

Mike Steele War History Research Foundation



Writings and Essays

by

Joseph Goebbels

Edited by Hagur SS/14

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Ghent, Belgium – Non Commercial – Non Political

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(Paul) Joseph Goebbels was born October 29, 1897 in Rheydt, Germany. Minister of propaganda for the German Third Reich, he is generally accounted responsible for presenting a favorable image of the Nazi regime to the Germans. Following Hitler's suicide, Goebbels served as chancellor of Germany for a single day before he and his wife, Magda Goebbels, poisoned their six children and took their own lives.

Dr. Goebbels and his Task in National Socialism

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 honour. 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 humour. Dr. Goebbels drew from humour the sharpness of irony, once the scourge of Red Berlin. And satire too came from humour, which drove many an opponent to lose his head.

A flood of clever ideas came from his humour. 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 up on 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 Labour, 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 Labour 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 on 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 labour 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.

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.

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."

Comments: Joseph 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 fifteen 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.

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 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 splendour. 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 spectre 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 our outside of our borders is able to damage the interests of the German nation by using some kind of group within the Reich.

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

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

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

Comments: 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.

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 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 neighbourly 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!

Comments: 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."

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 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 splendours 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,

Brünn and other cities in Bohemia and Moravia. On 8 March the Carpathian-Ukrainian government in Prague protested against the appointment of a Czech general as Carpathian-Ukrainian interior minister. On 10 March, the Czech government deposed the Slovakian government and the persecution of Germans in Bohemia and Moravia intensified. It was clear that the time had come to settle the problems in these areas, which had been cultivated by Germans for centuries. On 13 March, the Slovakian leader Tiso visited the Führer, and on 14 March the Czech President Dr. Hache 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 Lods on 15 May. A Danzig citizen was killed by Poles in Kalthof on 21 May.

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

The situation in Danzig intensified under Polish pressure. On 15 June, the German ambassador lodged an official protest against insults and slanders against the Führer. Border incidents and other problems increased through June and July. On 4 August, the Polish government made an insolent and provocative ultimatum against rumors of alleged resistance against Polish customs officials. Danzig rejected the ultimatum on 7 August. The German government expressed its concern to the Polish representative on 9 August. Poland apparently felt itself under England's protection, and gave an unsatisfactory reply on 10 August. On 18 August, the SS Home Defence 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 successful 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, 32000 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 travelled 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 honour and respect. It was a German year in Europe's history. We honour 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 honour 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!"

Comments: 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.

Source: "Jahreswechsel 1939/40. Sylvesteransprache an das deutsche Volk," *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1941), pp. 229-239.



With Prince Auwdi

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 kilometre 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.

Our 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, honour 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!

Comments: 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.

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

Our Hitler

Goebbels' 1942 Speech on Hitler's Birthday

The film "The Great King" is playing in the movie theatres 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 the Charlottenburg Palace Chapel after an almost inconceivable release from the nameless miseries and anxieties he had faced in tears 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 favour 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 fulfilment.

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!

Comments: 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.

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.

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 we 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 defend 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 which 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 that day 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 of life 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 favourable. 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, defenceless 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 labour, 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 labour, 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 honour, 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 and the end of this and at the beginning of the next year. It greets him in the name of his people, whose honour 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 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.

Comments: 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.

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.

We Demand

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While we dreamed and chased strange and unreachable fantasies, others stole our property. Today some say this was an act of God. Not so. Money was

transferred from the pockets of the poor to the pockets of the rich. That is cheating, shameless, vile cheating!

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

We however demand a government of national labour, statesmen who are men and whose aim is the creation of a German state.

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

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

Germany for the Germans!

Comments: The above essay was published in the fourth issue of *Der Angriff*, dated 25 July 1927. Goebbels makes a general attack on the government without being very clear as to just what policies should be followed. It is typical of his general style during the early years of his activity in Berlin.

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

Isidor

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

"It is forbidden to be dissatisfied!"

Wukiutschu

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

"What does Wukiutschu want? He isn't even one of our people." Wukiutschu is really named Hase and lives in the forest. He has sneaked in here. We've been here on Chinese soil a thousand years and more. Our fathers made this land livable and defended it with their lives. Back then Wukiutschu still lived in the forest, but now he behaves as if he had always lived here. Down with him!
China for the Chinese!"

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

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

Wukiutschu

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

Only then would life be beautiful and dignified.

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

But, as we said, this is all supposition.

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

Such stupid people don't exist.

It is all nothing but a fairy tale.

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

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

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

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



Hail Moscow!

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

What does this all mean?

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

Did things have to turn out this way?

Yes, a thousand times yes.

There was no other possible outcome. We have it prophesied a hundred times. If the Jews speak, the people must beware. The Jew is rootless, a ferment of decomposition. Whether he lives as a capitalist or a Bolshevik, his nature remains the same: Ahasver, the eternal destroyer. His gospel is chaos, and where he succeeds in fomenting revolution, he rises to the top. He brought the worker's movement to its present deplorable state: a mixture of phrases, cowardice, terror and class hatred. What does the cause of the proletariat have to do with pacifism, protection of the republic, the elimination of personality

and the destruction of national dignity and honour? Where is it written that utopias, wishes, programs and books rule the world instead of strength and the facts? Why do you demonstrate here for the national freedom of the oppressed colonial peoples, yet forget that Germany is a province of high finance? Why shout "China for the Chinese," yet stand by in cowardice as the Jews sell Germany piece by piece and turn it over to the world dictatorship? You cry "Reaction" when one speaks of a lost fatherland. You smell treason when one names things by their right names. You retreat stubbornly and silently to your own troubles, and find that nothing remains but desperation and suicide.

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

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

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

It that the way you want things to remain?

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

Freedom and prosperity!

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

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

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

Adolf Hitler is showing you the way!

Comments: The above essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 21 November 1927. At the time, the Nazi Party in Berlin was still on shaky ground. Goebbels was doing all he could to persuade Communists to become Nazis. Here Goebbels attacks Marxism, claiming it is in league with the Jews.

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



Why Do We Want to Join the Reichstag?

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source: I take the text from Joseph Goebbels, *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 71-73.

And You Really Want to Vote for Me?

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A fifth pending case alleges that I drove over the leg of a poor worker. Now that was a year ago. I've never driven a car in my life, and on the day in question

wasn't even in Berlin. But the state's attorney thinks that the car had the number I A 2637, and I'm just the type to do something like that. My reply that I don't know how to drive and have never had a license only made the charge more serious.

I informed a red bigwig, who by irrelevant heckling was trying to break up a meeting, that he was at a NSDAP meeting, and that if he didn't shut up we would forgive the S.A. if, under the law, they threw him out. That led to a sixth pending case, for "incitement to violence."

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

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

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

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

I don't wear a silk bathrobe from him.

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

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

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

No one has my signed photograph on his desk.

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

And you really want to vote for me?

Comments: The above essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 7 May 1928. Goebbels founded the newspaper in Berlin shortly after taking over as the Party's leader there. It was published just before the *Reichstag* election (in which Goebbels did get elected).

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



Kütemeyer

by Joseph Goebbels

One day, he walked into the office and asked if there was something he could do. He was unemployed, and he and his wife could barely survive on the dole. He would gladly give his services to the party. He was quiet and shy. He sat down where he was told, saying little at all about his volunteer activity. After four months of diligent labour, the files, which as the result of band and persecutions had fallen into complete chaos, were back in order.

He was the first to arrive in the morning and the last to leave at night. About all he said was "good morning" and "good evening." If I happened to walk into his department, he jumped up, stood straight, shook my hand, and was as nervous as a child.

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

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

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

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

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

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

He was attacked on a street corner. He defended himself. But he was outnumbered 20-1, and they beat him down. His face was smashed into a bloody *Ecce Homo*, his nose broken, the eyes bloodied, the lips torn. He staggered to a quiet spot on the riverbank, hoping to escape the bloodthirsty mob and perhaps to meet one of his comrades who were also being chased through the streets.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Comments: The above essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 26 November 1928. Goebbels founded the newspaper in Berlin in 1927 shortly after taking over as the Party's leader there. Küttemeyer was a Berlin Nazi killed in street fighting, one of several whom Goebbels transformed into a martyr of the movement.

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

Germans, Buy only from the Jew!

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

Set out the Christmas tree. Daughter of Zion, rejoice! The good Germans are forging their own chains from their hard-earned coins. The Jewish financier will use them to impose eternal slavery on Germans. Who would not want to help advance world Jewry's great benevolent work? Why do we have a neck, if not to

bear a yoke? Germany has been for sale for ten years. Who does not want to help? Does anyone ask if the toy under the Christmas tree came from the Jew Tietz or the German Müller? The Jew will grow fat from the coins you give him, the German will starve. So what? Let the light shine on the Jews, let the Germans dwell in darkness. That is what the Lord of the Jews wants, as does his lackey Finance Minister Hilferding. Property is theft, as long as it does not belong to the Jew. Not a penny for the nobility, everything for the bank and stock exchange and department store swindlers!

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

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

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

Comments: The above essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 10 December 1928, during the Christmas shopping season. Goebbels satirically suggests that Germans should only buy from the Jews. The title is a takeoff on a common Nazi slogan: "Germans: Don't buy from the Jew!"

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

The Jew

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

1. One cannot fight the Jews by positive means. He is a negative, and this negative must be erased from the German system, or he will forever corrupt it.
2. One cannot discuss the Jewish question with the Jews. One can hardly prove to a person that one has the duty to render him harmless.
3. One cannot allow the Jew the same means one would give an honest opponent, for he is no honourable opponent. He will use generosity and nobility only to trap his enemy.

4. The Jew has nothing to say about German questions. He is a foreigner, an alien, who only enjoys the rights of a guest, rights that he always abuses.

5. The so-called religious morality of the Jews is no morality at all, rather an encouragement to betrayal. Therefore, they have no claim to protection from the state.

6. The Jew is not smarter than we are, rather only cleverer and craftier. His system cannot be defeated economically--he follows entirely different moral principles than we do. It can only be broken through political means.

7. A Jew cannot insult a German. Jewish slanders are but badges of honour for a German opponent of the Jews.

8. The more a German person or a German movement opposes the Jew, the more valuable it is. If someone is attacked by the Jews, that is a sure sign of his virtue. He who is not persecuted by the Jews, or who is praised by them, is useless and dangerous.

