiene. They will never give us rest. If they could, they would drive one nation after another into war against us. Who cares about their difficulties, they who only want to force the world to accept their bloody financial domination? The Jews are a parasitic race that feeds like a foul fungus on the cultures of healthy but ignorant peoples. There is only one effective measure: cut them out.

How stupid and thoughtless are the arguments of the backward friends of the Jews in the face of a problem that has occupied mankind for millennia! How they would gape if they could ever see their dear Jews in power! But that would be too late. That is why it is the duty of a national leadership to take all necessary measures to keep such a thing from happening. There are differences between people just as there are differences between animals. Some people are good, others bad. The same is true of animals. The fact that the Jew still lives among us is no proof that he belongs among us, just as a flea is not a household pet simply because it lives in a house. When Mr. Bramsig or Mrs. Knöterich feel pity for an old woman wearing the Jewish star, they should also remember that a distant nephew of this old woman by the name of Nathan Kaufmann sits in New York and has prepared a plan by which all Germans under the age of 60 will be sterilized. They should recall that a son of her distant uncle is a warmonger named Baruch or Morgenthau or Untermayer who stands behind Mr. Roosevelt, driving him to war, and that if they succeed, a fine but ignorant U.S. soldier may one day shoot dead the only son of Mr. Bramsig or Mrs. Knöterich. It will all be for the benefit of Jewry, to which this old woman also belongs, no matter how fragile and pitiable she may seem.

If we Germans have a fateful flaw in our national character, it is forgetfulness. This failing speaks well of our human decency and generosity, but not always for our political wisdom or intelligence.

We think everyone else as is good natured as we are. The French threatened to dismember the Reich during the winter of 1939/40, saying that we and our families would have to stand in lines before their field kitchens to get something warm to eat. Our army defeated France in six weeks, after which we saw German soldiers giving bread and sausages to hungry French women and children, and gasoline to refugees from Paris to enable them to return home as soon as possible, there to spread at least some of their hatred against the Reich.

That's how we Germans are. Our national virtue is our national weakness. We do not want to change all that much, and as long as our world-famed good nature does no great harm, why should we? Klopstock gave us some good advice, however: don't be too good natured, since our enemies are not noble enough to overlook our mistakes.

If this advice applies anywhere, it applies to our relations with the Jews. Carelessness here is not only a weakness, it is disregard of duty and a crime against the security of the state. The Jews long for one thing: to reward our foolishness with bloodshed and terror. It must never come to that. One of the most effective defenses is an unforgiving, cold hardness against the destroyers of our people, against the instigators of the war, against those who would benefit if we lose, and therefore also against the victims, if we win.

Therefore, we must say again and yet again:

1. The Jews are our destruction. They started this war and direct it. They want to destroy the German Reich and our people. This plan must be blocked.
2. There are no distinctions between Jews. Each Jew is a sworn enemy of the German people. If he does not make his hostility plain, it is only from cowardice and slyness, not because he loves us.
3. The Jews are to blame for each German soldier who falls in this war. They have him on their conscience, and must also pay for it.
4. If someone wears the Jewish star, he is an enemy of the people. Anyone who deals with him is the same as a Jew and must be treated accordingly. He earns the contempt of the entire people, for he is a craven coward who leaves them in the lurch to stand by the enemy.
5. The Jews enjoy the protection of our enemies. That is all the proof we need to show how harmful they are for our people.
6. The Jews are the enemy's agents among us. He who stands by them aids the enemy.
7. The Jews have no right to claim equality with us. If they wish to speak on the streets, in lines outside shops or in public transportation, they should be ignored, not only because they are simply wrong, but because they are Jews who have no right to a voice in the community.
8. If the Jews appeal to your sentimentality, realize that they are hoping for your forgetfulness, and let them know that you see through them and hold them in contempt.
9. A decent enemy will deserve our generosity after we have won. The Jew however is not a decent

enemy, though he tries to seem so.

10. The Jews are responsible for the war. The treatment they receive from us is hardly unjust. They have deserved it all.

It is the job of the government to deal with them. No one has the right to act on his own, but each has the duty to support the state's measures against the Jews, to defend them with others, and to avoid being misled by any Jewish tricks.

The security of the state requires that of us all.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called Das Reich in 1940. This essay is dated 23 November 1941.

The source: "Der tönende Koloß," Das eherne Herz (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 92-98.

## **The Pompous Giant**

by Joseph Goebbels

The British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, as is well known, is a close friend of alcohol. His relations to the truth are a bit more strained. He has been on a war footing ever since his entry into political life. He is one of the world's best known liars. Not only do those in neutral and enemy nations smile when he says something, even knowledgeable circles in England cannot repress a grin. Everyone knows how he adds or subtracts, for example. At the moment he divides figures that are unfavorable for England by three, and multiplies the favorable ones by the same figure.

The multiplier or divisor varies according to the war situation. When Mr. Churchill was recently forced to give an account of the Battle of the Atlantic to the House of Commons, he announced that 750,000 BRT had been sunk in the preceding four months. The real figure was 2 million. Granted, he can claim to be less than a liar than Stalin. The latter recently said that 378,000 Soviet soldiers were missing, while we happen to have 3,600,000 Bolshevist prisoners. He uses a divisor of ten.

It is clear that the enemy does not hesitate to tell the most outrageous lies, even when we possess irrefutable and persuasive numerical evidence. They clearly are not trying to impress us with their figures any longer. The sole goal is a more or less short-term impact on world opinion. They no longer have the courage to tell the whole truth, since they begin to realize that it could be a shock to domestic public opinion that could not be controlled. They conceal the facts without particularly worrying about us. That's how things are at the moment in the Moscow-London-Washington coalition.

Questions are increasingly being asked in England as to how, given the current situation, England has any chance at all of winning. Mr. Churchill did indeed claim with practiced emotion during his last speech that if Japan and the United States began warfare, a British declaration of war would follow within the hour. Everyone knows that that is a bluff. How can an England that daily sends desperate pleas to the U.S. provide any support? Great Britain's current situation is so hopeless that only a miracle can save it. Mr. Churchill's prophecies have not been fulfilled. The Soviet Union has not done what was expected of it. The Battle of the Atlantic continues with consequences that in the long run can only be fatal for England. The threat of a blockade of the Axis powers has failed. Roosevelt is running into war with seven league boots, but he may not make it, and even if he does, how would America's entry change England's precarious situation?

The English government clearly must maintain face even in its present desperate situation. One cannot determine the dramatic change in England's changes by comparing yesterday to today, but if one looks back to the end of June it becomes clear that England's chances are nil. We will not even mention the alleged plan to invade the continent as a way of taking pressure from the Soviets, even if London was speaking about it four months ago as if it were practically a given. It has been removed from consideration on the other side of the Channel, and by the same Prime Minister who not too long ago was encouraging his paid journalists to promote it.

When the Führer spoke with biting irony of this empty prattle in his recent Munich speech, the English press hurriedly sought to avoid the matter, explaining that the Führer's speech really did not say anything new and therefore did not deserve a detailed response. In the previous 24 hours, however, the British air force lost 60 valuable aircraft and 250 crewmen in flights over the Reich or our occupied territories. During the same period we had seven civilian deaths and no significant damage. The human casualties thus stand in a relationship of 1:36. The material losses are hardly comparable. Mr. Churchill blamed the enormous losses by the Royal Air Force on the weather, which his news service claimed was the worst in 98 years. It seems the British have been keeping exact records of weather conditions in Germany for the last 98 years — one must be orderly, after all. He also raised the number of participating aircraft over a period of 72 hours from 150 to 2,000, to lower the loss percentages. But the American press reported the next day that the Royal Air Force lost nearly half of the aircraft involved in the mission.

Do what one will, England has nothing left but a bitter aftertaste. They have miscalculated in every regard. There is no revolution in Germany or the occupied regions. The blockade has been rendered useless by Germany's counter-blockade. The current situation rules out a return to the continent. The so-called "Non-Stop Offensive" has not come anywhere close to living up to its promise. We no longer fear assistance from the U.S.A. Despite all the prayers of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bolshevik offensive has failed. London's numerous psychological attempts to break Axis unity were condemned to failure from the beginning. British attempts to break German morale have failed. Once more: How is it possible for England to win at all, or even better put, how is it possible for it to avoid losing?

We are not among those who fantasize about a collapse of the British Empire in the next day or two. All good things take time and that which has been built up over centuries will not collapse in a few months. We see things realistically, and know that it takes more blows before the pompous colossus begins to crumble. But that is not really important. What is important is that fact that England no longer has a chance to win, and is in fact already on the road to defeat.

No one can say exactly when that will happen. We are not waging war with a stopwatch. Mr. Churchill makes childish claims every day over his propaganda service that if we have not won the war by a certain point, we will lose it. It is true that the British and American armaments industries are producing at full capacity, but does Mr. Churchill believe that our factories and those of our allies are idle? We hardly believe that time is working in England's favor. We know exactly what England can and cannot do. We also know what we cannot do, and above all what we can do. We also have firm figures that give us a reliable grasp of our armaments capacities and those of the enemy. Mr. Churchill may be able to fool his satellites with his figures, but we will never be in any doubt as to which multiplier or divisor we need to apply to his numbers.

Incidentally, both the recent and distant past provide ample evidence that one must distinguish between England's claims and the facts. What they announce or threaten usually proves empty. Their boasting as a result has no effect on us. They hardly cause us the fright Mr. Churchill seems to expect, but rather give only the occasion to smile. London cannot fool us. We know what a desperate situation the British Empire is in just as well as Mr. Churchill — perhaps even better than he.

The only remaining question is why he stubbornly and insistently holds to a position that is so

harmful for England. In recent weeks there have been rumors of German peace-feelers. The wish is the father of the thought. He has to give his people something to strengthen their resolve. When he bombastically announces that he will never accept a German peace offer — an offer that we have not made and will never make — it is only grasping at straws as a way of dealing with his inferiority complex. We do not consider him a person with a political conscience. He has no scruples at all and his hide is as thick as that of a hippopotamus. He is wholly indifferent to the vast misery into which he has plunged the nations he has seduced. He is also incapable of historical thinking, as his speeches regularly prove. He who joins forces with Bolshevism to lay waste to Europe is a man without character who is hostile to Europe.

He really is not interested in such things. He evaluates everything only as to how it affects his valued self. He prepared this war and incited it. In the fullest sense of the word, it is his war. If England loses the war his position will also collapse, and perhaps more fully than he is able to realize today. That may be why he has made repeated attempts recently to place the responsibility for the war elsewhere. In his more lucid moments he probably sees his approaching fate but does not want to admit it. He fights desperately, hoping for a miracle.

He will wait in vain. History also has its laws. They can sometimes be slowed down, but never stopped. Fate follows its prescribed course. It will not stop at England's door. We do not know when the hour will come. Rather than asking when, we should work and fight for it so that it will find us a nation in readiness.

Background: This essay is dated 30 November 1941. The United States was not yet in the war, but the National Socialist Government had been preparing their public for American involvement since spring 1940.

The map Goebbels discusses was, in fact, forged by the British.

The source: "Kreuzverhör mit Mr. Roosevelt," *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 99-104.

### **Mr. Roosevelt Cross-Examined**

by Joseph Goebbels

On 28 October, more than a month ago, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave a radio speech that apparently had as its goal plunging the American people into uncertainty and panic, thus to prepare gradually for the fateful intervention which the American president desires, regardless of American public opinion. The speech differed from all of his previous speeches in that Roosevelt did not limit himself to the almost traditional and unconscionable and slanderous attacks on the Führer and National Socialist Germany. This time he made concrete accusations against the policies of the Reich, which he attempted to prove through compromising documents he allegedly possessed.

Mr. Roosevelt claimed that he had proof in his hands that the Axis powers were planning to reorganize South and Central America. They were planning to transform the existing fourteen countries into five states that would be under their control. His proof was a secret map allegedly produced by the Reich government. The American government also claims to possess another Reich document. According to it, the Reich government plans to abolish the existing religions of the world once it has won the war — Catholicism, Protestantism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Judaism. They are to be replaced by an international National Socialist church, the cross by the swastika, and God by the Führer. That is what he claims.

It is clear to us that Mr. Roosevelt needed this grand swindle to whip up American public opinion. He needed the heaviest possible ammunition, since the American people are at the moment more intelligent than their government and want absolutely nothing to do with the war in Europe. We really are not all that interested in Mr. Roosevelt's opinion of the intelligence of his people nor in what he thinks them capable of believing, and normally would see no need to reply to his bald-faced and outrageous lies which so clearly bear the signs of fabrication. In this case, however, it is a matter of a political falsification which seems to us to have a clear and ominous purpose, and gave us such an easy chance to show up the liars to the entire world that we could hardly let the opportunity pass. We had to overcome our moral scruples, however, to confront the liar and ask him where he got these alleged documents from, where they can be found, and if he was ready to show them to the public.

Things went as we expected. Mr. Roosevelt, the president of a nation of 130 million, dodged our questions. He claimed the authenticity of the documents was unassailable; he had them. They could not be published, however, since they were secret and publishing them would reveal the source. And the map in question that carved up Central and South America had markings in pencil that could compromise the source that provided them. He, Roosevelt, did not want to cause any difficulties for the poor chap who passed them along.

Would that we had such a president! He is a well-meaning soul who cares for his scoundrels. Given his speeches and actions, he would not hesitate to send hundreds of thousands of soldiers to the



battlefield, even perhaps sacrificing them in service to his crazy plans of conquest, but the thought of causing a fine and honorable traitor any trouble breaks his heart. As one can imagine, Roosevelt's answer was not very convincing proof of his hair-raising allegations either at home or abroad. Our tough questions bore fruit. We used the press and radio to propose to the American president that he might publish the incriminating map of Central and South America, perhaps either erasing the ominous pencil markings or covering them up with paper, or to at least publish the text of our notorious plan to begin a campaign against all the world's religions once the war was over, from Jehovah to Confucius to Christ.

Mr. Roosevelt sank into silence, saying nothing at all. Only one of his creatures, the former Argentinean bordello-owner and pimp Taborda, who happened to be visiting him at the time, said that he had been able to sneak a look at the map, and that all was as Mr. Roosevelt had said. More he could not say, since he had given his word of honor.

One can understand our reluctance to consider the word of honor of so dubious an underworld figure as absolutely convincing. We looked further, and since we could learn nothing more given the stubborn silence of the accuser, we attempted to lure him into a response by massive attacks. Alas, the normally talkative gentleman seemed to have forgotten how to speak. Even the attempts of the American press to learn something more as he visited one of the famous skyscrapers were in vain.

The Reich government published two formal denials on 1 November, which boxed Roosevelt's ears so strongly that he had to choose between revealing his documents or proving himself a forger and liar to the entire world. He chose the latter. The U.S. press gave headline treatment to the German denials and asked for a response. Mr. Roosevelt accepted the blows, rubbed his cheeks, and said nothing. We made every conceivable suggestion to ease the publication of the documents, but the U.S. president preferred to be thought a liar and forger than to prove his absurd accusations.

That's the way things are. We do not flatter ourselves by believing that we have some way to force Mr. Roosevelt to speak. He apparently has every reason to hope the matter will be forgotten. When he made his charges, one could perhaps generously grant that he believed them. It was at least possible that he had been the victim of some sort of swindle and had believed in the documents' authenticity. That is no longer possible, for if he had been acting honestly he would have provided the evidence supporting his accusations. He has not done so. That is sufficient proof that he was not the victim of a forgery, but rather that he himself was directly or indirectly involved. This is a matter of war and peace, and the American public has every right to examine its president and his actions, to ask him about these documents, why Mr. Roosevelt has not published them, whether he still stands by his speech of 28 October, and what he plans to do to restore the damage done to his reputation by the two German denials that accuse him of forgery.

One always feels the need to wash one's hands after being forced to deal with the methods of U.S. interventionism. It is so unpleasant and filthy that one shudders. When one hears the pious nonsense of the Jewish-led world plutocracy over the radio or reads it in the press, one need only to look behind the scenes to feel pity for the miseries of mankind. That such a man has the impudence to judge us, to call on God and the world as witnesses of the purity of his deeds, to incite war and send innocent people singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" to battle for his filthy financial interests can only fill anyone with even the most primitive sense of decency with the deepest horror. Were there only such people in the world, one would have to despise humanity.

Mr. Roosevelt is Churchill's accomplice, but apparently reckons that in the case of England's defeat a respectable portion of Britain's possessions will be left over. Thus he rushes to war despite the opposition of public opinion in a manner incomprehensible to those not familiar with democratic countries. Whatever policy he may follow, he is no longer able to change England's fate in this war. If Mr. Roosevelt does not want to accept our argument, he might at least consider that we are unlikely to attack the American continent because it simply is not feasible. This must be clear to him, since it is equally infeasible for the Americans to attack us. As far as American armaments go, they are first not up to the quality of those in Europe, much less better. Second, the American material must cross the insecure Atlantic to reach England. We, on the other hand, can receive everything that we ourselves do not produce over secure rail lines from every nation of Europe.

Even in America the trees do not reach the heavens. We can tell which of our enemy's threats are serious and which are bluffs. We do not underestimate the United States, but neither do we overestimate it. If Mr. Roosevelt succeeds in provoking war, he will find its reality considerably less pleasant than his fantasies. We will follow his continuing machinations with stoic calm. Here, too, the food is hotter on the stove than on the plate.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. This essay is dated 21 December 1941. Goebbels discusses the significance of the U.S. entrance into the war.

The source: "Verändertes Weltbild," *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 124-130.

## **A Different World**

by Joseph Goebbels

It is astonishing, hardly believable, how the state of the world can change entirely within a short time. Modern war speaks its own language, and ideas and principles that twenty years ago were standard military theory and practice are now entirely outdated and antiquated. If one compares the world situation of Sunday, 7 December, the day when Japan gave President Roosevelt the appropriate answer to his impudent provocations and shameless affronts, with today, one will without doubt conclude that the position of the Axis powers has improved in a way that even a few days before military and political experts would have thought highly improbable.

All the confident predictions of the U.S.A. and England have collapsed. Those in Washington apparently thought the patience and untiring persistence of Japanese negotiators were signs of weakness. They were so surprised by the sudden attacking spirit of the Japanese army that they as yet have found no plausible explanation for what happened. The national enthusiasm, patriotic passion, and devotion of a military people have once again won a great triumph, while the liberal-democratic jugglers find themselves amidst the ruins of many of their vague hopes and dreams.

These developments have not surprised us. We have never considered Japan, its army, its people and its leaders any less than they are today. Japan suffers from the same unsolved problems as we and Italy. It has no room for its growing population. The land suffers from a growing shortage of raw materials and economic prospects. Its plans for a new order in the Far East are forced on it by nature and its geographical and territorial situation. Unless it wishes to give up all claims to being a great power, it must follow the laws fate ordains.

Clearly, Mr. Roosevelt and his plutocratic clique have never understood this, and probably never will. They see the national aspirations of Japan in the same way as a greedy capitalist, who would prefer to burn down his factory rather than give the workers what they need to maintain a basic existence — that which is absolutely necessary if they are even to maintain life. Giving them what they need would be no great sacrifice for the owner, but he stays firm out of principle. In relations between great powers there comes a time in which negotiations are making no progress, and one must turn to arms.

It is characteristic of the world-famed stubborn arrogance of the Anglo-Saxon warmongers and arsonist clique that they entirely underestimated Japan's military capacities and possibilities, for which they have had to pay shockingly heavy price. In London and Washington they presumably are rethinking the hopes they had even two weeks ago about America's entry into the war. In any event, one senses considerable disappointment in Mr. Roosevelt's and Mr. Churchill's public statements, and the criticism of their remarkably foolish behavior that has found its way past the dictatorship of a diligent censor shows that this disappointment is also shared by public opinion.

We certainly do not underestimate the possibilities remaining for England and the United States. We

have frequently said that colossuses of the size of these two world powers do not fall in days, weeks, or even months. We have to assume a hard and pitiless fight stands before us in which there will be ups and downs, and that even we will not be able to avoid some occasional setbacks. That is not decisive. What is decisive is the fact that the chances of the Axis are far better, and that their leaders will not hesitate to take advantage of that fact.

One cannot ignore the military potential at their disposal. However, a comparison with the third year of the World War is entirely false here. We held firm then for four years, and lost only because of weak leadership. But Germany entered the war in 1939 far better prepared than it was in 1914. The difficulty then was to defeat France, Britain's traditional continental ally. That we have already done. The Balkans are no threat any longer. The Soviet Union has lost its offensive capacity and is no longer a decisive factor in the war. Italy and Japan, two world powers that opposed us in the World War, now are fighting on our side. That counts twice for us, not to mention the countless spiritual and moral imponderables that favor us. Altogether, the present balance of forces is wholly different than it was during the World War.

We hardly find it necessary today to rely on a belief in our national invincibility to predict that victory is certain and inevitable. The facts lead to that conclusion. They speak unanimously for us. Our figures are accurate, and if the other side proposes different figures they depend on bad bookkeeping.

The neutral nations agree more and more. The increasing difficulties of civilian life, unavoidable given the duration of the war, will not have much influence on the war's outcome. They are about the same on both sides. If a longer than normal winter means that potatoes come to market later than usual, it hardly means that they grow any faster in England because it is governed by plutocrats instead of National Socialists. If there are transportation difficulties in fall and winter that affect big cities and industrial areas, things are no different for the enemy. People stand in lines in England outside tobacco stores just as they do here. The fact that certain goods and luxuries are available in shops there is only a matter of their high price, which keeps the masses from purchasing them, not the upper classes. This gives the appearance of prosperity, but not its reality.

The thing to keep in mind is that we do not consider these factors important to our chances of victory, while England has built its hopes on them. We sometimes make the mistake of seeing the difficulties in civilian life only here, assuming that the other side is living just as it did during peacetime.

That is hardly the case. The fact that England is an island is a disadvantage, not an advantage, given the nature of war today. From a military standpoint it would be difficult for us to invade Great Britain, but it would be at least as difficult, and probably more so, for England to invade Europe. We have the advantage of secure rail lines. England must bring in by ship everything that it cannot itself produce. Its fleet is in greater danger today than ever before, as was recently proven by its defeats in the Pacific. England will find it almost impossible to attack us. Its attacks on the periphery, even if they succeed, will not have a significant impact on the general situation. The British Isles are a prisoner of their own insularity. The war will end when London understands that. Until that happens Great Britain will have to suffer recurring blows before at last the fatal one is struck.

Japan has shown once again the enormous power in a people's national dynamics. One is deeply moved by the accounts of the heroic deeds of Japan's death-defying naval airmen. Japan knows that,

like Germany and Italy, it is fighting for its future, for its very life. The alliance of these three great powers that despite their millennia of history retain youthful vitality is natural, the result of the inescapable power of a bitter historical logic. They see in this war their best chance at national existence. Their leadership and their peoples know what is at stake. It is true that they were forced into this war, but they are fighting it offensively, not defensively. Their young men at the front burn with passion to solve the life problems of their nations with weapons. Never before have they had such an opportunity to test their courage, their strength, their manly readiness. They see themselves affronted and insulted by plutocracy's leaders in a way that rules out any possibility of surrender. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt still have no idea what they have gotten themselves into. They may have envisioned a pleasant war in which they would stroll to Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo, supported by the people of countries who had been seduced by their leaders. They overlooked the fact that these governments are only saying and doing what their people want, even insist on or demand.

There is no greater mistake than to assume a gap between these governments and their people. The World War was only an intimation of coming things for the oppressed nations, regardless of which side they were on. This war is fought by people who know what they are doing. It is not only a gigantic fight for their national honor or prestige, but also a struggle for the absolute basic essentials of life, for space, work, food, and life itself. It is a fight to end the eternal crises, for a radical solution to the growing problems of their nations, which cannot be mastered any longer within their own borders. The Axis powers have been forced to defend themselves. They will do so with no sentimental looking back. They are risking everything. They will not be stopped by humanitarian phrases. Democratic tricks will not work here; fighting is the only way.

A world determined by such factors is ever changing, as the events of the past two weeks demonstrate. It demands the highest degree of alertness and readiness. Leadership and people must always be on watch, ready to take advantage of any opportunity. The day will come when the enemy begins to crumble. No one can predict when that will be, but we all know that it will come.

Background: This article appeared in late December 1941 when the situation on the Eastern Front was dire. The German offensive had stopped and the Russians, better equipped for winter warfare, were striking back with fury. This article was also sent to the NSDAP speaker corps with instructions to use its arguments in encouraging the home front.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Was ist ein Opfer?" Das eherne Herz (Munich: Eher Verlag, 1943), pp. 145- 151. The article originally appeared in Das Reich, 28 December 1941.

## **What is Sacrifice?**

by Joseph Goebbels

Words sometimes lose their real meaning during times of great emotions and feeling — war is such a time — and language has the danger of losing its force and power. The longer such emotions and feelings last, the more people incline to adjust their everyday life, and phrases that once set the world in motion become today's slang. Although we work hard to separate the things of everyday life from questions of our national fate so that they keep their meaning, one can here and there observe that certain concepts lose their meaning through too frequent use. When we then really need to express something, we have no appropriate way of saying it any longer.

Soldiers speak differently than civilians. Aside from technical military words and phrases, one gets used to talking in a different way at the front. That is because the situation at the front is entirely different and they live under entirely different conditions than the homeland. When the homeland speaks to the front or the front to the homeland, they must use a different language than they are used to. There must be words that are reserved almost exclusively for the front, or at least for things that have directly to do with the front or war events. One such word is sacrifice.

The soldier who has been in the field since 1939 makes a sacrifice. He has marched through Polish dust and French sunlight, in the Southeast along muddy roads and then in the East, where he has risked his life for the future of his people in six months of barbaric battle. Today he stands unshaken along a 2000 kilometer front stretching from the White Sea to the Black Sea, in snow and ice, frost and cold, sometimes without food, sometimes without munitions, fully cut off for a half a year from the press, radio, film, theatre, and any kind of culture. He waits weeks for mail, has no roof over his head, no bed on which he can sleep, surrounded by desolate reaches, facing the enemy, subordinating his own wishes and needs to the whole. He makes a sacrifice.

The same cannot be said of a people's comrade who must wait half an hour for a streetcar because of transportation cutbacks caused by the war and gets home at 7:30 p.m. instead of 7 p.m., where he shares a modest evening meal with his wife and children. Then he reads the newspaper or turns on the radio, for which he need only turn the knob to find, if not dozens, perhaps several or at least one station. If he is weary he goes to bed. If his work is particularly hard he can at least sleep in on Sunday. If he has half an hour or an hour to spare, he can even buy a ticket for the movies or the theatre and on Saturday or Sunday see a film or an opera.

Either we do not call what the civilian does a sacrifice or we need to find a new word for the soldier. In any event, we refuse to use the same word for both. Aside from the areas endangered by the air war, the homeland has at most restrictions or more or less unpleasant shortages. The front, however, makes sacrifices.

The individual may never make the mistake of overestimating his own importance to the war effort. It is wholly uncalled for to make the state or the government or the party responsible for whatever discomforts it brings. There are some who believe that because they pay taxes, they have a right to everything they want without themselves having to do anything. The war we are waging today is not a war of the government, the Wehrmacht, or the party. It is a war of the entire people. Just as the entire people, without exception, will enjoy the fruits of this war, so also must the whole people, without exception, share in its burdens. One may not think that while some fight and risk their lives others have the right to play at peace.

Obviously no one will arbitrarily be given a burden heavier than he can bear. But if there is a shortage of tobacco at home so that at least our soldiers can smoke, no one will complain even if he has to stand in line an hour to buy a few cigarettes. Certainly it is hard for a mother to let her son go to the field. But what should a woman say who lost her husband and four sons in the World War, and now has lost her fifth and last son in the battles in the East? It is no pleasure to sit three hours at night in an air raid shelter and have to get up weary and tired two hours later to go to work. Still, we know a mother who lost both of her children in a bombing attack and received news a few days later than her husband had fallen in the East. She brings a sacrifice, a hard and terrible sacrifice, but one that must and can be borne.

Certain people who have hardly been touched by the war have gotten accustomed to take their small, often trivial, daily troubles as all too important. There are those among us who, when their barber is drafted and they have to find a new hair stylist, would like to put on mourning clothing. They complain excitedly for hours because during the Christmas season the railroad is transporting potatoes, coal, and vegetables for the homeland and weapons, munitions, woolen clothing, and food for the front, and therefore has no room for pleasure trips to Oberhof or Garmisch. They act as if the war had nothing to do with them, as if they had the right to be sheltered from it, as if soldiers are there to win it for them so that they can later benefit from victory. There cannot be spoiled young girls who spend the day doing nothing while a nurse in a Berlin hospital works hard from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. and then has to care for her household and three children until 1 a.m.

She would have reason to complain or be unhappy, but she is not. She does her duty with constant friendliness, gentleness, and helpfulness. She is overjoyed when, after a year of hard work, she is given a ticket to the movies for Christmas and does not complain in the least when, dressed for the movies, she receives the order to get ready for a major operation. A young woman loses her husband, a pilot in Spain. After overcoming her pain at that loss, she marries a second pilot and loses him in this war after a brief marriage. She then writes a letter that brings tears of emotion and pride, and one feels with his whole heart respect and admiration for the calm, spiritual heroism of a German woman.

When our troops marched into Poland in September 1939 they found 60,000 murdered ethnic Germans. Thousands lost their parents and all their siblings. Hundreds of parents had their children shot or strangled before their eyes. An old mother had to watch while the eyes of her only son were poked out. Her husband was kidnapped and never returned. The survivors are alive today. They keep their sorrows to themselves; they have been carried away by the stream of events. Sometimes one receives a letter from such a person who, with a thousand apologies, asks for a book or a picture of the Führer, or even so much as a small radio — but if our soldiers need it more, then one should consider the letter to be unwritten. A reply is not necessary, but if there is time return postage is included, and hopefully the Führer is well and nothing has happened to him, and one believes in his

victory and builds mountains on that faith.

Does someone complain because during an evening bombing raid the Deutschlandsender ceases broadcasting and he needs to work hard to find another German station? Does someone leave a bookstore in a huff because he cannot invest his extra money in books, or who grumpily reads his newspaper that must limit itself to four pages because of the paper shortage, who mutters because the subway or streetcar is packed full, because Christmas is no fun any more because there are no candles for the Christmas tree, who does not enjoy the New Year because there are no red noses and paper hats to be had?

There is a hospital in Berlin with more than a hundred blinded by the war, mostly young men between 18 and 24. We gave each a radio for his room, and they were all happy as children. As soon as they were halfway back on their feet they began to live again. They began to retrain, to prepare for a new job. One lost his whole left arm and half the fingers on his right hand along with his eyesight. With this stump of a hand he learned to type. Everyone first said that was impossible, but he did it with iron determination. You are mistaken if you believe misery and despair are at home in that hospital. Nowhere in Germany is there so much confidence in the Führer, nowhere are our OKW reports anticipated so eagerly, nowhere are their fewer complaints or better attitudes.

Is it asking too much if i insist that we all use the word sacrifice with more care and piety? What should one say! It is no sacrifice if one donates twenty pfennig to the Winter Relief if at the same time it is a sacrifice when one loses his eyesight for the fatherland. We have no reason to dramatize our burdens, but rather have every reason to bear them with pride and dignity, having respect and honor for those who make real sacrifices for the nation. The war is a community task of the front and homeland, but they are not equal. The homeland can only do its duty to the front through a higher consciousness and of duty and a constant willingness to do one's duty. The restrictions we accept are necessary and can be accepted. If anyone has the right to complain more than the others, also in making sacrifices, it is only the soldier. But he does not do that because he is a soldier.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. This essay is dated 4 January 1942. Goebbels discusses the prospects for the new year.

The source: "Das neue Jahr," *Das eiserne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 162-168.

## **The New Year** by Joseph Goebbels

Countless people in the enemy camp will nervously ask themselves what this new year 1942 will bring for them and their people. Will it be stagnation, setbacks or defeat? The year 1941 took some detours, and turned out entirely differently than our enemies had hoped. One or another may have the nagging doubt as the new year gives occasion add up the state of affairs, to wonder what catastrophes may be coming, or what heavy blows from which they will never recover.

By us to one looks to the past and the future, though under considerably more favorable conditions than the enemy. We are fighting for a just and clear cause. All the omens for victory are on our side. The peoples on our side are young and healthy and their leadership is determined, whatever the cost, to bring the great struggle for the existence of their nations to a successful conclusion.

We are clear about what awaits us in the coming year, and what we have to do; clarity is always the first step to victory. We know that we are fighting for our national, and in most cases our personal, existence. We do not deceive ourselves, or base our hopes on false illusions. We know what exertions victory requires, and we are ready to accept them. The German people live in a difficult political climate in this third year of the war. That is good. None of us is living under an illusion. The tougher the climate, the greater our determination to overcome the difficulties. Experience shows that peoples facing great challenges do not lose strength, but only gain strength. We Germans would not be where we are today if everything had been easy for us. What we are and have is the result of our own efforts. Rarely in history has something been given to us, or fallen unasked for into our laps. Are we a weaker or less valuable people than those who seem to have good luck more on their side than we do? In this great struggle to we are fighting for our lives. The only ones surprised are those who thought war was a kind of sensational entertainment. The strong hearts and mature minds among us expected just what has happened, nothing else.

It is clear that the third year of the war brings problems that we never even thought of during more normal times. It demands a vast transformation of our economy that increasingly forces the needs of civilian life into the background. That is naturally more evident in the war's third winter than it was in its first. The war is going full force. It is no different with our enemies. The home front shares its fate with that of our soldiers, though they have encountered war in its harshest form since September 1939. The longer the war lasts, the more the home front will share the feelings and experiences of the front. That is no cause for complaint, but rather in the interests of the front is to be welcomed.

We have always maintained that the best way to lead people is to freely and confidently discuss the problems that concern us all. That naturally does not mean public discussion of military and political secrets, which democracies often do to their own harm. There are still a large number of questions that no one can deny, since they affect each individual in one way or another. These are mostly the problems of everyday life that confront us all, They are mostly the result of the war, and affect the enemy as much as us. Insofar as they can be solved at all during the war, it is through common effort

and mutual aid. To lay them before the people and discuss them is not a sign of weakness, but rather a sign of strength and confidence. No one, for example, expects the railroad to schedule trains for vacationers when there are potatoes, coal, vegetables, munitions and weapons to move. Few are distressed with Christmas candles are available in limited numbers, since these are badly needed on the Eastern Front. One not only may, one must explain such things. Our people certainly understand this, since it is after all their fathers and sons at the front, and all the privations of the homeland are to their benefit.

Finally, most problems are solvable only with the help of the people. The people join in more readily when they know what is happening and why.

The gentlemen in England practically make a profession out of concluding that we are weak because we openly discuss the difficulties of the war. We will refrain from pointing out their own difficulties, lest they have to slap themselves in the face. They are so proud of their so-called free democracy that discusses everything. Were we to conclude from the daily debates in English newspapers something about the condition of England, we would have to believe that the empire was ready to collapse.

We do not worry about such matters, since we believe that the war will be decided by hard facts, and such a fact is not the complaint by Mr. Smith in the Daily Telegraph that he once again had to stand in line for an hour to buy five cigarettes, and besides that, it was raining. We conclude only that tobacco is as scarce in London as it is in Berlin, which is some comfort. But would it not be just as foolish for us to conclude from that that the British Empire is near collapse as it is for the English to believe that the Germans will revolt because Christmas items are in short supply?

By the way, what business is it of the English? They poke into our troubles not to help us, but only to score propaganda points. They would hardly point it out if we had sufficient tobacco products in comparison to their shortage. We are waging war against each other. As is well known, any method of warfare is fine with the English, as long as it hurts the enemy. Why should we pay any attention to what they say? We can expect only that which is bad and harmful. They will complain whether things are going well or poorly for us, and they presumably pay such loving attention to our troubles because they hope to divert us from doing something about the troubles by their shouting.

How little they know us! One who examines the history of our party and the National Socialist movement will note that we rarely have been afraid, and never of so-called world opinion. We too often have seen with what despicable means and base goals world opinion is made to have any respect for it. It is therefore only of psychological interest for us to see what London journalists and radio announcers do after our articles have been read over the radio. They always find something to distill from even the simplest and clearest sentence that can feed their empty hopes. How many pens have they worn out! They have been doing it for over a year, but has anything changed? Not at all! It was wasted effort. Nothing has come of British illusions. They will probably keep at it. We will continue to speak openly about problems as much as possible, paying no attention to English slanders. We gain, the English do not.

People, and the Germans in particular, are tougher than one often thinks. One only has to make it clear what has to be done and they set eagerly to work. Can anyone give an example of a time when we took an important question to the people without success? The German people are always ready to follow even the hardest and most uncomfortable requests of their government, as long as one has

explained persuasively their necessity. The readiness of our people is always much greater than one expects.

No one, for example, will dispute the fact that wool and fur coats are very rare in Germany at the moment, and that one cannot replace them during the war. Two weeks ago we announced a winter clothing drive for the front. The appeal was not yet over when the telephone began ringing off the hook, blocking the telephone lines to the ministry for hours. Baskets full of letters and telegrams arrived in the following days. None complained, but all offered good and useful proposals, or asked questions about when and where one could donate. As we studied the British newspapers and radio in the following days, we noted with interest that London expected the outbreak of a revolution, seeing the collection of winter clothing for the front as the first sign.

We leave the English to their pleasures. They understand as little about the German people as a cow does of nuclear physics. They will pay a heavy price for their illusions. For us, we shall remain tough and relaxed, thinking realistically, never losing our ground, dealing with the problems of the war as they appear, and beginning the new year with the same determination with which we mastered the old one.

We will manage, whatever may happen.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. This essay is dated 1 March 1942. Goebbels discusses German radio policy. In his diary entry for 22 May 1941, he expands upon the reasons for changes in German programming: “Relaxation of radio scheduling to take effect immediately. Our people and our soldiers want light music. Otherwise they will listen to English stations. I do not intend to listen to the killjoys any more. Better light music than foreign propaganda.”

The source: “Der treue Helfer,” *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 229-235.

## **The Good Companion**

by Joseph Goebbels

We speak today to the countless listeners to German radio at the front and at home, or better said, to the entire German people, since there is probably no one in this war who can get along without the radio. There is no particularly urgent reason, but we believe that it is now and again necessary to discuss openly the general lines and directions of our radio policy with the public. Our extensive interest in the radio before and particularly after the seizure of power has taught us that radio programming is a matter of practice, not of theory, and that there is no program that satisfies everyone. The numerous proposals that we receive from the public lose much of their usefulness in that they apply to widely different parts of our programming and often contradict one another. One thinks that our broadcasting is too serious, another thinks it is much too light. A third wants more news and commentary, a fourth none at all. A fifth wants programming to end at 10 p.m., a sixth is just ready to get started then. One cannot keep everyone happy.

It would be much easier if we had twelve or fifteen stations as we did during peace time and could use them to meet the various preferences. But it is difficult enough today to keep one station going. We know that many listeners are unhappy when we interrupt evening programming to broadcast the news in English. We cannot do much about that. In war more than in peace, government requirements have priority even over reasonable private wishes. Energetic letters and suggestions from lovers of serious music tell us that light and entertaining music is gradually taking over. Some even see a sign of general cultural decline, to be resisted firmly. Soldiers at the front, on the other hand, report that it was a pleasure after a difficult day to return to their cold and inhospitable quarters to at least hear something from German radio that is, as they say, decent (i.e., entertaining and light).

Who is right and who is wrong? Each has a right to his own taste! Still, one cannot dispute the fact that the great majority of our people, at home as well as at the front, are working so hard because of the war that when they get home in the evening they no longer have the energy to listen to a two-hour concert. It is not because people are trying to repress the seriousness of the war. We hardly need the radio to remind us of the earnestness of the situation; we encounter that rather more than we would like in any event. Even if one has worked as a professional for 12 or 14 hours, returning home dead tired, one may want to browse through a book or a paper with no music at all, or at least music that makes no demands. That is not an injustice to Beethoven or Bruckner, who can be injured only if one attends to their music carelessly. It is no different for workers or soldiers. Let us have no talk of cultural decline. We can best serve occidental culture today by winning the war. Given the heavy burdens we all bear today, a nice source of relaxation, whatever the source, is like balsam on our wounds.

We also want to speak openly about the question of whether the German radio should broadcast so-called jazz music. We can flatly reject jazz, if by it one understands a kind of music that entirely ignores or mocks melody and depends only on rhythm, and in which the rhythm is carried primarily by unpleasant sounding instrumental squawks that pain the ear. This so-called music is despicable, because it is really not music at all, but rather only an untalented, random playing with tones. On the other hand, we can hardly maintain that the waltz of our grandfathers and grandmothers is the pinnacle of musical development and that everything following is bad. Rhythm is one of the foundations of music. We no longer live in the Biedermeier era, but rather in a century whose melodies are governed by the thousand-fold hum of machines and the sounds of motors. Our war songs today are different than those of the World War. The radio must take account of this if it is not to run the risk of being stuck in frock coats. We do not want to offend anyone, but do feel obligated to consider the reasonable requests of our fighting and working citizens.

Of course, there will always be occasional detours. The German radio broadcasts from early in the morning to late at night. The normal person may speak two or three hours a day, and does not always reveal the wisdom of the ages. At least he has the advantage that only his wife or work mates hear him. The radio always speaks to a broad audience. If an announcer happens to put things in an unfortunate way, the telephone calls and letters pour in. Our desk, so to speak, is in the public square and everyone can look over our shoulder. We are not unhappy about that, the very opposite indeed. We are happy to be in the eyes of the whole public. Mr. Public, however, should not forget that the radio, unlike him, stands before the entire public and has the right to make an occasional mistake.

After considerable effort, we have succeeded in broadcasting two programs during prime listening hours. We will not take the time to go into the difficulties that involved. But we are now in the fortunate situation of making both sides happier. The Deutschland station will primarily broadcast serious classical music, while the other station will provide light entertainment in the evening. We have secured a wide range of leading musicians. Some of them are giving up their previous engagements to devote themselves almost full time to the radio. They are following precise guidelines to meet as many reasonable requests as possible. Listeners to German radio should know that we understand what they want. They tell us that openly, thank God!, and we do not take it amiss, indeed we welcome it.

We are not so far removed from the concerns of the people that we do not know where the shoe pinches. Our soldiers too are blunt in their letters or visits and tell us exactly what they want and do not want. We will do our best. We will spare no effort, no means, no expense. Good humor is important to the war effort. To maintain it, particularly where the burdens are high, is an urgent requirement of successful war leadership both at home and at the Front.

