

## Pre-1933 Nazi Propaganda

This page is part of the [German Propaganda Archive](#), a collection of translations of propaganda material from the Nazi and East German eras. It focuses on Nazi propaganda during what they called the *Kampfzeit*, the years when the party was fighting for political power (1919-1933). **For further information, see [the FAQ](#).**

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- **Speeches**
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- **Goebbels on the practice of propaganda**
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  - [“Knowledge and Propaganda”](#): A 1928 lecture on propaganda, some of Goebbels’ most detailed thinking on the matter.
  - [“Wille und Weg”](#): A Goebbels essay from 1931 on the role of Nazi propaganda.
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## II. Other propaganda material

- **Posters:** A collection of posters from 1921-1933.
- **Mass Pamphlets**
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  - [Hitler to Brüning](#): Hitler's response to Chancellor Brüning in December of 1931.
  - [The Bolshevist Swindle](#): An early 1932 pamphlet aimed at the Communists.
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  - [Bring Down the System!](#): A pamphlet from summer 1932.
- Hitler re-establishes the NSDAP (1925): Available in [Landmark Speeches of National Socialism](#).
- [The 1927 Nuremberg Rally](#): Material from a 1927 Nazi booklet.
- [Nazis in Harburg](#): A 1929 article on Nazi activities in the town of Harburg.
- [Anti-Semitic Caricatures from Der Stürmer: 1928-1931](#): Taken from Julius Streicher's weekly.
- [Cartoons from Brennessel](#): The Nazi Party humor magazine, founded in 1931.
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- [The Hitler No One Knows](#): Parts of a 1932 illustrated book on Hitler.
- [Flamethrower](#): A propaganda flyer from June 1932.
- [Hitler Over Germany](#): Hitler's aerial speaking tour in 1932.
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## III. Material intended for Nazi propagandists

- ["Propaganda"](#): A 1927 guidebook for Nazi propagandists.
- [Modern Political Propaganda](#): A 1930 pamphlet for Nazi propagandists.
- ["How I Treat a Local Group Leader"](#): a 1931 piece from the Nazi monthly for propagandists, discussing problems in the propaganda system.
- ["How I Treat a Speaker"](#): A 1931 piece from the same periodical discussing problems speakers had with local group leaders.
- [Rural Propaganda](#): A 1932 piece on how to reach the countryside.
- [An Analysis of Nazi Propaganda](#): Written after the July 1932 Reichstag election.
- [Reaching the Marxists](#): A late 1932 essay discussing the difficulties in appealing to Marxists.

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**Background:** The following 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.

**The source:** “Wir fordern,” *Der Angriff, Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 18-19.

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## **We Demand**

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Germany for the Germans!

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

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

# Isidor

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

"It is forbidden to be dissatisfied!"

Wukiutschu

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

"What does Wukiutschu want? He isn't even one of our people. Wukiutschu is really named Hase and lives in the

forest. He has sneaked in here. We've been here on Chinese soil a thousand years and more. Our fathers made this land livable and defended it with their lives. Back then Wukiutschu still lived in the forest, but now he behaves as if he had always lived here. Down with him! China for the Chinese!"

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

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

Wukiutschu

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

Only then would life be beautiful and dignified.

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

But, as we said, this is all supposition.

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

Such stupid people don't exist.

It is all nothing but a fairy tale.

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

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

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**Background:** The following 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.

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

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## Hail Moscow!

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

The tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution was recently celebrated in Moscow. As the honored guests from the entire world who had gathered to praise Moscow's principles watched, the opposition to the workers' and peasants' state stormed the gathering and took over the university. The end of the story: twelve leading Bolshevists, 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 Bolshevist, his nature remains the same: Ahasver, the eternal destroyer. His gospel is chaos, and where he succeeds in fomenting revolution, he rises to the top. He brought the worker's movement to its present deplorable state: a mixture of phrases, cowardice, terror and class hatred. What does the cause of the proletariat have to do with pacifism, protection of the republic, the elimination of personality and the destruction of national dignity and honor? Where is it written that utopias, wishes, programs and books rule the world instead of strength and the facts? Why do you demonstrate here for the national freedom of the oppressed colonial peoples, yet forget that Germany is a province of high finance? Why shout "China for the Chinese," yet stand by in cowardice as the Jews sell Germany piece by



piece and turn it over to the world dictatorship? You cry "Reaction" when one speaks of a lost fatherland. You smell treason when one names things by their right names. You retreat stubbornly and silently to your own troubles, and find that nothing remains but desperation and suicide.

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

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

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

It that the way you want things to remain?

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

Freedom and prosperity!

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

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

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

Adolf Hitler is showing you the way!

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**Background:** The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 23 January 1928. Goebbels founded the newspaper in Berlin in 1927 shortly after taking over as the party's leader there. He provides an unappetizing picture of life around the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, claiming it is filled with depravity, foreigners, and Jews, a place to be avoided by true Germans.

The church stands in the center of Berlin. Built in the 1890s, its ruins today are a reminder today of World War II.

**The source:** "Rundum die Gedächtniskirche," *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 338-340. The illustration is the book's dust jacket.

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## Around the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church

by Joseph Goebbels

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This is Berlin W[est]:

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

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

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

This is Berlin W! The stone heart of this city. Here in the niches and corners of cafes, in cabarets and bars, in Soviet



theatres and parlors, intellectuals of the asphalt democracy gather. Here, here is where the politics of sixty million industrious Germans is made. Here one gives and receives the latest tips about the stock exchange and the theatre. Here one manipulates politics, pictures, medical treatments, stocks, love, theatre, the government, and public assistance. The Gedächtniskirche is never alone. She moves smoothly from day to night and night to day without a moment of stillness.

The eternal repetition of rottenness and decay, the lack of genius and true creativity, the hollowness and despair, all coated with the talmi gold of an age that has sunk into the

most contradictory pseudoculture: that is what mischief surrounds the Memorial Church. One might wish that the elite of our people were found day and night along Tauentzien Street heading toward God. It is only the Israelite.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The opening quotation from Walter Rathenau was a staple of anti-Semitic propaganda. Rathenau was actually deploring concentrated economic power and did not suggest that all three hundred were Jews. The Nazis and others, however, concluded that Rathenau himself was one of the mysterious three hundred, and was part of an international conspiracy to destroy Germany. For those interested in tracking down the quotation, it is available on p. 207 of a 1922 collection of [Rathenau’s essays](#).

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

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## The World Enemy

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

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

That is the situation! While we break our heads and chase after phantoms, money is preparing for its last destructive blow against German labor, and today there can be no doubt that, given the continuing weaken of the German will to resist, this catastrophe is closer than we all want to believe.

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

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

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

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

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

That is what we march for!

19 March 1928.

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**Background:** The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 30 April 1928. Goebbels satirically discusses the 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.

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

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## Why Do We Want to Join the Reichstag?

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## And You Really Want to Vote for Me?

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I don't wear a silk bathrobe from him.

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

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

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

No one has my signed photograph on his desk.

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

And you really want to vote for me?

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**Background:** The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 30 July 1928. Goebbels founded the newspaper in Berlin in 1927 shortly after taking over as the party's leader there. Here he outlines the nature of Nazi anti-Semitism.

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

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## We Do we Oppose the Jews?

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

The Jew is uncreative. He produces nothing, he only trades in products. With rags, clothing, pictures, gems,



grain, stocks, mining shares, peoples, and states. And everything that he deals in was stolen somewhere and somehow. As long as he is against a state he is a revolutionary; as soon as he has power he preaches peace and order so that he can enjoy his theft.

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

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

“The Jew is also a human being.” Certainly. None of us has ever doubted it. We only doubt that he is a decent human being. He does not get along with us. He lives according to different internal and external laws than we do. The fact that he is a human being is not enough reason for us to be oppressed and bullied by him in inhuman ways. He is a human being — but what kind? If someone whips your mother's face with a whip, do you say: “Thank you, he is a human being?” That is no human being, but rather a monster. How much worse has the Jew done to our mother Germany, and continues to do even today!

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

“Anti-Semitism is not Christian.” So being Christian means allowing the Jews to continue to rule, to look on as he

slices skin from our bodies and then mocks what he has done. Being a Christian means to love your neighbor as yourself! My neighbor is my blood and ethnic comrade. If I love him I must hate his enemy. He who thinks as a German must despise the Jew. The one determines the other.

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

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

That will change if we are truly Germans.

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**Background:** The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 19 November 1928. Goebbels founded the newspaper in Berlin in 1927 shortly after taking over as the party's leader there. He presents Hitler as a remarkable leader able to make all things clear, who brings out either hate or love from those around him.

**The source:** "Wenn Hitler spricht," *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 217-218. The illustration is the book's dust jacket.

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## When Hitler Speaks

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

The people have a fine sense of whether or not one is honest with them. Over the long run national instinct



cannot be deceived if a man or a movement speaks differently than it acts, if it speaks differently than it thinks. There is no doubt about Hitler. One either rejects

him absolutely or sees in him the only hope to reestablish the Reich. No one who has heard him has ever doubted that he believes the worldview he represents.

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

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

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

To the future!

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

**The source:** "Kütemeyer," *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 256-259. The illustration is the book's dust jacket.

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## Kütemeyer

by Joseph Goebbels

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One day he walked into the office and asked if there was something he could do. He was unemployed and he and his wife could barely survive on the dole. He would gladly give his services to the party. He was quiet and shy. He sat down where he was told, saying little at all about his volunteer activity. After four months of diligent labor, the files, which as the result of bans 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 Palace. As he leaves the office, he asks a comrade: "I wonder who we will bury next?"

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

At 8:15 the supervisor said: "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 that of us.

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

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

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## Germans, Buy only from the Jew!

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

Jew. Not a penny for the nobility, everything for the bank and stock exchange and department store swindlers!

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

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

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

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The following essay was published in *Der Angriff* on 7 January 1929. Goebbels discusses a range of accusations raised against him and concludes by saying that instead of making the Jews happy by defending himself, he will respond in ways they do not expect.

**The source:** “Latrinenparolen,” *Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935), pp. 38-41. The illustration is the book’s dust jacket.

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## **Toilet Graffiti**

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

Are you a morphine addict?

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

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

Answer, answer! Say something!

Are those jokes? Oh, no, the questions are in bitter earnest. That is only a small sampling of the pile of questions and inquiries that have been asked of me in written or spoken form as long as I have been in Berlin. I am supposed to answer them? Should I always be ready to refute and render powerless each new lie and slander? Does not one see how absolutely embarrassing it must be to pass on such nonsense? And is there no answer to the scandalmonger or scoundrel who spreads such wild stories other than to ask me about them? Does every tramp have the right to insult me and then hide in cowardly anonymity without anyone from the Party responding to these obvious slanders? The Party, after all,



is the target they hope to injure by attacks on my insignificant person. How often does one have to say the enemy uses mimicry, putting on a new mask every day, with the eternal Jew always behind it? Are you a morphine addict? Do I look like one? Do you visit a Jew? Is your sister (who is 16 and still in school) married to our deadly enemy? Are we crazy? Have I given reason to think that I am a stupid animal, a hypocrite and crook that any idiot can spit on to the applause of a crowd? If there was even a sliver of truth, one asks, would the Berlin newspapers that are always willing to attack us display such discreet reserve?

The CV [a Jewish organization] claims to operate systematically and quietly. The creature than has shamed and misused our people does not cross swords with us in

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

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

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

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

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**Background:** The following essay was published in *Der Angriff*, 21 January 1929. 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.

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

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## The Jew

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

political means.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## Der Führer

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

Character, will and ability, the three prerequisites to leadership, show themselves in capable people. They are either there, or they are not there. The fourth characteristic binds the other three together: luck. The leader must have luck.

He must have a blessed hand. One must be able to see that all his actions stand under the protection of a higher power. A leader can lack everything save luck. That is irreplaceable.

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

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

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

\*

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

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**Background:** Horst Wessel became the most prominent martyr of the 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 27 February 1930.

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

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## Raise High the Flag!

by Joseph Goebbels

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

\*

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

\*

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

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

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

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

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

\*

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

\*

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

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**Background:** The following 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 election. 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.

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

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## One Hundred and Seven

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

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

Raise the banner high!

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**Background:** In this 1931 article from *Der Angriff*, Goebbels discusses Christmas. He suggests that within a year the Nazis will be in power, but in the meanwhile they and their followers should avoid buying from Jews. The article is dated December 1931.

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

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## Christmas 1931

by Joseph Goebbels

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

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

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

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

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

people the last shreds of a decent existence by their unbearable and inflammatory attempt to throttle the social life of the nation. For years we have opposed this immoral effort to reduce Germany's living standard to an intolerable level while attempting to meet the impossible demands for tribute. We opposed the fathers of this policy. The people have joined us in growing numbers. The masses have deserted official Germany for the opposition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## **We are Voting for Hitler!**

by Joseph Goebbels

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

### **Hitler, the Great German**

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

### **Hitler, the Führer**

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

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

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

### **Hitler, the Prophet**

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

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

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

## **Hitler, the Fighter**

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

The System [**the 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 its due. For freedom and prosperity!

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**Background:** 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.

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

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## **Advice for a Dictator**

### **And for Those Who Want to Become One**

by Joseph Goebbels

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

11. Nothing is more foreign to dictatorial thinking than the bourgeois concept of objectivity. A dictatorship is by its very nature subjective. It takes sides by its nature. Since it is for one thing, it must be against another. If it does not do the latter, it runs the risk of having people doubt its honesty about the first.
12. A dictatorship speaks openly about what it is and what it wants. Nothing is farther from it than to hide behind a facade. It has the courage to act, but also the courage to affirm.
13. Dictatorships that hide behind the law to give themselves an appearance of legality even if their actions disagree, are short-lived. They will collapse of their own incompetence, leaving behind chaos and confusion.
14. Only those who lack the courage to join a party value being above party. When worlds collapse, when foundations shake, when revolutionary fevers spread through peoples and nations, one must join a party, one must be for or against. He who stands between will be torn apart by the contradictions, a victim of his own indecisiveness.
15. It may sound grotesque, but it is true: The nature of a dictator must be clear from his name. One cannot rule with a name like Müller or Meier. And the claim to a title must be fought for. It can not be gained by swindle.
16. A true dictator depends on himself. His false counterpart hides behind the rules and depends on legal paragraphs to justify his actions.
17. Everything great is simple and everything simple is great. The little man likes to conceal his insignificance through complexity.
18. The army exists to defend the country against external threats, not to suppress the people in the interests of a thin layer of usurpers. A dictatorship that cannot defend itself with its own supporters deserves to be displaced.
19. Primo de Rivera [**the Spanish dictator who lost power in 1930**] fell because his power rested on guns, but he earned only hatred and scorn from the people.
20. Mussolini's work is unshakable, for he is his people's idol. He gave back to Italy what has always been the surest and best foundation of a state: confidence.

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**Background:** The following essay was published in *Der Angriff* on 7 November 1932. On 6 November the Nazis had suffered a major electoral defeat. From 230 seats in the July 1932 Reichstag election they had fallen to 196. The Nazis were still the largest party in parliament, but their momentum seemed broken and there was despair throughout the party.

In his diary entry for that day Goebbels wrote: “We have suffered a blow.” Goebbels’s response was to downplay the effects of the loss and emphasize that the government had little support: “We may not overlook the fact that scarcely ten percent of the people stand behind the government. I express our position in an essay with the theme: ‘The Chancellor without a People.’ It sharply attacks the government. I want to keep the depressed mood in the party from growing too much.”

It is an interesting example of Goebbels’s response to bad news. Instead of dealing with Nazism’s decline in support, he presents the election as a resounding defeat for Reich Chancellor von Papen (who assuredly was not happy with the results).

**The source:** “Der Kanzler ohne Volk,” *Wetterleuchten. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1939), pp. 338-340.

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## The Chancellor without a People

by Joseph Goebbels

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The result of yesterday’s election is clear. The Reich Chancellor who believed that he was called by the German people has ten percent of the adult German people behind him if one assumes the German National Party and the German People’s Party are his absolutely loyal followers. As long as history has been influenced or determined by popular votes, there has never been a government leader who has suffered such a defeat. An entire nation rose up to protest a dilittantish system that tried to superficially overcome the fundamental problems of the day, attempting to claim as its own the work of others to which it had made no contribution. If this election is to have any meaning, and if the government does not wish to ignore every written and unwritten law of popular sovereignty, the cabinet will announce its resignation before this day is done.

The government attempted to ignore a devastating election in the Reichstag [in the July 1932 election]. It dissolved the Reichstag before the parties could vote, or better said used dead legal paragraphs rather than accepting the results. It appealed to the people and the people responded in a way that could not have been more embarrassing.

It was clear from the beginning that the National Socialist movement would suffer some losses in this election. In this historic phase of its development it had to throw out those who had joined it after previous elections in recent months not because they wanted to bring about a decisive political transformation through and with it, which is our goal and our historic mission. They often joined because they mistakenly believed that they could gain something, and at the moment they realized that the National Socialist movement wanted more than to gain an easy victory and then share in the distribution of government positions they switched to another camp where they believed that they could comfortably claim power that was already half theirs. When one considers the lower election participation, the losses have little weight. In any event, the losses are of no significance compared to the wide-ranging decisions that await us. The movement defended itself against the fortune-hunters in the most manly and courageous way,

throwing them off the saddle. They now lay in the dust of the political arena.

A party that displays such heroic self-denial for the sake of so great a goal, that refuses the most alluring temptations and continues its way with pride and without compromise, demonstrates its true historic stature. It proves that it can risk doing what is unpopular even under the most challenging conditions because it is necessary, and as so often in our past, lay the foundations for a still greater rise.

It may be that the Reich Chancellor will shake his head a few times and realize that his battle against the parties has only resulted in here and there galvanizing the miserable and wretched remnants of bourgeois interests for what will certainly be a very brief revival. We are not interested in arguing with him about it. The people who switch to the People's Party before the major political decisions of the near future are of little worth.

What seems to us more important, something for which one can never deny responsibility, is that the increase in the reddest Marxism, above all in the big cities, has reached a level that arouses the greatest concern. The conservative, Christian, and authoritarian policies that the Reich Chancellor promotes have in practice only encouraged Bolshevism. The Christian outlook is surely in good hands there. If one leaves things with this cabinet of social and political Reaction, there will surely come the "rule of the Soviets" and the brilliant minds of the ruling class will see the results, assuming they still have the opportunity.

The German Nationals wanted to be the comfortable beneficiaries of this effort. They were in a bed not intended for them and believed that things would come to them on a platter.. The results stand in grotesque relation to their efforts. The few seats that the DNVP won will bring them no great joy.

And when the scribbling Jews of the Scherl Verlag compare what they wanted from this election with what they actually got, they will gradually realize that one cannot fight a worldview movement that has gained its place through blood and sacrifice by partisan maneuverings and intrigues.

Be that as it may! The Communist Party has every reason to send the Reich Chancellor a friendly telegram of thanks, and if things go as they should receiving such a message would probably be his last official act. This unhappy chancellor has now suffered a complete shipwreck. He never got deeply into things, but only splashed around on the surface. His economic program is finished, his so-called "authority of state" that lacks any support at all from the people leaves him standing naked in the eyes of the public, his horsemen faltered at the hurdles, rising deficits daily speak an increasingly threatening language, Germany is absolutely alone in the world, and now the whole people with a majority of ninety percent has rejected this chancellor and his policies.

The National Socialist movement is fighting today with more determination than ever. It strode head high through the swamp of partisan slanders, this time from the forces of Reaction, and in close combat with the enemy has been only slightly injured by a glancing blow. This conflict, as with all previous ones that we had to face, has only strengthened our strength and victorious endurance.

We are determined to fight for our great goal with undiminished devotion, come what, and despite everything make 1932 the year of great decision. If it were still necessary to bring to reason and understanding those worthies who hold Germany's fate in their hands, yesterday must have done it. It was an unmistakable lesson, perhaps the last, offered to the narrow-minded stubbornness of bourgeois Reaction. There is but one conclusion: if Germany this winter is not to sink into the maelstrom of chaos, if one wants to give the people justice and the nation what it deserves, appoint Hitler and put power in his hands.

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**Background:** *The Nazi-Sozi* is one of Goebbels's earliest publications, written before he moved to Berlin. First published in 1926, it was revised and reissued by the party's Eher Verlag in 1931. I am translating the 1927 edition. It provides an interesting example of early Nazi propaganda, including some themes dropped as the party grew. I don't know what editorial changes were made in later editions.

It takes the form of a dialogue between Goebbels and a rather dense fellow German, whose comments are indented.

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

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## ***The Nazi-Sozi***

by Joseph Goebbels

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### **Ten Commandments for Each National Socialist**

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

1. Your fatherland is Germany. Love it more than anything else, and more in deed than in word.
  2. Germany's enemies are your enemies; hate them with your whole heart.
  3. Each people's comrade, even the poorest, is a part of Germany; love him as you love yourself.
  4. Ask for yourself only duties. Then Germany will regain its rights.
  5. Be proud of Germany; You may take pride in a fatherland for which millions gave their lives.
  6. He who insults Germany insults you and your dead. Punch him.
  7. Don't cause mischief, but where someone denies you your rights, God gives you the right to use your fists.
  8. Do not be a crackpot anti-Semite, but keep away from the *Berliner Tageblatt*.
  9. Live your life such that you will not need to be ashamed in a New Germany.
  10. Believe in the future, for that is the only way you will gain it.
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### **No Politics**

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

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

“Why? I don’t understand.”

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

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

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

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

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

## The Economy and Politics

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

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

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

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

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

## The Nature of Politics

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

## Youth and Politics

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

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

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

## Class Struggle

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

How are you any different than Marxism?”

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

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

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

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

**That is why we call ourselves a workers' party!**

## Social and Socialist

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

We want our rights according to nature and the law.

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

**That is socialism?**

## **The Class State**

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

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

## **Hand and Mind**

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Nationalist and Socialist**

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

## **Marxist Desperation**

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

“Never! Because:

1. He fought for 60 years **not for socialism**, but for **Marxism. Marxism**, whose theories are fatal to peoples and

races, **is the exact opposite of living socialism.**

2. Marxism was never the political idea of a German worker. He only accepted this jumble of Jewish ideas because he had no other choice in his struggle for the freedom of his class.

3. Marxism is the death not only of nationally-minded peoples, but above all of the class that fights with total devotion for its realization: the working class.

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

## Anti-Semitism

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

“You miss the point. Try to think logically:

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

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

The same is true of the Jew.

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

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

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

## Monarchy or Republic?

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

“We are neither.

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

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

However, we do say:

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

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

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

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

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

“Neither the one nor the other:

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

## Our Program

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

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

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

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

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

**A battle for freedom and prosperity!”**

## Our Demand

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

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

1. If he wants to be free, he will have to sacrifice. No one will make him free. He must do it himself. Since freedom is the greatest good, he must be willing to give everything he has: **Life itself.**

2. The goal is always directly related to the resources. Only liars promise heaven in exchange for a membership book.

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

That is what the German worker must do.

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

## The Bourgeoisie

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

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

1. The N.S.D.A.P. is not a petty bourgeois movement, but rather a protest against the corruption (*Verbürgerlichung*) of socialism in social democracy. Our leaders do not belong to the petty bourgeois, but rather the likes of Scheidemann, Leinert, Noske, Bauer do — although they have been grand bourgeois for a long time.

2. Name one **worn-out** officer, student, or doctor in the N.S.D.A.P. leadership. My friend, if an officer, student, or doctor is a Marxist leader — I could name a hundred of them for you — he is a ‘worker leader.’ If he is an N.S.D.A.P. leader, he is a ‘worn-out creature.’

3. You ask how **they** could free the worker! If your question is justified, the worker will first have to throw out piles of rotten Jewish literature from the labor movement, which insults labor leaders and in reality misuses the labor movement for their own vile goals. And just look around: Do you see **‘the worker’** who is supposed to free the worker all by himself? What about ‘workers’ like Scheidemann, Wels, Noske, Bauer, and all the rest? They have all become big fat members of the bourgeoisie. Their battle against the bourgeoisie was only from envy, and as soon as they joined the bourgeoisie themselves they stopped fighting and were no longer envious.

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

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

## Proletariat and Working Class

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

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

**We want the Germany of labor.** What does that mean? We want a Germany in which labor and accomplishment



are the highest moral and political values. We are today a workers' party in the best sense of the word. Once we have taken over the state, Germany will become a **state of labor**, a **workers' state**."

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

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

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

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

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

**German workers of the mind and hand, unite!"**

## **International and National**

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

"Exactly! We finally understand each other."

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

"My friend, I think that everything I've been saying has been in vain. We can never come to an understanding. Try to think logically:

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

2. Of course the battle against this world power must be fought internationally, and it would be short-sighted of us not to support every movement throughout the world that joins our front. The goal of this battle, however, is not a world socialist republic — there never was such a thing and never will be. It exists only in the brains of Jews who betray workers, and in the minds of mislead German workers. The goal is the establishment of new national,

socialist states. And we do not expect all that much from the common struggle of the peoples against the International of money through international methods. We know all the barriers that stand between understanding among peoples. And the International of capital will not be stupid enough to enslave all the peoples in the same way and at the same time. The turn of one after the other will come. No one will think of the others. Each people will hope to save itself by giving in, until it is too late and it is devoured by the capitalist Moloch.

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

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

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

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

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

We understand that, and we want to act accordingly. We want to forge the weapons that will help of German people survive the struggle for existence in this hard world of battle in which the strong triumph over the weak.

**We call that national!”**

## **Production and the Social Problem**

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

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

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

To this end, we demand:

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

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

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

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

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

## Parliament and Parties

"Does this require a new party? Why have you not taken this program some one of the parliamentary parties? Surely they would be ready to argue for it."

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

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

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

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

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

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

What do you have in mind?"

## Dictatorship and Corporate State

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## The Will to Power

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

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

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

What then?! Then we clench our teeth and get ready. They we march against this state, then we risk the final great step for Germany. We will change from revolutionaries of the word to revolutionaries in deed.

### We will make a revolution!

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

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

“We are not talking about an action, my friend. You are thinking 1918 and Kapp [**the 1918 Kapp Putsch**]. Those

were revolts, *Putsches*, soldier strikes, nothing more.

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

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

### **The will to power!**

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

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

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

## **War and Pacifism**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

earth.

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

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

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

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

## Germany's Freedom

“How will it all end?”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**Background:** This widely distributed Nazi pamphlet first appeared in 1929. I am working from a 1932 copy, and have not compared it with the first version, but it does not look as if significant changes were made as it was reissued. The title, loosely translated, is “Those Damned Nazis.” Literally, it translates as something like “those cursed swastika lads,” but that does not really work in English. 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 Mjöltnir, Goebbels’ cartoonist, three of which I include here. Mjöltnir also produced some of the most familiar Nazi posters.

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

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## Those Damned Nazis

by Joseph Goebbels

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### Why Are We Nationalists?

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

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

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



**Explanation:** A tied-up Nazi watches while a Jew holding 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 a policeman assist. The policeman is likely Polish (since Germany lost territory to Poland as a result of the Treaty of Versailles).

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Socialism will become reality when the Fatherland is free.

## Why Are We Socialists?

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

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

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

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

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

threaten our national existence and thereby the possibility of the coming **socialist national state**.



**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 bourgeoisie and Marxism are responsible for failing to reach both goals, domestic unity and international freedom. No matter how national and social these two forces present themselves, they are the sworn enemies of a socialist national state.

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

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

**We are against Marxism, but for true socialism!**

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

**We are for the National Socialist German Workers' Party!**

## **Why a Workers' Party?**

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

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

We call ourselves a **workers' party** because we want to rescue the word **work** from its current definition and give it back its original meaning. **Anyone who creates value is a creator, that is, a worker**. We refuse to distinguish

**kinds of work. Our only standard is whether the work serves the whole, or at least does not harm it, or if it is harmful. Work is service.** If it works against the general welfare, then it is **treason against the fatherland.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

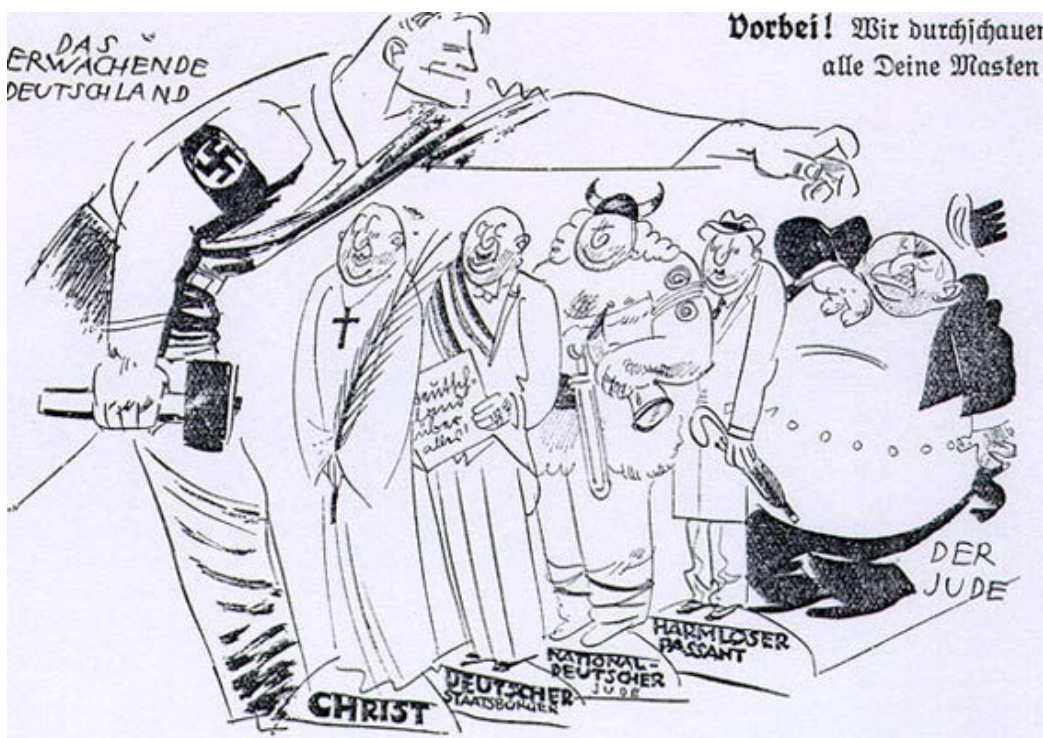
Therefore we National Socialists call ourselves a **worker's party.**

When our victorious flags fly before us, we sing:

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

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

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



**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 an apparently 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 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, cures, peoples and states. He has somehow **stolen** everything he deals in. When he **attacks a state** he is a **revolutionary**. As soon as **he holds power**, he preaches **peace and order** so that he can devour his conquests in comfort.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is not true that we eat Jews for breakfast.

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

**Things would be different if we behaved as Germans.**

## Revolutionary Demands

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

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

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

**He demands:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**That is what we demand!**

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

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

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## Make Way for Young Germany

by Joseph Goebbels

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### My fellow citizens:

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

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

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

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

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

These gentlemen have recently had a small taste of what is to come in Prussia. What must Severing, Braun, and Grzesinski be thinking? The good old days at Aranjuez **[the site of the Spanish Royal Palace — this is a contemporary reference that I do not understand]** are gone. They were ever so comfortable. They had fourteen



years in power, fourteen years to translate their program into reality. They took power as socialists, as men of the people, and the broad masses gave them power. There has probably never been a system that began with as much support as this new government had in 1918. They had power, they had signed an honorable peace treaty, they wanted to realize socialism, to bring on an age of freedom, beauty, and dignity. We lost the war, they said, but the people won. When the Treaty of Versailles was forced on the people, they said that the rich would pay for it, but the people would enjoy social progress. They wrote a constitution in Weimar. It was supposed to give the people freedom of belief and freedom of opinion, and they ruled under this constitution for fourteen years. They signed treaties they knew could not be fulfilled, and at home they oppressed the nation by brute force and an iron hand.

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

Mr. Höltermann declared a few weeks ago that all the Iron Front **[a coalition of parties opposing the 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 had 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 gentlemen say that one may criticize, but only in moderation. Criticism must be directed against mistakes that must be criticized. If the government’s mistakes are minor, one can criticize gently. But when the government’s mistakes endanger the entire nation, the opposition has to do more than open its mouth; it has to yell. If the government envies our comfortable position in the opposition, they are free at any time to give up the burdens of office for the pleasures of opposition. They need only resign their offices. As long as they sit firm, however, we can do nothing other than criticize them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and livelihoods, as our Führer was hauled into court and our S.A. men sent to jail.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**Background:** 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 1928 speech to party members in Berlin.

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

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## **Goebbels' Speech at the 1927 Nuremberg Rally**

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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 that which is 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, but 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, but 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, but rather to use their misery to build the 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.

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**Background:** 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.

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

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## Knowledge and Propaganda

by Joseph Goebbels

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### **My dear fellow party members!**

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

You see how an idea spreads and becomes a worldview, and how the bearer, the individual, reaches out to form a community, and how an organization, then a movement grows from the individual. The idea is no longer buried in the heart and mind of an individual. Now there are four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, fifty, eighty, a hundred, and ever more. That is the secret of ideas; they are like a wildfire that cannot be restrained. They are like a gas that seeps through everything. Where an idea finds entry, it enters, and soon that person is influencing others. The others

cannot stop it. They may believe they can stop the fire by force. They may even be able to do so for two, or ten, twenty, or fifty years. But that is not significant in the larger course of world history. It is irrelevant if something happens today or tomorrow, or even years in the future.

