

Nazi Propaganda by Joseph Goebbels

1933-1945

This is a collection of English translations of Nazi propaganda material by Joseph Goebbels. It includes many of his weekly articles for *Das Reich*, as well as a range of his speeches. Some of Goebbels' pre-1933 articles and speeches are available on the [pre-1933 section](#) of the German Propaganda Archive. For further information on the [German Propaganda Archive](#), see [the FAQ](#).

Nazi articles on Joseph Goebbels:

- ["Dr. Goebbels and his Ministry"](#): A 1934 article by Hans Fritzsche.
- [Pictures of Goebbels speaking in 1935](#).
- ["On the Art of Speaking to the World"](#): An introduction by an aide to Goebbels' book *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel*. It presents the Propaganda Minister in a flattering light.

Goebbels' speeches on the eve of the new year:

- [31 December 1933](#): Goebbels looks back on Nazism's first year.
- [31 December 1938](#): Goebbels reviews 1938 and complains about complainers.
- [31 December 1939](#): Goebbels reviews 1939, and finds Germany innocent.
- [31 December 1940](#): Goebbels is optimistic...
- [31 December 1943](#): Despite the disasters of 1942, Goebbels predicts German victory.

Goebbels' annual speeches on the eve of Hitler's birthday:

- ["Our Hitler"](#) (1933)
- ["Our Hitler"](#) (1935)
- ["Our Hitler"](#) (1937)
- ["Our Hitler"](#) (1939)
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- ["Our Hitler"](#) (1945)

Miscellaneous Speeches:

- ["German Women"](#): In March 1933, Goebbels discusses Nazi views of women.
- ["Radio as the Eighth Great Power"](#): Goebbels discusses radio (18 August 1933).
- ["The Racial Question and World Propaganda"](#): Goebbels' speech to the 1933 Nuremberg Rally.
- [Goebbels on Propaganda](#): His speech at the 1934 Nuremberg Rally.
- ["Communism with the Mask Off"](#): Goebbels' 1935 Nuremberg Rally Speech.
- ["The Coming Europe"](#): In a blunt speech, Goebbels tells the Czechs that they had better get used to German occupation (11 September 1940).
- ["Youth and the War"](#): The German youth are fortunate... (29 September 1940).
- ["Christmas, 1941"](#): Goebbels says Germans have a lot to be thankful for (24 December 1941).
- [Total War](#): In his most famous speech delivered shortly after the defeat at Stalingrad, Goebbels calls for total war (18 February 1943).
- ["The Winter Crisis is Over"](#): Goebbels reviews the situation since Stalingrad, and remains confident of German victory (5 June 1943).
- ["In the Front Ranks"](#): Goebbels speaks at a memorial meeting for those killed by Allied bombing raids (18 June 1943).
- ["Immortal German Culture"](#): Goebbels opens a wartime art exhibition (26 June 1943).

A selection of Goebbels' articles:

- ["More Morality, but less Moralism"](#): Goebbels proclaims his support for freedom in the private sphere... (27 January 1934).
- ["What Does America Really Want?"](#): Goebbels is unhappy about American criticism (21 January 1939).
- ["The Coffee Drinkers"](#): An attack on those who are dissatisfied (11 March 1939).

- ["Great Days"](#): Goebbels on the end of Czechoslovakia (18 March 1939).
- ["The Morals of the Rich"](#): Britain has no right to complain about Germany, Goebbels says (25 March 1939).
- ["Children with their Hands Chopped Off"](#): Goebbels on British propaganda (24 June 1939).
- ["England's Guilt"](#): Goebbels explains the reasons for World War II (Fall, 1939).
- ["Missed Opportunities"](#): A commentary on the state of the war during the invasion of France (2 June 1940).
- ["Churchill's Lie Factory"](#): Churchill, it seems, is guilty of the "big lie." (12 January 1941).
- ["Winston Churchill"](#): Goebbels has unfriendly things to say about Winston Churchill (2 February 1941).
- ["The Veil Falls"](#): The invasion of the Soviet Union had just begin (6 July 1941).
- ["Mimicry"](#): An attack on the Jews (20 July 1941).
- ["The Door to a New Era"](#): On foreign press criticism after the Russian invasion (28 September 1941).
- ["The Matter of the Plague"](#): Why Germans may not listen to the BBC (5 October 1941).
- ["When or How?"](#): Goebbels on the war situation (9 November 1941).
- ["The Jews are Guilty"](#): An attack on the Jews (16 November 1941).
- ["The Clay Giant"](#): Why England will lose the war (23 November 1941).
- ["Roosevelt Cross-examined"](#): Goebbels on FDR (30 November 1941).
- ["A Different World"](#): How Goebbels saw the war after Pearl Harbor (21 December 1941).
- ["The New Year"](#): On the outlook for 1942 (4 January 1942).
- ["The Good Companion"](#): On German radio policy (1 March 1942).
- ["Churchill's Trick"](#): Goebbels claims to be happy with Winston Churchill (1 March 1942).
- ["An Open Discussion"](#): Goebbels explains why food rations are being cut (29 March 1942).
- ["The Paper War"](#): On bureaucracy and complaining during war (12 April 1942).
- ["Heroes and Film Heroes"](#): Goebbels finds that German heroes are better than American ones (7 June 1942).
- ["The Air War and the War of Nerves"](#): A discussion of British night bombing of Germany (14 June 1942).
- ["The Tonnage War"](#): Goebbels on the U-boats (21 June 1942)
- ["The So-called Russian Soul"](#): Goebbels maintains the Russian soul is of inferior quality (19 July 1942).
- ["God's Country"](#): An unflattering portrait of the USA (9 August 1942).
- ["Don't Be Too Fair"](#): Goebbels says that Germans must be taught to hate (6 September 1942).
- ["The War and the Jews"](#): Goebbels predicts the Jews will not survive the war (9 May 1943).
- ["Morale as a Decisive Factor in War"](#): Germany will win because it deserves to win (7

August 1943).

- ["The Realities of War"](#): Goebbels thinks the war situation is favorable for Germany (22 August 1943).
 - ["A Classic Example"](#): Goebbels discusses the fall of Mussolini (19 September 1943).
 - ["30 Articles of War for the German People"](#): An attempt to build support for the war effort (26 September 1943).
 - ["The New Year"](#): An optimistic look at what turned out to be a bad year (2 January 1944).
 - ["The Battle of Berlin"](#): Goebbels discusses Allied bombing (13 February 1944).
 - ["Why Are Things So Difficult for Us?"](#): Goebbels explains Germany's situation (9 April 1944).
 - ["Life Goes On"](#): Goebbels on Allied bombing, with a hint of the V-weapons (16 April 1944).
 - ["The Background of the Invasion"](#): A commentary on D-Day (18 June 1944).
 - ["The Call of Duty"](#): After the 20 July 1944 assassination attempt on Hitler (6 August 1944).
 - ["The Higher Law"](#): Germany will win because it is morally superior (24 September 1944).
 - ["The World Crisis"](#): Goebbels suggests the other side has it just as bad (17 December 1944).
 - ["The Creator of the World's Misfortunes"](#): Goebbels' last major anti-Semitic essay (21 January 1945).
 - ["The Year 2000"](#): Goebbels predicts what will happen after Germany wins the war (25 February 1945).
 - ["Resist at Any Price"](#): Goebbels' last published article in *Das Reich* (22 April 1945).
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A Nazi-era poster of Joseph Goebbels

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Last revised on 23 October 2002 by Randall Bytwerk. My email address is available on the [FAQ page](#).

Background: Hans Fritzsche, the author of this essay, was a leading Nazi radio broadcaster. Here he praises Goebbels and outlines the nature of the newly-founded Reich Ministry for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda. He makes the interesting argument that Goebbels is promoting a higher form of artistic freedom in attempting to guide art from his position as Propaganda Minister.

The picture of Goebbels is taken from the book. The picture of the Propaganda Ministry comes from a 1937 postcard.

The Source: Hans Fritzsche, "Dr. Goebbels und sein Ministerium," in Hans Heinz Mantau-Sadlia, *Deutsche Führer Deutsches Schicksal. Das Buch der Kündler und Führer des dritten Reiches* (Munich: Verlag Max Steinebach, 1934), pp. 330-342.

Dr. Goebbels and his Ministry

It takes only five minutes to walk from Postdamer Straße 109 in Berlin to the Wilhelmplatz. Five minutes from the more than modest first business office of the newly-named National Socialist *Gau* leader of Berlin, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, to the Leopold Palace, the current headquarters of the Reich Ministry for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda.

It took Dr. Joseph Goebbels six and one half years to cover the distance. It led him through the middle of the Red hell of Berlin.

Dr. Goebbels came to Berlin in 1926 on Adolf Hitler's orders to reorganize the Berlin party, which was at the edge of collapse. He came alone. He came as a fighter who had proved himself against the French, separatists and Communists in three years in the Rhine and Ruhr areas. He came without support; he had to build his own support.



The Red flag flew over Berlin, and it seemed absurd to believe that the Red domination of the city could even be threatened.

A few years later the Red lords of Berlin had to build their courage against Adolf Hitler's ambassador, who had come alone, with the slogan "Berlin Remains Red!" It was too late by then, for the *Gauleiter* of the National Socialist German Workers Party, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, had already conquered Red Berlin.

The NSDAP won twelve seats in the Reichstag in the May, 1928 election. Dr. Goebbels was one of the twelve. Adolf Hitler named him the National Propaganda Leader of the NSDAP. Two and a half years later, on 14 November 1930, the National Socialists came to the Reichstag with 107 men. And on 30 January 1933, after the unique evening mass meeting of hundreds of thousands, Dr. Goebbels could with pleasure tell the newly-named Reich Chancellor that the Berlin movement had organized the event.

When Reich President von Hindenburg appointed the National Propaganda Leader of the NSDAP the Minister for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda, this man who already had behind him the battles in the Rhineland and Berlin as well as enormous accomplishments in the party leadership, was the youngest minister: only 36!

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It is but five minutes from the dark and smoky business office of 1926, which had the mocking name opium den, to the Leopold Palace. The road took Dr. Joseph Goebbels through a sea of poison and hate and lies. Each old follower of Adolf Hitler, each old National Socialist, had to withstand battles that no young party member will have to endure, no matter how long he lives. But no one had to face as much hate as Dr. Goebbels.

It was almost open season on Dr. Goebbels during the six-and-a-half year battle for Berlin. At first he was

called the "Chief Crook of Berlin" by the Communists — a title he accepted without embarrassment and made a title of honor. Soon the middle class newspapers and speakers declared open season on him too. He is a man of sharp phrases and pitiless language. The danger he represented had long been recognized. The entire artillery of the political battle, for which any means is justified, was turned on him.

It also seemed easy to fight a man who was under the constant fire of the state prosecutors of the day. There seemed no risk in dumping piles of filth on the editor of a newspaper that held the record for the number of times it was banned. No German newspaper was in fact banned as often as Berlin's "Der Angriff."

The results of the unprecedentedly bitter battle the organs of the Weimar state and the parties were different than they had expected: He hardened his weapons in the fire of this battle, and the masses his enemies attempted to mobilize against him instead joined him. It is not surprising that those who feared the oncoming National Socialism attacked with poison and gall. It is surprising that this man, mocked, ridiculed and insulted as no one else, did not fall into deep despair and spiritual misery after those years of struggle.

What most surprised his opponents is his disarming honesty. One accused him with contempt of being a propagandist, of being dishonest. The charge was loaded with the contempt and accusations of dishonesty that had been earned by years of bad propaganda.

What did Dr. Goebbels do?

He said: "Propaganda? Certainly! Good propaganda for a good cause!" We make propaganda not in the pay of forces or men in the background, rather we make propaganda for our own honest convictions. We advertise for our own ideal, and therefore we fight using all good means to make good propaganda to win the soul of our people."

Eugen Hadamovsky, the *Reichsendeleiter* of German radio, put it this way: "Under the brilliant leadership of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, the master of political propaganda, the neglected weapon of German politics became a creative art."

The feared sharpness of Dr. Goebbels's language was a result of his honesty. At a time when the word "lie," or even the direct term "liar" were thought unrefined and unusable in the columns of the German press, although they carried lies in their columns, Dr. Goebbels did not hesitate to call one who lied a liar. When it is necessary to call things by their proper name, when it is necessary to expose persons, then things are called by their name and people are presented in such a way that even a dog will no longer take a bone from them. The journalist and speaker Dr. Goebbels did not change his impolite methods, even when he faced a certain ban or a certain legal process.