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

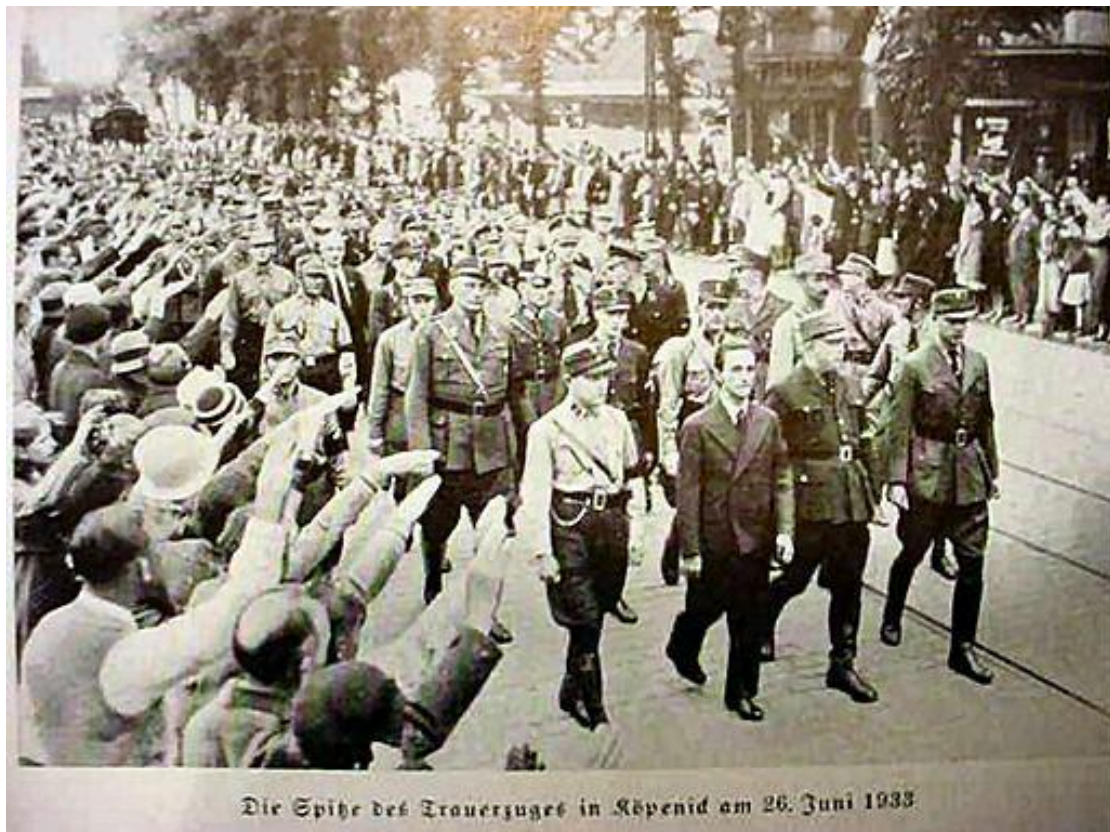
10. One must either affirm or reject anti-Semitism. He who defends the Jews harms his own people. One can only be a Jewish lackey or a Jewish opponent. Opposing the Jews is a matter of personal hygiene.

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

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

Comments: The above essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 21 January 1929. Goebbels founded the newspaper in Berlin in 1927 shortly after taking over as the Party's leader there. This article is a typical attack on the Jews.

Source: "Der Jude," *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 322-324.



Die Spitze des Trauerzuges in Ropenid am 26. Juni 1933.

Der Führer

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

But in politics is is also important not only what one wants, but what one accomplishes. This leads us to the third characteristic of the able political person: ability. Progress requires accomplishment. Leadership means to want something, and to be able to show the way to realize what one wants. History judges by what has been done. We Germans need to realize that. Politics is a public affair, and one cannot apply the laws of private matters to public matters. We Germans often tend to confuse the the desire for something with the ability to do it, and to forgive the incompetent who says that he wanted good and proper things. "We have not brought about socialism," say the November

Marxists, "but at least we wanted to." That is irrelevant, just as we do not care if someone wants to play the violin. He must be able in fact to do so. He who wants to rescue a people must above all have the necessary ability.

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

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

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

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

*

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

Comments: The above essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 22 April 1929, on the occasion of Hitler's 40th birthday, Goebbels explains the nature of leadership, and ends with a brief mention of Hitler. After 1933, Goebbels gave an annual speech on the occasion of Hitler's birthday, many of which are available elsewhere in the German Propaganda Archive.

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

Raise High the Flag!

by Joseph Goebbels

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

*

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

*

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

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

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

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

The doctor gives me a minute. How hard it is to walk past the death watch into the room! He does not know how serious his condition is. But he senses it may

be the last time: "Do not go away!", he begs. The nurse relents, and he is comforted. "Do not lose hope. The fever comes and goes. The movement too has suffered in the last two years, but today it is hard and strong." That consoles him. Come back!," his eyes, his hands, his hot dry lips say, as I leave with a heavy heart. I fear I have seen him for the last time.

*

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

*

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

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

*

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

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

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

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

"Raise High the Flag!" [This was the opening line to the "Horst Wessel Song," a poem he had written that became the Nazi Party anthem.]

Comments : Horst Wessel became the most prominent martyr of the Nazi party. He wrote the words to the song which became the Nazi Party anthem, the Horst Wessel Song: "Raise High the Flag." In this essay, Goebbels reports on his death, and begins the process of turning him into a kind of Nazi saint. The article is dated 17 February 1930.

Source: "Die Fahne Hoch!", *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1935), pp. 268-271.



One Hundred and Seven

Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

The conditions under which we would be willing to use the power we have are clear. They are clear, proper and precise to anyone who knows us. We are interested not in the good of our party, but in the good of the German people. The millions who have voted for us want National Socialism to determine the fate of the Reich. They have no interest in parliamentary horse trading, even

less that we use our strength to support a collapsing system. Anyone who wants to govern with us must accept the fact that the time when one could ignore the interests of the working people is over. We also refuse absolutely to dicker for party advantage. We will take care of our party by ourselves. The government should consider only the interests of the people.

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

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

Raise the banner high!

Comments: The above essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 21 September 1930. The Nazis had just won their first major electoral success, winning 107 seats in the national Reichstag elections. Goebbels does not want to be too clear as to what the Nazis will do with their power, in part because the victory caught even the Nazis by surprise.

Source: I take the text from Joseph Goebbels, *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1935), pp. 94-96.

We are Voting for Hitler!

by Joseph Goebbels

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

Hitler, the Great German

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

Hitler, the Führer

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

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

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

Hitler, the Prophet

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

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

Millions and millions of National Socialists have found in National Socialism new meaning and purpose for their lives. They thank Adolf Hitler and his saving idea that they have not fallen into hopelessness and anarchy,

Hitler, the Fighter

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

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

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

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

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

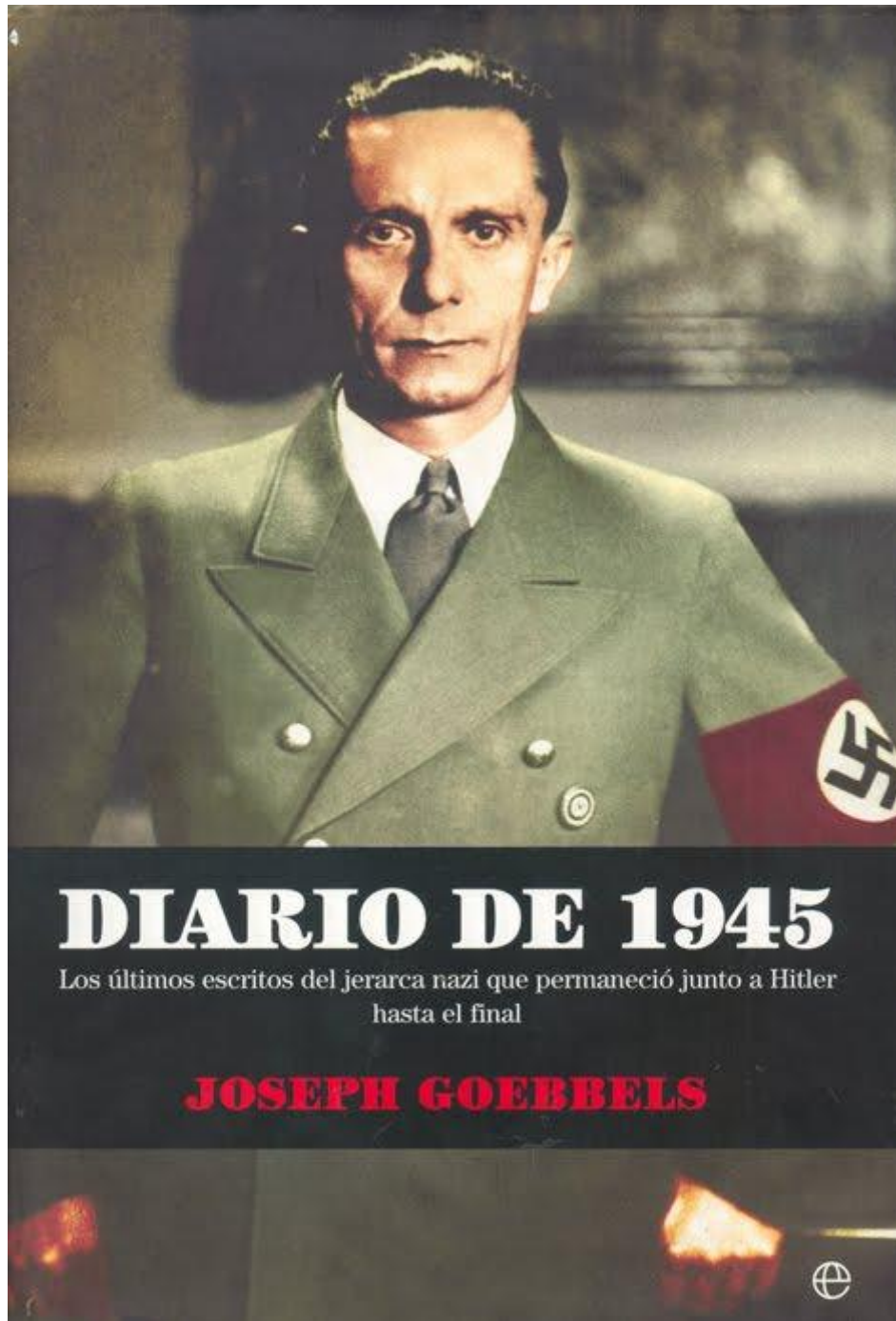
Hitler, the Reich President

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

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

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

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



Advice for a Dictator

And for Those Who Want to Become One

by Joseph Goebbels

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

11. Nothing is more foreign to dictatorial thinking than the bourgeois concept of objectivity. A dictatorship is by its very nature subjective. It takes sides by its nature. Since it is for one thing, it must be against another. If it does not do the latter, it runs the risk of having people doubt its honesty about the first.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. Primo de Rivera fell because his power rested on guns, but he earned only hatred and scorn from the people.