There are some who go too far. Recently, for example, an unhappy listener complained that an officer from the northern front had given a radio talk in which he used a certain expression from Goethe's "Götz von Berlichingen." The listener was most unhappy to hear the phrase in the presence of his wife. "The fact that Goethe put this dubious character with his vain coquetry on display is not an excuse in my eyes. I wonder what pleasure the army or the Propaganda Ministry thinks it is giving when it springs material of a morally objectionable nature on an unsuspecting public, and this in an institution supervised by the government."

We do get such letters. We cannot make them happy, I fear. Shall we ask General Dietl to send his

soldiers on leave to an school for good manners? Their language may have become a bit crude up there on the northern front. He would laugh at us, and rightly so. We listened for an hour to this splendid officer and were proud to hear that our soldiers to the north bravely do their duty and more despite snow, ice and eternal night. When he tells us that their only contact with the homeland, which they have not seen for months and which is many thousands of kilometers distant, is German radio, it reinforces our desire to broadcast things that will cheer our solders up, dispel their sadness, and raise their spirits.

War is a tough business. If our soldiers had not stood their ground this past winter, the writer of this letter and his wife might have been not only unprepared listeners, but also the viewers or the objects of things very different than he complains about.

Practicality is important. The German radio cannot satisfy everyone. It should do as much as it can, paying most attention to those with the greatest need. They are our soldiers and all those who must work hard in the service of the fatherland. They are thankful for pleasant and entertaining hours. The radio brings them pleasure, it is a good friend and comrade in these difficult times, it cheers them up, it urges them on, it is a constant comrade through the events of the war. It should educate and clarify the great questions of the day. When necessary, it should raise the hearts and touch the conscience. It should attack the enemy wherever he may be. It should defend the interests of the fatherland when that is necessary. One cannot always be in the best possible mood. We need a love of the fatherland, enthusiasm and a sense of duty. The big events happen anyway, we do not need to be reminded of them all the time. We have to deal with the things of everyday life, which are often gray and not at all lovely.

The German radio should be a good companion.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. This essay is dated 1 March 1942.

The source: "Churchill's Trick," *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 222-228.

### **Churchill's Trick** by Joseph Goebbels

The neutral press has been asking recently how it is that Mr. Churchill has such influence on the English public and British public opinion. Despite the worst reversals and the most demoralizing defeats, regardless of initial suspicion, in the end they are captivated by this clever wordsmith and accept his foolish policies and military leadership. The question is both easy and hard to answer. The answer to the riddle is probably that although Mr. Churchill lacks all strategic sense in both politics and military leadership, he is an extraordinarily capable tactician. He is a virtuoso at democratic party and press leadership, and therefore is the best of the current English politicians, who as it is known are not gifted with any great intelligence. His methods are as primitive as one can imagine. His ideas are hardly original, and one can usually predict exactly what he will say or do. It is always the same thing with him.

When he began as British prime minister, he proclaimed the slogan that he has held to regardless of political or military events, through setbacks and defeats. It protects him against all criticism: "Blood, sweat and tears." One can fight a war to its bitter end under that slogan without running the danger of being proven wrong. The people will hardly recall the slogan in the midst of victory, and in defeat he can pretend to be a prophet. Mr. Churchill is like a doctor who stands by the bed of a seriously ill patient and says: "He will die." If the patient worsens, or even dies, he is proved right. He will not hesitate to remind people of his excellent prognosis. And if the patient gets better or even recovers, will one reproach the doctor that the patient got better despite his bad condition?

One cannot call such a practice particularly intelligent or original, but it does have its public. Up to the present moment, Mr. Churchill has carried it off. One does not need to be a prophet, one needs only to see through his trick to predict that, after the British Empire's grave defeats in the past four weeks, he will say that he had expected and predicted nothing else. His farsightedness will be admired.

We can predict what Mr. Churchill will say in about two months, and thus predict what he will have to say today. One of his methods is to paint the past in the blackest possible terms, then to discover a silver lining in the present. No one will be able to find a speech of his from, say, last August in which he sees gray. One can only see how serious he thought the situation was then by seeing what he says about it today. His practice is to make the past look worse than it was in order to make the present seem better than it is. He confesses things are going poorly, but claims they were even worse before! That is not true, but he depends on the public's forgetfulness. They will not take the trouble to see what he actually said last August, and then compare it to what he says today.

He claims that time is a traditional ally of his side. No one will claim that time has been a reliable ally of the English over the last two and a half years. England's situation is far more precarious in 1942 than it was in 1939 or 1940. One also cannot imagine time working more in England's favor in the future than it did in the past. Every month, indeed nearly every week, England loses one of its

important holdings, and one must be remarkably foolish to think that England will have the strength during or after the war to regain its lost possessions.

In 1939 Mr. Churchill looked forward to 1940. In 1940 he looked forward to 1942. In 1942 he was thinking of 1945 as the year things would finally go England's way. One can see the constantly changing dates, and see that the British prime minister clearly knows that Britain's hands are tied. It can no longer be saved by its power, only through a miracle.

It was characteristic that in his last radio speech, Mr. Churchill was unable to find even a single argument that referred to the British Empire. He referred to the United States, the Soviet Union, and Chiang Kaishek. He hardly mentioned Great Britain. The empire is apparently no longer able to contribute to its own defense, despite the fact that it is a war for its very existence, and that its prime minister provoked it without any reason and without making the necessary preparations. This is clear from the contributions London has made to the war, both in terms of blood and labor. There is general displeasure among England's allies at its wholly inadequate contributions. Mr. Churchill had to respond, for example, to public criticism in Australia by inventing some statistics. No one believes him. One has to be amazed at the thoughtlessness, not to mention cynicism, that began and carries out the war.

That is fine with us. Our polemics are not intended to improve anything, only to make clear to the public that the riddle of Churchill is really not a riddle at all, but only a primitive conjurer's trick. We realize that this unfortunate man is England's last hope in its present situation. Despite all the concealed and open opposition in the House of Commons, he cannot be deposed because there is no one to take his place. He is the embodiment of the curse of the evil deed, which has to keep doing evil. If he falls, a good part of the British will to resist falls too. The man on the street in England probably senses dimly that this war is Churchill's war, that he began it and is the one who has to carry it on to a bitter end for the Empire. That explains his appeal to national unity. He has a parliamentary vote of no confidence as his last resort, to be called upon when he is in deep trouble.

He has a remarkably clever way of dealing with public unhappiness with himself, his policies or his war leadership. He allows a kind of pseudo-criticism. When the empire staggers under some blow, he retreats for a time to the background and lets people complain. He opens the release valve, one might say, to let the people's rage dissipate.

One should not think that happens against his will. He knows how to play the game. He figures the loudest voices will shout themselves hoarse. When a so-called Churchill crisis is at its peak, he pulls out a deus ex machina. He smooths the waves, adds water to the wine, minimizes the defeats and explains that he had predicted it all. Even more, he had expected even worse, which thank God has not come to pass. One should rejoice that it only rained, not hailed. Singapore may have fallen, but he was expecting to lose India. He sees it as to England's advantage that German ships sailed through the English Channel. He lies so well that the gullible might almost believe London's claims that 600 Royal Air Force planes chased our ships back to German harbors, losing only 49 of them in the process! And if things look bad in East Asia, which no one doubts, they look good in the East. 1942 will be a difficult year, as he predicted — though of course he actually had predicted the opposite! — better days may come in 1943, or maybe in 1945. National unity must be preserved, and he of course is its guarantee. Anyone who attacks him proves that he is not English.



Such behavior would be unthinkable in any other country. A prime minister with so many failures, so many false predictions and windy promises, of which none came true, would be thrown out anywhere else. The English people like Churchill. He is its curse, its evil spirit, a man who has all the abilities to be Great Britain's gravedigger.

We could not wish for anyone better. If there is no way for the Axis powers to win other than through the collapse of the British Empire, Mr. Churchill is fine with us. The war's first round did not end with a sudden knock out punch; there will be further rounds. We have to slowly but surely pound the enemy until he becomes groggy. Now and again the enemy will hope to be saved by the bell, but a new round will follow. The decisive moment will come when he is knocked down by a lightning blow. We do not know when that will happen, we only know that it will happen. A prime minister who leads an empire into such danger is a considerable advantage for the other side.

We are happy Mr. Churchill is there. We certainly do not want to be rid of him. We want to keep him around, since he is the pathfinder for our total and radical victory.

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Background: This article appeared in March 1942. This article was also sent to the NSDAP speaker corps with instructions to use its arguments in encouraging the home front.

The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Ein Wort an alle," *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Eher Verlag, 1943), pp. 236242- 151. The article originally appeared in *Das Reich*, 8 March 1942.

## **A Word to All** by Joseph Goebbels

The German people today is waging a total war. This war is a matter of our national, and in most cases individual, lives in the widest sense of the word. No one doubts any longer that just as victory would satisfy all our wishes and hopes, the loss of the war would be the end of our Reich with all the resulting political, military, economic, social, and cultural consequences. It is good for us all to know that; it strengthens our powers, our national confidence, but also our determination. We did not want this war. We were forced into it. Now that it is here, each German man and each German woman must be filled with the will to make of it the greatest opportunity of our national history.

This is a war of the people; that means that just as the enemy side is waging it against the German people, so also must it be waged by our entire people. Just as we will all one day enjoy victory, so we all stand today under the law of war and have each to defend his position as if it were our dearest and most personal matter. There is nothing that could be of greater significance.

It is, therefore, a fundamental mistake to say that the front must bear the burden of the battle while a small part of the homeland has the right to sit in the stands and watch. The entire homeland must also wage war, but in a different way than the front. One does not need to remind the front of the war, for they are surrounded daily and hourly by its hardest manifestations. One must, however, constantly repeat that to the homeland and keep it before its eyes. It is not enough to do one's duty; one must do more than that. Laws and regulations cannot determine what that means in detail. It is a matter of the Categorical Imperative, whose demands each must seek in his own conscience. In any event, there is no German today who does not have a responsibility to work for victory.

The longer this war lasts, the more critical will be the purposeful and rational use of the people's labor. Our enemy has the advantage of a larger mass of people. But beside the fact that quality, not quantity, is decisive, it is also a matter of the organization and rational use of the available human labor. We will defeat the enemy if we develop a better labor system that avoids wasting labor and develops a labor process in which each hand motion serves its purpose and has the greatest possible results. It would be foolish to think that this is only a matter of legislation. Our national labor involves so many parts and has such manifold aspects that only the general labor discipline of the whole people can lead to the desired results. We do not lack the raw materials necessary to bring our armaments to the highest possible level. What is scarce for us, as for everywhere else, is the most valuable raw material that production requires, human labor.

No one can say that this raw material is badly used or wasted. But it is not to be doubted that we are still too attached to peace time conditions that are not appropriate for current circumstances.

We are at war, and war everywhere requires a change in the labor process. If one of us seriously and conscientiously asks if his labor is currently used in a way that could not be improved, many people would surely conclude that with some effort they could produce three or five or ten, a few even one

hundred percent more. It is impossible to estimate what that would mean for our war economy.

Do not misunderstand us. We are the last to speak of soulless human drudgery that in the end devours the very substance of labor. We also know that some occupations, e.g., mining and steel making, produce astonishing amounts that can hardly be increased. We also know, however, that there are still people today who have the luxury of inefficient labor that can no longer be justified given the demands of the war. Here one must intervene, deciding whether or not a job is important for the war effort. No one grudges a people with a high level of culture and society the blessings of a peaceful and secure life, but in war they have their place only if they are required for the physical and spiritual powers of resistance and the labor strength of a people. It is too little known that we Germans in the third year of war still enjoy a standard of living far above the peace time levels of most European peoples. Despite the major reductions caused by the war, the consumption of tobacco and butter in 1941, for example, was higher per capita than in 1932. At the end of 1932 we had 7 million unemployed. Counting family members, that was about 20 million. A third of the people back then, as one may easily calculate, were not in a position to buy what is available to everyone today with his ration card, not to mention rent and similar things.

Those are facts that cannot be denied. We have forgotten them too easily and quickly. The fact that we lived better in 1938 than in 1932 was a result of the National Socialist revolution, and must alongside many other accomplishments be defended in this war. If the government today is trying to make the war as bearable as possible for the homeland, there are natural limits, namely where it begins to interfere with the demands of the war itself. Other large warring peoples, e.g. the French or the peoples of the Soviet Union, must make far heavier sacrifices for the war than we do, and they either lost or will lose. The fact that no one has the right today to exchange his hard-earned money goods is not open for discussion. They simply are not there. They are not there because weapons and munitions are being produced instead. They are being produced so that our solidiers can use them to win the war. And we want to win the war because we not only want to regain our living standard of 1938 or 1939, but also raise it significantly for the entire people.

The Führer's call in his speech at the Berlin Sport Palace on 30 January to the people to work to produce weapons and munitions had a deeper meaning. We must all attempt to increase our efforts, and not only that, we must simplify our labor and our life as much as possible. That applies above all to the better-situated circles. We do not want to use the example of the front, where our soldiers are forced to live the most primitive lifestyle, regardless of persona and rank, all the while looking death in the eye. We do not think it necessary to remind the homeland of its war duties by referring to the front. It wants to and must see the necessity and do it. It owes it to itself.

The considerable simplification that our whole government and bureaucratic apparatus has undergone and will continue to undergo to adjust to the war's demands is an example. We could do some things during peace that were good and useful, but that are not absolutely necessary for the war effort. That requires people, and we lack people everywhere. Here, too, it was necessary to say farewell to peace not only for the administration, but also for the public. Paper warfare has lost its meaning when a war of cannons and tanks is being waged for the life of the people. A kind of self-help is needed here. Each must stand on his own feet and free himself from the fateful error of thinking that Father State is responsible for every problem, even including the weather. We must free ourselves from the illusion that everything can and must be taken care of by a law or a regulation, and build our public and private life more than before on the natural laws of national discipline. This is obvious at the

front and needs no long discussion.

All of this requires further transformations in our behavior relative to the war. It will indeed become harder, but also clearer. If we show more concern and courtesy to one another, we take a position on the war that is unassailable. We know well that many of us work very hard and are therefore more irritable than usual. That is, however, no reason for someone to spread his bad mood around from early morning to late evening. A pleasant, friendly, and encouraging word at the right time usually works wonders even on an irritated person, just as a grumbling creature spreads annoyance wherever he goes. A jokester in a company is worth a lot. A streetcar conductor who snarls at his passengers and uses his vast authority to play the little dictator is in the wrong profession. One who, on the other hand, does his job with courtesy or even wit and good humor, despite the problems of the war, is a gift from God, the favorite of the travelling public, and a beam of light from the gray winter sky.

Consideration, agreeableness, a wise sense of life, friendliness, helpfulness, humor and a good mood are war articles that cost nothing, but yet are very important and are available in full measure. A clerk in a shoe store, talking with a customer who has gone in vain from one shop to another with the modest request "I would like a pair of shoes for my daughter," who says "I would, too" instead of saying that there are none in stock at the moment, but perhaps there will be in two weeks, such a clerk is a silly goose who does not know that harm she does. She must be reported to her boss, for she does not have the right to trample on the needs of the public.

Let us all pull ourselves together and decide to do what we can to do more than before, to organize our work as rationally as possible, to reject everything superfluous and unnecessary to the war effort, to talk less of war and wage war more, to be courteous to each other, to be polite and agreeable, to follow the example of our soldiers by showing a good attitude in all situations, to accept the difficulties of the day with calmness and good humor, and to let nothing upset us.

In short: Let us also be a warring people in in the homeland.

Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. This essay is dated 29 March 1942. Goebbels discusses the forthcoming cut in food rations for the German population, forced by two years of bad harvests and the need to feed the military, the German population, and millions of foreign workers. The Sicherheitsdienst report for 2 April 1942 found this article was well received. People generally favored the harsh action against the black market that Goebbels calls for. They were, however, shocked by the seriousness of the situation. Food rations were already tight, and further reductions were a major worry.

The source: "Offene Aussprache," *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 257-262.

## **An Open Discussion**

by Joseph Goebbels

The new cuts in food rations that take effect on 6 April will have a big impact in the household of every citizen. It would be foolish and incorrect to ignore it or make it seem better than it is. The relevant offices have thought long and hard about both the size and necessity of the cut. They agree unanimously that the cuts are necessary now, and in the planned amount. Had they not done so, it is likely that in six to eight months we would have even greater problems with our food supply that would require even larger cuts than are needed now.

In contrast to the last war, German food policy has taken care to guarantee that the available food supplies are fairly distributed. Because of war conditions, the supply is not sufficient to meet everyone's desires. Surely no one will hold it against the government if it does not allow food to be consumed today that may be absolutely necessary tomorrow to maintain our existence. We must manage our food supplies with a view to the long term, one that will permit us to wage war to its victorious conclusion. The government knows better than anyone else that reductions in food supplies affect directly the whole population. When it decides they are necessary, one may be sure that there is no other possibility.

The reasons leading to this decision are well known. They have been thoroughly discussed in the press and radio and do not need to be repeated here. The size of our army, the increase in the number of workers in heavy industry as well as those working overtime and nights, the 2.5 million workers from abroad active mostly in German armaments production, the many millions of prisoners who work for us, but who also have to be fed, assistance for occupied regions supporting our military economy, help for our ally Finland in its heroic struggle, the abnormal weather conditions of the last two years that upset our plans and produced only average harvests, and the chronic shortage of agricultural labor were together too much for us to maintain the old ration levels.

We, of course, know that it is not exactly a good time for a reduction in rations. Potatoes are in short supply. The long-lasting frost has made it impossible to get them to market. They will arrive in larger quantities when spring finally arrives, but the long winter still has upset some of our plans that looked good on paper. Vegetables are in short supply, particularly in big cities. In short, we would have preferred to postpone this tough measure for a few months. It was not possible. We do not determine our food policies during the war on their popularity, but rather according to what is reasonable under the conditions, even if it sometimes requires unpleasant decisions. They may hurt, but we will maintain them until the war ends victoriously. Most importantly, we cannot foresee the size of the coming harvest, and must guarantee sufficient reserves. Depending on the next harvest, we

may later be able to consider improvements in rations.

No German doubts any longer that we must win the war. What we accept voluntarily today is child's play compared to what would happen to us if we lose. We do not even consider such a possibility. The government does not only want to win, it is working and fighting for it, and has after all the ultimate responsibility for victory as well. It has the duty to do what the situation requires.

The people, however, has every right to insist that the burdens of the war be shared fairly. No one is exempt from the sacrifices that the nation as a whole must bring to win the war. Anyone who interferes with or threatens our war effort deserves the harshest penalties, even the death penalty. So many fine soldiers and officers risk their lives for their fatherland that one simply cannot allow someone at home to hurt our chances of victory, whether intentionally or not. It is also clear that the harder the sacrifices at the front, the heavier must be the burdens at home, and the more stringent the insistence that order and fairness prevail at home. Those who break the law must be ruthlessly called to account. Our soldiers understandably demand that of us, and indeed the entire people surely gives such a policy its full support.

It is a matter of complete indifference to us what the enemy thinks about it. They are advised to look to their own affairs. The gentlemen in England are welcome to consider it a sign of our weakness that in this third year of war we maintain order in public life and refuse to tolerate that anyone profits from the general problems of our people. They are making the same cuts in rations as we. Unlike the English food minister, we do not tell the German people that meat is bad for them and that grass makes a good, tasty salad. The English claim we are autocratic, but when we make so critical a decision we turn confidently to the people, explain the situation without covering anything up, and know that they will understand.

We also protect the people from profiteers. Unlike the situation in England — the London newspapers complain nearly every day rather strongly about it — we would not hesitate to hang such people. Our consciences would not bother us in the least.

It is therefore no accident that the Council for National Defense has released a new directive recently that says in its first paragraph that he who destroys, withholds, or hoards raw materials or foodstuffs important to the population will receive a jail or prison term, or even in particularly serious cases the death penalty. Those who in the course of their business or trade give special preference to others in supplying goods or services, or offer the same, will receive prison sentences.

That is very clear. The state's attorney has been instructed to prosecute such cases firmly, and if perhaps here and there these crimes have been treated mildly in the past, that is to stop immediately. The black market trading of certain irresponsible and unscrupulous elements who seek to make a profit from the war is over. We are speaking plainly, and in the interests of our entire people, both our soldiers at the front and those working at home. They all have a right in the face of the difficult conditions of the war to be guaranteed by the government their basic necessities.

There may be certain people who are willing to pay horrendous prices for rationed goods and luxuries. This is their final warning. Soon it will no longer be worth the risk to take such loving care of one's belly. No one enjoys war. Neither do we want a few drones to enjoy or profit from it. We all want to fight this historical battle in a clean and spotless manner. When victory comes, each German

man and each German woman must be able to say that they have done their part. Those who do not understand this, who have no conscience, who do not know what to do and not to do during a war, will have to learn through other, more drastic ways.

During war, all goods and foodstuffs belong to the whole nation. They must be distributed fairly. He who sins against this principle harms the community.

The farmer's crop belongs to the whole people. He should turn scavengers away from his door.

What German soil and labor produce passes through the hands of the merchant. He is the middleman. He distributes them fairly. Bartering will bring heavy penalties.

The work of the craftsman also has its fair price. It is dishonest and criminal to demand or accept special benefits. The average person's sense of fairness is the best guarantee of a satisfactory distribution. The German housewife expects and demands from the shopkeeper only what is her due. Paying black market prices or bribes is not only unworthy of her, it is criminal.

Black marketeering, bribery, bartering, or excessive prices and bribery will be punished.

In particularly serious cases, property will be seized or the death penalty imposed.

Everyone, whether producer, merchant or buyer is honor bound to act in an exemplary way. Each is satisfied with his fair share. That too serves the war effort and prepares for victory. It depends on each one of us.

We cannot imagine that anyone among us would want to ignore our appeal to decency and fairness. He who does so takes a big risk. There may be an occasional person who has not taken the war with the proper seriousness. This was most shortsighted, since it endangers not only our food supplies, it also gives a bad example to decent citizens and threatens in the long run their sense of fairness and their belief in the integrity and decency of public life. That is far worse.

In these difficult times, we all need our optimism and our deep, almost holy faith. He who abuses them, who tries the patience and decency of our people, deserves to be rapped on the knuckles until he learns his lesson. The leadership feels more tightly bound to the people during the war than ever before. We see the great sacrifices it brings for victory, how patiently and bravely it accepts all that is demanded of it. We suffer along with each mother who loses her son, each woman who loses her husband, each child that loses its father. We know how hard farming women are working in the stalls and fields. We sometimes see the dog-tired workers sitting in the streetcars or subways. We listen to our soldiers on leave in Berlin as they speak about their enormous sacrifices for the fatherland. We wish we could sing a song each day in praise of the whole people that is so brave and modest, that does its duty as it works and fights for victory without making a fuss about it.

We are bound to these people. They expect from the government that, when sacrifices are necessary, they will be shared fairly and equally by all. A government that failed to do this would no longer deserve to be called a government of the people.

We all know how things stand.

He who ignores the necessities of the war will pay a high price. The German people as a whole has behaved in an exemplary way, and deserves respect. We are convinced that harsh treatment of criminals will be greeted with enthusiasm.

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Background: In this article, Goebbels works to persuade Germans that a bit of complaining is OK, but that it should not get in the way of the war effort. The Sicherheitsdienst morale report of 20 April 1942 found the article was popular. People particularly appreciated Goebbels's famous remark that: "Complaining is the bowel movement of the soul."

The source: "Der Papierkrieg," *Das Reich*, 12 April 1942, pp. 1, 3. I am working from the version printed in *Das eiserne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 272-278.

## **The Paper War** by Joseph Goebbels

It is clear that a war of such total extent as the present one requires a huge, wide-ranging organization with many branches. It reaches into all areas of public life and much of private life as well. The latter is useful only if the necessary factual conditions exist. We are no longer living in the feudal era, when troops in general took what they needed where they could find it. Today military leadership must plan and prepare. It must make its measures consistent with what is possible, and it must prepare for the long term rather than living from hand to mouth. That requires complicated and precise machinery in government and administration. One gear has to fit into the next one to avoid the danger of the whole mechanism falling apart some day.

Nonetheless, here as everywhere else, the simple is always the best. The more plain and clear an apparatus is, the more smoothly it will work. We Germans enjoy worldwide fame for being masters of organization. Because we understand it so well, we sometimes do too much of a good thing. We cannot imagine a proper life without organization. So to be sure of success we frequently organize not only that which absolutely has to be organized, but also that which can be organized. That is the mistake. Because we are so systematic, we here and there lack the invigorating power of clever improvisation. Everyone will agree that the nature of the war is different in 1942 than it was in 1939. The tasks have grown enormously. The people available to master them have hardly grown at all. They have increased their eagerness to work, but their physical and spiritual strengths have more demands placed on them in the third year of the war than in the first year. The apparatus has become more important. Unfortunately, it has also become more complicated, not simpler. This is where we must do something.

Many engaged in war production still carry too much ballast from peacetime. Instead of marching with a light pack, thus gaining mobility, they carry a sizable backpack filled with concerns, objections, and barriers. Instead of releasing initiative, they depend on paper. A critical matter is not resolved by sending a memo to someone else and putting a carbon copy in the files to provide oneself an alibi should something go wrong. It is much better to pick up the phone and call the person, who is after all a person as well and usually of good will. With a few friendly words, the matter can be resolved. That saves time, trouble, and annoyance, and speeds things up, even if it will not provide future historians with the black and white copy they might like. Half of success is usually courageous initiative and fast action. He who gets to his goal first is the one who starts first.

What will happen if the war effort rests entirely on the crutch of files! The leadership of the Reich is so overwhelmed with work that they lack the time to read many of the documents, letters, and memos that reach their desks. And by the way, it is not their duty to do the work of lower levels. Their job is to set overall guidelines and see to it that they are carried out. That is what one means by leadership,

which is much different than administration. And besides that, in many cases lower levels can solve problems better than a central office. They have to function with relatively small staffs. A moron is seldom distinguished by particularly brilliant thinking.

Don't misunderstand us. A certain level of organization must always be there if the state and administration are to function. But there is a limit that one may not exceed without damaging the functioning of the apparatus. If one goes so far as to have people checking punctuation, it becomes a curse. That is why we praise improvisation in times of crisis. It produces not only ideas, but also facts. It gains the cooperation of the people to solve big problems, spurs on each individual, awakens his pride and enthusiasm, and thereby achieves successes that would ordinarily be impossible. The hurdles and barriers that would stop the average bureaucrat are quickly surmounted and one gallops onward.

That is the way we always worked during the period of struggle [1919-1933]. Organizations were created for particular purposes, and when they achieved them, they were tossed aside, not kept as some valuable and important museum exhibit. That is how we won our glorious electoral victories. We were always chasing the enemy. Our methods were flexible and elastic, though stubborn and inflexible when it came to principles. We were always untiringly flexible in the methods we used to reach our goals. We would never have won if we had been bureaucrats. We usually used paper only to print newspapers, leaflets, and posters. We left all that was not absolutely essential for victory to the future. We ignored Sundays and holidays. If we had money we took the express train, otherwise we slept on the wooden benches of third and fourth class. None of us lost anything as a result. We all knew that we had to succeed, and did not really care how. The practitioners were in charge, not the theorists. We assumed that we could repair our mistakes once we were in power. And that is what happened.

We have to act in the same way in the war. What does not aid the cause of victory is unimportant and has to be ignored. Delay aids the enemy. That which is necessary has to be done quickly, or it is usually too late. We have to get rid of old practices if they get in the way. We could do some things in peace because we had the time and money. Things are different in war. We all face hard necessity and will not succeed if we leave opportunities unused.

Say someone wants to buy a poodle and wishes to put an ad in a dog-fancier's magazine. First he gets a request fill out an application to join the Poodle Club, part of the National Canine Society. He must answer all sorts of absurd questions. The poodle in question will be just as at home with a non-Christian, a Protestant, or a Catholic, at least for the duration of the war. Whatever the contributions the Poodle Club, part of the National Canine Society, may make to the state during peace, it should send its secretary in wartime to the armaments industry and put its press at the disposal of distant regiments on the Eastern front so that they can print their modest newspapers for the front lines.

Forms and questionnaires should be reduced as much as possible. People have no time to write out their entire biography on some ridiculous form to get something that is important to them. One should be reasonable and require of them only that which is essential. Everyone can see that it is necessary to ration meat, fat, bread, and other foodstuffs, and that it requires an organization with cards, coupons, and ID cards. If there are long lines outside tobacco shops, one has to ration cigars and cigarettes. That is for the benefit of the whole public. But the more one is required to ration the essentials, the more one should be willing to leave the nonessentials to take care of themselves. Here

one appeals to the discipline and good sense of the public. When someone tries to get more than his share, one says a friendly word, and if that does not work, a friendly kick in the rear.

There are those who practically faint when they see a small speck on their nicely polished boot. They act as if the state had nothing better to do during the war than worry about their valued selves. They have no idea how to help themselves. After it snows, they wait for the city to sweep it up, and when it rains they almost try to step in the puddles so as to be able to complain about the government. They have no sense of the greatness of our day. They see everything from their perspective, without any interest or enthusiasm. They are only a tiny percentage of our population, and one would not need to pay them any heed if they did not stink up the air around them. They sit in the tram and complain that there is a war on that causes them so much trouble, that a car did not signal its turn, that newspapers only have four pages, that they have to give up their seats for women and wounded soldiers, that brakes squeal, that a nice young girl stepped on the foot they had stuck way out, and so on. These misanthropes think they are important, since they enjoy the particular attention and concern of English propagandists. They are naive enough to believe that such grumblers are typical Germans. How often have we made clear to the English that they are wrong, and how often they have had to pay for their mistakes!

Our people are made of different stuff. They are intelligent, politically alert, cool thinkers, realistic. They have both feet on the ground. When something displeases them or rubs them the wrong way, they do not grumble, but at most complain a bit. That is not so bad, as it clears the air. Complaining is the bowel movement of the soul. We do not need to make a capital offense of it. We get along with such people. They are just like us. We complain too when something goes wrong or we make a mistake. But that is that, and one gets back to work.

Some advice: Work fast, carefully, reliably, and without much fuss. Do not consider your own lesser or greater problems all that important. No one feels sorry for you, because everyone is in the same boat. Do not fight a war with paper. Toss aside everything that does not help us win. In a few words: Just as you behaved in peace as if it were peace, now behave in war as if it were war!

Background: This article is dated 7 June 1942. The essay was originally published in Das Reich, the prestige weekly Goebbels founded in 1940.

The source: "Helden und Filmhelden," Das eherne Herz (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 337-343.

## **Heroes and Film Heroes**

by Joseph Goebbels

Nothing is more characteristic of the Jewish-plutocratic view of the world, life and history than its tendency to gradually but inevitably transform all values in a negative direction. We recall enough examples from the republican System Era in Germany [1918-1933]. It hardly seems necessary to add more. The hero was fool, the coward the honorable man. One preferred to live three lives as a slave than once as a free man. A father with many children was the target of jokes, and the homosexual boy was the model of Nordic manhood. The great men of our history were either corrupt cretins or unconscionable bloodsuckers. The victim was guilty, not the murderer. Great criminals were seen as wonderful subjects for psychoanalytic study. In short, as one of the most prominent Jewish journalists wrote in a Jewish newspaper, the heroic ideal was the most stupid of all ideals, and the dead of the World War had died on a field of dishonor.

Looking back, it all seems schizophrenic. It was more than that. Those who used their glittering brilliance to spread such ideas to the public did not believe them. To the contrary, they were only using them to slowly but surely undermine their host people and to prepare it for the great spiritual convulsion that we know all too well as Bolshevism. Its predecessor is democracy. It, too, transforms all values in a way that in the end leads to chaos.

Today, we see the same process going on with the enemy. It is clear proof that the intellectual war leadership is primarily Jewish. One does not need to hear Radio London to detect their Semitic nature. It helps explain the otherwise inexplicable enemy habit of turning defeats and retreats into victories and battles of annihilation into catastrophic enemy defeats. They prepared insufficiently or not at all for the war. They suffer one defeat after the other. They see the loss of critical economic and strategic positions as a cause for optimism. They present plutocracy's rapacity as a new social order. They burn down churches and murder a hundred thousand priests, yet are said to be saintly fighters for God. They put 180 million people in a physical and spiritual prison and condemn them to the lowest possible standard of living. All this they call paradise on earth.

They value people in a similar way. English and American soldiers may be defeated wherever they go, but are nonetheless vastly superior to the enemy, both in weaponry and morality. Generals whose only skill is in escaping the enemy, sometimes with their troops, other times with only their families, are military heroes of the stature of Alexander, Caesar, Frederick the Great, or Napoleon. True military geniuses on the other hand, who stay by their troops even in the most desperate situations and never think of surrender, but rather resist all the arrows of fate, hardly are worth mentioning.

The so-called General MacArthur, for example, is blown up as a true hero. In Germany, someone like General Scherer gets two or three lines in the OKW report. What are the differences between the two? Who is the hero, who the coward?

In the east during the past winter, a German unit was cut off and held firm for 107 days, with no

outside support. The enemy attacked 128 times. They replied with 10 counterattacks and 43 feints. The officers of the surrounded unit reported with love and admiration that their general stayed with them, and was there at any time for any soldier. He had a willing ear for any of his soldiers at any time. He was a source of spiritual strength during the period the unit was surrounded for both his officers and men. The surrounded group had no supplies for three days, after which they were supplied by exceedingly difficult and dangerous missions by the Luftwaffe, which was an example of heroism and devotion to their comrades. For most of the period, only piles of fruit tree branches provided their defenses. They were attacked from all four directions. Our soldiers had no tanks, whereas the Soviets repeatedly attacked with fresh tanks. They had no quarters to keep them warm in the barbaric cold. Enemy artillery pounded the remaining houses to rubble. The soldiers could not dig into the frozen ground. There was not even any barbed wire.

“We could not stop the enemy from firing on the buildings where we kept our wounded. We had to find some other place to put them. But many who were wounded still stayed in the front lines!” That is what General Scherer said in his plain and unemotional way.

The OKW report of 6 May announced: “In the northern section of the Eastern Front, German troops carried out a planned and brilliant attack that reestablished connections with an important area previously surrounded by the enemy, The unit under the command of General Scherer had courageously held the position since 21.1.1942 despite numerous attacks by superior enemy forces. On the day it was relieved, half of the soldiers were wounded, and half were in action.

The Jewish-democratic press took no notice of this. Now let us consider the other side:

The Japanese attack on Corregidor began after the evacuation of Bataan on 10 April and ended 26 days later with the capitulation of U.S. forces on 6 May. On 10 April, 60,000 men on Bataan had surrendered. 3,500 escaped to Corregidor. General MacArthur, their commander, had left Bataan as early as 10 March with his family. Before leaving, he urged his troops to display bravery, courage, and endurance. His wife gave the soldiers’ wives the good advice to stay with their men, but followed her husband when he left. From Australia, General MacArthur boasted that he would enter Tokyo as the victor. The Japanese captured 12,495 of his soldiers at Corregidor. The number of dead was all of 640. According to the reports, there were enough supplies remaining to continue the battle for another six months. There was no shortage of weapons or munitions.

Corregidor is one of the strongest natural fortresses in the world. The entire island had strong defensive installations, munitions depot, command posts, etc. The underground passages that connect the defensive positions are as broad as a two-lane highway. \$500 million had been spent during peacetime to build up the island. The USA public spoke of the island as the American Gibraltar. American experts thought it unconquerable. The island ruled out tanks, so the attack used artillery and air attacks. There were naturally bomb-proof clinics, operating rooms, etc. But the American soldiers nonetheless fell into Japanese hands. Why should they be braver than their general, who was safe in Australia and who was being grotesquely presented to the American public as the USA’s greatest living hero! The facts were reversed. A cowardly escape was transformed by an advertising campaign into a glorious deed. To us, that is simply incomprehensible. To put it mildly, a general like MacArthur by us would get the gentle rebuke that he had forgotten to get off the train in Hollywood. But the USA press declared the defense of Corregidor and Bataan as one of the bravest deeds in American history. The London “Times,” which has had considerable experience

in praising strategic retreats, even said that Corregidor could only be compared to the battle of Thermopylae. A Boston radio station called the island fortress's resistance a miracle.

If that were not enough, the American Jewish press has been praising the cowardly General MacArthur as a suitable candidate for the presidency of the United States. Various U.S. cities are already unveiling monuments in his honor. People wear buttons with his picture, and he has received the highest honor England has to offer: an honorable position in Madam Tussaud's famous wax museum. The United Press reports that a body and uniform will be added to his face.

This gets us back to schizophrenia. One could say that all this grotesque nonsense is understandable, since in the country of the blind the one-eyed man is king, and that a land without a history of culture must have different ideas of heroism than a nation with two thousand glorious years of history. But the matter has its serious side. One has to ask just how far the Jews can go in debasing and stupefying a people. The answer to the question shows the danger facing modern humanity if it does not resist this intellectual and spiritual process of decay. Here we have given a single example. The spiritual warfare of our age provides dozens of other examples every day.

Hero or film hero, that is the question. No person with any sense of history can have any doubt to whom the goddess of history will award the laurels at the conclusion of today's great struggle. We have a long series of proud and famous names as opposed to the enemy's artificially inflated figures. They serve the most brilliant military leader of our history, and behind them march millions of German soldiers who have been tested a thousand times in battle and victory, in hard times and in privation.

They will live in the history of our nation, and their names will be beacons to coming generations. The momentary fame of American film heroes will have melted along with the wax in Madame Tussaud's wax museum.

Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. This essay is dated 14 June 1942. Goebbels discusses the Allied bombing of Germany.

The source: "Der Luft- und Nervenkrieg," *Das eiserne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 344-350.

## **The Air War and the War of Nerves**

by Joseph Goebbels

The war has reached a stage at which the enemy seems willing to use any means to change the currently unfavorable, even desperate, situation, and to bring about at least an acceptable conclusion. Seldom in the history of human warfare has there been a struggle for existence between peoples that was so unbalanced as this one. The Axis powers can look back on a long, almost unbroken, even breathtaking series, of proud victories, while the enemy can look back on misfortune after misfortune and defeat after defeat. Future historians will wonder how it was possible for their peoples to believe in a good outcome and a coming victory, despite eternal defeats along the way. The only explanation for their peculiar thinking is that their powers of judgment have been blinded by unscrupulous and lying propaganda.

The military possibilities remaining for the plutocratic-Bolshevist coalition seem extraordinarily limited at the moment. Those in London, Washington, and Moscow seek to cover themselves with clouds of mystery and respond to probing questions from large parts of their public with dark and threatening hints, but any knowledgeable observer knows that nothing is behind their words. They are caught in their own trap. The war they so carefully prepared is beginning to turn against them. They are able to do damage to their hated enemy, to attack his possessions or the working districts of his cities and villages, but that no longer is able to alter the war situation. Things are following their own laws.

Someone other than Mr. Churchill will have to rule England if London is not to seek to accomplish through blind and destructive terror that which it cannot achieve by fair and decent warfare. British newspapers are currently writing about the bombing attacks with unsurpassed cynicism. These discussions give us good insight into the English national character, as well as an extraordinarily educational picture of that which would befall us were we to fall into the hands of the British-plutocratic ruling class. Thank God, what we see with brutal clarity is not a sign of strength, but rather of weakness and impotent rage. He who insults and threatens is always in the wrong. We have never thought it necessary to predict a dark and infernal end for England. We do know that its historical mistakes can lead to historical catastrophes. We also never threatened random bombing warfare against the civilian population for reasons of revenge or dark hatred. We will defend ourselves with the means that the enemy forces on us.

It is different with Mr. Churchill. He is apparently raging mad over his previous military defeats, and despite all the shouting is unable to open a second front in Europe to take the pressure off the Soviets. Were there even the least chance of that, his adventurous nature would surely make him seize the opportunity. Aside from everything else, he lacks the shipping tonnage. He knows as well as we that an attempted landing anywhere in Europe would quickly provide England with a second, and far worse, Dunkirk. He cannot risk such a defeat without causing a fatal crisis for the Empire. Given the increasing demands by the Bolsheviks, he has no choice but to make dark threats and find less dangerous ways to satisfy the Soviets. His solution is to send the Royal Air Force on night attacks on

the German civilian population.

We have never doubted that this type of warfare could do us serious damage. The question is whether it is able to significantly change the military situation, and if the results that Mr. Churchill promises can be achieved to any significant degree. I do not need to say that the German civilian population is suffering grievously under British terror. They know that they have the sympathy and warm support of the entire German people, who greatly admire their brave struggle. But London is mistaken if it believes it can by terror break German morale. We have said it a hundred times before and will say it a hundred times again: today's German people has nothing in common with the German people of 1918. Our morale breakdown then was a one-time exception, not the rule.

As nonsensical is the British presumption that one can seriously damage our armaments or foodstuffs production through such terroristic air attacks. The damage done is not sufficient to impair our war effort. If the British knew what they actually destroyed during their night attacks but rather than what they think they have destroyed, they would not place so high a value on the air war. They suffer enormous losses during their night missions. The losses are greater than they can sustain, even if Mr. Churchill fudges the figures by exaggerating the number of planes involved to reduce the percentage of planes lost. He can score some political points at home by doing this, but he cannot fool us. The enemy is not that choosy when it comes to numbers. A total of 305 people died in the big British night attack on Cologne on 30-31 May. [Goebbels's figure wasn't too far off. The actual death total was a little under 500 — although 5,000 were injured and over 12,000 buildings were damaged or destroyed. Those figures Goebels was not interested in revealing.] This is certainly high, and the affected families feel deep pain because of Britain's random bombing. When, however, American and afterwards English newspapers speak of 20,000, one can see both what the enemy had hoped for, and how far their wishes were from the facts.

From the start of the war until 1 June 1942, a total of 7,430 people died during enemy bombing raids. We certainly do not want to downplay the pain these deaths caused. They also died for the freedom of the Reich. They stand in accusation before the English leadership, which has always been characterized by cynical brutality and certainly is living up to its reputation. However, the true scale of this number becomes clear when one realizes that in the last two and half years of peace, 15,039 Germans died in traffic accidents. We do not intend in any way to compare the significance of the deaths, only to put British boasting in the proper context.