His honesty and determined stubbornness use a language and manner of expression that display crystal clear clarity and irresistible logic. His clarity of thought won him the respect of international journalists in Geneva in 1933, certainly the toughest, most hard-boiled audience. It is impressive that, after Minister Dr. Goebbels' speech in Geneva, the correspondent of the Paris "Journal" wrote: "Dr. Goebbels combines German mysticism with Latin logic."

In everything there is a good portion of humor. Dr. Goebbels drew from humor the sharpness of irony, once

the scourge of Red Berlin. And satire too came from humor, which drove many an opponent to lose his head.

A flood of clever ideas came from his humor. Remember, for example, Dr. Goebbels' humorous success with Brüning! Dr. Goebbels had challenged the then Reich Chancellor over and over again to a debate.

Brüning preferred to speak in carefully prepared meetings. Dr. Goebbels had a recording of the Brüning's radio speech in Königsberg, and took it to the Berlin Sports Hall to debate an opponent who was unwilling to appear in any other way.

Those are the weapons that served the faithful National Socialism of Dr. Joseph Goebbels in the battle for Berlin and the battle for Germany. Armed with these weapons, he succeeded everywhere he attacked. If one asked a journalist, regardless of the camp in which he stood, who was the best German journalist, one would get the answer, however reluctant: Dr. Goebbels. In an era when hundreds of German newspapers had given upon the familiar old institution of the lead article, since its old platitudes no longer found readers, Dr. Goebbels wrote his lead articles — and they were read. He wrote in a language that captivated the reader, who otherwise looked only for sensation. If one asked for the name of a great speaker in the Reichstag, honest people answered that no one since Friedrich Naumann so held the attention of the Reichstag as Dr. Joseph Goebbels.

That is what is unique about him: Dr. Goebbels says what he has to say in the way that it must be said to those to whom he is speaking. Hundreds, even thousands of politicians travel about giving the only speech than can give, using the only language that they know how to use — regardless of whether they stand in the Reichstag or before a mass meeting or in a political salon. Dr. Goebbels speaks every language. He is at home in the north of Berlin as he is in the west of Berlin. He can be understood by the average man and the educated. He speaks to the people in mass meetings, to the representatives in the Reichstag. Once, long before the beginning of the church's renewal at the time when the *ecclesia militans* was just beginning to awake, I heard him speak to a small circle of Catholic and Protestant clergy who were concerned with the political persecution they were encountering in ministering to S.A. and Stahlhelm units. Dr. Goebbels, the "noisy agitator," spoke to these clergy of both confessions with a quietness and depth that gave these pastors new strength to endure all the consequences of holding services for the Brown Shirts and Stahlhelm men. They were again determined to stand in the pulpit and speak openly to the needs of the day.



This man, uniquely successful as the propaganda chief of Hitler's party, is now the Propaganda Minister of Reich Chancellor Hitler.

The official building he took over, the old Leopold Palace, had long been the seat of the Press Office of the Reich government. It was dark and musty. Dark carpets and curtains carried the dust of years. Only the Garden Room was

cheerful and bright. But for years the representatives of the German press had heard there only the peculiar wishes of changing Reich governments; it was not a place with pleasant memories.

After Dr. Goebbels had been in office for a few days, the dusty old hangings had been removed from the majority of the rooms, and simple, but friendly furniture filled bright rooms. When Dr. Goebbels spoke for the first time to representatives of the German press in the Garden Room of the Leopold Palace, no one failed to see that the evil spirit of a press hostile to the people had been forever driven out.

"There are two ways to make a revolution," the newly-named Reich Minister said. "One can fire at the opponent with machine guns until he recognizes the superiority of those who have the machine guns. That is the simplest way. One can also transform a nation through a revolution of the spirit, not destroying the opponent, but winning him over. We National Socialists have gone the second way, and will continue on it. Our first task in this ministry will be to win the whole people for the new state. We want to replace liberal thinking with a sense of community that includes the whole people."

Most memorable, however, was a style of speaking never before been heard in this room: "Our revolution will never stop."

Thus Dr. Goebbels began his task of being the constant intermediary between the National Socialist Reich government that sprang from the people, and the people. At every moment and in each individual measure, the Reich Ministry for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda should maintain the living relationship between government and people. "We have not become a minister to be above the people, rather we are now more than ever the servant of the people."

The Propaganda Ministry is not bureaucratic administrative apparatus, rather an spiritual center of power that stays in constant touch with the whole people on political, spiritual, cultural and economic matters. It is

the mouth and ear of the Reich government.

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Dr. Goebbels laid his hand on all the powers that once made common front against him and against the idea of Adolf Hitler that he represented. On radio, the press, literature, theater, film. On the whole enormous apparatus of propaganda that once in the Reich capital used the whole of its enormous power to make the unknown but dangerous Dr. Goebbels from the Rhineland into a dreamer and crackpot, the subject of public scorn. The same enormous apparatus that some others, using enormous millions had attempted to influence without having any real success; for decades only one had dominated it, the Jewish intellect.

This multifaceted apparatus of modern propaganda, which Dr. Goebbels had faced without the weapon of money, only with the strength of the idea even though the struggle seemed foolish, fell into the hands of the people that Dr. Goebbels, as a colleague of the Führer, had mobilized against this citadel of Jewish power.

Now he can begin the reconstruction of German spiritual life after the foreign elements have been eliminated.

Even during the very first beginnings of the work on building the ministry, the new Reich Ministry for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda could give the first evidence of what it was capable of: The organization of the first Day of National Labor, 1 May 1933. Although its success was surpassed by 1 May 1934, Dr. Goebbels showed then for the first time that once the path was made clear for National Socialism, not hundreds of thousands, rather millions could gather at a single place when it called.

Relatively little had to be changed in 1934 on the Day of Labor after the example of 1 May 1933. Organizationally, it had been done right the first time. The tradition had been created, and after a year one could assume that the content German national holiday needed only to be deepened. The waves of the first May mass meeting rolled over the many unions and parties. 1 May awoke old May customs in all the German *Gaue* had gave renewed life to the almost decayed German cultural treasure. Department II, Propaganda (under Ministerialrat Haegert) in the Propaganda Ministry has the task of carrying out such mass meetings. One might call this department the general staff of practical propaganda. But that is only part of the broad domain of Department II. To name only a few areas, it includes positive propaganda for the worldview, the structure of governmental life, youth and sports questions, economic advertising of every form, agricultural advertising, propaganda in the area of transportation and education in matters of public health.

Department III, Radio (Ministerialrat Dreßler-Andreß) unites the whole of the German radio system.

The radio, once a collection of private broadcasters in which the influence of the Reich, the states, political parties and private concerns battled, was united, cleansed and clearly organized. The radio was not only placed under National Socialist control, but also reconstructed on National Socialist lines.

The new people's radio has proven on some "major days" that it is able literally to draw a whole nation to the receiver. Occurrences such as the state visit of the Führer and Reich Chancellor to Hamburg on 17 August 1934 have shown that the new German radio can make such events festivals for the whole nation.

The radio allowed a whole nation to participate in the ceremony of the German Reichstag for the deceased Reich President, and the world followed as the General Field Marshal found his final resting place on the field of his greatest victory.

A year after Dr. Goebbels had taken the German radio in his hand, it was possible at noon on the first day of spring that not even three people could be seen at a major point in Berlin, the Potsdamer Platz, because the Führer was opening the second great battle for work in Bavaria. He was speaking to a few thousand, but he spoke over the radio to millions and millions. The new radio system, even in a time when the economic crisis had not been completely overcome, was able to win millions of new listeners and produce millions of new receivers, above all the *Volksempfänger* [an inexpensive radio receiver].

Without exaggerating, one can say that there is no country in the world where the radio is anywhere near as intensive an intermediary between the government and the people as in Germany.

A true labor of Sisyphus was necessary in the area of the press. From the chaos of 3500 German newspapers, of which only 120 were National Socialist in 1932, a responsible German press had to be created.

Department IV, the Press (Ministerialrat Dr. Jahnke) is the tool of the Propaganda Ministry in this area. It is simultaneously the Press Office of the Reich government. Its head is the Assistant Press Chief of the Reich government, State Secretary Walter Funk of the Reich Ministry for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda.

The destructive effects of the past liberal era had especially serious effects on the German newspaper system. Anyone, even foreigners and those foreign to the German spirit, could with no regard for the people or the state write whatever he wanted about any political question, even if that which he wrote offered foreign opponents all possible support and aid.

Bans could not help deal with the general decay of the German newspaper system. They are only a temporary means to deal with the worst manifestations. Dr. Goebbels therefore created the new Editor's Law, which laid the foundation for a complete transformation of the German newspaper system in the moral, political, and economic areas. The law gave the German editor major rights, but also major duties. The German editor is now the representative of the whole people, and must as such give account for all his actions and inactions. For the first time in the world, this law makes the interests of the people and the state the supreme law for the whole press.

Some foreign newspapers thought this was the end of press freedom. Within a year, even those abroad realized that true freedom stabilizes a decent and nationally-conscious journalist class.

Department IV, which supports the press, holds a daily press conference. It provides constant information for the never-ending work of domestic and foreign newspapers, news agencies and correspondents.

It also incorporates the Drahtloser Dienst, the news agency of the German radio that provides all Reich stations with news and broadcasts as well in four languages over shortwave.

Since the most modern ministry works with the most modern methods, the Drahtlosen Dienst has an

excellent teletype system that transmits its news to all German stations in a form ready for broadcast.

Department V (Ministerialrat Dr. Seeger) is responsible for all matters regarding the film system, the film industry and film technology.

Department VI (Ministerialrat Laubinger) handles the broad areas of theater, music and the arts.

Department VII (Ministerialrat Demann) is responsible finally for defense.

That is the staff that the Reich Minister for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda called to work closely with the National Socialist Party leadership. From here come the new slogans for the people, who are to be formed into a new unity and set to the work of reconstruction.

It is surprising how rapidly Dr. Goebbels became a cultural organizer after the years of struggle. He succeeded in bringing order to the most difficult of all areas of public life, culture, in the form of the Reich Chamber of Culture.

The Reich Chamber of Culture includes the Reich Chamber of Film, the Reich Chamber of the Visual Arts, the Reich Chamber of Theater, the Reich Chamber of Radio, the Reich Chamber of the Press, the Reich Chamber of Music, and the Reich Chamber of Literature.

In these chambers, all those German creators of culture are united in a rational manner and without unnecessary compulsion in the place where they can most effectively work for cultural reconstruction.

Speaking to the presidents of the specialized chambers of the Reich Chamber of Culture, Dr. Goebbels explained: "If professional thinking is really the great sociological idea of the Twentieth Century, then Germany is breaking new ground." Dr. Goebbels discussed the foundation of the National Socialist state: Art is free, and one may never attempt to replace a lack of intuition with organization. He warned against bureaucratizing the Chamber of Culture. He explained its duties in this way: "It is a fundamental mistake to think that the task of the Reich Chamber of Culture is to produce art. It cannot, it will not, and it may not. Its task is to bring culture-creating people together, to organize them, to remove the restrictions and contradictions that surface and to assist in administering existing art, the art being produced today, and the art that will be produced in the future for the benefit of the German people."

Dr. Goebbels, who came to know writers, journalists, theater agents, film managers, politicians and so on during the years of struggle, is at home in these areas. To film producers who complained about a lack of material, he replied: "There is no shortage of material, rather the courage to use it is lacking." To the press he said: "The more unified the national ability of a people to concentrate is, the more effective national discipline will be." Speaking of the tasks of German theater: "We do not want the pendulum of the times to stop at the door of the theater, rather that it strike deep into every artist's soul, and the artist does not merely see the new era as an unpleasant but unavoidable necessity, rather that he understands the time and sees in it a powerful national drama of historic-artistic scale, an event that will give impulse, material and drive to German artists for three or four generations."

Or as he said to booksellers: "As long as the book remains the privilege of a small, elite class and does not

find reception by the people, one will not be able to speak of real benefits to the nation through the book."

It is obvious that the creative artist Joseph Goebbels is a bitter enemy of any form of *Kitsch*. Where inappropriate means are used, and where ability is not able to achieve the greatness and dignity of the task, he intervenes. Dr. Goebbels, the first to expose the presumed objectivity of creative activity, rather openly affirms the goal of constantly serving the whole of the people, is the declared and sworn enemy of incompetence. He does not want to place the intellectual creations of the nation under censorship from above. The artist, the writer, each creative artist is free. He wants to bind them from below; after years of unrestrained influence streaming in from foreign directions, he wants art to again be rooted in the soil of the homeland, in the soil of the people. This binding is no chain, rather liberation and fruitfulness.