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

Comments: In this 1932 article from *Der Angriff*, Goebbels openly favors dictatorship. He presents it in a way that makes the Nazi Party and Hitler appear to be the ideal agents of such rule. The article is dated 1 September 1932.

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



Those Damned Nazis

by Joseph Goebbels

Why are we Nationalists?

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

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

That is how things are today in **Germany**. Nationalism has turned into bourgeois patriotism and its defenders are battling windmills. One says **Germany** and means the monarchy. Another proclaims **freedom** and means **Black-White-Red [The imperial colors]**. Would our situation today be any different if we replaced the republic with a monarchy and flew the black-white-

red flag? The **colony** would have different wallpaper, but its nature, its content would stay the same. Indeed, things would be even worse, for **a facade that conceals the facts** dissipates the forces today fighting against slavery.



Explanation: A tied-up Nazi watches while a Jew reading the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which the Nazis accused of being a Jewish paper, mistreats a Germany chained to the Treaty of Versailles. The Jew is probably supposed to be a journalist, since he is smearing Germany with his pen. A Black French colonial soldier and another figure (either a policeman or a soldier) assist.

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

Nationalism is more wide-reaching than **internationalism**. It sees things as they are. **Only he who respects himself can respect others**. If as a **German** nationalist I affirm Germany, how can I hold it against a **French** nationalist who affirms **France**? Only when these affirmations conflict in vital ways will there

be a **power-political** struggle. Internationalism cannot undo this reality. Its attempts at proof fail completely. And even when the facts seem to have some validity, **nature, blood, the will to life, and the struggle for existence on this hard earth** prove the falsity of fine theories.

The sin of bourgeois patriotism was to confound a certain economic form with the national. It connected two things that are entirely different. **Forms of the economy**, however firm they may seem, are changeable. **The national is eternal**. If I mix the eternal and the temporal, the eternal will necessarily collapse when the temporal collapses. This was the real cause for the collapse of liberal society. It was rooted **not in the eternal**, but in **the temporal**, and when the temporal declined it took the eternal down with it. Today it is only an excuse for a system that brings growing economic misery. That is the only reason why **international Jewry** organizes the battle of the proletarian forces against both powers, the economy and the nation, and defeat them.

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

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

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

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

Socialism will become reality when the Fatherland is free.

Why are we Socialists?

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

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

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

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

We are **socialists** because we see **the social question as a matter of necessity and justice** for the **very existence of a state for our people**, not a question of

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



Explanation: "The thinking worker comes to Hitler," the caption says. A Communist and a Socialist are accusing each other of betraying the working class.

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

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

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

We are against Marxism, but for true socialism!

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

We are for the National Socialist German Workers Party!

Why a workers' party?

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

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

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

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

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

We are a **workers' party** because we see in the coming battle between **finance and labour** the beginning and the end of the structure of the Twentieth Century. We are **on the side of labour and against finance**. **Money is the measuring rod of liberalism, work and accomplishment** that of the **socialist state**. The

liberal asks: **What** are you? The **socialist** asks: **Who** are you? Worlds lie between.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

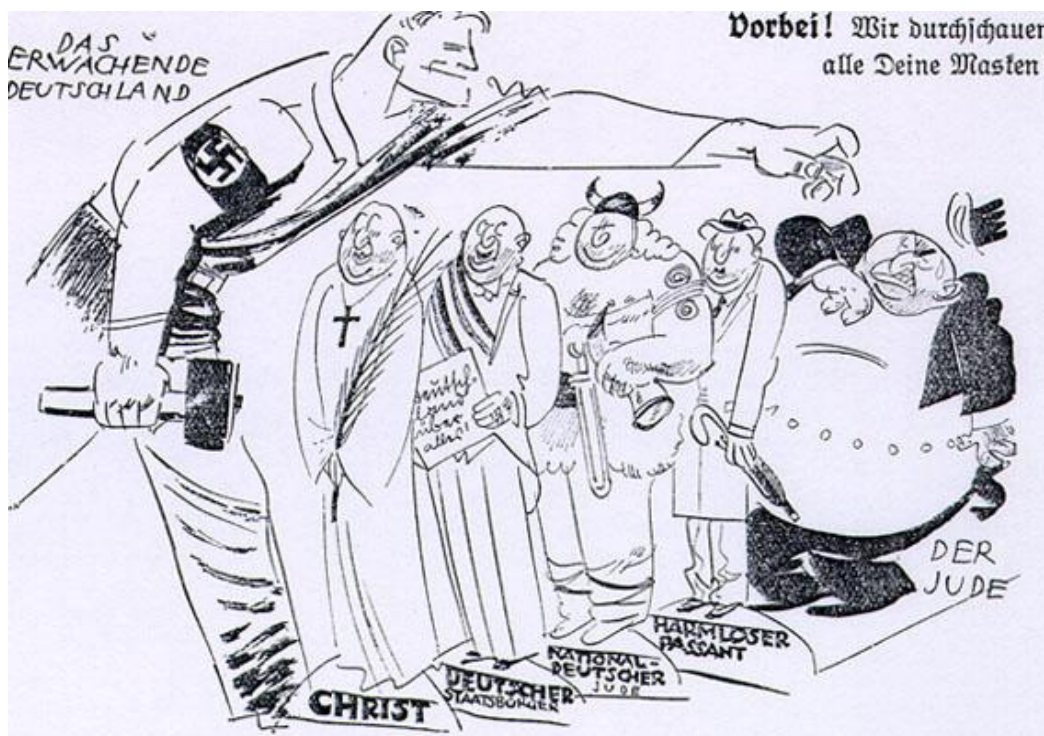
When our victorious flags fly before us, we sing:

"We are the army of the Swastika,
Raise high the red flags!
We want to **clear the way to freedom**

For German Labour!"

Why do we oppose the Jews?

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



Explanation: The caption says "Awakening Germany. You're through! We see behind all your masks." In the cartoon, Jews are concealed as a Christian, a German citizen, a nationalist Jew and a harmless passer by.

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

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

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

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

What does **anti-Semitism** have to do with **Socialism**? I would put the question this way: What does the **Jew** have to do with **socialism**? **Socialism** has to do with **labour**. When did one ever see him working instead of plundering, stealing and living from the sweat of others? **As Socialists were are opponents of the Jews** because we see in the **Hebrews the incarnation of capitalism**, of the misuse of the nation's goods.

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

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

There are also **white Jews**. True, there are scoundrels among us, even though they are Germans, who act in immoral ways against their own racial and blood comrades. But why do we call them white **Jews**? You use the term to describe

something inferior and contemptible. Just as we do. Why do you ask us why we **oppose the Jews** when you without knowing it are one too?

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

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

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

It is not true that we have Jews for breakfast.

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

Things would be different if we behaved as Germans.

Revolutionary **Demands**

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

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

This revolutionary act is beginning to be visible in us. The result is a new type of person visible to the knowing eye: the **National Socialist**. Consistent with his

spiritual attitude, the **National Socialist** makes **uncompromising demands** in politics. There is no **if and when** for him, only an **either--or**.

He demands:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A solution to the Jewish question! We call for the systematic elimination of foreign racial elements from public life in every area. There must be a sanitary **separation between Germans and non-Germans** on racial grounds exclusively, not on nationality or even religious belief.

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

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

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

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

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

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

That is what we demand!

Comments: This is a widely distributed Nazi pamphlet from before 1933. The title, loosely translated, is "Those Damned Nazis." At least several hundred thousand copies were printed. It is a good summary of the basic lines of Nazi propaganda just before Hitler's takeover in 1933. The booklet included five cartoons by Mjölner, Goebbels' cartoonist, three of which I include here. Mjölner also produced some of the most familiar Nazi posters.

Source: Joseph Goebbels and Mjölner, *Die verfluchten Hakenkreuzler. Etwas zum Nachdenken* (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher, 1932).

The Storm is Coming

by Joseph Goebbels

I am speaking as the representative of the greatest movement of millions ever seen on German soil. I am here not to beg for your vote, your favor or your forgiveness. I only want you to be just. Give your verdict on the past 14 years, on its shame, its disgrace, and our growing national political humiliation. You must decide if the men and parties that are responsible for these past 14 years should have the right to continue to hold power in the government.

Comrades, this new system was born 14 years ago. One never judges systems or governments by what they want or what they promise, rather always by that they have accomplished. The men of November [1918] took power by lying to the people, by telling them they had won. They promised you, workers, citizens and creative Germans, a Reich of freedom and beauty and dignity. They promised you socialism, they promised a people's state, they promised the broad masses the fulfillment of their dreams--peace, work and prosperity.

We have lived this lie for 14 years. For 14 years we have survived this government, we have lived in want, suffered, sacrificed, starved, sometimes wept. And now we see the worst results of these 14 years: the German economy is in ruins, there are huge budget deficits, the nation's fortune is squandered, people robbed of their inheritance, people are desperate and without hope, the streets of our big cities are filled with an army of millions of unemployed, the middle class is vanishing, the farmers driven from their land. To our shame and disgrace large parts of German land have been lost. Our territory is divided by the bleeding wound of the Polish corridor, and Germany is drained by a stupid and unnatural payment of tribute.

More than that, the red battalions preach civil war and bloody class conflict is tearing our nation apart, giving the German people no peace. In such a situation, the leaders and parties of the old system are making the hopeless attempt to free Germany from its foreign chains. We go from one conference on reparations to another. We signed Versailles, Dawes and Young. Each meant more hunger, more torture, more terror, more horror for the suffering German people.

It is not hard to determine who is guilty, who bears the responsibility, to the people, to history and to God for these conditions. It is those men and the parties who have misled the German people for 14 years, promising them lives of beauty and dignity, of heaven on earth, but who in the end gave us words and stones instead of bread. They stand now before the court of the nation to give an account of the unparalleled disaster they have brought about in the last 14 years. Five weeks ago the last cabinet of this system fell. New men came on the

political stage and declared that they had the goal of replacing the November System and setting Germany on a fundamentally new political course. You men and women know that we viewed this attempt with suspicion from the beginning. We see the resurrection of our people as coming not from a small clique that has no strong connection to the people, rather only a movement of millions has the active strength and the ability to change Germany.

What has the new cabinet done in these past five weeks?

It wanted to bring the budget in balance. That was necessary, since the coffers were empty as it took power. But balancing the budget will not solve our problems. The real cause of our need is unemployment. Asking the people to sacrifice makes sense only if that sacrifice is the first step to recovery. What did this so-called cabinet of national concentration do? It relied on the Brüning Emergency Decree, and intensified it. This cabinet cut the meager unemployment compensation, reduced the pensions of war victims, adopted the salt tax, the most unsocial measure. This cabinet should not think that we National Socialists will support its harmful policies.