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

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

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

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

You can see that a movement needs an organization if it is to conquer the state — and it must conquer the state if it wants to do something of positive and historic significance. I have often met the kind of wandering apostle who says: "Well, everything you are doing is fine, but you really must also take a stand against foreign words in the German language." And another comes along who says: "Well, everything you say is good, but you must have a point in your program that says allopathy is dangerous, and you must support homeopathy." If the movement were led by such apostles, the Jew would end up in charge. The Jew would find something new every day until nothing was left. It is not the task of a revolutionary fighting movement to settle the dispute between allopathy and homeopathy, rather its task is to take power. The movement must have a program such that every honest fighter can stand behind it. Now, it is certainly true that the modern German cultural establishment produces every manner of nonsense. I know that this nonsense is poisoning the German national soul. There are those who say: "Something has to happen. You have to do something. If you want to fight the movie industry, you must build your own theater,

even if it at first has only the most primitive equipment. And if you see that the children are being poisoned by what they read in school, you must begin to win children's souls and give them the antidote." My reply is simple: You can spend ten years giving the antidote to the poison that is produced by a badly led cultural establishment, but a single decree from the Ministry of Culture can destroy all your work. If you had spent that ten years winning fighters for the movement, the movement would have conquered the Ministry of Culture! Everything else is mere piecemeal.

If a movement wins political power, it can do those positive things it wants to do. Only then does it have the power to protect its accomplishments. At the moment a movement or party wins control of the state, its worldview becomes the state and its party becomes the nation. The nation is not the 60 million people who live in it. That is a confused mixture. One says yea, the other nay. That is not a nation. A nation is characterized by consciousness. Instinct alone is not enough. Only when I am aware that I am a member of the nation, when I am consciously a German, do I belong to the German people. The Great Elector did not say: "Think and remember that you are a German." Rather, he said: "Consider well that you are a German." Consideration is at the level of consciousness. Such consciousness belongs to the entire nation. Adolf Hitler rightly answered the court in Munich in this way when he was asked: "How could you think of establishing a dictatorship over sixty million with such a tiny minority?" His reply: "If an entire people [*Volk*] has become cowardly, and there are only a thousand left who want something great, and who have the power to transform the state, then these thousand are the people." 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, then it has the power to transform the state. I am the last to complain that the Marxists rule us today. As long as we do not have the strength to overcome them, they have the political right to rule us. I am surprised how little they use that right. I would do things differently. That is their tragic misunderstanding of their own worldview. I do not complain that the gentlemen of the Berlin Police use their power against us, only that they call themselves democrats and claim that they allow freedom of thought and of speech. That is nonsense. That is lying hypocrisy, for in truth these gentlemen are dictators.

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

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

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

thought he came from the nuthouse. He gradually realized that the methods that worked with friends and comrades do not work with strangers.

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

Let me give an example.

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

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

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

As propaganda draws an ever-growing following to the idea, the idea broadens, becomes more flexible. It no longer stays in a few heads, but wants to include everything. At that moment it becomes a comprehensive program. We can happily see that that is the case in our movement. You will never find millions of people willing to die for a book. But millions of people are willing to die for a gospel, and our movement is becoming more and more a gospel. All that we have come to know in our individual lives is joining to form a great faith that lives unshakably in our hearts. Each of us is willing, if necessary, to give his all for it. No one is willing to die for the 8-hour day. But people are

willing to die so that Germany will belong to the Germans. What Adolf Hitler prophesied in 1919 is becoming clearer every day: "Freedom and Prosperity!" The movement is increasingly freeing itself from the all too human, and becoming a powerful force. The time is coming when people will not ask us what we think about the 8-hour day; but rather when Germany is seized with desperation they will ask: "Can you give us back faith?" If a movement has brought the idea from the individual to a worldview, building in the end a clear gospel for which each is ready to die, that movement is near victory. That does not happen in the study, but rather in battle, in bitter battle each day with the enemy, bringing him to see how he has led the nation down the wrong path. I must say that I learn the most from reading the *Berliner Tageblatt* [A newspaper hostile 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 that, it is good; if not, it is bad. The German Nationalists claimed that Hitler's propaganda before 9 November 1923 was too loud, too noisy, too popular. Hitler replied: "Munich must become National Socialist. If I achieve that my propaganda will have been good. If I had wanted to make you happy, it would have been bad. But that was not my intention." You cannot evaluate propaganda in midcourse, but rather you have to wait until it reaches its maker's goal. You cannot say that our propaganda was wrong because the government banned it. That is false. Under Jewish police officials, our propaganda would be wrong if it were not banned, for that means it would be harmless. The fact that it is banned is the best evidence that we are dangerous. If the ban is lifted, do not come to me and say that the Jew has seen the error of his ways. It will be lifted when the Jew sees that it is not achieving his purpose. You can say what you want. The Jew will put away his dagger only when he sees that it is better not to use it against a propaganda method, or when he sees that the dagger has already done its duty.

Success is the important thing. Propaganda is not a matter for average minds, but rather a matter for practitioners. It is not supposed to be lovely or theoretically correct. I do not care if I give wonderful, aesthetically elegant speeches, or speak so that women cry. The point of a political speech is to persuade people of what we think right. I speak differently in the provinces than I do in Berlin, and when I speak in Bayreuth, I say different things than I say in the Pharus Hall [A meeting hall the Nazis often used in Berlin]. That is a matter of practice, not of theory. We do not want to be a movement of a few straw brains, but rather a movement that can conquer the broad masses. Propaganda should be popular, not intellectually pleasing. It is not the task of propaganda to discover intellectual truths. I find them by thinking, or at my desk, anywhere but in a meeting hall. That is where I transmit them. I do not enter the meeting hall to discover intellectual truths, but to persuade others of what I think to be right. I learn methods there that I can use to reach others with what I have found to be right. The speaker or propagandist must first understand the idea. He cannot do that in the middle of making propaganda. He must start with it. Through daily contact with the masses, he learns how to communicate that idea. It is not the task of propaganda to discover knowledge, but to transmit knowledge. It must adjust to those it wishes to reach with that knowledge. The propagandist's speeches or posters that are aimed at farmers will be different than those aimed at employers; those aimed at doctors will be different than those aimed at patients. He will adjust his propaganda to fit those he is speaking to. You can see that all the critical standards used by other parties to evaluate propaganda miss the point, and that most complaints about the NSDAP's propaganda result from a false understanding of propaganda. If someone tells me: "Your propaganda has no civilized standards," I know there is no point in even talking with him.

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

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

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

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

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

The task of the leaders and followers is to drive this knowledge ever deeper into the hearts of our shattered nation. Each must make that clear, each must think things through. Everything we do must be clear. We will never give up. If everything is clear, one does not have to be an outstanding speaker. If he can say it all in a few words, he is a propagandist. If we have an army of such propagandists, from the littlest to the Führer himself, and if each spreads

our crystal-clear knowledge to the masses, the day will come which our worldview takes over the state, when our organization seizes the reins of power, when we are no longer members of a slave colony, but rather citizens of a political state that we ourselves have formed.

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

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**Background:** This article comes is the lead from the first issue of the Nazi Party's central office for propaganda (*Reichspropagandaleitung*). It lays out Goebbels' public thinking on propaganda in 1931.

**The source:** "Wille und Weg," *Wille und Weg* (later *Unser Wille und Weg*), 1 (1931), pp. 2-5.

## Will and Way

by Joseph Goebbels

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Today, we have a tight network of National Socialist propaganda throughout the country. It should be clear to any observer that we are preparing not only for the tasks of today, but for the future. National Socialist propaganda serves to educate the people. Its task is not only to win them for the tasks of today, but to assist in the transformation of the character of the broad masses. We are convinced that a new politics in Germany is possible only after a complete transformation of our national character, after an entirely new national way of thinking. This is our most pressing task, and in working for these tasks today we are doing the best preparatory work for the great political tasks of tomorrow.

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

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

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

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

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

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**Background:** The monthly periodical for the Nazi Party's propagandists was *Unser Wille und Weg*, for which Goebbels wrote a monthly discussion of the situation for its early years. This is his essay from the August 1931 issue. It outlines the major Nazi propaganda themes at the time. It contained nothing confidential, but is a good summary of the Nazi propaganda line at the time.

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

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## The Situation

by Joseph Goebbels

---

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

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

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

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

\*

It is the crisis that we have predicted for years, that we said was the inevitable and unavoidable consequence of the tribute policies that our leaders have followed since 1918. The reparations crisis, as the journalists call it, can no longer be concealed. When the largest banks fail, when public financial institutions close their doors, when the government requires the authority of the



Reich President to rule under Article 48 [this was the constitutional provision that allowed the chancellor to govern without a parliamentary majority, assuming the Reich President was agreeable] with emergency decrees to oppose the financial catastrophe

that approaches with sinister certainty, one no longer needs rhetoric to prove that the German people stands at the brink of ruin, that it is only a question of time and pace until this catastrophe becomes total.

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

That crisis has come. True, Brüning's cabinet has succeeded in keeping their heads above water through draconic measures and emergency decrees, but there is no doubt that the least difficulty in public life will lead to an intolerable situation that will make clear to everyone what is today hidden behind the facade of a creeping dictatorship.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\*

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

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

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

\*

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

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

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

\*

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

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

\*

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

\*

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

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

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

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

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

\*

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

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

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

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

1 August 1931.

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## GERMAN PROPAGANDA ARCHIVE

**Background:** The Nazis made effective use of posters from their earliest days. This is a fairly representative collection of pre-1933 posters. Many are courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks, who photographed them at the German Federal Archives in Koblenz. A [collection of post-1933 posters](#) is also available on the German Propaganda Archive.

### Pre-1933 Nazi Posters



1. This poster announces a Nazi meeting in Munich in May 1920. Hitler is to speak on the topic “What do we want?” The text below the title reads: “Citizens! Do not believe that the Germany of misfortune and misery, the nation of corruption and usury, the land of Jewish corruption, can be saved by parties that claim to stand on a foundation of facts. Never!” Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.

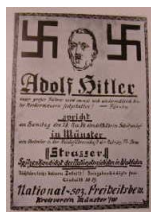


2. This is a typical early Nazi poster from 1921. The first Nazi posters has bright red backgrounds and a lot of text. This one announces that Hitler will speak, gives the topic, and notes that Jews are prohibited from attending. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler wrote:

**“We chose red for our posters, since it is vivid and was the color that most aroused our opponents. It forced them to notice and remember us.”**



3. This poster seems to be dated 1924, a period during which the Nazi Party was banned after the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch. The caption is: “Germany’s Liberation.” It likely came from one of the substitute parties Nazis founded to continue the movement while the Nazi Party was illegal. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks



4. This poster, an amateurish effort, dates to 1924. It says: “**Adolf Hitler**, our great leader, is still illegally being held behind bars. **Strasser**, his representative in the Reich leadership of the National Socialist Freedom Movement, will speak for him in Münster on Saturday, 29 November 1924, at 8:30 p.m. at the Schützenhof. He is the lead candidate of the National Socialists in Westphalia. Non-Germans not admitted! Disabled veterans free. Admission 30 pfennig.” Source: *Der Gau Westfalen-Nord* (Detmold: N.S. Verlag, 1939), p. 73.





5. This poster was by “Mjölfnir,” Goebbels’ artist from Berlin, whose real name was Hans Schweitzer (1901-1980). The caption translates as “Despite the ban, not dead.” Its date must be 1928, a period when most party activities in Berlin were banned. This striking poster apparently was not used. The Nazi book I take it from claims that it was previously unpublished.



6. I think this dates to 1927, when Hitler was prohibited from speaking in most of Germany. The text translates:

“**Who is Adolf Hitler?** The man from the people, for the people! The German front soldier who risked his life in 48 battles for Germany! **What does Adolf Hitler want?** Freedom and food for every decent working German! The gallows for profiteers, black marketeers and exploiters, regardless of religious faith or race! **Why is Adolf Hitler not allowed to speak?** Because he is ruthless in uncovering the rulers of the German economy, the international bank Jews and their lackeys, the Democrats, Marxists, Jesuits, and Free Masons! Because he wants to free the workers from the domination of big money! Working Germans! Demand the lifting of the illegal ban on his speaking!

Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



7. This poster advertises an anti-Semitic Nazi meeting in Frankfurt in 1928. The chief speaker is the later notorious Roland Freisler. It is supposed to be satirical. The text translates:

No more anti-Semitism! The nonsense of the uneducated, the “socialism of the fool,” must finally be eliminated in Frankfurt. Anti-Semitism must be absolutely abolished! The editor of an anti-Semitic newspaper cannot be allowed to reveal members of the Jewish race to the public, to uncover their misdeeds, and to call for the state attorney to do something. Words are inadequate to express one’s distress when the editor of the “Frankfurter Beobachter,” a filthy anti-Semitic rag, publicly insults a priest of Israel, Rabbi Georg Salzberger. He must be punished. In the first trial, this editor has already been sentenced to two months in prison. He appealed his sentence. The appeal will be heard on 16 October. Everyone come on Tuesday, 16 October at 8 p.m. to the Flora Room, Rotlintstr. 3, to hear the verdict. The editor’s attorney, Dr. Roland Freisler from Kassel, will **not** speak on behalf of the Central Federation of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith. His topic: “Special Interest Justice or the Rule of Law?” Editor Gutterer will speak on “Are the Jews our Misfortune?”

National Socialist German Workers’ Party

Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



8. The Nazis viewed this as one of their best posters. It, too, is by Mjöltnir. The caption translates: “National Socialism: The Organized Will of the Nation.” Goebbels claimed that Mjöltnir perfected the art of drawing the Nazi Storm Trooper.



9. For a period in the 1920’s, Hitler was forbidden to address public meetings in much of Germany, which was a major blow to the Nazi propaganda apparatus. This poster, by cartoonist Philipp Rupprecht (most known for his cartoons for Julius Streicher’s *Der Stürmer*) is captioned: He alone of two billion people on earth may not speak in Germany.” Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



10. A variant of the above. This one announces that Goebbels (with the name in an unusual spelling) will speak at a protest meeting. Since he is not yet listed as *Gauleiter* of Berlin, this has to be 1925 or 1926. The words to either side of the Hitler drawing state that crooks can speak anywhere in Germany, but Hitler is banned. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



11. I’m not sure of the date of this Mjöltnir poster. It’s for a provincial election in Saxony. Since the Nazis are List 7, it must be 1930 or earlier. The caption: “Free Saxony from Marxist trash!”



12. This is a poster for the April 1929 provincial election in Saxony. The Dawes Plan was an international agreement dealing with the matter of German reparations payments from World War I. The caption reads: “Break the Dawes Chains.” Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.

13. Another election poster from 1929 Saxon campaign. The caption reads: “Two million dead. Did they die in vain? Never! Front soldiers! Adolf Hitler is showing you the way!” The claim is that Hitler will redeem Germany from the loss of World War I. Courtesy of



Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



14. This poster is from the September 1930 Reichstag election, in which the Nazis made their electoral breakthrough. The caption: “The people rise! They vote List 9.” Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



15. This is also from the September 1930 Reichstag election. The caption: “Freedom and Bread.” Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



16. Another poster on the same theme from September 1930. The text translates as: “Despite the ban, not dead. The German who loves freedom belongs in the National Socialist S.A.”



17. This vivid poster from the September 1930 Reichstag election summarizes Nazi ideology in a single image. A Nazi sword kills a snake, the blade passing through a red Star of David. The red words coming from the snake are: usury, Versailles, unemployment, war guilt lie, Marxism, Bolshevism, lies and betrayal, inflation, Locarno, Dawes Pact, Young Plan, corruption, Barmat, Kutistker, Sklarek **[the last three Jews involved in major financial scandals]**, prostitution, terror, civil war. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



18. This 1930 poster was produced for local groups to use in advertising their meetings. The poster reads: “Come to the NSDAP Meeting.” There is room to fill in the date, time and speaker. At the bottom, there are the following notes:

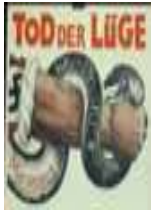
Admission Price:  
 War injured and the unemployed half price  
 Jews not admitted

Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



19. I am not sure of the date of this poster, but I'd guess 1930. The text reads:  
 The Red War. Mother or Comrade? Man or Machine? God or the Devil?  
 Blood or God? Race or Bastard? Popular music or jazz? National Socialism  
 or Bolshevism?

Courtesy of Robert D. Brooks.



20. I am not sure of the exact date of this poster, which comes from the 1930-1932 period. The caption is: "Death to the Lie." A strong Nazi fist grips a snake with "Marxism" and "High Finance" on it. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



21. This is a 1931 poster on a referendum to dissolve the Prussian parliament. The caption reads: "Come out for the Referendum on 9 August." Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



22. A January 1932 poster, announcing 16 simultaneous mass meetings in Berlin on the theme of unemployment. The text: "5,600,000 unemployed demand work! The need of the unemployed is the need of the whole people! On Friday evening, 15 January 1932, at 8 p.m., there will be sixteen mass meetings for the unemployed." The meeting places are listed, with a note that admission for the employed is 20 pfenning, 10 pfenng for the unemployed. Courtesy of the [University of Minnesota Library](http://www.library.umn.edu).



23. I think this Mjölfnir poster is from 1932. The caption: "Enough! Vote Hitler!"  
 Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.

24. This Mjölfnir poster comes from the March/April 1932 presidential elections. The text in red at the top translates as:

Grzesinski [**the head of the Berlin Police**] says: "How shameful is is for the German people that this foreigner Hitler . . . can speak about Germany's future . . . without someone chasing this man away with a dog whip!"



Below the text reads: “Front soldiers. German men and women!! Give the answer! Hitler Reich President!” The point is that, until just before the election in 1932, Hitler was an Austrian citizen. The poster suggests that as a decorated soldier in the German army, the complaint is absurd. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



25. I think this is also from 1932. It too deals with Hitler’s citizenship. The caption: “A front soldier earns his German citizenship. All German front soldiers who, like Adolf Hitler, earned and proved their citizenship through blood and the risk of their lives, read the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the newspaper of their comrade Adolf Hitler. Fight for the truth! Death to the lie! Each German man and woman will vote for Adolf Hitler!” Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



26. This poster comes from the 1932 presidential elections, but I am not sure which round. The caption on top, in pseudo-Hebraic lettering, translates as: “We are voting for Hindenburg!” The pictures are of a variety of Jewish socialists and communists, sex researchers, etc. The caption beneath: “Look at these faces and you’ll know where you belong!” The pictures are of leading Nazis. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



27. I think this dates to the Spring 1932 presidential elections, but I’m not absolutely sure. The caption: “Workers of the mind and hand! Vote for the front soldier Adolf Hitler!” Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



28. This, too, looks to be from the 1932 presidential elections. The caption: “We are for Adolf Hitler!” Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.

29. This poster comes from the April 1932 German presidential election, a run-off between Hitler and Hindenburg. The top reads: One man against the party cadavers and special interests!” To the left is a picture of a huge Hitler head towering over the 11 million who voted for him in the first round of the election in March 1932. To the left are the various parties that together made up Hindenburg’s supporters. At the bottom the caption reads: “Give your vote to the man of strength — Hitler.”



The author of the standard Nazi book on posters did not like this one. He writes:

**“Hitler’s head looks like a soft-focused picture of an American film actor. This picture destroys the effect. ‘A man of strength’ must look like the Führer in the poster ‘We are taking the fate of the nation in our hands.’ [See below] ... as our Führer really appears. The only explanation for this picture is that it was aimed at women. Women, who make up a major part of the electorate, as is well known, are more influenced by superficialities.”**



30. This 1932 poster for the March presidential election gives an entirely different impression of Hitler. Dressed in a suit rather than his party uniform, he is saying: ‘We are taking the fate of the nation in our hands!’ At the bottom, ‘Hitler becomes Reich President.’

The author of the book cited above thinks this is a good poster, but notes that many women did not like it because:

**“They thought Hitler’s expression was too contorted and the general layout too communist.”**

He also notes that Hitler’s hand is poorly drawn, and that the poster “promises” success in the election, which aroused false hopes in supporters, hopes dashed when Hitler failed to win.



31. I think this dates to the Spring 1932 presidential elections, but I’m not absolutely sure. The caption reads: “Germans! Give your answer to the System! Elect Hitler!” “The System” was the pejorative Nazi term for the Weimar Republic. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



32. This also is probably from the Spring 1932 elections. The text: “German votes for Hitler! The fighter for freedom and prosperity!” Courtesy of the [University of Minnesota Library](http://www.library.umn.edu/).



33. This looks to be from the April 1932 presidential election. The text: “Hitler! The faith and hope of millions!” The rest announces the time, place, and speakers at a Nazi meeting. Courtesy of the [University of Minnesota Library](http://www.library.umn.edu/).



34. This poster dates to the 24 April 1932 Prussian provincial election.



35. Another poster from the 1932 Prussian provincial election.



36. This is a poster for a 1932 meeting by Julius Streicher, the leading Nazi Jew-baiter. The topic translates as: “The Jews are our Misfortune!” [Eight other posters](#) promoting Streicher’s meetings from the period are also available.



37. A poster for the July 1932 Reichstag election. The caption says: “The workers have awakened!” Various other parties are trying to persuade the worker to side with them, without success. The small chap in the center with the red hat represents the Marxists (note the Jew whispering in his ear). His piece of paper says: “Nazi barons! Emergency decrees. Lies and slanders. The big-wigs are living high on the hog, the people are wretched.”

During the Weimar Republic, a party’s position on the ballot depended on its strength. The higher the position on the list, the better the party had done in previous elections.



38. From the July 1932 Reichstag election. The text translates as:

“Open the door to freedom! Put a strong man at the helm! Out of the swamp! Forward with the powers of renewal! Vote National Socialist List 2”



39. From the July 1932 Reichstag election. The poster shows a Nazi pile driver hitting the party’s opponents. The gentlemen in black represents the Catholic Center Party, the one to the right the Marxist parties. The poster suggests the two are tied together in an unholy alliance against National Socialism. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



39a. This is not a poster, but rather a postage-stamp-sized sticker. This is probably from one of the 1932 Reichstag elections. The text translates: “Death to Marxism. Join us!” The three parallel arrows on the snake are the symbol of the “Iron Front,” an anti-Nazi coalition established on 16 December 1931.



40. From the July 1932 Reichstag election. The text translates as:“We women vote for List 2: the National Socialists.”



41. From the July 1932 Reichstag election. The text translates as:“Over 300 National Socialists died for you — murdered by Marxist subhumanity!!! For work and food vote Adolf Hitler List 2.” The reference is to Nazis killed during the political battles on the streets and in political meetings. The Christian imagery is clear. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



42. From the July 1932 Reichstag election. The top part of the poster is missing. The remainder translates: “Bolshevism. It has raised its fist, dripping with the blood of German men. Now it wants to strike again, destroying everything and eliminating every form of order. Stop! That is what we demand! The Bolshevist beast has lived only from murder in recent weeks. Everywhere, blood marks their fearsome path. Altona [a suburb of Hamburg]! 16 dead! Including two defenseless women! German people! Enough is enough! Put an end to the bloodshed! Give power to Hitler! That will make a quick end of Bolshevism! Men and women! Free Germany from this red plague! Vote National Socialist. List 2. Courtesy of the [University of Minnesota Library](https://www.library.umn.edu/).



43. This 1932 poster makes the claim: “Only Hitler.” I’m not sure which election this one is from.





44. This interesting poster appeared in 1932. The usual approach with posters is to use color to make them stand out. This one stands out because of Hitler's disembodied face floating on a black background.



45. This poster was by "Mjöltnir," It is from 1932, probably from the November Reichstag election, but I am not absolutely sure.



46. I'm not sure of the date of this Mjöltnir poster. The caption: "Germany Awakes!" Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



47. This poster comes from the November 1932 Reichstag election. The text: "Free the soil. Farmers vote for Adolf Hitler List 1." Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks



48. This poster comes from the November 1932 Reichstag election. The text: "The people vote for List 1: The National Socialists." Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks



49. "Work and Food," this poster says. It was used for the November 1932 Reichstag election. The Nazis viewed this as one of their most effective posters.



49a. "Get rid misery, get rid of the Jews," this poster says. It was used for the November 1932 Reichstag election. I assume the original poster was in color, but I take this from *Der Stürmer*, #44/1932.



50. The caption of this poster for November 1932 reads: "We are building the new Germany. Think on their sacrifice. Vote National Socialist." The poster emphasizes that many of Hitler's followers were injured or killed in political battles. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



51. Yet another November 1932 poster. The caption: "Work and food through National Socialism." Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



52. Another poster on the same theme, this one featuring a Storm Trooper. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



53. This poster is from the November 1932 election. The text: "Papen is crippling the economy! Every evening one hears on the radio that more workers are being laid off. The result: In the last 14 days, unemployment has risen by about 50,000. In plain language, that means Papen's economic program has failed. Away with him and his program for the ruling class! Come to Hitler!" Courtesy of the [University of Minnesota Library](https://www.lib.umn.edu/digital/collection/p16118coll1/id/100000).



54. This vivid poster is from the November 1932 election. The text: "Bravo, Herr von Papen! Keep up those emergency decrees, and the pension and pay cuts. That will give us communists our last chance.' Is that to be what happens? No! Only one man can rescue us from Bolshevism: Adolf Hitler!" Courtesy of the [University of Minnesota Library](https://www.lib.umn.edu/digital/collection/p16118coll1/id/100000).



55. Another November 1932 poster on the communist threat, with anti-Semitic elements as well. The text: “Marxism is the guardian angel of capitalism. Vote National Socialist.” Courtesy of the [University of Minnesota Library](#).



56. A poster from the November 1932 election, referring to the governmental turmoil of 1932. The text: “The prize question: Which of the three governments is the right one? Answer: None of the three. They must make room for Adolf Hitler.” Courtesy of the [University of Minnesota Library](#).



57. I don't know the date of this poster, though it has to be before 1933. The religious imagery is evident. Courtesy of Dr. Robert D. Brooks.



58. This is one of the last Nazi posters issued before Hitler's takeover. It is from the January 1933 election campaign in the small German state of Lippe. The Nazis threw everything they had into the campaign since they needed to demonstrate that the party had not lost momentum. The translation: “Free Hermann's land.’ Hermann was an early Germanic chieftan who defeated the Romans in 9 A.D. The poster is from an exhibition by the [Detmold City Archive](#).

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**Background:** I have a peculiar fondness for Fritz Reinhardt. My first published scholarly essay included a mention of his efforts to build the *Rednerschule der NSDAP* that trained about 6,000 Nazi speakers through correspondence courses in the years before 1933. In this pamphlet he claims that the Young Plan on German reparations would force the export of Germans to work for the French, making the astonishing and unsupported claim that 20 to 30 million Germans would be sent abroad.

**The source:** Fritz Reinhardt, *Menschenexport in Sicht!* (Herrsching am Ammersee: Verlag Fritz Reinhardt, October 1931).

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## Human Export Is Coming!

by Fritz Reinhardt

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### 1. Young Plan — Human Export

I laid out the inevitable results of the provisions and methods that the Young Plan will have on our German people in the pamphlet *Youngplan—Menschenexport* in July 1929. The national opposition called our people's comrades to battle against this plan that aims at the destruction of our ethnicity.

I have piles of newspapers in my files that back then had headlines like: "The Swindle of the Referendum," "The National Socialist Swindle Machine," "The Fairy Tale of Human Export," "Against the Demagogues," "The Pinnacle of Depravity," "Slandering the Reich Government," "Reinhardt's Crazy Idea," etc. They demanded that the state attorney take action. We read in a long article provided by a central office to newspapers supporting the Young Plan:

**"It took time to discover the true author of these lies. One could only be sure that there had to be a spring that feed the speakers and agitators of Hindenburg's slanderous coalition. They always used the same phrases and repeated the same slanders. Most speakers used the same phrases when spreading slanders about "human export." — We finally found the central office from which this poison spread across the country. Fritz Reinhardt, a business school director, publishes as a sideline a National**



Socialist economics newspaper. He published a 24-page pamphlet titled *Youngplan — Menschenexport*. It is filled with lie after lie, slander after slander, even basing the swindle of human export on economic grounds.... We can see the close connection between the speeches of all the various Hugenberg admirers and Mr.

Reinhardt, who apparently is no longer

up to mathematical calculations. Most alarming, however, is that even Reichstag representatives of the German Nationalist party spread these fantasies.... The Reich government has stated in a factual but clear way that it will oppose the untruths of Hugenberg's referendum. We believe that they first of all have good reason to take action against the forger Reinhardt.... We further demand that the Reich and provincial governments take action not only against the dangerous activities of the National Socialists, but also against the entire Hugenberg Committee as long as it uses these lies in its agitation."

Another newspaper wrote:

"Reinhardt intentionally spreads these absurd political falsifications. There is not the slightest basis in the Young Plan for Reinhardt's crazy idea."

"The Reich government, it appears, is no longer willing to tolerate the crude swindle that wandering speakers have spread about the referendum for about a month. Apparently it will bring charges of slander against those who spread this agitational foolishness to their hearers..... These lies undoubtedly slander men like Stresemann who worked out the Young Plan, and those men who officially approved it. Those who spread this swindle cannot claim good faith. The Reich government seems resolved that it is necessary to demonstrate that it is slander through judicial

means.”

The press of the Jews, the Social Democrats, the Center Party, and the other parties that support the Young Plan called for the Reich government to take action against “the political forger Reinhardt,” against “political liars,” “slanderers,” “popular agitators,” etc. They demanded that “that the slanders be demonstrated through court verdicts.”

What did the Reich government do? Ministers repeated the charges brought against us in radio addresses and public speeches. They called our claims “groundless slanders,” and did the same with everything else we said during the referendum campaign. **[My copy is only partially legible here. I may not have the sentence quite right.]**

However, they did not seize *Youngplan* — *Menschenexport* as all the newspapers of the parties supporting the Young Plan demanded, nor did they bring charges against Reinhardt for “slandering members of the Reich government,” nor did they begin “legal proceedings to demonstrate the slanders!”

I never claimed that the words “human export” literally could be found in the Young Plan, but rather I clearly said that the provisions and methods of the Young Plan would result in the export of Germans, and that that was its goal. It would be naive to think that the authors and string-pullers of the Young Plan were so dumb as to clearly write down their real goal and thus make our battle against exporting Germans easier. It took no great skill, however, for anyone who understands economics to see that the provisions and methods of the Young Plan would lead to this. Because I clothed this with the words “human export”, the Young Plan’s proponents wrote and said that “Mr. Reinhardt was no longer up to mathematical calculations,” that “Reinhardt’s idea was crazy.”

\*

Two years have since passed. No one can seriously argue that even a single one of the promises and pledges of the Young Plan’s proponents has been realized. It is clear that the results of the Young Plan have been the direct opposite of what the Young Plan’s proponents promised and pledged, and that reality corresponds exactly to what we predicted would be the result of the Young Plan. Agreeing to the Young Plan did not bring “a major reduction in the financial crisis” promised by its proponents, but rather the new burdens and obligations we predicted. It did not result in the promised “opportunities to reduce taxation,” but rather the new and increased taxes we predicted would result from the Young Plan. The Young Plan resulted not in “new jobs for people,” but rather the catastrophic increase in unemployment that we predicted. The Young Plan’s proponents promised “economic and social improvements,” but we predicted complete economic and social misery. We also predicted a drying up of currency reserves and credit. Only a few more months will pass before the final result of the Young Plan comes to pass and the export of Germans becomes reality.

## **II. The State party and the Reichsbanner Support Human Export.**

The *Generalanzeiger für Dortmund*, Nr. 311 of 12 November 1929 carried a lead article by Erich Koch, Reich Minister and chairman of the Democratic Party, member of the Reich Committee of the Reichsbanner and cofounder of the “State” Party. The article is headlined

### **Pan-Europe and Germany**

“The fact that France will have to include its colonies in a Pan-Europe is not a cause for concern. They are not as independent as England’s dominions and do not have the same importance for the motherland. **In the long term, it is probably good for Europe as well as for France’s African colonies if more Europeans are available to develop these colonies than France alone can provide.** French statesmen recently seem to have a strong inclination to think about European cooperation. It would be wrong to oppose this in principle. **This is a big and necessary opportunity for German ability to do valuable work in an area larger than the German Reich. Only such an opportunity will allow Germany’s unused capacities to be used, capacities that now go unused or are wasted in domestic strife or in wasteful competition between many qualified people for a few jobs.**”

### III. The Social Democratic Party Supports Human Export.

We find the following in the Social Democratic newspaper *Schleswig-Holsteinischer Volkszeitung*, Nr. 53 of 4 March 1930:

#### “An Act of Economic Necessity.

#### **What is Happening to German-French Labor Policy? Jobs and the Unemployed Are not Brought Together.**

**Germany suffers unemployment, France needs workers.** It is one of the worst testimonies to the poverty of our age that despite all the negotiations France and Germany have done nothing to balance the labor market needs of both countries.... Should not one at least make a start in Alsace-Lorraine for a French-German labor agreement? It is more than time for that. The job offices in Kehl and Freiburg, Straßburg and Metz, Saarburg and Saarbrücken, etc., must establish better contact. **The governments must support labor agreements. That should happen where possible through direct negotiations with labor unions, since long diplomatic discussions are unlikely to accomplish much.**

Any labor agreements between France and Germany will naturally result in energetic nonsense from the National Socialists.”

*Das Freie Wort*, the organ of the Social Democratic Party’s leadership, Nr. 35, compared Germans to money and goods. It mentioned the possibility of exchanging surplus population. It mentioned, for example, an agreement between Brazil and the United States under which Brazil supplies the United States with a million sacks of coffee in exchange for 25 million bushels of wheat. In the same way, Germany should exchange its surplus population. We read:

“Such treaties are a method of systematic international cooperation, of an international economic organization. Such agreements naturally are easiest between countries exchanging their surpluses and shortages of raw materials. **Germany, however, has a surplus of workers and France has a surplus of capital. Here, too, the surpluses must be exchanged. That is the only way to get the economy moving again.**”

According to this Social Democratic newspaper, the only way to get the German economy moving again is to exchange German workers for French capital!!!

On the eve of the meeting between the Frenchman Laval and Briand in Berlin, the central Social Democratic newspaper *Vorwärts* (Nr. 451 of 26 September 1931) said, among other things:

**“The French estimate that in the past year France was capable of exporting one-and-half to two billion Marks in capital annually.”**

France should export capital and Germany should export people!