For each German, ethnicity must be the decisive reality. From this ground and no other, creative artistic and cultural forces must rise. The deeper art's roots are in the soil of the nation, the greater will be its international significance.

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Background: This article from the Nazi illustrated weekly newspaper shows Joseph Goebbels in action, delivering a speech at a mass rally.

The Source: "...Pg. Goebbels hat das Wort!", *Illustrierter Beobachter*, 4 July 1935, pp. 1048-1049.



This is the issue's cover.



"We do not want to act bureaucratically, rather in close and living contact with the people."

Text: "The high point of the wonderful Gau East Hanover party rally was the speech by the Party's Reichspropagandaleiter, Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels. In a compelling speech, he said the party and the army were the pillars of the nation. Both are important, and neither is replaceable."



"We have helped ourselves, creating real things, not illusions."



"The party was our home during the struggle for power, thus we are obligated to it."



"We came from the people, we remain part of the people, and see ourselves as the executor of the people's will."



"We have always said: We will succeed only if we use our full energies."



"Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels during his speech at the Gau East Hanover rally in Harburg."



"The party exists to protect the nation from civil war, and the army exists to defend it against war from the outside."



"Germany has a different reputation today than it did before our seizure of power."

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Preis: 20 Pfennig
Monatlich 60 Pfennig
Jahresabonnement 6 Reichsmark

10. JAHRGANG / FOLGE 27 / DONNERSTAG, 4. JULI 1934

JB Illustrierter Beobachter

VERLAG FRANZ EHER NACHF. 12 MÜNCHEN 2 NO



Die Kameraden des Reichswehrministeriums.
Auf dem Gelände des Reichswehrministeriums wird die neue Maschinengewehr-
einheit der Reichswehr in der ersten Reihe
geübt.

















Background: Goebbels was not a particularly deep thinker, but he was quick. He wrote or dictated a great deal, and could churn out his weekly articles in as little as 15 minutes, if pressed for time. This is a translation of the forward to his first book of wartime essays. The author is Schwarz von Beck, one of the Propaganda Minister's aides. It naturally gives a more than flattering portrait of the Propaganda Minister.

The source: *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), a collection of Goebbels' speeches and writings from January 1939 to September 1941.

On the Art of Speaking to the World

by Hans Schwarz von Beck

In the Minister's office there is a long map table in front of the window facing the Wilhelmplatz. Some maps are of the sort on which General Staff officers measure with their compasses and sketch their plans. There are others that belong to a chapter of the war that is unequalled in the history of warfare.

One map shows the radio transmitters that have been conquered in Europe. Another shows on numerous pages the movements and locations of the propaganda companies. A world map shows the zones reached by shortwave transmissions in many languages. Still another shows the movements and performances of front theater companies. Another compares the cities in England and Germany that have been bombed. Whenever Dr. Goebbels meets with officers, war reporters, editors, radio people and artists around the table, the ways the war has mobilized the spirit and the soul become evident.

Once or twice each week the room is empty, and Dr. Goebbels wanders around the table. He dictates an article or a speech. This is in the middle of the day's work, and often happens so quickly that those in the waiting room are surprised when the stenographer leaves after only fifteen minutes. There have been days of such high tension and concentration that he has dictated a three column article in twelve minutes. But that is not the rule. When Dr. Goebbels polemicizes, he does so in a way few others can equal. He dictates sharp and pointed phrases, as well as ones that are elegant and powerful. He needs

no long preparation. As a revolutionary, he is at ease with all forms of political eloquence. As a result, most of these articles read as if they had just been spoken. His essays that treat the great problems of the day or have a particular foreign policy aim, are different. Such pieces are written with the requisite thoroughness. Files and evidence are gathered, quotations checked against the original, quotations from Eden or Roosevelt or Pitman or Ickes are double-checked. When a manuscript has been worked over numerous times it may be set aside for a week or longer, after which every word is once more weighed. A war cannot be won by temperament alone, even temperament as great as Dr. Goebbels has. Few know that he follows a stringent daily plan. He begins each day with the diary he has kept since 1920, and ends late in the night with a preview of the footage for the next newsreel, 3,000 copies of which will go out to all the world.

The precise daily routine was harder and harder to follow as the first signs of a real danger of war in Europe began to appear. That was a few months after the Munich Conference, December/January of 1938/39. England was arming, the United States opened its press and diplomacy to incitement, France was drawn in, Poland was driven down the path to insanity. It became essential to be propagandistically alert and to show our own people as well as those of the world what was happening. The Ministry needed to prepare the radio, the press, film and the party for whatever might come. German propaganda was preparing for its baptism by fire.

Dr. Goebbels held to his daily routine. The trivial was shoved aside. Visitors had to be more concise. The documents and proposals that reached his desk became even briefer. But more time was given to reading the press and confidential news, enemy leaflets and brochures, and the transcripts of foreign radio stations. The Minister's work room became once more like his editorial office in the years he was fighting for Berlin, but now he was no longer leading a newspaper, rather the entire news system, the radio, oral propaganda, and brochures.

These changed circumstances once again testified to his journalistic abilities. Everything that Dr. Goebbels heard or read was transformed into war leadership. Most matters he passed on to others with a few brief instructions. Much of his dictation appeared abroad, without betraying his name. The emphasis was always on timeliness. Lengthy pamphlets, thick tomes, deep academic discussions of the sort one used during the World War were almost always rejected. The important thing was to keep at the enemy's heels. There could be no trench warfare in propaganda. Each of Churchill's blunders, each of his defeats and embarrassments had to be responded to immediately. Dr. Goebbels commented week after week on the state of things. His essays appeared in the "Völkischer Beobachter" and in "Das Reich."

Some ask why he does not direct the entire press. He obviously has the ability. But Dr. Goebbels makes a clear distinction between what he does as Minister and what he does as a journalist. As a journalist he does his own work. He wants people to see his articles as his personal opinion. He wants them to have weight, to stand out, to speak to the readers. Political writing, political arguments, and political persuasion stand alongside the news, the dispatches from the army command, the propaganda company reports.

His personal writing and speeches come in the midst of his war work. So much has happened in this "unique time" since the critical year 1939—the achievements of our soldiers and the changes in the map brought about by our campaigns are of such enormous scale that a speech or essay can be forgotten. When however one considers the items collected in this book, which are only a part of what he produced in these years, one is reminded of the scale of the war. They show that we have approached this war as a political people and that we see it as a political whole. We have never lacked something to say. We have avoided high-flown boasting and careless words. There is no sign of a patriotic bombast that conceals the real difficulties and challenges of the war. Dr. Goebbels has also determined where the language should be pointed. He knows and shares the collective and sensible mood of our people. He might speak with biting irony about men like Churchill or Halifax, Eden or Roosevelt, but never forgot the reality of the enemy's strength. When he makes predictions—and now and again in this book he does—they depend not on careless hopes for a happy accident, the kind of thing Churchill does to conceal from the English the seriousness of their defeats. Instead, he reveals the enemy's secret intentions and points out their responsibility. For example, what Dr. Goebbels wrote about American warmongers in January 1939 has come true step by step.

In one of his essays on Churchill, Dr. Goebbels characterized him as a gambler who each time hopes his luck will improve, while all the while he is gambling away his whole empire. The Führer and Mr. Churchill differ most clearly in their relationship to luck. This theme appears regularly, always in the only way that corresponds to our way of thinking. As Moltke put it, in the long run only those are lucky who deserve to be. Miracles and luck will not decide this war. Victory will depend on the achievements of our people, on our weapons and on the resoluteness of our hearts, against which all the words of the enemy are in vain. In a language that the educated and the uneducated can understand, Dr. Goebbels has expressed the war doctrine of a young socialist people, a people that knows that everything that happens follows a higher necessity. That is the essence of the war. No hope or waiting, no renunciation or obligation is in vain. Nothing unnecessary is asked of us, no drop of blood is shed for reasons of prestige. Everything follows a secret plan in the hands of the Führer. This sum of these essays and speeches makes clear the logic of the war. It depends on a consciousness of German security and superiority. Our whole thinking in this war is contained in this one sentence: "Germany has always been as strong as it is today, but never knew it."

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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. He looks back on the first year of National Socialism and declares the revolution over.

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 1934

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 in 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, be they 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 to 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, 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 have affirmed one man and one idea. A movement fully aware of its responsibility governs the Reich.

The people themselves, however, could not support the new regime any more strongly than they do.

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 or 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, they 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, 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, 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 need that once defeated Germany.

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Background: This is Goebbels' new year address to Germany, delivered on 31 December 1938. He reviews the past year, recalling repeatedly that Austria had been incorporated into Germany. Despite his claim that complainers are not worth dealing with, he devotes a major part of the speech to denouncing those who failed to share his faith in Adolf Hitler. 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. Over 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 is 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 historical 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 have 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 historical 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 historical miracle we are experiencing is one of those miracles that is mysterious and inexplicable in its totalities, but is brilliantly clear in its individual events.

As long as we are speaking of wonders, 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 too. 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. 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 historical 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 historical miracle that has happened. One must believe in ones yet to come.

That is the important thing about the big historical 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 on 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, rather to be surrendered to.

One cannot make history with such quivering people. They are only the 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, 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 historical 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 historical future of the German nation. Loyal and unshakable, we trust this man and his historical 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 1939 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 war was off to a good start. Goebbels reviews 1939 in a way suggesting Germany's complete innocence (and avoiding any mention of the German-Soviet treaty), and makes no predictions for the coming year, other than that it will be a hard one.

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 critically all that moves 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 for everyone who can not only read history, but can 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, Brunn 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, the 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 Lodsch 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 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, attempting 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: that of Danzig, of the Corridor, and that of improving Germany's relations to 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, the 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 grant 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. 1940 had been a good year for the Nazis, and Goebbels does not hesitate to boast. He makes few predictions of what the new year will bring, though he is clearly confident that German victories will continue.

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 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 in 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 historical 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 the 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 never 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 historical sins of the western democracies must find their historical 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 or 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 historical 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 historical 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!

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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. Goebbels' basic argument is the same from here to the end of the war: Germany must win because otherwise it will be destroyed.

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

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 material 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, rather far from Rome. The Bolshevik offensive army has not been able to reach the German Reich border as they wanted and planned to; our army in the East instead is offering bitter resistance far from our 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 that 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, 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 a 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 itself 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 tries 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 righting 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, rather have 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 effected 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 too. Then it will become clear who is right, the enemy side or we. 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 from 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 the 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.

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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. Goebbels praises Hitler, but there is less of the deification found in later speeches in the series.

The Source: I here use 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 from the situation. All the newspapers agree on this. It no longer needs to be said that he has taken up Bismark'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 miss accusing him of every sin, or denying 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 build 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 who 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 only 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.

An 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, 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 worth. 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, Joseph Goebbels gave a radio speech in praise of Hitler. This is the third in the series, delivered in 1935. Goebbels, as usual, thought it a good speech. His 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

Joseph Goebbels, 20 April 1935.



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 know 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 know 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 Marshall 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 to 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 entirely 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 Mann 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, 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!"



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Background: Goebbels gave a speech every year on the eve of Hitler's birthday. This is the speech for Hitler's 48th birthday in 1937

The Source: Joseph Goebbels, "Unser Hitler. Goebbels zum 48. Geburtstag des Führers," *Wetterleuchten* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1939), pp. 388-392.

Our Hitler

Goebbels' 1937 Speech on Hitler's 48th Birthday

There are words the Führer has spoken that are unforgettable for the German people. They live beyond the moment and its particular significance. Among these are the words he spoke on 8 November 1936 to his old fighting comrades in the Munich Bürgerbräukeller [**the site of the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch**]. He described the great difficulties he faced in fighting for the renewal of German freedom and security. To breathless silence, he then said that for the first time in his political life, his work had progressed to the point that he could look to the future without grave concerns. That was deeply moving not only for we his old fighting comrades, but for the entire German people. We shared one of those rare moments in which the Führer opened his heart to the nation. Each German suddenly had a personal insight into the great historic mission that the Führer had fulfilled, depending entirely and only on himself.

People in the democracies sometimes say that authoritarian governments have it easy. They do not need to worry about parties and parliaments, rather make the decisions they think best and are not hindered by any majority or minority. In truth, that is hard, not easy. An authoritarian leadership certainly enjoys freedom of action. If it takes its responsibilities seriously, however, it has more to bear than the governments of parliamentary democracies. It has not only the power, but also sole and full responsibility. If problems mount up and there seems no escape from the difficulties, it cannot resign. It cannot hide behind an anonymous parliamentary majority that has no true responsibility. It stands or falls according

to its historic mission; like the soldier in war, it must stand at its post.