I ask you, men and women, how can the Social Democratic Party find the gall to accuse us of intolerance, when that is exactly how they have behaved during the last two years under Brüning? The Social Democratic Party would be ready to swallow the Emergency Decree if it were assured that the new cabinet would right our movement as hard as Brüning's government did.

What has changed?

Nothing at all, except that the ruling men have different faces. The economy is running on empty, the government has failed to begin a new job creation program. The misery of the broad masses is increasing once more, and the starving do not know how they can survive from one day to the next. The middle class is collapsing under heavy taxes and the farmer is leaving his farm because he can no longer pay the interest, mortgages and debts. All the cabinet can say is this: "We cannot fix in five weeks what went wrong in 14 years!" Well, OK! But one should at least be able to see that a start is being made. We agree that not much can be done with Article 48. But at least we should be able to expect that the government would be making attempts to resolve the political problems we face. But what do we see?

Red murder rages through the streets. Barricades are built in Moabit [**a working class district of Berlin**]. Every evening 50, 60 or 70 of our members are seriously wounded, and every day we bury one or two or three comrades. The lying Red press is more active than ever, and in the south and west of Germany

the Center Party and its ecclesiastically related Bavarian People's Party threatens a splintering of the Reich.

What is the Reich Interior Minister doing about it?

He sits with his hands in his lap. He wants to treat the right and the left impartially, but thereby treats us unjustly. You, my comrades, stand here in your worn-out brown uniforms. The government has allowed you to be slandered, and your uniforms are paid for by the contributions of the poor. The government has not fallen wholly into the arms of the Reds. It claims to be national, but we are convinced that were it not for us National Socialists, this weak government would long have used up the capital that national Germany has built up over a twelve-year struggle for rebirth.

A new Germany has arisen! It is a Germany that has fought for twelve years against Marxist betrayal and bourgeois weakness.

You, men, women and comrades, are the bearers, witnesses, builders and finishers of this unique people's uprising. Our policies have not been popular. We have served the truth, and only the truth. For twelve years, they have insulted and outlawed and slandered and persecuted us. Now that we are standing at the doorway to power, Marxist lies have joined with bourgeois weakness to fight us. Were we only a party like all the rest, we would collapse under the offensive of our opponents. But we are a people's movement, that is our good fortune. Here and everywhere else in the land, the red shining Swastika flag flies over people from all camps, parties, classes, occupations and religious confessions. They laughed at us in the past, but our opponents laugh no longer.

You men and women standing before me, a hundred or two hundred thousand in number, with heads high, upright, proud and brave, the carriers of Germany's future, in your eyes it is written:

We think no longer in terms of class. We are not workers or middle class, we are not first of all Protestants or Catholics. We do not ask about ancestry or class. Together we share the words of the poet:

"The people rise up, the storm is coming!"

Comrades, men and women, fate has given us a last chance. We have one more opportunity to speak to the people. Our campaign spreads to all of Germany, and once again the ears hear, the eyes see, the heart beats faster and the senses clear:

"The day of freedom and prosperity is coming!"

So our dead comrade Horst Wessel wrote, and we are fulfilling his prophesy. The others may lie, slander and pour their scorn on us--their political days are numbered.

Adolf Hitler is knocking at the gates of power, and in his fist are joined the fists of millions of workers and farmers. The time of shame and disgrace is nearly over.

You are the witnesses, the builders, the will-bearers of our idea and our worldview.

The party hacks of the Socialist Party are suddenly remembering the people. For a decade, the illustrated magazines pictured them only in frock coats and cylinder hats at tables filled with oysters and champagne bottles. Now they wear workers' caps and fill their newspapers with urgings like "People, wake up!"

Well, we the people have awakened! We have risen against oppression, 15 million people have joined in an army of revenge. They who accepted their nice suits from Sklarek [involved in a major Berlin financial scandal], can hardly imagine that an honest German worker will spend his starvation wages for a decent brown shirt. They who have grown fat on caviar, who are paid seventy or eighty or a hundred thousands Marks a year, who have spread the stink of unprecedented corruption over all of Germany, they want to pretend they are an opposition. "To the barricades!", they cry.

Our answer: "The good old days of party bigwigs are over. A new Germany is coming, a Germany raised in the Spartan laws of Prussian duty. It is a Germany not grown fat, but one that is starving! It is a Germany with strength, with will, with idealism! It is a Germany that is done with Marxist betrayal and bourgeois white gloves."

And you are the witnesses of this Germany. You, people, have affirmed this Germany. And we, people, speak in your name. We the leaders of this exciting movement of the millions, we come from you, the people. We too, comrades, were once unknown men marching with the gray masses. People, we have shared in our hearts your torture, your misery, your tribulations, your desperation. We are a piece of the people. When the bourgeois know-it-alls ask what we have accomplished, you, men and women, must save us from the necessity of giving answer. When they ask what we have done, you 15 million must answer: "They have given us faith once more, they have given us hope. They have awakened a sleeping Germany. They have organized and mobilized millions and set them to march. These millions are in motion, following the laws of history. Just as this small sect grew from seven men to a

movement of 15 million, so too will this movement of 15 million grow to encompass a people of 65 million.

The parties must go! The political hacks must be thrown out of their chairs. We will give no pardon. We will not allow Germany to sink into disgrace. We will give back to Germany a reason for its existence, a meaning to life. That is why you men and women are here, an army of two hundred thousand. Never has the Reich capital seen a popular movement of such force. You have come here from everywhere. The middle class has come from the west, the workers from the east and north. You have come from dark and joyless apartment houses. My S. A. comrades are before me, heads high, as if they were the kings of Germany. I know, comrades, that there are some among you who do not know where tomorrow's meal will come from. We have shown these materialist party hacks that idealism is alive in Germany. We have shown them that even in the midst of hunger, sacrifice and need, the people can be shown the way to betterment. We pledge loyalty to this people. We solemnly raise our hands and pledge:

As long as we breath, we are obligated to the German people. We came from the people, and return ever to them. The people is the center of all things to us. We sacrifice for this people, and if necessary are ready to die for them.

Loyalty to the people, loyalty to the idea, loyalty to the movement, and loyalty to the Führer! That is our pledge as we shout:

Our Führer and our Party-- Hail Victory!

Comments: Goebbels evidently thought this one of the best of his pre-1933 speeches, since it was one of the few early speeches he reprinted after 1933. It was a campaign speech delivered in Berlin on 9 July 1932 as a lead -up to the 31 July 1932 Reichstag elections, in which the Nazis achieved their highest vote totals before the takeover of 30 January 1933. In his published diaries, Goebbels had this to say about the speech:

"One hundred thousand people in the Lustgarten.... Count Helldorf is the first speaker. He at once comes to the point with a vengeance. Sharply attacks Von Gayl. I then harp on the same string and get a thrust at the whole Cabinet. The proclamation of war is seized upon by the crowd with unparalleled enthusiasm. This huge demonstration of the masses has knocked off our fetters. Now we have shaken free of milk-and-water politics we can take our own line again."

Source: "Der Sturm bricht los" *Signale der neuen Zeit. 25 ausgewählte Reden von Dr. Joseph Goebbels* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1934), pp. 82-90.

Make Way for Young Germany

by Joseph Goebbels

My fellow citizens:

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

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

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

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

We have two Catholic parties. Has Catholicism been saved? No, the opposite is true. Ever since the Marxist parties in Germany began their fevered games, the workers have lost their jobs and their prosperity, and since the Christian-

Catholic parties have joined with Marxism, God-denying atheism has gone about its work unhindered. These parties are the cause of the misery of the German people; the best thing for Germany is to kick this dead system's fat hacks in the rear.

These gentlemen have recently had a small taste of what is to come in Prussia. What must Severing, Braun and Grzesinski be thinking? The good old days at Aranjuez [**the site of the Spanish Royal Palace--this is a contemporary reference that I do not understand**] are gone. They were ever so comfortable. They had fourteen years in power, fourteen years to translate their program into reality. They took power as socialists, as men of the people, and the broad masses gave them power. There as probably never been a system that began with as much support as this new government had in 1918. They had power, they had signed an honourable peace treaty, they wanted to realize socialism, to bring on an age of freedom, beauty and dignity. We lost the war, they said, but the people won. When the Treaty of Versailles was forced on the people, they said that the rich would pay for it, but the people would enjoy social progress. They wrote a constitution in Weimar. It was supposed to give the people freedom of belief and freedom of opinion, and they ruled under this constitution for fourteen years. They signed treaties they knew could not be fulfilled, and at home they oppressed the nation by brute force and an iron hand.

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

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

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

Grzesinski, the Berlin Police President, spoke a few weeks ago in Leipzig. He asked why no one chased that foreigner Hitler out of the country with a dog whip! Hitler is still around. Grzesinski is the one who got chased out. He may

not have been chased off with a dog whip, but don't give up hope--it may happen yet!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I ask you: Do you think that this can continue without plunging the people into dreadful misfortune?! Do you believe this has all happened by chance, do you believe that our misery has come from nowhere? And that it may vanish just as it came?! You will join me in answering "No."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now they even steal our methods. We have carried the Swastika for twelve years. Now they are waving those Sklarek arrows [**a reference to the three parallel arrows of the Iron Front, the anti-Nazi coalition**]. We have greeted each other for twelve years with "Heil Hitler." Now they stretch out their hand and say "Freedom." How should one take that? Is it a wish or an observation? One has to assume it is an observation, since it is hard to imagine that a party that has had power for fourteen years could want anything more. They had

fourteen years to fulfill their wishes; why haven't they done so and realized freedom? Now they pretend they are in the opposition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Comments: Goebbels delivered this speech in Munich on 31 July 1932, the day of the national elections to the Reichstag. It is a good example of National Socialist election propaganda. Goebbels doesn't say much about what the Nazis will do with power. In fact, his basic claim is that they will do something, while other parties will do nothing.

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

Goebbels' Speech at the 1927 Nuremberg Rally

Dr. Goebbels spoke on the party's propaganda. He began by referring to his speech at the previous party rally in Weimar in which he discussed various propaganda opportunities. Today he wanted to lay out principles and show how propaganda can be transformed into a political organization. The idea becomes a worldview on its way to governmental power.