Reports from all the cities bombed by the English are that civilian morale is holding firm. One hardly takes the pain caused by the terror attacks lightly — how could one! — but one feels in the front lines of our civil defense. People know precisely what Mr. Churchill is trying to do, and have no desire to do him a favor by being weak. The British strategy is too transparent to be successful, and besides that, the English have been all too open about their goal. One cannot hope to break civilian morale when one is cynical enough to announce that that is what one is doing, particularly when people know exactly what the consequences of weakness would be. Normally, the attacks England makes on us are returned promptly and proportionately. We do not like to do so, but Mr. Churchill leaves us no choice. The Führer warned him clearly in his last speech to the Reichstag, but Mr. Churchill still chose random bombing, and he will be paid back in the same coin. That is an unfortunate and painful method of warfare for both sides, but he who began it bears the responsibility.

Terror can be broken only by terror. Weakness only encourages and strengthens it. Terror and



counter-terror cost lives, but in numbers far lower than would be the case if one gave in. Only force defeats force. As painful as it is to people who appreciate culture — and we consider ourselves a part of this slowly disappearing group — to see damage to such ancient historical and artistic monuments not only in Lübeck, Rostock and Cologne, but also in Bath, York, and Canterbury, it is not our fault, but that of the ruthless criminal who currently heads the British Empire. We know well enough that he lacks any sense for appreciating such things. He is one of those hardened and crude plutocratic types whose sole ambitions are money, the good life, and best of all, alcohol. It is England's misfortune to have him as its leader. Not only the British Empire, but the whole of decent humanity must pay a dear price. Were it not for us, the world of culture would vanish.

We must therefore defend ourselves against his methods of warfare. Since we are determined to use the same brutal methods he is using to terrorize our civilian population, he will fail. His air war is above all a war of nerves. He is trying to shatter the morale of the civilian population in the areas subject to bombing. He does not care if it costs him more than it costs us. He is making an attempt that will fail in the same way as his other attempts. The sacrifices we must make will one day be rewarded. We have no choice but to accept them, and to repay them in kind as our world-wide war effort permits. The victims in England can complain to the source of their troubles very easily: Mr. Churchill.

It would do the Jewish press in New York and London too much honor to give any attention to their bloodthirsty commentaries on the air war and the war of nerves. They will have to pay for it with the extermination of their race in Europe, and perhaps far beyond. They are not to be taken seriously, for they represent their own interests, not those of England or America. We are waging war against enemies who threaten our very existence. We are fighting for everything dear to us. The war's victims will one day stand in worthy comparison to the size of the victory we will achieve. That can no longer be altered. Our enemies are in a position to postpone our victory for a period of time. But that will make the end even more inevitable.

Here, too, the old proverb is true: That which does not destroy us makes us stronger.

Background: This is Goebbels' Das Reich lead article for 21 June 1942. The source: "Der Tonnagekrieg," Das eherne Herz (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 351-358.

## **The Tonnage War** by Joseph Goebbels

The enemy at the moment is nowhere so threatened as at sea. One no longer hears boasting claims from Churchill and Roosevelt that the danger of German U-boats has been overcome. To the contrary, an eloquent silence has replaced those premature statements. Now and again it is broken by a worried voice saying that the sea war has entered its most acute and dangerous phase, and that it has become the cardinal issue for the English-American war effort.

For the first time since September 1939, a leading London newspaper has written that England could lose the war if things continue as they are now, and a large group of U.S. newspapers seems to have agreed that Germany is sinking more ships than America and England can build, but that fewer U-boats are being sunk than the Germans are capable of building. That is a rather understated description of the danger now facing the Anglo-Saxon powers and one can understand the vehement requests on the enemy public's side to finally tell the truth about the real state of the tonnage war rather than settling for broad generalities or clever numerical fantasies.

We predicted such a development. When Mr. Churchill announced 15 months ago that data on the number and tonnage of ships sunk would no longer be published for security reasons, we knew what it meant. The Admiralty's argument was too transparent. What can they conceal from our U-boats, which generally know exactly what they have sunk! England can conceal from us only ships sunk by mines or acts of God. Releasing the figures, which we know, would only increase to a great degree the concern on the part of the British-American public.

The sea war has entered a critical phase for England and the U.S.A. English papers recently commented that the control of the seas is no theoretical matter, but rather a matter of daily struggle, and that the most powerful fleet of warships is of little value when it no longer fulfills its purpose, namely keeping England's vital sea and transport routes open. Unlike us, England depends on the freedom and security of the seas. We meet our needs primarily from the European continent itself. England needs essential supplies from its Empire and from distant countries. If the sea routes are broken and England does not succeed in restoring them, the gradual paralysis of the British motherland is assured. The collapse of the English war effort is only a matter of time.

We have no illusions in the matter. The tonnage war is not the only means to checkmate England, but it is one of the most important. One can therefore understand why Churchill and Roosevelt are doing all in their power to conceal the situation from their publics on grounds of military security, and why they are working feverishly to find ways and means to combat the German U-boat danger and to reduce the sunk tonnage to a halfway acceptable level. Since that is much harder to do in practice than it is in propaganda, they are depending first of all on propaganda.

Mr. Churchill is doubtless better in this regard than Mr. Roosevelt; he sets the tone. Nothing is admitted that can be plausibly denied. Mostly one says something only when the crew of a sunken ship arrives in a neutral harbor and reliable witnesses report the event. They make a gesture or two. When the cases add up over a short period and disconcert the English or the U.S. public to the point

that they demand an explanation, Mr. Churchill or Mr. Roosevelt have one of their spokesmen, who is no longer able to minimize the U-boat danger, talk about the enormous ship-building program on both sides of the Atlantic that will soon replace the sunken ships.

We expect, as the situation becomes more critical in the coming weeks and months, new propaganda tricks from Churchill and Roosevelt to confuse the Anglo-Saxon peoples and divert them from the threatening danger. They will certainly try bluffs, and will attempt to ridicule our figures with their own fantastic statistics. We know these methods, and are ready for them. The people of the enemy states will demand an accounting. Their governments are not in the position to give them one without admitting to a deadly danger. What alternative do they have but to minimize the situation, to cast doubts on our accurate figures or to try to divert the debate to another topic? The world public sees too clearly their responsibility for the war; they cannot admit failures in any area. They have no choice but to save face, lest they face the risk of being chased out of office in shame by their own peoples.

Back on 25 February, the Daily Mail wrote that those Englishmen who believe that the American shipping industry could replace British losses deceived themselves. That was during a phase of the U-boat war that was still not life-threatening for the enemy. Since then, the situation has worsened for England and the U.S.A. The sunken tonnage has reached a level that is an acute danger to enemy shipping, whereas German U-boat losses are nowhere near the boasting levels claimed by the British and U.S. admiralities. Serious papers and naval correspondents on the enemy side grant this. The Daily Sketch, for example, in a 30 May dispatch from New York, reported that American circles in which the wish is father to the thought claim to sink one of three U-Boats operating off the Atlantic coast. But that is only wishful thinking. They might better keep in mind the fact that hundreds of Allied ships have been hit by torpedoes in the Western Atlantic since the U.S. entry into the war. That is clear enough, and needs no commentary. Churchill's claim that the U-boat danger is under control is rather astonishing. He is attempting to minimize a danger that is critical to the British-American war effort.

We are fully aware of the difficulties and possibilities of the U-boat war. The brave crews on our U-boats have a difficult job. The homeland hears of their successes so often that they risk being taken for granted. Nothing could be more wrong. The enemy knows how important the battle is, and will do everything it can to reduce the rapidly rising curve of U-boat losses to the point where it is at least not critical. Other factors in the U-boat war include the weather and the seasons.

Only when one keeps in mind the relatively small number of battle-tested young men who carry this burden and the decisive significance for the enemy of open sea lanes, can one understand the situation. Rarely in the course of battle between nations have so few men played so decisive a role. Each U-boat that leaves our harbors to sail against the enemy is a masterpiece of German shipbuilding, and its crew includes the best of our German youth who are struggling heroically for the freedom of our people. This world-famous German weapon has earned the admiration of the whole world, even of the enemy. Our U-boats are the primary reason why Germany has not been blockaded in this war, but instead has imposed a counter-blockade on the enemy. Our U-boat men can be proud that they have plunged the enemy into panic and that a good part of our certainty of victory rests in their brave endeavors.

We know precisely what enemy countermeasures are, and which we have to take seriously, which

not. One can understand the enemy's war strategy only in the context of the general situation. Churchill and Roosevelt are living from hand to mouth. They can no longer tell the truth to their own people, the neutrals, or us. They are pursued by a thousand hounds, and can hardly say things as they are. In the tonnage war, too, they are in a tight spot. They can no longer tell their own people the depressing facts, since the war has taken a direction entirely different than they expected. They are forced to save face, to cover up their losses, and to invent victories that in reality do not exist. We are facing hard-core sinners who will give up only when they have no other alternative. That will not be tomorrow or the day after. They must be dealt with until they are flat on the ground.

Public opinion in England and the U.S.A. alternates between wild optimism and deep pessimism. Occasionally newspapers loyal to the government ask the reason for the widespread illusions of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Naturally, they cannot say that their own lies and swindles have given their peoples a false and misleading picture of the situation. They protest against the illusions of the man in the street without given a clear reason why such illusions are unreasonable. The talk in circles, and an end to their witches' Sabbath is not yet in sight.

We have no choice but to increase our war effort and keep on the narrow path, taking enemy boasting for just what it is. Any war effort naturally has its limits. It depends on facts, not wishes. The war itself has twists and turns that one must prepare for as best one can. He does best who keeps a realistic view of the situation and who is diverted neither by setbacks or successes from his goal. We know precisely where we are and where we are going. The enemy side knows neither. As a result, they will encounter the most unpleasant surprises in coming weeks and months.

Death is sailing the seas with his eye focused on our enemies. He reaps a terrible harvest of their ships, men, and material. Churchill and Roosevelt cannot do anything about it by speeches and statements, only through action. But that is what under present conditions they are unable to do.

Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. This essay is dated 19 July 1942.

The source: "Die sogenannte russische Seele," *Das eiserne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 398-405.

## **The So-Called Russian Soul**

by Joseph Goebbels

The hard and pitiless battle for Sevastapol, as well as the recent broad offensive operations of the German army, have reopened a lively debate, above all in the neutral press. Similar to that of the past winter, it is on the issue of the so-called Russian soul. The spiritual as well as the territorial boundaries between Asia and Europe have always interested Western Europeans. It is not to be denied that the ethnic mixture that we called Russia before 1917 and the Soviet Union thereafter has been a riddle to our part of the world. That had nothing to do with tsarism then or Bolshevism today. It simply has to do with the fact that the various peoples joined together in this monster of a nation are not a people [Volk] in our sense of the word.

The many sides of the Russian soul which appears so complex and contradictory to us are in reality nothing but the reflection of the various peoples who are a part of it. It would be a mistake to evaluate it by the standards of Western Europe. What we call Russia has always been a collective mass. Only a small portion of it has made history. Earlier it was the tsarist upper class, today the Bolshevist-Jewish ruling clique. The broad masses of peasants and workers were only tools, having themselves no part in historical events.

The peoples of the Soviet Union live at a level of brutish primitiveness that we can hardly imagine. An exhibition called "The Soviet Paradise" has recently visited Berlin and other large cities, trying to show the nature of life in the Soviet Union through original materials. Normal and naive people can hardly believe it. One often saw groups of civilians discussing the matter heatedly, who then had to be told by a few wounded veterans of the Eastern Front that reality in the so-called workers' and peasants' paradise was even worse than what was presented. It is significant that the campaign against the Soviet Union has not brought back any fond memories of communism. None of our soldiers has seen any evidence of an agreement between the theory and practice of Bolshevism. None has returned from the East as a communist. The veil has been removed. Bolshevism is not a danger for us any longer.

It still seems astonishing that the Soviet army has put up resistance against our troops that they have not encountered in previous campaigns. They fight with a stolid, almost bestial determination, and sometimes show a contempt of death that is more than remarkable. Participants in the Battle of Sevastopol relate stories of the resistance of the Soviet troops that need explanation if they are not to unsettle a large part of the public.

The Russians throughout their history have always shown a particularly stubborn and tough manner of defense, while never being particularly gifted at offense. Their national character has a defensive nature. They are stolid and animalistic. They are accustomed to a hard and impoverished existence, and therefore do not hold on to life all that strongly. The average person has less worth than a bicycle. A rapid birthrate quickly replaces any losses. They have a type of primitive toughness that one cannot call bravery. It is entirely different. Bravery is a kind of spiritual courage. The toughness

with which the Bolsheviks defended their bunkers in Sevastapol was more a bestial drive, and nothing could be more mistaken than to assume that it was the result of Bolshevik views or education. The Russians were always like that, and will likely always remain so. It is also easier to throw a life away when there is no promise to it than when, even at the moment of danger, a distant paradise still seems to beckon.

One does not need to speak of the enormous danger that the armed uprising of such stolid millions is for Germany and all of Europe. For attacking soldiers, the motive of the defenders is not particularly relevant. The methods the Bolshevik commissars use to drive their troops to the last measure of resistance are not really all that important for the course of battle. It is however important to know it to prevent false impressions. Bolshevism is a master at exploiting the Slavic national soul. Only in Russia was this dreadful experiment possible. It required the primitive and bestial dullness of the peoples forming the Soviet Union, as well as their limited social and economic expectations. Its methods were then implemented with a consistency that amazed the observer.

Our first images of Bolshevism were not exaggerated, but understated. They were cast into the shadows by reality. We will not even mention the so-called social achievements of the Soviet system, which in comparison with ours can provoke only laughter or shock. It has hardly a matter of taste, however, to be astonished by the fact that Bolshevik propaganda largely succeeded in sealing the masses of Russian workers and peasants off from the world and persuading them by stupid repetition that they were living in a paradise on earth. Independent judgment requires the opportunity to compare. That is ruled out for them. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are like the man imprisoned in a dark dungeon for 25 years, who may easily be persuaded that a kerosene lantern is the sun.

The political commissar has a function in such a system that is absolutely incomprehensible for us. He wields the whip, both among the masses and in the army. He has full power over life and death, and his own head is on the line as well. The stolid masses are at his disposal. They are forced to choose between accepting it all or facing jail at the least or bestial death at the worst. There is nothing like an intelligentsia remaining to put up any resistance. The system has the resources to eliminate it at the earliest stages. The whole country is covered by a spy system that misuses children to spy on their parents. What choice do the stolid and hopeless masses have but to obey with the fatalism that lies within their racial soul, to give themselves up to their fate? What choice does a soldier in a bunker have when the commissar is standing there with a drawn pistol, and systematic Jewish propaganda has persuaded him that becoming a prisoner means not only death, but gruesome torture?

That really has nothing to do with bravery as we understand it. Even this system, when it faces the final test, will bend before the superior force of manly combativeness. The Bolsheviks had a great advantage in their defensive positions, yet they capitulated after 25 days. In the end, their system lacks the free personal will that springs from the individual fighting spirit. It overcomes difficulty and danger not through terror and threats, but through individual bravery. Certainly international Jewry with its organized stolid and malleable human material is a dangerous enemy. Once it is used up, there will be no threat left for us to face. We would have to doubt the quality of our race, the goodness of our soldiers, and the fighting power of our worldview and principles if we even for a moment doubted that we can break this danger.

It is a part of the fate of the German race that at critical points it must defend itself against the threat

from the East. It is especially dangerous today, bound as it is to the ruthless infernal goals of Jewish intellectualism. Without doubt it was a near fatal threat not only to Germany, but to all of occidental culture, when Jewry transformed the physical capacities of the East into a monstrous and armed Soviet military, aimed at Germany and all of Europe. The red commissar is defending his world by holding together his attack on us. We must destroy his system if we want to live free from danger in the future.

This explanation goes beyond the realm of Philistine discussions of the so-called Russian soul. The old measures are inadequate to things of such an enormous spiritual and philosophical scale. The gigantic battle on the Eastern Front is shaking a world that must fall if we are to have any kind of a national future. The bestial brutality with which the enemy is waging war is proof of the enormity of the danger facing us. Everything is truly at stake. One cannot imagine the consequences if that system were to be implemented here. It would introduce Europe's total domination by international Jewry. Our people would be subjected to the stolid brutality of a primitive race and would lose its most valuable aspects. London could only welcome such a thing. They have an opponent they are unable to defeat by their own strength, as the development of the war shows.

One therefore understands why we Germans have limited patience for intellectual discussions of a so-called Russian national soul, which must be thoroughly investigated in order to uncover its presumed secrets. There are no mysteries here, only facts. We are battling a world power that threatens our national life. The war is hard reality for us, not a philosophical question. We see its ghastly origins, and our soldiers are fighting for our holiest possessions. We do not underestimate our opponent. Still, we are as always persuaded that here too the higher race will triumph over the lower one, regardless of what infernal means it uses to escape its deserved fate.

We know well that Europe would be lost if the Axis powers did not defend it. We have given our part of the world renewed youth. The attack from the East against its life and culture will fail because we will meet its stolid power with an offensive resistance that draws its strength from the intelligence of the leadership and the vitality of Europe's young races.

As so often before, this time, too, the surging nomads of the East will be driven back to their steppes. That is the purpose of our battle against the Soviet Union.

Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. This essay is dated 9 August 1942.

The source: "Aus Gottes eigenem Land," *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 421-427.

### **God's Country** by Joseph Goebbels

One is never sure which of two characteristics is more prominent in the American national character and therefore of the greater significance: naivete or a superiority complex. When for example they say things about our region, our surprise at their ignorance is surpassed only by annoyance at their stupid insolence. The less they know about a matter, the more confidently they speak. They really believe that Europeans are eagerly waiting to hear from them and follow their advice. They took our strategic decision not to discuss their shallow culture before the war as a sign of admiration. Their greatest technical accomplishments are refrigerators and radios. They cannot believe that there are cultural values that are the result of centuries of historical development, which cannot simply be bought. It was no bad joke when, after the war, they bought the ruins of German castles and moved them stone by stone to the U.S.A. They really thought that they had purchased a piece of national history embodied in stone, and were naive enough to think that mocking laughter from Europe was respect for the wealth that enabled them to buy what their own tradition and culture lacked.

A book by Scottish author Eric Linklater titled *Juan in America* has just appeared in German translation. With few words but deadly irony, it holds the mirror up to the Yankees. One must read this book, which takes place in the postwar period, to rightly understand the Americans. Recently the American press claimed that Americans were of the opinion that General Rommel learned his military techniques, admired throughout the world, from the Americans. General Lee used his cavalry in the same way Rommel used his tanks. One does not know whether to be astonished or contemptuous at this naive and stupid idea. In any event, it is genuinely American, and one can give odds of 10:1 that most Americans are firmly convinced that it is so.

Only in the U.S.A. could the wife of the president receive a thousand dollar honorarium at a charity gathering, and take the money without bothering to see if the gathering for the benefit of those injured in the war would thereby run a deficit. The New York newspapers recently reported this. Mrs. Roosevelt even appears for a healthy fee as a fashion model, showing the latest furs to an admiring public. She writes a column for a large number of U.S.A. newspapers titled "My Day," in which she tells how she spent the previous day, what she wore, which cocktail parties she attended, whom she met, and what she plans to do the next day.

We really have the wrong image of America. Hollywood films are mostly to blame, since they present the life style of the upper ten thousand, which most Americans themselves experience though films. American observers waver between unlimited admiration and deep contempt. Superficial observers admire it, real experts always hold it in contempt. There is certainly much that is at first glance impressive in this new part of the world still in its adolescence. The height of the skyscrapers is, however, no measure of the level of culture. This land that wants to protect intellectual freedom in the ancient cultures of Europe and Asia itself has no permanent theater or opera. A private concern like New York's Metropolitan Opera survives in peacetime only on German and Italian operas, and had to close its doors for financial reasons once the war began.



The U.S.A. has no poets, no painters, no architects or composers of world stature. Whatever culture it has is borrowed from Europe. The land lacks its own language, culture, and civilization. It has borrowed everything, generally debasing it by Americanizing it, never improving it. Americanization is a kind of kitschification that gives every cultural value an American stamp, turning a mature language into slang, the waltz into jazz, a work of literature into a crime story.

If the Americans lacked money, they would probably be the most despised people in the world. Superiority is nowhere as annoying as with them. They naturally build the best airplanes and tanks, and by the hundreds of thousands. They have the best generals and soldiers, and their defeats are only proof of their intelligence in destroying the bravery of their enemies. Their president is a demigod, though he led the nation into an economic catastrophe from which he saw no way out other than war. They promised Europe a savior in 1917 and sent them a Wilson in 1919. They will repeat this great betrayal today if we do not prevent it. In short, it is a nation still a long way from being a nation, and a people that lacks the most important prerequisite for being a people, a clear style of life.

According to official American statistics, there are 190 Protestant and 430 Catholic churches in New York, but 1000 synagogues. What else should one expect of a city with a Jewish mayor who recently attempted at a reception for foreign journalists to explain European problems in the jargon of the gangsters! The Jews have given their stamp not only to this city, but the whole of public life. The president is surrounded by Jewish advisors and his wife clears the way for her Jewish friends to enter the administration and war office. One feels the need to wash one's hands after reading American newspapers. They are filled with intellectual filth, daily printing such stories as an announcement that a number of prisoners have formed "Fighters, Inc.," and offered their services to the president. They were ready to fight in the ranks of the Allies against aggression. Mr. Roosevelt happily accepted their offer.

Can anyone name a single country in Europe where the public would accept such a thing? There was not a word of protest in the U.S.A. The same president recently told a press conference that a surprisingly large number of young people were unsuited for service in the army and the marines because they could not read or write. Is it any surprise that a cunning and demagogic leadership can do what it wants with a nation of such an educational level? At a time when U.S. forces experience one defeat after another and its ships sail the world's oceans only at the risk of death, they naively announce that they are producing a million victory medals for American soldiers to wear as a sign of their worth when they occupy Germany. American officers are studying at Southern University such matters as civil administration, the laws of war, and related matters. Their task is to return to good order the territories now occupied by the Axis powers.

So far, not a single U.S.A. soldier has set foot on foreign soil, but many have been chased back to U.S. soil in disgrace. After a siege of two or three weeks, an army of 60,000 men with munitions and food sufficient for six months gave up, leaving all of 600 dead behind. That does not bother its brilliant leadership in the least. Of course, it does not have a citizenry able to defend itself against such silly illusions. Everything is junk and make-believe. Everything is sensational. Public opinion can be kneaded like dough. It is a paradise for cunning Jews and businessmen who terrorize the people while flying the flag of democracy and citing Roosevelt's Four Freedoms. Only in the U.S.A. is it possible for criminals to become world famous gangsters, the guests of mayors and police chiefs, who give interviews for journalists from newspapers with circulations in the millions in which they

give their opinions on the questions of the day.

We would not say anything if the U.S.A. were aware of its intellectual and moral defects and was trying to grow up. But it is too much when it behaves in an impudent manner toward a part of the earth with a few thousands years of glorious history behind it, attempting to teach it moral and intellectual lessons, whether out of innocence or a complete lack of genuine culture and learning. We can forgive the mistakes of youth, but this degree of arrogance gets on one's nerves.

We therefore have no appreciation for the Americanism that can be found in certain of our circles. We fail to see why we as the leading musical nation in the world should borrow even a single note from the U.S.A. We have a level of culture and civilization that is denied to most Americans. One who understands this can hardly have much sympathy for what they understand as culture and civilization. Although we affirm the technical achievements of our age, we see behind them an intellectual strength that grows from the roots of our people. Machines are a means to an end, not an end in themselves. As much as we appreciate the achievements of modern civilization and use them to improve life, we know that they are not the sole meaning of life. There are national values that are the result of centuries of history and tradition. They cannot be purchased, only built by the labor of generations.

In any event, we prefer not to be buried in America. In the midst of the confusions of the day, we still have the ability to distinguish truth from falsehood and gold from floss. We are not impressed by American big talk and orgies of numbers. We know well enough that the trees do not grow as high as heaven on the other side of the Atlantic either. As far as God's country goes, Europeans discovered it and give it life even today. Were it left to its own resources, it would soon return once more to desert and prairie, as wide and as empty as the souls of its people.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. This essay is dated 6 September 1942.

The source: "Seid nicht allzu gerecht!", *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 451-457.

## **Don't Be Too Fair!**

by Joseph Goebbels

We Germans are still a young nation, with the virtues and weaknesses as well as the advantages and disadvantages of youth. Our national sense is a recent development, and still under attack. We identified too long with our tribal origins for our sense of nationhood to be self-evident. In England a statement like "My country — right or wrong!" is an incontestable principle of public life, but it is still difficult for us Germans.

We have a highly developed individual sense of justice, indeed we suffer from a kind of super-objectivity that mostly benefits our worst enemies and harms our own interests. An appeal to our decency always works, and we do not think too much about whether it is honestly intended or only exploits our good nature. Were one to leave the German people without clear leadership for a few years, it would soon return to being a colorful conglomerate of individuals. Nothing is more characteristic of our national character than that many millions of German-Americans maintain their social connections in bowling clubs, singing groups, and homeland associations, but soon lose their patriotic feelings.

National Socialism gave us Germans a kind of national consciousness for the first time. It gave at least a part of today's generation a sense of what it means to be a people. But that feeling is still so young and fragile that we must always guard it.

Our enemies know that better than we do and use it in their propaganda. One can hardly imagine another nation falling prey to such a grotesque bluff as we fell for in 1918. We could not imagine that our enemies did not have the same ideas and concepts as we do. We believed their phrases of world brotherhood, and it took years before we saw through the swindle. And we Germans are not the kind of people with long memories. Indeed, we love to extend our sympathies to other nations that do not even want it. Even Versailles did not keep us from thinking the French were our friends within a few years, and not even this war, instigated not only in London but in Paris and directed against our very existence, has had an impact on our friendly attitudes toward the French.

One cannot imagine what our people would do with a government that practices swindles on such a scale as Mr. Churchill's in England. Yet there are people among us who see some sort of political style in it. It does not concern them in the least that it is directed entirely against us and that it is the real cause of the troubles and concerns of the war. We are so afraid of doing an injustice to others that we prefer when uncertain to do ourselves an injustice. One really cannot maintain that the German leadership has made many mistakes in this war. By and large we have always analyzed the situation accurately. Still there are those among us who work to forget everything we have predicted that came to pass and with the same energy remember those cases, and repeat them incessantly, in which we supposedly made a mistake.

No one will say that is fair. It is even more distressing, however, when these same people grant a

kind of super-correctness to the enemy that is entirely out of place. They find any sign of self-interest on our side objectionable, while viewing the most primitive demagoguery on the other side as originality. It really does not take all that much intelligence to see through Mr. Churchill's tricks. He certainly has demagogic abilities of the highest order. But that is all he has. We find it an insult to compare him with the Führer. One cannot imagine that the English would grant the Führer any trace of justice at all, even though all that he is and has accomplished is the result of his own efforts, though he lives a life of almost legendary simplicity, and has shaken the entire world with his ideas. The English are saving their sentimentality for after the war, when it will not cost them anything.

We are different. If one of our newspapers says something crude about a statesman on the enemy side (the kind of expressions, by the way, that are common every day even in the serious British papers), the German sense of justice is suddenly awakened and our Michel feels the need to protect this statesman, to point out his good sides, and to defend his weaknesses.

We Germans must still learn to hate. We do not incline to chauvinism, and when one wants to heat up our national soul he must proceed carefully. There are supposedly even German soldiers who, after marching 1000 kilometers through the horror and spiritual desolation of the Eastern wilderness discover somewhere an atlas in a village school. They ponder it and ask doubtfully if perhaps there may not be something to Bolshevism after all.

The English destroyed a whole valuable ancient culture in India, and never even thought about studying its history and values. They are English, after all. They think that the world was created for the English, while we think that we Germans were created to serve the world. That is the difference between us. It is certainly the case that the British standpoint is better suited for practical political life, and that we are always at a disadvantage. Many of us would hardly want to have those English characteristics, but that does not stop us from admiring the English. The English find it obvious that one speaks English with them. We would hardly expect a foreigner to speak German. We break our heads learning French or English and look for Americans to explain the mysteries of slang to us so as not to inconvenience them by speaking proper English.

Are these traits appreciated? Not at all! These German traits are held in contempt rather than admiration. Certain people who spent six months in England before the war thought it their duty upon returning home to add an English accent to their speech. They wanted English clothing, ate English, drank five o'clock tea instead of coffee, did not use their umbrella even when it rained, regardless of the grins of their fellow countrymen, and sneered at the homeland from which they came but which they tried to forget as soon as they encountered a different world.

We Germans still have a lot to learn if we finally want to come out ahead spiritually and socially. Some of us, particularly those proud of their good education and breeding, suffer a sudden inferiority complex abroad. They behave as if they always need to apologize, looking like someone attending a formal dinner for the first time who is not sure which utensil to use for the fish. We are wholly free of such an inferiority complex, and can therefore speak about it openly. When before the war some English or American journalist came to us and impudently asked whether we understood English, we did not feel distressed and embarrassed, but rather told the boor in German that even if we could speak English, we would not speak it with him, and showed him the door. He usually got the idea.

We do not want to be misunderstood. We certainly do not underestimate the enemy. The best way to

avoid that is to know him and study him. We realize that England is not a nation of devils. They have admirable characteristics. But we will not speak of them as long as they see no good in us. And there is a war on. We hate them from the bottom of our souls because they threaten our very life, because they oppose our national existence out of envy, jealousy, and ill-concealed national pride.

Why are we fairer to them than they are to us? We are fighting the war according to purely pragmatic principles. We do not want a second catastrophe along the lines of 1918. We depend not on the grace of our enemy, but rather on military might. That has nothing to do with objectivity. We easily reject the charge that we are prejudiced. We are not interested in a purely objective decision when our very existence, our very life is at stake. We are on our side, prejudiced, stubborn and selfish in this regard. Do not tell us that is not German. It may be that the opposite is German, but if so it is a bad and dangerous side of our national character that we must fight. Should we be so objective and fair that in the end we do ourselves an injustice? Even Klopstock assailed this German national weakness when he told our people not to be too fair, for our enemies are not noble enough to see how lovely a mistake that is.

Lovely or not, it is a mistake. Over our history it has done us more damage than we can bear. Our present situation is indeed a consequence of it. At vital moments in our history, we have lacked sufficient national egotism to enable us to rise above objectivity and fairness to give full service to our national interest, undeterred by any false sentimentality. If the German people suddenly became leaderless today, they probably would wander around the world as so often in the past spreading morals, culture, civilization, and education, but entirely forgetting to bring food and fuel along. The German people are the heart of humanity, and our mission today is to give it a broad foundation for its existence. That is an ideal, but a realistic one worthy of the greatest sacrifices.

If we once again stood with empty hands at the end of the war, we should be ashamed before the mothers who lost their sons, the children who lost the fathers, and the women who lost their husbands. We therefore warn against any danger we see, and particularly against those with roots in our national character. The bourgeois era with its false and lying idea of humanitarianism is over. We are in the middle of a hard century. It will be won not by good nature, but by manliness and strength. The world is divided by love and hate. To be on firm ground, one must know whom to love and whom to hate.

There is only one thing that is objectively incontestable for us: We must win. That must guide us!

Background: This article was originally published in Das Reich on 27 September 1942.

The source: "Was auf dem Spiele steht," Der steile Aufstieg (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1944), 3-9.

## **What is at Stake**

by Joseph Goebbels

There is probably no one in the warring nations who has not, either publicly or privately, thought about what his people, our part of the world, and the world itself will be like after this war is over. For most, their ideas are more the result of fantasy or wishful thinking than of sober and realistic consideration of reality. Those who bear no responsibility have the prerogative to think about life and the world however they wish. Those in government are different. They must represent the whole interest of their people, not only the interests of the present, but even more importantly those of the future. Their wishes and actions must follow rules that take account of the most varied factors affecting the life of their nation, as well of the nations in their sphere of influence. The deeper significance of the war is to bring about a new arrangement in the fundamentals of existence of the peoples. All its actions must be guided by this fact, if it is not to lose its foundations and its goals.

One cannot accuse the German government of ever violating this principle in the course of the war. It has carefully avoided laying out broad theoretical war goals, always limiting itself to fighting for the freedom, independence, and vital living space of its people. Most of its military actions were forced upon it. Its offensives always had their origins in a desire to defend the nation. After defeating an enemy, it made reasonable demands that were both practical and absolutely necessary.

That also explains why Germany has waged, and is waging, the war without any desire for revenge. Super-fanatic patriots are never heard here. For us, the war was and is too serious a matter to want to entrust it to crazy hot heads. No one could prove that we have proclaimed as our war goal the dissolution, destruction, or economic or physical liquidation of a people that our weapons have defeated. For example, though the French along with the British were responsible for forcing us into the hardest war of our history, and although the Treaty of Versailles gave us reason to settle some accounts with our western neighbor, our terms at the second Compi gne were so moderate as to be almost the opposite of what friend and foe had expected of us.

The reasons for that are clear. Aside from the fact that any other approach would have been inconsistent with our national character, we also feel that during war we are in a certain way responsible for the coming peace. We never forget that after this drama, the European peoples will have to live next to each other, even after a complete re-ordering of their interests. War is not normal, but rather abnormal. The less one allows it to be diverted into pure resentment, the more clear and transparent its course will be. Anger and revenge are usually bad counselors. One can hate without being overcome by hate. He who loses his nerve and falls into war polemics is almost always wrong. This is what separates our Anglo-Saxon opponents not only from us, but from the entire civilized world.

One can argue about whether the English and Americans, along with their Jewish blowhards, were forced by domestic political reasons to reveal so openly their secret intentions toward us. Whatever the reason, it hardly needs to be said that their propaganda has done them serious harm, both in the world and above all with respect to our own people. It may be that, given their eternal military

defeats, the English and Americans need to let off steam occasionally with outbursts of rage and revenge. No one can doubt, however, that we can only welcome their revelations.

Several months ago, the British public was occupied with the well-known theses of the notorious Lord Vansittart, which maintained that Germany had been treated too mildly by the Treaty of Versailles, and that it must be entirely beaten down after this war. People in London discussed whether it was advisable to proclaim these plans in public, within hearing range of the German people, or whether one could bend the Germans to submission through infamous propaganda like that of the past. No one realized that this discussion was unprofitable at the moment, and hardly advisable given the current propaganda aimed at the German people. One did not argue about Vansittart's doctrines themselves, but rather only when and how they should be publicly discussed. Has anyone ever seen anything like that on our side? Our debates about the war focus only on critical matters. We discussed only what was useful and necessary, without ever falling into overheated considerations of revenge.

A few days ago, the official English news agency Reuters carried a cable from an overseas émigré newspaper supported by the British government. It proposed that all German children between two and six years of age should be taken from their mothers and sent abroad for 25 years. This would lead the Germans, it said, to forget their nationality. A mixed ethnic brew would result that could no longer be called German. Had Reuters not carried this nonsense, one might have done the English government the favor of assuming that this outrageous proposal was the result of a deranged mind.

In view of what we have discussed, that is no longer possible. Rather, an organ subject to the British government let slip in a careless moment what the opposite side really thinks and plans. Nor should one assume that it is not as bad as it looks. The German people learned what enemies are capable of after the Treaty of Versailles. The blood of even the last German froze in his veins when he learned what would come of the so-called peace promised by Wilson's humanitarian phrases.

We are firmly convinced that the English and the Americans, and above all their Jewish rulers from behind the scenes, plan an even more grotesque intensification of what they did before if they succeed once more in overcoming us. If German propaganda had done nothing else during the war than to make that clear to the whole German people, it would have done great service. It may be that there is still some stupid fool or another on our side who, because he is so dumb, thinks himself smart enough to believe that such monstrosities are only the result of overheated British war fantasies. We must admit we lack the ability to believe that. It is enough for us that our people fell prey to it once before. No German wants a repetition of that dark chapter. We prefer to trust German weapons rather than British promises. We are convinced that Lord Vansittart, not Mr. Churchill, is speaking the truth. We think the Atlantic Charter and empty Reuters dispatches are English diversions. In any event, we do not want to see history repeat itself for the German people. We are persuaded that that would mean its end.

We naturally know full well that the English will never have the chance to carry out their plans of revenge against us, but do think it our national duty to at least make our people aware of their intentions. It is good when one knows not only what will happen if one wins, but also what will happen if one loses. That does not make one a coward, but rather courageous. We can only be thankful to those British circles who betray so openly and plainly their intentions. They do much of the work for us. We do not need to remind our people of what happened at the end of the World War. The English are

kind enough to tell us frankly and openly what they plan to do to us should German stupidity enable them, contrary to all expectations, to win once again.

When this war began, we were aware of where it would lead. Just as during our fight for power, we burned all the bridges behind us, looking only forward, never to the rear. When a people is fighting for its national life and its ethnic future, it must be prepared to throw everything it has on fate's balance. That may sound hard, but harder still is the phrase "too late!" that follows a missed opportunity. People with no sense of history may think that we are cursed by history; we think that we enjoy its blessing, since the door is open to our people's great national future, and thus the path to a broader scope for our future life. That takes sweat, work, and blood. But when did victory ever come without them?

We are in the fourth year of war. It has reached previously unimaginable dimensions. Its prospects and possibilities have also increased. It has been hard and pitiless, giving us nothing as a gift. More than ever, we are gripped by its ever-increasing demands, from which only the most brutalized spirits try to escape. We have become a community in the best sense of the word. We know exactly what our opportunities are. We must also learn to see the dangers we face. We have the strength to overcome any crisis, if we only use that strength. The more radically we face the demands of the war, the sooner we will master them. We face an opponent who will use every means to defeat us. We therefore must use every means to defend ourselves. What does it matter what we lose when everything is at stake! Peoples, like individuals, are strongest when they are fighting for their lives. That is our situation today.

We do not take the occasional outbursts of British-Jewish rage all that seriously, giving them no more attention than they deserve. Over the past 20 years, our opponents have so often prophesied our dreadful end that we have become perfectly immune to them. We see such outbursts not only as expressions of rage and a desire for revenge, but also of impotence. We have always seen through our opponents. But perhaps there may be one person or another who, in a careless moment, is inclined to take their humanitarian phrases more seriously than their Old Testament outbursts of hatred. Such people will be brought back to reality by the Reuters dispatch mentioned above. The enemy himself has made it clear to them that war is the worst of all possible times for stale sentimentality.

In the live of nations, justice is always the result of power. Weapons are the best defense against rape. The leadership of a nation should entrust the fate of the nation only to its own strength. We have sinned against this fundamental principle often enough to avoid wanting to repeat it.

Our women know what their sons are fighting for, and our wives know what their husbands are fighting for. Each worker and each farmer is more certain than ever before of why he is swinging his hammer or standing behind his plow. Millions of children look to us. The enemy sees our future in them, and wants to destroy them.

So let us get to work! The enemy has told us what is at stake.



Background: This article was first published in Das Reich, 24 January 1943.

The source: "Die Optik des Krieges," Der steile Aufstieg (Munich: Franz Eher, 1944), pp. 129-137.

## **The Optics of War**

by Joseph Goebbels

War, too, has its characteristic face. One sees it many places in the homeland, and everywhere at the front. Certain unmistakable signs clearly point to war. Visitors from abroad, however, say that during a quick visit it is hardly possible to see that the Reich is at war. That is in fact how it is. Someone who today walks down the streets of a big city, and even more a mid-sized or small one, scarcely gets the impression that we Germans have been fighting for our lives for three and a half years. People look in good shape and decently nourished. At first glance their clothing and shoes look neat, the streets are clean and in order except in the cities that have been bombed, and movies, concert halls, and theaters are overflowing. Even though the department stores and luxury shops have hardly anything for sale that goes beyond basic needs, they try by hard work and careful displays to maintain the appearance of a normal offering of merchandise. In short, the face of the war in the homeland is not such that one can immediately see what is at stake.

In part, we are keeping up appearances for sake of appearance, which is probably acceptable. However, in part it is genuine, which is less admirable. At home we are living life in a way that in some respects is anything but appropriate for war time. We do not want to split hairs here, promoting a wartime lifestyle that depends entirely on outward appearances. We do not want to insist on privations that have no significance, but will have deep impact on our whole lifestyle, as well as on our thoughts and feelings. It would, for example, be a mistake to close the movies, concert halls, and theaters to prove that we are at war and must be serious about everything. We do not need to prove how serious war is. That will come on its own. But we do not always need to give way to it. When we maintain the cultural life of millions of our people at home and in part at the front as well in a way appropriate to war, providing some relief, some edification, some relaxation in hard times, and in ways that have no measurable impact on the huge exertions we put into the war effort, it would be foolish and unforgivable to permit stubborn dogma or outward appearances to destroy the spiritual peace of millions. That is of greater value than what we would gain by abolishing these pleasures.

One should not think that we are arguing for a lifestyle during war that follows doctrinaire principles. We understand the thinking and feelings of our people too well not to know what they want and what they think appropriate or inappropriate during war. Things that demand few personnel and expense, but which provide relief for millions of people, not only should, but must, be maintained. For example, radio, theater, and film provide relaxation and spiritual recuperation for the whole German people, but require that only a few thousand people be released from tasks important to the war effort — and given their abilities and training, they probably would not perform all that well there anyway. For the sake of the whole people, one should not touch these institutions, which are also important to the war effort. Even in conditions of total war, they are necessary. The best criterion is to ask what resources are required on the one hand, and for how many people the war is made more bearable on the other hand. No one should suspect us of some sort of iconoclasm. The German cultural landscape is blooming as never before in the visual arts, theater, opera, concerts, film, the press, radio, and literature. That is persuasive proof of the correctness of our approach on the one hand, and of the restrictions of our civilian life on the other.

But here the problem becomes more difficult. We still have a variety of institutions that serve either no one or very few, but demand resources in personnel and material that bear no proportion to the results. We all know, for example that there are shops everywhere in which there is hardly anything to buy. When one walks into them, one feels as if he had landed on a lonely island in the middle of stormy seas. After a long search, one finds a native somewhere behind a counter who gapes without understanding at the naive question whether this or that can be purchased, looking just like a member of a foreign tribe that only understands Swahili. From a superficial perspective, it may seem useful and advisable to maintain appearances by keeping such shops open. But in view of the hard necessities of war, they serve no purpose. One thus closes them and transfers their employees to more useful duties.

Everyone knows that there are bars and locales where only the regular customers can get anything to eat or drink. They can usually be counted on the fingers of a few hands. But for every ten guests, there is one employee. Others get annoyed. They stand outside, find no place to sit down, and are angry. The optics of war require an end to such things. We have nothing against a refined lifestyle, but everything has its time. Today, in the middle of war, it is out of place. It does not fit in. As gladly as we will welcome it after the war is over, it is offensive to us today. Away with it!