Such responsibility is too heavy for an individual to bear, were not the people behind him. That is why the Führer saw his first political task as seeking out the entirety of the people and going with them on his tiring and difficult path. Perhaps it was good that the people did not immediately fall into his arms, that he had to fight bitterly for 14 years to win the nation. Only thus did the nation come to belong to him so thoroughly and completely.

There are men whom the people fear, men whom they respect, men whom they honor. But the greatest fortune of an historic personality is to be loved by a people. The greatest honor a man can hold is to be so bound and united with his people that he can at any time and in any situation speak in their name.

That is the case with the Führer. He is in fact the bearer of the German national will. His voice is the voice of the people.

People often ask for an explanation of this wonderful miracle. Evil-minded critics abroad would like the world to believe that it is a matter of conscious and determined seeking after popularity. They know neither the Führer nor the German people. During Germany's democratic episode from 1918 to 1933, popularity was in fact sought after. The parliamentary governments found no means too tasteless or too crude. But the nation failed to support them, viewing them only with contempt, scorn and mockery. The Führer to the contrary has simply done his duty since he has stood at the head of the people. He has worked for his great goals without posturing or big talking, putting the force of a strong heart into his historic tasks. He has acted where others only talked, he spoke where others were silent. In his own cause he not only spoke, but let his actions speak for him. His actions are not determined by the nervous haste of the day that reaches for the moment because it has missed the decisive hour. Never before has Germany taken such a long view as today. And never before has there been a man who worked at the head of the nation in so calm and disciplined a manner and in so sensitive and clear a way.

In all that happens in Germany today, whether economically, socially, or culturally, whether domestically or in foreign policy, one senses clearly that behind it all is the ordering and ruling hand of the Führer. There is no area of public life that is hidden from him, or with which he is unfamiliar. His clear gaze reaches far, and he is involved in everything that happens.

He is the best expert one can imagine. It is entirely impossible to deceive him with Potemkin Villages.

There are those who have learned that by guiding him through exhibitions, or by giving speeches at conferences about future plans and projects. Perhaps they believed they were on

safe ground, but they soon learned to their shame and embarrassment that even the tiniest error in statistics or facts was immediately noted. Suddenly they found themselves in an unexpected crossfire of questions that displayed a startling understanding and surprising knowledge of an apparently esoteric topic.

A genius is able to see what is essential in things, situations and people, to leave the nonessential to the experts, to think in fundamentals and to carry the fundamentals through amidst a confusing mass of specialized knowledge. The Führer has this ability in great measure. His greatest gift is to distinguish the essential from the nonessential. He has an astonishing memory that always amazes even his closest comrades. He knows the important dates of Greek, Roman, English, French and of course Prussian and German history. He knows even the most obscure names of every area of human activity. Without a moment's thought, he can draw the outlines of the Paris Opera, the Viennese Parliament or the Dresden Zwinger.

During discussions on the rebuilding of the Reich capital, we saw that he knows Berlin better than any Berliner.

He understands every modern weapon. He knows the tonnage of all warships, our own of course, but also those of foreign nations.

He is one might say a specialist in every area, but the wonderful thing is that while most specialists never go beyond their knowledge, his knowledge is the raw material for understanding and action.

His victories have stature.

Recently in a speech to a small group of his *Gauleiter*, he quoted Field Marshall von Schiessen's distinction between ordinary and great victories. His victories are of the latter variety. He does not like causing feuds, and hates bombastic phrases, even if it brings many enemies along with honor. He seeks his enemies out and joins battle when it is unavoidable; then he brings to bear his full strength and energy. He does not concern himself with minor, ordinary problems. He chooses tasks that are worth his while, and solves them in ways that are always simple and surprising. The victories he wins are truly grand. That is true above all of his successes in foreign policy that even his most stubborn critics abroad cannot deny him.

Flexible tactics — a firm foundation.

Typical of his working style is to go at the center, ignoring the trivial and side issues. Tactics are always only the means to an end. But his political strategy is aimed at great national goals. It rests on firm moral foundations that are realized step by step, proving that great policies do not ruin character, rather make it hard and firm.

Fools are mostly stubborn both in tactics and principles. Intelligent and experienced political strategy, to the contrary, follows a clear and direct set of principles, but uses flexible tactics that change according to the situation. They are elastic and adjustable.

During the past four years, we have an unbroken and effective example of this in the Führer's work. During the first stages he certainly had to make some risky decisions. Nothing would be more unjust, however, than to think he made such a decision carelessly, even once. Before every action, in worried days and sleepless nights, he thought through every option and possibility. Once he made a decision, he acted like a man confident in his star.

Only his closest comrades know of the unending worries, worries that at times seemed unbearable. Only they know of the nervous and tortured hours when he alone bore the full responsibility.

The successes in all areas of our political life that seem almost self-evident to us today are the fruit of what came before. A united people, a strong nation in possession of weapons and able to defend its territory and honor, these are towering monuments. Every day, and especially on holidays, the people surround him with all their love. This perhaps springs from a need to be near to him, to live with him, to share his worries. This love comes to clearest expression during national holidays or in trying times.

Today is such a holiday. The whole nation joins in celebrating his 48th birthday. A flood of love, confidence, devotion and thankfulness flows toward him. The mountains of letters and telegrams, the countless gifts, that even today, and more so tomorrow will pour into the Reich Chancellery in Berlin give evidence of this love. They all carry the same wish, whether spoken or unspoken, one might almost say it is the prayer of the nation to the Almighty: May the Führer remain with us in strength, health and power for many years as the flag bearer of the people, as the first among the millions of workers, soldiers, farmers and citizens, as the friend and patron of the youth, the patron of the arts, the supporter of culture and science, the architect of the united new nation!

We his closest comrades stand beside him on his day of honor. We lay our whole love and strong confidence at his feet. We are of one heart and one mind with him and the whole nation. We are filled with wonderful joy to know that one of the great ones of our history is with us, to know that we serve and help him in his work that will survive the ages.

Under his hand, Germany has lifted itself from shame and impotence. The German people, encouraged and called by him, are once more aware of their mission. We all share the happy feeling of working to realize an ideal that makes life worth living.

The Germany that bears his name will be great and strong. Its people will again learn to be a

great people and to act accordingly. Our children and children's children will find in him the homeland that encompasses all the Germans of the world, the strong protector of our life, our nature, and our work.

From all the Reich, from all German hearts on every continent, in foreign nations and on the wide oceans, the thanks and praise of millions rise united. May he remain to us what he always was and is: Our Hitler!

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Background: Goebbels gave a speech every year on the eve of Hitler's birthday. His 50th birthday in 1939 was celebrated in grand style. Good treatments of the development of the Hitler myth are provided by [Bramsted and Kershaw](#).

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 fantasy and reality. Fantasy 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. Fantasy 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 we old National Socialists. We therefore have no doubt of the outcome of Germany's current battle for its national existence. Our whole people have the same instinctive feelings, which are the cause of the blind and unshakable confidence they place 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 historical greatness stands at their head, one who not only wants to lead but is able to do so, the people will follow him with their whole hearts, giving him their willing and obedient allegiance. Even more, they will put all of their 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 envious 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 them to their deserved position in the world. The Reich stands in the shadow of the German sword. Germany's economy, culture and popular life are blooming in 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: Goebbels gave a speech every year on the eve of Hitler's birthday. The 1940 speech was the first of those given during the war. It takes a less personal tone than previous speeches, presenting Hitler as a superhuman figure. 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."

Good treatments of the development of the Hitler myth are provided by [Bramsted and Kershaw](#).

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, 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 at 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 has 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, 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: Goebbels gave a speech every year on the eve of Hitler's birthday. The 1941 speech was given two months before the attack on the Soviet Union. It takes a less personal tone than previous speeches, presenting Hitler as a superhuman figure.

Good treatments of the development of the Hitler myth are provided by [Bramsted and Kerhsaw](#). I here 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 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, 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, 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: Goebbels gave a speech every year on the eve of Hitler's birthday. The 1942 speech came at a time when the early victories were past, but the great defeats were yet to come. Goebbels knew that the war could now be lost. Good treatments of the development of the Hitler myth are provided by [Bramsted and Kershaw](#).

The Source: "Führergeburtstag 1942," *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 286-294. The text of the speech is also available in any German newspaper of 20 April 1942.

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 historical 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 historical 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, 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 overcome 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, 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, 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 historical 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 it finally wears the wreath of victory on its 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 battle field, 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 stand 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 women, 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 world view, 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: Goebbels gave a speech every year on the eve of Hitler's birthday. The 1943 speech came a few months after the defeat at Stalingrad, at a time when Germany's prospects were looking increasingly uncertain. Unlike previous speeches, which usually focussed more on Hitler personally, this speech took on the grim war situation at some length before turning to Hitler himself. 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 I use). For copyright reasons, I use the version published in 1943.

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 that 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 racist 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, 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, 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. 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 the war.

He did not want the 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 that this year with particular confidence.

The danger that surrounds us has not weakened us, 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 carry 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!

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Background: This was the penultimate of Goebbels' annual speeches on Hitler's birthday. The news of the war was increasingly grim, but once more the Propaganda Minister explained why, in his view, the person of Adolf Hitler was sufficient assurance of final victory. 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 I use).

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 Bolshevist 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 historical 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 the 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 it 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 an 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, 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: This is the last of Goebbels' annual speeches on Hitler's birthday. The Third Reich was in ruins, and even Goebbels had little to offer to raise hopes of victory. About the best he can do is suggest that things would be even worse without Hitler, rather small consolation. But even here, he uses religious imagery. "We feel Hitler in us and around us," he says at the end.

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 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, 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 coming life 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, 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, 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 mostly 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 ever again 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 breathes, 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, 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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Background: Despite their not exactly progressive view of women, German women in general supported the Nazis. 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 rather 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 for Propaganda and People's Enlightenment 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, 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 year's 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 national 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, rather that a new, great and honorable period of our history is now beginning. This faith give 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: The Nazis were convinced of the power of the spoken word. 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.

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 citizens !

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. 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 Nazi 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, 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, 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, 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 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.

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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. Goebbels claims that the Jews are making a mistake in attacking Germany, since by doing so they run the risk of putting Nazi views on the agenda for discussion. He suggests many in the world will as a result come to agree with the Nazis.

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. Need, unemployment, desperation and decay accompanied it through all its ups and downs. The overrefined democratic parliamentarianism, which 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 and 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 by 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 pains of labor. 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 discussing 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 it is 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 was 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 world-wide 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 united 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 too we 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: If you have seen a clip of Goebbels speaking, it is likely the conclusion to this speech, taken from Riefenstahl's film of the 1934 rally, *Triumph des Willens*. Goebbels gave a speech each year at the Nuremberg Rally, often focusing on propaganda. Here he presents Nazi propaganda as the model for the rest of the world, calling it the "background music" to government policy.

The Source: *Der Kongress zur Nürnberg 1934* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., Frz. Eher Nachf., 1934), pp. 130-141.

Goebbels at Nuremberg — 1934

by Joseph Goebbels

It is difficult to define the concept of propaganda thoroughly and precisely. This is especially true since in past decades it was subject to unfavorable definitions, particularly as the enemy defined it with regards to us Germans. First, then, we must defend it. Those abroad sometimes claim that in the past we Germans were particularly good in this area, but that unfortunately is not consistent with the facts. We learned this all too clearly during the World War. While the enemy states produced unprecedented atrocity propaganda aimed at Germany throughout the whole world, we did nothing and were completely defenseless against it. Only when enemy foreign propaganda had nearly won over the greater part of the neutral states did the German government begin to sense the enormous power of propaganda. It was too late. Just as we were militarily and economically unprepared for the war, so too with propaganda. We lost the war in this area more than in any other.

The cleverest trick used in propaganda against Germany during the war was to accuse Germany of what our enemies themselves were doing. Even today large parts of world opinion are convinced that the typical characteristics of German propaganda are lying, crudeness, reversing the facts and the like. One needs only to remember the stories that were spread throughout the world at the beginning of the war about German soldiers chopping off children's hands and crucifying women to realize that Germany then was a defenseless victim of this campaign of calumny. It neither had nor used any means of defense.