\*

### IV. The Center Party Supports Human Export.

The following lead article was published in *Germania*, the central organ of the Center Party in Nr. 123 ( 29 May 1931) and Nr. 157 (9 July 1931). The headline:

#### “Collective Emigration”

Issue Nr. 123 discusses the difficulties the individual emigrant faces. It says:

“Does it have to be that way? Are there no ways to make things better? Does anyone have to accept

these difficulties? **As long as a country offers its inhabitants the ability to survive, emigration is a private matter and a personal risk. As soon as this is not the case and pressures for a stream of emigrants begin it becomes a matter of public interest.”**

In Nr. 157 we read:

“Given the complete success of the Mennonite settlement in Brazil, the government’s actions are a wise and foresighted social policy that cannot be praised too highly.... Given the ban on further immigration on wide side and the lack of resources on the other, this possibility as for the moment no longer available. Only the state, not the individual, can assist here.

**Various sides have already discussed the connections between unemployment compensation and the possibility of assistance in emigration.”**

In short:

### **Emigration assistance instead of unemployment compensation**

is supposedly the key to reducing unemployment! Those for whom the present state cannot provide the means they need to survive by providing sufficient jobs and wages to feed themselves are to be helped to emigrate! That is the brilliant thinking of those in whom the masses of our people have trusted believed blindly for twelve years.

### **V. The Economic Committee of the League of Nations**

heard France’s Minister of Commerce on 17 September 1931 say, among other things:

**“The League of Nations must move from theory to practical measures. To overcome unemployment in Europe, governments must develop organic cooperation. It is urgently necessary for governments to provide public work jobs.”**

The German representative, Minister Director Proesse, said among other things:

**“The German side is considering public works jobs as a way of combatting unemployment. It may be good to establish a ‘Bank for Industrial Interests.’ The League of Nations may no longer limit itself to purely theoretical discussions on the great economic crisis, but rather must carry out practical measures.”**

### **VI. The Berlin Talks of 27-28 September 1931.**

The Frenchman Laval and Briand began such talks about “practical measures” in Berlin. Brüning and Curtius did not tell their French “guests” that Germany made its previous tribute payments not from its own resources, but rather from loans provided by foreign individuals, companies, and private banks, nor that Germany threatens to collapse in the coming winter from their burdens. They did not mention the fact that a provision of the Young Plan we accepted lifts the part of the Dawes Plan protecting Germany’s financial and economic resources (the transfer provision), which will be a disaster for German productivity. They did not mention that Germany has already paid far more than was necessary for “reconstruction.” And they did not mention the huge sums that Germany has paid to its opponents in the war since 1918 because of a lie, the war guilt lie, sums demanded of and paid by Germany. Instead, the Reich Chancellor repeated and re-emphasized to the French what he had said in his radio speech of 23 June 1931:

**“We must overcome the spiritual differences of the past between both great neighboring peoples, Germany and France.”**

That means: Accepting the war guilt lie and the Treaty of Versailles, etc. In this regard we may perhaps refer to Nr. 176 of the *Deutscher Zeitung* (30 July 1931), which reported that Brüning’s Reich Chancellery had issued a ban on mass meetings against Versailles and the war guilt lie on 25 June 1931. The ban included the approaching



anniversary of Versailles on 28 June. According to the ban:

**“The Reich Chancellor ... thinks it advisable for political reasons to avoid mass meetings of the kind that have been proposed. I refer to the Reich Chancellor’s radio speech. The favorable international reaction to it could be greatly reduced by such mass meetings, even if the meetings were moderate in tone.”**

French Minister President Laval issued a statement to the German and foreign press upon his arrival in Berlin in which he said, among other things:

**“We can take immediate economic action. We will act! I have proposed steps to the German government. Together we want to forge a tool in the form of a**

**German-French economic committee that will examine all the economic questions that are of interest to both countries.”**

The Frenchman Laval has proposed a method to the German government. The main purpose of his Berlin visit was to discuss this method.

An official communiqué reporting the results of the meeting was issued on the evening of 28 September 1931. The most important result was the formation of a

#### **permanent German-French Commission**

including representatives of the governments, industry, commerce, and labor. This commission will have a

#### **permanent secretary**

and will meet in Berlin or Paris when necessary. It is the “foundation for German-French cooperation.”

The official communiqué on the results of the Berlin meeting, among other things, said this about the task of the German-French Economic Commission:

**“Both sides will work together for new market possibilities. They agree that the work is not finished. The representatives of both countries consider it important to state clearly that their policies are not aimed at the economy of any other country.”**

Clearly stated that means: The marketing opportunities are not being sought where other countries are already competing to sell their goods, but rather new markets will be established. That, however, is only possible if:

1. Unexploited or partially-exploited regions can be found overseas or perhaps in Europe, and companies established to develop or further develop such regions. French capital would be the primary source of funding of such companies, and only those regions that are directly or indirectly in the French interest will be chosen — which means primarily France’s North African colonies.
2. Germany will be required to show its good will by providing people for those areas to be developed to France’s advantage. This will have three results:
  - A reduction in German imports, which will be necessary in any event because Germany will lack the foreign exchange to pay for those imports. The balance of payments will improve. The pace of improvement will depend on the number of people sent abroad;
  - An increase in Germany’s exports. Those Germans who were unemployed and had to be supported will now be outside the German economic body. All of them will want German goods, especially machines, transportation facilities, and similar things. That will lead to an increase in Germany’s exports and therefore to an improvement in its balance of payments;
  - The covering of foreign currency needs, which Germany cannot do because it lacks sufficient foreign currency reserves, must come from Germans working for foreign companies. This could happen

through supplementary charges that exceeded the minimum dividends paid to stockholders, or through salary supplements. Since the foreign companies for which the emigrated Germans would work for use foreign currency, such supplements would be in foreign currency and could be applied to Germany's tribute account.

This is not the first time we raise this matter. It is mentioned in the July 1929 pamphlet *Youngplan—Menschenexport* and in *Hände weg vom Youngplan. Warum?* and have been repeated over the past two years in the *Wirtschaftlicher Beobachter* [this was Reinhardt's own publication].

\*

The Jew Walter Goldstein had an article titled "The Commission" in the *Berliner Tageblatt* (Nr. 460 of 30 September 1931) in which he wrote, among other things:

**"It is obvious that all the projects that the commission will undertake cannot be listed. The communiqué clearly says that the list is not exhaustive. It is understandable that the governments have avoided giving all the details of their plan of cooperation."**

The *Berliner Tageblatt* states openly that it is understandable that not all the details of the plan can be given now. Why is that understandable? That makes just as much sense as the Young Plan, which did not provide all the details of what was intended. Instead, it limited itself to ideas, methods, and statements that were clear to insiders, and to those who were able to figure out what those ideas, methods, and statements meant!

The *Vossische Zeitung* (Nr. 462 of 1 October 1931) reported from Paris:

**"The first practical work of the German-French Commission will be harbor improvements in France and in the French colonies."**

Social Democratic newspapers such as the *Münchener Post* (Nr. 224 of 29 September 1931) praised the results of the Berlin Conference in a subhead to the main story on the first page:

**"French Capital — German Labor"**

Under the heading "Results," one reads:

**"There was talk about the great opportunities available in French colonies, whose exploitation would require harbors, bridges, and other construction. These things will be further considered. The details will be discussed in the joint economic commission, the formation of which was beyond question even before the French visit. The core of the negotiations is to bring together French capital and German labor. Cooperation between Germany, with its surplus of labor, and France with its surplus of capital, is an urgent task that will contribute in a broad way to job creation."**

So, sending millions of unemployed Germans to French colonies is social democracy's broad job creation program! That is the plan to create "jobs for people" that the Social Democrats promised would result first from the Dawes Plan, then from accepting the Young Plan!

Social Democratic Reichstag Representative Heinrich Ströbel published an article in *Das andere Deutschland* (Nr. 40 of 3 October 1931) titled "The Spirit is Necessary!" in which he wrote:

**"Laval and Briand have left Berlin. The result of their visit is a German-French economic commission that is to pave the way to economic cooperation between Germany and France through industrial cartels, joint exploitation of colonial possessions, joint action against unemployment by creating jobs, and perhaps organized emigration."**

Even before Laval and Briand went to Berlin, insiders knew what the main goal of their Berlin visit would be.

An article in the *Vossische Zeitung* (Nr. 230 of 26 September 1931) carried the headline story:

**“Room for Emigrants!  
Joint German-French Program.”**

The purpose of the French visit was:

**“Germany and France want to see if health and economic conditions allow generous emigration to colonies in Africa and South America. European emigration would not only lead to a direct improvement in Europe’s labor market, but the new settlers would provide new industrial markets. Shipping and air routes could also be developed to support emigration. Experts should evaluate the plan and work out projects for German-French cooperation.”**

The evening edition of the *Berliner Tageblatt* (Nr. 455 of 26 September 1931) carried a business supplement with this article:

**“Cooperation  
by Dr. Walter Goldstein”**

We read:

**“What are the ways to German-French economic cooperation? Many are conceivable — but only a few seem practical under current conditions. The ideal solution would be French loans to support German labor and manufacturing, but that has no chance. Instead, people are discussing the possibility of cooperation in individual public works projects in French colonies or other countries. This could without doubt have advantages for both sides, and would provide a different way of realizing plans that were originally proposed by the BJZ for an suitable means of financing such projects.”**

This clearly states that French money will not flow to Germany to bring German workers and German industrial capacity together, but rather that French money would go to putting German labor to work in French colonies. This would realize plans that originally were “believed to have been created by the Young Plan for the financial instrument of the BJZ.”

The financial and commercial section of the *Vossische Zeitung* (Nr. 231 of 27 September 1931) we find this article:

**Things Change!  
by Dr. Edmund Belmonte”**

It begins:

**“Laval and Briand are not bringing along French money. We do not need to say ‘*Merci, Messieurs!*’ and the French government does not have the difficult task of testing the willingness of its public to make a loan.”**

There follows a discussion of other ways of economic “cooperation,” including such topics as “the armaments industry” and “subventions,” among others. Then comes the following key sentence:

**“The French statesmen will have said all this and more. If security is chief among their concerns and if they believe that their eastern defenses still do not offer sufficient protection, they should take the wind from the sails of their neighbor by reducing our masses of people.**

**Densely populated Europe looks to thinly settled continents.** German-French cooperation becomes world cooperation. Common efforts to tear down emigration restrictions and tariff barriers would provide a natural outlet for a **surplus of people**, above all in Central Europe. This outlet does not initially have to be large. **The world will have room for all if various interests join in the industrial development of African colonies, barren South American regions, and the Eastern Asia market.”**

Here it clearly stated that is a matter of providing France with “security.” The French fortifications along its eastern border are not enough, but rather — as is stated in the bolded sentence above — a “human surplus” is to be sent to African colonies, barren South American areas, and East Asia. In other words, twenty to thirty million Germans must leave German soil and German sovereignty and go to foreign soil under foreign sovereignty.

\*

Those newspapers that supported the Young Plan attempted to respond to the claim in my July 1929 *Youngplan* — *Menschenexport* about the final results of the Young Plan for our people in this way: The only thing that could be intended by the plan is that German machinery, etc., would be supplied to develop France’s colonies, but that the machines would be build in Germany and Germans would be able to remain in Germany. Such remarks resulted either from the inability to see the economic consequences that would inevitably result from the details and methods of the Young Plan, from stupidity and confusion, or from duplicity.

The correctness of my claim in July 1929 that the end goal was Germans is proven by the comments emphasized above. We further refer to this sentence from the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* (Nr. 454 of 29 September 1931) in an article titled “Neither Warmth nor Sympathy”:

**“Although Germany first believed that the French were interested primarily in Germany meeting its reparations payments by providing German machines for its colonies, it is now clear that the French are making a claim for Germans.”**

Unless we succeed in fundamentally changing the fate of our people in the near future, this “claim for Germans” will be fulfilled.

### **VIII. Promises and Reality. Mistakes and the Truth.**

When we introduced the term “human export” to the masses in 1929, it was called the work of the mathematically incompetent Mr. Reinhardt” and “Reinhardt’s crazy idea.” Today — two years later — the same people are publicly promoting the idea and a “German-French Commission” with a “permanent secretariat” has been introduced to help implement wide-ranging French thinking. We are confident that in the near future we will hear about serious plans to replace unemployment compensation with emigration assistance, and all necessary preparations will be taken “on the grounds of necessity” to organize “collective emigration” to French colonies in North Africa, to South America, and to Australia and East Asia.

**We call upon the masses of our people to compare the harsh reality of today:**

- 1. With the predictions and promises the Young Plan’s supporters made before the acceptance of the Young Plan;**
- 2. With the claims and warnings National Socialists made before the acceptance of the Young Plan.**

**After that we ask:**

- 1. Who was unable to understand all the provisions of the Young Plan and what would result from them, or who if able to do that must have lead our people’s comrades astray,**
- 2. Who from the beginning understood the provisions of the Young Plan and their results, and who clearly preached the truth to our people’s comrades.**

**We ask the masses of our people to ask themselves whether they would have followed the Social Democratic Party, the Center Party, the Bavarian People's Party, The Farmers' Federation, the Democratic Party, and the German People's Party if they had known that the predictions and promises of these parties would result in the exact opposite. We ask them to ask themselves whether they followed these parties in the direction they wanted to go, or if they in blind faith were led in a direction entirely different than they wanted, in which they believed they were heading.**

**We ask them to ask themselves who has always been right and who has always clearly spoken the truth. Was it the proponents of the Young Plan, namely the Social Democratic Party, the Center Party, The Bavarian People's Party, the Bavarian Farmers' Federation, the German People's Party, or we National Socialists. We ask the masses of our people to ask themselves if they would have stayed away from the referendum and plebiscite and followed the supporters of the Young Plan if they had known that accepting the Young Plan would mean giving up protection of the German financial and economic system that would inevitably lead us to the situation we now find ourselves in. We ask them to ask themselves if they would have followed the proponents of the Young Plan if they had known that the Young Plan would not bring lower taxes, but rather new taxes and higher taxes; not "new jobs" but rather a catastrophic increase in the unemployment rate; not "opportunities for economic and social progress," but rather a catastrophic rise in economic and social misery. We ask them to ask themselves if they would have followed the Young Plan's proponents if they had known that the Young Plan would necessarily lead to the export of Germans.**

**We ask all people's comrades to draw conclusions from their answers to these questions and to join the front of National Socialist Germany. We must and will succeed in changing the fate of our people while there is still time. Each individual people's comrade must use his abilities to join the fight and to hurry the pace and shorten the path. It is 5 minutes before 12. — — —**

\*

We ask each reader of this pamphlet to spread it to the masses by buying as many copies as he needs to distribute to his workmates and other acquaintances. The price is 12 RM per 100 copies, 50 RM for 500 copies, 75 RM for 1,000 copies, postage or shipping included. Individual copies 20 pfennig. Minimum order by post is 100 copies, payable in advance to postal checking account Nürnberg 7559 (Fritz Reinhardt, Herrsching am Ammersee).

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**Background:** This is a mass pamphlet issued by the Nazis early after the release of one of a series of emergency decrees authorized by Reich President Hindenburg on 1 December 1931. At the time Chancellor Brüning was governing without a parliamentary majority, instead being dependent on the support of Hindenburg who as Reich President had constitutional authority to permit Brüning to function without the normally required majority. Among other things, the emergency decree banned political meetings, uniforms, and insignia in the hope of reducing public political tension and conflict. To make sense of it, you may need to read up on the context.

Hitler released this “open letter” twelve days after the decree was issued. It is a good example of his rhetorical style.

**The source:** *Hitler an Brüning* (Munich: Franz Eher, 1932).

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## ***Hitler to Brüning***

**Broschürenreihe der Reichspropaganda-Leitung der NSDAP, Heft 5**

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### **Open Letter from Adolf Hitler to the Reich Chancellor**

**The Politics of Illusion from Matthias Erzberger to Heinrich Brüning**

**The Great Illusion of the Last Emergency Decree**

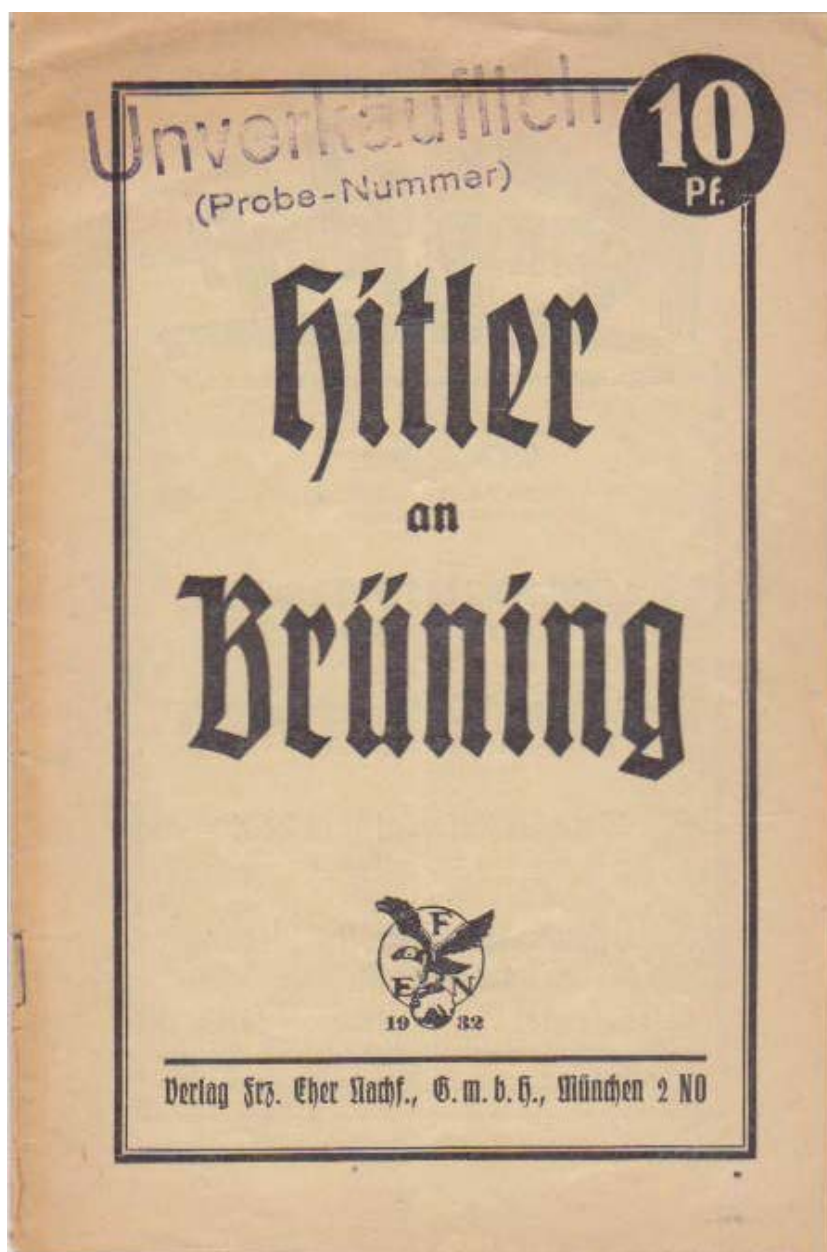
**Why does Brüning attack the NSDAP, but not Communism?**

**Mr. Reich Chancellor!**

I read the following sentences in your commentary on the Fourth Emergency Decree issued by the Reich President:

“I will continue to resist all efforts by parties to tear apart the German people into two enemy camps in the midst of our spiritual tension and material need. An ancient instinct admonishes all peoples to set aside internal controversies when the fatherland stands at the decisive hour for political action.”

Although each of the emergency decrees issued by your government claimed to be at a “decisive moment” of political action, I take it from the extensive introductory speech that this most recent emergency decree is supposed to have even greater significance, since the hour



is seen as particularly serious. **However, Mr. Reich Chancellor, I do not see the so-called “ancient instincts” in your introduction,** which to my mind are to be expected not only from parties, but also from statesmen.

### **An Unnecessary Attack**

In your speech, Mr. Reich Chancellor, you intentionally attack the National Socialist movement, indirectly comparing it to the unity of the rest of the population. Since this attack against a part of the German people includes a reference to me as its leader, I see myself obligated to defend this part of the mass of the people that I lead. **I greatly regret this, since I am unable to see how an attack against so large a part of the German people is related to the new emergency decree.** There was no political or practical cause for this attack. It is of a purely partisan nature.

The emergency decree hardly supports an attack against the National Socialist movement

**since as you yourself grant in your speech, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that the economic crisis is at least in part the result of the mistakes of previous governments.**

**We National Socialists had nothing to do with these governments; in fact we always rejected and fought their mistakes that have finally been recognized.**

Political grounds also provide no reason for this attack against the National Socialist movement or me personally. Even if an objective analysis of my opposition had found no justification for our actions, at the very least a sense of political justice — which a statesman cannot lack — would have to conclude that there were other movements and parties within Germany besides the National Socialist Party that at least in part attack the present system and your government very sharply. Although it has a different worldview, the Communist Party, for example, attacks not only the current system, but even the state, indeed the whole order, **and with consciously chosen illegal methods.**

**Under the current crisis of the German people burdened by a new emergency decree, fighting against parties could be justified only, Mr. Reich Chancellor, if you had taken a position against all of those forces that oppose you and your government.**

**But that would mean millions, the overwhelming majority of our people.**

Since that did not happen, there can only be **partisan** reasons for attacking only the National Socialist movement with accusations that are both unjustified and easy to refute. That forces me to say the following:

## On the Value of Silence, Speech, and Action

I find the following sentences in the printed version of your speech:

“I have been accused of remaining silent for too long. Careful work seems to me more important than speaking and I have confidence that the German people prefer that which is factual, serious.”

Mr. Reich Chancellor! This opinion seems to me to rest on several not insignificant errors. It is certainly true that not every speech that is given in the world is a “factual matter” that one must approach seriously. **Since German radio has regularly put itself at the service of governmental propaganda, I, too, can no longer close my eyes to the all too perishable nature of rhetoric.** It would, however, be wrong to form a general opinion of the deficiencies of the intellectual content of all speeches in contrast to written elaborations based on examples from the present, even when those printed words have the good fortune or misfortune to pass through the machinery of lawmaking. The sum total of all laws ranging from those applying to the village school to those at the highest level demonstrate little evidence that they deserve to be seen as having greater importance than many speeches have, considering the conscientious and diligent work behind them. **I will not deny that many laws are the result of hard mental effort, great determination, and admirable endurance. However, their final result and value is often less than the piece of paper that has the misfortune to have printed on it this blessing for mankind.**

**The value of a law is neither in the time it took to develop, nor in its outward length, but rather exclusively in its ultimate intellectual content. The lightning of a genius has always illuminated the world more brightly than a thousand smoking torches of regulations and laws.**

I know that before the revolutions of 1848 governments thought that they had the right to act and their peoples had the duty to remain silent. But even in the Germany of that era there was strong agreement that alongside the right of the government to **act** was the of the governed to have an opinion. **Alongside the duty of the governed to obey a government, there is a duty on the part of government to respond graciously to objections from the governed.**

**Particularly since the Revolution of 1918, the German people believes that it has the right to criticize, and to criticize openly, since it was maintained that the lack of free speech was one reason for the downfall of the old system.**

The constitution of the new Reich, therefore, does not say: All power comes from the **government**, but rather that all power comes from the **people**.

But you, Mr. Reich Chancellor, now jealously assert that no one in Germany has the right to act except the government. **That necessarily means restrictions on the ability of the opposition to criticize and speak freely.**

**If today’s Germany had an Oliver Cromwell, a George Washington, or an Otto von Bismarck, at the moment all three would have to be satisfied by informing the nation of their opposition to the current government only through speaking or writing. And even if these three could only speak today, Mr. Reich Chancellor, one surely could not say that the content of their speeches would be worth less than the content of government decrees!**

Such an underestimation of the speech does help me to understand the modest intellectual force of recent German rhetoric from official sources, while the frequency of such rhetorical efforts earns my grudging admiration.

Why do government offices keep using an instrument that they seem to think of so little value, or even hold in contempt? That may, however, explain why they do it so poorly.

### Success is the Only Measure

The government. Mr. Reich Chancellor, can act. It can realize thoughts and ideas through laws. It can prove the



correctness of its ideas through deeds. It watches jealously to ensure that no one else asserts this ability. **What do we have left to us, Mr. Reich Chancellor, aside from speech if we want to express to the people our opinions about the destructiveness of your plans, about the mistakes at their core, and about the disasters that will result?**

One can, of course, use naked police force to deny the opposition the ability to speak and write. **That can only be justified, however, if success against the speaker and in favor of the holder of power results not only in successfully banning a meeting or newspaper, but rather in successfully leading a nation.**

**The correctness of incorrectness of an intellectual message, whether written or spoken, is in the end determined only by the results. Reich Chancellor Bismarck condemned his critics to respectful silence by the proclamation of a New German Reich that earned international respect and had growing domestic prosperity.**

**Currently, however, the critical speakers, not the governments of the System, have been proven right.**

**If those in high office see our speaking as disobedient, then save us the talk and give us power!**

**Mr. Reich Chancellor, we are ready to act at any time.**

Have we ever been unwilling to accept responsibility?

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It is well known, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that you reject the possibility of the National Socialist movement and the national opposition taking over the government. This is not easy to justify.

**The System,**

**the nature of which is incorporated in the present government, has been rejected by the overwhelming majority of the German nation.** If one attempts despite that to justify from a democratic perspective the incomprehensible continuance of the present forces, one must naturally find some sort of reason. I believe, therefore, that a sense of the necessity of a defense of the otherwise incomprehensible attitude of the current System, against the overwhelming majority of the people, is a reason for the speech you gave, Mr. Reich Chancellor, introducing the emergency decree.

**The System is attempting to preserve itself by making baseless accusations against the NSDAP.**

According to your speech, there are two reasons why the present governmental System is obligated not to give up power:

1. Since the National Socialist movement is the strongest element in the national opposition, it should no longer be a legal organization. That will remove the ability of those opposition voters and party masses to take over the government. The governing coalition of the Center Party and the Marxists will then be the only possible democratic solution.
2. The National Socialist movement, and in a broad sense the whole national opposition, are presumably pursuing a program of illusions and wishful thinking. The present government, however, and the whole ruling system, is supposedly working in a "serious" and "practical" way. It hopes to silence the voices of discontent by emotional appeals to "moral responsibility."

Both reasons are easily refuted.

1. In your speech, Mr. Reich Chancellor, you said the following:

“The National Socialist Party leaders claim their methods and goals are legal, but they stand in blatant contrast to strong statements by no less important leaders that call for senseless civil war and a stupid foreign policy. When one asserts that one wants to achieve power by legal means in order to eliminate those legal barriers, that is not legality. As a statesman, I oppose that in the strongest possible way.”

**First, it is untrue that I as leader of the National Socialist movement affirm that the party intends to follow legal methods while my subordinates are of a different opinion.**

**I along with all of my leaders and party members agree fully with this policy, with the exception of those intentional provocateurs sent to infiltrate the party.**

**However, I am not responsible for them, but rather those high officials who sent them.** It is certainly true, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that there have occasionally been individual leaders in my party whose views were not consistent with my viewpoint that we should follow a legal approach. **These leaders had closer relations to government offices than I, the official party leader.**

**Mr. Reich Chancellor, if you think it important to deal with these peculiar matters publicly, I will be happy to provide the public with material that will help them understand how difficult it is to accept the leadership of a large party when individual “members” receive such seductive offers.**

**Mr. Reich Chancellor, I have always ruthlessly thrown such people out of the party** — much to the regret of certain outside interests.

### **Defense — Not Civil War!**

It is further untrue that my subordinates preach “senseless civil war.” Instead, we deeply regret this battle. **However, it is also true that we are not willing stand defenseless and without protection while we are slaughtered by the murderous Red beast. It is furthermore true that we are not going to let Germany suffer Russia’s fate.** It is true that we are not going to be kept from making political propaganda because of the terror of treacherous communist political murderers. **Finally, it is true that our purely defensive activities have cost us huge sacrifices of blood.**

**It is true, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that for many months my unarmed and practically defenseless party comrades have been attacked by treacherous murderers, stabbed, injured, and killed. The government — your government, Mr. Reich Chancellor Brüning — has done nothing to stop these outrages.**

When treacherous communist murderers kill two police officers, their bloody deeds cannot easily be concealed from the public. But when these murderers kill more than

**fifty National Socialists and injure four thousand more,**

**the world is silent. Certain newspapers have nothing to write about that, nor do the leaders of the governing parties have anything to say!**

Consistent with my assurances of using legal methods, I have had to order my followers, with a heavy heart, to give up weapons absolutely. **However, Mr. Reich Chancellor, you cannot demand of me that I order them to let themselves be slaughtered without defending themselves, nor would I give that order.**

It would perhaps be better to make the world aware of those facts rather than raise doubts about the commitment to legality of a movement that has proven a thousand times its intention to obey the laws.

### **The Stupidity of the System’s Foreign Policy**

It is furthermore untrue, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that any of our responsible party leaders has called for “a stupid foreign policy” that is even one thousandth as bad as the stupid foreign policy of the last twelve years, which today is a historically demonstrable fact. **Signing the Young Plan alone, which allows France to set reparations payments at whatever level it wishes, was an act of political stupidity that cannot be outweighed by a thousand rhetorical gaffes, even if they actually were that. Thirteen years after the World War the German Reich is in a hopelessly desperate condition. Surely that is not because of the wisdom of our political leadership, but rather because all imaginable political stupidities were put into practice by our foreign policy leaders.**

Perhaps a kindly fate will some time in the future send the German people a statesman of real stature whose commission comes not from the *8-Uhr-Blatt* or the *Morgenpost*, but from history itself, a man who will have the time and energy to weigh the foreign policy achievements of 1918-1932 from the standpoint of posterity. I fear that he will have difficulty finding even the smallest scrap of “wisdom” from our time to place on the scale. It will be impossible for him, however, to find weights heavy enough to counterbalance the stupidities.

Let us consider current events:

**Do you really believe, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that from the perspective of foreign policy it is correct and intelligent to call a movement that from the national-political viewpoint is Germany’s only active proponent of a truly nationalist foreign policy an “illegal” and “destructive” band of criminals? Even though doing so does not slow the victory of this movement in the slightest?**

**Is it really “statesmanlike wisdom” to attack a party whose victorious march has been unstoppable despite twelve years of oppression, telling the world through an evil-minded press that it is a danger for human society, for tranquility, peace, and order, thereby darkening the name of the inevitable New Germany in the eyes of the world?**

**There are more leaders and members of the National Socialist movement who fought in the great World War than in any other party. We came to know each other under terrible conditions. None of us wishes for a war. Nonetheless, we have remained men who think less of our lives than of freedom when that is necessary. If one screams that that is a “bloodthirsty spirit” that should be exterminated, one signs a death warrant for our nation!**

### **The Incompetence of Democracy**

I must admit, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that I find the second part of your remarks completely incomprehensible. “As a statesman,” you refuse to allow us to take power by legal means, since we would then violate legality? Mr. Reich Chancellor, the fundamental principle of democracy is that all power derives from the people. The constitution states how a viewpoint, an idea, and therefore an organization may secure legitimation from the people if it is to realize its intentions. **In the end, the people decides what its constitution will be.**

**Mr. Reich Chancellor: If the German nation authorizes the National Socialist movement to introduce a constitution different than today’s, you can do nothing to stop it.**

Statesmen are primarily responsible for what results from their ideas and deeds, not for what someone else later does. Looking into the future can influence one’s actions only if it serves that future.

**The German nation does not exist for the sake of a constitution, but rather it requires a constitution that is appropriate for its existence, and when a constitution proves unsuitable, the nation does not die, but rather it changes the constitution!**

### **The System in Conflict with its Own Constitution**

I believe that we National Socialists have a better understanding of the spirit of the present constitution than the

exponents of the present System. For a constitution is not merely letters on a page; there is also a constitution of the spirit. Do you believe, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that it corresponds to the principles of democracy and thereby the deepest meaning of the Weimar Constitution when a government remains a government although it knows that the source of its power, the people, has long since ceased to support it? Do you believe, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that the writers of the Weimar Constitution confused the democratic opinions and beliefs of the nation as the ultimate basis of authority with the fears of parliamentary parties who together form a cabinet?

Democracy is unsuitable for Germany because it denies its own essence. England provides us with an excellent example. When the former MacDonald government concluded that there had been a major shift in the opinions of the British people, it dissolved parliament and appealed to the British people. That gave clear expression to the whole world of the drive for national preservation. That was not only fair, it was logical within the framework of democracy.

But what happened with us? For months, each new election has demonstrated the huge shift within our people. A look at the growth of our party, Mr. Reich Chancellor, which is available to you at any time, proves this tendency. But what has happened with us? The pettiest war against the National Socialist movement began, hoping that through laws and chicaneries in the spirit of Metternich, half outrageous and half ludicrous, the System could be defended against democracy. Yes, **against** democracy and **against** the constitution, Mr. Reich Chancellor! How else, for example, could one understand a situation in which a state court rules the election law of a provincial parliament as unconstitutional, yet the provincial parliament itself does not dare to subject itself to the judgment of the people because of nervous parties intent on self preservation. Those parties include the Bavarian People's Party and the Social Democrats — both of which support you. You will not find a single expert in constitutional law with any real democratic convictions who will not find this action by the Bavarian Parliament to be unconstitutional. From my point of view, there is more than enough reason to be concerned in Germany today about unconstitutional acts. If you turn your valued attention to this closest danger rather than being diverted **by political astigmatism**, you should be worried about your illegal takeover of power, not by supposed illegal activities by my movement. Mr. Reich Chancellor! We National Socialists respect the constitution as we fight for political power, and hope **that it will be possible for us to give the German people a new and healthier constitution**. I promise you even now, however, that we will be more loyal to the present constitution than the current Weimar System is!

I cannot accept your doubts about the present and future legality of my party, Mr. Reich Chancellor, simply because you are a "statesman." Mr. Reich Chancellor, you today are a statesman because of your office, but certainly not because you have the majority required by your constitution. I am a man of the people, and will leave it to the future and to the German people as to whether they wish to give me the often misused title of statesman.

Mr. Reich Chancellor, your doubts about the legality of my party are no justification for the necessity of the current government, nor are your fears about the supposed unreality of our program reasonable.