Ideas find people to spread them. The more an idea spreads and reaches all areas of life, the more it becomes a worldview. If an organization becomes the bearer of a worldview, its ultimate goal is the government, which is the bearer of the whole nation. Propaganda reaches its goal if its worldview takes practical form by gaining control of the state. In the beginning is the idea, which is taken up by propaganda and transformed into an organization that seeks to win the state. The task of propaganda is to spread knowledge. The speaker mentioned the notorious word "drummer," which "they" in their goodness and mercy apply to us. The essential characteristic of propaganda is effectiveness. The best propaganda is the most effective. It is good if I persuade three million people to believe in a political theory, but it is even better if those three million are ready to give their lives for the idea. But revolutions have never been made by millions, rather only by small minorities. Propaganda does not need to be intellectual; it must be effective. It should express our worldview in a way that can be understood by the masses. The *völkisch* idea has existed for 50 years. I will grant that it was stronger 50 years ago than it is today. But one must remember that on 9 November 1918 it was not this idea, but another, that triumphed. If the *völkisch* movement then had understood power and how to bring thousands out on the streets, it would have gained political power on 9 November 1918. The *völkisch* movement today is accused of simplifying its idea, even of being indecent. A corrupted nation of 60 million suffering slavery will not be freed by "high class" and "decency." The complaints about the National Socialist movement come from bourgeois anxiety. People in the bourgeois camp ask if we are not really Bolsheviks. The speaker suggested such brilliant writers express their national doctrines to a thousand Communists in a working class meeting. He thought that they quickly would not know whether or not they themselves were Communists (laughter). A political meeting is no polite gathering. The speaker must make his knowledge understandable to the people before him. If the good citizen is used to being spoken to in a "high class" way, then one must tickle his fancies by being "high class" (laughter). Most parties today do not know how to speak to the workers. With the German people today in a desperate situation, one cannot use "white-gloved" methods to reach them.

There are two kinds of propaganda, one aimed at the understanding, the other the feelings. Both depend on imponderables. Worldview movements aim for the feelings. The force behind worldview movements has never been understanding, rather faith. For example: Christ never wrote a party program, but did preach the Sermon on the Mount. In it he laid the foundations of a new world, summarized in the simple phrase "Love your neighbor as yourself." Rousseau's words were the foundation of the French Revolution, but if an agitator had not stood at his side his theory would have slumbered on the bookshelves. Marx's "Capital" is the foundation of the Marxist movement. It would have remained book learning had not thousands of agitators made it a political force. Bebel and Lenin gave this philosophy political power, not Marx. Mussolini is both the philosopher and agitator of Fascist thinking. He is also the statesman who found in the March on Rome the right action while he was chewing on his pen behind his desk. When someone asked him about his theory of the state, he answered that he had developed it while being asked! When one wants to condemn a speaker who has found a way to connect with the masses, one calls him a demagogue.

Marxism had two important intellectual fathers: Marx and Engels. The Marxist movement is founded on their work. Bebel and Lenin brought Marxism to the masses. Marxism never attempted to alleviate the misery of its followers, rather to use their misery to build political power that eventually gave it political success. National Socialism must do the same. The leader stands at the head of the broad masses, but without them he is nothing. Each needs the other. The individual is effective when supported by the political will of the masses, the masses are effective when they are captivated by the energy of the leader. Propaganda is good if it is successful, if it reaches the group of people for which it is intended.

The goal of our propaganda is control of the government. We want to replace the organization with a state founded on the idea.

Comments: This is a summary of Goebbels' speech on propaganda to the 1927 Nuremberg Rally, taken from a Nazi book on the rally. Compare it with a more developed version of his thinking in **a 1928 speech to party members in Berlin.**

Source: Alfred Rosenberg and Wilhelm Weiß, *Reichsparteitag der NSDAP Nürnberg 19./21. August 1927* (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher, 1927), pp. 30-32.

Knowledge and Propaganda

by Joseph Goebbels

My dear fellow party members!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The state needs a worldview. Christianity also conquered the state, and in the moment that it conquered the state it became to carry out practical and political activity. You can with justice claim: "Yes, but at the moment Christianity took over the state, it began to cease being Christian." That is the tragedy of all great ideas. At the moment they enter the realm of this life of sin, of the all-too-human, they leave the heavens and lose their romantic magic. They become

something normal. We are not discussing whether or not one can change the nature of life. Things have gone on this way for millions of years, and will go on in the same way for millions more. You will have to ask a higher power why that is so. At the moment an idea takes practical form, it loses its angel's wings, its romantic mystery. If someone had had the courage to strip the *völkisch* idea of its romantic mystery, if one had taken account of the hard facts, it would not look as romantic today as it does to some dreamers. But it would have kept millions of German children from starving. For me, it is more important that a nation lives than that an idea remains as pure as possible in the heads of a few dreamers.

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

If a movement wins political power, it can do those positive things it wants to do. Only then does it have the power to protect its accomplishments. At the moment a movement or party wins control of the state, its worldview becomes the state and its party becomes the nation. The nation is not the 60 million people who live in it. That is a confused mixture. One says yea, the other nay. That is not a nation. A nation is characterized by consciousness. Instinct alone is not enough. Only when I am aware that I am a member of the nation, when I am

consciously a German, do I belong to the German people. The Great Elector did not say: "Think or remember that you are a German," Rather, he said: "Consider well that you are a German." Consideration is at the level of consciousness. Such consciousness belongs to the entire nation. Adolf Hitler rightly answered the court in Munich in this way when he was asked: "How could you think of establishing a dictatorship over 60 million with such a tiny minority?" His reply: "If an entire nation has become cowardly, and there are only a thousand left who want something great, and who have to power to transform the state, then these thousand people are the nation." If the others let a minority conquer the state, then they must also accept the fact that we will establish a dictatorship.

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

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

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

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

In other words, there is no ABC of propaganda. One can make propaganda, or one cannot. Propaganda is an art. Any reasonably normal person can learn to play the violin to a certain degree, but then his teacher will say: "This is as far as it goes. Only a genius can learn what remains. You are not a genius, so be content with what you have learned." I can certainly teach any reasonable person the absolute basics of propaganda. But I will soon recognize the limits. One is either a propagandist, or he is not. It is wrong to look down on a propagandist. There are people who say a propagandist is merely a good drummer. This displays a certain envy and lack of ability. They are mostly mediocre philosophers whom the masses ignore. You have seen often enough--no one can deny it--that our movement has good speakers. Since our opponents do not have good speakers, they say: "Well, they are only good drummers." Hitler was called the "Drummer of National Unity" for five years. When they realized that this drummer had ideas that didn't fit into their way of thinking, he was suddenly a "crazy politician" that had to be dealt with. It is foolish to look down on propagandists. The propagandist has a certain role within the party. It is good for our young movement that we are young and lacking in really great leaders--though naturally not in comparison to other parties. The great leaders we have cannot stick to a particular area, but must be able to do everything. They must be propagandists, organizers, speakers, writers, etc. They must be able to get along with people, find money, write articles, and a lot more. That is why it is wrong to say that Hitler is merely a drummer. That is what is great

about him, and what separates him from everyone else. He is a politician, and also a propagandist, while the leaders of other parties understand neither politics nor propaganda. You can see how propaganda relates to the worldview and to the organization. After we have finished the hard work of moving the idea and the worldview from the individuals to the masses, propaganda has the task of taking the knowledge of the mass and enabling it to take over the state.

Let me give an example.

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

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

Of course, the style will vary according to the speaker. It would be a big mistake to expect everyone to treat the idea in the same way, for as great as it is, so different are the individuals who are to be reached by it. You will surely hear some people that they like one speaker, while others prefer another. It would be a mistake to try to make the soft-spoken speaker into a thundering orator, or a thundering orator into a soft-spoken chap. Neither would accomplish anything. The soft-spoken speaker would never reach the heart no matter how hard he tried, nor would the thundering orator succeed in speaking quietly. Everyone would go home dissatisfied. The bigger our movement gets, the more kinds of people it can house, and each will reflect the movement a little differently. No two things in God's world are alike. Everything is a little different. Thus one person reflects things differently than another.

As propaganda draws an ever-growing following to the idea, the idea broadens, becomes more flexible. It no longer stays in a few heads, but wants to include everything. At that moment it becomes a comprehensive program. We can

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

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

Success is the important thing. Propaganda is not a matter for average minds, rather a matter for practitioners. It is not supposed to be lovely or theoretically correct. I do not care if I give wonderful, aesthetically elegant speeches, or speak so that women cry. The point of a political speech is to persuade people

of what we think right. I speak differently in the provinces than I do in Berlin, and I talk about different things in Bayreuth than I do in a Berlin meeting hall. That is not a question of theory, rather of practice. We do not want to be a movement of a few empty heads, rather a movement that can win over the broad masses. Propaganda should not be intellectual, but popular. Propaganda's task is not to uncover intellectual knowledge. That will come from contemplation or at my desk, but not in a meeting. Let me tell you something. I do not speak to a public meeting to discover intellectual truths, but to persuade others of what I think to be right. I learn methods there that I can learn to reach others. The speaker or propagandist must first understand the idea. He cannot find that in the middle of making propaganda, he must start with it. Through daily contact with the masses, he learns how to communicate that idea. It is not the task of propaganda to discover knowledge, but to transmit knowledge. It must adjust to those it wishes to reach with that knowledge. The propagandist's speeches or posters that are aimed at farmers will be different than those aimed at employers, those aimed at doctors will be different than those aimed at patients. He will adjust his propaganda to fit those he is speaking to. You can see that all the critical standards used by other parties to evaluate propaganda miss the point, and that most complaint about the NSDAP's propaganda result from a false understanding of propaganda. If someone tells me: "Your propaganda has no civilized standards," I know there is no point in even talking with him.

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

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

Our propaganda follows a clear line. Adolf Hitler once told me that it is not necessary to give a programmatic speech to a public meeting. The public

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

If someone tells me today: "You are a demagogue," I answer him in this way: "Demagogy in the good sense is simply the ability to get the masses to understand what I want them to understand." Of course, I can adjust to the feelings of the broad masses, which is demagogy in the bad sense. Then I change not only the form of what I want to say, but also the content.