The concept of propaganda has undergone a fundamental transformation, particularly as the result of political practice in Germany. Throughout the world today, people are beginning to see that a modern state, whether democratic or authoritarian, cannot withstand the subterranean forces of anarchy and chaos without propaganda. It is not only a matter of doing the right thing; the people must understand that the right thing is the right thing. Propaganda includes everything that helps the people to realize this.

Political propaganda in principle is active and revolutionary. It is aimed at the broad masses. It speaks the language of the people because it wants to be understood by the people. Its task is the highest creative art of putting sometimes complicated events and facts in a way simple enough to be understood by the man on the street. Its foundation is that there is nothing the people cannot understand, rather things must be put in a way that they can understand. It is a question of making it clear to him by using the proper approach, evidence and language.

Propaganda is a means to an end. Its purpose is to lead the people to an understanding that will allow them to willingly and without internal resistance devote themselves to the tasks and goals of a superior leadership. If propaganda is to succeed, it must know what it wants. It must keep a clear and firm goal in mind, and seek the appropriate means and methods to reach that goal. Propaganda as such is neither good nor evil. Its moral value is determined by the the goals it seeks.

Propaganda must be creative. It is by no means a matter for the bureaucracy or official administration, rather it is a matter of productive fantasy. The genuine propagandist must be a true artist. He must be a master of the popular soul, using it as an instrument to express the majesty of a genuine political will. Propaganda can be pro or con. In neither case does it have to be negative. The only thing that is important is whether or not its words are true and genuine expressions of the people. During its period of opposition, the National Socialist movement proved that criticism can be constructive, indeed that in a time which the government is in the hands of destructive powers it may be the only constructive element.

The concept of popular enlightenment is fundamentally different. It is fundamentally defensive and evolutionary. It does not hammer or drum. It is moderate in tone, seeking to teach. It explains, clarifies, and informs. It is therefore used more often by a government than by the opposition. The National Socialist state, growing out of a revolution, had the task of centrally leading both propaganda and education, uniting two concepts that are related but not identical, molding them into a unity that in the long term can serve the government and people.

Even during the time when we were in the opposition, we succeeded in rescuing the concept of propaganda from disfavor or contempt. Since then we have transformed it into a truly creative art. It was our sharpest weapon in conquering the state. It remains our sharpest weapon in defending and building the state. Although this is perhaps still not clear to the rest of the world, it was obvious to us that we had to use the weapon with which we had conquered the state to defend the state. Otherwise we faced the danger that we could lose the people even though we had power, and that without the people we would lose power. We put what we hard learned during our attack on the November

pseudo-state in the service of our state. The great wealth of ideas and never failing creativity of our propaganda, proven during our struggle for power, was perfected to the last detail. Now we turned it to serve the state itself to find meaningful ways and flexible forms to immunize the people's thinking. The people should share the concerns and successes of their government. Its concerns and successes must therefore be constantly presented and hammered into them so that the people will consider the concerns and successes of their government to be their concerns and successes. Only an authoritarian government, firmly tied to the people, can do this over the long term. Political propaganda, the art of anchoring the things of the state in the broad masses so that the whole nation will feel a part of them, cannot therefore remain merely a means to the goal of winning power. It must become a means of building and keeping power.

This requires alert attention to the events of the day, and a trained and lively creativity that must include a complete knowledge of the soul of the people. The people must be understood in their deepest depths, or intuitively understood, for only then can one speak in a way that the people will understand. Propaganda must be the science of the soul of the people. It requires an organized and purposeful system if it is to be successful in the long run.

That is what we lacked during the war. That is where our enemy was superior to us. We must make up for that. We must take the techniques and dominance of the other side's opinion apparatus and fill it with the fire of the soul and the glow of new ideas.

Propaganda too has a system. It cannot be made any old way. In the long run, it can only be effective in the service of great ideals and far-seeing principles. And propaganda must be learned. It must be led only by people with a fine and sure instinct for the often changeable feelings of the people. They must be able to reach into the world of the broad masses and draw out their wishes and hopes. The effective propagandist must be a master of the art of speech, of writing, of journalism, of the poster and of the leaflet. He must have the gift to use the major methods of influencing public opinion such as the press, film and radio to serve his ideas and goals, above all in an age of advancing technology.

Radio is already an invention of the past, since television will probably soon arrive. On the one hand successful propaganda must be a master of these methods of political opinion, but on the other it may not become stale in using them. It must find new ways and methods every day to reach success. The nature of propaganda remains the same, whatever the technical means, but the means nonetheless are becoming ever broader and far-reaching. One need only consider the revolutionary impact of the invention of radio, which gave the spoken word true mass effectiveness. This has had great effects on the technical apparatus of propaganda, but the art of propaganda has remained the same.

Understood in this sense, propaganda has long since disposed of the odium of inferiority. It holds first rank among the arts with which one leads a nation, It is indispensable in building a modern state. It is something of a connecting link between government and people.

Each propaganda had a direction. The quality of this direction determines whether propaganda has a positive or negative effect. Good propaganda does not need to lie, indeed it may not lie. It has no

reason to fear the truth. It is a mistake to believe that people cannot take the truth. They can. It is only a matter of presenting the truth to people in a way that they will be able to understand. A propaganda that lies proves that it has a bad cause. It cannot be successful in the long run. A good propaganda will always come along that serves a good cause. But propaganda is still necessary if a good cause is to succeed. A good idea does not win simply because it is good. It must be presented properly if it is to win. But a good idea is itself the best propaganda. Such propaganda is successful without being obnoxious. It depends on its nature, not its methods. It works without being noticed. Its goals are inherent in its nature. Since it is almost invisible, it is effective and powerful. A good cause will lose to a bad one if it depends only on its rightness, while the other side uses the methods of influencing the masses. We are for example convinced that we fought the war for a good cause, but that was not enough. The world should also have known that our cause was good. However, we lacked the effective means of mass propaganda to make that clear to the world. Marxism certainly did not fight for great ideals. Despite that, in November 1918 it overcame Kaiser, Reich and the army because it was superior in the art of mass propaganda.

National Socialism learned from these two examples. It drew the correct practical conclusions from that knowledges. The ideal of a socialist national community did not remain mere theory with us, but became living reality in the thoughts and feelings of 67 million Germans. Our propaganda of word and deed created the conditions for that. Mastering them kept National Socialism from the danger of remaining the dream and longing of a few thousand. Through propaganda, it became hard, steely everyday reality.

That which we only imperfectly and inadequately understood during the war became a virtuously mastered art during the rise of the National Socialist movement. Today one can say without exaggeration that Germany is a model of propaganda for the entire world. We have made up for past failures and developed the art of mass influence to a degree that puts the efforts of other nations into the shadows. The importance the National Socialist leadership placed on propaganda became clear when it established a Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda shortly after it took power. This ministry is entirely within the spirit of National Socialism, and comes from it. It unites what we learned as an opposition movement confronting the enemy and under persecution from an enemy system, sometimes more from necessity than desire. Recently some have tried to imitate this ministry and its concentration of all means of influencing opinion, but here too the slogan applies: "Often copied, never equaled."

The organizational union of mass demonstrations, the press, film, radio, literature, theater, etc., is only the mechanical side to the matter. It is not so much that all these means are in one hand. The important thing is that this hand knows how to master and control them. Establishing a central office is not difficult. What is difficult is finding people who are experts in an area previously not a concern of the state.

We could not have done that ourselves if we had not been through the great school of our party. She was our teacher. During 14 years of opposition we gathered an enormous amount of knowledge, experience, wisdom and ability. This made us able to use the wide-reaching methods of government

propaganda without running the risk of losing the spirit behind them. Effective propaganda avoids any form of bureaucracy. It requires lightning-fast decisions, alert creativity and inexhaustible inventiveness. The machinery of the organization would remain lifeless and rigid if it were not constantly driven by the motor of the spirit and the idea.

It is therefore also wrong to think that a ministry could replace what the movement alone is able to do. Cooperation between the party and the government was necessary for the major successes that we are proud of. Only when all means of propaganda are concentrated and their unified application assured will it be possible to carry out major educational and propaganda battles as we did before 12 November 1933 [**the referendum Hitler called to approve Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations**] or 19 August 1934 [**The referendum called to approve Hitler's absolute power after the death of Hindenburg**], which were of true historical significance.

If such an art of active mass influence through propaganda is joined with the long-term systematic education of a nation, and if both are conducted in a unified and precise way, the relationship between the leadership and the nation will always remain close. From authority and following will develop that type of modern democracy for which Germany is the model for the entire world in the Twentieth Century.

That is also the basic requirement for any practical political activity. A government that wishes to be successful over the long term cannot ignore it. Its projects and plans would fail were they not supported by the people. But the people must understand them in order to accomplish them.

One can but smile when one looks over our borders at the efforts of parliamentary-democratic parties that are all concerned with this: "How can I tell my children?" A fear of the people is the characteristic of liberal government theory. It has set the people free, and now does not know what to do with them. The hunt for popularity usually means nothing other than concealing the truth and speaking nonsense. One dares not say what is right, and what one does say leads to disaster. But that is presumably what the people want. One no longer has the courage to say unpopular things, much less do them. The result is that great European problems are lost in useless debates while political, economic and social crises of unprecedented magnitude face the nations.

There are times when statesmen must have the courage to do something unpopular. But their unpopular actions must be properly prepared, and must be put in the proper form, so that people will understand. The man on the street is usually not as unreasonable as some think. Since it is he who usually has to bear the heaviest burdens that result from unpopular policies, he at least has a right to know why things are being done this way and not that way. All practical politics depends on its persuasiveness. It is no sign of wise leadership to acquaint the nation with hard facts from one day to the next. Crises must be prepared for not only politically and economically, but also psychologically. Here propaganda has its place. It must prepare the way actively and educationally. Its task is to prepare the way for practical actions. It must follow these actions step by step, never losing sight of them. In a manner of speaking, it provides the background music. Such propaganda in the end miraculously makes the unpopular popular, enabling even a government's most difficult decisions to

secure the resolute support of the people. A government that uses it properly can do what is necessary without running the risk of losing the masses.

Propaganda is therefore a necessary life function of the modern state. Without it, seeking great goals is simply impossible in this century of the masses. It stands at the beginning of practical political activity in every area of public life. It is its important and necessary prerequisite.

Let me give several recent examples. I need only sketch the details. They are too fresh in our memories to require elaboration.

There are no parliamentary parties in Germany any longer. How could we have overcome them had we not waged an educational campaign for years that persuaded people of their weaknesses, harms and disadvantages? Their final elimination was only the result of what the people had already realized. Our propaganda weakened these parties. Based on that, they could be eliminated by a legal act.

Marxism could not be eliminated by a government decision. Its elimination was the end result of a process that began in the people. But that was only possible because our propaganda had shown people that Marxism was a danger to both the state and society. The positive national discipline of the German press would never have been possible without the complete elimination of the influence of the liberal-Jewish press. That happened only because of the years-long work of our propaganda. Today particularism in Germany is something of the past. The fact that it was eliminated by a strong central idea of the Reich is no accident, rather depended on psychological foundations that were established by our propaganda.

Or consider economic policy. Does anyone believe that the idea of class struggle could have been eliminated only by a law? Is it not rather the fact that the seeds we sowed in a hundred thousand meetings resulted in a new socialist structure of labor? Today employers and workers stand together in the Labor Front. The Law on National Labor is the foundation of our economic thinking, realizing itself more and more. Are not these social achievements the result of the long and tireless labor of thousands of speakers?

What about the shortage of foreign currency? This affects the people in serious ways. Propaganda once again is the key to dealing with the problem.

The Hereditary Farming Law, the idea of the Reich Agricultural System, market regulations in agriculture, all these need propaganda to show the people their importance, which is necessary if they are to succeed.

We could eliminate the Jewish danger in our culture because the people had recognized it as the result of our propaganda. Major cultural achievements such as the unique "Kraft durch Freude" are possible only with the powerful support of the people. The prerequisite was and is propaganda, which here too

creates and maintains the connection to the people.

The Winter Relief last year raised about 350 million Marks. This was not the result of taxation, rather many gifts of every amount. Everyone gave freely and gladly, many of whom in the past had done nothing in the face of similar need. Why? Because a broad propaganda using every modern means presented the whole nation with the need of this program of social assistance.

45 million Reich Marks of goods and services were provided. 85 million Reich Marks worth of fuel were distributed. 130 million Reich Marks worth of food were given out. Ten million Reich Marks worth of meals were provided, and 70 million Reich Marks worth of clothing.