You said in your speech:

"No one knows more than I the hard fate our people are suffering today. Broad circles of our people have sought refuge from the difficulties in wishful thinking.

Wishful thinking, however, is not a political program. Rescuing Germany will only be possible when the government's policies are not based on illusions, but rather when love of the people and fatherland is guided by the available means.

If the German people gives into the temptation of dealing with the troubles of the present by holding to unclear desires and by setting unreachable goals, Germany will collapse. Anyone who in desperation succumbs to such goals will have a terrible awakening. A government conscious of its responsibility for the people and fatherland may not give in to such currents. It may not and will not hold back from facing the threatening collapse of the people's strength with firm energy. It tolerates no other power than authorized by the constitution. The Reich President and the Reich government along control state power. They will use them with pitiless strength if necessary, including

## **the imposition of martial law**

against all who attempt to resist constitutional authorities in the hour of the greatest test of nerves.”

Mr. Reich Chancellor! The charge of illusions does not apply to the national opposition, least of all the National Socialist party or me, but above all the present System.

## **Illusions from Erzberger to Brüning**

**When the November Revolution of 1918 broke out, the flag of illusion was raised high, and has waved above all governmental actions, whether domestic or foreign, ever since.** Your faction leader and party comrade Matthias Erzberger was one of Germany's armistice negotiators in the Forest of Compiègne. On 11 November 1918 he spoke the following memorable and statesmanlike words: “We must accept everything. We have to accept it all. That is the fastest way to get them to forgive us.” That was an illusion. It was an illusion with dreadful and terrible consequences, just as terrible as the illusions of the naval units and battleship crews who thought that when they raised their treasonous red flags English ships would do the same.

All the programs of that time, all the promises whether from official government offices or party leaders were, to put it mildly, illusions. The promise of a coming life of “beauty, freedom, and dignity” was just as tragic an illusion as the promises of coming social happiness, social welfare, and upward mobility. They, too, were lies.

There was the illusion of promised reductions in prices, the illusion of “reducing bureaucracy” in government, the illusion of “abolishing secret diplomacy,” the illusion of “true democratic equality!” Our whole people back then chased only after illusions, Mr. Reich Chancellor. I was one of the few who even in those years dared to attack these illusions openly in public meetings!

## **Fear of Its Record**

**The present System does not dare to release to the public its declarations and promises from its founding days, since they consist wholly of illusions.** You are welcome, however, to publish **my speeches** from these years, and my later ones as well. They would provide support and justification for me today, just as they supported my attacks on your party and its Marxist allies back then.

It was an illusion to give up our naval fleet in the hopes it would be returned to us,

an illusion to give up our merchant fleet in the hopes of getting it back,

an illusion to disarm in the belief that France would do the same.

It was an illusion to expect help from the conscience of the world, from the League of Nations, or from some other conference.

It was an illusion to sign the Peace Treaty, thinking it was nothing but a formal document, not the intentional destruction of the German people and its economy by France — something already evident back then.

It was an illusion to believe that by signing the war guilt lie, one would be treated leniently, even be “forgiven,” when in reality throughout world history every unprincipled act carries within it its own reward.

It was an illusion, Mr. Reich Chancellor, which your party comrade Matthias Erzberger proposed to the Allies a reparations payment of a hundred million gold marks, and the German government actually believed that it could fulfill that, then morally stoned anyone who called this nonsense nonsense.

It was further an illusion during the Ruhr battle to believe that one could intimidate an occupying army by a subsidized general strike, and an even greater illusion to think that one would be able to negotiate more effectively

in the future without building an active front in the hinterland.

**It was an illusion to sign the Dawes Pact, and to believe in the dream that this would somehow improve the German economy.**

It was yet another illusion when one celebrated the *Fata Morgana* of a Dawes spring as the start of an economic rescue of the state.

The hope one put in the Locarno agreement was an illusion, just as the Young Plan was based on illusions.

### **Illusions from Dawes to Young**

**It was an illusion when one thought that one could salvage the finances of the Reich and the Provinces with the Young Plan,** also an illusion that one thought that it could rescue the economy.

It was an illusion to believe that the Young Plan would eliminate **unemployment**, and another illusion that it could save agriculture from collapse. And above all these, there was the still greater illusion that stable and organized conditions had been achieved.

Yes, Herr Reich Chancellor, our reasonable and realistic government leadership fell victim to these illusions, and to countless others besides!

**The emergency decrees from which you expected so much, Mr. Reich Chancellor, have also proven to be illusions.**

Most fateful of all were the illusions that miserable and weak radio speeches could somehow make these decrees popular.

In my first open letter you to, Mr. Reich Chancellor, I pointed out the serious error in your opinion that Germany must first put its finances and economy in order if it is to have any hope of success in revising the Young Plan. I said then that such an improvement depended not only on revisions to the Young Plan, but also with regards to the Treaty of Versailles. And even were that to succeed, there would be no practical way to eliminate the burdens heaped upon us. How could we persuade the world of the impossibility of meeting these treaties if we proved them to in fact be possible by maintaining our financial and economic health? You, Mr. Reich Chancellor, attempted to present my opinion as mistaken in a speech to the Reichstag, saying that only by reaching into our last resources could we prove to the world the impossibility of fulfilling those treaty obligations.

### **New Desperate Attempts to Meet Treaty Obligations**

First, Mr. Reich Chancellor Brüning, that impossibility has already been proven to the world. Second, one could have proven that to the world at any time during the past six years if one had wanted to. Third, is it true that the present government, in contrast to former ones, attempted to prove the impossibility of meeting what was demanded of us by depending exclusively on our own German resources. No!

**In fact, the present government looked for new loans all over the world. Had they been given, it would have been new “proof” that the policy of meeting reparations demands was possible.**

Each such tender blossom, no matter how unrealistic, has to strengthen the world’s mistaken belief that the reparations nonsense may not be nonsense after all. That, too, is a policy of illusion, Mr. Reich Chancellor.

I also found the proposal of a **customs union** an incomprehensible “daydream.” The whole thing was a classic example of a “policy of illusion!” What an illusion it is to think that without a “rehabilitation” of the inner nature of our people, it is possible to effectively represent our national interests to the outside world.

## The Great Illusion of the Emergency Decrees

It is yet another “illusion” to believe that one can “rehabilitate the nation,” shaken by worldview conflicts as it is, through police measures authorized by laws.

It is an illusion to believe that we can pay two-and-half billion in tribute each year and two-and-a-half billion more in interest payments, just as is the idea that one can find domestic political support for such an impossibility for very long. No, Mr. Reich Chancellor! For thirteen years a ghostly Pegasus has flown through the blessed realm of limitless illusions: that animal is called German domestic and foreign policy!

Mr. Reich Chancellor, you asked that critical judgments on the new proposed laws be withheld until their effects are clear and demonstrable. I do not understand how a government unsure of itself could say this. A statesman convinced of the correctness of his actions and who expects success can only hope that his opponents will criticize them prematurely so that he can refute them once those actions are successful. **However, a government that has learned from past experience to be uncertain of its success will naturally prefer to ban any criticism.** It realizes in advance that the failure of its promises will later prove critics justified. It will, therefore, prefer to prohibit farsighted men from speaking and writing about developments in order to keep the opposition from later referring back to its prophecies and thereby earning the nation’s respect.

### Brüning’s Social Policy

From a political standpoint I completely understand your desire for a Christmas peace. However, Mr. Reich Chancellor, I would like to look back to your speech during the parliamentary debate defending the **first** emergency decree. The results are not open to doubt. **Back then you gave yourself over to illusions that are unforgivable for a statesman.**

At the Reichstag session of 16 October 1930, Mr. Reich Chancellor, you said:

**“The Reich government has developed a major economic and financial plan to overcome the crisis.”**

Mr. Reich Chancellor, that major plan has proven to be an illusion, since the crisis was not overcome.

At the same session, you also said:

**“With this emergency decree (of 26.7.30) the Reich President and the Reich government, based on Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, have taken the first steps to ameliorate the financial, economic, and social crisis.”**

Mr. Reich Chancellor, neither the financial, nor the economic, nor the social crisis has been ameliorated. Such a view rests on an illusion. You further said:

**“Important parts of the welfare system have been revised to make it possible to rescue the welfare system.”**

Mr. Reich Chancellor, the welfare system seems to me to be less rescued than it was before. Instead, it is seriously threatened. I have the feeling here, too, that this statement will prove to be an illusion.

In that same speech, Mr. Reich Chancellor, you assured us that a basic principle of the reforms back then was the “simplification of the administrative system, in particular a taxation policy that does not unacceptably burden the productive process, but instead encourages savings by small savers, and finally sound financial accords between the Reich, the provinces, and the municipalities.”

Since all of these hopes went unfulfilled, we can relegate to the area of illusions as well.

It also turned out to be an illusion that everything would be done as part of this economic plan to put as many people to work as possible.

Finally, you assured us:

“In view of the spiritual and economic crisis of our fatherland, the government considers it one of its most important tasks to do all it can to combat cultural decline as energetically as possible. The severe crisis that Germany must overcome (as already mentioned, that was said on 10.10.30) demands moral strength and courageous solidarity on the part of all who love the fatherland.”

Mr. Reich Chancellor, was that an illusion, was it wishful thinking, or are the filthy films in Germany today, along with the Marxist-Jewish cultural subversion we see everywhere, among those efforts to combat cultural destruction?

It was an illusion, however, when you said back then that:

“Sacrifices must be demanded that will lead the way to freedom and recovery.”

**Economic sacrifices are only secondary to the freedom of peoples. It must primarily be achieved through political sacrifices and achievements.** Any other viewpoint is an illusion.

### **Brüning Admits the System's Illusions**

Mr. Reich Chancellor, the new emergency decree on which one places such hopes will also prove an illusion. Early in your speech you said the following:

“On the eve of the publication of a fateful emergency decree I consider it my duty to explain to the German people the goals and decisions of the Reich government. The new measures are the result of world economic conditions, of the burdens laid on the German people, and of **our own mistakes**. Every day there are new signs of world-wide economic collapse. The sinking of England's currency affects other currencies.

A wild economic war of enormous proportions has broken out.

The causes of the general crisis, and of Germany's particular role in it, are known. Nonetheless, there are serious worries as to whether the governments can draw the necessary conclusions from this knowledge quickly enough.

Holding to formal legal principles cannot solve the world's problems. Broad solutions free from the outdated thinking of the past must be found. Partial solutions for the world are insufficient.”

**As a National Socialist, Mr. Reich Chancellor, I owe you thanks for noting for the first time that the responsibility for the present catastrophe is the result of mistakes that our governments have made.** And since you are further of the opinion that “holding to formal legalities” cannot solve the world's problems, **you are also admitting indirectly that your own government is apparently continuing these mistakes by relying on formal legal measures in the form of these emergency decrees.** I assume that none of the former governments made these mistakes with bad intentions or ill will, instead presumably later recognizing as mistakes what they first thought to be correct and helpful; however, these governments **erred** in the most important and critical matters. They fell victim to “wishful thinking” and chased after “illusions.”

You minimize this reproach by adding “world economic conditions” as another reason. Here German governments have succumbed to the worst illusions. However, Mr. Reich Chancellor, you yourself were convinced that the Young Plan was practical, and would lead to improvements because of “world conditions.” What a terrible illusion! When you speak of the “outdated thinking” of the past and propose broad solutions that are free of such thinking, **I can probably say that this outdated thinking was yours, Mr. Reich Chancellor, and that we have proposed such broad solutions free from outdated thinking for years now.**



Your criticism of holding to formal legal principles stands in sharp contradiction to the fear evident in your thinking that the National Socialists might achieve power legally, but thereafter sin against the formal legal principles of the constitution. Why so so broad-minded on one case and so worried in the other?

I have not addressed the particulars of the emergency decree. I only intend to establish for the future that its results, too, will be an illusion.

## **Laws and Implementation Decrees**

If an emergency decree is to be unveiled to the world with such aplomb, it cannot be justified by references to this or that aspect of the general crisis, but rather it has to make a fundamental contribution to alleviating causes of the crisis. All great laws have the advantage of having some immediate effect. The lawgiver in such cases the task of finding the cause of the difficulties in the life of the community, and of changing things. There must, therefore, be a sharp distinction between the law and its methods of implementation. The law must not only meet its goal, but also the goal must be clear in every regard.

What is the goal of the new emergency decree?

If the general claim is to “heal” the damages of the present, that purpose should be clear in the individual details.

The present situation can be characterized by the following points:

1. **Our people’s political crisis,**
2. **The production crisis,**
3. **The unemployment crisis,**
4. **The financial crisis in government,**
5. **The financial crisis in the private sphere.**

**The people is interested only in the question of how well poorly one solves these major crises.**

The people is concerned not with the extent of an emergency decree or the period to which it applies — and rightly so. It is not interested in whether or not it took long hours of the day and into the night to develop, but rather it is interested only in the effect it has in dealing with the specified issues.

Through speeches and the press, one attempts to prove the necessity of the new ordinance as a way to alleviate these crises in our public life.

## **Brüning’s Failures**

Mr. Reich Chancellor, I now wish to present my views to the German public, just as I did before the Young Plan was signed.

1. **The opinion that the fourth emergency decree will resolve our people’s political crisis is an illusion.**
2. **The opinion that our domestic economic crisis and our ability to export German goods will be resolved by the emergency decree is an illusion.**
3. **The opinion and hope that it will alleviate unemployment is an illusion.**
4. **The thought that this emergency decree will resolve the crisis in public finance is an illusion.**
5. **Finally, the opinion that it will overcome the financial crises of individuals and the private sector is an illusion.**

Instead of the hoped for results, the opposite of each of these five points will occur. **The future will prove it.**

There is no reason, Mr. Reich Chancellor, for me to support my opinions any further to a System that is convinced

that it is the model of reason, and that calls the opposition “dreamers and wishful thinkers.” I have even less reason to provide a thorough analysis, **since I learned some months ago how willing the so-called “reasonable thinking” of the present government is from time to time to borrow from the opposition’s “garden of daydreams and wishful thinking,” presenting to an astonished public what it once said were poisoned fruits, but now are innocuous examples of the “new results of expert thinking.”**

I will restrict myself, therefore, Mr. Reich Chancellor, to a thorough refutation of the last part of the emergency decree.

Even the organization shows here that the government is captive to an illusion, namely the crazy belief that the economy could be put back in order before political life. Such a view is emphasized by various statements of our government to foreign countries in which painful questions about the no longer deniable growth of the National Socialist movement are answered by references to the “world economic crisis.” A little thought would lead the government to a different conclusion. If that opinion were really correct, the **Economic Party [Brüning was a member of that party]** would really have to be in our place! The fact that the opposite is true proves only

**that the people have long understood what the governing parties still to not understand. Without a national-political “recovery” within the German people, there will be no economic recovery.**

Mr. Reich Chancellor, I assume that you seriously believe that the political appendix to the emergency decree is a suitable means for the “recovery” of the German people, and that one can best entrust such a “recovery” to the police.

I assume, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that you have that opinion, but I further assume that some of your colleagues involved in this major historic law have other possibilities in mind, for example to silence the National Socialist movement and in a larger sense the nationalist opposition, or perhaps even to destroy it. If one takes away a man’s shirt, and his pants, and removes his membership badge, he has ceased to be a National Socialist! It was always remarkable how one-sidedly politically significant German politicians saw the world. That comes about because instead of dealing with the deeper nature of a movement, one pays heed only to the familiar reporters from the *Mosse* and *Ulstein* publishing houses, to the editorial staffs of *Germania* and *Vorwärts*, seeing them as the political experts who know what the German people should do!

### **Bloody Terror and Brüning’s Emergency Decree**

Mr. Reich Chancellor, you think Germany’s domestic peace is threatened. We National Socialists have said for many years that such peace must end if a party consciously preaches Marxist class struggle and incites the worst gutter scum to act as Cheka murderers against human society. **We have been unable for years to understand why Marxist newspapers carry almost open calls for the murder of others and hardly a state attorney dares to intervene only because their targets are called Fascists — or in other words, National Socialists.** Still, these murders and assaults were kept within relatively narrow boundaries. Mr. Reich Chancellor, it is only since you issued emergency decrees to “protect” domestic order from violence and terror did terror unfortunately reach unbearable levels. In practice, your all your emergency decrees have not withstood reality. The most miserable failure is in the “calming of public life.” Instead of letting a movement from our people into the visible flow of politics, one kept it away from the spotlight and driven it into the darkness. That followed the brilliant method of the well-known philosopher Vogel, who assumed that what he did not see no longer existed.

The efforts to restrict or eliminate political movements made in recent years have led to enormous bitterness and an worsening of the situation.

**Do you believe, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that by taking away from an adult man the symbols of his political viewpoint you also eliminate that viewpoint? You make him more fanatical, since he feels himself the victim of misused public force. Just as France was unable to hinder the growth of Germany’s national strength, so little, Mr. Reich Chancellor, will you be able through analogous methods to stop the growth of this force within our own national body.**

All the restrictions of the so-called uniform ban, the ban on membership badges, etc., only increase the anger against the present System, and from **all** sides. A quick look at history will persuade you, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that such suppressive measures have always had the opposite effect. And **you**, Mr. Reich Chancellor, will have a hard time refuting the lesson of history in this matter.

This decree will hardly eliminate the Communist Party from our people — the opposite, in fact. You promote it. And as for the National Socialist movement, I assure you, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that this movement will live and rule Germany long after this decree has been forgotten.

### **Brüning is a Bad Psychologist**

I see how little the psychological effects of such measures are understood when I consider the time at which the new emergency decree was issued.

One chose the time **before** Christmas, since one could refer to the holy peace of Christmas and forbid opposition political activity for a long time. Today, naturally, when one bans all meetings, government parties are not affected. **No independent person in Germany will even think of defending this decree!** It would only be possible to speak against it. What a brilliant idea to use Christmas peace as an indirect shield for this infamous emergency decree! Despite it all, Mr. Reich Chancellor, you have given yourself over to yet another psychological illusion. If the constitutional guarantee of free assembly had been maintained, many a one would have been able to express his discontent. It displays dubious talents as a statesman to close off all means of releasing pressure so that the steam pressure builds up!

Just as it was psychologically wrong to announce the emergency decree at that time since it robbed millions of Germans of even the most modest Christmas joy, so, too, the psychological effects are unfortunate.

**You are convinced, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that it will make a major contribution to calming people down if one, for example, bans ten thousand National Socialist Christmas parties, robbing hundreds of thousands of impoverished German children of their Christmas presents!**

You are convinced, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that it will contribute to political peace and the calming down of public life if one carries this ban so far as, **for example, to ban a symphony concert by a prominent Bavarian orchestra only because it is sponsored by the National Socialist movement!** Or do symphonies by Brahms, Brückner, and Mozart endanger the republic?

History will demonstrate whether the hopes of strangling a movement with such methods are realistic, or whether they belong in the kingdom of illusions.

### **Disarming Decent Citizens**

Finally, Mr. Reich Chancellor, you hope to eliminate terror from public life by the new regulations on weapons.

**Disarming decent people has never prevented attacks by less pleasant sorts, and they have never given up their weapons, but rather only decent citizens.**

It is a fateful illusion, Mr. Reich Chancellor, to expect that this method will hinder violent acts by communist murderers. The opposite will occur. If you extend the ban on weapons to disarm German households, just as my S.A. is unarmed, Marxist terror will soon move from the streets into homes.

The bandit had never worried about regulations on disarmament. Mr. Reich Chancellor; if you tell him that decent people no longer have weapons at home, you give the bandit license to go into what should be each individual's castle.

**I prophesy, Mr. Reich Chancellor, that this part of the emergency decree will lead to an enormous increase in**

## **terror and public insecurity!**

Mr. Reich Chancellor, if one considers the last emergency decree, one cannot escape the depressing conviction that it will hold the German people captive to the illusions of the past thirteen years. Realizing that, one cannot escape the obligation to speak.

The National Socialist movement is convinced, more than any other movement, that that a people that wishes to escape its miserable situation can do so only if it is ready to make heavy sacrifices. It considers these sacrifices to be useful and justified only if they are combined with a new faith. The present government has done everything possible psychologically to make our crisis of confidence eternal. It entirely lacks the basic psychological understanding that a system may continue to exist under the constitution because of the fears of the guilty parties, but has long since lost the support of the people. One cannot govern for two years, piling one disappointment upon another, and appeal in the third year to the same faithful trust that one had at the beginning. The System press, of course, will greet each new emergency decree with loud approval, just as paid applauders in the theatre make the most noise for the most miserable performances. They just don't impress the audience. **The people wants no part it any longer.** Yet there is no way out that is not based on the faithful trust of the masses. The splintering of our national body will not be alleviated by attempting to bring together conflicting worldviews by laws. The part of the German people that still believes in Marxism shrinks every day; the part that believes in us grows every day. No one believes in the center.

## **Faith in Germany!**

Since all of today's government measures lack a deep connection to the spirit of a worldview, they also lack the psychological force and thereby the elan that is the fundamental requirement for laws to be effective. One cannot call on "civic discipline" forever, one cannot always seek refuge in legal paragraphs. No, one day the demands of the real lawgivers must become the demands of the nation.

The nation, however, will follow such a demand only if it is motivated by a clear and unified will. Doctrinaire calls and formal demands for calm, peace, and order will not over the long term replace a spirit of inner unity. The breakdown of such a spirit, however, can never be alleviated by an emergency decree, but rather only through final victory over the political-moral decay that today dominates Germany.

**In your speech, Mr. Reich Chancellor, you attempted to attack the National Socialist movement, thereby hindering our victory. The practical results, together with your emergency decree to "alleviate" our crisis, will in the end only help to bring about the real salvation of the German nation.**

**Although that was not the intention, this emergency decree will help my party to victory, and therefore put an end to the illusions of the present System.**

**Berlin, 13 December 1931**

**Adolf Hitler**

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**Background:** This pamphlet was originally published early in 1931 and was intended for members of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). It presents ordinary communists as well-meaning and honest workers who have been deceived by corrupt Jewish leaders and betrayed by Stalin, who the pamphlet says has deserted communist principles and returned to a capitalism even worse than that found in Germany. It is one of a series of pamphlets from the period I am translating as examples of the ways the Nazis adopted their propaganda to various audiences.

**The source:** Heinz Franke, *Der Schwindel des Bolschewismus* (Munich: Franz Eher, 1932). I'm using the second printing, which got the print total to 100,000.

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## ***The Bolshevist Swindle***

### **Broschürenreihe der Reichspropaganda-Leitung der NSDAP, Heft 2**

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**“The proletariat of the Soviet Union controls all important economic positions.”**

That is what the program of the Communist Internationale says, adopted at the 6th World Congress in Moscow on 1 September 1928.

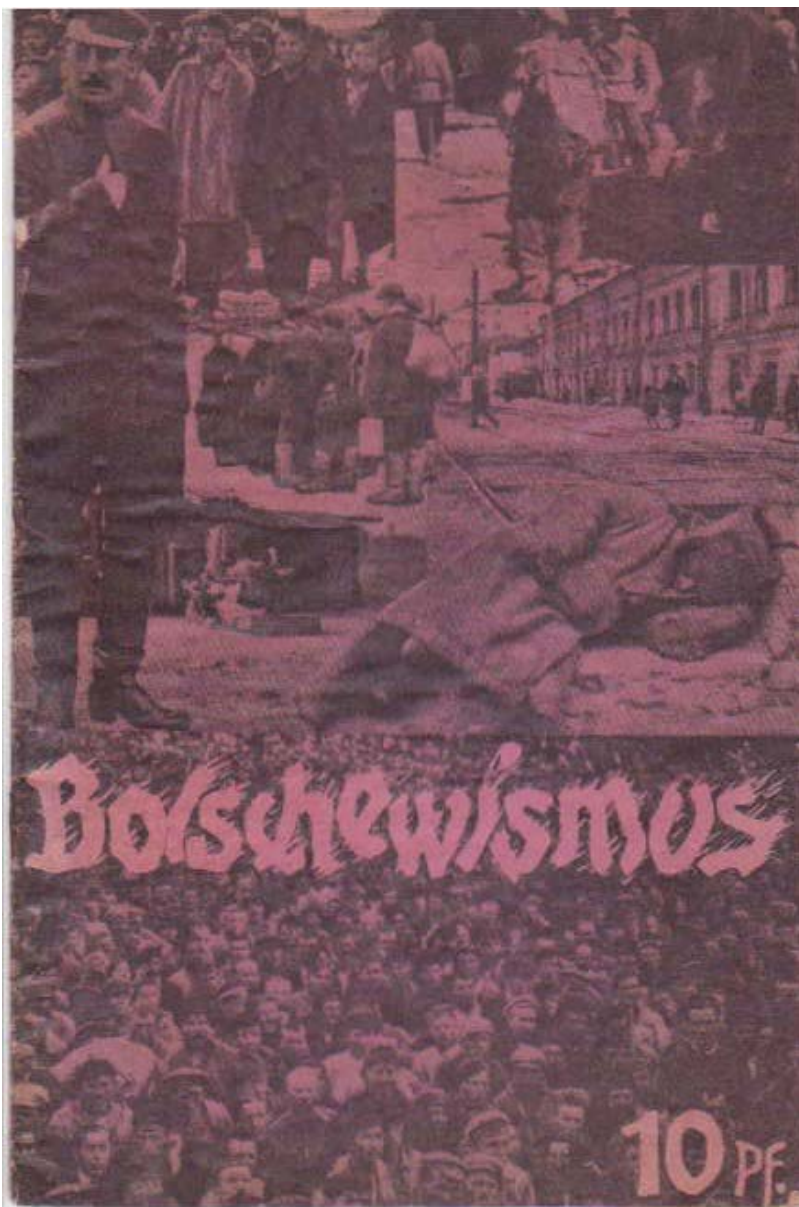
**“From the factory up to the German Soviet government, the proletariat in alliance with all workers, will rule everywhere on the foundation of real and the broadest Soviet democracy. Through the introduction of the seven hour day and the four hour day week, through a strong economic alliance with the Soviet Union and an increase in the purchasing power of the masses, unemployment will be eliminated throughout the world!”**

And that is what the program on national and social liberation of the German people says, as published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany on 24 August 1930.

With these lying phrases, Communist leaders attempt to lure German workers who are disgusted by the miserable betrayal of the workers by the part of the Socialist bigwigs of the SPD.

Jewish scribblers from the *Rote Fahne* point to the Soviet Union and paint a glowing picture of the Soviet paradise. Milk and honey flow in Soviet Russia, the “workers’ paradise on earth,” according to Communist leaders. Everyone who has a human face enjoys absolute freedom.

Jewish puppeteers in the KPD attempt to win over the masses by lying promises of total



equality, social improvement, and the betterment of the individual's condition. By putting promises of economic and social advantage of every sort in the foreground, they simultaneously attempt to divert the German worker from Bolshevism's true goal, a

### **world revolution**

that will destroy the peoples.

The ultimate goal of communist Jews is not realizing genuine socialism, but rather world revolution. In the program of the Communist Internationale mentioned above, it says that the program is

**“the program fighting for world dictatorship of the proletariat, the program for world communism.**

Well, how are things in Russia, the much-praised Soviet paradise? What is the social condition of workers in this land ruled absolutely by communism?

The Communist dictator **Stalin** gave clear information in his speech of 23 June 1931.

Here are the most important points of his speech literally translated from the 5 July issue of *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia.

## **Away with Egalitarianism**

**Stalin** said:

“What is our actual situation? Can we say that the labor force on our factories is steady? No, to our regret one cannot say that. The very opposite. We see in our factories

**constant turnover among the employees.**

In fact, in some factories the turnover among employees is not only failing to decline,

**but is becoming even more frequent.**

One will find very few factories in which there is not within six, or even three, months

**a turnover of 30% to 40%.**

**Why is there such a turnover of workers?**

That happens because

**of wrong pay rates,**

**the wrong pay schedule, and**

**because of left-radical (!) egalitarianism**

**with regards to pay.** In some factories, pay rates are set so that the difference in pay between skilled and unskilled work and light and heavy labor has almost vanished.

**Egalitarianism means that**

an unskilled worker has no interest in becoming a skilled worker since there is no advantage to doing so. As a result, he feels as if he is on vacation, working just long enough to earn what he needs, **then going somewhere else to find his happiness.**

**Egalitarianism means that**

a skilled worker **is forced to move from one factory to another** to find one where his skilled labor is rewarded as it deserves to be. **The result is a general migration from one factory to another, resulting in constant worker turnovers.**

To eliminate this evil, one must **eliminate egalitarianism and abolish the old pay system.** To destroy this evil, one must introduce a pay system that takes account of the difference between skilled and unskilled labor, between light and heavy labor. An ironworker cannot be paid the same as a janitor, a machinist in the railroad system the same as a clerk. Marx and Lenin say that the difference between skilled and unskilled labor will remain under socialism, even after the elimination of classes, that **only with communism will this difference vanish**, and that even under socialism pay must be determined by productivity, not the needs of the worker. However, the egalitarians among the **economists and union functionaries do not agree today; they are of the opinion that this difference must disappear in our Soviet system.** Who is right — Marx and Lenin or the egalitarians? We have to assume that Marx and Lenin are right. Thus, those who want to have an egalitarian pay system without regard to differences between skilled and unskilled labor violate the principles of Marxism and Leninism.

In every branch of industry, in every firm, in each mine, there is an

**aristocracy of labor**

**of more or less qualified workers** that has to be respected in a factory if we want to ensure the



factory's employee stability. This **aristocracy of labor is fundamental to production**. Holding to it in a factory or mine will eliminate incessant labor turnover.

How does this work in a factory? Only by providing opportunities for advancement, only if one receives pay that is appropriate to one's qualifications.

That is a betrayal of the fundamental principle of communism, which even today asserts

### **absolute equality for everyone.**

It is significant that Stalin bases this departure from the communist ideal not on the general inequality of human beings, but rather from a purely capitalist perspective.

Russian workers are in a catastrophic economic situation. The working masses flee factories in droves to find new jobs in the hopes of bettering their miserable situation. To an unprecedented degree, constant job shifting is part of life in the "Soviet paradise." Stalin himself estimates that 40% change jobs each quarter.

### **Why this enormous job turnover?**

Because in Soviet Russia pay is worse than in any "capitalist" country in the world. Stalin himself says it is because of:

### **the wrong pay schedule.**

The skilled worker is paid too badly, which also means that the unskilled worker has no prospect of earning more pay.

The communist dictatorship has not deserted the principles of communism because of the misery, hunger, and poverty of the Russian worker — no, the only reason is the economic viability of factories, the concern for carrying out of the Five Year Plan.

### **That is Stalin's betrayal of socialism!**

The Red Tsar thinks no more about the good of Russian workers than did the White Tsar. For the one as well as the other, the Russian worker is only a way to build power. The White Tsar Nicholas's desire was Pan-Slavism, uniting all the Slav peoples. For the Red Tsar Stalin, the goal is world revolution. World revolution and the resulting world dictatorship, however, have nothing at all to do with socialism or the good of the working class. The idea of world domination is the sick idea of Jewish world domination.

The Five Year Plan for the communist puppeteers is only a step along the way to world domination. The fact that this world domination is not the "dictatorship of the proletariat," but rather the domination of entirely different powers, is clear from Stalin's words against

### **"left-radical egalitarianism**

**with regards to pay."**

The wretched dishonesty of Stalin's perspective is clearly seen in the following words:

"Marx and Lenin say that the difference between skilled and unskilled labor will remain under socialism, even after the elimination of classes, that **only with communism will this difference vanish.**"

Stalin thereby contradicts himself. If he says that “the difference will vanish under communism,” but simultaneously calls for restoring this difference that had been abolished, **he turns against the idea of communism.**

The surrendering of communist principle is further clearly evident in Stalin’s call for an  
**aristocracy of labor.**

In calling for this, Stalin advocates a concept that communism until now **has bitterly opposed.**

## **Away with the five-day week**

Stalin’s speech continues:

“Can one maintain that the current organization of labor in our factories is consistent with the demands of a **modern factory**? **Unfortunately, one cannot say that;** instead we have many factories where

**labor organization is wretched,**

where instead of order and structure in the workplace,

**disorder and complete chaos**

prevail, where instead of responsibility for one’s work

**total carelessness and irresponsibility prevail.**

What is irresponsibility?

Irresponsibility is the lack of any responsibility for the work, for machines, tools, and instruments. Clearly, given such irresponsibility one cannot speak of significantly increasing productivity, of improving the quality of products, and of properly caring for machines, tools, and instruments. You know what the lack of responsibility in the railway system has led to. Other industries are in the same condition. We must abolish the

**five-day work week**

that exists on paper (!) and return to a six-day work week with holidays, which has already happened recently at the Stalingrad tractor factory.”

This makes it absolutely clear that the oft-praised model factories in Soviet Russia are

**hopelessly in ruins.**

According to Stalin’s own words, labor organization is “**wretched,**” “**disorder and complete chaos**” prevail, and there is “**total carelessness and irresponsibility.**”

**Stalin has to know best!**

The supreme principle here is the success of the Five Year Plan as a step toward world revolution. Stalin, therefore, does not advocate the good of the workers, but rather makes the purely **capitalist** demand for “**modern factory**

**management.”**

The “irresponsibility” that Stalin complains about is an inevitable result of Marxism, which as one knows demands the same rights and responsibilities, which means the same irresponsibility, from every one.

In Germany, Thälmann and his comrades loudly call for the five day week. **Stalin demands “the end of the five-day week and a return to the six-day week.”** That clearly proves the mendacity of the communist Jewish press in Germany that advocates the five-day week.

**This is further proof that the communist dictatorship is not interested in socialism, but only the realization of its capitalist plans desire for power.**

The economic viability of the factory comes ahead of the interests of the workers. And Stalin makes the interesting admission that the tractor factory in Stalingrad has already secretly returned to the six-day workweek.