We know that will annoy a few thousand people. But we remind them that today it is a matter not only of facts, but also of the psychological face of war. A fighting community must obey certain rules, or else the whole spirit suffers. Just as an officer at the front must be a model to his men both of bravery and camaraderie, so the more prosperous and socially elevated in the homeland must be an example of diligence and solidarity to those less fortunate. This has nothing to do with servility. We have no desire to talk of making everyone the same. However, the laws of war demand a certain lifestyle that everyone must accept if the community is not to run the risk of being seriously harmed by a lack of national solidarity.

We have heard that in the few big cities that still have bars, not much is happening. There is hardly anything to drink. An old piano player pounds on a tired piano. The guests sit in silence, pretending there is peace. Why do we allow such nonsense? Put the pianist at the service of the troops, and the staff can certainly find useful employment in some important war enterprise, or perhaps in cafeteria or factory dining hall. Troops heading home on leave will certainly be happy if they can find a place to sleep in the empty establishment while waiting for their next connection rather than having to wait in an uncomfortable train station.

People ask why the government does not order that to happen. The government cannot pass a law to deal with every problem or minor annoyance that affects the war effort. It must depend upon the people to arrange their lifestyle in a way that takes appropriate notice of the war. It should be a matter more of education than of the law. And one would hardly know where to begin and end. Individually, these are insignificant matters, but together they affect what we call the face of the war. One makes a big mistake if he thinks one could impress foreign countries by maintaining such things. Nothing impresses both friend and foe today as much as total and radical war leadership, both at the front and at home. If we win, the whole world will be our friend; if we lose, we will be able to count our friends with a few fingers.

During the war, we want a people whose approach to life includes both serious and more relaxed moments, even at times cheerful ones. It should take serious things seriously, and lighter things

lightheartedly. It should not close its eyes to the victims of the war, but neither should it be depressed. It must always remain aware that we are fighting this war for a great and noble cause. Everything that helps in this regard is good and important to the war effort. The heavier the burdens of the war become, the more we must accept them with a spirit of solidarity. Now is the time to make National Socialist teaching and training effective within and around us. We must behave differently than we did during the World War. During that long war, people became more and more alienated and distant from each other. Today, we must grow closer and closer. That is the only way we will master the growing difficulties. And they must be mastered, or we will not reach our goal.

If we compare ourselves to the other warring peoples, no one will be able to say that we are demanding too much of the German people. There are neutral states today in which people live worse than we do. According to eyewitness reports, life in the hinterlands of the Soviet Union is so terrible that we in comparison are almost in paradise. We are in no position to complain. It could be a lot worse, and we have to hold out, since our only choice is to fight or to lose our freedom and our lives. We have every reason to thank fate that it gives us so many opportunities to lessen the burdens of war for each other. But that is no reason for too much of a good thing, for allowing a certain group to live in a way that is hardly different than they lived in peace. Unfortunately, a few of us forget all too easily that the elimination of the direct threat to our borders did not eliminate the larger threat, and that there is a lot of work to do before we are through. Thus we have to take every opportunity to repeat that. Our fundamental principles of war remain the same. We cannot change them every week merely so that we have something new to say. Rather, we see our duty as constantly repeating them until they become the spiritual property of our whole people.

The daily concerns of the war all too easily distract us from the fundamentals. The often confusing polemics about current events sometimes conceal the spiritual lines of this world struggle and push the principles into the background. That makes it even more necessary to turn attention from tiring daily matters back to principles, which are the foundation of our war policy. Even today, we must attempt to see the war as later historians will see it. Only then can we see the events of the moment with the sovereign assurance and calm that they deserve. Our attitude toward the war will thus be immovable and unshakable. We will see the policies and war leadership of today as a piece of coming history, in which we ourselves are participating directly or indirectly. We will feel an active, personal role.

That requires an inner and outward approach to the war that is, without doubt, lofty. It depends not on the events of the moment, but rather on a view of the great movements of our day, which proceed whether we like it or not. As in every other aspect of human life, recognizing the connections is the most important prerequisite to properly evaluating the facts as well as the imponderables. It is sometimes just as important to know how things are perceived by the people as to know how they actually are. The psychology of war leadership plays a critical role in today's war of peoples. It is more important today than in any war of the past. As a result, the optical appearance of our civilian life cannot stand in crass contrast to the real war, but rather they must be in harmony. Only then can we feel like a modern warrior people. Our opponents focus on the outward face of the war in some respects, neglecting the facts. We, on the other hand, put the more important facts in the foreground, but sometimes neglect the purely optical aspects. That is a mistake which can and must be corrected. A few thousand people will complain, but the whole people will thank us. It will see that we are not only speaking of a people's war, but actually waging it.

Neutral and enemy nations will thereby see that we are determined to win the war, whatever it costs. The war is not being fought to maintain peace, but rather to gain it. It has to be total. The peace time things we give up today serve the war effort. The most total war is the shortest war. It forms our image, and we form its image. Image and reality must agree.

Thus we want to wage war with all our strength. It should be the focus of our efforts and of our daily labors, and it should fill our dreams at night. It places hard duty on us, but we obey for the sake of the coming happy peace.

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Background: This article was first published in Das Reich, 28 February 1943. The battle of Stalingrad was over.

The source: "Die Krise Europas," Der steile Aufstieg (Munich: Franz Eher, 1944), pp. 205-212.

## **The European Crisis**

by Joseph Goebbels

One must understand the Jewish question in order to understand the present state of the war. How else could one explain the following facts: The Axis powers are fighting for their lives in a world-wide struggle, facing eastern Bolshevism on the one side, the most blatant and most radical expression of international socialism, and western plutocracy on the other side, the most blatant and most radical expression of international capitalism. Bolshevism is attempting to put on a veneer of Western civilization, while plutocracy is putting on the Jacobin hat as needed and speaks in a revolutionary mish-mash that attempts to conceal the remaining distance between it and Bolshevism. The Kremlin tells Downing Street and the White House that the plutocracy reigning there is not all that bad. In London and Washington, fine gentlemen in frock coats and cardinals in their robes eagerly attempt to whitewash Bolshevism and Stalin, making them appear to be innocent angels. There is no greater piety than that of the Soviet rulers, and no better socialism than that represented by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Eden. Explain this phenomenon of nature to me, Count Örindor! [a quotation from Die Schuld by Amadeus Gottfried Müllner]

One will search in vain for the answer to this riddle if he fails to consider the Jewish problem. However, the answer is clear if one sees the key to world history in the racial question. There is only a superficial difference between the two enemy camps — only the agitating persons in the foreground. If one shines a light on the background, however, one quickly discovers the cause of the whole spiritual and intellectual confusion, the ferment of decomposition of states and peoples: international Jewry.

Plutocracy and Bolshevism spring from the same roots of a period of liberal-democratic decline. They may differ in nuance, but in essentials they are the same. What they want may differ, but what they do not want is the same. They do not want order among the peoples of the world. They both depend on disorder, anarchy, and chaos. They seek them because they can only draw their infernal power for evil and destruction from those sources. Jewry has two ways to gain and maintain power over unified peoples: international capitalism and international Bolshevism. The one is the more radical brother of the other. Their lust for power is limitless. Whenever they cannot reach their goal by the usual means, they seek to introduce conditions of hopelessness and desperation in which they can sow their seed. In the process, they constantly and eagerly do all they can to hinder and eliminate the natural defenses of states and peoples, strengths that spring from the ethnic strength of a nation. They attempt to discredit that force in advance and prevent it from coming into action by making the danger appear as small and harmless as possible until it is too late.

That is the point of the process at which we now find ourselves. Last November, as it began to be apparent that the German military was not in a position to hold the lines it had reached during the operations of summer and early fall, the devilish game began. The ball was tossed back and forth between Moscow on the one side and London and Washington on the other. The Bolsheviks dressed for Western Europe and the plutocrats introduced them in this initially confusing clothing to an astonished world. The Kremlin bosses would replace their fine clothing with their former robber garb

once they were done. Today they are simply practicing mimicry, the art of appearance and disguise, an art at which the Jews are extraordinarily good, since they have always had to use it to maintain their precarious existence. One can imagine the glee with which the Soviets read articles in neutral and English-American newspapers that presented Bolshevism as the embodiment of bourgeois innocence. One is only uncertain as to whether these articles are written with stupidity or malevolence. But no one will dispute the fact that they represent a national, even a continental, danger for us all.

We live at the most critical period in the history of the Occident. Any weakening of the spiritual and military defensive strength of our continent in its struggle with eastern Bolshevism brings with it the danger of a rapidly nearing decline in its will to resist. The inevitable result would be only a question of time and the right moment. Things are so far along that the Kremlin no longer feels it necessary even to bother to defend itself publicly against the grave accusations that are raised against it in nearly all European states. It believes it can let its weapons speak. It was not even at the Casablanca meeting, which proved its complete indifference to English-American negotiations. Every attempt from London and Washington to get it to even approve the so-called Atlantic Charter failed. As an American journalist recently wrote, Stalin wraps himself in Oriental silence. But his mechanized divisions of robots speak clearly enough. Their aggressive spearheads are aimed not only against the Reich and its allies, but against all of the Occident. That is now clear.

Meanwhile, the Jews of Western plutocracy are eagerly at work to minimize the threatening danger, to make it halfway acceptable for the European public. They maintain that in the course of the past two years, since its alliance with the Anglo-Saxon powers, Bolshevism has moderated and taken on a more bourgeois face. Exactly the opposite is naturally the case. Bolshevism has not become more like plutocracy, but rather plutocracy has become more like Bolshevism. Human experience demonstrates that when two differing temperaments join, and that is what is happening here, the most radical always wins the upper hand. That is also true of this political-military concubinage. The Kremlin's present piety is only for show, while the Anglican Church's sympathy for Bolshevism is genuine. Behind the Soviet leadership's pious phrases, we detect the grotesque face of Bolshevist atheism. It has not been liquidated, but rather it is only waiting to begin again its own work of liquidation, completing its work of extermination in the European states that it began with hundreds of thousands of priests in the Soviet Union. Only then, perhaps, will the Christian churches learn what combative enmity to religion really means.

It would also be totally naive to believe the English and Americans when they say that after their arms have conquered Europe they will protect our part of the world from Bolshevization. If the German military cannot do it, no other military power in the world could do it, even if it wanted to. Today, leading English and American newspapers are saying that one must give the Soviet Union a free hand in Europe, and that it would perhaps be best to put our continent under the rule of the Kremlin. That can be said in one sentence, but it contains the tragic decline of all of civilized humanity. One shudders at the thought that it could become reality, even that it could be spoken of at all, without all of Occidental humanity rising as one to defend itself. Instead, they stare hypnotized, like the rabbit before the snake before he is devoured. The paralysis of Europe's will has reached its epitome.

Moscow, meanwhile, is telling the workers in European states that they always had to work anyway, and they will not have to do more than work in a Soviet system. It requires a holy innocence to even

hear this claim. Jewish terrorism in the Soviet Union is aimed not only at intellectuals, but even more on the more numerous working and farming classes. Millions of working people there have perished miserably in forced labor camps. If the Soviet Union prepares such a fate for its own people, what will it do with foreign peoples! They will gather slave battalions for Siberia. The compassion and concern they will experience there is shown by the terrible events in the former Baltic states during their brief Soviet period. There, too, they exterminated not only the political, military, and economic leaders, but also the entire intelligentsia. That is the goal of Jewish Bolshevism. As long as it is not firmly in the saddle, it wants to be sure that there is not the least chance of a new leadership under national leadership. We have here the most demonic attempt to attack the European states and peoples, and there is but one possible response: armed resistance until the world enemy has been defeated. That is all that is important. The danger can only be mastered by the national strength of the peoples.

We are pleased that the knowledge of the threat is increasing in international discussions. Throughout Europe, voices are growing more serious. In the areas occupied by German troops, people are becoming aware that the German military is the only protection against the steamroller from the east. In certain circle of our part of the earth, something like a sense of European solidarity is becoming apparent.

In this process of re-educating an entire continent, even the Jews may perhaps be a part of that force that always wants evil, but instead causes good. As Clauswitz once said, spiritual events do not always follow the straight path that one expects. Sometimes one thinks that he is totally confused, takes a side path, and suddenly finds himself back on the main road and sees before him the shining goal. Wide-ranging, infernal devilry works only as long as those who are affected by it fail to see it. If the danger is recognized, the battle is half won. One may not become confused by outward aspects, thereby missing the broader perspective. One must listen to one's instincts.

Our instincts tell us that we are on the right path. The situation is not as complicated as it appears. It is only complicated by those who benefit from confusion. They want to make us unsure, weakening and paralyzing our will to defend ourselves. The better part of Europe today is in a narcotic trance, but if it finds the courage to eliminate the poison, to stop thinking and feeling as its enemy wants it to, and instead follows its sense of self preservation, everything will be won. We have in our part of the world much more strength than we realize. We only need to use a small part of it. Danger sharpens the senses. We have the impression that certain circles on our continent are undergoing a sometimes slow, but also sometimes sudden, awakening. We do not believe that our part of the world wants to give up. It is not at the end, but rather at a new beginning, of its development.

Our soldiers in the East will do their part. They will stop the storm from the steppes, and ultimately break it. They fight under unimaginable conditions. But they are fighting a good fight. They are fighting not only for our own security, but also for Europe's future. Many who today still do not believe that will thank them tomorrow on their knees. Here, too, one truth always shines through. Over its eventful history, Jewry has often stood at the edge of victory, only to be thrown into the darkness of its inferior existence at the last minute.

We need only remain alert to prepare the same fate for it this time as well. The material and spiritual crisis of Europe nears a dramatic climax. He who is in the best form will gain the victory. Today more than ever, this phrase is true for us: Readiness is everything!

Background: By the time the collection titled *Der steile Aufstieg* appeared in fall 1943, the war situation had deteriorated and Goebbels may have considered that this essay was a bit too optimistic. The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Wo stehen wir?" *Das Reich*, 2 May 1943.

## **Where Do We Stand?**

by Joseph Goebbels

It is often difficult, if not impossible, to provide a so-called overview of major political or military developments. A situation does not simply exist, but rather is constantly changing. The factors involved can hardly be exactly stated, neither by lay people nor even trained experts in the field. A military leadership generally knows what it wants and what it can do, but there are a variety of factors outside its control. It can only presume what the enemy wants and can only guess at what it is capable of. Informed circles attempting to evaluate the material factors in a given military situation have to make estimates most of the time. The only certainty is the strength of will one has and the willingness to use it. That is what is important when one wants to properly understand the war situation at a given time.

Our leadership's great military successes were in the first two-thirds of this war. They threw all the hopes and ideas about the war we had at its beginning into the shadows. We were worried about Saarbrücken and the Rhine. We faced the Maginot Line and our flanks in the North and Southeast were entirely exposed. In our wildest dreams we would not have dared to imagine that we would capture rivers, regions, and cities that we today see as our obvious possessions. If we compare our situation then with today, no one will dare say that our military leadership has not achieved every imaginable military success. The opposite is true for our enemy. England, for example, began this war with an absolutely secure position based on its world-wide Empire. It is no longer in that position. If Great Britain currently has military successes of greater or lesser significance at the war's edges, they have but limited importance. In absolute terms England has suffered only losses. It will have to make a strong recovery to win back even part of the enormous losses to its imperial possessions. Our successes, on the other hand, are decisive for the war effort, whereas our occasional setbacks are not decisive for the war effort, and have only limited significance.

One cannot overlook this in evaluating the general war situation. If the war ended suddenly today, we would have ten times as many trump cards in hand as even the most optimistic optimist expected at the beginning. England would have many more losses and defeats than even the most pessimistic pessimist on its side could have feared at the beginning. If the English have the courage to believe in their final victory after such modest successes of limited, not absolute, significance, how much more reason do we have to believe! Most of Europe is in our hands. We have the advantage of interior lines. Enormous fortifications on all threatened borders give us operative freedom in the East that leaves open all possible offensives. The British air war is outbalanced materially two or three times by our U-boat war. We are giving them a reply that is partially adequate today, and the final reply will come one day. Our military leadership has difficulties here and there on the periphery. That has to do with the wide distances from its center. The center itself is in no danger. What gives the English the courage to hope for a defeat of the Axis powers? We are almost undefeatable, unless we give up the battle without reason. There can be no talk of that, which is clear to anyone on the enemy side.

We have this psychological disadvantage: the military successes that free our back are further in the



past than the enemy's peripheral successes and are therefore more easily forgotten. One has to look back at the war's beginning in order to have a halfway objective picture of its previous course. One may not compare our most favorable position in fall 1942 with our most unfavorable position in the winter of 1943. Instead, one must compare the war's beginning with its current situation. Then one will come to the persuasive conclusion that the Axis powers have had far more military successes in the last three-and-a-half years than they would have dared to imagine in September 1939.

True, Kharkov changed hands twice last winter, to give one example. But who even thought about Kharkov at the beginning of the war? Were we not worried about our basic territorial integrity, about whole provinces in the West, perhaps thinking that they could become war theaters? One is spoiled by a long series of victories, making one psychologically more susceptible to certain setbacks in the general war situation. If one wanted to take the trouble to compare what England, the USA, and the Soviet Union have lost in this war with what we have lost, one will reach the surprising conclusion that our losses are acceptable setbacks in a series of constantly growing victories, whereas the enemy side has been decisively hit in its most basic territorial and raw material resources.

It shows a pitiable short-sightedness if our enemy tries to turn this situation to their favor. Their leading circles naturally do not believe that in any way. Their bombastic manner of portraying the overall war situation and the resulting conclusions are a clever combination of deception and bluff aimed at us. Should they attempt to act consistently with their apparent certainty of success, our confidence in victory will prove otherwise, even if they occasionally manage to impress a few backward apolitical elements. Our people's healthy political instincts cannot be fooled by such methods. We Germans know well enough that at the present state of the war everything depends on our inner balance and that we can in no way be turned from our clear course.

That applies to the constant rumors spread by the enemy that we have made peace feelers here or there through neutral nations, which they proudly claim were rejected with contempt. Here the wish is father to the thought. We cannot imagine what would make us prematurely end a war of such decisive historical significance since we are certain that it would be forced upon us anew within a few years, when now when we have the best possible chances of total victory. The fairy tale that time is working for the enemy is not believed any longer even in the enemy camp. The wearing down of the spiritual and physical strength of a people over the course of a long war affects friend and foe to the same degree, and indeed to a much greater extent for the enemy of for us, since we have the most important elements of its military resources in our hands. Even serious military observers on the other side think it impossible that the European continent could be overrun. We have every imaginable trump in our hands; we need only to arm ourselves with patience and wait for the proper moment to play them. We never had as many trumps before the takeover of power as we have today to use to win final victory. We succeeded back then because the leaders of the movement and its members had the vital strength of will that today fills our entire people.

That is the main thing. Weak spirits are often inclined to break off a conflict prematurely that is hurrying to its critical and decisive moment, waiting for a better day. The reasons they advance often sound wise, but it is the false wisdom of those, as Clausewitz said, who only want to escape danger. That is true here. We cannot escape danger. It is in the middle of the road that leads to victory. The more courageously we face it, the more surely we will overcome it. We have no reason to be of fearful heart. The blow that struck us last winter did not defeat us, but only made us awake and alert. What could still happen that we need to fear! Both front and homeland today present a picture of total

war-readiness. The enemy may try every means to confuse our spirits and to talk us into seeing the war in a way that corresponds only to his wishful thinking. but his efforts will fail before the healthy political instincts of our people. We know exactly where we stand, but also where we still must go. Neither of those things can be maintained by the peoples on the enemy's side.

We certainly face new bottlenecks nearly every day in this fourth year of war. As the poet says, one day we lack the wine, the next day the bottle. Each week brings new burdens and worries that sometimes seem to tower above us. What else did one expect from war? It devours the strength of people as well as natural reserves. That, however, is true for both warring parties. Here, too, it is a matter of distinguishing the essential from the nonessential and that which is decisive for the war from that which is a result of the war. Naturally, no one may believe that the burdens of the war will decline over time in one area or another. They can only increase. But it also speeds up developments that would otherwise take a long time. In contrast to the First World War our military successes so far in this war have given us positions that the enemy simply is not in a position to win back, given the state of things. The enemy knows that well. If they say something different it is only for agitational reasons, both to give themselves courage and deceive the neutral public on the one hand and to confuse us and break our military spirit, which they cannot overcome militarily.

We must arm ourselves against that by every means. No argument by the enemy's military leadership may find a place in our heart, whether directed at our humanitarianism, our sentimentality, or our fears. It is already suspicious enough that the other side is openly discussing whether and how one could break our morale through agitation. The English-American air war is aimed solely and entirely at this end. The powerful defensive front that we maintain throughout Europe and that gives us operational freedom in the East cannot be broken from the outside. The only way they can weaken it is from the inside, and it does not need saying that this may never happen, nor will it ever happen.

The most eloquent proof of that is the sacrifices of a people brave and experienced in warfare, undergoing very hard tests, but as developments show emerging only stronger and more resolute. In the middle of the spring of 1943, the German people and its allies are ready and determined to withstand its great national trial with every material and spiritual resource, emerging victoriously whatever happens, never willing to become unsure of its natural strengths or let itself be confused. Should new major decisions be required of the peoples waging war, we have without doubt by far the best start. Enemy boasts do not change that. They are not worth the paper they are printed on.

To our deep satisfaction, letters from the front tell us that this thinking and attitude is passionately shared by our soldiers. They have deeper insight into our military opportunities than does the homeland. From their own experiences and knowledge they know what we can win if we stand firm, and what we would lose if we mistrusted our own strength. It would be to the homeland's deepest shame if the front had to teach it the nature, methods, and aims of the war. Instead, it must be an example of endurance, toughness, sacrifice, and fortitude of heart.

If someone asks us "Where do we stand?" we can only answer: We stand where we could not even have hoped three years ago. Our fronts span a whole continent that trusts in our protection. Our historical mission is to give it a new order. We have all the prerequisites to do that. The springboard is in the best possible position for us. One day we will have to stand on it to jump over the hurdles. The more courageously we cross the zone of uncertainty, the surer is the certainty of great victory.

Background: The German war situation was looking increasingly grim in June 1943. The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Die motorischen Kräfte," Das Reich, 6 June 1943. The text is also available in a collection of Goebbels's essays titled Der steile Aufstieg.

## **Driving Forces** by Joseph Goebbels

It cannot be ignored that anti-Bolshevism and its related anti-Semitism has significantly increased in all warring nations during the course of this war, particularly over the last six months. That is the result of the length of the war on one hand, but also because of our extraordinarily intensive educational work on the fundamental problems of this global struggle that extends to the whole world. Never were the peoples so open to new views and knowledge as today. The great misery the war has brought makes them interested in a factual explanation of the backgrounds and interconnections of this tragic world event. One looks for the causes and reasons for the terrible catastrophe of the peoples. Although the same superficial phrases come from the capitals of the enemy alliance, the man in the street is looking in his own way for a way out of the dilemma that peoples and continents have fallen into. This process proceeds slowly and is scarcely noticeable, but its progress over the long term cannot be overlooked. One need only compare English and American newspapers from 1941, for example, with those of today to easily see that a revolution in public thinking has occurred that has resulted in the opposite of what our enemies in this war intended.

Humanity must be a very high price for this process of reeducation, but it has substantial benefits. Our enemy is retreating everywhere in the face of our intellectual and worldview attacks. The plutocratic-Bolshevist-Jewish view has not made progress with the world public, but rather our views have. One must give way more and more, the other is advancing. That is why anti-Bolshevism and anti-Semitism are increasing in significance with all peoples, even in enemy countries, although they may not be discussed publicly. The Jews are at risk of losing the game, no matter how hard they try to rescue what can still be rescued. They began playing with fire in a reckless way, and now slowly the affected peoples who were the victims of their insidious wishes and desires have seen through and unmasked them.

As is known, the Jewish race exceeds all others in public deception and concealment and is expert at adjusting itself to prevailing conditions. Jewry everywhere practices minickry where is is necessary and useful. Experience shows that this method, too, is only a way to keep the peoples in the dark. It would be naive to believe that Jews change their plans as they change their coloring. As flexible and creative as they are in choosing tactics, so consistent and determined are they in working toward their political and economic goals. Since their goal is world domination, their methods must be very flexible and may not conflict with the existing conditions in individual countries. In conservative countries Jews play the role of defending the state just as in revolutionary countries they are the subversive element. Both forms of concealment, however, are only a tool of their racially-determined desire to conquer the world. Both plutocracy and Bolshevism are characteristic expressions of the Jewish nature. In short, what is behind them is always the same, however different they may outwardly seem.

For over twenty years, National Socialist propaganda has seen as its main task explaining the enormous dangers that result, both to its own and other peoples. In this battle, it is the main opponent of the Jewish drive for world domination. Jewry has left no means untried to resist or divert the heavy

blows we have given. One can understand that, since it is a matter not only of world domination, but also of its continued racial existence. It has no difficulty shifting its tactics as needed, to toss its current methods of battle and argument overboard when they prove ineffective or do not lead to success, adopting new tactics without hesitation. Given world-famous Jewish talkativeness, that worked only for a short time. They throw their cards on the table whenever they believe they hold enough trumps and think they have already won the game. We, however, stay at their heels, never let them out of sight, and follow their tactical maneuverings with the eye of an expert who has gained wide knowledge through experience. The Jews cannot keep us in the dark. They know that, which explains their infernal hatred of us.

The most recent example of such Jewish practice is as follows:

For months we have conducted comprehensive education both at home and to the world about the nature of Bolshevism, Jewry, and their relations with international plutocracy. It cannot be denied that this propaganda is gradually having an impact in enemy countries, not to mention neutral states. We hear voices from throughout the world revealing increasing concern of the peoples about the Jewish question, as well as on Bolshevism and plutocracy. The great Jewish plot is in danger of losing its mask. The Jews know well enough that nothing could weaken their position more than a man to man battle, so they are shifting tactics. The decision was doubtless worked out by the Jews behind Roosevelt and played up by the Jews behind Stalin. The result was the sudden apparent dissolution of the Communist International. One stone was pushed out of the way.

One need only look briefly at this well-rehearsed theatrical production between the Jews in Moscow and those in London and Washington to know what the game is. The Jews in Moscow impudently falsified the date of the decision to dissolve the Comintern, setting it before the arrival of Roosevelt's letter to Stalin. The Jews in London and Washington mimicked astonishment and displayed the previously arranged public enthusiasm. The game they played was so impudent that it was almost insulting. The Jews do not think very much of so-called public opinion, and experience shows they are not entirely wrong. In any event, they tried to persuade the whole world that this blatant trick removed any threat to make the world Bolshevik. They presented our propaganda as a bogeyman. The powers in the Kremlin were honorable people who brushed a small fly out of the way in order that nothing would stand in the way of perfect harmony between the Bolshevik and plutocratic worlds.

As we said, there always a few Jewish idiots who under the rush of apparent success betray their true goals through less than useful chatter. Here, as well. They openly boasted that they had beaten our propaganda, the effect of which they had always previously denied, thereby proving that it had had influenced the world and that the goal of the supposed dissolution of the Comintern was to reduce that effect. One hardly need say that the Kremlin will find ways to promote the world Bolshevik revolution without the official existence of the Comintern. We think the communist parties in various countries, particularly in England, are much more dangerous, since they present themselves as national and can infect public life unhindered, instead of being seen as Stalin's foreign legion. They will now surely seek to infiltrate the labor and union movements, since the old argument that they received their orders from outside the country can no longer be made without raising doubts about the promises made by their Soviet allies.

One can see that this move by the Jewish Kremlin was carefully thought out and is the best evidence

of Bolshevik-Jewish deceptive measures. The world public would undoubtedly believe it were it not for us. The Jews in the plutocratic states who work so well with those in Moscow are eagerly trying to persuade American public opinion that the last barrier between full intellectual and philosophical understanding between Bolshevism and plutocracy has been eliminated. And since democracy will always lose to radicalism, one must assume that England and the USA are at a dead end as a result of the Moscow decision that their newspapers so eagerly welcomed.

The Kremlin's future tactics are not hard to predict. We know how the communists in the Reich followed Moscow's orders before the takeover of power. If they were banned in one German province, they retreated to the Red Aid or some other ready organization prepared for such an eventuality. The provincial governments that did not find the courage to root out communism were soon happy to allow their official organization once again so that they at least had them under control and could make their leadership responsible for criminal policies, while the covert organizations were entirely uncontrolled and were a grave public danger. We assume that this condition will soon prevail in England and the United States, and we will not fail to regularly remind the affected peoples of this extraordinarily dangerous development. It is silly for the Jews in London and Washington to try to persuade their nations that Moscow's fakery has ruined the entire structure of National Socialist propaganda. We are not surprised by the Soviet decision, but rather see in it only a confirmation of our old suspicions. We will not be the ones harmed, but rather those peoples that fall victim to it, choosing their own knife to be slaughtered by, as the old German proverb has it.

The whole deception is classic proof that the enemy side has fallen into the greatest possible spiritual crisis. The signs are unmistakable. If Bolshevism puts on the sheep's pelt, it usually has immediate plans to be the wolf. That will be the case here. The Jews are playing their last cards. Our attack is hitting so hard that they must either fight or invent ever-new means of diversion. The festering wound of modern humanity has been bandaged over, but it naturally continues to fester. It will eat its way into the body, since the way outward is blocked. England and the United States will have an unpleasant experience. He who is fed by the Jews dies.

It is a great satisfaction for the Axis peoples to be the only ones with a firm worldview in the midst of this spiritually unstable and shattered world. In general, ideas are not valued highly in war. However, they are the driving forces of military and political developments. The war has not smashed our views, but rather affirmed them. He who at the beginning did not know what we were fighting for and what we were defending has become entirely clear about it as the war has progressed. No one knows better than us the pain and misery that the war brings for our people. If we constantly urge people to bear up under its torments, it is because we know that true hell awaits us if we collapse. Our people has no alternative than to do its duty every day. No matter how hard it is, it is still easier than what would happen should we fail. In Jewry and its subject peoples, we face the most infernal enemy of our national life and our race. The battle is one of life or death, We must win it, else everything would be lost.

This war develops step by step. The enemy makes his move, we make ours. The greatest possible effort is called for. We must go to work with our last reserves of physical and spiritual strength, our strength of nerve and intelligence. He whose breath fails first has lost. Never forget that in the midst of the storms and pains of the age, especially not when our moral strength is attacked, aiming to wear us down, for that is the single weapon with which we can defend ourselves.

Background: This essay is dated 7 August 1943.

The source: "Die Moral als kriegsentscheidender Faktor," *Der steile Aufstieg* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1944), pp. 406-413.

## **Morale as a Decisive Factor in War**

by Joseph Goebbels

We are in the midst of a decisive period in the war. Using an unprecedented mass of weapons and psychological warfare, the enemy is attempting to capture positions that we won during the first half of this vast world struggle, and which are the foundation of our coming victory. That is the reason for the enormous material battles in the East, the renewed and pitiless attacks of the English and Americans in Sicily, and the brutal air attacks that the enemy is unleashing on the German homeland. The other side hopes to achieve decisive breakthroughs on the front and also to shatter the morale of the German people, which they think is not able to bear such strains. Such an interpretation of the military situation is no mere theory; the enemy admits it openly and unashamedly. They hope to force us to our knees by massive attacks from all directions and win final victory in a way that will spare protracted, difficult and bloody military operations. The war against our nerves naturally has a critical role. The enemy seems to have realized that agitation is having no success in this area, so it has turned to action.

These actions are consistent with the nature of Anglo-American plutocrats. During the First World War, they attempted to demoralize the German people by a ruthless starvation campaign against defenseless women and children. Today they are attempting the same thing by air terror against the German homeland. I do not deny that enemy air attacks have cost us much property and blood and cause difficulties of every manner. The enemy knows that as well as we do, since they went through something similar in the summer and fall of 1940, though the German Luftwaffe then attacked only military and industrial targets, but the enemy's attacks today are directed almost exclusively against the civilian population, and thereby our morale. The English hardly bother to deny that any longer. In fact, they claim that it will shorten the war and spare British blood. This simple and typical English way of thinking proves the brutal cynicism of the gentlemen on the other side of the Channel.

It is up to us to answer in the same way. Since at the moment we are not able to do that by massive counter attacks, which would be the most effective method, we must do it through defensive measures. There are two aspects: the military and the civilian. Everything militarily possible is being done, and will be intensified. Our military defenses have increased significantly, and are growing from day to day. The enemy experiences enormous losses during its attacks on the Reich which they might be able to withstand materially, but not from the personnel standpoint. We expect that these losses will not decrease, but rather increase as our defensive means improve. That can happen very quickly.

What we are experiencing in the air war is a test of nerves. The English withstood a test of nerves under much less favorable political and military conditions in 1940; we must withstand it in 1943. Just as the English government decided then to win the air war by radical means, including new weapons, we have made a similar decision. Naturally we cannot speak of their nature or the presumed date when they will be introduced, but that does not change the fact that they are slowly but surely being developed.

With regards to civil defense against enemy air terror, methods are either preventative or reparative. Sending children, the aged and nonworking women out of Berlin because we expect it to be the target of enemy air terror is an example of a preventative measure. That does not mean that Berlin is certain to be attacked, only that we think taking precautions to be wise. We are not conducting a complete evacuation. It is a planned partial evacuation that is being carried out in an orderly manner and is no cause for alarm.

The areas receiving and caring for citizens that have been evacuated are doing an important and difficult job. But we have already managed other difficulties. Those receiving the evacuees must have sympathy for them, and vice versa. The English press is claiming that these and similar measures are causing panic in Germany. Their public will have to pay for their error. We made a similar mistake in 1940, when the English government sent children to the countryside. Our hopes proved in vain. We therefore see no reason to avoid speaking openly about the matter. Things would be much worse if we did nothing. The war will not be won by wishing or illusions, but only through hard facts.

Our measures of civil defense reflect the rhythm of the enemy's methods of air terror. We announce them regularly to the public, and it is in everyone's interest to pay heed. The government is doing everything it can. These methods would be inadequate if the public did not do its part. Much can be done by staying calm, being courageous, and thinking clearly. We should never forget that we are dealing with temporary difficulties here, and that the enemy's attacks against us will pass, just as they have on the fronts in the East and South. Everyone needs to stay at his post and do his duty. One may be involved in active defense, the other in caring for the victims of enemy air terror. The more resolutely the people in the Homeland get to work, the more certain is success. The main burden of the war sometimes falls here, other times there, and each must prove himself when it is his turn.

That is also true for soldiers. At the front, periods of relative quiet alternate with ones of enormous, almost superhuman exertion and danger. At such times, the troops must keep their nerve, fight bravely, and stubbornly defend their position that loyal hands gave them. The enemy does not plan his actions for our comfort, but rather to wear us down. He tries in every possible way to attack, even to break through; that above all must be stopped.

The enemy cooks with water, too. The Soviets attack our front with gigantic masses of men and material, hoping to break into the Ukraine. They need it, since otherwise they cannot meet their need for food. The English and Americans storm against our front in Sicily, and accept serious losses in their air attacks, in order to break our morale. An American correspondent in London recently reported that the British people are weary of war, and are calling for victory to put an end to it. We must stop England from gaining such a victory, and that is our duty on all fronts, both abroad and at home. England has never won a war through a genuine military victory. It either sent other peoples to fight for it, or it broke the nerve of its enemies even when there was no prospect of military success. It is trying it again with us. Our task is to frustrate the attempt.

During such a phase of war, public morale is a decisive factor. During the Seven Years War, there were times when only the strength of its king rescued Prussia. Our present crisis is in no way as severe as Prussia's. We would have no right to claim the greatness of our age if we did not believe we could master the difficulties. Overcoming the dangers will be remembered, not the dangers themselves. No one will be forgiven by posterity for failing under particularly difficult

circumstances. We will forget the difficulties we have from all sides the more time passes. We will remember only the ways in which we overcame them.

We consider it obvious that the soldier at the front keeps his cool in critical situations, and when the order comes leaves his protecting trench to storm the enemy's position. If he does not, we call him a coward. Still, every attack demands courage, bravery, cold-bloodedness, and a strong heart. We need these same virtues in the homeland with regards to morale, and if it comes to that, physically as well. Our enemies are human. They can be beaten, even if it here or there seems difficult. London newspapers reported recently that our troops in Sicily were fighting like the Devil, and that the attacker had to pay for every meter of ground with streams of blood. German sons stand at their distant posts, and they prove through their unshakable heroism not only their physical, but also their moral courage. If our whole nation is filled with their spirit, the enemy can never defeat us.

None of us wants to minimize the severity of the air war against the German homeland. It is a severe trial. But we must pass the trial. The attacks of the enemy on our morale will fail in the face of our firm resolve, just as the storm of his weapons fails against the bravery of our front. We have become citizens of the world, and must behave accordingly. Friend and foe alike look our way each day and ask: Will they pass the test?

Our answer cannot be in doubt. The English no longer boast that their people can take more than we can. They face a nation that is determined to defend its life and freedom by all means, and which will end the great battle only when it has the victory. In the long run, such determination must be rewarded with victory. There will be hard times, but in them above all the nation has to prove its mettle. Everyone gives such proof. Our war morale is a matter of the individual, but also of the community. It is attacked by the enemy today, and we must all defend it.

Our nation has learned much from the past. Above all, it has learned never to trust a treacherous foe. This lesson is deep in our bones. Without wavering we know that a nation of brave men and sacrificing women, with an obedient and devoted youth, a nation that is risking its very existence in fighting for freedom, will gain it.



Background: Article dated 22 August 1943.

The source: "Die Realitäten des Krieges," Der steile Aufstieg (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1944), pp. 422-430.

## **The Realities of War**

by Joseph Goebbels

Mature political judgment requires not only understanding, but also imagination. That is what generally is missing in those who shout their opinions the loudest. They take pleasure in balancing the war's accounts, which on close examination rarely holds up. That is particularly true at critical points in this struggle for existence. As Clausewitz said, there is a false wisdom that only wants to escape danger. In ordinary times one can easily talk of heroism, since it requires no burdens or dangers. Only real danger reveals a person's true character. Previously hidden traits, whether good or bad, reveal themselves. One must prove whether he is a hero or a coward by deeds, not words. It is well known that those who make the most noise in good times do the same in bad times. In good times they are filled with illusions, in bad times with hopelessness and pessimism. One can only hold them in contempt; they deserve nothing else, certainly nothing better. Thankfully, such people are a tiny minority by us, and they have no influence.

Many otherwise sensible people make the mistake of judging the overall state of a war by the difficulties that they personally face. That is all they see. They overlook the fact that most of the problems are the result of the war, and affect the enemy just as much. There are of course difficulties that affect only us, but they are mostly balanced by problems that only affect the enemy. On the whole things balance each other out, and the crucial factor is which side devotes the most energy and confidence toward winning superiority over the other side. Faith plays a role in every great matter, for the individual as well as for the entire nation.

Since the beginning of the war our enemy has been hard at work attempting to persuade us of things that do not correspond to the facts, but do exploit our national characteristics. We Germans have had much misfortune over our history, and are suspicious of a series of successes. When an occasional misfortune occurs, we incline toward a type of self accusation that only harms our activity and our self confidence. The National Socialist leadership is free of this German weakness. Our rise from a tiny party to power is clear proof that such weakness is not to be found in us. The German government's determination is clear in this great struggle for existence. The government sees things realistically and sensibly, as they are, but depends less on understanding than on imagination. Past history shows that it is always able to deal with the situation, and will do so in the future as well. No difficulty is unmasterable if a great people wishes to master it.

Our evaluation of the war is affected by the great victories of the past. They have given an impression of things that is often false. Many of us believed that one could survive such a great world struggle without having to master any crises. But that would be unnatural, not natural. We had to assume at the beginning that enormous problems would come, and view it as good fortune that we did so well during its first half. That is what happened. We broke the enemy's stranglehold on us at the war's beginning. If one wants to talk about the weakness of our position, it was then. We were compressed into our limited territory, and had to begin by gaining breathing room. It was a miracle that we succeeded. There was real reason to fear when our enemies attacked us. The worst danger was removed by the victories of the war's first three years.

The correctness of this description is clear from the behavior of our soldiers. Every German's heart must beat proudly when he hears English or American reports that our troops in the East and the South are fighting like tigers, and are defending ground over a thousand kilometers from our borders. That is proof of the fact that the German soldier acts politically rather than chatters about politics like some folk back home. He knows what is going on. He knows that he owes it to his comrades, who have sacrificed their lives, to defend the ground they gained with every means possible. That is the guarantee of our eventual triumph. When someone doubtfully asks how we will gain victory in such a way, our answer is that that question is better asked of the enemy, for we have the prerequisites for victory in our hands, not they.

It is clear that the enemy camp is watching tensely to see how the German people react to recent developments. The morale of the warring nations is more important in this war than it was in any of its predecessors. The English and American newspapers carry long accounts every day about the internal situation in the Reich, full of speculations and vague hopes. One would have to be very stupid not to see that enemy air terror is aimed at destroying our morale, and at making the German people an ally of its enemies. It is disgraceful when here and there citizens becomes a tool of enemy propaganda, even if it is mostly unintentional. They do our cause great damage by encouraging the enemy to continue his blind terror against the German homeland, or even to increase it. We know that this happens only occasionally, but the enemy generalizes and uses it to support further actions against our civilian population. The best way to serve the fatherland is to do one's duty, believing loyally and unshakably in our great cause, and to allow no one to diminish his confidence in final victory.

As far as that great cause goes, it has firm foundations. We are not waging a war divorced from reality, nor do we seek to lead our nation from one illusion to another. We see the situation realistically, complete with its problems, but also with its opportunities. The German leadership recognizes not only today's opportunities, but also those of the near and more distant future. If we spoke openly of everything that we are preparing, or have in reserve, the doubters would likely be silenced. But our national interest keeps us from speaking of the future, or even of our current resources. There is already more chatter than is useful. At times when events become critical and one crisis follows another, it is more important than ever that the entire nation looks with assurance to the Führer, in whose hand its fate rests.

The German government always has a reason for its silence. It has never been silent because of uncertainty. More could be said than the layman can know. However, not only the German people, but also the enemy leadership thirsts for such knowledge. There is good reason why we withhold information that might alleviate people's concerns. We have to accept the unfortunate fact that the result is sometimes to leave the field free for rumors. But given the facts discussed here, such rumor-mongers may see how contemptible they are. They are cowardly and stupid at the same time. They could not do their job better if they were on the enemy's payroll. Note their lazy chatter, and box their ears at the appropriate moment.