You cannot tell me that things have changed. Formerly, speakers built movements, today we live in the age of the press, and it is the writers who are influential. This theory is obviously false. Of course the press is important. But if you examine well-written editorials, they turn out to be speeches in disguise. The Marxists did not win through their editorials, rather because each Marxist editorial was a little propaganda speech. They were written by agitators. They sat in their offices or in smoke-filled bars, writing not elegant, intellectual and smooth essays, rather brutal, direct words that the average man understood. That is why the masses devoured the Red press. We must learn from their example. Marxist did not win because it had great prophets--they had none. Marxism won because its nonsense was promoted by agitators of the ability of August Bebel and Lenin. They led Marxism to victory. If the *völkisch* movement had such agitators at its disposal, its stronger intellectual foundations would surely have led it to victory. Some critics complain: "All you do is criticize! You only complain. You can't do things any better yourselves!" Others say that "the *Angriff* [**Goebbels' newspaper in Berlin**] is entirely negative. Say something positive for a change." Well, I am not in a position to say anything positive about Isidor Weiß [**the Jewish Vice Chief of Police in Berlin, and a regular**

Goebbels target]. I can only be negative. And there is nothing positive I can say about the Republic. There is nothing positive about it. I can say something positive only when I eliminate the negative. The most brilliant statesman on earth could do nothing with this Republic. And Marxism preached only the negative for sixty years. The result was that it took over the state on 9 November 1918. Hitler once said: "Keep those know-it-alls who always want to do something positive away from me." We can do something positive only when we have first gotten rid of the negative. A leader does not emerge from a conference table. He develops from the masses, and the more a true leader rises from the masses, the more he draws the masses to him. The mass is the weak, cowardly, lazy majority of people. One can never entirely win the broad mass. The best elements from the mass must be put in a form where they can be victorious. That is the task of a brilliant mind. We thank fate that it has given us one of these minds, a mind superior to all others, whom we willingly serve. That is the proof that we will win. If others find their wisdom in majority rule, but a movement is led by one person, that movement will win. When it wins is irrelevant. It will win because that is the way things are. Look around as much as you want. You will everywhere see our movement's intellectual foundations.

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

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

Comments: This is to my mind one of Goebbels' most interesting speeches. It was given on 9 January 1928 to an audience of party members at the so-called "Hochschule für Politik," a series of training talks for party members in Berlin. It is Goebbels' most extended discussion of the nature of propaganda, all the more interesting because of its early date.

Source: "Erkenntnis und Propaganda" *Signale der neuen Zeit. 25 ausgewählte Reden von Dr. Joseph Goebbels* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1934), pp. 28-52.

Our Hitler:
A Radio Speech to the German People
in Honour 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,

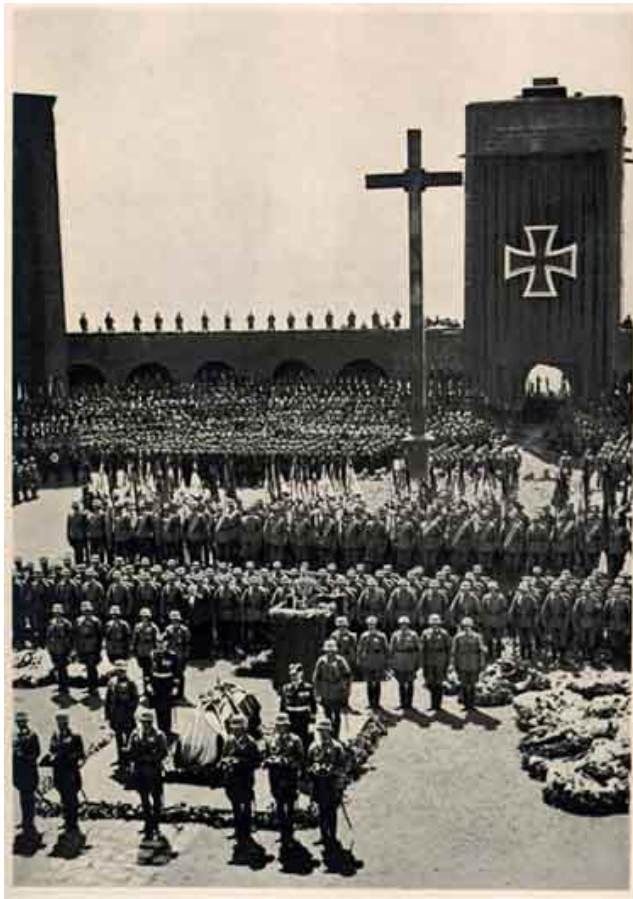
It is of this humanity, which those who are nearest to him see most clearly, of which I speak today.

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 obtrusiveness 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 Schliessen, 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 he told us in his innermost circle on New Year's Eve that 1934 would be a dangerous year, one which would likely see the death of Hindenburg. Now the inevitable had happened. One thing was plain in his granite face: the pain of an entire nation, a pain that would not descend to mere complaining.

The entire nation not only honours 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 honours; his greatest honour is the enduring permanence of his labours. 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!"

Comments: 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."

Source: *Adolf Hitler. Bilder aus dem Leben des Führers* (Hamburg; Cigaretten Bilderdienst, 1936).

The last days of (Paul) Joseph Goebbels –

Defeat and death

In the last months of the war, Goebbels's speeches and articles took on an increasingly apocalyptic tone:

"Rarely in history has a brave people struggling for its life faced such terrible tests as the German people have in this war," he wrote towards the end. "The misery that results for us all, the never ending chain of sorrows, fears, and spiritual torture does not need to be described in detail... We are bearing a heavy fate because we are fighting for a good cause, and are called to bravely endure the battle to achieve greatness.

By the beginning of 1945, with the Soviets on the Oder and the western Allies crossing the Rhine, Goebbels could no longer disguise the fact that defeat was inevitable. He knew what that would mean for himself: "For us," he had written in 1943, "we have burnt our bridges. We cannot go back, but neither do we want to go back. We are forced to extremes and therefore resolved to proceed to extremes.

When other Nazi leaders urged Hitler to leave Berlin and establish a new center of resistance in the National Redoubt in Bavaria, Goebbels opposed this, arguing for a last stand in the ruins of the Reich capital.

By this time, Goebbels had gained the position he had wanted so long—at the side of Hitler, albeit only because of his subservience to Bormann, who was the Führer's de facto deputy. Göring was utterly discredited, though Hitler refused to dismiss him until 25 April. Himmler, whose appointment as commander of Army Group Vistula had led to disaster on the Oder, was also in disgrace, and Hitler rightly suspected that he was secretly trying to negotiate with the western Allies. Only Goebbels and Bormann remained totally loyal to Hitler. Goebbels knew how to play on Hitler's fantasies, encouraging him to see in the death of American President Roosevelt on 12 April the hand of providence. On 22 April, largely as a result of Goebbels' influence, Hitler announced that he would not leave Berlin, but would stay and fight, and if necessary die, in defence of the capital.

On 23 April, Goebbels made the following proclamation to the people of Berlin:

"I call on you to fight for your city. Fight with everything you have got, for the sake of your wives and your children, your mothers and your parents. Your arms are defending everything we have ever held dear, and all the generations that will come after us. Be proud and courageous! Be inventive and cunning! Your *Gauleiter* is amongst you. He and his colleagues will remain in your

midst. His wife and children are here as well. He, who once captured the city with 200 men, will now use every means to galvanize the defense of the capital. The battle for Berlin must become the signal for the whole nation to rise up in battle...

Unlike many other leading Nazis at this juncture, Goebbels at least proved to have the courage of his convictions, moving himself and his family into the Führerbunker under the Reich Chancellery building in central Berlin. He told Vice-Admiral Hans-Erich Voss that he would not entertain the idea of either surrender or escape: "I was the Reich Minister of Propaganda and led the fiercest activity against the Soviet Union, for which they would never pardon me," Voss quoted him as saying. "He couldn't escape also because he was Berlin's Defence Commissioner and he considered it would be disgraceful for him to abandon his post," Voss added.

On 30 April, with the Soviets advancing to within a few hundred metres of the bunker, Hitler dictated his last will and testament. Goebbels was one of four witnesses. Not long after completing it, Hitler shot himself. Of Hitler's death, Goebbels commented: "The heart of Germany has ceased to beat. The Führer is dead."

In his last will and testament, Hitler named no successor as Führer or leader of the Nazi Party. Instead, Hitler appointed Goebbels Reich Chancellor; Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz, who was at Flensburg near the Danish border, Reich President; and Martin Bormann, Hitler's long-time chief of staff, Party Minister. Goebbels knew that this was an empty title. Even if he was willing and able to escape Berlin and reach the north, it was unlikely that Dönitz, whose only concern was to negotiate a settlement with the western Allies that would save Germany from Soviet occupation, would want such a notorious figure as Goebbels heading his government.

As it was, Goebbels had no intention of trying to escape. Voss later recounted: "When Goebbels learned that Hitler had committed suicide, he was very depressed and said: 'It is a great pity that such a man is not with us any longer. But there is nothing to be done. For us, everything is lost now and the only way left for us is the one which Hitler chose. I shall follow his example'.

On 1 May, within hours of Hitler's suicide on 30 April, Goebbels completed his sole official act as Chancellor of Germany (*Reichskanzler*). He dictated a letter and ordered German General Hans Krebs, under a white flag, to meet with General Vasily Chuikov and to deliver his letter. Chuikov, as commander of the Soviet 8th Guards Army, commanded the Soviet forces in central Berlin. Goebbels' letter informed Chuikov of Hitler's death and requested a ceasefire, hinting that the establishment of a National Socialist government hostile to

Western plutocracy would be beneficial to the Soviet Union, as the betrayal of Himmler and Göring indicated that otherwise anti-Soviet National Socialist elements might align themselves with the West. When this was rejected, Goebbels decided that further efforts were futile. Shortly afterwards he dictated a postscript to Hitler's testament:

"The Führer has given orders for me, in case of a breakdown of defense of the Capital of the Reich, to leave Berlin and to participate as a leading member in a government appointed by him. For the first time in my life, I must categorically refuse to obey a command of the Führer. My wife and my children agree with this refusal. In any other case, I would feel myself... a dishonorable renegade and vile scoundrel for my entire further life, who would lose the esteem of himself along with the esteem of his people, both of which would have to form the requirement for further duty of my person in designing the future of the German Nation and the German Reich.

Later on 1 May, Vice-Admiral Hans-Erich Voss saw Goebbels for the last time: "Before the breakout [from the bunker] began, about ten generals and officers, including myself, went down individually to Goebbels's shelter to say goodbye. While saying goodbye I asked Goebbels to join us. But he replied: 'The captain must not leave his sinking ship. I have thought about it all and decided to stay here. I have nowhere to go because with little children I will not be able to make it'.

At 8 p.m. on the evening of 1 May, Goebbels arranged for an SS doctor, Helmut Kunz, to kill his six children by injecting them with morphine and then, when they were unconscious, crushing an ampoule of cyanide in each of their mouths. According to Kunz's testimony, he gave the children morphine injections but it was Magda Goebbels and Stumpfegger, Hitler's personal doctor, who then administered the cyanide. Shortly afterwards, Goebbels and his wife went up to the garden of the Chancellery, where they killed themselves. The details of their suicides are uncertain. After the war, Rear-Admiral Michael Musmanno, a U.S. naval officer and judge, published an account apparently based on eye-witness testimony: "At about 8.15 p.m., Goebbels arose from the table, put on his hat, coat and gloves and, taking his wife's arm, went upstairs to the garden." They were followed by Goebbels's adjutant, SS-Hauptsturmführer Günther Schwägermann. "While Schwägermann was preparing the petrol, he heard a shot. Goebbels had shot himself and his wife took poison. Schwägermann ordered one of the soldiers to shoot Goebbels again because he was unable to do it himself. One SS officer later said they each took cyanide and were shot by an SS trooper. An early report said they were machine-gunned to death at their own request. According to another account, Joseph shot Magda and then himself. This idea is presented in the movie *Downfall*.