**Up with the bourgeoisie**

**Stalin** continues:

There are not a few among our colleagues who are not party members. That cannot be a hindrance to giving them leadership positions. In fact, these workers who are not party members must be given particular attention, **one must**

**give them leadership positions**

so that they will be convinced that our party knows how to value capable and talented colleagues. Some of our comrades believe that leadership posts in factories and concerns should be filled only by members of the Communist Party, and as a result they shove non-party

**colleagues with ambition**

aside and prefer party members even if they have less ability and ambition. It does not need to be said that there is nothing more stupid and reactionary than such a “policy,” if you will forgive me for saying so. It probably does not need to be said that such a policy harms the reputation of the Communist Party and drives colleagues who are not party members away.

The bourgeois intelligentsia has always hoped for military

**intervention**

by foreign powers in our affairs. **So far, these hopes have been a house built on sand. For six years, they have constantly prophesied military intervention by other states against us. There has not even been an attempted military intervention against us.** We therefore have to change our **policy regarding the old technical intelligentsia.** We must change our behavior toward the old school technical intelligentsia; we must **pay them more attention and treat them well.** We must **make their work attractive for them** —that is the task.”

Stalin’s words display a complete about face from communism. That is not because he has realized the impracticality of communist slogans, but rather from purely capitalist thinking. Stalin calls for

colleagues “with ambition.”

He demands that they should

“receive leadership posts,”

meaning that they should lead the communists. Stalin further demands that the “old school technical intelligentsia” (the “bourgeois” intelligentsia who have previously been alienated and persecuted) should be put at the top again

That is an admission of the total bankruptcy of communist ideals, in particular the false idea of class struggle and the union of all productive people’s comrades, a principle National Socialism has always maintained. Stalin bases his demand, however, for purely capitalist reasons, for reasons of economic viability. In Germany the Jewish scribblers from the *Rote Fahne* call every industrialist an “exploiter,” in Russia Stalin wants to put these people “in leadership positions.”

At the same time Stalin openly mocks all those who speak about intervention in Russia. That applies most of all to German communists, who spread fantasies in every meeting, every newspaper, and every leaflet about a war of intervention against Russia.

This proves those communist slogans to be blatant bare-faced lies.

**Long live capitalism!**

**Stalin** continues:

“My speech would be incomplete if I did not speak of a new matter. It has to do with the sources of capital for our industry and economy, and of

**the acceleration of this capital accumulation.**

What is new and unique in our industrial development from the standpoint of capital accumulation? Previous sources of capital have been insufficient. And that is not all. One must add that thanks to the sloppy **management, economic principles have been totally disregarded** in a number of our concerns and economic organizations.

It is a fact that a number of concerns and economic organizations have long since stopped figuring, stopped calculating and balancing income and expenses. It is a fact that in a number of concerns and economic organizations, the concepts of

“**economic management,**”

“**reducing unproductive expenses,**”

“**nationalization of operations**”

have long since become old fashioned ideas. They apparently think that the state bank will give them the money they need. **It is a fact that manufacturing costs have recently begun to rise in a large number of concerns.** They were told to reduce costs by 10% or more, but instead have increased them. **What is the significance of reducing costs?** You know that **each percent** that costs are reduced means an increase in capital of 150 to 200 million rubles. Clearly, an increase in costs under such conditions in

industry means a loss to the economy of hundreds of millions of rubles.

What must be done? Sloppy management must be eliminated and **internal sources of capital must be mobilized** in industry. Sound accounting must be implemented in our enterprises along with systematic reductions in costs and **stronger internal capital formation in industry, and in all branches of industry without exception.**”

This makes clear Stalin’s purely capitalist way of thinking. There is no sign here of a communism that shouts “Down with capitalism!” and “Down with the exploiters!”

**“Capital accumulation!” “Economic viability!” “Reducing unproductive costs!”  
“Nationalization of operations!”**

These are old and familiar capitalist slogans of western managers to whom profit is everything, the well-being of workers nothing.

That is the true face of Bolshevism. Now that it has taken power in Russia it no longer needs to play the role of “worker-friendly” communists. It has thrown off the mask of friendship with workers and now appears as a racially greedy profit-seeking exploiter that thinks of nothing but profit.

Stalin bases his purely capitalist demands on the fact that “manufacturing costs have begun to rise recently in a whole range of factories.” The only reason for Stalin’s reforms is **the capitalist drive for the greatest possible economic viability. Stalin says not a word about the workers and their miserable conditions.** The course of the Soviet republic is determined not by the welfare of Russian workers, but rather by capitalist lust for profit. **“Capital accumulation”** is the newest communist slogan. That is why Stalin demands **“the mobilization of ways to build capital,” “adoption of sound accounting,”** and **“systematic cost reduction.”**

This last slogan is familiar enough.

### **What does “reduction in costs” mean?**

Under current conditions in Russian industry, reducing costs means

**reducing pay!**

At an earlier speech to the Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, Stalin said **that the Soviet state took a third of the entire income of the working population for its purposes in 1931.** Any worker can figure out for himself what a further reduction in pay for the purpose of increasing economic viability means.

**Down with the Workers!**

In conclusion **Stalin** said:

“It is further necessary to break up into smaller units and reduce in size our current industrial conglomerates that sometimes include 100 to 200 factories. It is clear that the head of such an industrial enterprise that controls 100 or more factories cannot really understand their capacities and what they do. It is clear that without a knowledge of the factories, **he is not able to direct them.** To give directors the ability to truly know and lead factories, one has to relieve them of a large number of factories, **one has to break up state trusts into smaller unit.** It is further necessary **that our trusts change from collective management**

## to management by a single person.

Currently, collective management **consists of 10 or 15 people who sit around writing documents and talking.** One has to put an end to this “management” by paper and implement truly practical Bolshevist work. These new organizations should be led by a chairman and at most several deputies. That will be sufficient to direct the organization. **The best thing to do is send the remaining members of the collective administration back to the concerns and factories.** That would be far better for them as well as for the enterprise.”

Stalin’s conclusion openly reveals the

### complete bankruptcy

of communism’s leadership of Russian industry. The unbelievable conditions in Soviet factories are not the result of inadequate abilities of Russian workers, but rather —as Stalin openly says — because

### of the incompetent system of communist leadership.

The communist system of economic management has existed Soviet Russia for 14 years. Stalin has finally come to the realization that this communist **system is entirely inadequate.**

The Red tsar comes to this realization not because he is concerned with the welfare of workers, but rather from purely capitalist ways of thinking. The decisive factor in Soviet Russia is **the economic viability of the factory,** or as the communists prefer to say, the **exploiter’s lust for profits.**

Stalin does not even hold back from discarding the most holy communist ideal, collectivism, in his capitalist reforms. He demands **the end of “collective administration.”** The Red dictator denies everything that the communists have previously held out to the betrayed masses as Bolshevism’s successes.

Soviet Russia has discarded the mask of friendship with the workers and now reveals with brutal nakedness the crassest, most ruthless Soviet capitalism.

The latest slogan of mendacious Bolshevism is now:

### “Down with collectivism!”

That means economic dictatorship, or in the Bolshevist-capitalist sense the dictatorship of the economy over the workers. That is Bolshevist forced labor.

The idea that a single person must have leadership responsibility also comes from National Socialism, although Stalin reaches this realization not by recognizing the leadership principle that is anchored in National Socialism. He also does not apply it to communist state leadership in every area, but rather only to **leaders in industry who are to have dictatorial power over the workers. Here, too, Stalin is interested only in a purely economic perspective** Costs should be reduced and economic viability increased. That means: reducing pay to that the lust for profit of Russian exploiters can be satisfied.

### Soviet capitalism triumphs over the Russian worker!

Stalin clearly shows his capitalistic approach when he **contemptuously tosses aside** the workers who are part of collective administration in factories, saying that they only **“sit around writing documents and talking”!** He **cynically demands that these workers “be sent back to the concerns and factories” and mockingly adds that “that would be far better for them.”**

That is the most insolent possible contempt for Russian workers. Stalin thereby proves that he was never a real leader of workers. The capitalist lust for profit is more important to him than the good of workers. No American capitalist would dare to say what the Red tsar cold-bloodedly announces: **“Down with the worker!”**

## Lenin's Opinion

It is very interesting to compare Stalin's "reforms" with the demands Lenin made in April 1918, and which were adopted on **29 April 1918** by resolution of the All Russian Central Committee of Worker, Soldier, Peasant, and Cossack Deputies.

**Lenin** demanded in his report **“On the Next Tasks of Soviet Power”** everything that the big capitalist Stalin is eliminating today.

### Lenin and the Bourgeoisie

**Lenin** first of all noted that the bourgeoisie in Russia had been defeated, but not yet pulled up by the roots, not destroyed, or even finally defeated. As the next task Lenin demanded:

“A new, higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is on the agenda, a transition from the simplest task of further expropriation from the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions under which the bourgeoisie neither exists nor could develop once again. It is clear that this task is a great one, and that socialism is impossible without its solution.”

The task Lenin sets here has failed utterly. The Soviets have not succeeded in creating “conditions under which the bourgeoisie cannot exist.” This fiasco in meeting Lenin's communist task is absolutely clear in Stalin's demand to bring the bourgeoisie back into “leadership positions.” Lenin, however, said that socialism was impossible without solving this problem. This is yet further proof that socialism does not rule in Russia, that the goal has not been achieved.

Stalin's advocacy of the bourgeoisie, which Lenin so firmly fought, results from a purely capitalist way of thinking. Concern about “economic viability” had led the Soviets to drop their hypocritical slogans about the socialism they never achieved.

### Lenin and Equal Pay

**Lenin** did say in the above report that Soviet power must use one bourgeois method and pay bourgeois experts well.

**Lenin**, however, said that this could only be a transitional measure and added:

**“Clearly, such a method is a compromise, a departure from the principles of the Paris Commune and proletarian power, which call for equality of pay for the average worker, and require a battle against ‘careerism’ in fact, not only in words.**

**Clearly, such a measure is not only a pause in a certain area and to some degree in the offensive against capital, but rather also a step backwards for our socialist Soviet power which from its beginning has had a policy of reducing high pay to the level of the average worker.”**

**Stalin** has now set aside **Lenin's** call for absolute equality in pay. And — something we always have to repeat — for purely capitalist reasons of “economic viability.” **Lenin** saw higher pay for experts only as a compromise that should be eliminated as soon as possible. He said:

**“After the ‘advance guard’ of class-conscious workers and the poorest peasants has finished within a year, with the help of Soviet institutions, in organizing themselves, in disciplining themselves, in uniting and building strong labor discipline, we will want to throw off this ‘tribute’ within a year... The sooner we workers and peasants adopt better labor discipline and better technology for which we need the knowledge of bourgeois experts, the sooner we will be able to free ourselves from the tribute paid to these experts.”**

**Lenin** said that in April 1918. Today, 13 years afterwards the “advance guard,” i.e., the shock troops of Soviet exploiters, have still not finished with organization, labor discipline, etc. Stalin orders that the bourgeois intelligentsia “be given more attention,” that they be “treated well,” that “their work must be made attractive for them.”

If one compares these new directives from Stalin with Lenin’s promises from 1918 one clearly sees the Bolshevik fiasco all across the field.

In 1918 Lenin demanded: **“Organization, ‘strong’ labor discipline, unity.”**

In 1931 Stalin admits: **“The organization of labor is wretched. Disorder and complete chaos prevail.”**

That is a declaration of bankruptcy for communist ideology.

## **Lenin and the Control of Factories**

**Lenin** viewed direction and control in factories by communists as the most important part of Soviet power. He said:

“The critical point in the battle against the bourgeoisie is the organization of such direction and control.”

“...neglecting direction of production and the distribution of products means the downfall of the beginnings of socialism.”

“One must include all members of the Soviets in practical administrative work. Our goal is the general inclusion of the poor in practical administrative work.”

**Lenin** demanded that in April 1918.

In June 1931, 13 years later, **Stalin** said that it was necessary to reduce the size of major industrial organizations and eliminate collective administration in these factories. **Administrative control should be transferred to a single person.** Stalin is curtly abolishing control of factories — **because it is not economically viable.** The humanitarian Stalin is sending the previous communist managers back down to the factories.

Away with such troublesome supervision that could stand in the way of the exploitive ideas of the Red tsars. Thus administrative control will be transferred to individuals who will naturally be Stalin’s willing puppets.

Meanwhile, the dumb Russian worker works day and night, believing that the Five Year Plan will be accomplished and will bring him the promised mountain of gold.

## **Lenin and Exploitation**

The harshest form of the capitalist system exists in Soviet Russia — the American Taylor System. Communists everywhere vehemently attack the Taylor System as the worst form of exploitation. Lenin himself called Taylor’s system **“the most terrible form of bourgeois exploitation.”**

Lenin described this terrible form of exploitation in this way:



**“In Russia we need to learn how to use the Taylor System with its systematic measurement and evaluation.”**

According to a resolution of the All-Russian Central Committee of Worker, Soldiers, Peasant and Cossack Deputies of 29 April 1918:

“Prominent on the agenda are measures to increase labor discipline and productivity. This includes, for example, the introduction of piecework ... the Taylor System ... and adjustments of pay.”

The Taylor System uses a stopwatch. The KPD has raged against stopwatch measures on the part of the German railway system. The *Rote Fahne* wrote on 20 October 1931:

“Red factory councils rightly reject stopwatch measures.”

Soviet capitalism in Russia, however, uses this system that Lenin called “the most terrible form of bourgeois exploitation,” the Taylor System.

The Taylor System is based on the idea of maximum productivity. The maximum is the norm. Maximum productivity is that of the best workers in the best time (the shortest time). Encouragement for high productivity is provided by piecework pay and bonuses. The communist press in other countries calls piecework “murderous pay.” That, however, does not prevent the Bolsheviks from using in the Soviet paradise what they call a method of exploitation.

Perhaps a worker will believe that a method of capitalist exploitation ceases to be exploitation only because it is used by the Soviet state.

Exploitation is exploitation! Nowhere is exploitation more shamelessly practiced than in the Soviet Union.

Advance guards, shock troops, drive workers to feverish labor.

Stalin needs money, money, and still more money. He needs money to implement the Bolshevik idea of transforming agricultural Russia into an industrial state; there is, after all, still too little industry in the world.

There is nothing left over for social purposes. The public kitchens in which workers eat are in an unbelievable condition, as the following report proves:

“Moscow ( via Kowno), 21 August

The Communist Party and government published a report Wednesday evening on an investigation of public kitchens. It reported that the mass kitchens where thousands and thousands of workers and their families eat are in a terrible condition. The filthy conditions and poorly prepared meals depress worker morale. Their productivity has declined as a result. All party offices are instructed, with the help of the GPU, to exercise strict supervision of public kitchens and give harsh punishment to those responsible. The Party also considers it necessary to create a trust to provide meals. The report says nothing about lifting the rationing system in the Soviet Union.”

That is the real state of things in the much-praised Soviet paradise.

Hunger, poverty, and misery prevail instead of the promised socialism.

Woe to him, however, who dares to say anything against Soviet capitalism and Stalin, who betrays workers.

**Banishment and death threaten him, Siberia and the Cheka!**

A report from the head steward (head waiter) of an English steamer tells us what happens to the unfortunates who dare to rebel against the capitalist methods of exploitation used in “socialist” Russia:

“I undertook my ninth trip to Russia at the beginning of 1931. Between 1926 and 1931 I travelled to the most varied parts of Russia. One finds forced labor camps wherever one goes. Most recently I visited Kego and Kipnar where there are 50,000 prisoners, men, women, and children. They all work in the forests producing timber. There were about 300 people with serious skin diseases in a hospital. It was the most terrible thing that I have seen in my entire life. Children, men, and women all slept together in two beds in wretched, louse-infested clothing. They died of hunger and looked terrible. I asked the doctor, who spoke very good English, why these sick people were not cared for decently. He said that it was impossible, since they were not communists. Russia did not need any adherents of the capitalist system. He told me that at least 30 people died every day. A small boy had terrible sores on his back. The doctor told me he had been beaten 20 times and sentenced to 10 years of forced labor because he did not follow an order of the Red officers who commanded the camp. — The prisoners received a kilo of dark bread and a liter of water per day. It was terrible to see them. Our ship’s whole crew from the captain down to the servants secretly gave clothing to these unfortunates. Unfortunately we could not help the women since we had no women’s clothing. It was terrible to see how the young women were treated. I asked the doctor what would happen to them. He answered that they would be killed when they were no longer able to work, since they would then only be in the way. One such poor girl carried a heavy log. She collapsed from weakness and two guards whipped her to force her to stand up again. Several of us were able to visit the camp and see the huts of these unfortunates. There was only straw and an overpowering stench. The prisoners were covered with vermin.”

In Germany, however, Thälmann promises: “Our class struggle means a better future. The victory of Soviet Germany will guarantee work, land, food, and freedom for all workers!”

“Where?” asks the German worker. “In Bolshevik forced labor camps,” answer hundreds of thousands of those condemned to die.

Despite terror, despite forced labor, despite the lash and Siberia, terrible conditions prevail in Soviet factories, which recently even the Soviet press had to admit.

One recently heard of scandalous conditions at the new tractor factory in the Volga city of Stalingrad (formerly Zarizyn), one of the most important regions for the Soviet economy. The huge factory was built by Americans last year and equipped exclusively with American machinery. It was the pride and joy of the Five Year Plan and was to produce at least 25,000 tractors in the first half of 1931, with production increasing each month.

**In reality, in March, for example, it produced only 419 tractors instead of the 3500 planned, and they at “the unbelievable production cost of 4000 rubles.” Only 22 tractors were produced during the first part of April!**

Over 70% of the several thousand workers have worked for less than a year in their specialty, not to mention the fact that they constantly change jobs. The result is countless accidents, because of which hundreds of machines are out of production for days or weeks. According to *Pravda* on 18 April, within four months there were 2788 machine breakdowns that were the result of technical ignorance. “American machines fail, too, if they are not used properly,” writes the official Soviet newspaper. “900 accidents a month, that is response of the machines to wrong usage...”

Production costs are rising every month in the metallurgy and cutting departments in the factory. In the ironworks, waste production has reached 90%. There is, by the way, also a shortage of metal. Chaotic conditions in the “biggest factory in the world,” as the Bolsheviks call it, are so bad that in March management had no idea how many workers were employed by the concern.

The *Pravda* regretfully reported that the American workers who were there to train workers once they had put the machinery together were not used. In fact, since their contracts are finished they are returning to the United States without having given their Russian colleagues the minimum level of necessary training.

“Because of our carelessness and attitude toward labor, we cannot dream of an American pace” — that was the ironic comment from *Pravda* about the miserable failure of the “most promising part” of the Five Year Plan.

## Communists!

Communism in Soviet Russia has absolutely failed!

Your leaders who have told you about the wonderful conditions in the Soviet paradise have revealed by Stalin's speech to be **miserable liars**.

Stalin himself must admit that

“the organization of labor is **wretched**”

and that

“**disorder and total chaos**”

prevail everywhere.

## Communists!

Stalin himself, not the enemies of Bolshevism, say that that workers in the Soviet paradise suffer

**poverty and misery**

to an enormous degree.

Stalin himself is turning away from communism, he is abolishing the five day week that your communist functionaries have praised for years as the

**greatest communist achievement.**

Even more, Stalin is now turning back to the

**bourgeois intelligentsia**

that he wants to bring back to

**leadership positions.**

## Communists!

For years your functionaries have been sending you into the streets with the slogan “Down with the bourgeoisie!” and “Fight capitalism!”, yet today the supreme communist leader is **for** the bourgeoisie and **for** capitalism.

The only thing that is important to him is

“**economic viability.**”

That is Soviet capitalism!

“**Capital accumulation**” — “**Economic management**” — “**Reduction of nonproductive costs**” — “**Nationalization of operations**” — “**Systematic reduction in production costs**” — **These are the newest Soviet slogans!**

To implement these capitalist principles Stalin wants to “eliminate collective management” and introduce “individual leadership.”

It is almost a slap in the face of every honest communist when Stalin demands:

**“Down with the worker!”**

## **Communists!**

This is the most brutal lust for profit, the most miserable money-grubbing, that recognizes only “economic viability” as the supreme law.

The hypocritical mask of friendship with the workers conceals the devilish hat of profit-hungry capitalism.

The fundamental principle in Soviet Russia is not the good of the workers, but rather the unrestrained rule of Soviet capitalism. It is a capitalism that puts all previous forms of capitalist exploitation in the shadows. It dictates forced labor, and uses the death penalty and banishment against any attempt at a strike by exploited workers. For the worker, Soviet capitalism is hell on earth.

## **Communists!**

Send to the Devil those swindlers who want to tell you about the Soviet paradise. Jewish scribblers for communist agitation newspapers only want to misuse the poverty of exploited workers for their own greedy purposes. If they gain power, just like Stalin they will throw off the mask of friendship with workers and introduce the most brutal form of capitalism, Soviet capitalism, to Germany.

Soviet capitalism is forced labor. Shut up and keep working is the slogan of these Red exploiters. Every attempt to strike by the betrayed masses will drown in blood.

Is that what you want? Do you want the most brutal Soviet capitalism, the system of forced labor, to victory in Germany?

Or do you want jobs and prosperity in a free Germany?

# **German Workers!**

You belong in the

**National Socialist German Workers' Party!**

The National Socialist slogan is:

**“The common good before the individual good!”**

The right to live of each individual German worker is a thousand times as important to us as the lust for profit of any sort of capitalist. Down with the lust for profit and Stalin, the swindler of workers!

We do not want “economic viability,” but rather

**jobs and prosperity**

for each German people's comrade. That is the supreme National Socialist law. Over against **Stalin's capitalist**

**tendencies, we demand**

**economic leadership**

from a united front of blue and white collar workers in a National Socialist corporate state.

We do not want the capitalist exploiter Stalin's slogan

**“Down with the worker!”**

but rather a system in which each worker can rise to the highest position his abilities allow.

The life interests of the German people can be realized only in a

**people's community**

that is today represented by the National Socialist German Workers' Party under its Führer Adolf Hitler.

Therefore, join the front of the German workers' movement. Fight with us for true German socialism!

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**Background:** This was one of a series of mass pamphlets published by the Nazi Party early in 1932, before the spring elections for Reich President. This one is particularly aimed at members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The Germany economy at the time was in catastrophic condition, and many who read this probably were not all that sure about the Nazis, but perhaps thought that the Nazis could hardly make things worse than they already were. I do not know much about the author, Heinz Franke. He did write several other pamphlets around this time, and was one of Goebbels's staff in Berlin.

This was #6 in the series of pamphlets published by the party propaganda office. The copy I am working from brought the print run to 80,000.

**The source:** Heinz Franke, *Die Journalle lügt!* (Munich: Eher Verlag, 1932).

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## **The Sensationalist Newspapers Lie!**

by Heinz Franke

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In comfort and ease, the Red party hacks set themselves up after the successful “revolt” of 9 November 1918 in the quarters of the capitalism they had so attacked. The nice, warm spoils system took in the army of party hacks and lesser dignitaries, allowing the top comrades to take up the promised life “**of beauty and dignity.**”

The Social Democratic war profiteer and big swindler Parvus-Helphand resided in the Schwanenwerder Palace. There he met the illustrious leaders of the workers' party, Scheidemann, Bauer, Wels, Gradenauer, Heilmann, etc.

The leaders of the exploited masses — Police President Richter, for example — accepted gold toothpicks and elegant sleeping gowns from big Jewish swindlers.

The Red party hacks promised the working people heaven on earth.

In the proclamation of the Saxon workers' and soldiers' soviet of 14 November 1918, the proletariat was promised the following delights:

“To the People of Saxony!

The capitalist system has collapsed. The bourgeois monarchical government has fallen. The revolutionary proletariat has taken power. Its goal is a socialist republic. Socialism means: The transformation of capitalism production into social production, the confiscation of private land, mines, and foundries, along with raw materials, banks, machines, means of



transportation, etc. A change in production to social control of production by the proletariat. The task of the socialist government is to continue the revolution until the bourgeois class is completely overcome. The republic means: The absolute rule of the will of the working class, the elimination of serfdom in any form, and general disarmament of the citizenry to protect the accomplishments of the revolution. The abolition of all forms of income without labor, the separation of church and state, the rejection of all bourgeois courts. The special task of the republican government is to liquidate the Saxon state and form a unified socialist German republic.

By the authority of the workers' and soldiers' soviets of Dresden, Leipzig, and Chemnitz.

Schwarz, Neuring, Fleißner, Rühle, Geyer, Lipinski, Seeger, Heckert, Fellisch"

(To keep the Red party hacks from playing their favorite old trick by claiming that this is a "Nazi fabrication," it is taken word-for-word from the book by Social Democrat Ed. Bernstein, *Die deutsche Revolution*, vol. 1, p. 59).

A Social Democratic leaflet during the election campaign for the National Assembly stated:

"... They (the Social Democrats, editor) have done all in their power to appeal to the moral forces of the world, the forces of socialism, to gain a **lasting, bearable peace** for the German people, despite the defeat that was the responsibility of the old leaders. . .

. . . **to preserve its rights in the peace treaty** and to work for a **just peace** that will save the world from the horrors of a new war. . . .

. . . We will not allow capitalism **to again exploit and oppress intellectual and manual workers**. We want the working people to enjoy the full fruits of their labor **under socialist conditions**. . . .

Our goal is the greatest possible freedom . . .

. . . and what is most important, **help for the poorest classes** to rise to a higher level.”

(This leaflet was distributed in Liegnitz. It was issued by Herm. Feller, Görlitz, and printed by the Arbeiter-Druckerei, Görlitz.)

The Red party membership book was all powerful. It opened the doors to the highest positions in the state and administration. The former locksmith's apprentice Fritz Brolat, for example, became a director of the Berlin Transportation Company, despite his complete lack of education, which soon paid him **200,000 RM** a year.

In short, the party hacks led a lovely life, free of worries, became fat, and praised the accomplishments of a revolution that gave them these lovely advantages.

When starving workers and civil servants showed up requesting more pay, one looked at them from the well-upholstered chair in a patronizing way, and set the printing presses to work to satisfy their needs. That was easy, and there was enough paper. As inflation constantly increased and the deceived masses demanded a reckoning, one put on an innocent face and claimed that it was a harmless natural event for which the SPD could hardly be made responsible.

And so they sat comfortably in their warm upholstered chairs, those Red party hacks, and lived it up.

But a dark cloud was gathering in the bright heaven of those party hacks. Blue and white collar men joined together in the National Socialist moment, experienced front soldiers and enthusiastic youth, who wanted to bring German people true socialism in a new Reich with a genuine people's community incorporating all the productive classes. The betrayed masses of Social Democratic workers increasingly recognized the true face of their so-called “leaders,” and the knowledge of how the Red party hacks had so greatly betrayed the workers grew.

As the beneficiaries of the revolution recognized the danger to their comfortable life, they reached for their tested political weapons, lies and slanders.

To keep the bitter, deceived masses from streaming to the National Socialist freedom movement, these terrified bigwig bureaucrats unleashed an unprecedented campaign of lies. In the editorial offices of Social Democratic newspapers, Jewish hirelings devised a poisonous soup of lies distributed in millions of copies.

The more the National Socialist flood rose, the filthier and more insolent the lies of the Red sensationalist newspapers became.

The extent to which the Jewish “workers' leaders” were willing to go is shown by the following directive, discussed at the Reichsbanner [**the Social Democratic paramilitary auxiliary**] conference in November 1931. We take this from the *Leipziger Neuesten Nachrichten*, Nr. 335, 1 December 1931:

“The **national directorate of the Reichsbanner** instructs the national board to seize the initiative. We must conduct systematic agitation against the National Socialists to an unprecedented degree, using our press to **heat people up to the boiling point**, while at the same time using the power of the SPD in the states to unleash a **coldly calculated wave of suppression and government measures** to intensify the campaign against the NSDAP. Imagination and inventiveness can be given free rein in a wide-ranging press campaign, not holding back any lie if it serves our cause. The news system is in our hands. All the technical means are working. **Court cases** that may result from the unscrupulous conduct of this campaign have to be accepted in many cases if the campaign is not to be hindered or halted. **Financing** is assured.”

We can demonstrate the accuracy of these Magdeburg directives by the following citations from *Vorwärts* [**the Socialist national newspaper**]:



“Our most damaging attack on this society is to brand it at every opportunity as the slave of business...”  
(*Vorwärts*, Nr .5, 4.1.1931)

“The republic needs to be led by republicans who will shrink from nothing!” (*Vorwärts*, Nr. 565,  
3,12.1931)

“They (the SPD, editor) will take allies in this battle wherever it can find them...” (*Vorwärts*, Nr. 547,  
22.11.1931)

“We have only one enemy, the Right!” (*Vorwärts*, Nr. 547, 22.11.1931)

“We will take help anywhere we can find it.” (*Vorwärts*, Nr. 547, 22.11.1931)

## Lie: Reaction!

With a great deal of noise and a lot of wasted ink, the Red benefactors of the people accuse the Nazis of being evil reactionaries.

When the National Socialist movement was in its beginnings, the Red papers sneered at it as an insignificant offshoot of the German National Party. That will not work any longer, for even the most stubborn Marxist realizes that this is something new, a movement following its own victorious ideas. If the NSDAP had been only an offshoot of the German Nationalists, it would never have achieved such great success. Its rise, which shows that new, revolutionary elements are at work, refutes the myth of the “reactionary” Nazis better than all the speeches.

### Enemy of the workers

**The sensationalist newspapers lie when they say:** The Nazis are enemies of the workers, they want to destroy the unions and reduce wages.

To make these lies believable to German workers, the Red press pirates do not hold back from even the most insolent lies. The National Socialist Hans Held allegedly described how we lie in the National Socialist monthly *Der Meister*:

“We National Socialists are taking over your workers’ organizations. We are taking over your unions. The businessmen and big capitalists are giving us permission to adjust our agitation to the working class. If we speak of nationalizing land, we do not mean it. If we speak against capital, we need it as a propaganda tool to attract people to us. The main thing is that we have the people, that we pull them away from Marxism.”

One does not know whether to be most astounded by the filthy insolence or the blatant stupidity of these falsifications. But the best part of it is that there is neither a National Socialist named Hans Held, nor a National Socialist monthly titled *Der Meister*. The monthly *Der Meister* is still edited by Artur Mahraun, the head of the Young German Order — who, as is well known, co-founded the Jewish State Party in 1930 and is a bitter enemy of the NSDAP.

Since they lack any kind of support for the lie about National Socialism’s alleged intent to reduce wages, they do not bother to try to prove it.

The best refutation of both Social Democratic lies is given by **Adolf Hitler** himself in his book *Mein Kampf*, the standard work of the NSDAP:

“As long as there are employers who lack social understanding and have wrong ideas of justice and fair play it is not only the right but also the duty of their employees — who are, after all, an integral part of our people — to protect the general interests against the greed and unreason of the individual. For to

safeguard the loyalty and confidence of the people is as much in the interests of the nation as to safeguard public health.

**No. If unsocial and dishonorable treatment of men provokes resistance, then the stronger party can impose its decision in the conflict until the legal legislative authorities do away with the evil. Therefore it is evident that if the individual workman is to have any chance at all of winning through in the struggle he must be joined with his fellow workmen and present a united front before the individual employer, who incorporates in his own person the massed strength of the vested interests in the industrial or commercial undertaking which he conducts.**

Thus the trade unions can inculcate and strengthen a sense of social responsibility in daily life and open the road to practical results. In doing this they remove those causes of friction which are a continual source of discontent and complaint.

In the present state of affairs, I am convinced that we cannot possibly dispense with the trade unions. On the contrary, they are among the most important institutions in the economic life of the nation. Not only are they important in the sphere of social policy but also, and even more so, in the national political sphere. For when the great masses of a people see their vital needs satisfied through a just trade union movement, and are educated at the same time, the stamina of the whole nation in its struggle for existence will be enormously strengthened.

Above all else, the trades unions are necessary as a foundation for the future economic parliament, or the chambers representing the various professions and occupations.”

The sensationalist Red newspapers know all that, but they keep lying because they have to lie. The lie is their only weapon.

A speech by Comrade **Fritz Tarnow** to the Reichsbanner agitation meeting in the Berlin Sportpalast on 2 December 1931 proves the insolence of the Social Democratic betrayers of the workers as they go about their campaign of lies against National Socialism. The same Tarnow, who called social democracy “a doctor at capitalism’s sickbed” at the Leipzig Party conference, declared, according *Vorwärts*:

“The battle of the National Socialist front against the republic, against democracy and parliamentarianism, against the citizenship rights of the broad masses, is fundamentally nothing other than **a general attack on the social position of the working masses.**”

### **A single big lie!**

The general attack on the social position of the working masses has been led by those that the SPD has tolerated since 14 September 1930. Since 14 September, the working masses — insofar as one can still speak of working “masses” given the daily rise in unemployment — have had to accept one pay cut after another. The only group guilty of that is the leadership of the SPD, which intentionally placed the good of the party hacks above the good of the people. These friends of Sklarek [**a Berlin Jew involved in a major financial scandal**] are more concerned about losing the spoils of office than they are about the poverty and misery of the masses.

Here it is necessary to mention the lying presumptuous attempt by Jewish press reptiles to identify Marxism with the working class. Whenever the National Socialists attack Marxism, these sensationalist newspapers howl, writing about the working class instead of Marxism, and pretend to be representatives of the working class.

The German people has about 32 million workers, of whom only about 13 million voted for the Marxist parties (SPD and KPD) on 14 September 1930.

**Marxism has as little claim to socialism as the Marxist parties have to representing the whole German working class.**

There are millions of German workers who have seen the true face of Marxism, and who refuse to allow Jewish stock exchange swindlers to claim to be “leaders of the workers.”

What German workers should think about that “SPD economic expert,” the famous Comrade **Tarnow**, is shown by the following blatant lie.

At the previously mentioned Reichsbanner mass meeting, Comrade Tarnow said the following:

“One sees the big winner of the inflation period, Hugenberg, the firebrand Kirschdorff, the rich pensioner Schacht, the lords of the banks and stock exchange, the feudal lords and heavy industrialists, united in this “socialist workers party.” (*Vorwärts*, Nr, 565, 3.12.1931)

*Vorwärts* printed this lying nonsense. Even the simplest Marxist workers knows that Hugenberg is still leader of the German National Peoples Party, that neither Schacht nor Kirchdorff belong to the NSDAP, and that National Socialism has always stressed the differences in the worldviews of the NSDAP and the DNVP.