Their chatter does lead the enemy to believe that our morale must be bad if we have to speak about it in this way. That is nonsense, but unfortunately those in London, Washington, and Moscow believe it. It does not change the war situation, but does give the enemy camp hopes and illusions that do us no good, and that is something. The enemy's fantasies about our domestic situation are simply

outrageous. Notice the difference: When 600,000 American miners go on strike for a week, the German press carries a five-line story about it. We do not believe the war will be determined by such events. But when five criminals here receive the just penalty for listening to enemy radio stations, the enemy press concludes that a revolution is in progress. We happen to think that 600,000 striking miners are a greater threat to the U.S.A. than five criminal radio listeners are to us. Where are the illusions, and where the realities?

Understanding that is crucial. Only one capable of seeing things rightly can form a proper evaluation of the war situation, for he sees things as they are, not how the enemy wishes him to. It is better to hold a thousand kilometers of enemy territory than to hold a half dozen conferences between Churchill and Roosevelt. One is a fact, the other an expression of intentions and wishful thinking. What happens depends on us. One side never determines a war's outcome, unless it lays down its weapons. That is not only out of the question for us, but we are working day and night to ensure that we do not lack those weapons. And no one, thank God, doubts that the German people are ready to bear those weapons. What can happen to us if our hearts remain courageous? The enemy may bring misery to our cities, but that too will end. Ruined houses can be rebuilt, but not ruined hearts.

Was there ever a nation that had so favorable a position after five years of war as we do today? The front is unbroken. The homeland is morally and materially able to withstand the bombing terror. A river of war material flows from our factories. A new weapon against the enemy air attacks is being prepared. Countless able hands are working at it day and night. We have a hard test of patience before us, but the reward will come one day. The German farmer is bringing in a good harvest. There will be enough to guarantee our food supply. At the moment we are not showing the usual level of activity in a variety of military arenas, but we will be doing so in the foreseeable future. We have more than enough challenges, but each can be overcome. We must recall our great and good cause, to which the goddess of history cannot deny final victory. Our task is to do all we can every day to show courage and bravery, a firm attitude, and deep German faithfulness.

This is the reality of the war. If we do our duty, that will prove stronger in the end than the illusions of our enemies. War is a matter of strength and will. He who is determined to fight in this spirit is assured of victory. He need only keep going. He must press onward through the thorns and thickets. There may be times when he cannot see the goal, but that is no proof that it is not there.

Tomorrow or the next day he may take the step that brings him again to shining clarity.

Background: This article is dated 19 September 1943. The Allies had landed in Sicily in July, and Mussolini had been deposed by the Badoglio group on 25 July 1943. Shortly before this essay was written, National Socialist forces rescued Mussolini and restored him to power.

The source: "Das Schulbeispiel," *Der steile Aufstieg* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1944), pp. 456-463.

### **A Classic Example** by Joseph Goebbels

It attracted some notice when the author of these lines failed to provide his usual weekly lead article on the Friday following 25 July. Some unfriendly souls even believed that the events surrounding the fall of the Duce and the establishment of the Badoglio regime in Rome rather took his breath away. The falsity of that belief needs no proof today. It would naturally have been possible to speak during the week in question just as it is in any other week, and the situation was such that there would have been more to say than usual about the war and international affairs. However, regard for our national interest kept us silent. We did not want to say what we could say, and we could not say what we wanted to say.

We do not need to say that the treason of the Badoglio clique, which first became evident when Mussolini was deposed, was recognized immediately by the German military leadership. It nonetheless had to put a good face on things while they developed. Just as the traitors worked in secret, so did we. To paraphrase Machiavelli, it was a point when it was a sign of great wisdom to look the fool. Only thus could the disgraceful plans of the traitors in Rome be resisted and ruined.

It was a classic example of the necessity of silence during war. We were not willing to say anything that conflicted with our knowledge and beliefs, and that we knew would be contradicted by the facts within a few weeks. But we could not discuss the true situation without revealing the plans and intentions of the German war leadership. And in the middle of one of the most dramatic moments in the war, we did not want to take up some peripheral issue, leaving us open to the charge of dodging the issue. We had no alternative but to remain silent. We were firmly convinced that developments would soon reveal the reason for our silence.

This happened more rapidly and dramatically than even we could have expected. The German military leadership assumed after the Duce was imprisoned that the Badoglio regime intended to take Italy out of the war as quickly as possible. All the protestations by the reactionary clique of traitors in Rome about their loyalty and dependability were not able to convince us of the contrary. One does not replace a strong man with a weak one in order to wage war more energetically, as the lying Badoglio clique told us. The actions of the clique in Rome proved that they were committing treason on a large scale. Their goal was not only to deceive us, but also to give our soldiers in the south over to the enemy. This treacherous betrayal was to be the payment for a better armistice agreement.

The Badoglio regime did not want to leave the war in an honorable way, but rather at the cost of the Axis partner that Italy owes so much to since 1940. The king made the most pompous calls to continue the war and hold to Italy's obligations, while military and political actions demonstrated treason of the most disgraceful and degrading sort. Spare us the necessity of going through the Badoglio regime's treachery. Even thinking about it sickens us. There has never been a greater example of treachery in all of history. But it was a treachery that backfired, as the proverb has it.

The German leadership naturally drew cold and rational conclusions at the beginning of developments. The failure of the Badoglio regime's treachery resulted from the German leadership's countermeasures. Had it succeeded, the Reich would have faced the greatest danger of the war. Speaking from direct knowledge, we can say that only the Führer's clear vision and wisdom is to thank for overcoming the danger. Despite all the hypocritical assurances of a treacherous king and his cowardly marshals, who even gave their word of honor as soldiers, measures were taken to defend German interests, despite scandalous disloyalty.

The public knows the outrageous nature of these treacherous events. Not only did they conceal their measures from their loyal, reliable and generous ally, they continued to do so even in the midst of their activities. They made military demands of us that, had we fulfilled them, would have led to the worst possible disaster for our troops in Italy.

One can understand why the Führer was not able to speak to the German people in the midst of these breath-taking events, despite the widespread wishes of the public. The resulting uncertainty had to be accepted as events continued to develop. We presumed that the traitorous clique in Rome would continue their activities, displaying more stupidity than lack of character. That was our plan. We had to play dumb in order to act intelligently.

The German people read with horror the account of the deposing and imprisoning of the Duce. We knew this earlier, without being able to reveal it to the public. If one can make any reproach against Fascism, it is that it believed in a king's loyalty. His throne was rescued in 1922 by the march on Rome, and like most modern kings, he repaid the strong policies of his most loyal servant by deserting him in the hour of danger by running to those who opposed and hated him. Kings generally are not characterized by thankfulness. Wilhelm I, whose loyalty to Bismarck is an exception, earned the title "the Great." The Duce was good enough in 1922 to protect the corrupt court in Rome from execution by the Bolsheviks. They deposed him in 1943 because they blindly thought they could get along without him. Recent events have shown how wrong they were. The violent removal of a strong man leads to anarchy. The Italian royal house quickly learned the result of replacing a personality of historic stature with a cowardly, treacherous marshal, one who held breaking his word of honor as a soldier to be the height of political wisdom.

One can only pity the Italian people, who were the victims of these revolting developments. Just as a nation benefits from the deeds and accomplishments of strong governments, so too they suffer from the mistakes and failures of weak, amateurish and disloyal governments. It was unavoidable that the Italian people had to suffer at the beginning of the darkest chapter of their history. They have the peace-hungry cowardly elements of Roman society to thank. The thirteen points of the capitulation treaty will have given them a foretaste of what was coming. World history is the world court. Italy's citizens can learn from the international press what friends and enemies think about the treachery of the king and his clique of generals. Even the English and Americans gag. Their motto at the moment is: "Love treason, hate the traitor." One does not need to wonder about the judgment of history on the royal house and those around it. That is already clear.

London and Washington are amazed at the German reaction to the Badoglio regime's treachery. They expected things to turn out differently. The German troops in the south of Italy were to be cut off and destroyed. We would not be prepared to deal with Churchill's amphibious landing. Air terror would

increase. The German people would be so depressed that on 9 November a repetition of the tragedy of 1918 would be possible, even likely. Nothing like happened, or will happen. The English and the Americans have a long way to go to get to Rome, not to mention Berlin. The German army is master of events in Italy. And as for German morale, it has never been stronger than it is today.

The Italian example is not encouraging for we Germans, but rather a warning. We see it as a classic example of what not to do. No one here wants to follow in the footsteps of the Badoglio clique. To the contrary, the consequences that followed the royal house's betrayal of the nation's great leader and his powerful friends is a lesson for every German. It has opened the eyes of even the dumbest among us. A flood of letters has reached us recently. In some, the writers regret that this or that annoyance of the war had put them in a bad mood. In the face of what has happened in Italy, they regret it. A university professor writes that he is normally a peaceful man, but after reading the capitulation demands on the Italian people, he is firmly resolved to punish anyone who in his hearing even hints at opposing the war or doubts victory. Everyone in Germany thinks the same way. The threat has not robbed us of courage, but brought us closer together.

None of the English-American hopes have been realized. They shot a poisoned arrow at us, but it boomeranged off the wisdom of our leadership and the firm morale of our people. A danger that first seemed deadly has been averted, and a national misfortune has been turned to our good. How can we doubt final victory in the face of such a wonderful and improbable turn of events? The war brings so many surprises that one cannot predict its course. One must hold to the virtues with which its dangers and difficulties are mastered.

Courage, steadfastness, and confidence in a just fate are always with the brave in the end. Their loyalty is unshakable, they stand by their friends and allies. The treacherous Badoglio clique sinned shamefully against all of these virtues, and they have their reward. A band of treacherous cowards misused their high offices, forgot their honor and followed a false wisdom that wants to escape danger, but falls victim to it. Their names are covered with shame and disgrace in the book of history.

We bow in admiration before that great personality, the Duce. He neither caused, nor could he hinder, the misfortune that came upon the Italian people, but now has even greater claim on our admiration. The whole German nation admires him. It found spontaneous expression when news of his rescue reached us. We are happy that our people think this way. It has a natural feeling for thankfulness and loyalty, and will stand even more fanatically by a man whose lifework is threatened. No one knows what the future of the Italian people may be. Perhaps it is undergoing a hard and painful process that will bring new life. Italy will have to decide for itself. We made a clear choice after 1918: it was for struggle, sacrifice, devotion, and hard work. That led us upward. Each nation is responsible for itself.

We Germans in recent weeks walked a narrow path along the abyss. Not everyone saw the abyss, but we all followed the Führer, who even in his silence showed us the way. More than ever, we sense the blessing of his great personality that watches over the life and future of the nation. Giving to him our full confidence is not only our national duty, but also our proud right. We want to be hard and strong, to fight bravely, to work untiringly, to believe and trust unshakably, until the hour of victory comes.

All of us will then be able to say that have not gained victory unworthily, but rather that it is the reward for struggle, work, and loyalty.

Background: The war was looking grimmer when Goebbels proclaimed his “30 Articles of War for the German People.” They appeared in Das Reich on 26 September 1943. The Russian campaign was going poorly. Mussolini in Italy had been deposed, then restored by German intervention. This is dated 26 September 1943. It was widely reprinted, including a pamphlet edition of about 14 million, according to records. The source: “Die 30 Kriegsartikel für das deutsche Volk,” Der steile Aufstieg (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1944), pp. 464-74.

## **30 Articles of War for the German People**

by Joseph Goebbels

These are the articles of war for the German people, who are now engaged in the most fateful battle of their history. Countless of Germany’s best have sacrificed their lives in their spirit both at the front and at home for the life and freedom of their nation. Millions of brave German soldiers fight for them on every front, and millions of industrious men and woman work untiringly for them at home, in the factories, workshops, offices, laboratories, and in agriculture.

These war articles are a reminder to our people of those who have fallen. They are a testimony to the willingness of those who fight and work to sacrifice, and a harsh rebuke to the lazy and undecided.

### Article 1

Everything is possible in this war, save that we capitulate and bow to the power of the enemy. Anyone who speaks or even thinks in such a way is a cowardly traitor and must be expelled in disgrace and shame from the fighting and working German community.

### Article 2

We are fighting for our lives. If we win, we will be able to repair the damage and the pain this war has caused in a relatively short time by applying our full strength. If we lose, it will mean the end of our nation and our history.

### Article 3

This war is a defensive war. It was forced upon us by our enemies, who wish to destroy the possibility of life and growth for our nation. If they succeed, our present generation will have lost everything that countless German generations have won over millennia of struggle by hard work and sacrifice. Our nation’s history will end in shame and disgrace.

### Article 4

This war brings countless dangers and risks, as does any war. Each must remember that every danger and risk can be overcome if a great nation like Germany with a capable and determined leadership uses all its strength and every resource to deal with it.

### Article 5

We will certainly win this war if all Germans think of the community and act as do the best sons of our people. But if all ignored the community, as do the lazy, the cowardly, and the hesitant, we would have long since lost it. The war will be won or lost according to the strength of our community.

## Article 6

Each German proves his community sense by conscientiously fulfilling his duties to the nation, just as he makes a claim on the community. Even in times of peace, each is dependent on the help and support of the community, and must therefore also be willing to share its burdens and duties. How much more is that true during war!

## Article 7

Any advice from the enemy is an attack on our war morale. The enemy wants to win as much as we do. Everything he says and does is intended to lead us astray and deceive us. He who listens to the enemy, no matter how sanctimonious the reasons he may give, puts his people in the gravest danger. Ignorance may not protect him from the penalty he deserves.

## Article 8

Silence is an important command from the war leadership. Few know the war's secrets. These are weapons in our nation's struggle for existence, and may not be revealed to the enemy. It would be unfair and destructive of the general welfare to spread rumors that force the government to speak about matters important or even decisive in the war. This can only help the enemy and harm our nation.

## Article 9

The war leadership is doing the best it can. Often it cannot reveal the reasons for its actions without giving valuable information to the enemy. That means that even those of good will often do not understand its actions. That is why it must have the confidence of the people, confidence it has earned by its courage, cleverness, farsightedness, as well as its past successes. The know-it-alls can criticize only because the government is condemned to silence; if it could speak, they would be refuted instantly.

## Article 10

The only thing we cannot afford to lose in this war is our freedom, the foundation of our life and our future. Everything else can be replaced, even if only through years of hard work. But a loss of our freedom would mean the loss of all our other material and cultural possessions, both for the nation as a whole and for each individual. If the war requires it, we must therefore be willing to use all we have to defend that freedom. Without it, neither the nation nor the individual can live.

## Article 11

An old trick of warfare is to split a people from its government, leaving it leaderless and therefore defenseless. This is the only trick with which the enemy could defeat us. Anyone who falls prey to the enemy's trick is either stupid or a traitor. He endangers the victory for which our soldiers risk their lives, and for which our heroes have died. He stabs the fighting front in the back. No penalty is too severe for him.

## Article 12

Beware of those seemingly intelligent people who seek to win your confidence with clever words, then undermine your confidence with a flood of phrases and rumors. Listen carefully to what they say, and you will soon see that they are cowardly, not intelligent. They may know better, but they cannot do better. Were they the latter, instead of criticizing they would be filling an important position at home or at the front, contributing by their actions to speeding our victory.



### Article 13

He who speaks about the war and its prospects should always speak as if the enemy were listening. In many cases he actually is. Each thoughtless word from our side gives him new hope and courage, and therefore prolongs the war. Annoyance or anger about this or that inconvenience of the war sometimes has justification, but in view of the great battle we stand in the midst of most problems are of minor significance,

### Article 14

We are helping those who need it as much as possible. If real help is impossible during the war, those affected should know that it will come after victory. Victory is the prerequisite for a national reconstruction that will repair all the damage of the war. The more one sacrifices for the war, the more fanatically one believes in victory. Therefore we must work and fight. That alone gives sacrifices, even the hardest ones, their meaning.

### Article 15

Each must, therefore, follow to the letter all the laws and regulations related to the war. Who violates them from neglect or forgetfulness does just as much damage as if he did so intentionally. Each must take the war with the seriousness it deserves.

### Article 16

Anything grows dull with time, even the impact of the war. We must therefore constantly guard against becoming lackadaisical in fulfilling our war duties. Our behavior today will be admired in a few decades by our children and grandchildren. They will not experience the spiritual pain that this long war has brought us. Rather, they will see the war only as the greatest heroic event in the history of our nation. Do not forget that in the midst of the everyday problems of the war.

### Article 17

Everything comes to an end eventually, even war. We must be sure that its end is a happy one. We can best ensure that by remaining calm and steadfast. The nation with the most of these virtues will win.

### Article 18

Nothing is more stupid than to believe that the leadership has it better than the people. The individual may have a heavy material burden to carry. But the heaviest burden is that of responsibility, with its never-ending cares. One should not be unfair and should not make unreasonable judgments about matters he does not understand.

### Article 19

Nothing is more contemptible than to think that one part of the nation wages the war and another only watches. This is no war of governments or armies, it is a war of peoples. He who stands aside only proves that he does not understand the situation. He is a war parasite who lives from the pain and contributions of others. Were they to think as he, we would lose the war. In the interests of decent citizens, the lazy must be reminded of their war duties. The war effort demands that, as does public morale.

## Article 20

Just as in war there are medals and decorations for those who fulfill their duties with distinction, so, too, there must be warnings and if necessary harsh penalties for those who neglect their war duties. A war duty left undone is far worse than a neglected duty in time of peace. Each German today lives under the laws of war. They lay out harsh penalties, even for behaviors that are not all that serious in peace. They are shameful crimes during war, since they endanger victory. They deserve the harshest penalties.

## Article 21

The soldier dies at the front while fulfilling his duty. He has the right to demand that those at home who sabotage or harm the war effort receive the death penalty. The front has the right to be supported by high morale at home. Anyone whose actions at home rob the front of this assurance deserves a harsh penalty. The soldier at the front demands it.

## Article 22

Whether at home or at the front, discipline is the most important virtue. We can master the war's enormous problems only through iron resolve. A weakness in discipline weakens morale and violates all the laws of war. Any loosening of our people's unity in war is a crime against the community. Our people's greatest chance of victory is in firm resolve and hard determination.

## Article 23

No one has the right to complain about limitations on his personal freedom caused by the war. What significance do these have in view of the fact that countless men, even woman and children, have died!

## Article 24

The war demands our full devotion for itself and its duties. All that still remains from can only be viewed as a gift subject to recall. We must always realize that sooner or later we may have to give it up. We are fighting this war not to maintain, but to restore peace. In war more than ever, one must use what one is defending.

## Article 25

Nothing is too valuable to be sacrificed for freedom. All we possess we won as a free people. Without our freedom, it would have no purpose, meaning or endurance. It is better for a nation to be impoverished but free rather than to seem prosperous, but end a war as slaves. A free people can rebuild everything it lost in defending its freedom. An enslaved people will lose that which survived the war, and also the ability to gain it back again.

## Article 26

The duty of the individual during war extends to sacrificing his life for the life of his nation. In view of such great and final sacrifice, surely one must demand that each be ready to give up his goods and property if that is necessary for victory and the security of his nation! Only such willingness to sacrifice transforms a collection of individuals into a people, and in a higher sense, a nation.

## Article 27

The goal of our government and military leadership is a German nation that can live freely in all important areas. Our generation must secure this through battle and hard work. It cannot be

postponed until later. Either we do it, or it will never be done.

#### Article 28

Our generation has not only particular burdens, but also particular honor. If we win, and we can and must win, we will be the most famous generation in the history of Germany. If we lose, our names will be cursed through the centuries by the generations that must bear the frightful cost of our failure.

#### Article 29

There are people who have little interest in such matters. They are materialists who think only of comfort and pleasure, and who have no sense of their historic responsibilities. One can only hold them in contempt. They are ready to give up our nation's future for the pleasures of the moment. Wherever they speak, they must be dealt with firmly. They do not understand reason, only self-interest. They act under the principle: After us the deluge! Our reply to these unprincipled people is this: Even if we have to give up our dreams for many years, at least our children and grandchildren will have things better!

#### Article 30

Remember in all that you do and do not do, in all that you say and do not say, that you are a German! Believe loyally and unshakably in the Führer and in victory. Remember always that you are a child of the bravest and most industrious people on earth. We must suffer much to reach our goal, but the goal will be reached despite everything if only we hold true to all our virtues and are ready, if necessary to sacrifice everything in this war to guarantee the nation's freedom and its future.

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Background: Goebbels wrote in his diary on 29 December 1943: "1943 was everything but successful for us. One disaster followed another. Fate did everything to us that it could."

The source: "Vor einem neuen Jahr," Das Reich, 2 January 1944, pp. 1, 3.

## A New Year

by Joseph Goebbels

1943 was a year of testing for us. The Reich had the task of defending the economic and military ground that our army had won in past great offensives, and which is the foundation of the coming final victory. It was to be expected that the enemy would do all it could to tear it from us. They did not succeed. They did it is true deal us significant blows, but were not able to bring about a fundamental change in the war situation. One needs only to remember the views and plans with which they began the past year to realize that they were able to gain only a small portion of their goals, a portion in no way sufficient to change the war in their favor.

That was openly admitted in London and Washington at the end of the year. The leading military critics of the Anglo-American newspapers competed in criticizing their war leadership, whose results stood diametrically opposed to their predictions and promises. That is how things in fact stand. We can be satisfied with the course of the war in 1943. It has not brought us what we hoped, but that is even more true for the enemy.

The enemy camp seriously underestimated the moral and military strength of the Reich in the most fateful and gravest ways. They are still doing that in part today. We Germans in general hold only our own government responsible if it makes false promises, but it is worth remembering that the British prime minister called the Anglo-American campaign in Italy the beginning of an attack on the soft underbelly of Europe and promised the public that reaching the Brenner Pass was only a matter of weeks. By the time the leaves fell in the fall, amphibian operations would finally have destroyed the Wehrmacht's strength in all the European theaters of action. One needs only a cursory look at the map to realize that these were hasty prophecies not worth the paper they were printed on.

The enemy side was just as deceived about the political developments of 1943. How often was the moral collapse of the Reich predicted, yet here we are! One does not need rose-colored glasses to conclude that the German people have never been so determined to fight and win as they are in this fifth year of war. In the face of our determination, the enemy has had to back off from his demands for unconditional surrender. He has probably realized that it only makes him look ridiculous. What would the English and American soldiers say about it? On the Southern Front they must struggle through mine fields and conquer mountains at the cost of rivers of blood, only to lose them the next day. Their great offensives gain a few centimeters. One will not defeat the German army that way.

There is a familiar Berlin joke that exactly describes the current situation: "He who boasts gets more out of life." The English and Americans have succeed in using clever and boastful bluff propaganda to persuade a certain part of the world that victory is a foregone conclusion that really does not need to be discussed any longer. The more the military facts speak against them, the more crudely and shamelessly London and Washington repeat their claims. On the one hand the enemy side is attempting to build up its own courage, and on the other to persuade the neutral public of things that are simply not true. They boast destructive plans against the Reich and the German people as if they were already in Berlin, while in fact they are fighting in vain a long way from Rome. We would

never make propaganda so far from the truth. But the English and Americans do it without the least shame. They have the hippopotamus skins of hardened sinners, and the idea of a political conscience is entirely foreign to them. There is no point in arguing with them.

One of the favorite elements to their agitation is to speak of so-called war criminals. They use the familiar method of shouting “Stop, thief!” Churchill and Roosevelt know well enough that they are the real cause of this terrible war. They prepared it and unleashed it at the proper moment. The blood guilt rests with them. But that does not stop them from accusing those who were attacked of being the guilty party, of promising us the punishment that they themselves deserve. It is of course all theoretical: in fact, they face the unconquerable wall of our continent. They are trying to figure out how to open the gate without having to fight for it. They are following tested methods. They believe that what worked in 1918 has to work again this time, and therefore create the illusion that they have a material superiority and invincibility that we cannot oppose. We hardly want to deny that the enemy has caused us great difficulties, or that he will continue to do so in the future. That is how war is. But the enemy is not in the position to rip the tools of victory out of our hands. That is what is critical.

The Nurembergers have long said that one should not hang someone before catching them. We know that Churchill and Roosevelt would like to put the noose around the German leadership’s necks, not because they are responsible for the war, but rather because they are doing everything in their power to resist the enemy’s war of annihilation against the German people. What is even worse from the standpoint of Washington and London, they are succeeding. Were we of Bettman-Hollweg’s [a World War I German politician] stature, we would certainly get good press from the enemy. If we loosed our hold on the Reich or on the conquered territories so that the enemy could spread unrest within Germany and revolution in the occupied territories, we would certainly win the enemy’s sympathy. But we wage war from a practical standpoint and maintain order in the areas we have occupied, which leads the English and Americans to call us war criminals who deserve the gallows.

And they do not only want to hang the German leadership, but rather the entire German people. They would surely hang us all if they had the power. They do not know us very well if they think that will make us fear. We have been condemned to death so often in the past for our political crimes that we could not have survived had we died every time. We are in the position of the police who have to deal with a band of gangsters. The gangsters have professional reasons to hate the police. They understandably wish them dead. The police, after all, guard the public and the state. But do the police fear the gangsters? The opposite. They fight them, and eventually bring them to justice.

The enemy has committed every conceivable crime against humanity, culture, and civilization. They are, in fact, so spiritually corrupt as to boast about it in public. They plunder honest and decent nations to fill the pockets of their own money barons. They let millions go hungry and hundreds of thousands starve to reduce them to political inactivity. They murder huge numbers of women and children, hoping through their unbelievable barbarism to weaken the will and destroy the confidence of their husbands and fathers. They bomb and burn more than two millennia of Europe’s cultural treasures. What other crimes could they commit to earn the disgust, the hatred, and the deep contempt of the entire world? Who has the right to speak of war crimes and historical justice, the enemy or we?

We know that this is painful for Churchill, Roosevelt, and their comrades. Their paid agitators will respond with howls of outrage. But that does not alter the fact that we are telling the truth, which the

world's public realizes. The enemy's bluff propaganda is childish! They are trying to suggest they have strengths that they do not have. They surround themselves with hollow social and humanitarian phrases, but only lies and deception are behind them. They are trying to keep their own and foreign nations in the dark, to keep them defenseless, and then to plunder them. They would long since have succeeded had not National Socialist Germany taken up the struggle against them. That is why they hate us with burning rage. It resembles the hatred and rage criminals have for the police, who reveal their dark handiwork even if they are dressed in a tuxedo and attempt to play the role of the gentleman.

The police are not deceived, and neither are we. We have seen through the enemy, and they know it. Our ears are deaf to their lies. In its struggle against the plutocratic-Bolshevist conspiracy, young National Socialist Germany feels itself the leader of the entire civilized world. It would cease to exist were we to give up before the enemy's assault. We are God's instrument today, fulfilling a great historical mission. It cannot be postponed. We must do it, or humanity will collapse. We all know this. This is a struggle between light and dark, between truth and falsehood, between true humanity and inhuman barbarism. Germany carries the banner. All the oppressed and tortured peoples look to us in hope, because they expect from us alone a new order and the salvation of the world.

Our language is not able to express the extent of our responsibility. This is more than a war, it is a battle for the world. A sinister conspiracy is attacking the foundations of human society. Whether humanity will be saved or whether it will collapse depends wholly on us. The enemy is using every possible base and cynical method to divert us from our mission, to tire us out, to weary our souls, to shake our hearts. But the last year proves once again that they will never succeed. The blessing of fate is with us.

This is the conviction with which we close the book of the old year and open that of the new. There are riddles and more riddles before us. We know that we can and must solve them all. It will be a dangerous year in which the fate of civilized humanity once again will hang in the balance. And as was the case so often in the past, salvation will come when one least expects it. We need only believe firmly in it, and fight for it. Salvation lies in loyalty to ourselves and to our task. As the year changes, millions of German soldiers raise their weapons, millions of German farmers their scythes, millions of German workers their hammer. Behind them millions of German women raise their children, both in supplication and in demand. The current generation of our people is defending the Reich, as countless generations before them also have done. It was given to us from the hands of our weak and discouraged fathers. We want to pass it on, strong and powerful, to our children.

That is why we are fighting and winning this war. Each new year is new proof of that.

Background: In this article dated 13 February 1944, Goebbels discusses the bombing of Berlin. The source: "Die Schlacht um Berlin," Das Reich, 13 February 1944, pp. 1, 3.

## **The Battle of Berlin** by Joseph Goebbels

The English press has called the series of terror attacks on the Reich capital, which has been continuing for three months with only occasional pauses, the "Battle of Berlin." They have left no doubt that the intention of the British war leadership is to destroy the Reich capital with these brutal and horrible attacks, or as they themselves say, to depopulate it, to crush the war morale of its population, and thus win on the German home front the decisive victory that our fighting soldiers have denied the Anglo-Americans thus far in this war on the front, and that our soldiers will continue to deny them in the future. There is no one in Berlin who would not know that, also no one who would not be firmly determined to resist these terrorist intentions of the enemy with the whole force of his soul and his unbroken heart, thus bringing the enemy's plan to naught by a great common effort of heroism. When we discuss this subject today outside the circles of the Berlin population, it is because it involves much more than the direct interests of the population of the Berlin. Since the middle of November of the past year, Berlin has been fighting a defensive battle for the entire German people. The Reich capital is representing the cause of the Reich at a decisive point and at a decisive moment.

It is not yet clear today what that means for the city and its future. It is generally known that metropolises usually have an unenviable place in people's thinking. They are the seats of government and thus of bureaucracy. They are the source of rules, regulations, and tax laws, things that as a rule cause more grief than joy for citizens. The situation of the Reich capital is made more difficult by the fact that it is still young, achieving its historical task late in its development. And the temperament of its population can only be understood and appreciated by someone who has learned them by being there for many years, one who alongside its undeniable weaknesses has also learned its higher values and virtues. Berlin is more a melting pot than a city that grew in an organized manner. Beside the original Berliners, whom the Berliners themselves say are spread so thinly as to almost be rare creatures, it recruited its population from all occupations, classes and tribes of the Reich. But Berlin has an enormous attractive force that always binds to it the human masses that stream to it from every Gau in the land, absorbing them into the huge structure of this city of millions. It has therefore no local patriotism, but rather much more city pride.

One really does not know why the legend developed, and not only with the enemy but also among certain parts of our own people, that Berlin is especially sensitive to outside threats because of its colorful, thrown-together population. Those parts of the Reich that had already suffered enemy terror bombing were therefore somewhat concerned that the day would come when the Reich capital would have to endure the great test. We Berliners ourselves, sure of our own strength and hardness, were convinced that the proof could only be provided by facts. The Reich capital has had more opportunity to do that in the past three months than it likes. Not many cities in the Reich have undergone the same tests in this war, and Berlin does not need to be embarrassed before any of them. Its population has faced enemy air terror with a bravery that deserves the greatest admiration. No one anywhere in the Reich disputes that, and those abroad as well, as long as they have maintained an accurate and objective outlook, are full of praise and admiration. The Reich capital has passed its great war test.

It would naturally be pointless to deny that the enemy has given heavy wounds through his brutal and horrible terror. Until now we have refrained from replying to his boasting accounts of the air war, the cynicism of which can scarcely be surpassed. There will be time enough for that when we once again stand equal. The jubilation in London will be more modest after a relentless German answer, which will once again permit a factual discussion. Even today the German Luftwaffe is responding with gradually growing massive counterattacks, but these are only a foretaste of what is still to come. We can in any event be satisfied that the German capital has remained unbroken under the burden of enemy attacks. The British capital will have opportunity to provide the same proof.

In Berlin as in all the other German cities affected by enemy air terror we have learned to simplify our lives, returning to a primitive war style that has taken from us many of the pleasures of everyday life. We are now marching with a lighter pack. Along with the other populations of other German districts affected by heavy enemy air terror, we have learned to do without some things that are still taken for granted in those parts of the Reich that have been spared. It would be an exaggeration to say that has been easy for us. It deeply hurts a city to see significant parts of its housing, its artistic and cultural monuments, its churches, theaters and museums, reduced to soot and ashes. Still, that is bearable when the freedom of the nation and the maintenance of the life substance of a people require it. We have no wish to make that a matter of patriotic pathos. We bear the hard demands that the nation's fate place on us not with glowing enthusiasm, but with bitter resistance that always gives the strength to overcome the heavy and heaviest blows, opposing them with a spiritual strength that towers over all doubt.

That is decisive. A great city earns its face not only through its dwellings, buildings and monuments, but above all through its people. Despite the former widespread view, Berlin is more than an asphalt desert or a collection of big apartment buildings. Over four million industrious and decent people live in its densely populated area. They may be known throughout the Reich for their cool and even skeptical outlook on the problems of life, but a great and brave heart beats behind it all, one able to overcome any danger. The Berliners have given more than sufficient proof of that over the past difficult weeks, showing the German people without saying so that their city is not unworthy to house the leadership of the Reich within its walls, providing thereby the great driving force of our national policy and war leadership.

The entire German people has been raptly and intensely following the so-called Battle of Berlin over these past weeks. We can assure it that the battle will end well. The Reich capital will probably endure new blows. There will be even more wounds, scars and tears in its face. Its citizens will pull together even more and learn to deal with even more primitive conditions. But Berlin will not perish. The heart of this city has never beaten so strongly as it does during the nights of heavy bombing, when so to speak the Berliners wipe the blood from their eyes and go to work with bitter defiance. There are miracles of work, splendid organization and an amazing ability to improvise. The city is a true socialist community and the solidarity of all helps to overcome some difficulties that could otherwise easily become impossible. Even at the most critical moments, I have never given this city, its population, its party or its government offices a task that was not resolved with lightning speed. The Berliners do not give up in the face of the misfortunes sent by their hate-filled enemy, but rather they gather their whole strength against them and always overcome them.

The intent of the Anglo-American war leadership is doubtless to proletarianize large parts of the German people through air terror, making them ripe for lying and hypocritical divisive propaganda. It



is almost a bloody irony that at the same time he drops unimaginable quantities of explosive and incendiary bombs on densely populated residential sections of our large cities, he also rains down thick stacks of hypocritical leaflets. He apparently believes that our men and women who have lost everything through this cowardly and wholly unmilitary method of warfare will sit down in the glow of their burning homes and perhaps by the corpses of their innocent children to read these worthless leaflets, letting themselves be told what they should think about the war by of all people the corrupt British plutocracy. This is how the criminal English leadership imagines the German people. They used such methods to subordinate colonial peoples and plunder them for their capitalist purposes. Now they want to avoid the great battle they fear more than anything else. When our civilian population does all it can to resist, it is playing an active and direct role in the larger war. They are attacked in an unmilitary way, but defend themselves militarily. Their high morale in this pitiless battle is a decisive, perhaps the decisive, factor of the war. From it come all the other forces and virtues needed to master the disaster. If they succeed, their strength and determination grow. Iron is hardened only through hammer blows

Our people has a great task to fulfill in this generation. It must repair many sins and failings of the past to create an indestructible future foundation for our national life. Never before in our history has the historic mission of the German Reich been so concentrated as in the years from 1914 to today. It is the great age that calls us all. There is no holding back, no excuse. What we do or do not do can never be undone, either for good or evil. We are responsible for the most decisive historical epoch of our people. How we resolve it will determine whether we earn the future blessings or curses of our children and grandchildren.

As the sky over Berlin begins to turn bloody in the nights of heavy enemy terror attacks, we all think with pain and bitterness of the huge amount of pain and sorrow again descending on thousands of our fellow citizens. Nothing remains undone to help them bear the burden of misfortune. Even during the attack, a huge organization begins to move, and within a few hours its results are everywhere visible. Hard and conscientious work join with passionate fanaticism and bitter rage to achieve ever new major accomplishments.

But what could the city's leadership accomplish were not the entire population behind it, supporting its measures through soldier-like behavior, giving drive and force to the work of restoring our wounded life! Thus it always and everywhere was when the enemy fell on our cities with fire and conflagration and the population had to help themselves to defend their existence. Berlin now stands in the midst of those cities that are marked with sorrow and proud defiance. It wants to be no more than the rest of them. It wants only to show that behind the big words that in the past did not always make it beloved, there are also great deeds when required. What contempt cities such as Hamburg, Essen or Cologne would have for the capital of the Reich if we were weighed in the balance and were found or would be found wanting!

It gives occasion to think to everyone else, not only to those cities. The coat of arms of the Reich capital today bears the laurel wreath of military glory that will never fade. Where in these weeks walls fall and buildings collapse, a new Berlin will spring from the ruins, and every brick will bear witness to the heroic courage of a city that remained unbroken, never wavering, despite the severest blows.

Background: In this article dated 9 April 1944.

The source: "Warum wird es uns so schwer gemacht?" Das Reich, 9 April 1944, pp. 1, 3.

## **Why Are Things So Difficult for Us?**

by Joseph Goebbels

Many of us will have asked ourselves more frequently over the five years that this war has gone on why it is so especially difficult for the German people to build its national life and its future, why it must make such sacrifices and take on such burdens, things that other happier peoples are spared, or even know absolutely nothing about. These questions are more than justified. Not only must we fight for our existence with all we have in this war, our whole history is nothing but a path of enormous sorrow. Other peoples reached great or world power status much more easily than we did and today they have such substantial resources that the length of the war hardly seems to have a material effect on them. We to the contrary must work and slave by the sweat of our brow, and our enemies object to the little that we can call our own.

Is not fate treating us unjustly and do we not have cause to complain? In no way! Our people is the product of its racial characteristics, its geopolitical situation, and its historical development. The question is only whether it has made and makes all that is possible to make from the material and ideals it has, and whether this will continue to be true in the future. This is a question we must answer ourselves.

Not only our difficult situation, but also our hard and unbendable national character is the result of these conditions. Just as the life struggle of the individual forms his personality, so it is in the lives of peoples. That the German people possesses more character strengths than any other cannot be denied. Ask friend or foe as you wish. For centuries the Reich has been the yeast not only of Europe, but also of the whole world. It is possible to imagine the absence of this or that people from human history with no great change or impact. That is impossible with the German people. Until the Thirty Years War and after, even during centuries of impotence and fragmentation, German history was European history. We gave humanity its pioneers. Even in the circles of our enemies, we were called the nation of poets, philosophers, and inventors. But how can that be reconciled with the fact that we have had so few successes on the field of power politics?

The answer to this question is all too clear: It is because we are of greater value than other peoples, not lesser. Our general fate and the geopolitical location of the Reich simply force us to work harder to develop our national life than our few friends and many enemies. The resulting natural superiority makes us hated and unloved. We must work harder than other peoples if we are even to survive. For this reason they try to keep us from achieving equality or resist us, since they know that if we had the same opportunities as they, we would soon have the advantage over them. They fear the unstoppable rhythm of our national growth, the intensity of our productive force, the genius of our inventive spirit, the high level of our national morale and national discipline, all of which are the result not only of our racial characteristics and our political education, but also of our cramped living conditions. No matter how far back in history we look, our people has always been surrounded by danger. But where the danger is not deadly, it increases strength. That is the case with the German people. It has grown through danger, reaching heights of national ability that no other people can even approach.

This conclusion in no way springs from a sense of national arrogance. It is constantly strengthened and affirmed by the facts of this war. We are holding on to our continent in this fifth year against the assault of four world powers, not to mention many open and hidden lesser enemies, essentially alone, dependent only on ourselves. What other people on earth could do that? Our enemies have repeatedly underestimated our powers of resistance because they are simply incapable of imagining it given the standards that prevail by them. We may be forced to surrender territory in the east to keep our defensive lines intact, but should not forget amid these setbacks that no other people would be able to resist at all. The English and Americans admire Soviet military successes. How much more must they admire us, who are conducting the war in the east against a people double our size, supplied with rich assistance, and with only half of our national strength. In Italy the human and material superiority of two world powers cannot reach their goal against a small fraction of our army. Imagine how the battle would be if we had such superiority and our enemies were surrounded on every side as we are today! The question answers itself.

One can understand why the historically unique heights of war morale and war capacity of the German people always make our enemies nervous. They fear giving us the initiative, which would present them with unforeseeable consequences. That also explains their howls of hatred against the Reich, which are only the result of their inferiority complex. If we are to have a chance of success, we must be more steadfast than they, we must fight more bravely, work harder, and live with greater discipline. The pitiless demand of these virtues is also our advantage and our strength over the enemy. In every war there comes the point when victory depends on these virtues. At the decisive hour the people will better use them than ever before. In other words, our present sorrows and difficulties are not only a burden to us, but also training. It is certainly true that the well-to-do generally enjoy a more comfortable life than hard-working laborers, who earn their daily bread through the sweat of their brow. Yet when the critical hour comes when life itself must be defended, the workers have the advantage for they have had the most experience in fighting for life. The Spartan attitude that our exposed and limited situation has forced on us for centuries is the real cause of our national virtues, and also the reason for the hatred and persecution of our enemies. One is the result of the other; they are bound together.

This war is a battle between higher quality and higher numbers. Its course and above all its length depend primarily on strengthening and preserving that which separates us from our enemies. Therein lies our hope of victory. If ever a people had no reason to feel inferior, it is our people in its present situation. Even setbacks, if they are properly accepted and borne, can only strengthen our conviction of superiority. We were not the cause of this war; our enemies forced it upon us. From the beginning, they have made it plain that their goal was to destroy our life substance and destroy us as a people. The fact that they have attacked us with such numerical superiority is more proof than none of them dares to take us on alone. That our people has held its own so far, and will do so in the future, must give us all reason for pride, for unshakeable national self-confidence. We may never forget that no other people in the world is capable or in the situation to be able to withstand such a test of its life strength as we Germans today. We need only imagine what would happen if we faced one of our enemies alone, although they are with the exception of England each superior to us in population and resources, to know how little ground for triumph our enemies have and how much cause we have for faith in ourselves.

No people can choose the conditions under which it lives and maintains itself, not even we Germans. They develop from many conditions from which the present generation at least cannot escape. As far

as the material aspects of the war go, our conditions are anything but favorable when compared to our opponents. But the resulting superiority of character, morality, and ideals balance out the material superiority of our enemies, if only we use them fully. We hold our fate in our hands. The German people today, in the truest sense of the words, is the blacksmith of its own happiness, and not only of those living today, but of generations yet to come. It is understandable that we sometimes lose sight of the high obligation we owe the future in the midst of the pressure of everyday life and the steadily growing sorrows and burdens of the war. That obligation is there nonetheless. This person or that may ask here or there what he still has to lose. His house and possessions have gone up in flames. His own life seems of little value in view of the gnawing pain of the loss of his loved ones. That question, however bitter it may be to those affected, is egotistical. Even he who has suffered the hardest, most terrible blows in this war still has something to lose: the future of his people.