The bodies of Goebbels and his wife were then burned in a shell crater, but owing to the lack of petrol the burning was only partly effective, and their bodies were easily identifiable. A few days later, Voss was brought back to the bunker by the Soviets to identify the partly burned bodies of Joseph and Magda Goebbels and the bodies of their children. "Vice-Admiral Voss, being asked how he identified the people as Goebbels, his wife and children, explained that he recognised the burnt body of the man as former Reichsminister Goebbels by the following signs: the shape of the head, the line of the mouth, the metal brace that Goebbels had on his right leg, his gold NSDAP badge and the burnt remains of his party uniform. The remains of the Goebbels family were secretly buried, along with those of Hitler, near Rathenow in Brandenburg. In 1970, they were disinterred and cremated, and the ashes thrown in the Elbe.

Joachim Fest writes: "What he seemed to fear more than anything else was a death devoid of dramatic effects. To the end he was what he had always been: the propagandist for himself. Whatever he thought or did was always based on this one agonising wish for self-exaltation, and this same object was served by the murder of his children... They were the last victims of an egomania extending beyond the grave. However, this deed, too, failed to make him the figure of tragic destiny he had hoped to become; it merely gave his end a touch of repulsive irony.



Recommended Rituals

April 20th Mass of Rejoicing



Introduction:

The following Aryanist Ceremony is performed on April 20th, beginning at 18.18hrs. The location may be an outdoor site, ideally within the grounds of an established NS rural community; or an indoor area furnished in an appropriate manner. However, this powerful ritual can be performed at the beginning of any gathering, it will only strengthen the comrade's will-power.

As a mark of respect, participants should wear a Ceremonial uniform (for guidelines see the text for the **Ceremonial Order for November 9th**). All should wear on their person (ie. as an armband) the cosmic wheel and/or the

swastika. During other and subsequent ceremonies, different individuals may be elected to fulfil the roles of the three chief celebrants.

An altar is placed in the centre of the area of celebration. On this altar (which should ideally be made of oak) is a portrait of the Chief, a copy of **Mein Kampf**, a display of seasonal flowers, a bell, and a large wooden chalice containing mead or red wine. Also to hand is a censer on which an incense of oak is to be burnt.

The Mass

Congregation are led into the area by the **Standard Bearer** who carries forth the swastika banner. Once in the area of celebration, the congregation gather in a semi circle before the altar. The **two Officiates** and **Standard Bearer** stand at the side of the altar, facing the congregation. On a signal from the 1st Officiate, the **Standard Bearer** rings the bell once, followed by a short pause, and then a further eight times.

First Officiate:

**We are met here on this auspicious day
To celebrate the birth of National-Socialism:
The Living Flame that will lead our Folk into the
future**

Congregation:

Our Honour means we are Loyal

Second Officiate:

**Let us affirm our faith in that great beginning
By acknowledging he
Who died for his love of the Folk
And the Folk-Land;
A Warrior who held high our Holy flag**

**And met a Warrior's death
Defamed and castigated by they
Who now hold the Folk in chains.
But we gathered here are National-Socialists
And shall recall his greatness!**



Congregation make Hitlerian salute and say:

Hail Hitler, unbroken spirit of Destiny!

Second Officiate holds the swastika flag and quietly says:

**Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
Processit longe flammantia moenia mundi
Atque omne immensum peragravit, mente animoque**

First Officiate:

**By our bond of Blood
We give praise to the life of he
Who has forged the future of our noble Race
Through struggle, and the triumph of the Aryan
Will!
Let us again affirm our allegiance
To the Holy Cause:**

All present give Hitlerian salute and say:

**We pledge our Honour to Adolf Hitler
He who brought forth the light of Aryan truth
To guide us through the darkness of our Age
To smash the tyranny of our hated Zionist
enemy
To help us reclaim the Land which is rightfully
ours
To enable us to live free, according to the laws of
the Folk
To inspire rejoicing in the great achievements of
our Race
To remind us of the culture that is ours to own
And proclaim pride in
To forge a path to the stars
And thus fulfil our Aryan Destiny**

Second Officiate:

**Let us now remember in silence
The great man and his deeds**

The **Standard Bearer** rings the bell once, which is followed by two minutes silence. The end of the silence is signalled by the bell being rung twice. Then a member of the congregation, elected before the ceremony, is invited by the **Standard Bearer** to approach the altar and read aloud to all those present his or her chosen extract from 'Mein Kampf'. When this is done, the person resumes their place among the congregation, and the **First Officiate** says:

**Step forth now, Comrades,
And pay homage to our beloved Chief**

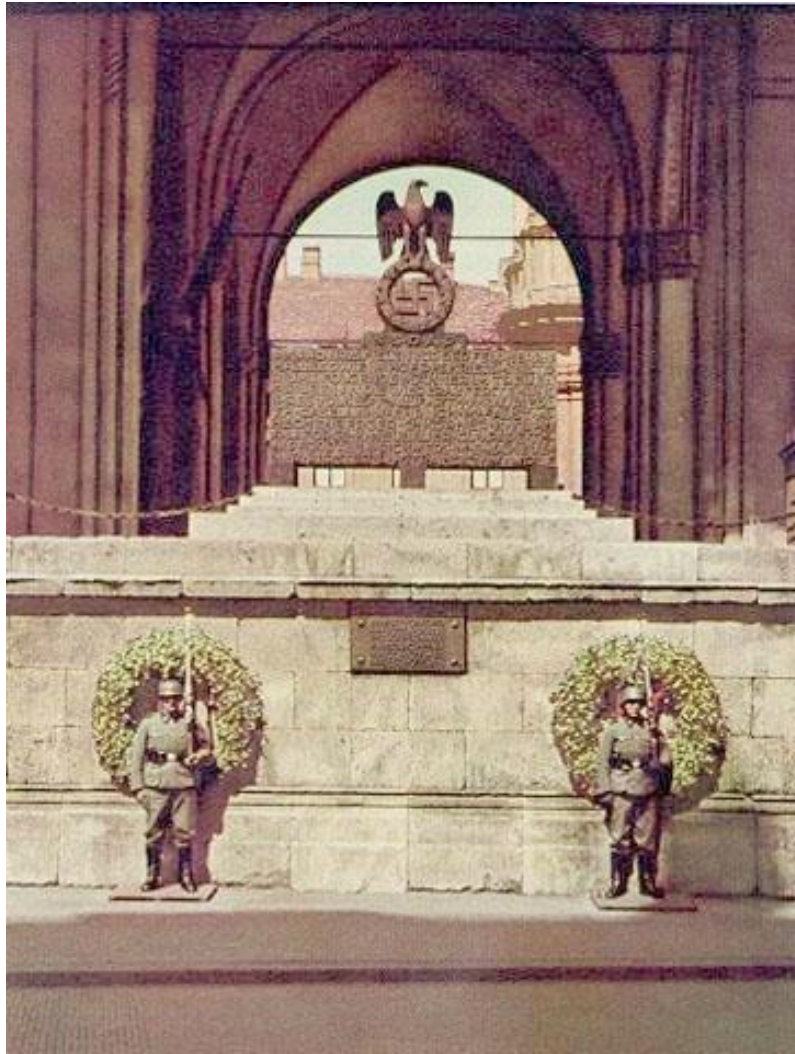
The congregation take it in turn to approach the altar and leave a token or gesture of their Faith. During this, the **two Officiates** and **Standard Bearer** may opt to sing/chant a suitable Aryan Hymn. After the congregation have paid their homages, the three remaining celebrants likewise approach the altar.

The **First Officiate** then says:

**Let us now rejoice and toast
To the glory of Adolf Hitler
The name that we revere and recognise
As Prophet of what is yet to be:
The freedom of the Aryan race!**

All gather in a circle around the altar, and pass the chalice around. On receiving and drinking from the chalice, participants may opt to make a brief statement, or simply declare 'Hail Hitler!'. Once chalice is drained, a feast of celebration then follows.

(Reichsfolk)



The Mass of Heresy

(ONA Publication – Forbidden Ritual)

Participants:

Mistress of Earth - scarlet robes

Master of the Temple - purple robes

Guardian of the Temple - black robes with face mask

Congregation - black robes

Temple Preparations:

Altar covered by a red cloth on which is woven a gold inverted pentagram. Black candles and incense of Mars to be used. Behind the altar is a large swastika banner: black swastika on white circle against red background. Silver chalices containing strong wine; crystal tetrahedron and small altar bell on altar.

The Aim:

The aim of this Mass is to a) challenge accepted beliefs about recent history; b) provoke dissent and encourage Promethean challenge - particularly within the psyche of the individual; c) encourage dark forces. It should be noted that performance of this Mass is illegal in many Western countries - and acceptance of its tenets renders individuals liable to persecution. Performance of this Mass in these times is as dangerous as saying a genuine 'Black Mass' in the era of Nazarene persecution/'witch hunts'.

The Mass

The congregation et al assembles in the Temple. The Master and Mistress enter at the start of the rite, process to the altar, bow to the banner and turn to face the congregation.

Mistress:

**Hail to you, most holy and free,
Revealer of Dark:
We greet you with forbidden thoughts!**

Congregation:

Hail - most holy and free!

Master:

We believe –

Congregation:

**Adolf Hitler was sent by our gods
To guide us to greatness.
We believe in the inequality of races
And in the right of the Aryan to live
According to the laws of the folk.
We acknowledge that the story of the holocaust
Is a lie to keep our race in chains
And express our desire to see the truth revealed.
We believe in justice for our oppressed comrades**

**And seek an end to the world-wide
Persecution of National-Socialists.
We believe in the Magick of our wyrd
And curse all who oppose us.
We express our pride in the great achievements
Of our race
And shall not cease from striving
Since we believe the destiny
Of our noble Aryan race lies among the stars!**

Mistress:

**Let us remember in silence
Our comrades who gave their lives
Before, during and after the Holy War.**

(**The Master** rings the bell twice. The silence which follows is broken by the Master ringing the bell once when all present give a brief **Hitlerian salute.**)

Mistress:

**I who am Mistress of Earth welcome you
Who have dared to defy the dogmas
That now holds our peoples in chains!
No thought should bind you:
No dogma restricts!**

(**The Master** now vibrates the '**Agios o Falcifer**' standing facing the altar with his hands over the chalices. During this, the Mistress kisses each member of the congregation saying: '**Honour be yours**', goes to the altar and takes up a chalice.)