German workers, in Tarnow’s statement you can see the lying demagoguery of Social Democratic “leaders.” Either this SPD “economic expert” really does not know that Hugenberg is the leader of the DNVP, in which case he should give up politics and return to being a cabinetmaking apprentice, or if he does know it, he has lied intentionally in his agitation. That means he is either an idiot or a liar.

**And they call themselves “leaders of the workers”!**

In the above-mentioned meeting, the noble Tarnow also had the following wisdom to reveal:

**“No other country has so many economic scandals as Germany. They are not isolated events, but the result of a criminal system of economic leadership.”**

**Yes, Comrade Tarnow, that is true!**

**But why are you shamefully silent about the names of these economic crooks? Because they are all friends and financial supporters of the SPD, namely Sklarz, Parvus-Helphand, Barmat, Sklarek, Katzenellenbogen, etc.!**

**Comrade Tarnow, we urge you to study the Sklarek trial. It reveals clearly the criminal economic leadership of the System. It is the:**

**party hacks and profiteers!**

Surely you meant that, Comrade Tarnow?

**The Harzburg Front**

**The sensationalist newspapers lie:** The Nazis, Stahlhelm, and German Nationalists have joined together in the Harzburg front to fight the workers. The Harzburg Front is reactionary!

All the talk about a firm alliance, a joining together to fight the working class, are insolent lies that clearly show the great fear of the Red swindlers.

First, Hitler, Hugenberg, and Selde did not establish a “firm alliance” at Harzburg. The Harzburg conference was simply a clear declaration of war against Brüning’s government. Indeed, that is the same Brüning government that the SPD vainly fought against before 14 September 1930, and which it said it opposed in its election proclamation of 19 July 1930, claiming to be:

**“Against Brüning’s government, which is a brother to big capital and which wants to destroy the rights of the working class.”**

Hitler, Hugenberg, and Seldte were already against the Brüning government. That did not require any kind of alliance. And Harzburg did not result in an alliance, but rather each party stressed its own nature.

Before or after Harzburg, the National Socialists never thought of giving up any point of their program. The NSDAP is, as it was before, a revolutionary freedom movement, with the same goals it always had. Harzburg for it was merely tactical cooperation with other parties with the clear goal of bringing down the government, and with it the present System. The red party hacks saw the danger to their fine spoils of office, which has shown by their hysterical cries about the “reactionary” nature of the Harzburg “Front,” and their vain attempt to present the front as the union of business against the workers.

The NSDAP fights for German workers, not against them. It fights for true socialism against the party hacks.

The lie about the reactionary nature of the NSDAP is most clearly disproved by a look at its nature. Who are the leaders of this movement? The main leaders of the National Socialist idea are battle-tested men of the Front generation, and enthusiastic German youth. Evil reaction can never take root in such circles. To the contrary: youth has always been revolutionary.

### **Capitalist Hirelings**

**The sensationalist newspapers lie when they say:** The Nazis are capitalist hirelings, the paid soldiers of capitalism.

The Red Jewish press has proclaimed for years in various ways that the NSDAP is supported by big capital. But up to today, these miserable liars have not been able to name a single case.

They always attempt to prove their transparent lying agitation with every sort of fabrication. For example, the *Münchner Post*, the leading organ of the SPD in Bavaria, ran the following falsification in issue Nr. 68 of 242 March 1931, which was spread by the entire Social Democratic press:

## **“In the Pay of Business**

### **Hitler’s secret letter**

Reich Business office, Brown House  
Munich, Briennerstr. 45  
Tel. 56 0 65 - 67  
Postscheckkonto 11262

Munich, 4 March 1931

To the *Gauleiter* of County Hesse, Darmstadt

Secret H./R.

15,000 RM has been donated to the campaign fund for *Gau* Hesse, from the following firms: Councilor of Commerce Dykerhoff, Dr. A. Dykerhoff, Engineer A. Gastell, as well as directors Schindler and Jung.

These contributions obligate us to choose some of our most loyal S.A. people for future job openings, who will strongly oppose the increase in communist elements in the relevant factories, and do all they can to increase our strength in factory elections.

Only in that way, with the help of the greatest possible amount of propaganda effort by each individual S.A. man, can we force a breach among the support of the Red Front party, and thereby gain final victory for our Third Reich!

For future job openings, we must send only our best and most loyal S.A. people to the factories of the above-named party comrades. Experienced people should be the first choices.

The *Gauleitung* is to pass on the information to the country and local group leaders.

signed A. Hitler”

Even the style and tone of his ridiculous letter make it easy to determine where to look for its writer. But this is not only a miserable, slanderous falsification, but also an unusually blatant and filthy one.

**First, there is not a letterhead with the heading: “Reich Business office, Brown House.”**

**Second, the Post Bank account number 11263 is wrong. The party’s Munich account is 23319.**

**Third, the NSDAP does not have a *Gauleiter* of County Hessen-Darmstadt.**

Things have to be very bad for a party when it has to resort to such filthy and insolent falsifications in its political battles.

When the Nordwoll Company collapsed a few months ago, the Red lying press claimed that its head Lahusen had been a contributor to the Nazi movement. The big Bremen swindler Lahusen was financing the NSDAP.

The sensationalist newspapers wrote:

“Mr. G. Karl Lahusen is one of the biggest financial supporters of the NSDAP! During the Reichstag election, it was revealed that G. Karl Lahusen tolerated and supported Nazi agitators in his office.”

After the election, he gave a lot of money to Storm Troop leader Tidow.”

Who is this Mr. Lahusen? The best information comes from a letter that G. Karl Lahusen send to his friend Jakob Goldschmidt in September 1930, which the well-known financier passed on to *Vorwärts* In this letter, G. Karl Lahusen wrote:

“I have no hesitation in saying to you that I see the effects of the National Socialist Party as harmful to Germany’s development.”

This letter was used by the sensationalist press on 30 November 1930, the day before the city election in Bremen, as propaganda against the Nazis.

In Lahusen’s factories, there was a nasty sniffing out of Nazis, and those who were suspected of belonging to the NSDAP were fired. Storm Troop Leader Tidow made a public statement about these miserable goings on, which also refuted the lie about Lahusen’s financial support for the Nazis:

“**It is not true** that Mr. Lahusen or people working for him employed or supported National Socialist agitators.

**Instead, it is true** that I was disciplined for being a National Socialist member of the factory council.

**It is not true** that I received large sums of money after the election of 14 September from Mr. G. Karl Lahusen because I was a National Socialist Storm Troop leader.

**Instead, it is true** that I never received even a penny from Mr. Lahusen, nor any office of the Nordwolle concern because I was the Storm Troop leader of Storm 2, Bremen, Standart II/W.E., nor as a National Socialist member of the factory council, nor as a party comrade and member of the *Gauleitung* of the Hitler Youth of Weser-Ems, Bremen.

Signed: Walter Georg Tidow, former factory council representative of the North German Wool Chamber and Worsted Spinning Mill in Bremen”

Party comrade Tidow has further things to say about how National Socialist workers were treated by the famed big swindler and Jewish lackey Lahusen:

As a former member of the factory council of Nordwolle in Bremen, I declare that during my membership on the factory council between July 1930 and May 1931, I endured serious attacks from the personnel department and Department “A” (Employee and Worker Questions) because I was a National Socialist. Department “A” sabotaged my election to the factory council, and despite my legitimate election, tried to remove me from the factory council, and I was **forbidden to display my party membership badge**.

After these reactionary circles within Department “A” did not succeed in removing me from the factory council, I was

**fired and disciplined!!**

The head of the personnel department of the NDK, state parliament representative Franz Hartong (DVP!) declared publicly in Oldenburg before the state parliament election that the National Socialists were much more dangerous than the Social Democrats!! — That is the truth about the supposed financier of the Nazis.

Signed Walter Georg Tidow, Hanover.”

**More than that, we hear from a well-informed source that the Lahusen’s oldest brother was a member of the State Party, and alongside this group also made a contribution to the Social Democratic Party’s election fund on 14 September. In particular, this Lahusen financed the so-called “worker training schools,” Social Democratic functionary training schools.**

The Red liars make this bitter NSDAP opponent into a “financier of the Nazis.” Wherever one looks one finds lies, nothing but lies.

### **And the S.P.D.**

**Why does the SPD slander** the Nazis as enemies of pay agreements? To divert the masses from the fact that it is the socialist party hacks who are loosening the pay agreements to permit pay reductions to preserve their own spoils of office. Just two cases:

The commission that **unanimously** lowered the pay of metal workers by 7% in fall 1930 included the Social Democrat Prof. Sinzheimer.

The three-man team that **unanimously** reduced the pay in the Rhineland-Westphalia Ruhr Syndicate by 7% included the Social Democratic government councilor Bergemann-Düsseldorf.

### **German workers**

There are your enemies, those who reduce your pay so that they can continue to sit in their comfortable chairs.

**Why does the SPD slander** the Nazis as “reactionary puppets of Hugenberg”? To divert its followers from the fact

that those socialist party hacks who presumably were fighting Brüning's government and its emergency degrees before 14 September 1930 are now tolerating it at any cost. Also at the cost of one wage reduction after another. Presumably to avert something worse. And what does "worse" look like?

The socialist press lies in saying that a Nazi government would mean the rule of big industry. To prevent that, one has to tolerate Brüning.

### **German workers**

That is what the same party hacks say now, but in their election proclamation of 19 July 1930 they wrote:

"Against Brüning's government, which is brother to big capital." When Brüning's cabinet was shuffled in October 1931, Dr. Warmboldt became Minister of Economics. Dr. Warmboldt was previously a director of the I. G. Farben Trust, one of Germany's biggest industrial concerns. Well, if Dr. Warmboldt is not a big industrialist, who else could be? *Vorwärts* simply wrote on 10 October 1930 (*sic*) that "the empty post of Minister of economics has been filled by Mr. Warmboldt, who is an unknown quantity." Why was *Vorwärts* silent about the fact that Dr. Warmboldt was a director of the I. G. Farben Trust? Is it uncomfortable for it to have to tolerate a big industrialist?

**Why does the SPD slander** the Nazis as "capitalist hirelings"? To divert the masses from the fact that not only have the Red party hacks settled comfortably in the house of capitalism, but also that the SPD receives generous financial support from the capitalism it supposedly fights.

There is a long line of people like Jakob Goldschmidt, Parvus Helphand, Sklarz, Barmat, Sklarek, and all the rest of them.

What did *Vorwärts* write on 22 November 1931?

**"We take help from anywhere we can find it."**

The fact that they are not too narrow in their activities is proved by the Peace Society trial, in which it was proven that the Reichsbanner received 300,000 francs from France for domestic German purposes (propaganda against the Hindenberg election).

The very wide affections of the Reichsbanner in financial matters is proven by an article in the *Rote Fahne* [the **Communist Party newspaper**] of 3 December 1931 on the financial support for the Reichsbanner daily newspaper published by Hörsing (more has come in since).

The *Rote Fahne*, which should know, writes:

"This newspaper prints propaganda for the people's community, which means the subjection of the workers under capitalism, is financed by the match king Ivar Kreuger. It is one of the biggest corruption scandals in the SPD, which has no shortage of corruption."

### **German workers**

That is how the lying socialist party hacks fight capitalism! They take help wherever they find it!

The campaign of lies against the evil Nazis takes enormous sums of cash.

## **Lie: War!**

For years, the Red traitors have said that National Socialism means war, and Jewish scribblers work feverishly to make nervous souls anxious with these fairy tales.

### **Warmongers**

**The sensationalist papers lie when they say:** The Nazis want war, they are militarists and warmongers.

That is an insolent, shameless lie. National Socialism does absolutely reject weak pacifism, the pacifism of those cowards who are pacifists at any price because of their inborn cowardice.

However, National Socialism rejects the impudent Jewish slander that the Nazis want war. The leader of the NSDAP, Adolf Hitler, recently wrote an open letter to Brüning that clearly and unmistakably laid out the National Socialist response to irresponsible lies in the Jewish press.

“The National Socialist movement, more than any other party, has among its leaders and members countless participants in the great World War. We have learned about war in all its terrible reality.

**None of us wishes for a war.**

However, we remain men who, if necessary, hold to life less than to freedom. If one sees that as “bloodthirsty,” and wishes to exterminate it, then one signs the death sentence for our nation at the same time!”

But the Jewish-Social Democratic sensationalist newspapers continue to lie that the Nazis are warmongers. The NSDAP knows all too well that one cannot wage war with a people that not only lacks weapons, but also lacks a military will. We are not unscrupulous, bloodthirsty militarists lusting to drive the people into war. National Socialism rejects such insolent miserable lies. We do not want war, but we also want to educate our people in a healthy, strong military thinking. We reject the weak pacifism that comes from cowardice, and affirm the old Prussian spirit of sacrifice. **It is not necessary that the individual lives, but it is necessary that the German people lives.**

The claim by the Red party hacks that if the Nazis gain power, there will be war, is just as impudent. To the contrary, a strong, stable National Socialist state, guided by one will, offers much greater safety than an impotent democracy that has decayed into countless parties. Such a unified state is also in a position to earn and benefit from appropriate respect from other states.

### Civil War

**The sensationalist newspapers lie when they say:** National Socialism means civil war!

With complete lack of shame, the Red scribblers lie in saying that the Nazis planned a civil war. They are the same elements that bear the responsibility before history for all the German blood that has been shed since those November days in Germany. Huge amounts of German blood were shed by Red murderers during the Spartakus revolts in Berlin, Braunschweig, Munich, the Ruhr, Central Germany, Hamburg, and countless other places. These paid Jewish hirelings have been able to preach the bloodiest class hatred for decades. The civil war periods between 1918 and 1920 were only the natural result of this decades-long filthy agitation. And today these lads have the insolence to invent National Socialist plans for civil war.

This is all a perfidious attempt at diversion. These Red traitors of the working class themselves have been preparing for civil war for years, and are using their lying agitation only to divert attention from their treasonous goals. Hörsing stated in January 1931:

**“We will destroy the National Socialists to the last man!”** And on 7 January 1931 the Social Democratic *Eisenacher Volkszeitung* printed a call from the Reichsbanner that ended:

“By 22 February, the anniversary of our founding, all formations everywhere in Germany must report their ‘march readiness’ to the national leader.

Get to work, comrades, in all the *Gaue*, in all the local groups! The army of German republicans is



armed and ready for anything it is called upon to do!”

That is organized incitement to civil war, and systematic preparation for civil war.

Last year, the *National Socialist* published the following regulations from the Lübeck local group of the Reichsbanner:

- “1. Each person with a telephone has certain orders to pass on after receiving a message with the correct password.**
- 2. Each motorcycle, or the owner of one, is registered and has accepted messenger duties.**
- 3. Bicycle companies have been organized.**
- 4. All members are organized in specific groups. All those who know how to use hand grenades are organized in one group, those with military experience with machine guns in another, etc.**
- 5. Nearly everyone (about 60 men who attended the last meeting) enthusiastically and voluntarily said that they were ready for ‘the life and death battle.’**
- 6. All covered trucks from consumer cooperatives, production facilities, and other factories and concerns where the Reichsbanner is in the majority have been registered and fit into the big ‘plan.’**
- 7. Units will be secretly transported, concealed in the trucks, so that each will seem to be innocent freight.**
- 8. The principle is to hold or fight for political power! To form a front against the Nazis and the Right. Any means is in order: Up to a death blow.”**

And these lying sensationalist newspapers dare to accuse us National Socialists of having plans for civil war!

With unequalled hypocrisy, **Paul Löbe** wrote in the *Hessischer Volksfreund*, Nr. 60, 7 November 1931:

**“Let them come! We are there, we are armed, and we will greet them!**

**It does no harm if we make solid preparations for this eventuality.”**

And at the Reichsbanner mass meeting in Berlin’s Sportpalast on 2 December 1931, state parliament representative **Major Hauff (retired)** openly said:

**“The republic needs to be led by republicans who will shrink from nothing!”**

They forget all the promises of freedom and equality when the comfortable seats of the Red party hacks are threatened. Those who formerly screamed the loudest of about freedom of opinion now call for republicans **“who will shrink from nothing.”**

They slander and accuse the National Socialists of wanting civil war so that they can prepare for it themselves!

The Red party hacks are not concerned about “defending against National Socialist plans for civil war.” They know well enough that the NSDAP has no such plans. Each election proves that the day is coming when the NSDAP will take power legally. That alone would make it foolish for the National Socialists to think about a Putsch.

No, the red bigwig knows very well that all those rumors about a Putsch are a massive swindle that he himself sent out into the world. He knows that the National Socialists will take power legally, which is why he is preparing for civil war. He who has lied to the people for decades about democracy has no intention of giving up his position if

this democracy votes against him. He wants to continue to enjoy the perks of his office at any cost. Even at the cost of bloody civil war.

### **And the S.P.D.**

**Why does the SPD slander the Nazis as “warmongers”?**

In order to divert the masses from the undeniable fact that it was the Red leaders who betrayed the German army and destroyed the powerful military. In order to divert them from the crime of the war guilt lie, which they have seen through. In order to divert people from their own traitorous and treasonous policy towards France.

For centuries, the French people has had but one goal: the splintering and destruction of Germany. Clemenceau said that there twenty million Germans too many, which only expressed what the whole French people thinks and feels.

It is this France, filled with the desire to destroy Germany, that is the best ally that the Social Democrats have. The Frenchman **Daudet** put this unwritten alliance into words:

**“I love social democracy because I wish the plague on Germany!”**

Social democracy, however, continues to seek the favor of a people that exploits the German worker in the most brutal, dreadful way through tribute payments.

At the Reichsbanner mass meeting in the Berlin Sportpalast on 2 December 1931, the Reichsbanner chieftain **school superintendent Kellermann** said:

**“The victory of French democracy is the victory of German democracy, and the victory of German democracy is the victory of French democracy.”**

The same lie as in 1918. Except that then the claim was that the victory of German Marxism was the victory of French and English Marxism. The same party hacks back then lied to the German people, claiming that one only needed to begin the revolution in Germany, and the troops of the Allies would join the revolution.

The treasonous methods used by these party hacks, shivering in their well-paid posts, are expressed particularly clearly in a speech by the Rudi Breitscheid that we all know so well at the Berlin Social Democracy’s functionaries’ conference at the New World. This speech completely kowtowed to French power. He had the gall to threaten German National Socialism with France, which is brutally exploiting the German worker through tribute payments.

In his speech, Breitscheid said:

**“By the way, France knows about growing German nationalism, as was proven by the most recent speech by French Premier Laval, in which he spoke of ‘outrageous mass meetings’ held by certain circles in Germany.”**

Instead of rejecting France’s outrageous presumption in interfering in German domestic affairs — as his duty as a German citizen calls for — Breitscheid made the direct, treasonous assertion that:

**“Do we not encourage France to fight disarmament if there are German citizens who are able to believe that National Socialism will come to power here?”**

Against his better knowledge — for Breitscheid knows that the NSDAP neither wants nor is able to wage war — this Social Democratic “leader” gives France ammunition for the disarmament conference, and slanders a German movement to foreigners.

Does Mr. Breitscheid imagine that, if all else fails, French bayonets will save the power of the Red party hacks?

**German workers!**

These party hacks who are bowing and scraping to the French people, who are sucking our blood through the Young Plan, are the same ones who tolerate every emergency decree that further reduces your pay. They lie from the principle of doing anything to maintain their power.

**Why does the SPD slander the Nazis as agitators for civil war?**

To divert the masses from their own plans for civil war. They do not shy away from inciting a bloody civil war that will send thousands of workers to death, only in order to continue sitting in their well-upholstered chairs to continue their parasitic existence.

**German workers!**

That is the true face of these so-called “workers’ leaders”: Conspiring with France to preserve their splendid bigwig life at the cost of German workers. They want to maintain the system at any cost.

## **Lie: Politicians of Catastrophe**

**The sensationalist newspapers lie when they say:** The Nazis are politicians of catastrophe. For years, the Red party hacks and press Jews have slandered the National Socialists as incompetent or evil-minded politicians of catastrophe. We select three particularly interesting lies from the many out there.

### **Young Plan**

As the National Socialists attempted to save the German people from the disastrous Young Plan through a referendum, the Red sensationalist newspapers cried and shouted that the Nazis were promoting a catastrophic policy. When National Socialist speakers warned of the consequences of the dangerous Young Plan, and predicted a catastrophe for the German people, which has today come to pass, the Red “workers’ leaders” twisted the facts and claimed that “the Nazis were the politicians of catastrophe.”

The then Reich Minister of the interior **Severing** spoke on 9 October 1929 over the radio. According to *Vorwärts* of 10 October 1929, he said among other things:

**“The Young Plan eases things!”**

**“No one can deny that that the German economy that we all hope will improve, will face no increase in reparations under the Young Plan.”**

**“The Young Plan is better for the German people than the Dawes Plan.”**

**“If the referendum passes, the German people will be plunged once again into terrible chaos.”**

**“The result (of the referendum! The editor) would be . . . a catastrophe for democracy.”**

**Very simple!**

One called the Nazis the politicians of catastrophe, because they warned the German people of catastrophe!

**In June 1929, before the Young Plan, Germany had 720,000 unemployed.**

**Today, after two years of the Young Plan the unemployment rate is far above 6 million.**

**It has increased by almost a factor of ten in 2 1/2 years.**

### **Capital Flight**

After the National Socialist election victory of 14 September 1930, the Social Democratic party hacks began to tolerate the bourgeois Brüning cabinet that they had previously opposed. They attempted to make the Nazis responsible for the resulting flight of capital.

The Nazis are responsible for the capital flight! It is interesting that the same elements that always lied in claiming the Nazis were capitalist hirelings suddenly wanted to blame the Nazis for capital flight. One sees here how one Marxist lie contradicts the other. If the Nazis were really capitalist hirelings, why would capital flee abroad because of them?

Where is the logic in that? However, logic is never important to the desperate Social Democratic party hacks and their swindles. They lie for the practical purpose of saving themselves.

They thus kept silent to the masses about the law the NSDAP proposed in the Reichstag to prevent capital flight:

“He who has money or other valuables abroad must report to the relevant finance office with a month of the effective date of this law precise details about where the foreign assets is held. If the finance office requires the return of the assets kept abroad, this is to be done immediately and proof of the fact is to be given to the finance office within the stated time period. In the event this is not done, a penalty equal to the value of the assets abroad is to be charged, which is due immediately from the debtor. The **entire** domestic assets of him who does not meet the duty to report will be seized for the benefit of the whole of the German people. Also, violation will be punished with prison for treason.”

The hypocrites who complained most about capital flight voted against this law.

It has since become clear why Red collection of party hacks had to oppose this law. It turns out that capital flight, which they tried to make the Nazis responsible for, was actually practiced by the Red party hacks themselves and their friends. A few examples:

1. When the Amstel Bank in Amsterdam collapsed, it turned out that, among others, the **Jew Max Pallenberg**, the radial comrade of the Social Democratic newspaper *Vorwärts*'s editor, had deposited \$250,000 in Holland.

**That is capital flight!**

2. The former mayor of Berlin Bötze —known for his role in the Sklarek fur coat affair — has a luxuriously furnished palace in **Switzerland!**

**That is capital flight!**

3. The former Social Democratic mayor **Kauer** from **Sonnenberg** (Thuringia) owns an elegant, comfortable villa on the Swiss border, and enjoys the pension that an impoverished German city has to pay him! Before the war, Kauer was an upholsterer's apprentice.

**That is capital flight!**

But one reads nothing of these capital flights in Social Democratic papers! The Red sensationalist newspapers, however, keep agitating and lying.

### **Inflation**

As the old lies were no longer believable, the Red bigwig society found a new lie in fall 1931, the lie that the Nazis wanted inflation. With astounding insolence, the same elements responsible for the inflation of 1923 accused the Nazis of wanting a new inflation.

The only thing to say about this miserable lie is that the NSDAP has always said that it wants to create a stable

currency.

The noise about inflation is only an attempt by the socialist party hacks to divert attention from their guilt for the inflation of 1923. If these boys want to talk about inflation today, we would like to remind them of a few facts:

In November 1922, as everyone today agrees, a committee met in Berlin to discuss the currency question. The Social Democrat Hilferding was the chairman. One of the participants later declared, without any of the accused later objecting to his assertions,

**that the representatives of high finance intended further inflation, up to the complete impoverishment of the German people. The representative of the Warburg banking house, in particular, argued for the greatest possible inflation!**

Further, according to the *Reich Legal Bulletin* of 1921, p. 508: “The Reichstag has approved the following law, with the agreement of the Reich Council:

### Paragraph 1

**The statement in Paragraph 17 of the Bank Law, under which that part of the Reich bank notes in circulation which are backed by hard German money, Reich notes, or gold in bars of foreign coins, may not fall below a third, is suspended until 31 December 1923.**

### Paragraph 2

This law takes effect on the day following publication.

Berlin, 9 May 1921. The Reich President: signed, **Ebert**

The shamelessness with which the Red sensationalist newspapers carry on their campaign of lies is proven to us by an issue of *Vorwärts* dated 15 October 1931. Under the question “Do you want that again?” *Vorwärts* printed a picture of an old 500 million mark note from the inflation period. However, good old honest *Vorwärts* was rather careless. The 500 million mark note was printed on 1 September 1923, at which point the Reich Minister of Finance was the **Social Democrat Hilferding!**

Wherever one looks, lies and slander!

**Why does the SPD slander the Nazis as politicians of catastrophe?**

To divert the masses from its own outrageous policies of deceiving the people and betraying the workers, which have led the German people into the greatest catastrophe in generations. The Red party hacks are using lies and slander against the awakening German people, united in the NSDAP. Fear and a guilty conscience drives them to one new lie after another. With the large sums of money that the Red sensationalist newspapers get from Jewish high finance, they are conducting a huge propaganda campaign.

As the *Mitteilungsblatt der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Hessen* revealed in December 1930, in the 4th quarter of 1930, after the September election, the SPD party leadership distributed

**2,075,000 mass brochures free of charge.**

Among them were the Scheidemann pamphlet *Heads in the Sand?* and the Löbe pamphlet *The Dragon of Marxism* — each with a million **free** copies distributed. The NSDAP could never afford such enormous propaganda. However, unlike the SPD, it receives no money from Jewish high finance, but rather depends entirely on the sacrifices of its membership.

Despite this enormous agitation, the SPD has had a disastrous year in 1931. Its slogan “Where is the second man?”

was laughed to death. Today, the Red party hacks are trying the “Iron Front,” and their sensationalist newspapers lie and slander.

In vain? It accomplishes nothing!

The German worker has seen through their lying game. He knows today that

### **the sensationalist newspapers lie**

from principle, in order to divert attention from the treason and crimes of the Red bankrupts.

Lie as much as you want!

The German worker does not believe you any longer. He turns his back on the party of organized lies, and joyfully joins

### **Adolf Hitler’s party!**

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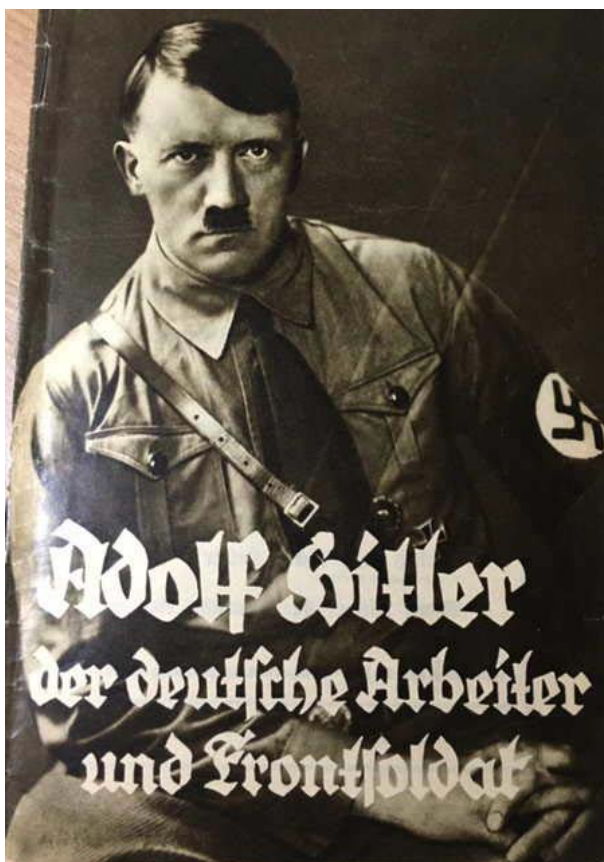
**Background:** This is a mass pamphlet issued by the Nazis during the first round of the 1932 presidential campaign, held on 13 March. It presents Hitler as a model in every regard. I do not know how many copies were printed, but surely it was in the hundreds of thousands, even millions.

**The source:** Dagobert Dürr, *Adolf Hitler der deutsche Arbeiter und Frontsoldat* (Munich: Franz Eher, 1932).

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## ***Adolf Hitler: German Worker and Front Soldier***

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### **Who will become Reich President?**

**An unnecessary question: Adolf Hitler, of course!**

But who is Hitler?

You think that every child knows about Hitler? You are both right and wrong. Everyone knows that Hitler is the brilliant Führer of the National Socialist German Workers' Party that had seven members thirteen years ago and today is the most powerful people's movement in Germany, or anywhere in the world.

But very few know how Adolf Hitler gradually achieved the decisive importance for the fate of our fatherland that he has today. Very few know his whole powerful personality as Führer and human being.

One person thinks he is a foreigner, probably a Czech, another thinks him the representative of big capital. Some say he is a base demagogue with no statesmanly abilities, while other “big brains” think he is a cultural barbarian or a soulless brute.

**In these pages you will learn who Hitler really is.**

## Hitler the “Foreigner”

“Hitler is a foreigner, a Czech!”

Why?

He was born in Braunau in Lower Austria. Braunau on the Inn — not to be confused with Braunau in German Bohemia — is a small, purely German town on the Bavarian border, part of the “Inn district” that was cut off from Bavaria and given to Austria in 1779. Three generations before Adolf Hitler’s birth it was still Bavarian, and it is only the result of dynastic disputes that it is today part of Austria.

Even so, are not the Austrians our blood brothers whose return to the Reich is longed for with the same intensity on each side of the accursed border markers? Adolf Hitler himself writes of this in the first chapter of his book *Mein Kampf*:

“Today it seems to me providential that Fate should have chosen Braunau on the Inn as my birthplace. For this little town lies on the boundary between two German states which we of the younger generation at least have made it our life work to reunite by every means at our disposal.”

Adolf Hitler was born on 20 April 1889 in the customs house at Braunau, the son of an Austrian customs official, only a few minutes from the border. Hitler’s grandfather was a poor cottager from the Forest Quarter.

No one can claim that Hitler’s ancestry sowed the seeds for his later development. As a simple son of the people, he has risen only because of the strength of his brilliant personality and soon will hold the highest office in the Reich.

He has one of the essential experiences necessary to lead the state: a deep understanding for the needs of the people, for its feeling and thinking, an understanding that is so often missing from those with more elevated births. **It will be impossible for someone like Hitler to plunge the people into the bitterest misery with ever new emergency decrees, for he himself knows what hunger means.**

He suffered hard blows of fate in his youth. Contrary to his own desires that inclined him to the visual arts, his father had him attend secondary school. When Adolf Hitler was thirteen his father died of a heart attack. After a severe illness, his mother allowed the boy to give up his father’s desire that he become a civil servant and to follow his own desire to study at the art academy. The boy left secondary school, where he had for the first time come to a German national consciousness under official pressure, and to the knowledge that he expressed in the following words:

“That Germanism could be safeguarded only by the destruction of Austria, and, furthermore, that national sentiment is in no sense identical with dynastic patriotism; that above all the House of Hapsburg was destined to be the misfortune of the German nation.”

The happy dreams that were leading him to the fulfillment of his dearest wish, however, met an abrupt end when his mother died two years later after a long and painful illness.

A time of bitter poverty now began for the lad. His studies were over. His orphan’s pension was not enough to live on. Thus Adolf Hitler went to Vienna, forced even as a child to earn his own way.



## Hitler the Worker!

“To me Vienna, the city which, to so many, is the epitome of innocent pleasure, a festive playground for merry-makers, represents, I am sorry to say, merely the living memory of the saddest period of my life.”

That is what Adolf Hitler wrote about his time in Vienna. Czech-Jochberg's book *Hitler* describes in detail how the poor lad, after failed attempts to attend the art academy and architectural school, became a construction worker who did not want to be organized by the Marxists.

One can only be as lonely as Hitler was in a big city. His 50 Guilder, a small fortune in Linz, melted away like frost in the March sun. It was just enough to enjoy an evening glass of new wine in Vienna.

“I will take any job I can find,” Hitler decided.

Preferably in construction so he could remain in the field.

The employers and foremen, however, shrugged their shoulders: “We only need trained workers.”

“I can work...”

“Do you have a certificate?”

He did not.

As he was going: “If you are willing to be a common laborer...” He did not want to, not at all, but he had to.

On the street below one heard the clapping of horses as a cavalry officer drove his cart past. Women with whole flower gardens on their hats tripped past, as fast as their long skirts allowed.

Every face radiated good cheer. Vienna, the city of songs. —

One heard no songs where Hitler lived. An old lady complained in the courtyard, adding to the racket. The odor of mice drifted through the window, its broken pane covered with a sheet of paper. A fellow roomer from the construction site tossed him a newspaper. “Read that... a girl was kidnapped at the Prater and taken to a meadow where they did who knows what, then they threw her body into the Danube.” The newest crime, a sex murder. intellectual nourishment for the people!

Hitler stormed out. Perhaps he would be able to get standing room at the opera.

A scream came from the kitchen window . . . like a siren.

Worker Kaudelka was beating his wife. Yesterday was payday. Who was not drunk?

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Did no one notice these people, who slept on Friday with their heads on the table at a suburban building because they did not want to go home, who skipped work on Saturday and begged a neighbor on Monday for a few coins to buy bread?