This has absolutely nothing to do with national pathos. We have not the least desire, nor any ability, to engage in arrogant nationalistic preaching. We only see things clearly and realistically. Whether justly or unjustly, whether from its own guilt or that of preceding generations, our generation has a German mission to fulfill, a mission that seems almost beyond human capacity. It must master an age that commands life to be formed but not enjoyed. Such an age will be better endured by those whose whole nature and temperament are better suited to forming life rather than enjoying it. But neither the one nor the other can escape the age. It is our absolute lord and master. For some the absence of the spiritual and intellectual matters that ennoble life, and which are made almost impossible by this war, may be as hard or even harder than the loss by others of a pound of butter or a side of ham. Neither might find the loss of the other particularly difficult. But each must face the categorical imperative that the duties and tasks that the war and his people place on him.

This has nothing to do with the fact that we may mourn the loss of our possessions or of a loved one. That we can scarcely forget. We all respect the sorrow that affects the individual, and the higher one is, the more one feels the pain of millions. If there were a way to spare our people its sorrow, we would be the first to reach for it with both hands. There is no such way. We must pass through this valley of pain, for only at its end does the great prize glimmer. We cannot and will not give it up. It will crown and justify our sacrifice. All that we have so far willingly and patiently endured will receive its meaning. If we do not succeed, all will have been meaningless. Our own lives and that of our people would fall into a darkness from which no bright and beautiful day would ever dawn.

Against that, what are the enemy's hysterical screams of hate and revenge! They will fade at the hour the war ends and the goddess of history gives us the laurels. From the sounds of this war will rise the heroic fame of our fighting people, which trusting only in its own strength and loyal through all the twists of war's fortunes stayed at the post history had given it. Then we will understand why it so hard for us: To prove that we could use our full strength, holding back nothing, that we could grow even beyond our imaginings, giving an example to all other peoples. And above all, so that in the face of this century's growing skepticism we could prove that the West was not ready for decline, but rather that it stands at a new beginning. The great cultural crisis that fell on civilized humanity with the First World War must be overcome. That is possible only through an abundance of life will and life determination that is shown only by fate's hardest tests. Perhaps Europe will one day realize how close it stood to the abyss. This will bring the admiration for our actions that is today withheld. That is how it will be, not otherwise.

If amidst the worst burdens of this war one gave us the choice, we would never change places with

any people under happier circumstances. We choose our own. How could the fact that our people must fight for its existence confuse our thinking? Now more than ever we give it our whole love and all our power and strength. In the storms that rage around us, we are prouder than ever before to be German.

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Background: Allied bombing of Germany had reduced many German cities to ruins by April 1944, but had not succeeded in stopping the German war effort. Here Goebbels addresses the damage caused by the bombing, and hints at the coming V-weapons.

The source: "Das Leben geht weiter," Das Reich, 16 April 1944, pp. 1-2.

## **Life Goes On** by Joseph Goebbels

To live and work in a frequently bombed city is not something anyone enjoys today. We hardly need mention the tremendous burdens enemy air terror puts on those who suffer it. They lose their homes and their possessions, and often their dearest loved ones meet grisly, miserable death in basements and shelters during firestorms. The little they are able to rescue from the ruins often stands outside in the rain and snow for days without being moved. And when one believes he has found a halfway safe place, a week later it too may fall to the flames. Family keepsakes that symbolize an entire life are buried in the ruins of homes and buildings. Often people save only the bare essentials, sometimes not even that.

Still weary and exhausted from putting out the fires, those who have been bombed out must find some kind of clothing, secure the necessary papers, and seek some sort of primitive shelter. Party and city offices do everything they can to ease the process, but it remains miserable work. Here and there public transportation fails. He must walk to work if a friendly motorist does not happen to be going in the same direction. That evening the air raid sirens may sound again. Once again he has to head for the basement or a shelter. It thunders around him for another hour. He lost touch with his family in the afternoon, and is deeply worried about them, a helpless mother or the father who provides for the family. Once again the sky is blood red. The fire engines rush by, sirens blaring. And again he has to go to work, to defend his beloved hometown, and to save what can be saved from the still burning buildings.

We certainly do not want those cities so far spared enemy air terror to experience it. Still, virtues are born under enemy bombing that one encounters only rarely in such depth and power in ordinary times: the virtue of solidarity above all. Enemy air terror is the university of community spirit. It reveals what people really are. One may live for years next to a man whom one thinks could rip up trees with his bare hands. Under the hail of enemy bombs and phosphorus canisters, he turns out to be a miserable creature interested in nothing but saving his own life. Another, who went about his business quietly and without fuss, suddenly reveals himself to be a real hero, almost deified by his neighbors, since even in the midst of the gravest danger he has a friendly word of good cheer and encouragement that works miracles. People generally show their stuff only when times are critical.

We cannot help loving the city of Berlin more today than ever before, even with its heavy wounds. After another night of bombing, public transportation may not be working. We see a stream of men and women walking through the wide avenues for two or three hours to reach their workplaces. The men are unshaven and rumped. The women may be wearing pants and a simple pullover, carrying a small suitcase with the essentials under their arms. Such a sight makes us appreciate this brave city of millions from the bottom of our hearts, and in a way we could not do before. We know then that we are more at home here than we could be in any other city in the world. We feel a part of all these unknown people. We have to thank them for loyally and diligently doing their duty, fanatically and faithfully. Their silent and unemotional behavior proves that they do not want to be worn down, and

therefore cannot be worn down.

It is the same in all the other frequently bombed cities of the Reich: Cologne, Essen, Hamburg, Mannheim, Frankfurt, and everywhere else where the enemy indulges in orgies of air terror. We know them all, and our high opinion of them is always justified yet again. If the enemy believes he has brought life to a standstill, he is mistaken. They all manage to continue life under war conditions. They must give up much that is still taken for granted in areas not subject to enemy air terror. That is not important to them. They simply cannot be beaten down. One could fill libraries with stories of the anguish that nights of bombing bring. But life goes on. After a few days, water, gas, and electricity return. Public transportation begins functioning again, perhaps with a jolt here or there, but that is borne with patience, even grim humor. Everyone has something to eat and a place to sleep. Stovepipes smoke once more over the ruins and the curious stick their noses out to see what is going on. In a word, people are getting along again.

Do not think we are making things better than they are, or turning it into a kind of poetry. Things are much too serious for that. Still, we deeply admire the indestructible rhythm of life and the unbreakable will to live of our big city population. They are not as rootless as well-meaning but purely theoretical books used to say. Look at the workers from the Ruhr, the Rhineland, Hamburg, Berlin, and everywhere else. They are an example of patriotism and national pride. Their sense of duty, their courage, their cheerful coarseness that helps them overcome even the worst, the hard work they do in the armaments factories even while their homes are still burning! The vital strength of our people is anchored as solidly here as it is in German farmers. When has one ever heard a trace of defeatism or panic in the big cities! What city has been deserted by its population, and where did the leadership have more trouble getting the workers back to their jobs than it had moving those not working!

Who can object when people in those areas talk about the air war when they come together after an attack? Each had his own encounter with fate, and each wants to talk about it. He has every right to do so. We have a coworker who has been bombed out five times already, and everyone knocks on wood if she is around when the air raid alert sounds. She is the exception; fate is usually random. He who today has been spared sees it as his plain duty to provide shelter in his small apartment for those who have been bombed out, since he knows that he may depend on his neighbors for the same favor tomorrow. People need no compulsion to behave that way. They do not see it as in any way unusual. It has to be that way; otherwise we could not survive. It has to be done. After the last heavy attacks on the Reich capital, the last homeless person had found quarters within a week. It took that long primarily because most did not want to leave their section of the city.

We will never forget a typical conversation with an old Berlin woman worker from Wedding [a district of Berlin]. She had been bombed out and had no where to go. Could we find her a modest apartment in Wilmsdorf [another Berlin district]? No, she wanted to stay in Wedding. And where in Wedding? Only on Müller Street, where she had lived all her life, preferably in the building next door, even if she had to be in the basement or attic. That is a kind of love of one's native area, even if the surroundings are not as romantic as the beauties of the forest, the blessings of the field, the quiet lakes, or the snow-crowned mountains. But it was as dear to her heart as any of those. The city breathes life as much as the village. One only need drive through the streets when the blackout warning sounds. The last lights vanish. The lookouts take their positions. The roof watchers take their posts in the big government buildings and factories. The whole city is feverishly tense, finding its

release in the first thundering flak salvos. The finely-tuned apparatus starts to function. The city is ready.

Many hearts shake when the bombs fall. We do not deny it. But the life rhythm of hundreds of thousands carries along the weak and wavering. A pause! Already the brave are out on the rooftops with pails of water to put out the fires. Back to the basements and shelters. New attacks, new defense, then the all clear. As if directed by a magician's hand, the whole city is in motion, taking up battle with enemy forces. One gives way only when human strength can no longer resist the elements. It's all over here, let's get to work somewhere else! Our civilian population is singing a quiet heroic song that will live on far into the future. If our generation did no more than this during the war, it would be immortal. Our ruined cities will be rebuilt and the last scars will fade. Only then will the fame of their citizens shine with its true force. Only then will our people realize the heights of courage and bravery that rise from our battles with fate.

We have no cause to discuss these matters with the enemy. They have no ability to understand. They are using air terror solely to terrorize. They cannot understand that they will never reach their goal. They do not see that they are driving our people together, not apart. It will take drastic measures to persuade them that in the long run the air war is neither materially nor morally productive. The discussion is only beginning, but it will not be long before we are forced to give the enemy far more persuasive proof. The British people above all will be forced to prove whether they in the fifth year of the war possess the same steadfastness as the German people. The worst of this phase of the war is behind us. England is facing it. We did not break. The British must still endure the trial. Whatever happens, we know the horrors of modern war, and we also know that they can be overcome.

Life goes on in the ruins and rubble of our bombed cities. It is not as rich and full as it once was. But we are standing firmly on our feet and have not the least desire to fall on our knees. As we bury our dead in Mother Earth, our burning eyes rise to see the vision of the coming Reich for which we bear these heavy sacrifices. We must be sure they are not in vain. We have seen mothers and children, sometimes even fathers, weep at a grave side too often ever to forget it. The men, women, and children who gave their lives in the air war stand in the middle of the army of those who have fallen on every front. They died for the eternity of the Reich. As comrades fight on to fulfill their legacy, so also it is our duty to work on to realize the historical claim of those who fell at home. A people that makes so many sacrifices to defend its life and honor can never be defeated. It will victoriously overcome all the war's obstacles and in the end win the place in the sun that it deserves, a place that no power on earth can in the long run keep it from gaining.

The longer we wait for the hour of deliverance, the greater will be the victory. Victory is always the result of a people's willingness to sacrifice, of its affirmation of life and its faith in its future, of its unwillingness to be distracted, of the steadfastness and loyalty with which it defends itself. The pain and anguish the enemy brings to the individual may at times seem almost unbearable. Still, we will survive, for we have no other choice. In view of the alternative, there can be no weakness or surrender. The nation has made its position clear, and it cannot be shaken even by the terror of barbaric war.

The ruins of our cities are a reminder to us all, even for those thus far spared the enemy's air terror. The fact that life goes on even amidst the ruins of our destroyed city districts proves the vital strength of our people, which is ready to bear the worst to preserve its freedom. Freedom is our dearest



treasure. We will serve it steadfastly through the storms of war, following it like the good star that shines through the dark night to show the way to the coming dawn.

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Background: Besides writing weekly lead articles for Das Reich, Goebbels sometimes wrote articles for other publications. This article appeared in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the party's daily newspaper. It was one of a number of articles by Goebbels that encouraged the civilian population to kill captured Allied airmen. By the end of the war, about 350 Allied airmen had been killed. The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Ein Wort zum feindlichen Luftterror," *Völkischer Beobachter*, 27 May 1944.

### **A Word about Enemy Air Terror**

by Joseph Goebbels

No one disputes any longer the fact that enemy air terror has the single goal of breaking the morale of the German civilian population. The enemy is waging war against those who are defenseless, primarily women and children, to force the men of our land to give way. This is proven both by the facts themselves as well as a plenitude of journalistic statements from the enemy side. As far as the facts go, one needs only to view often-bombed areas in the Reich or in occupied territories to establish without doubt that our military production is affected by perhaps one percent of enemy air terror. The other 99% falls on the civilian sector.

Recently, leading representatives of the French and Belgian churches who can hardly be suspected of obeying German orders have turned to the international public to make strong protests against the barbaric methods of enemy air terror. It is killing old people, women, and children, and destroying venerable cultural monuments and thickly settled civilian neighborhoods without any military purpose. We need say no more.

Our enemies do not disguise their intentions. One does not need to look for long in the British or USA press to find strong evidence. As early as 1930, English air expert I. M. Spaight wrote in his book *Air Power and the Cities*: "Lay great cities in ruins and destroy the will to wage war." Nothing has changed in British air warfare leadership since then. "It is impossible to draw a line between the civil and fighting populations." Using this cowardly excuse, the *Daily Mail* attempts to justify the enemy's crude and filthy military policy. A leading British naval officer puts it much more clearly in the English military magazine *The Army Quarterly*: "Is there such a thing as a noncombatant? A small child is not a productive member of society in war or peace. No one really has the right to claim immunity for himself when he can make the attempt in the name of humanity to make Germany more desolate than the Sahara."

The well-known London newspaper *News Chronicle* is not missing from the chorus of hatred. It adds: "We are in favor of wiping out every living creature in Germany: man, woman, child, bird, and insect. We will allow no blade of grass to grow." That gives the famous British writer H. G. Wells occasion to demand: "Treat the Germans like a noxious tribe of natives." USA journalists are no less vehement. One of their leading members, Raymond Clapper, writes with visible pleasure: "Terror and brutality are the best aspects of the air war." One might say here that not all leading Englishmen and Americans think this way. Wrong! Even the Anglican High Church writes in its official organ *Church of England* on 28 May 1943: "It is a perverse view of Christianity to argue that civilians may not be killed." Even the Archbishop of York, Dr. Cyril Garbett, blessed the barbaric methods of Anglo-American air terror in his bishop's letter of June 1943: "It is only a small evil to bomb German civilians."

We previously have refrained from bringing the most depraved of these statements, of which we here present only a small sample, to the German people. They are a plain call to murder women and children. We feared that the German people would respond to such cynicism by taking matters into their own hands and repaying like for like with pilots parachuting down from destroyed aircraft. However, circumstances make it impossible to continue such reserve in the future. In recent weeks Anglo-American terror flyers have not only continued random bombardment of our cities and civilian population, but have also given up even an outward respect for international law by using aircraft weapons to cold-bloodedly murder. There can no longer be any excuses, for enemy aircraft fly low over villages, fields, and roads to fire on innocent people going about their business. That no longer has anything to do with war, it is simply murder. There is nothing in international law for the enemy to call on. In using such criminal methods, Anglo-American pilots put themselves outside all internationally recognized laws of war. Last Sunday, for example, to give only one of thousands of cases, children playing in Saxony were fired upon, with heavy casualties resulting.

No one will be surprised that the affected people, known throughout the world for understanding all aspects of warfare, are filled with rage at such cynical crimes. Only with the help of armed force was it possible to rescue enemy pilots, who otherwise would have been beaten to death by the local population. Who is right here: those who expect that these cowardly murderers receive humane treatment from their victims, or those who expect that the victims will defend themselves according to the principle of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth! The question is not hard to answer. In any event, it would be asking too much of us to use German soldiers to protect the murderers of children from the rage of parents who resort to self-defense after having lost their most valuable possession because of the enemy's brutal cynicism. If the English and Americans, as they themselves say, view us as noxious tribes, we do not need to be pleased by that. The German people is known throughout the world for accepting what war demands. However, too much is too much, and here things have gone far beyond what can be borne.

It seems to us hardly possible or acceptable to set German police and soldiers against the German people when the murderers of children get what they deserve. Anglo-American military crimes must come to an end at some point. Pilots cannot defend themselves by saying that they are following orders. No article of war permits a soldier to escape punishment for a terrible crime by blaming his superiors, since this would stand in blatant contradiction to any human morality and any principle of international military law. Our century has largely erased the boundaries between war and criminality on the part of the enemy, but it would be demanding too much of us to expect that we would be silent victims of such boundless barbarism.

We draw this conclusion soberly. Our people is much more radical in this regard than its government. We have always wished that the war be conducted by knightly principles. The enemy does not seem to want that. The whole world is witness. If such outrageous behavior continues, it will also be witness to the fact that we will find ways and means to defend ourselves against these crimes. We owe that to our people that is decently and bravely defending its life, and has in no way deserved to become the prey of enemy people-hunters.

Background: D-Day came on 6 June 1944. This is Goebbels' first response in Das Reich. He is in good form, pointing out that the Russians and the Jews are the only ones who will benefit from the Normandy invasion.

The source: "Die Hintergründe der Invasion," Das Reich, 18 June 1944, pp. 1-2.

## **The Background of the Invasion**

by Joseph Goebbels

The invasion of the European coast by the Western powers is the central military event of the summer. It deserves our first attention in considering the overall war situation. It would be a mistake to attempt at this point an evaluation of the enemy's goals and the political and military prospects resulting from them. It is too early for that yet. Things are still in motion. Neither side has a clear advantage, nor is that to be expected in the present situation. It was clear from the start that the Western Powers would make a stronger attack on the Atlantic Wall than they did at Dieppe. This time, both attackers and defenders know that it is all or nothing. London and Washington did not leave a back door open this time. It took some violence to the facts, but the enemy could say of Dieppe that it was no more than an attempt at carrying out a raid along the Channel coast. That is not possible this time.

We and our opponents are committed. The clash of weapons on the French Atlantic Coast is also a clash of spirit and outlook. The fact that it took the English and Americans so long to begin the adventure is a sign that they know as well as we do what it means. And not only we and they: it is clear to all of Europe, indeed to the whole world. It has been made sufficiently clear that Churchill and Roosevelt undertook the invasion only after ceaseless pressure from the Kremlin, pressure that bordered on extortion. Stalin, as we have often said, has a long arm. The piles of human corpses that the enemy has heaped up on the Channel coast serve only Bolshevism. The best the English and Americans can hope for is to weaken the German army to the degree that it will not be able to maintain its struggle against the Soviet Union. But if they succeed, they will have bled to such an extent that they will not be able to defend Europe against the arrival of Bolshevism. This is the political background against which the military drama of the invasion is occurring.

Things are exactly the opposite of the way British-American plutocracy wanted them to be. They had hoped to see the German army and the Red army bleed themselves dry while they looked on. The Anglo-American attack in the West has transformed the situation. No one denies the fact that English and American casualties in the battles on the French coast have been intolerably high. Even on the first day of the invasion, they were so dreadfully high that the London and New York war correspondents who were there sent back cries of horror. The English press tried to play down or conceal the facts, apparently at the behest of the government. The American public, however, protested the sugar-coated coverage that stood in glaring contrast to the true situation. The world agrees that England and the USA are suffering casualties that they cannot long tolerate without endangering their position in the world.

Stalin has every reason to watch the goings on with satisfaction. It has long been no secret that the foolish and shortsighted policies of its prime minister have made England dependent on the favor of Bolshevism. It previously had at least some military reserves that could be used to defend its vital interests, but these are slowly but surely being devoured by the hellish battle along the Atlantic. Not much will remain. One has to ask if England can survive this undertaking, even if it technically is

victorious, something that is not at all sure. Does that which it may gain bear any reasonable relation to the costs? The answer is a clear no.

It is impossible to give the public a clear and accurate picture of the military situation in the West at present. The political balance of power, on the other hand, is clear. Even at the beginning of the invasion, the London Times asked if there was any way to justify the sacrifices that England and the USA were making, particularly in view of their grand war aims. The question remains unanswered. The British people seem to be discussing it more intensively than the British press. The great public excitement England and the USA hoped the invasion would cause, in any event, has not come to pass. The bells did not ring for an hour, nor were there confetti parades in New York. The English see long hospital trains rolling into the interior. They speak more eloquently than the empty headlines in the papers that the Jews responsible for this bloodbath are using to excuse themselves.

While mounds of dead British and American soldiers are piling up along the west coast of Europe, the English press reports that profits are piling upon the London stock exchange. Wildly gesticulating speculators and profiteers are jumping about in their excitement. They have every reason, since the hour of Big Business has come with the great battles along the Atlantic Wall. Stock prices leapt up, and profits of a billion marks were made in a single day. The prize question: Since nothing comes from nothing, who won this billion and who lost it? We presume the poor English soldier fighting for his life in the awful bloodbath in the west did not suddenly make his fortune on the stock exchange. He will return from the war just as poor, if not much poorer, as he went into it. The only ones richer will be the men behind the scenes at the Jewish hate newspapers, those who guide the program of hatred and annihilation directed against the German people, the profiteers and patrons, draft-dodgers and speculators, who make good business out of patriotism and build their capitalist towers atop mounds of soldiers' corpses. Their supreme patron and profiteer is Winston Churchill. He is the guilty one. He embodies plutocratic reaction. He has the full responsibility for the vast misfortune that this war has brought upon the world, and now is heading toward his own people with giant steps.

The victims of world plutocracy are marching on. They come from distant Canada, a nation that could easily support thirty or even fifty million additional people if its leaders served their nation rather than world plutocracy. They are the sons of the vast American continent almost bursting with wealth and riches, but in which normally a third of the population goes hungry because plutocracy wants it that way and because it puts business above the good of the working masses. They come from England, whose corrupt ruling class rules over a world empire in which millions of people starve despite adequate resources because the Lords and Money Jews speak of civilization in newspapers and churches, but otherwise serve only the god of money. They cannot allow a nation on an awakening continent to build a society based on new, more noble and moral principles. Thus the farmers' sons from the USA and Canada and the miners' sons from Wales die in front of German machine guns while the Jews on the London stock exchange foam at the mouth to get those rising stocks.

Meanwhile, as Mr. Roosevelt recently told the nation, he retired to his bedroom to write a prayer to read over the radio. What does one say? One has to ask oneself if one even belongs in a world in which such grotesque and awful things happen. They pray hypocritical, self-satisfied prayers for victory to a god of business whom they have created in their own image, and expect that he will help them enslave a part of the world that is attempting to live modestly from its own resources. This they cannot tolerate, out of greed and envy. Blood must flow in streams, English, American, and also

German mothers and children must weep, the earth must open up to receive the innocent victims of this terrible tragedy. Where is their an escape from the confusion of feelings and facts, and where is the solution to this riddle within a riddle?

We are the only ones who have the answer. We saw it all coming. We know that it cannot be otherwise, that we must plow through this inferno until the light of day is suddenly visible at its end. It would be a fatal error for the German people to believe that this gigantic battle in the west of our continent was an easy and safe undertaking that could or would change the balance of the war through a quick miracle. We are facing two world powers. Neither has failed to make the preparations it hopes will overcome us and bring success. Our soldiers too are making great sacrifices. They are displaying bravery and heroism in these days and weeks that may not surpass all that has gone before in this war, but certainly equal it. We are at the gravest and most serious point of the war. Ignoring the threat to our nation's life would be more than cynical. We need not be afraid, but neither may we be overconfident. The war is not over yet, nor is there any sign that it will be over today or tomorrow. We must grit our teeth and work through its thorns and thickets. That is the only way we will bring it to an end.

The critical arenas of this war are not found in any single direction. They will shift from here to there, without changing the fundamental nature of the war. We are fighting for our lives both to the east and to the west. Our soldiers above all must know that. They will not waver, nor lose their nerve even for a moment in the midst of this modern technical war. They have a duty to the homeland that has endured the terrible suffering of the air war for month after month. The homeland never thought of doing anything that would weaken our soldiers. The war reaches from the front to the homeland and back again, and no one who lives in peace today can be sure that he will not tomorrow face a hail of bombs and shells. Everyone is fighting for the whole cause. Solders must realize that the nation is watching as they do their duty. It is never easy to risk one's life, but a nation that lacks enough men, and if necessary women and children, who are prepared to do that is near the end of its history.

Who can believe that of the German people? Our soldiers in the west are fighting as well as their fathers did in 1917 and 1918. They will not flinch or fail. In contrast to those days, they know that today they have a homeland that is worthy of their bravery. The homeland raises its suffering hand as a blessing for its sons who defend it with their bodies. The path to the Reich is over their dead bodies. The nation looks calmly to coming events. It knows that its fate and its life are in good hands.

Background: A week after D-Day, the first V-1 rockets fell on London. This is Goebbels's first article that deals with their use. He is optimistic, but realized that Germans could come to expect too much of them.

The source: "Die Frage der Vergeltung," *Das Reich*, 23 July 1944, pp. 1, 3.

## **The Question of Revenge**

by Joseph Goebbels

As our V-1s raced over the English Channel for the first time during the night of 16 June, the English public was struck by paralyzing fear. The British Home Secretary Morrison saw himself forced to speak to the House of Commons the next morning about the use of our new weapon of revenge. He did that in a very tortured manner, openly admitting the seriousness of the situation for the British capital, but also attempting to reduce or even deny the serious effects of our revenge weapon. He apparently believed that he could deceive us about the extent of the damage caused, which was not possible, since our months of tests gave us opportunity to understand the new V-1 weapon in every detail, in particular its accuracy and explosive force. But there was yet another crucial reason behind the British home secretary's attempt to make our first revenge weapon ridiculous. He did not want to give foreign countries the chance to learn the effects of the V-1, particularly since English government circles hoped to develop sufficient defensive measures. These hopes have proved vain. Nearly every day, the London press wrote about a new and effective, or even more effective, defensive measure, but none of them so far has been able to stop our V-1s from flying undisturbed, and in large numbers, toward London.

Now the English government has given up its attempts to deceive its own public and the world as to the extent of the damage. Indeed, they are increasingly doing the opposite, dramatizing things in an emotional manner to arouse the world's sympathy, and making every effort at injured or tortured innocence. The English are making such efforts to appear the good guy that one has to assume that they do not realize how ridiculous that looks. It is enough to recall all their praise few months ago for the brutal and cynical attacks of the Anglo-American air forces on the German civilian population. When we spoke then of the barbaric nature of such a method of warfare, London replied with mocking laughter. They thought it no longer necessary to wear a humanitarian mask. One had the power, one was on the way down from the mountain peak, and the Reich was no longer a subject, merely the object, of the war. One could do to it what one wanted. Even more than that, in fact; Germany had to be treated in a way formerly used only on defenseless Negro tribes. One no longer paid any heed to the world public or the conscience of the world, which one had so often called upon before. That is how it was if we look back to the beginning of the year. The Western enemies no longer even bothered to keep up appearances. They openly and cynically named their bombs "blockbusters," and gave their "Flying Fortresses" names like "Murder, Inc." The English in particular showed their true nature in the plainest manner, without covering anything up.

When we modestly said that we might still have a word or two to say in this regard, that we were preparing new weapons of revenge that would one day fall on England, those in London fell over laughing, and asked us witty questions about whether these new weapons were invented by propagandists rather than scientists and engineers. We did not then think it necessary to persuade the English of the correctness of our announcements. We knew that sooner than the English public would like, facts would speak louder than words. And England has certainly lost the desire to laugh. Even its prime minister, who is usually so fond of cynical jokes, found nothing funny to say about the V-1

in his last speech to the House of Commons. And one has the impression that the London press cannot and will not trivialize things as much as the British home secretary apparently wished. For the first few days, English newspapers called our V-1 the “doodlebug.” Now they call them “robot bombs.” That alone shows the change in their opinion from yesterday to today.

No one can say that the English have given up their appeals to humanity and the conscience of the world in this regard. They made too much of that during their major and successful terror attacks on the German civilian population. Back then, we warned of what is happening today, and said that we were taking careful note of the most cynical voices of British public opinion on the bombing war, since we would be able to make good use of them one day. Now that time has come. It is not persuasive for London to insist that the German V-1 lacks the accuracy and military value that British night attacks on the German homeland last winter presumably had. One need only look at bombed German cities to readily prove the very opposite. If the Royal Air Force’s bombs actually did have some accuracy, British pilots made no use of it when attacking the German civilian population. They above all chose the cultural centers and heavily populated residential areas of our cities to bomb, largely destroying them, while British public opinion, including its prime minister and archbishop, applauded. Those English newspapers that write that England will be repaid for what it did are correct. It does not take great prophetic gifts to say that, since in contrast to our usual modesty, we predicted it clearly dozens of times.

The newest English objection to the V-1 is that it is vile and unfair, since it is not directed by anyone on our side, but kills and injures people on the enemy side. That is not persuasive. Almost the same thing could be said of British night bombing attacks. Last winter, the weather was so bad that our night fighters were unable to take off. Yet those were just the nights the British preferred for their attacks on the German homeland. When we objected, London told us coldly and bluntly that the purpose of war was to employ and lose as few of one’s own men as possible, not as many, and to cause the enemy as much damage as possible, not as little.

Is not our V-1 the perfect fulfillment of this British desire, and does anyone doubt that if the English themselves had this weapon, they would make full use of it, and would also be able to find reasons to claim it was fair and moral? In London, the newspapers are screaming for revenge. They do this only to make the world forget that our V-1 attacks are already revenge. If the English could take revenge, they would not hesitate. They and their U.S. ally have enough airplanes at their disposal. These, however, are needed for the invasion beachhead. Were they to be taken from there, it would be an advantage for us that is not to be underestimated, which itself proves that, despite British claims, our V-1 has clear military goals and purposes. The English do not want to admit that because they are appealing to the world’s pity.

We do not want to cynically welcome the use of our first revenge weapon, or look forward with glee to coming ones. We would have been happy if it had been possible to conduct the war, also the air war, in a humane and knightly manner. But it was the English who did not want that. They never accepted proposals that would have been good for the fighting armies and peoples. As is well known, this attitude on the part of the British cabinet was responsible for the war back in 1939. But London will not listen to reason. One deludes oneself, and comes to the wrong conclusion.

How often over the past months has the English government used its captive press to claim either that there were no German secret weapons, or that if there were, London knew all about them and was



prepared for them. If they did not exist, how can they be in use, and if London knew all about them, how is it possible that our V-1s are flying undisturbed toward London, that women and children are being evacuated from the British capital, that the larger part of London's population is sleeping in packed subway stations, and that, as English newspapers report, the British people can only talk about German revenge weapons — but yet the English government has taken no defensive measures? Although we have the most cause to be satisfied, we take no pleasure in the desolation our revenge is causing in London. We see it only as a defensive measure that is having an effect. We even shudder to think about what the British capital has to expect from our future and more deadly revenge weapons.

Our revenge action is not at an end, but at its beginning. Military experts far and wide are of the opinion that our revenge weapons are a revolution in military technology. What will they say when our newest and even more impressive weapons come into use! Did London really think that we would simply allow Anglo-American air terror to continue without objection? That we would not take appropriate steps? It may be that the enemy's scientists are ahead of German scientists in one area or another of military technology, even if their work is based on German research that we unfortunately saw the military significance of too late.

However, one would underestimate German thoroughness and German scientific fanaticism if he assumed that our institutes and laboratories had given up. They have done more than the enemy likes. Their latest inventions are nearly all finished. Some are in the final testing stages, but most are already in production. We are not among those who see technology as the single decisive factor in modern warfare, but it is important. In the past, the enemy was ahead of us in technology, we were ahead in morale. Morale and technology together lead to victory. We can and will surpass him in technology, but he cannot and will not surpass us in morale. That is the decisive advantage on which we must build. Here will we see who in the end has the most endurance.

For our enemy, modern warfare has little to do with humanity. They have been hard and uncompromising toward us; we must face them in the same hard and uncompromising way. They will use every method of warfare they have against us, if it has any prospect of success. We have to do the same to save our necks. We are ahead in one area, they in another. It depends on who fights with the greatest fanaticism, who has the better ideas, who the better morale on the battlefield. He will win. It is not important where the last battle is fought, rather that one has enough regiments and divisions, and that they fight as well on the last day of the war as they did on the first. The fortunes of war will always shift. He who wants to accomplish great things must also accept great risks and dangers. That is what proves the hard and manly character of a warring nation — the determination to defend its life and freedom to the last breath, never showing even the slightest sign of weakness. The stronger peoples will win this war, and they alone will have the moral and historical right to form a new world, for they have earned it with their blood and with the lives of their best sons. The weapons that they use are signs of their inventive genius and their unbreakable will for national existence and freedom. Those weapons do not determine success by themselves. More important is the morale of a people, its firm determination to fight and to win, its absolute faith in the justice of its cause. We have all of that. The enemy has only greater numbers, and better technology for a while in a few areas. We must catch up in those areas and surpass him.

We speak neither from a sense of superiority nor of weakness. We are absolutely confident of our cause, even though we have had severe trials. We would have had to doubt the duration of our

victory if France had fallen to us without a fight in summer 1940. That would have been too easy for us, and we could hardly have survived the later hard tests. Fate can be mastered only through hard struggle. When the war is over, we will all know the price that we have paid. No one then will be willing to endanger what we have gained through carelessness or a lack of alertness.

The coming victory will belong to all of us, for we will all have fought, worked, and suffered for it. We will therefore make its results a matter for the people as well, both its benefits as well as its costs. Today everyone must stand firm, fanatically and without compromising. The nation is called to that. It lacks neither means nor opportunities; it need only use them. If it does that, it can look to the coming storms with sovereign confidence. They resemble nature's thunderstorms that break over the cities and countryside with elemental force, but then suddenly, as if by a divine hand, the darkness of the heavens is parted and the sun begins to shine again.

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Background: Hitler was nearly killed by an assassination attempt on 20 July 1944. This is Goebbels's reaction.

The source: "Der Befehl der Pflicht," Das Reich, 6 August 1944, pp. 1-2.

### **The Call of Duty** by Joseph Goebbels

The one good aspect to 20 July was that it brought each of us to attention. Suddenly the nation stood before an abyss and peered into its terrifying depth. Everyone realized what the failed attempt against the Führer and his top military advisors would have meant. The whole nation realized that its very existence might have ended had the plans of the traitorous Putsch clique succeeded. It is easy to sit in judgment of this or that measure when a strong government is in control. That does not necessarily mean one does not support the government. A nation realizes what such a government means only when it for a moment faces the possibility of losing it. Only then does the nation see the real value of an authority that everyone takes for granted, and to which everyone, without exception, gives the right to rule and to decide. What would these nitpickers do if that authority suddenly disappeared? At such a time as this, a strong hand at the helm is the most important prerequisite to keep things going, and ultimately to win the victory. Few successes are the result of luck or accident; nearly all have to be won in a hard battle with fate. The historical burdens bound to such successes can only be mastered by a personality of historic scale. If that personality is lacking, the struggle is hopeless from the start.

The German people made major decisions on 20 July and the days following and the leadership could not and did not hesitate to carry them out. None of these decisions weakened us; all of them were aimed at increasing and concentrating our war effort. There is no more eloquent proof of the level of German war morale. A nation that after five years of such a war has no thought but to work harder and fight more bravely than ever before, and that responds to such an attack on the life of its Führer, and thereby its own life, with such a wave of confidence and faith, is certain of victory. It need only work resolutely and loyally, undismayed by the dangers and difficulties it faces. At the end of the war the balance will be drawn. Victory can be won neither by cheating nor swindling; the nations must win it honestly, and each action or lack of action is a step toward it or away from it. If 20 July has any larger meaning it is this: It brought each one of us back to the essence of our struggle for existence and reminded us that we have overcome many obstacles in the past, but there are things still worse that could not be overcome.

The total war that is to be realized step by step has both a moral and a material side. It is true that the duties and obligations of each German toward the war effort are laid out more extensively than before in laws, regulations and rules. However, there remains room for individual initiative. It is more than a matter of bringing to bear the not yet fully used reserves of German fighting and working strength. The war is more than a military, political, and economic matter. It is also a matter of morale and worldview, and we must deal with them along with the material issues. Each of us must start with himself, if he wants to change the course of the war in the way each of us longs for. Many of us have given ourselves too much consideration, and have not become stronger and firmer as a result. One individual passed along the hardest burdens of the war to another, who in turn decided he was not up to them either, and that the war could and would be won without him. This viewpoint is as despicable as it is ominous. We find ourselves in no bed of roses, and must use our full strength if our chances of victory are to remain undiminished. More than ever before, we are a fighting community on board

the same ship that is plowing through stormy seas. It will either bring us all safely to the secure harbor of a happy peace, or we will all go down together with it.

If we are to take total war seriously, as more than an empty phrase, each must draw the proper conclusions both for his work and for his personal life style. Up until now we boasted about all left over from peace that was still ours in this fifth year of the war. Now we must learn to boast about what we have thrown overboard. A simple, spartan lifestyle does not have to be unhealthy. The more we adjust our lives to the realities of war, the more we benefit our cause, which we all want to see triumph.

It is no great honor for us that one hardly notices the war in public life, save in those areas suffering air attacks. In the future, the war should be everywhere evident. Every foreign visitor should encounter the war everywhere, and see that he is in a nation that is fighting for its life and future, and that is determined to make every necessary sacrifice. Only fools think this will diminish our national prestige. Rather, our friends will admire us and our foes will fear us. The more we bow to the demands of the war, the sooner it will bend to our will. An old proverb says that a nation should think only of war during peace. How much more true is this during war! Nothing takes precedence over the war effort. The more consistently we realize this, the easier it will be to give up the last remnants of peace and serve only the war effort.

We have often said that this is not a matter of fundamentals that we want to maintain forever. We are the last to call for primitivizing public and private life. When, however, there is no other alternative, we must have the courage to toss overboard all the old comforts and conveniences. We will soon see how little we miss them. We know that there are countless millions in our nation who are ready to make any sacrifice, as long as they do not have to fear that their neighbor will fail to join them, leaving them looking like a fool. They do not need to worry. The total war we are waging is on the one hand a matter of each individual doing what obviously has to be done, but it is also a matter of law and penalties. We cannot allow millions of German women to work ten or twelve hours a day while a few thousand do no work at all, for example. And they may not believe that they can meet their duty to the nation by some sort of make-work for their father or uncle. We will take the necessary action against such elements. They sin not only against the material requirements of the war effort, they also harm our morale.

We are happy to enjoy the full support of our nation in these measures. One can truly say that this is what the people want. It has often enough made plain its resolve to give its full efforts for the war and victory, and to make every sacrifice necessary in the successful struggle for our life and freedom. There are only a few who from laziness, a lack of readiness and duty to the community, in part also because of comfort, are not willing to join in, or who do so half-heartedly. They must be helped along, not only for the sake of the countless millions who are doing their duty conscientiously, but also for their own good. More people perish from laziness than from diligence. Especially during a war in which a nation is fighting for its existence, everyone has the duty to join in. In the future, we must see anyone who seeks to escape his duties as a deserter, and anyone who knows and helps him as an accomplice to desertion. Let there be no doubt. From now on things will be different, and a sharp, fresh new breeze is blowing.

This requires a whole series of measures that will reorganize our government and all of public life. One can hardly expect that this will happen overnight, and that things people have long complained

about will vanish by tomorrow. We need some time. But that is not a bad thing. The army and war production can absorb only a limited number of new people, so the process must be rapid but organic. We know where the difficulties are and will work to eliminate them. The problems they cause will vanish with them. The measures affecting public life will be as flexible as possible and take account of the situation. We have no intention of eliminating the last forms of pleasure and relaxation for the overwhelming majority of the nation who work very hard. Small pleasures and comforts will be eliminated only where they serve a larger goal. Our actions will be in balance with their results. If for example I can keep the radio going with fewer people I will do so. It provides pleasure for millions of people. But radio also must take account of the war situation and get rid of everything that is not necessary.

In short, we must all see the war as our first priority, giving ourselves body and soul to it, and avoiding every attempt to escape its demands or hide from it for a while. We must prove ourselves worthy of the great age in which we live so that even in the gravest moments we need never reproach ourselves. Thereby we will master all the problems the war confronts us with. We must never do too little too late. We will make no excuses, nor accept any. We will never forget that our behavior during the war will determine not only our future but that of our children and our children's children. They place demands on us that we must fulfill if we do not want to lose the right to be part of the long history of the generations of our people. We want to pass on that inheritance to our posterity. Fate gave us a sign on 20 July. Forces were at work that wanted evil, but brought about good. We will not be idle. We will obey the call of duty, wherever and whenever we hear it, and know that our actions will bring about victory. It cannot be otherwise. This is a unique war effort, unprecedented in its length and hardness. We have grown through it such that we can master the growing difficulties.

We have never believed so firmly in victory as in this hour. Our path is clear. None of us hesitates to follow it. Freedom and life are waiting at its end. There may be crises and difficulties along the way. We do not fear them. If we use our strength, we will overcome them. Our enemies are boasting too soon. They are only showing us what we must do. We do not care if they gloat today. The victor will not be the one who reaches too soon for the laurel wreath, but rather he who bravely and loyally does his duty, who is not shaken by the storm, who at the end of the war is still standing upright on the battlefield.

Background: Article dated 24 September 1944.

The source: "Das höhere Gesetz" Das Reich, 24 September 1944, pp. 1, 3.

## **The Higher Law** by Joseph Goebbels

If proof were still needed of the accuracy of our views of the political background of the whole war goal the enemy side is pursuing, it would be given by the most recent events in several countries at the edge of our continent. England and the USA gave their blessing, and one cannot deny that the gentlemen in the Kremlin know what they want, and that nothing and no one will divert them from realizing their plans and intentions. Their political world program is the same today as it was in October 1917 when they destroyed czarism in the bloodiest of all revolutions in the history of the entire world: the Bolshevization of the whole world, beginning with paving the way to anarchy in individual nations, abolishing all legal authority, giving all power to the streets. It runs like a red thread through the history of Bolshevism, even if the actual methods vary. No country on any continent can feel safe. The Kremlin may sometimes work slowly, but it works with astonishing tenacity and determination. England and the USA have used this war to help it along. The consequences of such criminal behavior are becoming apparent. No one can say that even one of the political prognoses we have made from the beginning about the further development of this war has proved false. They sowed the wind and now they are reaping the whirlwind. Red anarchy marches around Europe. They are halted along certain borders, but only because of the German force of order. All other attempts to defend against it must be seen as failures. In other words, if the Reich were to collapse Stalin would become the lord of Europe. Everyone knows what that would mean.