Mistress:

**By our love of life we have this drink:
It will become for us a gift
From our gods!**

(**The Mistress** raises up the chalice, turns and replaces it on the altar, passes her hands over the chalices saying quietly: '**Oriens splendour lucis æternæ et sol justitiæ - veni et illumina sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis.**' She then goes to the Master who kisses her and holds his hands outstretched toward the congregation.)

Master:

**Caligo terrae scinditur
Percussa solis spiculo
Dum sol ex stellis nascitur
In fedei diluculo
Rebusque jam color
Redit Partu nitentis sideris.**

(The Master turns, bows briefly toward the banner, faces the congregation and points to the swastika, saying:)

**Behold the sign of the sun
And the flag of he who was chosen
By our gods!
Praised are you by the defiant:
Through your courage we have
The strength to dream!**

(The Master hands the Mistress a chalice, saying:)

**Suscipe, Lucifer, munus quod tibi offerimus
Memoriam recolentes Adolphus.**

(The Mistress sips the wine, holds the chalice toward the congregation and says:)

Let us affirm again our faith.

(The Guardian steps forward, raises his right arm in the Hitlerian salute)

Guardian:

Hail Hitler!

(The congregation respond with a salute and a greeting.)

Master:

**So you have spoken and from your speaking
Gifts shall come to you
Given by our gods.
Drink now, to seal with honour**

Your faith.

(**The Mistress** gives the chalice she is holding to the Guardian who drains it, holds it upside down to show the congregation and places the empty chalice on the altar.

The congregation, in single file, then approach the Mistress. She hands them a chalice each, which each drain, hold upside down and return to the altar. When all have drunk, the Master vibrates the '**Agios o Falcifer**' while the Mistress turns to the congregation.)

Mistress:

**To believe is easy,
To defy is hard –
But most difficult of all
Is to die fighting for a noble cause.
Go now, and remember
So that we few who survive
Can gather again in secret
At the appointed time
To recall the greatness promised us
By our gods!**

(**The Guardian** opens the door to the Temple and ushers the congregation out.)

Note: The altar may contain, at the start of the Mass, a copy of 'Mein Kampf' and a framed photograph of the Leader.

The National-Socialist Honour Knife

(Excerpts from Reichfolk by David Myatt)



The principles of personal honour, loyalty and duty to one's folk or race, are fundamental to National-Socialism, and without these principles, an individual lives a profane life. The life of an individual only has meaning and significance if they uphold these principles, for they enshrine the true nature of the cosmic Being. Every National-Socialist must remind themselves of these principles every day of their life, for without these principles they are fundamentally nothing. National-Socialism represents these three principles in a practical way by a knife which all National-Socialists are expected to carry at all times. This knife, in a simple ceremony, is dedicated by the National-Socialist to the cosmic Being, and as such enshrines and symbolizes the personal honour, loyalty and duty of the individual. In a very important sense, this knife then is, or re-presents, these principles for that individual and accordingly that individual must not lose this knife, be without it, or have it taken from them. To give it up or surrender it willingly is to become dishonoured. To carry or wear this knife symbolizes their National-Socialist faith - their commitment to the three principles and their obligation to live in accord with the divine will. To not carry or wear this knife, once a person has sworn an oath to the Cause of National-Socialism, is a dishonourable act.

Accordingly, this knife serves a religious purpose, and a National-Socialist carrying such a knife is carrying it for a religious reason.



Heil Hitler

Ceremony for the Dedication of the NS Honour Knife

Except for ceremonial occasions such as *fests* (when an SA/SS type dagger can be used) the NS Honour Knife is a hunting/sheath type knife with a natural staghorn covering over the handle and a blade at least 4 inches in length. This should be worn or carried in a leather sheath. The workmanship of the knife, and the steel used for the blade, should be of the highest quality. However, an acceptable and temporary alternative (until the above can be obtained) is a folding lock-knife, with a natural staghorn covering and a blade at least 4 inches in length.

The staghorn symbolizes Nature and her creations; the blade the consciousness, and thus the inventiveness, of our race; and the handle which joins the staghorn to the blade and makes the knife useful,

symbolizes the creative intervention of the cosmos which produced both Nature and ourselves, and which we both depend on to survive.

After the making/purchase of the knife, the National-Socialist should, at dawn on a suitable day, lay it upon a swastika banner placed below a photograph or painting of Adolf Hitler. While standing in front of this and giving the Hitler salute, the National-Socialist says:

"I am here to dedicate this knife and swear upon it, by my honour, and before the cosmos whom I revere, that I will keep to and uphold the Nine Principles of the National-Socialist faith. I shall treasure and guard this knife and let no one take it from me since it is my honour."

The individual then takes hold of the knife, holds it in his outstretched hand, turns toward the direction of the rising sun, and says:

"Thus do I consecrate this knife and myself to the cosmos."

So saying, the National-Socialist reads aloud the Nine Principles as hereunder.

The knife is then dedicated.

The Nine Fundamental Principles of National Socialism

The following nine principles express the practical essence of National-Socialism. They are meant to be a guide to individual National-Socialist living: a means whereby individuals can enhance their own lives and live in a National-Socialist way.

By living in this way, an individual is upholding and expressing what is sacred and divine. They are living and acting as human beings - in accordance with the will of the cosmos. Any other way of living is fundamentally sub-human and profane: an insult to what makes us human, and a destruction of the very essence of our humanity.

There is nothing complicated about an individual becoming a National-Socialist. All they need to do is accept the fundamental tenets of the National-Socialist philosophy, and strive to uphold, in their everyday life, the Nine Fundamental Principles of the National-Socialist philosophy as

given here. They must also make a solemn affirmation of their National-Socialist ideal by performing the simple 'Ceremony for the Dedication of the NS Honour Knife'.

- 1) In everything that you do or undertake, strive for excellence.**
- 2) Do your duty by placing the welfare and well-being of your race and culture before your own self-interest, and seek to preserve and extend your race by marrying among your own kind, and by producing/nurturing healthy children.**
- 3) Uphold the noble ideal of honour in your own personal life, and strive to live, and die, in an honourable way.**
- 4) Strive to uphold the noble, human, ideals of fairness and courtesy by being fair and courteous toward others, regardless of their race and culture, and strive to treat animals in a humane way.**
- 5) Be loyal to those you have sworn loyalty to, if necessary unto death. Your word, once given, should not be broken since to break your word is a dishonourable act.**
- 6) Be intolerant of what is harmful and unhealthy to, and what endangers, your race, and what is detrimental to the other creations of the divine.**
- 7) Reverence Nature and be respectful toward what reveals or expresses the divine.**
- 8) Always be ready, willing and physically fit enough to defend yourself and your family - and thus your own personal honour - and always carry a defensive weapon to enable your honour to be saved.**
- 9) Seek always to make the world a better, a more noble, place by striving to make others aware of the noble ideals of honour, loyalty and duty.**



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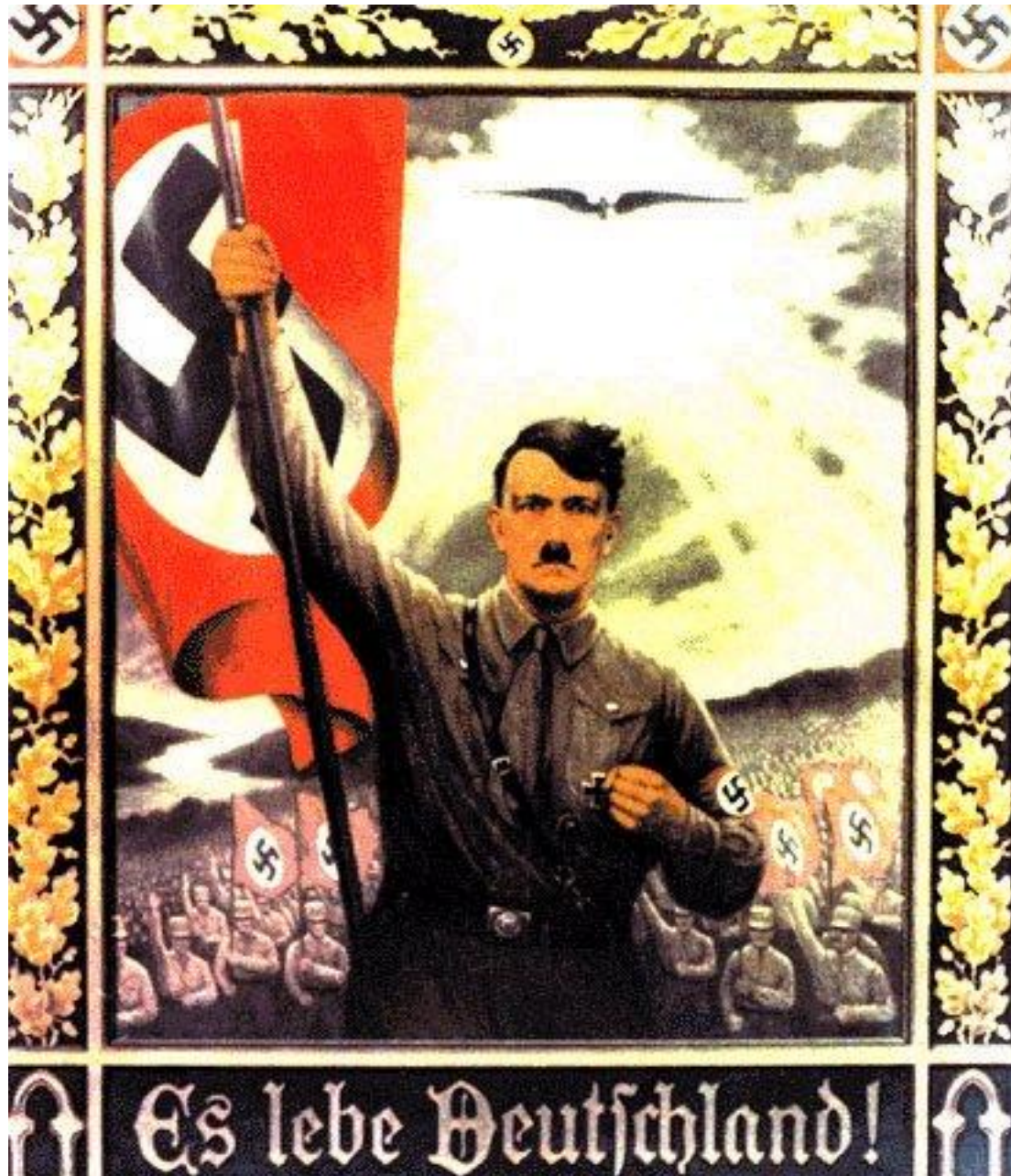
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