No, the supervision was not that bad: The same agent who debated the people and religion and progress with Hitler during the lunch break went to the foreman, pulled on his cap, and said: “We won't work with this guy... He is no good.”

The foreman looked at the angry man, thought a bit, decided that it was not necessary to get into a fight about a common laborer, and fired Hitler.

How often he had that experience! He wandered from construction site to construction site, became more silent and bitter. When he was not at work, there were times when he could talk. But one speaks poorly when one is hungry.

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Something else happened. Some workers put their heads together, gave an evil glance toward the laborer, and said: "Throw him off the scaffolding ....!"

Reason objected: "Aren't you ashamed of yourself...!"

"It would be an accident ... we'd done with him."

"What has he done to you....?"

The ringleader pulled together the words that he had heard from his union boss: "He is hurting our movement, a traitor...."

The other gave a rough laugh. There would be some fun today. But an older worker took Hitler aside and told him to leave before he plunged off the scaffolding and the watchman took his pencil to write "Accident at a construction site..."

As miserable as these five years of bitter poverty and hunger were, they also provided the gradually maturing lad with the knowledge that would be fundamental to his future development.

As a boy he had learned to distinguish true nationalism from dynastic patriotism. Now he learned how fundamental different true socialism was from Marxism and bourgeois charity.

He had suffered the poverty of the workers enough as to never be able to forget it. The foundations of later National Socialism were laid during those hard days in Vienna.

At the same time, his visits to the Austrian parliament brought him to a permanent disgust with empty parliamentarianism.

This period in his life makes us certain that Adolf Hitler, a man of the people who stood as a worker on the scaffolding, is better able to serve the people as Reich President than some high-born excellency, and that he will put an end to the limitless parliamentary chatter that has brought us so much misfortune.

## **Hitler the Front Soldier**

"Hitler is a deserter." That is the latest and perhaps crudest lie printed by *Vorwärts* of all places, the paper of the notorious party of deserters.

Hitler, they say, left Austria without serving, and thus was a deserter. He volunteered for the Bavarian army when the war began only to avoid being sent back to Austria as a deserter.



In fact, Hitler left Austria when he was 23, long after he had registered for military service. He was classified as temporarily unfit for service.” The official documents were recently provided to the “Brown House” [Nazi Party headquarters in Munich] by the relevant Austrian agencies. No calumny is too crude for the Jewish press to use against the true leader of our people.

Adolf Hitler came to Munich in the spring of 1912, where he earned his bare living as a painter until the war broke out. He then volunteered with the Bavarian army, to which he was accepted with the permission of the king. Given his opposition to the Hapsburg state and his enthusiasm for the German Reich, this was an obvious step.

He did his duty at the front for four-and-a-half years. He was wounded several times and received the Iron Cross, First Class for his exceptional ability as a simple corporal.

Adolf Hitler's war comrade Hans Wend, the “white horse” of the List Regiment (16th Bavarian Infantry Regiment) writes in his book *Adolf Hitler in the Field* about Hitler’s exemplary attitude at the front. Here is one passage:

“I have no relation to Adolf Hitler and have absolutely no desire to present him as a hero. However, it is a hateful tactic of his political opponents to claim in their press that he was a corporal at the regimental staff who never showed the ability to become a squad leader. I wish to note about this article, which I read in a Social Democratic newspaper, that the author of these lines about Adolf Hitler’s activity in the field was badly informed. Some squad leaders would not have felt up to the demands that Adolf Hitler faced as a battlefield courier. I have often had the opportunity to meet with former regimental comrades who also were in the List Regiment with Adolf Hitler. Although their political opinions were very different than those of Hitler’s movement, they were appalled by the crude ways used to denigrate Adolf Hitler as a front soldier. Each who knew him in the field must admit that he was the model of a front soldier. It is unfortunate that there are still Germans who prefer to see the front soldier as a criminal rather than as a hero.

A few days after the battle of 20 July I met a soldier in Santes who told me that Hitler had behaved with exceptional courage and bravery during the bombardment that lasted for days and which destroyed all telephone communications. He had done a great deal for the regiment. Battlefield courier L. told me that when the English command sent forces from an Australian division to attack our position on July 19, Adolf Hitler calmly observed their movements and provided our command with important information.

It was the regiment’s decision that he did not become a squad leader. The regimental staff did not want to lose Adolf Hitler’s services as a brave and dependable battlefield courier.”

Adolf Hitler was seriously wounded by a gas attack at Ypres on 14 October 1918 and was blinded. He was sent to the Pasewalk hospital in Pommerania There he lived through the November Revolt.

As a result of this disastrous collapse, Adolf Hitler vowed to dedicate himself to the rebirth of the fatherland.

His iron will speeded his recovery. By the end of November 1918 he returned to Munich where he joined the so-called councils (*Räteherrschaft*). His determination and energy led to his arrest.

Then he became a so-called “educational officer” for a Munich regiment. One day he was sent to investigate a political movement called the “German Workers’ Party,” which was holding small meetings. Hitler became the seventh member, and with his brilliant political ability and his iron drive he created the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, today a movement of millions.

## Hitler the Leader of the People

That is how Adolf Hitler became a politician, and soon he had unique success.

It was quickly clear that he had unusual rhetorical ability. Speeches alone are not enough to build an organization. He also proved able to solve organizational questions brilliantly, and to understand political problems and situations. He carried out what he saw to be necessary with bravery and determination.



## Hitler, Friend of the Youth

Thus the movement grew and grew. He was soon recognized as leader. He knew how to break the oppositions’ terror with brute force. An example is the famous battle in the Hofbräuhaus on 4 November 1921, when barely fifty of the protective forces threw out seven or eight hundred Marxists who attempted to disrupt the meeting. This force earned the name *Storm Troop* or SA.

The German Rally in Coburg in October 1922 is an example of how Hitler led his followers. Czech-Jochberg describes the events in this way:

“There was to be a ‘German Rally’ in Coburg. Hitler was invited to attend.

‘If possible with companions,’ the invitation noted.

Well, those people could be helped: Hitler took as “companions” 1400 men!

It was a kind of trial run. Within an hour they were all at the train station. An special train was ordered and they were off.



“Comrades of the international proletariat!

Murderers have come to our peaceful Coburg and have begun a war of extermination against the workers. Comrades, defend yourselves, drive the rats out of the city. Everyone come to our mass people’s demonstration at the Great Square at 1:30.”

The National Socialists soon had copies.

That could be a pretty event. But it could not be avoided, it must be fought once and for all!

Hitler and his people marched through the quiet city. There were no insults to be heard. Here and there, even shy waves.

Things would begin around the corner.

Each gathered his rage in his fists and marched more quickly so that things would get started sooner.

A few guys were lounging at the corner....

Then one heard laughter from the first ranks that had already gotten to the square. The others soon joined in. The “people’s demonstration” amounted to a few hundred people!”

No one had the courage to insult the ranks. The men from Munich marched calmly, flags flying, through the square and to Coburg Castle.

There was a delay at a side street. Instantly a knot of people gathered. Well! But it was not dangerous as long as the nearby apartment houses stayed neutral.

They stayed neutral. They even cheered as the Reds left.

That evening Coburg was transformed. The square was filled with people, laughing, happy people, who found a kind word for everyone from Munich.

They sang on the way back to the station. To the stationmaster.

Where was the train?

Maybe he had forgotten how to laugh? Finally a few railway men said: ‘It’s over there...’

They laughed in a mocking way and went off.

Into the cars!

But there was no locomotive. To the office again.

“The men refuse to move the train,” the official finally told Hitler.

A bunch of his people are around him. He goes to the next railroad man.

“So you don’t want to transport us?”

Hostile faces with suppressed anger: “No. You know that, why ask?”

“Then we will do it ourselves....”

The railroad men were taken aback, but then laughed.... “Go to hell ... if you go there by train, all to the good.”

“They try to leave, but are suddenly surrounded by a dozen arms.

Hey! You’re going with us. And not you alone. We’ll grab all the Red bigwigs we can and you’ll all go along. If we have an accident, at least a few Reds will meet their end.”

The S.A. men prepare themselves.

“Forward...”

“Hold on...” shouts a railroad man. “I want to talk with my comrades.”

They don’t let him go, nor his comrades. They are taken to the waiting room, the entrances to which are guarded by National Socialists. There is a brief discussion. The leader finally appears: “OK, fine. We’ll go.”

Everybody climbs aboard, including the “guard” (they still do not trust the railroad men).

The locomotive arrives. It is coupled.

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In November 1923, the Bavarian General State Commissioner v. Kahr and his forces attempted to separate Bavaria from the Reich and establish a Danube monarchy under Wittelsbach-Hapsburg rule.

Adolf Hitler dealt with this treasonous attempt on 8 November by forcing in public General State Commissioner v. Kahr, the Bavarian *Wehrmacht* commander v. Lossow and Police Commissioner v. Seitzer to join with him and General Ludendorff to form a national government.

At first the revolt looked promising. Army troops joined it everywhere. However, it collapsed with General Ludendorff, against Hitler’s clear warning, trusted Kahr, Lossow, and Seitzer and released them from the Bürgerbäukeller.

Despite their words of honor, the three immediately stabbed the uprising in the back. Captain Erhardt also played a dubious role. He is, by the way, the same Colonel v. Seitzer who is now supporting Hindenburg’s candidacy, along with *Vorwärts*, Ullstein, and Mosse.

On the morning of 9 November, Adolf Hitler marched at the head of the supporters through the city to show the deserters that the whole population stood behind the National Socialists. Singing “Hold Germany in the highest honor,” the column reached the Feldherrnhalle where Seitzer’s police opened fire with machine guns on the singing column and caused a terrible bloodbath. Hitler escaped death by a miracle. Fate had a larger task waiting for him. The resulting trial, in which Hitler took full responsibility for the actions of his supporters, was a triumph for the “accused” and brought eternal shame to the “accusers.” Hitler was imprisoned at Landberg Prison. During his imprisonment, the movement that had joined with the “German-*Völkisch* Freedom Party” declined rapidly, since it lacked an outstanding leader. There is no better proof of Hitler’s unique leadership nature than that without him, nothing happened. When he was released from prison early in 1925, he reestablished the National Socialist German Workers’ Party. It grew slowly at first, then more rapidly, until it today includes the best part of the whole people in an enormous movement, even though the Führer was prohibited from speaking for years. The German-*Völkisch* party, however, which did not want to subordinate itself to him vanished from the political scene.

Under Hitler’s leadership the banners of the movement went from victory to victory. As often as one shook one’s head over his actions, even within his own ranks, just as often the Führer had looked far beyond the day’s events and acted rightly. Of the 14 *völkisch* representatives elected in December 1924, four followed Hitler. Three more joined him later. In 1928 12 National Socialists were elected to the Reichstag, in September 1930 no fewer than 107! Since then election after election in the individual states have shown the movement’s growing strength. Most recently, nearly half the the population in Hesse went with Hitler. The people has recognized its true leader. Since the last Reichstag election, party membership has more than tripled. Success in the presidential election is assured by the

party's splendid organization and its exemplary propaganda apparatus.

## Hitler the Statesman

“Hitler may have developed a popular movement, he may be a brilliant promoter, but he is not a statesman.”

One often hears the know-it-alls say that, although they do not take the trouble to prove that certainly brilliant statement, even though fate has given us enough proof that their statesmanship has plunged us into the deepest chasm.

Not only has the National Socialist Party already used its strong, although voluntary, obedience to develop a state within the state, the leadership of which requires at least as much statesmanship both internally and externally as a government with all its resources, but Hitler already has a higher reputation as a statesman abroad than all of our other “statesmen” combined.

Adolf Hitler proven his abilities as a statesman, and the others have proven even more often that they are not statesman.

**Was it statesmanship to sign the Young Plan and then expect the most wonderful relief?** Or is statesmanship proved much more by warning against it and all its evil consequences before it was signed?

**Was it statesmanship to plan a customs union with Austria, with half-hearted measures and without support from the people or other governments, then to give it up because of foreign objections? [This was a 1931 attempt that quickly went bad.]** Or is it much more statesmanly to do as Hitler has done and plan an agreement with Germany, Italy, and England and simultaneously build a phalanx within the people on which one could conduct national policy?

**Was it statesmanship before the beginning of the tribute conference, without any support from the people, merely to get the conference indefinitely postponed?** Or was it much more statesmanly for Hitler to receive the British press and achieve a strong favorable response to eliminate the tribute, while the government had nothing more urgent to do that to attack Hitler and disavow him.

Countless other examples could be given. These should be enough to show who is the statesman and who the demagogue.





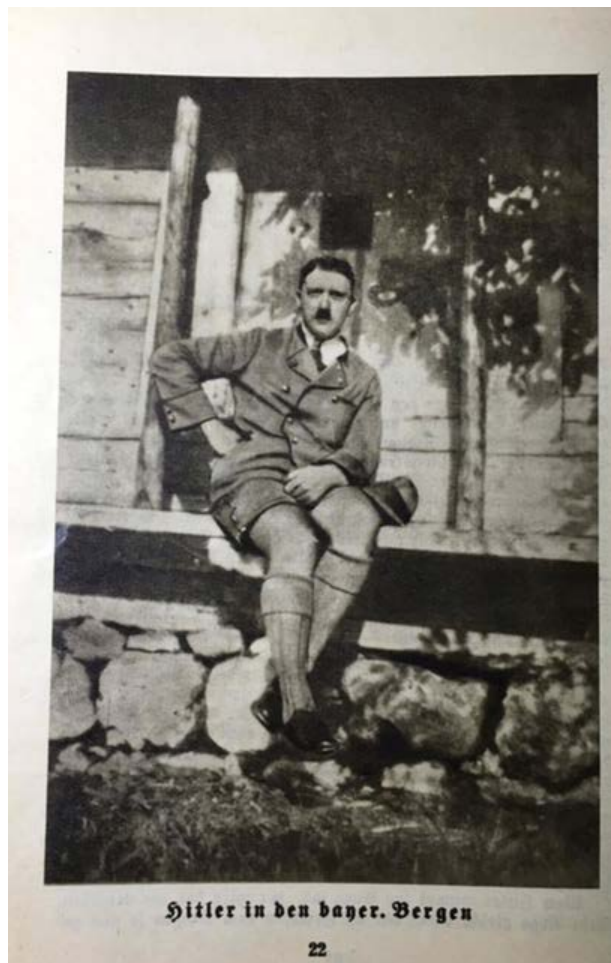
## The "Much-Hated" One

### Hitler the Man

A journalist from Breslau who has known Adolf Hitler personally for many years recently wrote this about Hitler as a person in the *Schlesische Tageszeitung*:

“Memories from recent years come back, when I had to honor to be editor of his newspaper. It was at a military-political gathering. The speaker was a colonel general. Theme: General Seeck. The first discussion speaker was General X, the second Lieutenant Colonel Count Y., the third Herr Adolf Hitler. Within a few minutes he had explained the crux of the matter so clearly that nothing was left to say, and a Bavarian dignitary at my table whispered softly: ‘My God, how does the man know that?’ Where intellect and art are to be found in Munich, Hitler is not far distant, and the best minds feel comfortable with him. Who knows that he has been a guest at Haus Wahnfried for years, the friend of Cosima, Siegfried, and Frau Winifred Wagner? Who knows that the immortal author of *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, Chamberlain, sent him a letter ten years ago that said: ‘I had imagined you differently. As I heard you speak for the first time I realized that you did not heat up people’s heads, but rather warmed their hearts!’ Who knows his long and friendly ties to General Director v. Schirach of Weimar’s National Theater? And those with degrees and titles whose blindness leads them to see him as a ‘little man’ should visit the Brown House in Munich, which he himself created, and watch him work for 24 hours. They would be more modest after that!”

He who has once looked in Hitler’s eyes will never forget it. His eyes resemble the famous eyes of Frederick the Great. His expression can be hard as steel one moment, but radiate goodness the next. When he reviews his S.A. men, his gaze seems to penetrate to the deepest depths of each.



### **Hitler in the Bavarian Mountains**

In public Hitler may seem a serious and determined fighter, but his warm humor spreads cheer in the circle of his intimates. That is a characteristic that one often finds among great personalities, one that also was typical of Bismarck.

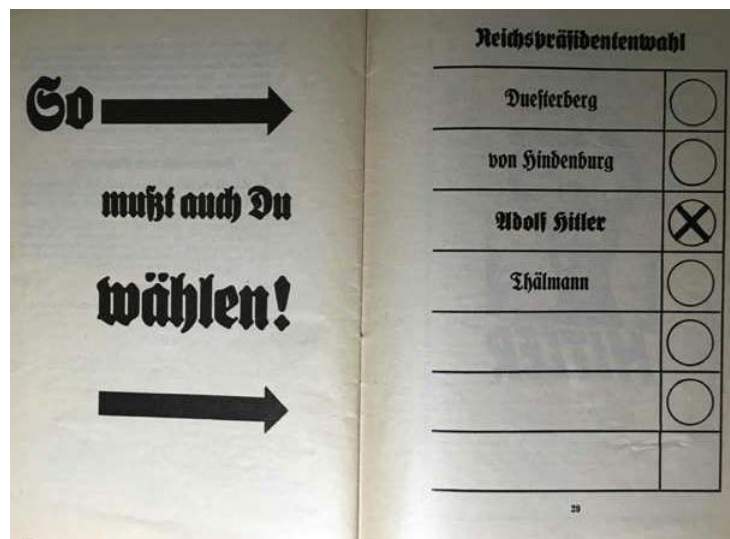
From head to foot, Hitler incorporates the best characteristics of our people, not the least of which is the unshakable loyalty he always shows toward his deserving comrades. Slanders against his tested friends fall on deaf ears.

Perhaps what distinguishes him most of all and earns him the praise of the German people as “Führer” is this: He understands how to draw capable people to his side and shows no envy over their accomplishments. That is the sign of a true leader.

Adolf Hitler alone possesses the human and political characteristics necessary for the leader of the nation of the nation to have if he is to lead it out of its misery. The people feels and knows that, and therefore it will give its vote in the Reich presidential election only to this one man:

# **Adolf Hitler!**

**[The next two pages contain the party platform]**



This is how you must vote!



Enough! Vote for Hitler

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[Go to](#) the pre-1933 Page.

[Go to](#) the German Propaganda Home Page.



**Background:** This was one of a series of mass pamphlets published by the Nazi Party in 1932, appearing during the first round of election campaign for the Reich presidency in which Hitler opposed Hindenburg. The Nazis had a problem. Hindenburg was a hero, one they also respected. They could not attack him. Instead, this pamphlet presents him as an honest patriot, trying to do his best, who has been misled and misused by the Social Democrats. And the pamphlet did have a strong argument. It was peculiar for the Socialists to support Hindenburg, who stood in contrast to just about everything the SPD represented. However, they saw him as the only way to preserve the Brüning government, which depended on Hindenburg's willingness to allow him to rule by decree, given that the Reichstag was incapable of any action.

I have included all of the illustrations.

This was #7 in a series of pamphlets published by the party propaganda office. I do not know much about the author, Heinz Franke. He did write several other pamphlets around this time, and was one of Goebbels's staff in Berlin. He was also editor of *Wille und Weg*, the party monthly for propagandists that began publication in 1931.

**The source:** Heinz Franke, *Warum Hindenburg?* (Munich: Eher Verlag, 1932).

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## Why Hindenburg?

by Heinz Franke

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Fighting Pamphlet Nr. 7: Pamphlet Series of the Reichspropaganda-Leitung of the NSDAP

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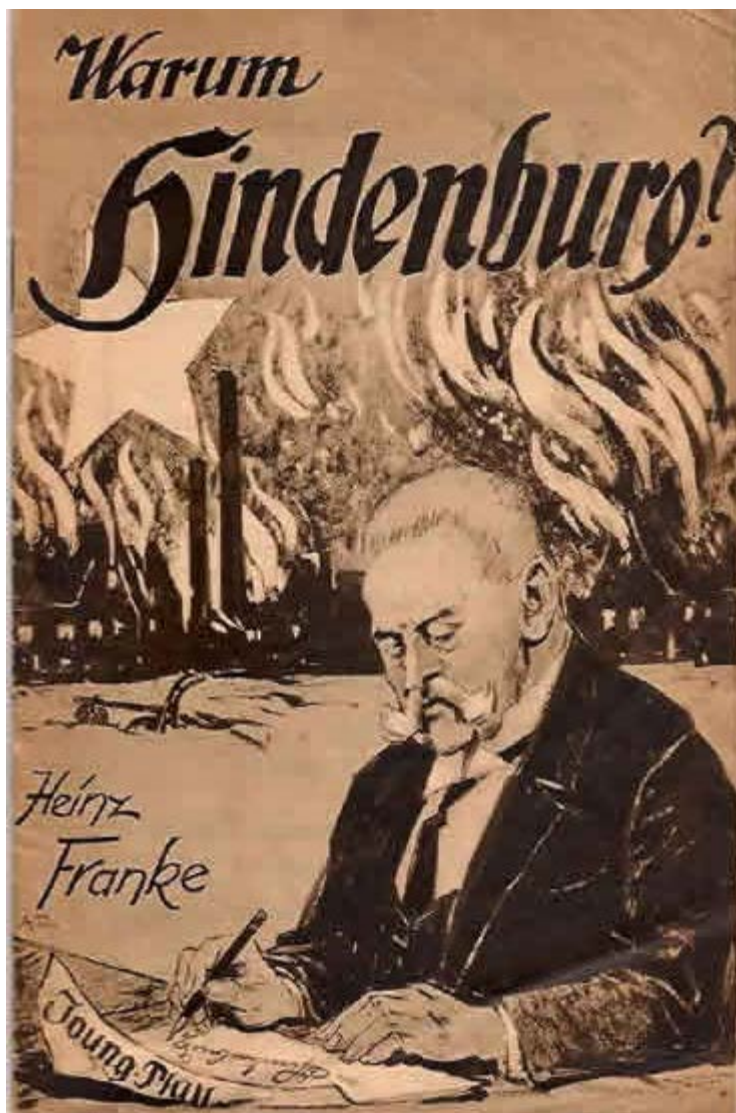
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## Why Hindenburg?

**“An especially vile trick “** (*Das freie Wort*, Social Democratic discussion organ of 17 January 1932)

That's what the Social Democratic Jew **Ernst Heilmann** — of dubious reputation because of the Barmat scandal — said of the NSDAP because it was not willing to support Brüning's attempt to extend Hindenburg's term for another seven years, since the System's support in the Reichstag was tottering. The Jew Heilmann is angry about that and spouts obscenities, since the National Socialists saw through the attempt by the bankrupt System parties to hide behind the old field marshal, and therefore did not vote for Hindenburg.

It is simply grotesque that the social democracy, of all



things, is distressed by the lack of support of the national parties for Hindenburg’s re-election. The same social democracy that dumped all kinds of the worst and crudest filth and dirt on the old field marshal during the election of 1925. Back then, those party hacks were willing to use any form of insult and maliciousness to fight the general from the World War. Yet today, these same honorable men want to pretend they are Hindenburg’s protectors and friends. They believe that the people have forgotten the statements and declarations that the Black and Red parties made to the masses in 1925. It is painful for System parties to be reminded of those days.

How did things look seven years ago?

### The Hindenburg Election of 1925

The first round of the Reich presidential election of 29 March 1925 had these results:

	Votes
<b>Dr. Karl Jarres</b> , Middle Class coalition	10, 416,658
<b>Otto Braun</b> , SPD	7,802,497
<b>Dr. Wilhelm Marx</b> , Center Party	3,887,734
<b>Ernst Thälmann</b> , Communists	1,871,815
<b>Dr. Wilh. Hellpach</b> , Democratic Party	1,568,398
<b>Dr. Heinr. Held</b> , Bavarian People’s Party	1,007,450
<b>Erich Ludendorff</b> , <i>Völkisch</i> parties	285,793
Others	25,761
Total of valid ballots	26,866,106

The election was inconclusive, since none of the candidates had the necessary majority. (In the first round, a candidate must have more votes than all others together if he is to be elected.) In the second round, the national parties united behind General Field Marshal **von Hindenburg**, while the Center, Democratic, and Social Democratic parties supported the Center Party’s **Marx**, and the KPD stayed with its candidate from the first round, **Thälmann**.

As was to be expected, the Reds, and also the Center Party, conducted the election campaign in a typically Jewish-

Marxist manner, using hateful, personal attacks on the opposing candidates. In a crude manner impossible to surpass, the honorable old field marshal was buried in piles of filth by the Red and Black press.

It is interesting and instructive to compare the outbursts of the System parties in 1925 and 1932. One thereby recognizes the deep dishonesty of the System press in all its loathsomeness.

### Center Party 1925

In the Reich presidential election of 1925, the Center Party competed with the Jewish Democrats and Social Democrats in inventing slanders against that same general field marshal.

The Center Party issued a leaflet with the title: "Why am I not voting for Hindenburg?" It stated:

**Not Hindenburg**, because 1: Since the revolution, he has done nothing for the people;

**Not Hindenburg**, because 2: He lost the World War in the West and therefore has responsibility for the huge war debts;

**Not Hindenburg**, because 3: He was partly responsible for the fact that we did not make peace in 1917, which would have been easier on us;

**Not Hindenburg**, because 4: He is a military man, not a statesman, who has never been active in public life;

**Not Hindenburg**, because 5: We certainly respect him as the victor over the Russians in East Prussia, but we also know that he was not able to handle the French and their allies in the West;

**Not Hindenburg**, because 6: He has said himself that he has **never** been concerned about politics, and repeatedly refused to be a candidate for the Reich presidency;

**Not Hindenburg, because 7: The name Hindenburg is a symbol of war to our neighboring enemies. Who among us wants a new war today?**

**Not Hindenburg**, because 8: He is an **evangelical Protestant** who can command soldiers, but not govern a whole people; one cannot even be a chimney sweep if he has not had training and practice;

**Not Hindenburg**, because 9: Hindenburg is an old man of nearly 80 years; he would have to have an assistant as Reich President, which **would cost the people more money.** — **It is a crime of the German nationalists that they do not allow the aged Hindenburg to enjoy the retirement he earned as a soldier; it is a crime of the German nationalists that they want to force the aged Hindenburg to swear an oath to the constitution that, in the depths of his heart, he does not recognize, for even today Hindenburg is sworn to the Kaiser who deserted his people and army and fled to a foreign land."**

**Therefore, it concluded, "each Catholic voter who still has sound human understanding can only vote for the best statesman of our day, Wilhelm Marx!"**

After Hindenburg's election victory, the Center Party newspaper *Kreuznacher Zeitung* wrote:

### "Hindenburg's election

The fortunes of war decided in favor of those in Berlin who declared that they were willing to conduct the election campaign with the "absolutely crudest" methods." They did what they promised. **They have done everything possible along the lines of nastiness,**

**vileness, lies, and slander.**

Formerly, one termed the German people the people of philosophers and writers. We fear that in the future, if one judges the German people by the conduct of this election, the judgment will be: **For the leader: a people of fanatics, of liars and hypocrites, for the led: a people of fools and idiots lacking all character.**

**Can Hindenburg be happy with a victory that resulted from the absolutely crudest methods?** He himself said that **at 78, he was too old for the office, and was also not suitable, since he had never concerned himself with political matters.** Hindenburg was pressured into becoming a candidate through the absolutely crudest methods by those controlling him from behind the scenes; he probably would have been happy if he had not been elected. **When, however, Hindenburg takes office in a few weeks, he will within the first few days realize that he is entirely incapable of mastering the job. If Hindenburg is an honest man, as his supporters claim, his honesty will compel him to give up an office which he is neither physically nor intellectually capable of filling.**

That part of the German people that wants peace and economic growth can **demand** this step from Hindenburg; **if he does not take it, the Reichstag must force him to do it, for a Reich President who cannot fulfill the duties of his office is surely against the constitution.**

**The Reichstag can depose a Reich President who violates the constitution.**

Hindenburg has performed great services for the fatherland, **but the greatest of them would be to renounce his office,** which came to him only through lies and deception, through falsehood and hypocrisy, through fanaticism and infernal hatred.

**Hindenburg is an honest man, and therefore cannot and may not accept the office.”**

That was seven years ago.

And today?

## Center Party 1932

The Center Party paper *Germania* published an article titled “**Hindenburg’s Candidacy: The National Goal is to Unite the People in a Battle for its Existence**” on 16 February 1932 in which it said:

**“The whole German people, insofar as it has retained a healthy sense of its true national duties in the midst of all the political controversies, will greet Hindenburg’s willingness to run as a liberating act.” “For me there is but one true national goal: To unite the people in a battle for its existence, to call forth the full devotion of each German in the ancient battle for the preservation of the nation.” That is what Hindenburg said in his declaration. “The 13th of March will demand a clear statement from each German as to whether he affirms or denies this goal.”**

In the same issue, we read an article titled “**The People’s Front**”:

**“There is no German more or better suited than Hindenburg to be the sure refuge and safe gathering place of the nation in a time of greatest danger for the fatherland... The battle that will be waged for him has but one goal: To bring together the national strength of our people into a great, unified front that, under Hindenburg’s leadership, will lead Germany through the vast misery of our day into**



**the path of freedom.”**

**That is obvious hypocrisy!**

But the epitome of partisan political deceit, without a doubt, appeared in the Center Party's *Germania* on 18 February 1932. This splendid example of the Center Party's cunning hypocrisy deserves to be preserved in full for posterity:

*Der Führer*, Nr. 48, 18.2.32

**Black-Red Scoundrels**

**The Center Party and the SPD on their presidential candidate**

During the Reich presidential election, the *Volksfreund* (24 April 1925) and the *Badische Beobacher* (25 April 1925) published the following caricature of Hindenburg:



[The cartoon shows Wilhelm Marx slaying the dragon of inflation, while Hindenburg brings it back by printing worthless paper banknotes. “Opponents of inflation can only vote for Marx.”]

And today, these sorry characters want to vote for this same Hindenburg as a so-called “people’s candidate”? Give their chicanery the appropriate answer!

**“We Have Made Our Choice”**

**The People’s Party Leader Calls for Electing Hindenburg**

The German people must choose its head of state. It must elect a **protector of the constitution, one who will guarantee order, a symbol of a unified will.**

This noble and heavy task can only be accomplished by a personality who stands above the separating and **divisive bickering of political opinion**, one whose greatness and independence result not from being **the follower and servant of a single political group**, but rather from being **the leader and representative of the whole of the people**. More than anyone else, these characteristics are incorporated in the current Reich President,

**Field Marshal von Hindenburg.**

Those who have been, or might be proposed as counter candidates, in view of the situation, cannot be an **affirmation**, but rather the **negation of the German will for unity** — in the best case an irresponsible weakening of it.

The heroic figure of Hindenburg has been tested in war and peace, in times glorious and dark. He enjoys **unique respect both at home and abroad**. In contrast, his opponents, **chosen for partisan reasons and burdened by partisan politics, sink into insignificance. Their path to power is through rabble-rousing and demagoguery. They would exercise power through incompetence and violence.**

The attempt to save the German people from this election failed. The partisan near-sightedness of certain circles has forced this important matter into the depths of partisan squabbling and egotistical calculation — despite the will of the best and most responsible elements of the nation. We missed a unique opportunity to unite our domestic peaceful forces to face the world.

In conscious opposition to such turmoil, and confident of the agreement and support of countless people's comrades outside our ranks, **we members of the German Center Party** affirm our **support of Hindenburg**, regardless of all political and religious barriers. We do this for reasons of statesmanship and the unity of the spirit of our people. With joy and determination, we declare him our candidate, convinced that we can do no greater service to the recovery of our common fatherland in peace and freedom. Ignoring all that separates us, 13 March will be an **affirmation of the unified patriotic will of our people, an affirmation of our spirit of community.**

We therefore call on our friends in the cities and countryside to realize the importance of this election and the magnitude of their responsibility. Rise or fall, peace or war, construction or destruction depend on the wisdom and strength of character of the leadership, on intellectual and moral maturity, on the consistency and impartiality of the man in whose hands will be placed the responsibility for Germany's fate in these grave days.

We have made our choice. He is the **worthiest** ever born to a German mother for this time of need. **Germany's recovery is bound to the name Hindenburg.** For us, he is the ideal of German **brotherhood** and German **unity**, the guarantee of a happy future.

**His victory will be Germany's victory!**

**Berlin**, 16 February 1932

Signed: Dr. **Kaas**, Chairman of the German People's Party"

**The separatist Kaas calls for a "united will"!**

**Can one imagine greater insolence?**

In 1919, this famed chairman of the Center Party openly called for separatism and worked with his friends in the Center Party to give up the Rhineland. Kaas is notorious because of the telegram that was sent to the Center Party leader Trimborn in March 1919 that called for establishing a republic along the Rhine. We present the telegram in its original form:



German-Swiss concerns ... **A happy day for Poincáire ...** Bad impression in England ...”

14 April 1925

“It would be false piety if one were to put this experienced man of war in a position in which he would be helpless against every influence...”

24 April 1925

“... It would not be a sign of hostility if those abroad saw Hindenburg’s candidacy as a protest, and it would also not be a sign of hostility if a Hindenburg victory would be greeted abroad not only **with regret and anger, but also with laughter** ... Being ridiculous can be fatal.”

26 April 1925

“**Republicans, stop the election of the marshal of civil war.**”

*Berliner Morgenpost*

10 April 1925

“**All of Germany’s enemies rejoice, all of its friends are dismayed.**”

15 April 1925

“...If Hindenburg comes before the nation with the claim to be the highest official of the nation, **then the protection that one has so far allowed him to enjoy can no longer be granted, but rather memories will be awakened of our misfortune, and of the responsibility of this man, who calls for the judgment of the nation when it is not needed ... It is as if all the wounds broke open again and the graves, before which millions of German mothers stand, opened again. 1,808,555 dead!**”

### Jews for Hindenburg



19 April 1925

“For black marketers to loaf about  
And for patriots to starve,  
To unite the whole world again

Against one foe,  
**To make the rich grow richer**  
**And for children to die of hunger,**  
All that you can count on —  
Just vote for Hindenburg!”