We certainly do not want to overdramatize the situation. The situation is too obvious to require that. We see things as we have always seen them, that is, as they are. A quick look at the map demonstrates that the Reich today is the only bulwark against Bolshevism. The English and Americans have their military successes in the West only because the greater part of our forces are in the East, and the Soviets are able to roll over the southeast flank only because we must set considerable troop contingents against the Western powers. No one can fail to see that the Kremlin is making the best use of this situation. In the countries it has chosen to be its victims it uses the old Bolshevik practices; that is, it overthrows national governments that are too weak in character to resist under difficult conditions, disarms their military forces, occupies the critical points of the territory in question, and then lets anarchy run wild in the big cities. Mass meetings with pro-Bolshevik resolutions are followed by street demonstrations. The next stage is so-called popular elections, which happen under the Red Army's bayonets. They always provide the nearly 100% results for Bolshevism that the Kremlin wants. The rest of the road is almost inevitable. The proceedings do not lack a certain monotony. One would think that its traces would terrify, but the opposite is true. They do not seem to fade away, but rather are tested again for their special situation. But the result is always the same.

No one any longer will dare to suggest that we are speaking here only in our own interest. The German people has made sacrifices over the past five years because of its recognition of a danger to the world that entitle it to speak on this matter. We have warned the peoples of Europe at every opportunity, unfortunately mostly in vain. What our persuasive abilities failed to achieve will now be proved in the relevant cases by Bolshevik terror. The Red Army enters no country without a clear goal and a steadfast program. Sometimes the Soviets seem to proceed in steps or in an uncertain

manner, but that is only for tactical reasons. Unless there is pressing reason, they are reluctant to attract the attention of the world public, and most often they succeed. One asks if it is as stupid as it looks, or if it only looks stupid. That in the end makes no difference. What is important is that Bolshevism's results are the same, and the results, however they may be reached, appear to be permanent once they are reached. One can change them only with weapons. But where are they available in sufficient quantities in the affected countries? We are in the war's sixth year. Those peoples without ideals worth fighting for and holding out for are tired and worn out. He who has the strength to stay at his post is almost certain of victory. But he who loses his strength or who no longer wants to use it, who leaves his post, thereby signs his own death sentence.

How often have we brought this fundamental lesson of the war to the broad European public, and how seldom have we found an audience! What happened last year in Italy should really have sufficed; it was indeed more than enough. How could one presume that anyone would want to repeat that dangerous experiment, raising the false hope that it would turn out better for him than for the Italian people! English and American newspapers and magazines are filled with reports about the dreadful misery and misfortune in that part of Italy occupied by the enemy, which read like descriptions of hell.

Can any one of the countries that have deserted our common cause in recent weeks expect that it will be better for it? Reports from Rumania and Bulgaria speak the same language. It would be historically ignorant to believe that political weakness and lack of character would be rewarded so soon and so well. Our enemies are not as generous as we were to the French people in Compiègne in the summer of 1940. They are serious about their campaign of hate and revenge toward us. They are not just battle cries. They want our very lives, and would exterminate our people and nation root and branch were we to surrender to their power. They agree on this, even if their individual opinions differ on this or that minor point. We must defend our existence in this war. We could not avoid this struggle for our national existence; it was forced on us, and any yielding to the enemy side would lead to weakness, and any weakness would lead to collapse.

The German people knows that. As much as the growing burdens and sacrifices of the war pain and torment us, they do not rob us of our clear political vision of the nature and necessity of this fateful battle, a vision that we unfortunately lacked in the year 1918. Our enemies harbor deceitful illusions if they believe that we will one day again weaken and raise the white flag. No one in Germany even thinks of that. The longer the war lasts, the clearer it becomes to all of us what is at stake. How could it be otherwise! Our enemies have left us no doubt as to our fate should we bow before them. But we also know that unbroken courage and steadfast determination in war always lead to success, even if it sometimes seems that the material superiority of the opposing side can no longer be overcome. It is clear to our enemies that their real difficulties will begin only when they have reached the Reich's borders. Until then, one or another of us could believe that things were not really all that bad. No one talks that way any longer. Each knows the gravity of the situation that we face today, and that is a boost in strength and war potential that simply cannot be measured. Who among us wants to forget that we have been fighting against almost the entire world for more than five years, and despite their most determined efforts, they have in no way succeeded in forcing us to the ground, or even temporarily reducing our powers of resistance! As heavy as the burdens on our people may be, everyone knows that no other people would be able to carry and bear the same burdens under the same conditions. Through that alone we have won in this war a leadership role that no one will be able to dispute once the war is over.

The summer of this year, during which our enemies promised the overthrow of the Reich, is over. Their united attack against our fronts did indeed bring us a whole series of military withdrawals and losses, but one may look far and wide without seeing the slightest hint of a German collapse. And the opposing side certainly threw everything at us that was within its power. One cannot assume that they spared themselves in order to spare us. Despite all the difficulties that we have had to endure in the past weeks and months, it is clear that German powers of resistance have not in any way been broken or even diminished. We have proved brave and manly, and although our enemies wish that our strength were diminishing, it seems to be growing again. Our people's total war effort has found and is finding, ways to transform national strength into genuine war potential, and has already produced astonishing results. We are thus building operative reserves that will be of decisive importance for the coming decisions in both the military and the economic sectors. It will not be long before we stop living from hand to mouth in both sectors, but are once again in a position to operate according to a broad plan. We are of the opinion that we will always succeed and must succeed in mastering all the difficulties that surface as the war develops, however insurmountable they may sometimes seem. He who fights for his life always finds a way out of danger. And, by the way, one should not believe that the enemy side is free of problems. They, too, have in part been fighting for over five years and know as well as we what that means.

As a German, one can only speak with pride of the high war morale that our people has shown in these weeks and months of crisis. It is beyond praise, and earns the greatest admiration from the whole world, even from our enemies. They have nowhere succeeded in breaking and destroying it. The Reich cannot be beaten from this side either. Germany is fighting under these extraordinary conditions for the place in the sun that it deserves and that it has been so long denied. Our people does not disappoint the expectations its leadership has in its steadfastness. The mistake we made in November 1918, and for which we paid so dearly, ultimately with this war, will never be repeated. The sound political instinct of our people, its hard work and its eagerness for battle, and above all its war morale hardened in the spirit of National Socialism, guarantee this. Its leadership wishes only to be worthy of the virtues of its people. Without fear or wavering, it conducts the titanic struggle for the life and future of the Reich, using all means of resistance and attack that are at its disposal. It feels that it is obeying a higher historical mission that must be fulfilled if our part of the world, and thereafter all of the civilized world, is not to sink into chaos. We will fight against that possibility as long as there is breath in our bodies. We resist thereby a rotten decadent environment that here and there faces resignedly the storm of threatening disaster, letting things run their course. We Germans do not consider behaving that way, and therefore we are the people that will rescue the world, if not today, tomorrow.

Our enemies themselves have taught us what we must do in the decisive phase of this war. If they suggest we lay down our weapons and make a cowardly surrender, we respond with icy contempt. We know them too well not to know their plans. They will never throw us to the ground, never strike the sword from our hand. Never will we surrender our right to live in freedom and dignity as we ourselves wish. Whatever may come, we will stand upright through all the storms, working and fighting, filled with faithful confidence in the great historical mission that the Führer has given us. The more it is threatened, the more deeply we feel obligated to it. We are despite it all on the right path. The future will prove that. For above this war stands a higher law that we must obey. It is our companion through these dark times. What is the hysterical scream of our enemies over against it! They can never shake our faith and our confidence. The German people today stands like a soldier on



the front line. It knows that danger is near. It therefore unsheathes its weapons, ready at any moment to use them when the hour of greatest trial comes.

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Background: The end was close in December 1944 when Goebbels wrote this article encouraging the German nation to fight on. The source: "Die Weltkrise" Das Reich, 17 December 1944.

## **The World Crisis** by Joseph Goebbels

We Germans are not the only ones in the sixth year of war. One may assume that the problems the war's long duration have given us also affect the other combatant nations. Each warring nation is naturally eager to conceal this from the eyes of the enemy and present a facade that does not accurately reflect the true situation. The war is having the same effects on all participating nations, but one can see those effects faster and more clearly in one's own country than in the enemy's. As we always say, the other side is no better than we are. The German people loves the truth, indeed is fanatic about it. It therefore finds it hard to understand that in war everyone must play by the same rules to have a chance at success. Recently the U.S. military leadership admitted the loss of a 20,000-ton troop ship two years ago. That would not be possible with us. The German people would not accept such silence on the part of its leadership. It wants to know exactly how things stand, sometimes forgetting that what is told to it is also told to the enemy. One can argue about which way in the long run is the most successful, but it is clear that our enemy knows how to stay silent better than we do, and that we as a result are inclined to think their situation is better than it in fact is.

As a result we must occasionally consider the war's broad picture, not forgetting that it is likely that things are concealed from us by the enemy's greater secretiveness. The fact that the enemy conceals his calamities from us does not mean they do not exist. They exist nonetheless and influence the overall state of the war, even if we do not know it. The extent of total Soviet losses, which can be estimated at about 15 million, certainly has consequences for the Bolshevik military potential. If the Red Army continues to attack nonetheless, it does not mean that Soviet reserves are inexhaustible, but rather that the Kremlin is using everything it has to defeat us as quickly as possible in the hopes that it can carry out its planned extermination of the German people with what remains of its armed strength. That is also true to a certain extent of the Western enemy. The resources of the military leadership grow steadily smaller because of the long duration of this gigantic war, and it is probably true that in the end the last regiment will decide the last battle.

The fact that we are still firmly on our feet and show not the least sign of collapse is sufficient proof that our enemies cannot do what they want, that they suffer from internal problems, and that they make such terrible threats only to keep us from noticing that. It is well known that at the point during the First World War when the German leadership thought the situation was hopeless and prepared the Reich for capitulation, the British military leadership told its government clearly that England's losses on the Western Front were so great that it was necessary to seek an agreement with Germany to end the war. If the leadership of the Reich had known that, it would have undoubtedly made a different decision than the one it blindly made.

The reasons for its uncertainty and weakness would have been insignificant a few months later, not to mention today. In the end, one cannot deal with a national crisis of this magnitude by reducing the fat and bread rations, important as solving the crisis may seem at the time. The German leadership had not known that a large part of the French army mutinied in 1917, and that a single energetic German blow would have been enough to break through and perhaps force a decision to our advantage. France then saved itself by silence. Who can be sure than England, for example, is not doing the

same today? Its government has already admitted that in the course of this war various things have happened that we did not realize at the time. One can therefore draw the conclusion that we learn little about the enemy's real difficulties during a war, and that one can assume that at any given time things are happening, even if they are not publicly discussed.

We must behave accordingly. We are in the midst of war, one in which we are defending our very existence. Everything we do must take that into account. It is irrelevant whether or not that agrees with the fanaticism for objectivism on the part of some confused minds. The war is a deadly serious matter, not only at the moment, but also in terms of its future consequences. Our enemy is attacking us with all their resources, and we have to use all our resources in defense. The difficulties that may cause us are of secondary importance in comparison to what is at stake. The war is equally hard on all participating nations and people. We cannot postpone its burdens to some other day, even if they sometimes descend upon us with devastating force. The marathon runner cannot stop running at the 35th kilometer because he fears that his lungs will fail and say that he will finish the race the next day. He must either keep running even if he fears his heart will fail, or else give up. The time to make history is short, and he who does not use the opportunity fails. The burdens of such a time certainly may seem unbearable, but those burdens decide which nation is called to victory and which is damned to defeat.

One should never think that our enemies have it better than we do. First, one cannot know that for sure, and second, a range of signs point to exactly the opposite. The Soviet losses, for example, are enormously greater than ours, yet they continue to attack. England has had to sacrifice the wealth it has gained over the centuries, and shows no sign of giving up now. We have no choice but to carry on the war, however bitter it may be, if we do not want to risk having made all our previous sacrifices in vain. And one cannot say that those on top have it good, since they take on all the burdens of the people. Their sons fall at the front as do the other sons of our people, and the leadership carries a responsibility that would break lesser men. It is not true that the war's burdens are distributed unequally. The life of our whole people is at risk and we must defend it with our entire national strength. This is no war of the army and no war of the party, but rather a holy people's war.

We are living through the greatest crisis of occidental humanity. The crisis has been caused by the Western-democratic-plutocratic world and is carried on today by them despite the fact that they themselves are the prime sufferers of the alarming events. No one can say that the Führer did not make every attempt to find a peaceful way out, because he knew from the beginning the terrible consequences that war would have. The Western camp hindered his efforts, and today is paying a huge cost for its stubbornness. England is already complaining about the loss of all the wealth it built during the Victorian era, and who knows what a devastating position it will be in when this gigantic struggle ends. But what good does this knowledge and these predictions do us when the enemy leadership holds stubbornly to its decision to carry on the war at any price, with the goal of destroying Germany and exterminating the German people. We must therefore fight with all our strength, even if all of Europe has to suffer gravely as a result. It is not our fault, but rather it is the fault of the British who are running amuck. Their only war aim is a sick desire for revenge on Germany. They will never live to see their pathological desires fulfilled, but they will see their Empire destroyed and the British people fall from the proud heights of their former power and prestige. Germany is and will remain the fulcrum of all the world's conflicts, and how important it is and how far its influence reaches will become suddenly and drastically clear when this war ends. It all hangs on our ability to keep going and not do our enemies the favor of stopping before we have

finished.

Especially since the last summer, we see the war in an entirely different light. Until then we saw it only from the military perspective, but we have gotten more and more used to seeing it as a world crisis that today is seen primarily from the military aspect. The war has called into question every part of our life and every aspect of international relations that existed before the war began. This war will leave no one in the same inner or outer condition in which he entered it. One may regret that, but there is nothing one can do about it. Not only the buildings of our cities and the cathedrals and cultural monuments of Europe are falling into ruins, but also a whole world. Some love that world, others think it damned. The world of bourgeois egotism and super-individualism has proven itself sterile and incapable of effectively and fruitfully organizing the life of a people. With its passing bourgeois phraseology also fails, the art of saying little or nothing in many words and of concealing the real problems of the peoples through a series of stupid conferences.

Since 1933, the German nation has attempted to build a new and better world in peaceful ways. Its enemies from the bourgeois-plutocratic world did not want that, and did not shrink at the decisive hour from calling on world Bolshevism for help its attempt to strangle the founding of our people's new community. One has only to ask two questions. Where would the peoples of Europe be today if they had imitated the German effort to solve the problems of the twentieth century? And what is their situation today, having fought a bloody war against Germany, and what crimes against humanity have they committed? The enemy nations of Europe under diabolic leadership have in fact transformed heaven into hell.

Still, nothing has yet been lost that cannot be restored. The plutocratic leaders can hardly believe that it will be possible to deceive the people about the extent of their sacrifice as they did after the First World War. Unfortunately, Germany has not been able to carry out a peaceful exchange of ideas and goods. Today, it faces the historical necessity of a defensive war. The decision of our enemies to attack us with weapons brought the latent crisis that followed the First World War into the open, and it must now not only be faced, but mastered. The German people has its own historical mission to fulfill. Whether or not the other nations want to admit it does not change the fact that we Germans today are the pathfinders for a new civilization of the nations, and also of a better and nobler humanity. For us, this war will result in a people's state of the purest nature. It will include all levels and classes, a home for the strong as well as the weak, an object of pride for the whole world. It will rise like a phoenix from the ashes that this war has covered Europe with. One can only smile at the English dreams of teaching the German people after the war. The first attempt would make it clear to them that they had nothing to give, but everything to take. The new and better order has its core in the Reich, and the German people are its bearers and guardians. The flames of our burning cities are torches lighting the way to the goal.

This war is far more to us than a military drama of shattering tragedy. It is a crisis of humanity, and the only nation that will master it is the one sure of its cause, the one that knows exactly what it wants, but also wants exactly what it knows. The war leads therefore like a judgment of God and looks past everything to a higher historical Providence that has called Germany to suffer much in order to become much, to bear much to learn much, and above all to want much in order to be able to do great things.

Background: Article dated 21 January 1945.

The source: "Die Urheber des Unglücks der Welt," Das Reich, 21 January 1945, pp. 1, 3.

## **The Creators of the World's Misfortunes**

by Joseph Goebbels

One could not understand this war if one did not always keep in mind the fact that International Jewry stands behind all the unnatural forces that our united enemies use to attempt to deceive the world and keep humanity in the dark. It is, so to speak, the mortar that holds the enemy coalition firmly together, despite its differences of class, ideology, and interests. Capitalism and Bolshevism have the same Jewish roots, two branches of the same tree that in the end bear the same fruit. International Jewry uses both in its own way to suppress the nations and keep them in its service. How deep its influence on public opinion is in all the enemy countries and many neutral nations is plain to see that it may never be mentioned in newspapers, speeches, and radio broadcasts. There is a law in the Soviet Union that punishes anti-Semitism — or in plain English, public education about the Jewish Question — by death. The expert in these matters is in no way surprised that a leading spokesman for the Kremlin said over the New Year that the Soviet Union would not rest until this law was valid throughout the world. In other words, the enemy clearly says that its goal in this war is to put the total domination of Jewry over the nations of the earth under legal protection, and to threaten even a discussion of this shameful attempt with the death penalty.

It is little different in the plutocratic nations. There the struggle against the impudent usurpation of the Jewish race is not punished by the executioner, but rather by death through economic and social boycott and by intellectual terror. This has the same effect in the end. Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt were made by Jewry. They enjoy its full support and reward it with their full protection. They present themselves in their speeches as upright men of civil courage, yet one never hears even a word against the Jews, even though there is growing hatred among their people as a result of this war, a hatred that is fully justified. Jewry is a taboo theme in the enemy countries. It stands outside every legal boundary and thus becomes the tyrant of its host peoples. While enemy soldiers fight, bleed, and die at the front, the Jews make money from their sacrifice on the stock exchanges and black markets. If a brave man dares to step forward and accuse the Jews of their crimes, he will be mocked and spat on by their press, chased from his job or otherwise impoverished, and be brought into public contempt. Even that is apparently not enough for the Jews. They want to bring Soviet conditions to the whole world, giving Jewry absolute power and freedom from prosecution. He who objects or even debates the matter gets a bullet in the back of his head or an axe through his neck. There is no worse tyranny than this. This is the epitome of the public and secret disgrace that Jewry inflicts on the nations that deserve freedom.

That is all long behind us. Yet it still threatens us in the distance. We have, it is true, entirely broken the power of the Jews in the Reich, but they have not given up. They did not rest until they had mobilized the whole world against us. Since they could no longer conquer Germany from within, they want to try it from without. Every Russian, English, and American soldier is a mercenary of this world conspiracy of a parasitic race. Given the current state of the war, who could still believe that they are fighting and dying at the front for the national interests of their countries! The nations want a decent peace, but the Jews are against it. They know that the end of the war would mean the dawning humanity's knowledge of the unhealthy role that International Jewry played in preparing for and

carrying out this war. They fear being unmasked, which has in fact become unavoidable and must inevitably come, just as the day follows the night. That explains their raging bursts of hatred against us, which are only the result of their fear and their feelings of inferiority. They are too eager, and that makes them suspicious. International Jewry will not succeed in turning this war to its advantage. Things are already too far along. The hour will come in which all the peoples of the earth will awake, and the Jews will be the victims. Here, too, things can only go so far.

It is an old, often-used method of International Jewry to discredit education and knowledge about its corrupting nature and drives, thereby depending on the weaknesses of those people who easily confuse cause with effect. The Jews are also masters at manipulating public opinion, which they dominate through their network of news agencies and press concerns that reaches throughout the world. The pitiful illusion of a free press is one of the methods they use to stupefy the publics of enemy lands. If the enemy press is as free as it pretends to be, let it take an open position, for or against, on the Jewish Question. It will not do that because it cannot and may not do so. The Jews love to mock and criticize everything except themselves, although everyone knows that they are most in need of public criticism. This is where the so-called freedom of the press in enemy countries ends. Newspapers, parliaments, statesmen, and church leaders must be silent here. Crimes and vices, filth and corruption are covered by the blanket of love. The Jews have total control of public opinion in enemy countries, and he who has that is also master of all of public life. Only the nations that have to accept such a condition are to be pitied. The Jews mislead them into believing that the German nation is backward. Our alleged backwardness is actually proof of our progress. We have recognized the Jews as a national and international danger, and from this knowledge have drawn compelling conclusions. This German knowledge will become the knowledge of the world at the end of this war. We think it our primary duty to do everything in our power to make that happen.

Humanity would sink into eternal darkness, it would fall into a dull and primitive state, were the Jews to win this war. They are the incarnation of that destructive force that in these terrible years has guided the enemy war leadership in a fight against all that we see as noble, beautiful, and worth keeping. For that reason alone the Jews hate us. They despise our culture and learning, which they perceive as towering over their nomadic worldview. They fear our economic and social standards, which leave no room for their parasitic drives. They are the enemy of our domestic order, which has excluded their anarchistic tendencies. Germany is the first nation in the world that is entirely free of the Jews. That is the prime cause of its political and economic balance. Since their expulsion from the German national body has made it impossible for them to shake this balance from within, they lead the nations they have deceived in battle against us from without. It is fine with them, in fact it is part of their plan, that Europe in the process will lose a large part of its cultural values. The Jews had no part in their creation. They do not understand them. A deep racial instinct tells them that since these heights of human creative activity are forever beyond their reach, they must attack them today with hatred. The day is not distant when the nations of Europe, yes, even those of the whole world, will shout: The Jews are guilty for all our misfortunes! They must be called to account, and soon and thoroughly!

International Jewry is ready with its alibi. Just as during the great reckoning in Germany, they will attempt to look innocent and say that one needs a scapegoat, and they are it. But that will no longer help them, just as it did not help them during the National Socialist revolution. The proof of their historical guilt, in details large and small, is so plain that it can no longer be denied even with the most clever lies and hypocrisy.

Who is it that drives the Russians, the English, and the Americans into battle and sacrifices huge numbers of human lives in a hopeless struggle against the German people? The Jews! Their newspapers and radio broadcasts spread the songs of war while the nations they have deceived are led to the slaughter. Who is it that invents new plans of hatred and destruction against us every day, making this war into a dreadful case of self-mutilation and self-destruction of European life and its economy, education and culture? The Jews! Who devised the unnatural marriage between England and the USA on one side and Bolshevism on the other, building it up and jealously ensuring its continuance? Who covers the most perverse political situations with cynical hypocrisy from a trembling fear that a new way could lead the nations to realize the true causes of this terrible human catastrophe? The Jews, only the Jews! They are named Morgenthau and Lehmann and stand behind Roosevelt as a so-called brain trust. They are named Mechet and Sasoon and serve as Churchill's moneybags and order givers. They are named Kaganovitsch and Ehrenburg and are Stalin's pacesetters and intellectual spokesmen. Wherever you look, you see Jews. They march as political commissars behind the Red army and organize murder and terror in the areas conquered by the Soviets. They sit behind the lines in Paris and Brussels, Rome and Athens, and fashion their reins from the skin of the unhappy nations that have fallen under their power.

That is the truth. It can no longer be denied, particularly since in their drunken joy of power and victory the Jews have forgotten their ordinarily so carefully maintained reserve and now stand in the spotlight of public opinion. They no longer bother, apparently believing that it is no longer necessary, that their hour has come. And this is their mistake, which they always make when think themselves near their great goal of anonymous world domination. Throughout the history of the nations, whenever this tragic situation developed, a good providence saw to it that the Jews themselves became the gravediggers of their own hopes. They did not destroy the healthy peoples, but rather the sting of their parasitic effects brought the realization of the looming danger to the forefront and led to the greatest sacrifices to overcome it. At a certain point, they become that power that always wants evil but creates good. It will be that way this time, too.

The fact that the German nation was the first on earth to recognize this danger and expel it from its organism is proof of its healthy instincts. It therefore became the leader of a world struggle whose results will determine the fate and the future of International Jewry. We view with complete calm the wild Old Testament tirades of hatred and revenge of Jews throughout the world against us. They are only proof that we are on the right path. They cannot unsettle us. We gaze on them with sovereign contempt and remember that these outbursts of hate and revenge were everyday events for us in Germany until that fateful day for International Jewry, 30 January 1933, when the world revolution against the Jews that threatened them not only Germany, but all the other nations, began.

It will not cease before it has reached its goal. The truth cannot be stopped by lies or force. It will get through. The Jews will meet their Cannae at the end of this war. Not Europe, but rather they will lose. They may laugh at this prophecy today, but they have laughed so often in the past, and almost as often they stopped laughing sooner or later. Not only do we know precisely what we want, we also know precisely what we do not want. The deceived nations of the Earth may still lack the knowledge they need, but we will bring it to them. How will the Jews stop that in the long run? They believe their power rests on sure foundations, but it stands on feet of clay. One hard blow and it will collapse, burying the creators of the misfortunes of the world in its ruins.

Background: This article was published in Das Reich in late February 1945. The Russians are nearing Berlin and the Western Allies are plunging into Germany. Goebbels himself knows that the war can no longer be won. As a result he points out that German determination can still win the war, whatever the situation, and that to lose the war would mean death anyway, so Germans may as well go down fighting.

The source: "Unsere Chance" Das Reich, 18 February 1945.

## **Our Chance**

by Joseph Goebbels

A war is lost only when a people and its leadership decide that it, and they themselves, are lost. Until then they have a chance of victory at any point, even when the momentary military or political situation seems to speak against it. The outcome of a war is determined only by the final battle. All previous battles are but preludes, and all depends on the moral behavior, political will, and life strength of a warring people and its leadership as to whether past victories remain a lasting gain or defeats remain a lasting fate. As long as the war continues, nothing is irremediable. Only when the mouths of cannons are silent and the final trumpet blows comes the time when the balance is taken on both sides, finally and unchangeably. Everything is open until then. There are countless examples when a military situation seemed to be leading inevitably to the collapse of a warring party was at a certain point transformed, changing for the good. This war, too, is not lacking in such dramatic changes. Such events do not happen naturally; the fortunes of war can be altered only by superhuman exertions by leadership and people. If they succeed, the result is an enormous increase in strength for the party presumed already defeated, and an enormous loss of strength on the part of the presumed victors. This is the mystery of war, which gives a chance to any people in any situation.

Here and there someone may say that this war is already too far advanced and has lasted too long to offer us such a major opportunity. The opposite is true. The nearer the end of the war seems, the more confident they are of its outcome. The length of the war affects both warring sides, and the more persuaded the presumed victor is of his final triumph, the more crushing is a change in the war situation. He is, therefore, more susceptible to setbacks, which strike him particularly hard because they are entirely unexpected. It is, therefore, not important if we have won or lost something particular in this war; it is much more important how we react to the unfortunate events of the war and what effects they have on our moral and material war potential. If a war always ended as looked probable or threatening at various phases, then we, the English and Americans, or the Soviets would have won. That did not happen. Military developments are fluid and will remain so until one of the warring sides lays down its weapons. We alone must decide whether that will be us or our enemy. The side on which one is fighting is not by itself decisive. At one point we stood on the Atlantic coast, outside Moscow and Leningrad, and on the Volga, but the enemy did not capitulate. Today they are at the Rhine and the Oder; why should we do at this point what they did not do?

We often hear that our enemies back then could mobilize greater material resources, allowing them to hope for a complete change in the general military situation. This is not accurate. It is true that the enemy camp today has a more extensive military potential than we do, but only in a material sense, not a moral sense. The world on the enemy's side is a chaotic jumble of hate, primitive lust for revenge, mutual betrayal, and/or capitalist-Bolshevist greed for theft and profit. They have no ideals, and therefore will and must fail. Everywhere that conditions force them to attempt to realize their hollow agitational promises, hunger, misery, and political and economic anarchy result. They are



completely sterile and damned to political impotence. That will be evident everywhere, tomorrow if not today.

The betrayed peoples are beginning to see that; the contrast between the enemy's agitational promises and cold reality is so crass and evident that even the dumbest and most naive can see. It cannot even be concealed from the peoples in the enemy camp forever. They have no war aim that is worth fighting and dying for. We have one. It has been forced upon us by our enemies, the defense of our very right to exist, a right that they threaten. A people that is no longer ready and able to assure them, to escape the insolent attacks of its enemies, has given up and is lost. It has no right to exist any longer and will, therefore, be seen and treated by the victorious powers as defenseless booty. We learned what that means in 1918 and 1919. Our enemies agree that the vile and brutal indignities that they inflicted on us then as a result of our gullibility and weakness were much too gentle, and that this time if they win must be increased in devilish ways. There is no doubt that they would carry out these threats if they could, if we lay down our weapons and give ourselves up to their power. We must, therefore, recognize that even the worst war is better and more bearable than a peace forced upon us by our enemies. A scoundrel without honor, he who reaches out his hand!

Our enemies cannot inflict such a peace on us if we do not help. They know that very well, else they would not constantly try to talk us into becoming weak and capitulating. A people that is determined to defend its life with every means, even the most bold and audacious, simply cannot be defeated. The war may continue for a long time, at least until our enemies realize that they cannot reach their own goal without at the same time endangering their own existence. This is a real chance for our victory, aside from all the other real and achievable means that are available to us even in the present war situation. The enemy peoples have been bled to a degree that most of us cannot imagine. They grant that they cannot bear this in the long term. One may reply that the same is true for us. Yes, but with this difference: as is clear from the threats of our enemies, we would have nothing more to lose if we gave up. The war for us is, therefore, more unlimited and radical. If one takes their proclamations seriously, each German will be able to choose the manner in which he will be liquidated or have his intellectual, spiritual, and physical existence wiped out. He can choose between a bullet in the back of the neck, deportation to Siberia, starvation, slave labor, or plague. There is no hate-filled punishment that they have not considered for us. One might almost believe that they would like to bring us back to life a few times after killing us in order to apply yet another of their threatened tortures to us. That is how they imagine the end of the war.

Is there a German man with honor, a German woman who loves her children, a German boy or girl whose whole life lies ahead, give any other answer than a burning and unshakable affirmation or further struggle, of standing up to danger? The agitation agencies of our enemies should not try lazy slogans with us. Even what they claim is mild in order to mislead us is simply not discussable. We spit on it. We would rather endure worse, even the worst, than to even consider such thoughts. We are determined to resist their shameless and malicious ideas at any price. The enemy may not deceive himself. We will resort to the most desperate measures rather than offer our hand in a way that would sell the life of the German people, its children and children's children, forever. Germany is not India and our continent is no wild and unexplored part of the earth to which the world's exploiters can do whatever they wish. What do our enemies think we are? Do they think that our misfortunes have so unnerved and weakened us that we have forgotten honor and are willing to sell our land for eternity for a pot of soup? In this point more than an other, we feel ourselves the representative of our people's national will. What have we done in this war to deserve such a base and cowardly

evaluation by our enemies?

Three world empires are attempting to throw us to the ground. Despite great superiority they have not yet succeeded, and will not succeed. Instead of feeling superior, they should be ashamed that even with a ten-to-one advantage in this war they have not succeeded in finishing us off. What would have happened to the English, the Americans, or the Soviets if we had had such an advantage! We would chase them to the ends of the earth. Has there ever been a people with such moral superiority, which was ready to bear any sorrow of war with Stoic equanimity, that had a reason to despair? Is it not much more justified to trust a higher Providence that rewards those who fight bravely with a just verdict? Frederick II stood with his four million Prussians against forty million enemies, but they were not able to defeat him even in the most hopeless situations. That is why he is called “the Great.” To make possible what seems to be impossible is a matter of political and military genius. If each war turned out the way everyday thinking expected, history would have no surprises, but also no great transformations. It would then be a series of insignificant and stupid conflicts the outcome of which could be easily predicted, more a matter for statisticians than great men. The opposite is the case. Why does history record at the most a dozen outstanding historic geniuses whose brilliant names lasted over the centuries and millennia? Because they did titanic deeds that sometimes seemed desperate to their contemporaries but are admired forever by posterity.

Here we have more than enough chances for victory. We find ourselves in the best company imaginable as we fight with iron determination for the life and future of our people, regardless of hard and painful setbacks and threats, willing to pay any price until total victory. Were we to weaken, we would join the ranks of Badoglio and Mannerheim, who plunged their peoples into the deepest misery, always in the mistaken belief that cowardice and lack of character are the best councillors amidst the storms of history. We, however stand tall, looking to the future, because we know that the bridges behind us that might provide shameful opportunity to retreat are burned, and before us is not only a more beautiful, freer German future, but also the greatest eternal glory that fate has ever given to men and peoples. Steadfastness is indeed a matter of political idealism, but it is also the most valuable factor in war. It must be in our flesh and blood. We must never even raise the possibility that we could end this battle of the peoples by cowardly surrender. Even the slightest whisper of that would be a departure from the clear and uncompromising policy of our war leadership, with which we stand or fall. There is only one way to save ourselves, and that is through bravery at all times,

That will in the end result not only in laurel wreaths, but also in victory. He in the enemy camp who believes that he has stunned us with his blows deceives himself and does not know who we are. We wipe the blood from our eyes and look directly and without fear at the enemy. His seductive phrases find only deaf ears with us. Our salvation is in weapons. We forge and wield them for the final battle that will decide everything. That is our great chance today. It depends entirely on us whether tomorrow will be our great victory.

Background: Here Goebbels takes on the role of prophet, imaging the world two generations after German victory. The war was nearing its end, but Goebbels seeks to persuade his fellow citizens that victory is still possible. Goebbels uses the phrase “an iron curtain” to describe the results of the Soviet Union’s advance into Europe, a phrase later made famous by Winston Churchill. The source: “Das Jahr 2000,” *Das Reich*, 25 February 1945, pp. 1-2.

## **The Year 2000** by Joseph Goebbels

The three enemy war leaders, American sources report, have agreed at the Yalta Conference to Roosevelt’s proposal for an occupation program that will destroy and exterminate the German people up until the year 2000. One must grant the somewhat grandiose nature of the proposal. It reminds one of the skyscrapers in New York that soar high into the sky, and whose upper stories sway in the wind. What will the world look like in the year 2000? Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt have determined it, at least insofar as the German people are concerned. One may, however, doubt if they and we will act in the predicted manner.

No one can predict the distant future, but there are some facts and possibilities that are clear over the coming fifty years. For example, none of the three enemy statesmen who developed this brilliant plan will still be alive, England will have at most 20 million inhabitants, our children’s children will have had children, and the events of this war will have sunk into myth. One can also predict with a high degree of certainty that Europe will be a united continent in the year 2000. One will fly from Berlin to Paris for breakfast in fifteen minutes, our most modern weapons will be seen as antiques, and much more. Germany, however, will still be under military occupation according to the plans of the Yalta Conference and the English and Americans will be training its people in democracy. How empty the brains of these three charlatans must be — at least in the case of two of them!

The third, Stalin, follows much more far-reaching goals than his two comrades. He certainly does not plan to announce them publicly, but he and his 200 million slaves will fight bitterly and toughly for them. He sees the world differently than do those plutocratic brains. He sees a future in which the entire world is subjected to the dictatorship of the Moscow Internationale, which means the Kremlin. His dream may seem fantastic and absurd, but if we Germans do not stop him, it will undoubtedly become reality. That will happen as follows: If the German people lay down their weapons, the Soviets, according to the agreement between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, would occupy all of East and Southeast Europe along with the greater part of the Reich. An iron curtain would fall over this enormous territory controlled by the Soviet Union, behind which nations would be slaughtered. The Jewish press in London and New York would probably still be applauding. All that would be left is human raw material, a stupid, fermenting mass of millions of desperate proletarianized working animals who would only know what the Kremlin wanted them to know about the rest of the world. Without leadership, they would fall helplessly into the hands of the Soviet blood dictatorship. The remainder of Europe would fall into chaotic political and social confusion that would prepare the way for the Bolshevization that will follow. Life and existence in these nations would become hell, which was after all the point of the exercise.

Aside from domestic problems of economic, social, and political nature, England would suffer a declining population that would leave it even less able to defend its interests in Europe and the rest of the world than it is today. In 1948, Roosevelt’s campaign for reelection would fail, just as Wilson’s

did after the First World War, and a Republican isolationist would become president of the USA. His first official act would likely be to withdraw American troops from the European witch's kettle. The entire population of the USA would doubtless approve. Since there would be no other military power on the continent, in the best case 60 British divisions would face 600 Soviet divisions. Bolshevism certainly would not have been idle during the period. A Labor government, perhaps even a radical half-Bolshevist one, would be in power in England. Under the pressure of public opinion whipped up by the Jewish press and a people weary of war, it would soon announce its lack of interest in Europe. How fast such things can happen is clear from the example of Poland today.

The so-called Third World War would likely be short, and our continent would be at the feet of the mechanized robots from the steppes. That would be an unfortunate situation for Bolshevism. It would without doubt leap over to England and set the land of classic democracy ablaze. The iron curtain would fall once more over this vast tragedy of nations. Over the next five years, hundreds of millions of slaves would build tanks, fighters, and bombers; then the general assault on the USA would begin. The Western Hemisphere, which despite lying accusations we have never threatened, would then be in the gravest danger. One day those in the USA will curse the day in which a long-forgotten American president released a communiqué at a conference at Yalta, which will long since have sunk into legend.

The democracies are not up to dealing with the Bolshevist system, since they use entirely different methods. They are as helpless against it as were the bourgeois parties in Germany over against the communists before we took power. In contrast to the USA, the Soviet system needs to take no regard for public opinion or its people's living standard. It therefore has no need to fear American economic competition, not to mention its military. Even were the war to end as Roosevelt and Churchill imagine, the plutocratic countries would be defenseless before the competition from the Soviet Union on the world market, unless they decided to greatly reduce wages and living standards. But if they were to do that, they would not be able to resist Bolshevist agitation. However things turn out, Stalin would always be the winner and Roosevelt and Churchill the losers. The Anglo-American war policy has reached a dead end. They have called up the spirits, and can no longer get rid of them. Our predictions, beginning with Poland, are beginning to be confirmed by a remarkable series of current events. One can only smile when the English and Americans forge plans for the year 2000. They will be happy if they survive until 1950.

No thinking Englishman fails to see this today. The British prime minister wore a Russian fur coat at the Yalta Conference. This aroused unhappy comment in the English public. When the London news agencies later reported that it was a Canadian fur coat, no one believed them. People saw in the matter a symbol of England's subordination to the Kremlin's will. What happened to the days when England had an important, even decisive say in world affairs! An influential American Senator recently remarked: "England is only a small appendix to Europe!" His comrades treat it that way already. Has it deserved any better? At a dramatic moment in European history, it declared war against the Reich, unleashing a world conflagration that not only went out of control but threatens to leave England itself in ruins. A tiny extension of Germany into purely German territories to the East was sufficient ground to see a threat to the European balance of power. In the resulting war, England found it necessary to throw out its 200-year-old policy of the balance of power. Now a world power has entered Europe that begins to the East in Vladivostok and will not rest in the West until it has incorporated Great Britain itself into its dictatorship.

It is more than naive for the British prime minister to plan for the political and social status of the Reich in the year 2000. In the coming years and decades, England will probably have other concerns. It will have to fight desperately to maintain a small portion of its former power in the world. It received the first blows in the First World War, and now during the Second World War faces the final coup de grace.

One can imagine things turning out differently, but it is now too late. The Führer made numerous proposals to London, the last time four weeks before the war began. He proposed that German and British foreign policy work together, that the Reich would respect England's sea power as England would respect the Reich's land power, and that parity would exist in the air. Both powers would join in guaranteeing world peace, and the British Empire would be a critical component of that peace. Germany would even be ready to defend that Empire with military means if it were necessary. Under such conditions, Bolshevism would have been confined to its original breeding grounds. It would have been sealed off from the rest of the world. Now Bolshevism is at the Oder River. Everything depends on the steadfastness of German soldiers. Will Bolshevism be pushed back to the East, or will its fury flood over Western Europe? That is the war situation. The Yalta Communiqué does not change things in the least. Things depend only on this crisis of human culture. It will be solved by us, or it will not be solved at all. Those are the alternatives.

We Germans are not the only ones who say this. Every thinking person knows that today, as so often in the past, the German people have a European mission. We may not lose our courage, even though the mission brings with it enormous pain and suffering. The foolish know-it-alls have brought the world more than once to the edge of the abyss. At the last moment, the sight of the terrifying misery alarmed humanity enough for it to take the decisive step backwards at the critical moment. That will be the case this time as well. We have lost a great deal in this war. About all we have left are our military forces and our ideals. We may not give these up. They are the foundation of our existence and of the fulfillment of our historical obligations. It is hard and terrible, but also honorable. We were given our duty because we alone have the necessary character and steadfastness. Any other people would have collapsed. We, however, like Atlas carry the weight of the world on our shoulders and do not doubt.

Germany will not be occupied by its enemies in the year 2000. The German nation will be the intellectual leader of civilized humanity. We are earning that right in this war. This world struggle with our enemies will live on only as a bad dream in people's memories. Our children and their children will erect monuments to their fathers and mothers for the pain they suffered, for the stoic steadfastness with which they bore all, for the bravery they showed, for the heroism with which they fought, for the loyalty with which they held to their Führer and his ideals in difficult times. Our hopes will come true in their world and our ideals will be reality. We must never forget that when we see the storms of this wild age reflected in the eyes of our children. Let us act so that we will earn their eternal blessings, not their curses.

Background: This article appeared in early March 1945. The German military situation was desperate, with the Russians pouring in from the East and the other Allied forces from the West. The source: Joseph Goebbels, "Unentwegt auf den Steuermann schauen!" Das Reich, #9/4 March 1945.

### **Look Confidently to the Helmsman!**

by Joseph Goebbels

It is only natural that, after five-and-a-half years of war, a general weariness fills the whole world. The long duration of this struggle that spans peoples and continents demands sacrifices of the strength of people's nerves. That in itself is not a sign of bad morale and behavior. In contrast to 1918 here in Germany, for example, no one demands that the government conclude peace at any price. To the contrary, everyone expects that the coming peace will correspond to the sacrifices the German people have made in this war. We owe it to ourselves, our dead, and our children and grandchildren that this titanic battle for our national life does not lose its deeper significance, but rather leads to the proud results that we all hope for. Nonetheless, to love peace and hope for it is no shame. Aside from a few depraved characters in enemy countries who earn money through the war, people throughout the world think and feel exactly as we do on this matter. Why should we be ashamed to admit that? The only important thing is how peace comes and what its nature will be. Here opinions differ.