Some of these achievements were the result of donations in kind, others the result of cash donations. Street collections, donations of a part of paychecks, contributions from companies, and gifts subtracted from bank accounts resulted in cash totaling 184 million Reich Marks. 24 million marks alone were the result of "One Dish Sundays." **[On some Sundays, people were encouraged to have a simple meal at home, donating the money saved to the Nazi charity]** The Reich itself added 15 million marks to the contributions of the people. The railway system provided reduced or free shipping with a value of 14 million Marks.

Of our population of 65,595,000, 16,511,00 were assisted by the Winter Relief. There were 150,000 volunteers. There were only 4,474 paid workers, of whom 4,144 were in the 34 *Gaue* and 330 in the Reich headquarters.

Propaganda and education prepared the way for the largest social assistance program in history. They were the foundation. Their success was that, over a long winter, no one in Germany went hungry or was cold.

Over 40 million people approved of the Führer's decision to leave the League of Nations on 12 November 1933. That gave him the ability to speak to the world in the name of the nation, defending honor, peace and equality as the national ideals of the German people. The issues of disarmament were put on firm and clear foundations. Once again, propaganda was the foundation for the nation's unity on 12 November, and therefore of the freedom of action that the Führer had.

Each situation brings new challenges. And each task requires the support of the people, which can only be gained by untiring propaganda that brings the broad masses knowledge and clarity. No area of public life can do without it. It is the never resting force behind public opinion. It must maintain an unbroken relationship between leadership and people. Every means of technology must be put in its service; the goal is to form the mass will and to give it meaning, purpose and goals that will enable us to learn from past failures and mistakes and ensure that the lead National Socialist strength has given us over other nations will never again be lost.

May the bright flame of our enthusiasm never fade. It alone gives light and warmth to the creative art

of modern political propaganda. Its roots are in the people. The movement gives it direction and drive. The state can only provide it with the new, wide-ranging technical means. Only a living relationship between people, movement and state can guarantee that the creative art of propaganda, which he have made ourselves the world's master, will never sink into bureaucracy and official narrow-mindedness.

Creative people made it and put it in the service of our movement. We must have creative people who can use the means of the state in its service.

It is also a function of the modern state. Its reach is the firm ground on which it must stand. It rises from the depths of the people, and must always return to the people to find its roots and strength. It may be good to have power based on weapons. It is better and longer lasting, however, to win and hold the heart of a nation.

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Background: This speech was delivered to the annual congress of the Nazi Party on 13 September 1935. Goebbels was rather proud of the effort. 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 Nazis in 1935.

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 Bolshevistic 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 Bolshevic 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.

Bolshevic 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 offically 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 Bolshevich 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. Bolshevich 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 burning of the Reichstag 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 Germany". 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), Jaroslawski (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 Bolshevic regime.

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Background: In this blunt speech, Goebbels addresses Czechoslovakian artists and journalists who were visiting Berlin. Goebbels tells his audience that they had better get used to the fact of German rule. The speech was given on 11 September 1940. Goebbels credited himself with a rhetorical masterpiece. 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 Bismark'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 Schaumberg-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 measured against the vast problems that the continents must solve.

I am convinced that, just as today 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, 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

On this Sunday afternoon, the Youth Film Festival held in conjunction with the Hitler Youth, the League of German Girls and the Reich Propaganda Office of the NSDAP for the winter 1940/41 opens. 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 of 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 in the 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 the 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 as small part of the population, whereas today it requires heroic work by all. Since our enemy is waging war even against children, children too 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 your hat in the 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 for 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 them the 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.

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Background: This is Goebbels' Christmas Eve speech in 1941, delivered over the radio. He has little to say about the war itself. Instead, he persuades Germans of their greatness, and of the certainty of victory.

The Source: "Weihnacht 1941. Rundfunkrede an das deutsche Volk zum Heiligenabend.," *Das eherne 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 times 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 from 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 aren't 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 last 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 fantasies 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 West 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

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Background: This long speech by Joseph Goebbels is also his most famous. It was delivered on 18 February 1943 to a large, but carefully selected audience in Berlin. The battle of Stalingrad had ended, and the true seriousness of the war was evident to everyone. Goebbels wanted the speech to build popular enthusiasm for the war, and also to convince Hitler to give him greater powers in running the war economy. Albert Speer reports talking with Goebbels afterwards:

Except for Hitler's most successful public meetings, I had never seen an audience so effectively roused to fanaticism. Back in his home, Goebbels astonished me by analyzing what had seemed to be a purely emotional outburst in terms of its psychological effect—much as an experienced actor might have done. He was also satisfied with his audience that evening. "Did you notice? They reacted to the smallest nuance and applauded at just the right moments. It was the politically best-trained audience you can find in Germany."

I particularly thank Malte Ecker in Berlin, who made many valuable suggestions for improving my translation, and caught a number of errors. He worked from the tape of the speech, which shows a number of significant differences and additions from the printed version that I am worked from. Given the importance of the speech, I am providing [his version](#), based on the spoken text.

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 afterward 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 then occurring on the Volga, we gathered together 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 Sports 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 us 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. They know the gravity of the situation, and their 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 barriers with revolutionary elan.

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 have 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 hour is at hand! There is no

time for fruitless debates. We must act, immediately and decisively, as has always been the National Socialist way.

The movement has from its beginning acted in that way to overcome the many crises it faced and overcome. 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 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 situation in the East. The crisis is at the moment a broad one, similar but not identical in many ways with that of the previous winter. Later we will discuss the causes. Now, we must accept things as they are and look for 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 annihilation 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

Bolshevist 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 energy. 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 Bolshevist 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 is a motivating force. 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 Bolshevist chaos. This goal has been evident from the beginning of the Bolshevist 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 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 enough 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, Bolshevist-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 Bolshevist-Jewish slavery. They find workers for the Siberian tundra in the forced labor battalions of Moscow, 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. The goal of its aggressive policies 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.

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 spectre 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 in which it played no role in building.

We also know our historic responsibility. Two thousand years of Western history 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 proper conclusions. That is what we did in our former 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 spectre 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 or the military means or 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 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 people 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, 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 or even in the enemy states. That is also not my 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 terrible 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, the 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 people 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, rather intends to take the most radical measures in good time (After this sentence, the chants of the audience prevent the Minister from going on for several minutes).

The military difficulties 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 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 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 in its own land. 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 faith, 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. 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 gain in the future.

Total war is the demand of the hour. We must put an end to the bourgeois attitude which 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 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 use of the war potential at home and throughout Europe. 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 blood in this battle. The rest of Europe should at least work to support us. There are 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. But the danger is to 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 work. 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 giving up a significant part of our living standard to increase our war effort as quickly and completely as possible. This is a means to an end. Our social standard of living will be even higher after the war. We do not need to imitate Bolshevik 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 in our favor.

As countless letters from the Homeland and the Front have shown, by the way, the entire German

nation agrees. Everyone knows that if we lose, we 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 hurricane 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 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 portion attempts to escape its burdens and responsibilities. The measures we have taken and will 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 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 bring if his refusal brought down on us great 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 life of the patient.

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 draconic 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 in the homeland make the same demand. (Stormy applause) 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 its war effort.

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 disturbed the scenery. We have nothing against such amusements. 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 same 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 impresses foreigners. Other countries will be impressed only by a German victory! (Stormy applause). Everyone will want to be our friend when we have won 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 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 the 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 the state's 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 nation.

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 rest since the war began. Since the first man of the county takes his duty so seriously, 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 people. That which serves the people and keeps up their fighting and working strength is good and essential to the war effort. We want to eliminate the opposite. I have therefore ordered that intellectual and spiritual establishments that serve the people not be decreased, but increased. As long as they aid the war effort, they must be supported by the government. That applies to sport as well. Sports are not only for the upper circles today, but a matter for the entire nation. 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 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, 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, rather light. The people want to be led. Never in history has a brave and determined leadership failed its people at 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 be 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. We do not need to point out Bolshevism's example. For years, millions of the best German women have been working successfully, and they wait impatiently to be joined 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 and work with the NSV [**the party welfare organization**]. 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 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 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. Maintain and strengthen this good name! If I appeal to my fellow Berliners to do some important work quickly and without complaint, I know they will 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 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.

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 greater 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 proud 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 elan 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 Europeans. 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 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 tragic outcome 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 are 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 honestly. When my audience cheered on 30 January, the English press reported the next day that it was all a propaganda theater 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 the Berlin tank factory. 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 in the fight for victory?

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 are resisting the government's total war measures. They do 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 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 then 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 marketeers 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 false illusions or 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 themselves, stand behind us and are 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 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 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 eventual 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)

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Background: Goebbels gave his famous [speech on Total War](#) on 18 February 1943. Now it is 4 months later, 5 June 1943. Speaking in the same hall, Goebbels reports that the crisis been overcome, and Germany is on the road to recovery. He repeatedly assures the crowd that victory is certain, though he is never clear as to how that victory might come. This speech can be compared with a [speech two weeks later](#) in commemoration of those killed by Allied bombing. Goebbels then uses some of the same arguments that he used here. One of his primary arguments for victory is submarine warfare. It is interesting that on 24 May 1943, Admiral Dönitz noted in his diary that Germany had lost the Battle of the Atlantic.

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, 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 a lot of excitement, great things have been accomplished. The enemy's campaign 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 fool 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 in 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 those do who live in the areas suffering from bombing attacks. The enemy is giving us through his brutal and cynical methods 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 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 broad 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 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 enemy is 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 attitude of our people, destroying civilian life, killing old people, women and children, and 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 annihilate 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 the 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 turn red 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 an 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 their 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 the enemy occupation nor to the separatism they encouraged, so too 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 boasting. 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 bitterness 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 underestimating. 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 the 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 this 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 subject the poor nations and take from them the little they do possess. This is a criminal conspiracy. Either we will defeat it, or decent and creative humanity will be destroyed.

It does the enemy coalition to 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 pitiless 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 universes 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 aid did during our struggle for power, until their 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, 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, rather a question of the security of the nations. 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 club 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 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 Bismark 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 crows to express enthusiastically their 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 strong 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 would 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 the 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 world view. 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. He uses the occasion to proclaim that Germany is innocent, and the Allies guilty. 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 before 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, which 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 sorry 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 grave side. 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.

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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. Goebbels uses the occasion to accuse his enemies of being barbarians, and to claim that National Socialism is doing all it can to advance art even in the midst of 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. Its very roots would 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 it when the time came to act, as for example in 1918 and 1919. Second, these regimes are the natural expression of their people's 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 over the centuries were built 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 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 their 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 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 are in their childhood years in this regard, which leaves room for systemic 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 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 display 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 war. 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 desire to stand to the side is not an end in itself. He is 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.

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 supplements the war at the front. Our artists here give 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, is 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 sigh of what will come 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.

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Background: In this interesting article, Goebbels presents himself as the defender of the common people against prudish moralists. I'm not sure where it was originally published, but probably in the Nazi party's daily newspaper the *Völkischer Beobachter*. 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, but less Moralism

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 grounds 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 in the familiar operetta as to ban kissing altogether, 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 official 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, it 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 beginning to be annoying? There are good and bad, decent and less decent women, some with bobbed hair, some without. Whether or not they powder their nose 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 like all real men 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; 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. Therefore 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; the 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 them unfit for their struggle for their 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, 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!

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Background: This article is dated 21 January 1939. Goebbels is unhappy with American reactions to National Socialism, and suggests the Americans ought to stop criticizing Germany. It was published in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the Nazi Party's daily newspaper.

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 seems to have the 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 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 even before America was discovered.

The American press replies to our complaints by saying that they have 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 nation.

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 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 is quite OK as long as the as long 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 has reached unbelievable heights since 10 November 1938. American public opinion, influenced by the Jews, is trying to interfere to an unacceptable 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 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 economic life there is entirely under their control.

The German press so far has generally ignored this filthy campaign of hatred, or answered it only 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 said on 19 December 1938 that no American could accept a medal from the hands of a brutal dictatorship. With the same hand, it robbed and tortured thousands of people, that it 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 Assistant Secretary of State Wells responded to German protests by saying that Ickes' 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 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. 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 a conscience and scruples. They are doing it both for foreign and 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 pickaxe 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 see things differently. They know 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 Nazi newspaper the *Völkischer Beobachter*. It was in the midst of the Czech crisis as Goebbels turned to one of his favorite themes: denouncing those who complained in any way about what was happening in Germany. Goebbels actually wrote the article a month earlier, according to his diary entry of 5 February 1939. He claimed to "attack these creatures energetically."

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 top 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, 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, 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 in part too 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 chick, 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, 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!"

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Background: This article is dated 18 March 1939, and was published originally in the official Nazi newspaper the *Völkischer Beobachter*. The previous week, Goebbels had written an article [complaining about complainers](#). He now looks back on an eventful week. But, it seems, his pleasure in the collapse of Czechoslovakia is spoiled somewhat by those who fail to recognize the greatness of Nazism.

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 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 of 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 are 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 the 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 for 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.

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Background: In this article dated 25 March 1939, Goebbels goes after England. A few weeks earlier, Germany had marched into Czechoslovakia. Goebbels is annoyed that the English are unhappy about it. In typical Goebbels style, he accuses the English of doing in the past what Germany is doing in the present.

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 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. They want to forget a notorious past, and therefore love 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 we 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 live. 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 the 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 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. Don't 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.

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Background: This article is dated 24 June 1939. Goebbels tells Germans that England beat Germany in World War I by propaganda, and that they are trying the same tricks again. But, Goebbels says, Germans have learned their lesson, and won't be fooled again. This became a major German propaganda theme. The claim was that since England had lied during the previous war, it would lie again in World War II.

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.

This years-long 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 have 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 waive 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 themselves. 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.

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Background: This article was published shortly after the war began in the Nazi party's illustrated weekly magazine. Goebbels make the claim that the war was forced on Germany by an England threatened by Germany's social revolution.

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 from making 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: This article is dated 2 June 1940. The German offensive in the West was going well, though France had not yet completely collapsed. Goebbels, however, is clearly confident. It was originally published as a leader in *Das Reich*, a prestige weekly.

The source: *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), a collection of Goebbels' speeches and writings from January 1939 to September 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 viewed 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 affairs 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, not at least prepare for it?

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 why 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 Pommern, Sillesia 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, 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. Goebbels accuses Churchill of using the "big lie" technique. In satirical style, he accuses the British of using the method of which Goebbels himself was master.

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. The 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 the 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 he 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. England is standing alone rather longer than the Nazis expected, and Goebbels vents his ire on Churchill.

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 loves and lives. 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 wanted.

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Background: This article is dated 6 July 1941. The German offensive in the East had been underway for two weeks. Goebbels claims that Germany attacked the Soviet Union to save Western civilization. I believe it was published in *Das Reich*, but am not absolutely sure.

The source is *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1941), a collection of Goebbels' 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 meetings, 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 Bolshevist 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 phrases 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 it 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 with 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 Bolshevist 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 have sent to Lemberg a commission of doctors, jurists, journalists and radio people. 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 wish we 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 rottenness, 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 orders to the army on the night of 22 June were an act of historical magnitude. It will probably prove to be the critical decision of the war. The soldiers obeying his orders 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 moral 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.

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Background: This article is dated 20 July 1941, shortly after the invasion of the Soviet Union began. It was originally published as a leader in *Das Reich*, a prestige weekly.

The source is *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1941), a collection of Goebbels' speeches and writings from January 1939 to September 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 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 since 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, 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 Atheists 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 Bolshevist 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 Bolshevists, 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 their 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 against 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.

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Background: This article from *Das Reich* is dated 28 September 1941. Goebbels deals with criticism from neutral journalists on the Russian campaign, and gets in a few digs at Winston Churchill.

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. Enemy lying 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 to 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 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? During the World War, taking a hundred thousand prisoners resulted in closing schools and factories, flying the flags and ringing the bells 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. Pioneers 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, pioneers 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 hornet 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 then 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, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 5 October 1941. Goebbels explains why Germans may not listen to foreign broadcasts. The Herr Bramsig and Frau Knöterich he refers to several times are his examples of foolish Germans taken in by British propaganda. For a discussion of what the BBC was actually broadcasting to Germany, see Balfour's [Propaganda in War](#). For a good discussion of Goebbels' wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda](#).

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 course 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 Bolshevik 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 Bolsheviks 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 should 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 bread 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 their 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 proves 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 want 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 historical 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 mean 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 them 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 run the risk of 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.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 9 November 1941. The campaign against the Soviet Union, it was now clear, would not soon be over. Goebbels is trying to persuade Germans that they should put their full energies in winning the war, not wondering how long it might last. For a good discussion of Goebbels' wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [*Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda*](#).

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 bitter 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 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, rather how it will end. If we win it, all is resolved: raw materials, food supplies, living room, 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 everyone 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, it must this time be 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 damages 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, 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. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. Goebbels' anti-Semitism was a bit more "refined" than Julius Streicher's, but as this essay shows he was more than able to produce vehement attacks on the Jews. This essay is dated 16 November 1941.

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 Führer's 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, rather the annihilation 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 annihilation 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, 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 non-Jewish 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 Michel 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 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 or 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. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 23 November 1941. It explains why he thinks England is doomed to lose the war. For a good discussion of Goebbels' wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda](#).

The Source: "Der tönende Koloß," *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1943), pp. 92-98.

The Clay 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 man 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 clay 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 the 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, 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 too 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.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 30 November 1941. In it Goebbels goes after the United States, which was not yet in the war.

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 which apparently had as its goal plunging the American people into uncertainty and panic and 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 though 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, once it has won the war, to abolish the existing religions of the world—Catholicism, Protestantism, Mohammedism, 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 which 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, and 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 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 checks 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, 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. One hears the pious nonsense of the Jewish-ruled world plutocracy over the radio or reads them 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 his 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 than they. 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. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 21 December 1941. Goebbels discusses the significance of the U.S. entrance into the war. For a good discussion of Goebbels's wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [*Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda*](#).

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 has 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 bitter 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 more 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 until 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 for the suppressed nations, regardless of which side they were on, only an intimation of coming things. 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.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 4 January 1942. Goebbels discusses the prospects for the new year. For a good discussion of Goebbels's wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [*Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda*](#).

The Source: "Das neue Jahr," *Das eherne 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 more bitter 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, 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, rather a sigh 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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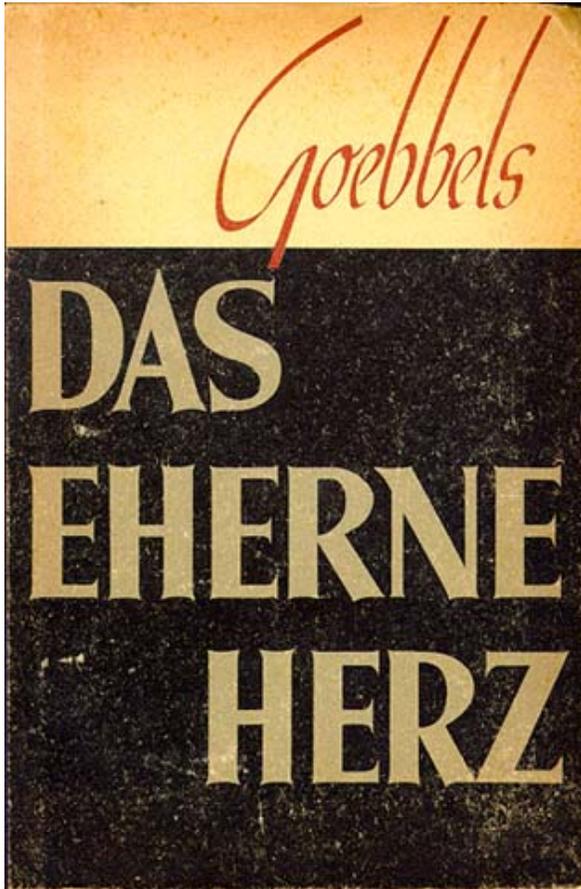
Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 1 March 1942. Goebbels discusses German radio policy. In his diary entry for 22 May 1941 Goebbels is more honest on the reason for 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." For a good discussion of Goebbels's wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [*Goebbels and National Socialist 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 particular 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 general 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 on one. 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, rather only a talentless, 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 too is one of the foundations of music. We no longer live in the Biedermeier era, rather in a century whose melodies are governed by the thousand-fold hums 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 the 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 institute 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 to the homeland, which they have not seen for months and which is many thousands of kilometers distant, is the German radio, that reinforces our desire to broadcast things that will cheer our soldiers 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 here 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. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 1 March 1942. Goebbels claims to be delighted that Churchill is in charge of the English war effort. For a good discussion of Goebbels's wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda](#).

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's 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: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 29 March 1942. Goebbels discusses the forthcoming cut in food rations for the German population. 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 surprised by the seriousness of the situation. People were suspicious of Goebbels' claims that things were just as bad in England. Berliners thought his reference to seeing weary works on trams and subways was "well-meaning," but doubted that he or other leaders were speaking from first-hand observation.

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 which 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 the time is not exactly a good one 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, 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, have 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 the 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' 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 eherne 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 plainly and clearly 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, 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 crutches 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 the 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 inessentials 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 doesn't 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 makes a mistake. But that is that, and one 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!

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Background: This article is dated 7 June 1942. Goebbels compares German heroism with American cowardice. He takes particular aim at General Douglas MacArthur, whom he accuses of cowardice.

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 Period 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 times 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 them 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, 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' 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 USA 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 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.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 14 June 1942. Goebbels discusses the Allied bombing of Germany. For a good discussion of Goebbels' wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [*Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda*](#).

The Source: "Der Luft- und Nervenkrieg," *Das eherne 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 a 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, 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 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, 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 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 have 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 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. 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 7430 people died during enemy bombing raids. We certainly do not want to downplay the pain these deaths caused. These too 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 as to 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, they are 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.

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Background: This is Goebbels' *Das Reich* lead article for 21 June 1942. The war was looking promising. The Germans were advancing in the Soviet Union, Rommel was driving toward the Suez Canal and the U-boats were sinking devastating numbers of Allied ships. Goebbels' praise of the U-boat crews echoes Churchill's earlier comments on the Royal Air Force.

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 the 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, 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 which 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. admiralties. 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.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 19 July 1942. Goebbels explains the Soviet Union's remarkable military resistance. For a good discussion of Goebbels's wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda](#).

The Source: "Die sogennate russische Seele," *Das eherne Herz* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), pp. 398-405.

The So-Called Russian Soul

by Joseph Goebbels

The hard and bitter 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 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 Bolshevik-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 have 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, fast 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 Sevastopol 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.

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Background: Goebbels began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich* in 1940. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 9 August 1942. It presents the standard Nazi view of the U.S. as a land with no culture. For a good discussion of Goebbels' wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [*Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda*](#).

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 through 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 were 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 Americanisms 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. He generally wrote the lead article each week, in which he took special pride. This essay is dated 6 September 1942. Goebbels suggests that Germans need to learn to hate. For a good discussion of Goebbels's wartime essays, see Bramsted's book [Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda](#).

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 we 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 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 what 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, 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 fight 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, 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 ideas 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!

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Background: In this article dated 9 May 1943, Goebbels again takes up the Jews. Given what we know now, his threats have grim significance.

The article had more impact than Goebbels expected. In his diary entry for 8 May 1943, he wrote: "Contrary to expectations, my article 'The War and the Jews' had a big impact in neutral countries. I expected that the Jews would attempt to kill it by silence. That did not happen. It has been cited to an astonishing extent. Either the Jews are dumb enough to give the article broad circulation, or else there are concealed opponents of the Jews in the editorial offices who are glad to make use of my anti-Semitic arguments."

The source: "Der Krieg und die Juden," *Der steile Aufstieg* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1944), pp. 263-270.

The War and the Jews

by Joseph Goebbels

The naivete, not to mention ignorance, with which certain European circles see the Jewish Question in the fourth year of this gigantic struggle is astonishing. They cannot or will not see that this war is a war of the Jewish race and its subject people against Western culture and civilization. Everything that we Germans and Europeans, defenders of the principle of a moral world order, hold dear is at risk. The above mentioned circles are too inclined to see the Jewish Question as a humanitarian issue. They make their judgments on the feelings of the moment rather than on the knowledge and insight resulting from clear and calm reason. It is clear that if during this war we show the least weakening of our determination to resolve the Jewish Question, the result will be the gravest danger to our people and Reich and all of Europe.

Jewry wanted this war. Whether one looks to the plutocratic or the bolshevist side of the enemy camp, one sees Jews standing in the foreground as instigators, rabble-rousers and slave drivers. They organize the enemy's war economy and encourage plans to exterminate and destroy the Axis powers.



England and the USA recruit from among them the bloodthirsty and vengeful agitators and political lunatics, and they are the source of the terror commissars of the GPU. They are the mortar that holds the enemy coalition together. In the National Socialist Reich, they see a power that resists their drive for world domination both militarily and intellectually. That explains their rage and deep hatred. Do not think that the Old Testament tirades of their newspapers and radio are merely political propaganda. They would carry it all out to the letter, should they have the opportunity.