What enemy war leaders have brewed up at their conference in Yalta is something we cannot even discuss. Probably no one on the enemy side expects us to pay any attention to the Yalta decisions or even dignify them with an answer. How, for example, would England have responded during the period of our great victories had we made similar presumptuous demands? The British public would have reacted with a storm of anger and outrage, and any English prime minister who responded with anything but contempt would have been deposed within hours. Why should anyone in London be surprised when Germany responds to the Yalta decision in the same way? Surely our behavior throughout the whole course of the war has proven our steadfastness and loyalty to our cause, unsurpassed by any other people on earth. We even believe that we have good reason for the proud conviction that many other peoples would have broken under the burdens that we have carried in this war, and which we always mastered, even if at times by tooth and nail. How often has the enemy side proclaimed that we would collapse today or tomorrow, and how often have their hasty prophesies proven to be lies as the war developed! That is one proof of the fact that the enemy thinks we are weaker and more susceptible than we in fact are. The German people of today is of a different quality than the one the world formerly dealt with, and that will remain so until the end of the war and until our victory.

We owe that to ourselves, since more is at stake in this war than some of us sense or want to believe. Otherwise, why would the enemy side raged against us for six years, suffering the most bloody losses? Their goal is to utterly destroy the Reich and to biologically wipe out the German people. Anyone can easily imagine what that means for ourselves and the German generations that will follow us. The seriousness with which the enemy side takes this devilish plan is clear from their repeated statements and solemn declarations. Were they now and then they display a hint of a concession at a psychologically favorable point of the war for them, it would only be for tactical reasons and intended to deceive us. But they do not even do that. They want everything. There is nothing left for us but to respond to them with the same consistency and with even greater fanaticism. No one can say how and when this war will end. Each German, however, must be sure that it can and

will end only with a victory and with our complete self-assertion.

Clearly the question that is most discussed by our people today is how in the present critical stage of the war there can be new chances to change the fortunes of war. But it is equally clear that the public can be given only an imperfect answer to this question. It is of interest not only to us, but also to the enemy side. The worry that the recent Soviet offensive has reduced our military and agricultural capacity such that we can continue the war only for a limited period of time is unfounded. They said the same at the beginning of the enemy's air offensive against our war industries and transportation system. German energy, German inventiveness, and the enterprising German spirit gave the lie to our enemies' lies. The same will be true this time.

By the way, we have not given up the areas lost to us because of the Soviet Baranov offensive. We will recapture them. The preparations for that are in full motion, but naturally will require some time before they are completed. We repeat what we have often said before: when one wants to win a war, the main thing is to stay on one's feet even in critical situations and to fight back when the opportunity comes. That requires absolute self-confidence. That we may never lose, for it is the foundation of our continued fighting and of our very existence when this war is over.

Our self-confidence rests on our past victories, but is also not refuted by our defeats. It is very short-sighted today when the neutral world thinks Bolshevism is more successful than National Socialism. The Soviet Union has more than twice as many people as we do. It possesses a much larger agricultural and armaments potential that has been entirely free from aerial attacks. The Red Army is aided by a large number of Anglo-American divisions on our western and southern flanks. If our condition were as favorable, we would long since have finished off the Soviets. It is easy for them to make progress. But what does that have to do with our self-confidence? The most recent developments of the war confirm that, not refute it. And the Soviet drive into German territory puts them in an enormously precarious situation that opens favorable opportunities for us if we use them properly. These will be decisive for future war developments. The prerequisite is that we do not lose confidence in ourselves. We must be watchful at every moment. Given the enemy's superiority in matériel, we cannot avoid a strategy of improvisation and must make a virtue of necessity. But here, too, we find ever new strengths within the country. A people of nearly one hundred million can hardly be defeated when it remains determined under all circumstances not to let itself be defeated. Everything depends on this determination. It is needed by the leadership as well as by the entire people.

We must be absolute in our approach to the wear. Given the destructive will of our enemy that hardly needs to be demonstrated since he has all too often revealed it, we have no other choice. The weariness that may now and again affect us must be overcome by everyone through self-discipline. It resembles the weariness of the marathon runner when he has to overcome his last five kilometers. He will never reach the finish line in the same condition he was when he started. And that is not important. It is much more important that during the last minutes he throws aside all physical and spiritual lethargy with superhuman effort, for these are the worst enemy of success. This war is not only a matter of the laurel wreath for our people, but of its entire existence. We would lose if we failed, and he who saved his personal life in such a catastrophe would certainly be worse off than if he had sacrificed his life to hinder it.

The enemy press daily makes clear how much he is waiting for and speculating about us laying down

our weapons. He is always telling himself that the war will be easy from now on because we will make it easy for him. That is proof of why we must do the opposite. Germany will win this war if it does not lose it. If our enemies do not succeed in beating us down and forcing the German people under their destructive will, everything favorable to us will follow. That is the absolute prerequisite not only for our success and our future, but also for the success and future of our entire continent and all other peoples. How terrible the world would be if it lost the Reich as a creator of order! It would probably become a hell within a few years. The war would not end, but rather the competing powers of the enemy coalition would continue it using our fathers and sons as soldiers, making our home earth a battleground. The Reich would sink into a condition like that at the end of the Thirty Years War, with this difference: we would have to make the same heavy sacrifice, but not for our own goals, but rather only for the goals of our enemies. There are worse things than what we are now enduring, and they would come automatically if we were to lose our nerve in a careless moment and give up our cause.

One can do almost anything in war, but under no circumstances can one lay down one's weapons. As long as one still holds them in his hands, one is the master of his own decisions. Even if one has temporarily lost control of events, there is the chance to gain it back. Just as a soldier who throws his weapon away lacks honor, so it is for a people. A weapon gives both the chance to change the course of events, even in seemingly hopeless situations. Without weapons they are defenseless, and have no choice but to raise their hands as the enemy approaches. A soldier does not always know the consequences of that, but our people does. It must know it because the enemy has left to doubt. We should almost be thankful to him for that, for it protects us from weakness. Each of us is clear that we have no other choice but to fight and to survive. Today we have all the necessary resources and chances. True, we do not have all the resources we once had, but that means we have to use our full strength and not fail to do anything that could lead to a change in the fortunes of war. However hard that may be, we must succeed.

We Germans have never had an easy history. Our people does not live under the favorable stars of other peoples. Yet we do not envy them. The difficulties of our national existence have formed our national character that must now prove itself in the midst of a thousand dangers and burdens. This testing brings enormous suffering to our people, but in its final stages we may not lack the corresponding moral attitude — indeed, we must display it. The whole world is weary of war. We are in the last stages of his great battle between peoples. It depends on who first loses his breath and drops out of the battle. The world has more respect and admiration for our endurance than it can express in public. We owe it to ourselves and to them, even if they only partially deserve it, to be ready for the decisive hour when new opportunities can change things in our favor. We do not say that to respond to serious concerns with cheap phrases. The times are too serious for that. We are proud that since the beginning of the war we have spoken only in the national interest, without any personal ambition, only obedient to the facts. We will continue to do so. No power on earth, no misery, no misfortune will make us bend because we fear what people think. We will not say things that will provide temporary relief from the pains of this war, but rather will only make proposals that will lead to the world's lasting recovery. Our people will understand that; other peoples will have to learn to understand it.

The war's developments are making giant steps toward the coming great decision. The conditions of 1918 will not repeat themselves, nor will things end that way. Our people will not become defenseless. We Germans are too politically mature for that and we have suffered too much in this



war. We must fight for the meaning of this sacrifice. It may not and will not be in vain; we must use our last energy to prevent that. The wild typhoon of this vast drama of the peoples rages over humanity. Its force seems unbroken. Yet everywhere there are signs that it is ebbing. Therefore our slogan is this: chin up, keep standing, do not leap overboard no matter how high the seas for that is certain death, but look with confidence to the helmsman and with united strength toward the goal!

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Background: This article was published in Das Reich in early April 1945. His argument is the one he consistently made during the end phase of the war: Germans should keep fighting since if they lost the war they would lose what little they still had. A month after this article was published Goebbels and his wife killed their six children, then themselves to prevent capture.

The source: "Die Geschichte als Lehrmeisterin" Das Reich, 1 April 1945.

## **History as a Teacher**

by Joseph Goebbels

Here and there someone observes that this war has no parallel in history, and that therefore a reference to historical examples is not persuasive. The political-military situation of the Second Punic War or the Seven Years' War differs greatly from the present, it is said. Both historically decisive struggles took place under different situations and conditions, particularly since modern technical warfare makes obsolete all previous conceptions of dramatic battles between peoples. These objections are not valid, just as the argument that one cannot stop an Anglo-American or Soviet tank by determination alone is not. To our knowledge no one has said that, only at the most that bravery is the foundation of the military testing of our people, and that each one of us is able to find a way to survive, even if the resources and opportunities to do that vary over time. In short, it all depends on whether a people whose life is threatened gives in to the danger or whether it uses all its strength to resist, and therefore overcomes even the most severe challenges and tests of nerve.

Historical examples are not used to strengthen our fighting morale because they correspond in every detail to our people's present fateful war against a world of enemies. It would be more than foolish to say that. We know that the three Punic Wars were waged to establish the Roman city state as the center of world rule, and that Prussia had to battle three times against shifting enemy coalitions to win Silesia and gain leadership of the at that time entirely defeated German Reich. It is clear that the battles of Roßbach and Leuthen and have very little in common with today's battles on the Rhine or the Oder, and that modern battles of matériel take place under entirely different conditions and are fought with entirely different methods than the three Punic Wars or the three Silesian Wars, and that in this respect historical examples have relatively limited persuasive force.

Other historical examples, however, provide lessons for today. Both as a people and a leadership, we can and must learn from them in both good and bad times. They provide guidelines for our behavior from events in the distant past that are indeed dissimilar in terms of the situation, yet are very much the same in terms of the ways that a people and its leadership must respond. In any event, we can always see that reading the letters and writings of Frederick the Great or Mommsen's history of the Second Punic War give more strength in the critical phases of this war than reading the daily lies in the Anglo-American press. The former documents deal with historical events that can be seen in their full context. They have proved their truthfulness over two centuries or two millennia, while the latter are as long-lived as May flies. The war that we have to survive today is not limited to his current events. It would be more than dreadful were that the case. It has an historic dimension, as do all great and decisive battles between peoples. That is very difficult to see in the blood and tear covered face of this wild and dramatic time, but that is no proof that it does not exist.

A new world will emerge from this war, whether for good or evil. If it ends with the victory of our enemies we Germans will be damned to a future of being the slaves and pack mules of the whole world. One does not need to ask our people whether they are willing to accept such a role. The only

question today is which means and opportunities remain for us to stop that from happening. We always have more than enough of them if we keep a cool head and remain on our feet, regardless of the situation. The opportunities change daily, sometimes hourly. During the 18 years of the Second Punic War Rome suffered so many defeats that it more than once stood at the edge of the abyss. The cowards among its citizenry often had opportunity to speak of capitulating to Carthage. The decisive thing was that such voices found no audience in the Roman Senate or among the Roman people. Its men cursed and complained after terrible defeats and their women wept over fallen heroes, but then they went back to the battlefield or back to work. One does not have to tell us that there were no tanks back then. We know that. Hannibal, however, crossed the Alps with elephants, contrary to all thinking and expectations. Their sudden appearance in Northern Italy unleashed just as much fear and terror as does the unexpected appearance of Soviet or Anglo-American tanks. The event is fundamentally the same, and we are therefore of the opinion that the reaction must also be the same if we are to survive.

During the past two years both enemy and neutral countries have often told us that we were finished, even urgently advised us to capitulate unconditionally as quickly as possible. But just as often, have we not overcome the towering dangers that we faced? If one reads contemporary newspapers from the dark years of the Third Silesian War, one will find no voices that speak for Frederick. He was the only one who did not give up, and that was more important to the outcome of the Seven Years' War and his victory than the fact that his enemies thought he had lost. One should not think us so stupid that we do not realize the differences between modern war and war in the eighteenth century. However, we absolutely reject the argument that technology and motorized warfare have fundamentally changed warfare itself, that earlier wars were determined by the steadfastness of the military leadership and warring peoples (which can hardly be denied given the results we can see), but that wars in our century are decided exclusively through resources and matériel.

That is the cheap but in no way accurate view of cowardly idiots. They probably said similar things about Hannibal's elephants during the Second Punic War, and during the Third Silesian War they attempted to prove that Prussia, bled dry and with about four million inhabitants, could hardly stand against forty million enemies. However, they did not determine the outcome, but rather men with strong hearts. They found such a crushing refutation that their names were fully forgotten, thank God (and to their own good fortune), while courageous and strong personalities not only proved to be right, but were able to rescue their cause and thereby their peoples.

How often during our struggle for power people proved that our cause was entirely hopeless on mathematical grounds, without causing us to lose heart in the least. Again we hear that argument, which back then was made at the most with bans on our meetings, not with tank battles. Still, the SA and SS man had to throw himself against forces superior by ten- or twenty-fold, even sometimes a hundred-fold. If he died, it was the same as when a German soldier today falls in a tank battle. The dimensions of the battles one is forced to fight for the life of his people are less decisive than the willingness to sacrifice that he displays. A cause is hopeless only when those fighting for it think it is hopeless and act accordingly. History shows repeatedly that an historical crisis can be mastered only through the heaviest risk and loss of blood. Rome lost 70,000 men at the Battle of Cannae, almost the entirety of its armed force. It had every reason to despair, for the way to the Eternal City was open to Hannibal. The Roman leadership hardly had any troops left. Yet Rome did not despair, and its stubbornness was the foundation prerequisite for the later Roman Empire.

It is our firm belief that, in the long view, our people's current heroic struggle will result in the proudest establishment of a Reich that history has ever seen. But that depends on us alone. Each great individual deed today, be it in battles, be it in suffering and endurance, is a stone on which to build. The time will come when nothing that we must today bear will have been in vain. We admit openly that when we look about us in the midst of this grim and evil era, we feel better with the great heroes of human history than we do with the buyable newspaper writers in London, Washington, and Moscow, who adjust their banners to the wind and are ready at any time to scorn today what they worshipped yesterday. They, however, are never able to give support or consolation at critical times. None of them, not an Alexander nor a Fabius, neither a Scipio nor a Caesar, neither one of our great German Kaisers nor one of our great Prussian kings, would act any differently today in our situation than we act. None would in the face of the destructive rage of the enemy give up his courageous determination or, as Clausewitz says, sacrifice world history for a page of a lying newspaper. That is how we feel, that is how we think, and that is how we will always act.

If so-called public opinion in enemy states recommends to us the opposite, they do so as we all know not in our interest, but entirely in theirs. They want a cheap triumph over us using hypocritical eloquence, which they would renounce with brutal cynicism at the moment they succeeded, and we would be the losers. What is left of those peoples who left our side and deserted to the enemy? They would sing hymns of praise if they could exchange their present hopeless situation with the tolerable conditions before capitulation. But it is too late for that. They choose false wisdom. Instead of following the command of national duty and honor, they now have to pay, and will have to pay even more in the future. History has no pity for subservient peoples. She shows them her most terrible harshness and punishes them for their lack of bravery and courage of the heart in body and soul, unto the third and fourth generation. Anyone at present who loses his overall view of things and is no longer able to distinguish the essentials from the nonessentials should remember that. History is a strict teacher. She rarely repeats her advice, and only seldom gives a second chance to those peoples and leaders who attempt to ignore her laws. We must, therefore, bow to her hard advice, however much bitter sorrow it daily gives us. We have no other choice, unless we give up any hope of national life and surrender ourselves to the mercy of the enemy.

Neither the German people nor its leadership are inclined to do that. We have learned much in this war, but not how to bow down and worship an enemy that is far below us from a moral and human perspective. We would rather fight bravely to defend our rights, as hard as it may be, standing firm and trusting in them. We have already lost so much in this war that almost all we have left is our honor, our lives, and our freedom. That, however, is also the main thing and the prerequisite for our continued national existence. Of what use are undestroyed cities to us if the people that lives in them bear the chains of slaves, and how quickly would we rebuild them with unprecedented splendor if we maintain our freedom and the substance of our national life. The German Reich needed over two centuries to regenerate itself after the lost Thirty Years' War. Completely devastated Prussia after it won the Seven Years' War needed only a few years to awaken into new life, to rebuild its cities and villages, and gain the respect of the other great European powers despite its limited territory. We have the choice today to do one or the other. That choice cannot be difficult. Each must decide for himself, but we must also decide in our entirety as a people. Our brave fathers are watching us. They have the right to demand of us that we do not need to be ashamed before them. They made the same sacrifice for the Reich that we must make today. They expect of us that we display the same calm bravery of heart that they displayed.

Background: This article was published in Das Reich on 8 April 1945, one of the last of Joseph Goebbels's lead articles.

The source: "Kämpfer für das ewige Reich ," Das Reich, 8 April 1945.

## **Fighters for the Eternal Reich**

by Joseph Goebbels

Under the fury of the enemy offensives that have been pressing down on our fronts to the west, east, and south for months, as well as the almost unceasing bombing of our German cities and provinces, some hearts are beginning to shake and tremble. Rarely in history has a brave people struggling for its life faced such terrible tests as the German people have in this war. The misery that results for us all, the never-ending chain of sorrows, fears, and spiritual torture does not need to be described in detail. We know them all too well, and we are too proud to appeal to the world's pity. We are bearing a heavy fate because we are fighting for a good cause, and are called to bravely endure the battle to achieve greatness. This faith is the sure foundation that remains to us in the midst of this inferno of self destruction under which all humanity moans and weeps. That is why we cling so strongly to it, for if we lost it we ourselves would also be lost.

It may be a consolation for experienced hearts to know that this sorrow will end, as do all of earth's sorrows. The question is how that end will come. A happy outcome for us depends wholly and exclusively on ourselves. We must earn it. Just as we have done again and again in such admirable ways in the earlier stages of this terrible war, our goal must be not to lack those proven virtues of war in the final phase of this gigantic battle between peoples. The darkest hour is the one before sunrise. The stars that lent their soft light have already set, and the deepest darkness precedes the dawn. No one needs to fear that it will forget to come. The dark veil of night will suddenly fall and the sun will rise in the blood-red sky. As it is in nature, so to it is in the lives of peoples and nations, particularly during war, which is the most terrible natural event among peoples and nations. Have confidence and wait until that hour comes!

Still, it is not enough to believe. One must also work and fight, each at his place and to the best of his abilities. It is understandable that many of us, in the face of the setbacks that we have suffered in the past two years, think about how it all happened, or whether or not this or that could have been avoided, but such thoughts may not be allowed to overpower us. We must face fate bravely, and may never lose the faith that we are forced to fight for a great and just cause, and that victory will be ours if we press on. It would be wrong to look for a scapegoat at this moment. Our enemies are responsible. They do not like our state, our modern social system, and our new forms of community because they see in them a danger for their reactionary system of world exploitation. These enemies therefore deserve our hatred and our accusations. The battle that we have to wage can be won only with full national unity and determination. That is the command of the hour.

The general world crisis we experience is assuming ever more terrible forms, and not only for us, but also for the rest of Europe, and of course for the enemy states. As even English and American newspapers have to admit, well over half of our continent is starving. Far-reaching political consequences result from that, which seem likely to throw the enemy camp into ever greater confusion. They have to win quickly if they are to win at all. That explains their so often repeated appeals on us to lay down our weapons and give up the battle. But for us, that is only one more reason to ignore these cynical appeals so that the latent crisis they face, and that seems so dangerous

to them, will reach its peak. It is naive to believe that they can carry on the war as long as they want to, given their material superiority. Like us, they have strained their war potential to the utmost, and exhausted it. Such a test of strength can only last for a certain while. It depends on who first loses his nerve and gives up. He will lose the war and bear all the fateful consequences.

That is no cheap excuse to console weak spirits. One need only read our enemy's press for a few days to get a picture of the confusion in their camp. There is not a single world problem on which they agree. The only point on which they agree is that the German Reich must be destroyed and the German people wiped out. But even on this matter they have fundamentally different plans, and each hopes to tear as much booty as possible from the hands of the other. No one will want to say that these devilish plans need to be realized in order to make humanity happy. The craziest nonsense has become their war goals, and were they to have free reign, not only our people, but the whole world would be plunged into the most terrible misery. That explains the natural boundaries that we must see, and therefore our call for the steady continuation of the battle for our freedom. Humanity is in the midst of a hard and tragic crisis, but that will not destroy it, any more than our people will be defeated because it must master hard fate and deadly danger.

This crisis follows its own laws that will only be accelerated as the war continues. If they continue, or even intensify, they will one day overcome our enemies, assuming, of course, that they do not succeed in overcoming them for a short period by splitting the booty of the German Reich. That, therefore, must be prevented at all costs, using our whole national strength. That is the center of our war efforts up until the final decisive hour. That is how historic crises have always been mastered. To view the present state of the war exclusively from the military standpoint would be to display a complete lack of historic judgment. That is an important, but not the only important, factor. There are also national, political, social, and economic elements which are of ever growing significance, and which will one day assume equal importance. We must keep an eye on them as well, which they deserve more than ever.

The leading German military virtue is steadfastness, and that applies to the working and suffering homeland as well as to the fighting front. We realize that we are repeating something that has often been said. However, a truth is no less valid because it is expressed daily. We also realize that the toughness of our battle and military leadership in the midst of a growing crisis arouses resistance, a kind of lethargy, from soft and weak characters, weariness and apathy from those particularly hard hit by the war, doubts and hopelessness in unbelieving hearts, those worn out by the hardness of the age. We do not want to take any steps against them as long as they do their duty and attempt to replace their lack of courage with at least a certain degree of outward behavior. There will always be weaklings who cannot wait for the coming decision, and who in fear would like to commit suicide. Strong and courageous fanatics must face them. They must lead them back to the right path, and depending on the situation and opportunities, call them to order with an educational or firm or commanding word. We all bear a multitude of sorrows, but no one may misuse them to bring down an even worse misery on our whole people. That applies to each individual, even under the most tragic circumstances.

We must face such uncertainty in a hard and unsentimental way. Most of the time, it is not those who have suffered the most in the war who claim the right to complain the loudest. They quietly do their duty, thinking of their beloved dead who sacrificed for the fatherland, and who must not have died in vain. Most of those who speak up have the least cause to do so, and they above all deserve a firm

rebuke. Most of the time, they do not know what they are doing, and what would happen if people listened to them. They are like a drowning man who grips his rescuer so firmly that both risk going under. He who has kept his head may use any means to save himself and the one he is rescuing. We who stand for the eternal idea of the Reich have a similar task today. We have sworn an oath to the Führer and our cause. We must give the weak and the wavering an example, extending to them material and, even more importantly, spiritual support, if necessary with hard and firm words that will send them back to their daily work, not making the mistake of accepting their weakness and therefore increasing it.

Hard times need hard people. Our age is the hardest that mortal men have ever had to face. We have faced setback after setback, but that is no reason to resign and let things take their course. They will not give up if we give up. We face bloodthirsty and revenge-seeking enemies who want to realize their devilish threats if we give them the chance. No one may deceive himself about that. One side wants to deal with the German people through executions and deportations to Siberia, the other to decimate and exterminate us through terror and starvation. It would be foolish to believe it will not be all that bad. It would be even worse than that, should we give it a chance. We therefore consider it our national duty to warn against the danger, and to repeat it even if it becomes boring over time, to make our people aware of an alternative more threatening than ever before that stands before us. When the burdens of this war are finally taken from us, we will devote ourselves to the new tasks of peace. But as long as they rest on our shoulders, we all have but one command: to resist the enemy with silent determination, to resist at any price, not to waver or grow weak, and to hold the flag of our faith all the more firmly the more it is threatened, the more tattered that holy banner flies through the storms.

Only that is worthy of our people and its leadership at the present stage of the war. And the world expects that of us, although it may say the opposite a thousand times. We have faced too many crises in our lives not to know how they begin, how they develop, but also how they end. It always depends on strong hearts. When the skies darken, when lightning bolt after lightning bolt flashes from the threatening clouds, that is the time to put away fear and face the elements in a proud and manly way, standing upright until the first specks of blue show up on the horizon, announcing the ruling sun that slowly breaks through the clouds. Those who tremble during the storm will deny it when the sun shines over them. Why? Because they are ashamed of their fear, which ripped the mask from their faces and revealed their human contemptibility.

We, however, will have nothing to explain or to regret. We have proved in danger that our loyalty to the fatherland and the Führer was genuine. We did what we promised. Neither good fortune nor ill fortune changed us; we remained what we always were, and what we will remain until death calls us: fighters for the eternal Reich of the Germans, which has withstood the storms of two millennia, and which has been so hardened in this war that it will be able to withstand the storms of two more millennia. In good times, we stood by its side with festivals and songs. In hard times, our hands and our hearts, and if need be our lives, belong to it.

Background: This article was published in Das Reich on 15 April 1945, the penultimate of Joseph Goebbels's lead articles.

The source: "Der Einsatz des eigenen Lebens," Das Reich, 15 April 1945.

## **Risking One's Own Life**

by Joseph Goebbels

I turn to all Germans throughout the Reich, regardless of class, occupation, or age, at one of the most dramatic moments in the history of our people. I will say what the hour demands of us, of what we must do for our own salvation and for the continued existence of our people. I know better than most of us the enormous difficulties that stand in the way of the successful continuance of our courageous resistance against a bloodthirsty and revenge-hungry enemy in the East and West. I know that the nation is at the edge of exhaustion and the chances of resistance have significantly decreased as a result of the most recent territorial losses in the East, Southeast, and West. However, I also am one of the few of us who knows the extraordinary pressures that the enemy camp faces, and can prove from a thousand witnesses that it must win quickly if it is to win at all. I have proof in my hands that the enemy coalition suffers from internal tensions and is held together only by military successes and by the hope of an immanent final victory. At this stage of the war, to win time is to win everything. We can only win time if we remain firm and continue to resist, regardless of the conditions and disregarding the fact that this resistance costs us sacrifice after sacrifice and strains our nerves to a level that almost seems unbearable.

I believe that history has meaning. The misfortunes that have struck us cannot destroy this faith. I am certain that the Führer will find a way out of the dilemma, and that only then will the outwardly lost meaning of this war be renewed. The tests that we have to withstand today are enormous and put the German people through trials it has only seldom faced in its history. Nonetheless we must stand firm, or else everything will be lost. This war will be decided one second before midnight. Should we lay down our weapons before that, things can only go against us. Each of us knows what that would mean. Our enemy has told us that himself often and openly enough so that no one any longer can have the least doubt. If one of us now and again forgets that in the midst of the war's events and surrenders himself and the nation to common disaster, he must be taught better by friendly reminder or firm warning. It is no time to forgive weakness or faintheartedness. Our focus is entirely and only on our people, which is in the midst of a severe life crisis. Only we can resolve this crisis. If we succeed, we win everything; if we fall, we lose everything. Everyone knows what he must do.

Our enemies in the East and West have the same perfidious plan to destroy the German people. It is, therefore, entirely in vain to set one's hopes on one side or the other of the coalition. One way or the other, life for our people under their tyranny would be hell on earth. We do not have the option of trying one side or the other. Such an attempt could not be undone and would lead to the total extinguishing of our national substance. Who would want even to think about living under such conditions? For this reason alone we are obligated to ourselves and to our people to do everything to hinder that, to exhaust every means and each possibility available. He who does not do that is a cowardly traitor. He sins in the worst way against the most holy duty to the fatherland. If it were up to him, Germany would cease to exist. The generations that will come after us would shed tears of shame over our disgraceful failure in this hour of our nation's fate. The misery that we would do would be a thousand times more unbearable than the misery we today endure to prevent that.



Throughout the entire war I have written openly to our people each week. I need not be embarrassed about anything that I have written. If occasionally I made a mistake, this was the result of human weakness. Today, however, it is not a question of who is right and who is not. The hour demands of us unity, firmness, and steadfastness, from every one of us. He who falters in his duty to the people must be called firmly to account, for only in that way can discipline be upheld in these critical days. We must preserve the threatened existence of our people. Other considerations must be forgotten. We must be willing to risk our own life, and if need be sacrifice it. Only our hard resistance can stop the enemy. There is no other way. It will be enough if we use it to the full everywhere. There are cities behind the German lines that have resisted the enemy's assault for two months and forced the enemy to make sacrifice after sacrifice in blood. They must be the model and example. If each German city acts in that way, the enemy will not be able to march forward. In this battle for our freedom, we note the heroic actions of individuals that breath the spirit of antiquity. Each German can imitate them. Only so can the enemy be halted, forced in countless small battles to bleed, to have his insolent arrogance reduced. National resistance is not only for the army, but rather a matter for the entire people. No one can stand to the side.

We must learn to improvise, to make a virtue out of necessity. A few brave men and women can work miracles. Do not always expect help from above, but look around and see what you can do until help arrives from above. We are not fools. The enemy is relying on our fear, and his basing his risky operations on it. If we face him courageously he will have to respond, bring up reinforcements or hold back forces from his advanced positions. That weakens him in the long run, chasing away the fear of his tanks. He does not, after all, have inexhaustible reserves. He is also limited by his manpower and matériel. He is using his forces so recklessly only because he believes he will face no opposition. That is our opportunity. He who even indirectly aids him is a traitor to our people. He will receive the penalty he deserves. But it is not enough to resist the enemy passively; one must defend actively. That ranges from showing him icy contempt to using weapons against him. He who thinks he has to defend his own house and home must be told that if everyone behaved in that way, the nation would lose its freedom, and with the loss of that national freedom his house and home, and his own life, would be worthless. The people's freedom can demand any sacrifice of us. It is cowardly and despicable to demand heavy sacrifices of someone else, or of a neighboring city, that one is oneself unwilling to bring.

There have been isolated cases in which individuals without character did not face the enemy with the cold and contemptuous manner that he deserves. These disgraceful cases make them guilty, and they will feel shame until their hopefully imminent death. What despicable weakness is shown by facing the enemy even with indifference, he who has turned our cities and villages into heaps of rubble merely to torture our civilian population! What more could he do to earn our hate and our contempt? English and American newspapers make such isolated events the general rule, drawing the conclusion that the German people has no national character. If, on the other hand, a city shows heroic resistance and falls only after honorable battle, and where when other methods of active resistance are unavailable the population shows only hate as he marches in, then the enemy is full of fearful admiration. Cowardly creatures who think that they can quiet the enemy's lust for revenge by surrender only earn his contempt. Disaster does not rob people of their character. Those who do not meet the enemy with the required inner and outward attitude should note that. They are a disgrace to our people.

Thank God, that is only a tiny minority. But they may not be tolerated. They harm our good name in

the world, which takes no notice of the accomplishments of our fighting front and homeland, but tries to draw from a few examples of cowardly submission broad evidence of our sinking war morale. That is why it is necessary to take hard and strict action in this matter, regardless of whether it gives opportunity to the enemy to draw false conclusions. We have no cause to be ashamed. The achievements of the German people in this war are already part of history. No filthy enemy hand will be able to steal the victory wreath that our people already wears. We will not allow members of this people who have forgotten their duty to add weeds to this glorious wreath. The war's heroism obligates us all. In this critical time we must display conduct that is worthy of the misfortune that has struck us. We must bear it calmly. Only in that way will we deserve the respect of the world without losing our respect for ourselves. This war is the destroyer of bourgeois comfort. We surrender to its pressures not only the external, but also the internal aspects of this comfort. When a nation has lost as much in a war as the German nation has in this one, it must assiduously guard against also losing its honor in the midst of the general confusion, for without it, it would lose everything. Loss of confidence in national honor would end in nothingness. Any future attempt at salvation would be in vain.

My appeal is to all who hold the honor of their people higher than their own lives. They must stand guard, ensuring that the nation suffers no internal harm. They must do their duty, without regard for themselves or their property. Silence is a sin when one must speak. We must overcome lethargy and weariness and challenge passivity. The enemy can be stopped if we all work together. That will happen not only with weapons, but also with attitude. If he meets a passive population, he can move on. If he faces a population that resists, he must stop. If that becomes our general military policy, much will be gained and nothing lost. Each leader in the army and party here must set a good example. Withdrawing before the enemy is easy and can, if repeated, lead to a general weakening of national resistance. And where can we go if we continue to withdraw? We will have to fight in the end. It is better to do our duty near our house and home, near our workplaces, where the simple but hard demand is to fight, to win, or to die.

That is how we must see things if we are to survive. No one is exempt from this categorical imperative. And what life is to previous to sacrifice for the fatherland! The people wants to see examples that it can follow. It wants examples of courage and contempt of death so that it can be courageous and contemptuous of death. We are in the midst of a crisis in which a man can prove himself only by deeds. Everything else is incidental. War determines the value not only of peoples, but also of individuals. Each must prove himself anew, each must again prove his inner and outer steadfastness in the face of difficulties. Otherwise he will lose his honor and his good name. That is true for our entire people. The true man shows himself only in the face of death. Everything else falls aside and only that which is lasting, which is genuine, which cannot be destroyed by the external destruction of this war, will survive this war. It may be as a living personality, or as the memory of a man who did not seek to avoid his death, but rather gained a new, never before seen radiance. This is the foundation of our work for ourselves and for our people. We must, every one of us, without emotion, swear to die than to accept the yoke of slavery. Better to risk everything than to give up, and a thousand times better to fight to the last breath than to capitulate in disgrace. Only so can the nation be saved, We are in the final stages of the war. By human standards, it cannot continue much longer. Now is the decisive hour. Will we be its victims or its master? We have mastered all its burdens for nearly six years. We are now at its last and hardest phase, perhaps in its center. Let us go on with pride and character! We can master it only with we leave no possibility unused. The decisive factor in war is always the risk of one's own life.

Background: This is the last of Goebbels' articles in Das Reich. Two weeks later, he would be dead. Despite the hopeless war situation, he attempts to persuade Germans to keep fighting. Since the distribution system had collapsed by the time of this issue (Russian troops were already attacking Berlin), few people read this final essay.

The source: "Widerstand um jeden Preis," Das Reich, 22 April 1945, pp. 1-2.

## **Resistance at Any Price**

by Joseph Goebbels

The war has reached a stage at which only the full efforts of the nation and of each individual can save us. The defence of our freedom no longer depends on the army fighting at the front. Each civilian, each man and woman and boy and girl must fight with unequalled fanaticism. The enemy expects that, once his tanks have broken through, they will find no resistance. He believes that we will be so disconcerted by his material superiority that we will let things take their course, without caring how they turn out. We must prove the enemy's hopes wrong. No village and no city may give in to the enemy. The enemy is strong, but not strong enough to hold all the territory of the Reich without our help. If he persuades us to capitulate, he will have an easy time with us. The enemy has laid waste to our cities and provinces through the worst and most terrible bombing terror. As long as we are determined to resist at all costs, we cannot be beaten, and for us not being beaten means to be victorious.

This war of nations demands heavy sacrifice. Still, those sacrifices do not begin to compare with those we would be forced to bring if we lose. The enemy naturally wants to make his battle against the Reich as easy and safe as possible, and hopes to diminish our morale by seductive agitation. That is poison for weak souls. He who falls for it proves he has learned nothing from the war. He thinks it possible to take the easy road, when only the hard path leads to freedom. They are the same doubting souls who have no sense of national honor, and think nothing of living under the clubs of Anglo-American banking Jews, accepting charity from their hands. In other words, they are the rubbish of our nation, who nonetheless give the enemy an entirely false idea of this people. One sees how the English and American newspapers have fun with them, mocking and scorning them, and comparing them with a brave nation fighting for its life. That nation, which has demonstrated heroism and more heroism, has only one wish when reading these accounts: to kill them. They deserve nothing else. One cannot even claim that they do not know what they are doing. They have to know it, for they have been told often enough, even by the enemy, should they not want to believe us.

In the midst of a thousand battles, burdens and defeats, our people stand unbroken. Our hearts are proud when we hear from the enemy the wild fanaticism they encounter, how fathers, mothers and even children gather to resist the invaders, how boys and girls throw hand grenades and mines or shoot from cellar windows without regard to danger. They force the enemy to give them respect. They tie up his forces. They force him to commit his reserves to hold a rebellious city or a village glowing with national fanaticism, thereby slowing his advance until a new defensive line can be built a few kilometers further on. It is an absurd reversal of the facts to claim they are fighting in desperation. The enemy's attacks are riskier than the methods we use to resist. They have a solid foundation, which will soon make its impact known in the course of the war. A nation that defended its freedom with all its resources has never yet been defeated. Often, however, those that give in from desperation have been defeated.

Our entire war effort requires revolutionary changes. The old rules of war are outdated, and have no use at all in our present situation. This is the age of wars between nations. When whole peoples are threatened, whole peoples must defend themselves. The enemy does not want to take a province from us or push us back to more favorable strategic borders; he wants to cut our very arteries by destroying our mines and factories, destroying our national substance. If he succeeds, Germany will become a cemetery. Our people will starve and perish, aside from the millions who will be deported to Siberia as slave labor. In such a situation, any means is justified. We are in a state of national emergency; it is no time to ask what is normally done! Does the enemy worry about that? Where does international law allow for the tens of thousands of German women tortured and raped in the East, or the tens of thousands of German children who have been murdered in a cowardly and terrible way, or the many who have fallen victim to barbaric enemy bombing terror? All normal ideas of warfare have long since been discarded by the enemy. Only we good natured Germans still hold to them in the mistaken idea that we might thereby bring the enemy to reason.

The facts prove the opposite. Our enemies are even insolent enough to call us barbarians and war criminals because here and there we put up touch resistance with the means we have available. Just recently, British terror fliers who had been shot down after doing their destructive work were attacked by men and women in Berlin, who after their homes had been destroyed were trying to rescue their possessions and dig out the corpses of their parents and children. Their reaction was understandable, but German guards protected them with their weapons. What would happen to a captured German pilot, were he lead through a flaming Moscow? To ask the question is to answer it. Knightly behavior will not accomplish much in this war. The German dreamer must wake up if he does not want to lose his freedom and his life. How long will he wait to do what is necessary? Will he wait until Bolshevik posters appear ordering everyone between fourteen and fifty to show up at a certain spot with clothing and two weeks of food in order to be transported to Siberia? Or until the Anglo-American occupation forces ruin our people through starvation and Typhoid Fever?

Is that an exaggeration? Not at all! It has become grim reality in the occupied territories in the East and West. Only a few romantic souls fail to see it. They have built a world of illusions, and do not want to believe the hard facts and draw the necessary conclusions. They must change their thinking, and as fast as possible. Someone once said that he did not know which people could be beaten to death, but he did know that the German people had to be beaten to life. What kind of blow will it take to finally wake these people from their illusions, to persuade them to give up their fantasies and errors, for their own good even if not for that of everyone else? What will persuade these obstructionists and defeatists to defend themselves?

The enemy is out to get us all. The London papers recently reported that Anglo-American officers viewed with contempt the owners of the houses where they were quartered. They were buying German-English dictionaries in order to parley. Only the domestic servants refused to behave in so unworthy a manner. What can one say about such creatures? Beating them seems the only possible solution. Thank God, these are isolated events. What can a German think about people who have had their property destroyed and who have been told they will be tortured in the manner of the Middle Ages, who still want to have a pleasant conversation with their conquerors?

Why do we mention these examples? In order to protect healthy people against infection. Were they to succumb, it would all be over. We would have no salvation, no future. We must help ourselves if we are to receive any help at all. It is more than naive to hope that the enemy will help us. We still

have enough means and opportunities to defend ourselves and to bring the war to a successful conclusion if we only use them. This is the center of our efforts.

Each must start with himself, banishing all weakness and lethargy. He must stand firm and give an example to others, he must be on guard when he hears defeatism. He must be a man and act, work, and fight until we have overcome the gravest crisis of this war. We do not know how long that will take, only that it is necessary if we wish to live. That is true for every German, whether at the front or at home. No one can leave it to everyone else. We are all in the same boat that is plowing through the storm. No one can sit in a corner grumbling and complaining, making only critical remarks to the helmsman and the other passengers. Who can hold it against the rest when he who apparently shows no regard for the rest is tossed overboard to ease the strain on the rest, both physically and because they have wearied of a professional complainer who is endangering their efforts to save themselves? That is how things are.

We can no longer pay any heed to weariness, weakness, and delicacy. What we want, and what the intentions of our devilish enemy are, has been said often and clearly enough during the war. It does not need to be repeated. Everyone knows it. Developments have confirmed it, not contradicted it. There is no hope that the weaklings are right correct in their cowardly excuse that things will be only half as bad as we fear. If the enemy's agitation deceives us into surrender, things will be much worse than we predicted. We must draw the proper conclusions, coolly, calmly, without complaining, but also with determination. Raising the white flag means giving up the war and shamefully losing one's life. There is no reason for doing that. To the contrary, that would only help our enemy to win a cheap victory, and for at least a while cover up the growing crisis in his coalition.

The results are easy to see. They would affect us only, and sooner or later would result in the complete destruction of our nation. No one is willing to accept that fate. We must therefore fight on, resisting at all costs, even under the toughest and bleakest conditions. We fought for years almost without risk. That was not particularly commendable. The risk was entirely on the enemy's side. They overcame the danger. Who thinks that we cannot do the same? He should buy a noose and do to himself what he thinks is going to happen to our whole nation.

We still live and breathe, and have mountains of resistance left in us that we only need draw upon. Never have we believed so passionately in Germany as today, when the Reich has before it a crisis of unparalleled seriousness. One may not judge a sick person's chances of recovery by his fevered delusions. Rather, every possible means must be used to reduce the fever and waken the body's natural defenses, to give the patient courage so that he does not lose the will to live. One must strengthen his defenses so that they can bring him through the critical moments. Any other behavior is foolish and dangerous. A fourteen-year-old lad crouching with his bazooka behind a ruined wall on a burned out street is worth more to the nation than ten intellectuals who attempt to prove that our chances now are nil. The fighting lad acts instinctively in the right way, the intellectuals act in a false and illogical way because they give up since things do not seem in balance.

Whether things balance or not depends on us alone. The final account of the war will depend on the whole efforts of the involved nations. The German people can yet make an unprecedented contribution. It will thereby earn the victory. In 1918, we gave up at the last minute. That will not happen in 1945. We all have to see to that. This is the foundation of our ultimate victory. It may sound improbable today, but it is nonetheless so: Final victory will be ours. It will come through tears and blood, but it will justify all the sacrifices we have made.





29 October 1897 – 1 May 1945  
R.I.P