Our state's security requires that we take whatever measures seem necessary to protect the German community from their threat. That leads to some difficult decisions, but they are unavoidable if we are to deal with the threat. This war is a racial war. The Jews started it and they direct it. Their goal to destroy and exterminate our people. We are the only force standing between Jewry and world domination. If the Axis powers lose the war in Europe, no power on earth could save Europe from the Jewish-Bolshevist flood. It may seem surprising that such a small minority possesses such great power and is such a deadly danger. But it is so. International Jewry uses certain criminal methods to gain world domination that are not evident to uneducated nations. The same is true in private life. The Jews do not enjoy economic success because they are more intelligent than non-Jews, rather because they follow a different moral code. They attempt to conceal their methods for as long as possible, until it is too late for the affected nation to defend itself. Then it takes a revolution to dislodge them. We know how difficult and tiresome that is.

We constantly hear news that anti-Semitism is increasing in enemy nations. The charges being made against the Jews are the same ones that were made here. Anti-Semitism in enemy nations is not the result of anti-Semitic propaganda, since Jewry fights that strongly. In the Soviet Union, it receives the death penalty. Jewry does all it can to oppose anti-Semitism. The word Jew itself, for example, is hardly to be found in the otherwise so talkative English and USA newspapers, not to mention the Bolshevist press. Still, anti-Jewish attitudes are growing among the enemy public. This is an entirely natural reaction to the Jewish danger on the part of the affected peoples. In the long run, it does the Jews no good to plead in parliament and the newspapers for tougher laws against anti-Semitism, or to haul out the highest secular and spiritual dignitaries, among them naturally the Archbishop of Canterbury, to say a good word for the poor innocent persecuted Jews. They did that in Germany before 1933 too, but the National Socialist revolution took place nonetheless.

None of the Führer's prophetic words had come so inevitably true as his prediction that if Jewry succeeded in provoking a second world war, the result would be not the annihilation of the Aryan race, rather the end of the Jewish race. This process is of vast importance, and will have unforeseeable consequences. But it can no longer be halted. It must only be guided in the right direction. One must also be sure to strike the weapon of public deception from Jewry's hands, which it is desperately using to save its skin. One can already see that in the face of approaching catastrophe the Jews are shrinking into the background. They send their pet Goy to the fore. It will not be long before they will not want to do it any longer, and wash their hands in innocence.

As one has to grant, we have some experience in these matters, and are taking action to be sure they do not succeed. The Jews will have to answer for their countless crimes against the happiness and peace of mankind, and one day the whole world will give them the penalty that they are suffering today in Germany. We speak without resentment. The time is too grave to spin naive plans of revenge. This is a world problem of the first order that can be solved by the present generation, and must be solved by them. Sentimental considerations have no part here. We see Jewry as the embodiment of a general world decline. Either we will break this danger, or the peoples of the world will break under it.

No one should say that winners are boastful. At present, we are the victors only in our own nation. Our victory at home, however, drew upon us the diabolic hatred of World Jewry, whose advance members the Jews still with us see themselves as. They want to see the Axis powers defeated, for that is the only way for them to regain their old privileges. It makes sense for us to secure our rear so that we can continue the battle before us with full energy and enthusiasm. When dealing with the Jews there are only two choices: to surrender to them or to fight them. We have chosen the latter. As our enemy attacks without mercy, so do we. The future will prove who is right. Developments to far, however, seem to be more in our favor than the enemy's. Opposition to the Jews, not friendship with them, is growing around the world. We are convinced that at the end of the war, Jewry will face a humanity that fully understands the Jewish Question.

Recently a leading London newspaper, which is wholly under Jewish control, printed an article that wondered at the alarming increase in anti-Semitism. It received many letters in response, and had to admit that only a tiny percentage took the Jewish side. The pro-Semitic letters, though the newspaper did not say this, probably were written by the Jews themselves. The others made the strongest attacks on Jewry, and the readership forced the paper to print some of them. They included all the insults one could hope for. This anti-Semitism is not racially grounded, and its roots are not at all clear, but one may still establish with some satisfaction that healthy popular instincts are beginning to manifest themselves even in enemy nations, Things are not much different in the United States. One of the letters encouraged the newspaper to send reporters to streetcars and trains. There they would hear numerous opinions about the Jews that deserved more than ironic dismissal.

That is the way it normally begins. The Jews in England are reacting in the usual ways. First they look injured and unjustly persecuted. In the synagogues, the rabbis encourage people to be more careful in public, and to avoid provocative behavior. Then they rent a few respected, but buyable leaders from society, business or religious life to make their case. Their well-paid job is to condemn anti-Semitism as a cultural disgrace that is the result of enemy propaganda. They call for stronger laws against it. The poor Jews whine in public about everything they have done for the country, what wonderful and patriotic citizens they have always been and will continue to be, the important offices they hold, etc. The innocent citizen is persuaded by a flood of words that he must have been mistaken in always seeing Jews behind all major political or economic crimes. Soon they find some high church leader who is ready to condemn Anti-Semitism as anti-Christian . By the end, not the Jews, but their enemies are responsible for every national misfortune. Then the game starts all over again.

One has to grant that extraordinarily clever tactics are being used, and that it takes some intelligence or sound instincts to see behind the Jewish facade. But here too the jug carries water until it breaks. International Jewry's attack on the culture and moral order of the world is cleverly concealed, but not cleverly enough so that it cannot be seen through. One must keep at their heels, and give them no rest when they begin to tire. They are virtuosos at the art of transformation. They can appear in a thousand forms, yet are always the same. If one has caught them, they claim injured innocence and send their guard of pity on ahead to beg for mercy. But if one extends them even a finger of pity, they chop the whole hand off. They must therefore be kept in the fear of the Lord.

We know that they hate us from the depths of their souls. We take pleasure in their hatred. There is nothing that they would not do to us if they had the power. We cannot therefore give them even the slightest bit of power. More than that, it is our duty to tell the world of their nature and their depravity. We must again and again prove their sick role in beginning and carry on this war. We must attack them incessantly, accuse them without pity of the crimes of which they are guilty, until the nations begin to wake up. That may take a long time, but it is worth it. We are dealing with the most dangerous enemy that ever threatened the life, freedom and dignity of humanity. There can be no mercy. We have pity only for the countless millions of our own people and those of other European nations who will be given over to the hate and destructive will of this devilish race if we become weak and give up the battle. Those Philistines who today are so eager to protect the Jews would be their first victims.

We must all keep alert. We must be on guard against the insidious cleverness of the international world enemy. In the depths of his soul, he realizes that this war that he so frivolously began, expecting it to be the last step to world domination, has instead become a war for his racial existence. He desperately seeks to stop the inevitable march of events. It will do him no good. We will keep at him. In the end, the Führer's prophecy about World Jewry in 1939, which they laughed at then, will come true.

The Jews laughed in Germany too when they first saw us. They are not laughing any longer. They chose to wage war against us. But that war is turning against them. When they planned a war to totally destroy the German nation, they signed their own death warrant.

Here too world history will be the world court.

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Background: By summer 1943, Goebbels had trouble finding German victories to use in making propaganda. He had to find other ways to persuade Germans that the war was still winnable. Here, he suggests that morale can be of more importance than weapons. The 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 bitter 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 it might be able to withstand materially, but not from the personnel standpoint. We expect that these losses will not decrease, 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, 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 who will end the great battle only when they have 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.

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Background: In this article, dated 22 August 1943, Goebbels argues that Germany is doing well. He makes vague promises of coming offensives and weapons, without having much to say. It is not one of his better articles.

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 then 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 papers 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 the enemy air terror is aimed at destroying our morale, and of making the German people an ally of its enemies. It is disgraceful when here and there a citizen 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 is leaving 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.

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Background: This article is dated 19 September 1943. Mussolini had been deposed by the Badoglio group on 25 July 1943. This caught the Germans by complete surprise. Goebbels failed to produce his weekly article for *Das Reich*. The new government began making peace feelers. Shortly before this essay was written, Nazi forces rescued Mussolini and restored him to power. Goebbels here puts the best possible light on the situation.

The source: "Das Schulbeispiel," *Der steile Aufstieg* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1944), pp. 456-463. It was originally published in *Das Reich*, for which Goebbels wrote a lead article each week.

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 which 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 to 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, 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, measure 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 Bismark 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 Bolshevists. 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, 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, rather that it is the reward for struggle, work and loyalty.

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Background: The war was looking grimmer when Goebbels proclaimed his "30 Articles of War for the German People." 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 in the millions. The picture is the cover of the pamphlet.

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 of 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 its damages and the pain it 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 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 what 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: The situation from Germany's point of view in January 1944 was not promising. 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." Still, in comparison to January 1943 when the Battle of Stalingrad was about to be decided, Germany faced no immediate crisis. Goebbels, in his accustomed fashion, reviews the situation in this article titled "A New Year," and finds that Germany's prospects are promising indeed. He relies heavily on his standard argument that Germany is the morally superior nation, and that therefore it must win, an argument he increasingly relied on as the war situation deteriorated.

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 them 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 prognoses 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, 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, 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.

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Background: In this article dated 13 February 1944, Goebbels discusses the bombing of Berlin. Goebbels presents Berliners (not always beloved by the rest of Germany) as models of heroism, able to back up their words with their deeds. He also hints at coming German "wonder weapons."

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 the 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, 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 them that it 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 lightening speed. The Berliners do not give up in the face of the misfortunes sent by their hate-filled enemy, 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.

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Background: In this article dated 9 April 1944, Goebbels explains why Germany is in such a difficult situation. He tries to turn German disadvantages into German strengths.

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 too 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 too 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 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 depends 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 these living today, but of the 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, not any ability, to engage in arrogant national 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, 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 include 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 hardly 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 misery 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 how 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 to 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 Wilmersdorf [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 too 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: The Nazis had been waiting nervously for the invasion of Europe from the west. D-Day came on 6 June 1944. This is Goebbels' first response in *Das Reich*. He is in good form, suggesting 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. Soldiers must realize that the nation is watching him 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.

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Background: Hitler was nearly killed by an assassination attempt on 20 July 1944. This is Goebbels' reaction. He uses this article to call Germans to the utmost exertions in support of the war effort. This is part of a long series of articles and speeches in which Goebbels promoted "total war."

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 that 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 thoughts

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 not 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 too 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, 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.

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Background: In this article dated 24 September 1944, Goebbels really says very little. He has nothing new to promise, no new hopes to give. Rather, he recycles past arguments that if Germans only hold out, their virtues will lead them to victory. It is not one of his better efforts.

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 have 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 the 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, 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 have made sacrifices over the past five years because of their recognition of a danger to the world that entitle them 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 uncertainly, 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 know 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 their 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 though 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 have 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 has been so long denied it. Our people do not disappoint the expectations their leadership has in their 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, their hard work and their eagerness for battle, and above all their war morale hardened in the spirit of National Socialism, guarantee this. Their 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 life 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 stand like a soldier on the front line. They know that danger is near. They therefore unsheathe their weapons, ready at any moment to use them when the hour of greatest trial comes.

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Background: The end was in sight in December 1944 when Goebbels wrote this article attempting to persuade the German nation to fight on. He makes the interesting claim that the Germans are more open in their news coverage than the Allies, and uses his powerful marathon runner image, suggesting that Germany's enemies were as near exhaustion as Germany itself. He would develop this argument again in more detail in a later speech on 28 February 1945.

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, 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, 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, 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.

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Background: In this article, dated 21 January 1945, Goebbels makes his last lengthy published attack on the Jews, whom he claims are responsible for the misery caused by the war. There are hints of the Holocaust in Goebbels' words.

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 named 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, 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 tabu 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: to give 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 knowledge of humanity 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 out of 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 they 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 money bags 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 commisars 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 grave diggers of their own hopes. They did not destroy the healthy peoples, 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 of 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 threateend not only Germany, but all the other nations, began.

It will not cease before it has reached its goal. The truth can not be stopped by lies or force. It will get through. The Jews will meet their Cannae at the end of this war. Not Europe, 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 he 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.

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Background: Here Goebbels takes on the role of prophet, imaging the world two generations after German victory. In this essay, he also uses the phrase "Iron Curtain" to describe the results of the Soviet incursion into Europe. The war was nearing its end, but Goebbels seeks to persuade his fellow citizens that victory is still possible.

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 that 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, and 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 Bolshevik 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 of 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 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.

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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.

The source: "Widerstand um jeden Preis," *Das Reich*, 22 April 1945, pp. 1-2.

Resist 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.

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