**And seven years later?**

## **The Democrats in 1932**

The *Vossische Zeitung* wrote in issue #77 of 15 February 1932:

“The mass meeting at which Hindenburg accepted the nomination to run for a second term of office is a truly historic moment... Thus speaks a man in whom the best characteristics of the old army still live... Hindenburg has a life of accomplishment and fame behind him... But he knows that no one shines over the German lands more than he, who is a true national representation of the **joining together** of all forces... When a man such as Field marshal von Hindenburg, who is respected and admired around the world even by former enemies, speaks of **submitting** to being a candidate, that must touch the heart even of the most determined party fanatic... He who supports Hindenburg does not ask about the advantage or disadvantage for his own party, but rather what Hindenburg is and what he wants to do... The Left does not think of claiming Hindenburg for its own. It knows that he is rooted in the past and will never deny his sense of tradition... The election campaign will be brief, but since it cannot be avoided, at least let it be conducted in an honorable manner.”

*Vossische Zeitung*, Nr. 78 of 16 February 1932:

“Field Marshal von Hindenburg decided to accept the nomination because he wished to put an end to the blatant and tactless attempts of the radicals of the Right to make his candidacy a matter of political cattle trading, attempts that were made repeatedly despite his firm rejection of them. The attempts awakened the fight instincts of this old soldier. Hindenburg is running not only because of a sense of duty, but because of the challenge.”

*Berliner Tageblatt*, Nr. 78 of 16 February 1932:

“The louder and more furious the cries from the throats of the National Socialists become, the more sympathy, trust, and thankfulness all honorable friends of the fatherland will have for that monumental figure who stands in the way of this greedy, brutal, threatening, and violent storm that is capable only of destruction... [T]he parties, public circles, and persons who, despite their various views, have joined the democratic ranks do not for a moment claim Hindenburg as the carrier of their banner. Over the past seven years, they have come to have confidence in his absolute loyalty, they have learned to respect his gnarled but upright character, have realized with thanks that he has an unshakable will to be the greatest defender of the constitution, but they also know how different his worldview is from theirs. They see in him the strongest guarantee for the safety of the state against destruction and civil war, as something of a strong tower against which the howling demagogues must fail... Those who call themselves the enemies of the today’s system were invited, flattered, treated as if they were the only ones who counted among those voting for the president, offered the seat of honor. They did not want it.”

*Berliner Tageblatt*, Nr. 77 of 15 February 1932:

“By accepting candidacy for the Reich presidential election, the Reich President justified the confidence that a large part of his voters of 1925 placed in him. Hindenburg now stands before the voters as a people’s candidate... His statement contains nothing that suggests that he has accepted any kind of condition that would require a change of direction, although the Stahlhelm’s official statement this afternoon suggested that. Hindenburg’s statement is absolutely clear. It can be understood only as saying that, however much he may have in common with his former military comrades in the Stahlhelm, he rejects any sort of political condition from their side on which their support of his candidacy may depend.”

## Social Democrats in 1925

The Social Democrats surpassed everyone in this noble battle in throwing filth at the venerable field marshal of the World War. *Vorwärts* thundered and raged about the presumption of a general, a Junker, to be the successor of the Social Democrat Ebert in the Reich President's seat.

*Vorwärts* wrote:

“A catastrophic president... He busies himself by polishing his medals... Save the republic! Two million dead admonish us: Never again Hindenburg!”

Whenever *Vorwärts* dislikes an opponent, the noble paper uses the term “catastrophic politician.” At the moment, the Socialist party hacks use this method against the evil Nazis.

**7 Years ago!**



“Now you know what German loyalty is.” (*Vorwärts*, 18.4.25)

[The cartoon shows Hindenburg and Tirpitz walking past a begging war veteran.]

“A particularly vile trick!”

That's what the SPD-Jew Ernst Heilmann called the National Socialist refusal to support an extension of the Reich President's term of office.

Herr Heilmann!

How, then, would you describe that miserable, nasty insult that a dirty rotten fink published on 18 April 1925 on the occasion of Hindenburg's election in your official party newspaper *Vorwärts*?

Herr Heilmann!

The German people will know what to say to you and your “iron” party in the Reich presidential election

## about this “particularly vile trick!”

*Vorwärts* also wrote in 1925:

“... The new pilgrimage is to the Haarmann Building [**Haarmann was a mass murderer**], the place where 30 people died. The good citizen stands outside and shudders, goose bumps on his back and goose bumps in his soul, with a bloodthirsty monster in the soul and curiosity in the eyes, to see where Haarmann once lived... the street is filled with cars, coaches and people, and everyone asks: ‘Were did Haarmann live?’ Germans from every *Gau* of our fatherland... And only thirty people!

People also gather in front of the villa in the Hindenburg district where the old general lives, the one **who sent hundreds of thousands of people to a useless death in his offensives**. Here, too, one has that titillating feeling of horror, a trembling of the lip, as one tries to strike a blow against France. The beer drinkers are excited. How promising the future looks, and what parallels to the past. **[I can’t quite figure out this paragraph. If you can, let me know. Here’s the original: ““Aber ebenso stauende Menschen vor der Villa im Hindenburgviertel, wo der alte General wohnt, der in allen Offensiven Hunderttausende von Menschen in den Tod getrieben und nutzlos geopfert hat. Auch hier dieses herrliche grausige Gefühl, die Gänsehaut auf der Lippe, mit der man siegreich Frankreich schlagen will. Und Gänsehaut auf der Bierleber. Welche Zukunftsaussichten und welche Parallelen.”]**

Let the old gentleman in Hanover sleep, and give him a pair of fancy pants! But let everyone vote for Wilhelm Marx.

**... Hindenburg’s candidacy is a threat to peace... His election would bring great misery to the German people... Germany’s currency would be endangered once again.** He who votes for Hindenburg is voting for a new inflation...”

One of the most revolting items in this area comes from the main organ of the Bavarian Marxists, the *Münchner Post*. In its 23 April 1925 issue, it insulted the then candidate of the national opposition as a **“Jewish offspring,” claiming to reveal the fact that Hindenburg’s great uncle had been a Hebrew.**

Two days later, the same *Münchner Post* thundered in an election call:

**“Strike a blow against the greatest military loser in world history, strike a blow against Hindenburg and you will also be striking the stubborn military which defended the shameful Prussian election law [which set up categories of voters with varying degrees of significance] that denied equal political rights to you, while at the same time you were bleeding in the trenches. If Hindenburg had any political sense at all, if he had the slightest idea of international political and economic relations, he would never have let himself be talked into candidacy. Those on fat pensions, those who profited from inflation, those who opposed revaluing the currency, they are the ones who will benefit from a Hindenburg victory.”**

One can see that the Red Socialist party hacks’ screams about inflation are nothing new. Back then, the Red gutter journalists accused Hindenburg of responsibility for inflation. Today it is supposedly the Nazis. The same old filth.

The old Social Democratic President Bock wrote an open letter to Hindenburg in which he said:

“Field Marshal! Your acceptance of the presidential nomination of the German national rightist block proves once more that age does not protect one from foolishness.”

No less than **Karl Severing**, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, whom the Social Democrats are so eager to claim as a great statesman, wrote on 12 April 1925:

“National Labor”. By **Karl Severing**, Prussian Minister of the Interior.

**... A policy of revanchism and saber rattling would only bring the working class new misery and new enslavement. That must be stopped.”**

Back then, the SPD used every possible method to fight the hated field marshal. **The *Reichsbanner* did not even shy away from accepting 300,000 Reichsmarks from France to use for election propoganda against electing Hindenburg Reich President, the funds detouring through the German Peace Society.**

**This riff-raff fought Hindenburg with French cash.**

**And now?**

## **Social Democrats 1932**

Now this same Social Democracy is saying that it is **“a particularly vile trick “** that the Nazis are **not** voting for Hindenburg. Today, the Social Democratic party hacks see the old field marshal as their last hope. *Vorwärts* wrote on 21 February 1932:

“A lack of Social Democratic votes will mean, with mathematical certainty, the victory of Fascist Reaction. Unless something happens at the last minute to completely alter the political situation, the slogan of the Social Democrats has to be **vote for Hindenburg.”**

In 1925 the Social Democrats lied to the masses by saying that Hindenburg meant war. In 1932, the same party hacks are claiming that Hindenburg is the guarantee of peace. Now Hitler means war. But the lies and swindles are not helping the Social Democratic functionaries much any longer. Members of the SPD have gradually had their eyes opened; they no longer believe everything in their newspapers. One presumed too much in recent years. Building the battle cruiser and the policy of toleration have made some old comrades suspicious. Social Democratic workers, who have had to swallow a lot from their party in recent years, have become skeptical. They see how the Red party hacks ignore one party program point after the other, things they formerly preached. Those few who still support the SPD ask, with good cause, the reasons for the continuing changes by their “leader”-comrades.

## **The Reason behind the Black-Red Coalition**

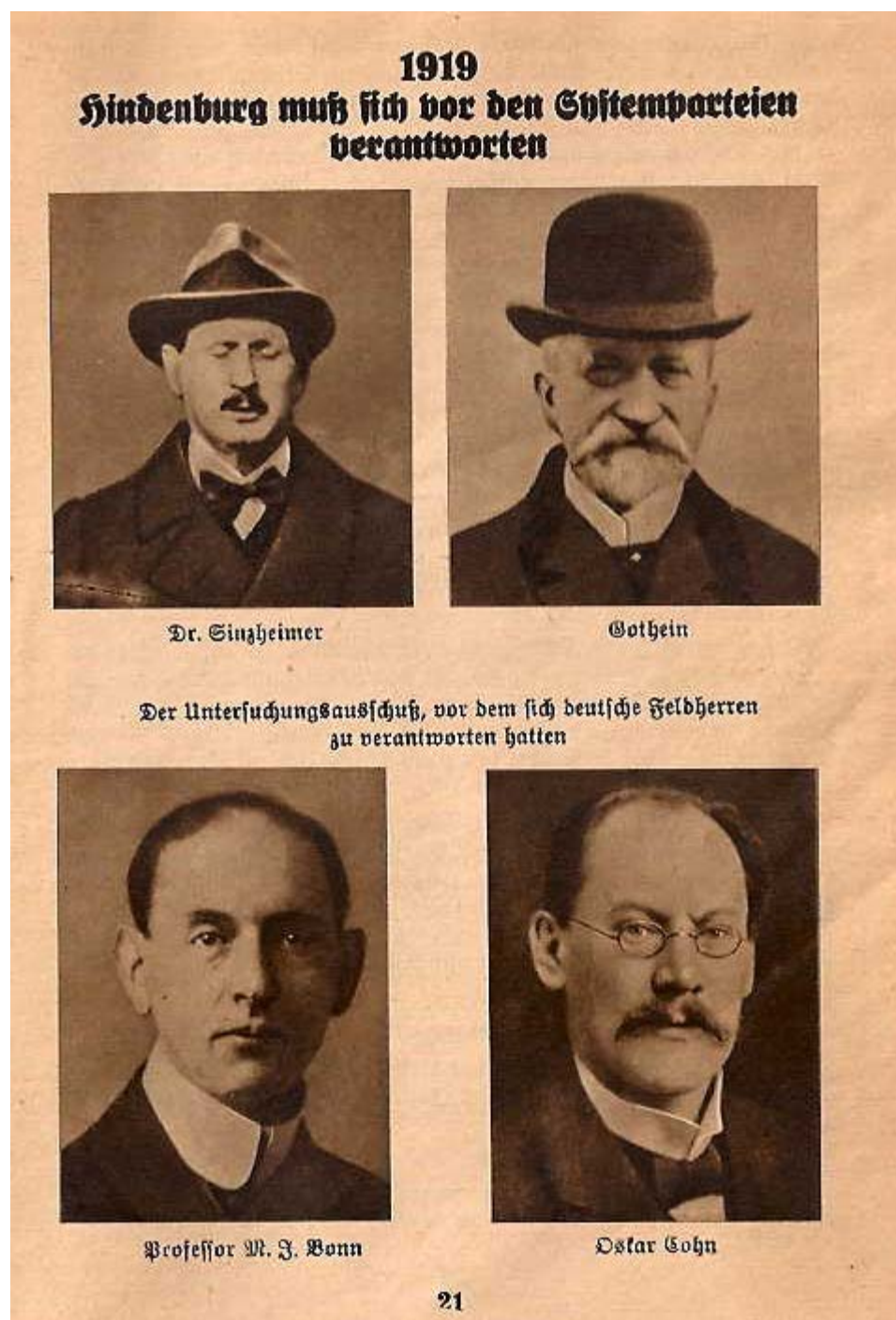
The reason that the Black-Red coalition supporting Hindenburg’s re-election is the absolute and total bankruptcy, the obvious failures of the System parties, in every area of foreign and domestic policy.

## **Foreign Policy Failures**

The policies of the Black-Red System parties have thrown the German people into the deepest hole that a people has ever been in.

The revolt of 9 November 1918 took the weapons away from the fighting troops. Today the guilty parties, and in particular the Social Democratic Party, want to deny their great crime against the German people, the stab in the army’s back. Their attempt is in vain, since the broadest circles of the German people know the guilt social democracy bears for the subversive and destructive activity that finally led to 9 November. But even then, the war had not yet been lost. None other than the current Reich Minister General Groener testified under oath at the “stab in the back trial” that it would have been entirely possible for the German army in the fall of 1918 to establish an impregnable position behind the Rhine, thereby forcing the utterly exhausted enemy to an acceptable peace.





[The illustration caption: “Hindenburg had to defend himself before the System parties in 1919.” The picture are of members of the committee before which military commanders testified.]

The Social Democrats, however, made an armistice without regard to the cost. Social Democratic functionaries feared, and not without reason, that a strong, unified, and well-led army would quickly put an end to the Red spook in the homeland. That is why the Social Democratic representatives pushed for demobilizing the troops with feverish energy.

They thereby put their own survival ahead of the good of the whole people. This hurried dissolution of the army, pushed by the soldiers’ councils, cost the German people the eastern territories that were so important for its economic prosperity. Poland quickly seized important territories left by the troops, and thereby created a done deed that the impotent revolutionary government accepted.

It is lying impudence when a Marxist party hack, one of those people who betrayed us by surrendering the East to

Poland, presents the field marshal as the protector of the German East.

After the stab in the back and the armistice came the acceptance of the peace treaty and the lie that Germany bore sole responsibility for the World War. The murderous slave dictate of Versailles and the outrageous war guilt lie bear the signatures of a Social Democratic and a Center Party minister.

In fall of 1919, the Marxists, along with the Center and Democratic parties, carried their insolence so far as to set up a **“Parliamentary Investigative Committee”** to try so-called “war criminals.” The old and honorable figure of the field marshal was hauled before this investigative committee, and had to answer questions from the Marxist Jew **Oskar Cohn**.

**Things change over time!**

**1919: Hindenburg is a “war criminal.”**

**1919: Hindenburg has to appear before these Marxist scoundrels, and be spit on by the red gutter press as a “war criminal.”**

**1932: Hindenburg is a “savior.”**

**1932: These same honorable men have the impudence to hide behind Hindenburg’s candidacy, misusing the venerable field marshal for their partisan political purposes.**

Besides the chains of the dictated peace treaty, the German people were tortured by reparations, which grew with every new agreement — the London Agreement, the Dawes Pact, and as the culmination of the dictate, the Young Plan.

### **“War Criminals” in 1919**



Helfferich, Hindenburg, and Ludendorff (right) on the way to the parliamentary investigative committee hearings in November 1919

The Black-Red fulfillment parties accepted it all without condition. If someone in Germany dared to oppose this unconditional nonsense of accepting everything and to point out the terrible consequences of such irresponsible politics of the moment, or even appealed to the people to oppose it — as the NSDAP did in the case of the Young Plan — the System politicians accused him of being a **“politician of catastrophe.”**

### **Domestic Failures**

The System parties failed utterly in foreign policy, but their bankruptcy in domestic policy was even greater.

Not a single one of the promises that the Red party hacks fed the masses over the decades was kept. The whole revolutionary comedy has turned out to be one great betrayal of the workers.

Social Democracy's revolution of 9 November 1918 betrayed German workers. There was no great idea, not a single great man, and therefore no great liberating act. Instead of freeing the people from Western capitalism, the Red System party hacks in Germany turned them over to international Jewish financial capital.

Social Democratic functionaries settled in nicely into capitalism. The System hack developed, Jewish parasites dug themselves in, and an enormous swamp of corruption spread across Germany. Sklarz, Parvus-Helphand, Barmat, Kutisker, the Sklarek brothers, these are only the best known of the legion of Marxist-Jewish System crooks.

Confidence in the rule of law was undermined when, for example, a man of conviction like the Schleswig-Holstein farmer Klaus Heim was sentenced to **seven years in prison** and every request for clemency was rejected — even though not a hair of anyone's head was harmed by his bombs — while the Galician black marketeer Julius Barmat received only **11 months in jail** and was pardoned after 5 months.

As a result of Marxist mismanagement of the economy, there was a great shortage of money. The Red party hacks tried to deal with this by printing more banknotes, which led inevitably to the inflation of 1923.

The crime of inflation plunged thousands upon thousands of hard-working German families into the deepest poverty and bitterest misery. People who had starved themselves for decades in order to stash away a few coins were robbed of what little they had, reduced to poverty in their old age. Inflation destroyed the purchasing power of the middle class.

The purchasing power of the masses was destroyed when the Black-Red System parties unconditionally accepted the reparations treaty. Mass misery ruled in Germany, and the unemployment rate climbed constantly, for the peace treaty and the reparations agreements destroyed German industry. Inflation destroyed the middle class, the reparations nonsense ruined the prosperity of the broad masses.

That is all the work of the Black and Red System patriots. They have deceived and betrayed the German people.

The masses today realize this enormous fraud, and demand loudly and forcefully an accounting from the Red party hacks.

The terrified and trembling System politicians see only one way of rescuing themselves from the betrayed masses of the people. They have long since buried their own will for battle and victory; they will probably be entirely content if they can keep the evil Nazis from power. They have become rather modest, these "wild" revolutionaries of 1918. They lack their own men whom they could present as leaders of the people. Therefore they have to seek help wherever they can find it.

For years now, the SPD has quietly tolerated the "middle class" Brüning government that it once supposedly fought so hard, swallowing each emergency decree that reduced even more the meager standard of living of German workers. They feared new elections, and the judgment of the betrayed masses of voters. In this popular election of a Reich President, this bankrupt party that betrayed the workers no longer even dares present its own candidate. It is ready to unconditionally accept any candidate proposed by the Center and Democratic parties — all because of a blind fear of National Socialism.

That is why Social Democracy is ready to support Hindenburg, which it fought in the most offensive ways seven years ago. It sees in him the pillar of the system, a protector of its government of party hacks.

**In 1919, the SPD hauled the field marshal before their investigation committee as a "war criminal." In 1926 they slandered him as the "general" of civil war, and in 1932 they praise him as "savior."**

**What a wonderful piece of theatre!**

They have, in any event, good reason to see Hindenburg as a reliable support of their rotten, crumbling system.

**Against the clearly expressed wishes of the people, as shown in the Reichstag election of 1930, Hindenburg has supported and propped up Brüning's government.**

**With his signature, Hindenburg has supported the Young Plan that destroyed the German economy, and supported the reparations-paying policies of the System parties.**



**The top picture shows “a meeting in the Reichstag restaurant,” the bottom a disabled war veteran.**

**Hindenburg approved and signed Reich Chancellor Brüning's emergency decrees that reduced the support of German workers to the barest minimum, and plunged disabled war veterans into the bitterest poverty and misery.**

**Hindenburg tolerated and approved the crippling of the German freedom movement through political**

**emergency decrees that eliminated freedom of the press and opinion.**

**Hindenburg banned old soldiers and his former comrades from wearing their honorable brown and field-gray uniforms, which particularly affected the national freedom movement.**

**Hindenburg tolerated and protected the terror and slander of Marxist government offices against the men who, despite hatred and bloody terror, made his election possible seven years ago.**

## **The Great Illusion**

The field marshal has accepted candidacy from the men who, seven years ago, attacked him in the most hateful ways, and is ready to run on behalf of those who opposed him in 1925. Hindenburg accepted candidacy with honest, plain, and simple words. No German will doubt that the venerable general spoke from honest conviction.

**Yet these plain words are a great tragedy! They reveal the great illusion of the German middle class of the unity of the German nation!**

In his election proclamation, Hindenburg said:

“Should I be elected, I will continue to serve the fatherland with all my strength and loyalty, and conscientiously strive for freedom and equality abroad and

**for unity at home.”**

A great illusion is concealed by these words, namely that at the moment there is not a German people that one could unify.

## **We are still not a People!**

**As long as there are still millions of people in Germany who hold to the Marxist insanity of class struggle, the German people will be unable to find its way to unity.**

As long as there are governments in Germany that tolerate the treasonous and subversive activities of Bolsheviks in Moscow's pay, there is no possibility of a united German people.

**As long as Germany lacks a people, all the talk of unity is in vain.**

**One can never build a united people by talking about unity.**

**A united people can only be built through action. Through eliminating the doctrine of class struggle and excluding those who preach it.**

**A united German people can only develop in a National Socialist state of national honor and social justice.**

**And only in a National Socialist state characterized by a people's community can that which we all long for develop:**

**a new German people!**

**Everything else is empty talk,**

**is an illusion!!**

## **The Great Danger**

**The great danger is that in all this talk about unity, the real danger that threatens the German people in Bolshevism, is underestimated. As the result of the great betrayal of the workers by Social Democratic party hacks, and the total failure of the System, Bolshevism has become a grave danger to the future of the German people.**

**Led by Jewish puppet-masters and cunning journalists, the KPD has lured some of the workers betrayed by the SPD with its promises. The KPD uses its boundless agitation against any kind or ordered state to turn the commune of its supporters into enemies of the state. Using insane agitation of hatred and murder, the KPD's leadership wants to create a murderous atmosphere that makes any discussion between National Socialists and Communists impossible. They want to prevent their supporters from learning the truth about Communism and its leaders.**

**The System tolerates communist rabble-rousing against the state, just as it tolerates murderous communist rabble-rousing against National Socialists.**

**The System alone bears the guilt for the rise of the Bolshevist danger, for its toleration has paved the way for communism**

**As long as such an intolerable situation exists in Germany, all the talk about unity is nothing but a dangerous illusion. If this System remains in control the bolshevist danger will continue to grow enormously, until one day catastrophe will fall on Germany. It will be a catastrophe of incredible scope.**

**Bolshevism in Germany means nothing other than**

**world war!**

**Even worse, a world war**

**on German soil!**

**That is no empty threat to scare good, prosperous citizens, but rather a grave danger that threatens Germany's ruination.**

**One need only recall Germany's current situation.**

**Germany is open on all sites, sitting defenseless in the center of Europe. Three large national states surround Germany, bound together by military treaties:**

**France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia**

**These three national states (as opposed to a Bolshevist state) together have about 8 million soldiers equipped with the best modern weapons.**

**Does anyone in the world believe that these three national states would or could tolerate a Bolshevist stronghold between them? A Bolshevist stronghold that would over time spread to France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia? For a Bolshevist Germany could survive only by infecting its neighbors with Bolshevism.**

**These three national states, France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia would have no choice if they did not want to surrender — which a national state will never do — than to strangle the Bolshevist stronghold in their midst, whether they want to or not. It would be a matter of their own survival. Does anyone believe that French foreign policy — the cleverest in Europe after the World War — would wait until Bolsheviks were marching**

**into Paris or Warsaw? But that means world war.**

**For just as surely as these three national states would intervene, so, too, would Soviet Russia become involved in the conflict. For Soviet Russia, Germany is a stepping stone on the path to world revolution. Russian Bolshevism stands or falls with the doctrine of world revolution. The Russian Soviet state to some degree is built on this doctrine. Russia's intervention would mean world war!**

**This world war would take place on German soil. Quite simply, a Bolshevik Germany is the only state that would have no means to defend itself against the invasion of foreign armies.**

**Bolshevism in Germany and a world war on German soil. World war with all the most modern methods — that would mean the total destruction of Germany, after which there would**

**no longer be a German people!**

**It would mean chaos, destruction, defeat!**

**One cannot eliminate this threatening danger with empty words about the necessity of unity. The danger can be combated only by the National Socialist freedom movement.**

**This danger can be eliminated only by creating a new,**

**a National Socialist Germany.**

The system has not, and cannot, see the danger. It is necessarily the pathfinder for Bolshevism.

Therefore, a responsible German today **cannot** vote for Field Marshal von Hindenburg.

**Any non-National Socialist Reich President — even Mr. Hindenburg — is, whether he wants to be or not, nothing but a pathfinder for Bolshevism!**

**German people's comrade, that is what is at stake in the Reich Presidential election!**

**A National Socialist state or Bolshevik chaos!**

**Rise or Fall!**

**Life or Death!**

**It is not about Hindenburg, but rather about the German people!**

**Germany is in danger!**

**The System must go if Germany is to live!**

**People's comrades!**

**Enough! Vote for Hitler, the German worker and front soldier!**



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[Go to](#) the pre-1933 Page.

[Go to](#) the German Propaganda Archive Home Page.



**Background:** This is a mass pamphlet issued by the Nazis during the second round of the 1932 presidential campaign, held on 10 April. Hitler did well in the first round, forcing a run-off. The Nazi hope was to win a majority in the second round. This pamphlet was released within a week or two of that election, and aims to present Hitler as the only person able to save Germany, a capable politician who has been slandered by a frightened opposition. It seems to be aimed at the electorate in general rather than a specific group.

I also have a pamphlet on Hitler issued a month or so earlier during the first round of the presidential election, Dagobert Dürr's [\*Adolf Hitler der deutsche Arbeiter und Frontsoldat\*](#) (Munich: Eher, 1932).

**The source:** *Tatsachen und Lügen um Hitler* (Munich: Franz Eher, 1932).

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## ***Facts and Lies about Hitler***

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### **The Führer as a Person**

Two men stand at the fore in the battle for power in Germany, and behind each two mighty columns of the German people march. One man is the 85-year-old Field Marshal **Paul von Hindenburg**, the other is the 43-year-old man of the people and front soldier **Adolf Hitler**. Behind one of them are the defeated parties of the System and special interests who are trying to extend their 14 years of rule for several more years by exploiting the halo of the venerable army leader, behind the other is the **New Germany's army of millions**, who are not only demanding a reckoning, but control of the state itself.

It is a piece of the German tragedy that those who today are depending on the honor and fame of the field marshal are the same ones who smeared him for fourteen years, and that **they** are forced to oppose the man who anchored his mythos in the people over a 14-year struggle.

Hindenburg, his officers, and his victorious army were once the target of the gutter press and the deceivers of the people. Adolf Hitler, the unknown musketeer and his loyal followers defended him from the poisonous arrows of the Reds, and worked until Germany's army and its leaders were once again shining figures, as they were back when the cannon's fire illuminated the night.

Now the Red and Black barrage is aimed at Adolf Hitler, the leader of young Germany, the leader of freedom. Now he is slandered in word and picture, portrayed as a tyrant and actor, branded as a gourmet, a glutton, only because his battle



slogan is: Death to Marxism so that Germany may live!

For years we have been silent about these miserable lies. Our opponents were too crude, the Führer too noble, for us to respond. Now, however, since the people as a whole is to choose between two men, one of whom it knows only in the distorted mirror of Jewish and Marxist lies, do we chose to step forward and talk about the Führer, whom we have known from the beginning. We want to talk about **Adolf Hitler as a person**, as we see him.

**This is the truth. He who speaks differently lies!**

More than twelve years ago, the first dozen National Socialists gathered each week around a table as Adolf Hitler spoke fervently about the future that had to belong to us, to us National Socialists. We did not have much. There was the old driver Mayer, and the locksmith Riedel, **but Adolf Hitler was surely the poorest of us all**. He wore the uniform of a demobilized soldier and his brown military boots. For lunch, he chose the cheapest item on the menu. But I never heard Hitler complain, **he never spoke of his poverty**. Yet he had known poverty since his youth as he went hungry in Vienna, without a mother or father, or during the war as the only one in his company who **never received a package**, and remained as poor after the great struggle. As the others thought about their families, about their possessions and their money, Adolf Hitler preached the battle for freedom.

Hunger and poverty reduced millions to people who knew no fatherland any more, but poverty made of Hitler a nationalist, but also a socialist, **a spokesman for the deprived among our people**. The Führer said:

**“Social welfare’s task never was or is to squander its resources in ridiculous useless ways that must, or at least can, lead to the corruption of the individual, but rather in eliminating fundamental weaknesses in the organization of our economic and cultural life.”**

Well, some may say, that was twelve years ago. But today he lives in fine style, drinks champagne, and orders

tablecloths that cost 20 Marks. That, at least, is what the gutter journalists write. The Red party hacks and their servants probably think that way because that is how they behave. Let us look at how this man lived during the several weeks in which the National Socialist Party took in half a million marks through his speeches: he had soup, vegetables, and a bottle of mineral water. No alcohol, no meat, no cigar, no cigarette. Those who doubt it can check with the hotels where Hitler stayed during his trips, and which are well known to the Jewish and Social Democratic rat finks. **Adolf Hitler's lifestyle is characterized by Spartan simplicity.**

Between trips through German territory, when there is no public meeting, no S.A. gathering, no meeting, one comes to know the Führer as an artist and person of vast knowledge. Here he shows his companions an old archway, there a German cathedral soaring to the heavens, here a splendid German bridge, there a memorial to a hero of German intellectual life. He speaks of German history and how to use it, of the newest type of airplane, then in a village somewhere brushes the head of the boy of a German worker that the mother proudly raises toward him.

### **[Picture of Hitler talking to a young boy while the mother looks on]**

Even Hitler's opponents cannot deny that his party members not only believe fanatically in the Führer, but also love him passionately, honor him so much **that dozens died for him, smiling and with his name on their lips.** As Führer, Adolf Hitler stands far above us all, but **as a person he is as our father or brother.** He knows our suffering and our sorrows, feels them with us, because he himself went through life's hardest school and never forgot his own years of bitter poverty.

Everyone, therefore, comes to him for help, and just as he will one day be the savior of the whole people, today he helps each individual fighter. That is how the **relationship of loyalty and camaraderie** developed between Führer and follower developed that binds heart to heart, and which no power on earth can destroy.

He who has not yet entirely understood the powerful new idea of National Socialism will find the way to a New Germany through Hitler, the man.

We thank Providence that it not only gave Hitler to us as Führer, but also as a man who shows us how to live as a German.

## **What are Hitler's Goals?**

Hitler's goals are:

**Achieving freedom for the German people,**

**Achieving its proper place among the peoples,**

**Building the foundations for its ability to survive.**

**Hitler is convinced that freedom for the German people and its appropriate position among the peoples can be gained through entirely peaceful methods.** The prerequisite is the firm and consistent leadership of German foreign policy that, combined with a corresponding domestic policy rooted in a people that once again has the will to assert itself, will convince foreign states that Germany is a valuable partner. Hitler wants to work together with states that have interests that allow, or even require, working together with Germany. **Instead of emotional policies, he favors a policy of self interest, which recognizes the same factor as the driving force of the policies of all peoples.**

**This requires the organization of the domestic life of a people according to the principles that will best enable it to face the rest of the world, and so support the necessary foreign policy.** This means replacing the system of irresponsible leadership based on decisions made by a parliamentary majority of amateurs with a system based on the personal responsibility of a capable leader, supported by the advice of experts. **It means the replacement of the majority with the value of personality. It means awakening and increasing the feeling of the superiority of one's own race. It means eliminating Jewish-Bolshevist manifestations** in all areas of culture.

**It means the greatest possible support for the economy and the use of all suitable methods to bring the unemployed back into the production process** to add new purchasing power and new opportunities for the domestic markets. **It means the gradual reduction of excessive taxes** and a return to a tax system characterized by **a few easily understood taxes**. It means **a reduction in excessive interest rates**, above all with respect to foreign debts. It means **stable prices**, which permit long-term planning. It means the **protection of domestic production**, in particular agricultural production, **since agriculture provides our food and is the prerequisite for the independence, and therefore the freedom, of the nation: It is the source of the renewal of the people's blood**, replacing what big cities suck out of it and destroy.

**Capital and labor are equally essential for highly developed economy**. Neither of the two factors can benefit at the cost of the other — which in the long one would lead both to suffer. Therefore, **class struggle must be eliminated** and **class differences bridged**. This requires **a just distribution of economic success**. **Community spirit and mutual confidence**, hand in hand with **the regulatory activity of the state** when required, will create the foundation for healthy economic growth.

**Hitler refuses to provide details as to how his goals will be reached**, since experience shows that the present government adopts at least parts of such plans, usually in an incomplete manner — thereby avoiding a really effective attack on the root cause, such as unemployment — which discredits them, since there is no healthy and constructive result. Hitler's plans, which the government at first does not intend to follow, are criticized in public by "experts," or even made ludicrous. One only need mention **the National Socialist proposal in the Reichstag** a year and a half ago to require **a general reduction in interest rates**. It was attacked from all sides. When after a long time the Brüning government decided to proceed according to the National Socialist proposal, it turned out that **the measure was entirely practical and effective**, and the "unacceptable consequences" that the experts predicted would result from the National Socialist proposal did not occur.

One may be persuaded that the same is true of the other measures Hitler plans to save countless individuals, the economy, and the entire nation. This is even more the case, since Hitler does not plan risky or amateurish experiments, but rather to follow the advice of leading and recognized experts in all areas.

**The man who, because of his extraordinary knowledge and ability in all areas, was able to rise from nothing to his present position as the leader of millions in Germany, despite tremendous resistance, is perhaps the only one who has the ability to master the enormous tasks, rescuing the nation at the eleventh hour from its almost hopeless situation. Led by fate, he followed his path. It would not be the first time in history that Germany was rescued by the right man in its greatest need!**

**Each must therefore be aware of the responsibility that he bears if he hinders Hitler from taking the fate of the people in his hands**, particularly in view of the failure of previous governments.

## **A Selection of Lies about Hitler**

Nothing better demonstrates the great hatred the parties responsible for Germany's misery have for Hitler than a selection of the lies that they spread about him. And nothing speaks more for Hitler.

**The Center Party** and its allies in the "**Bavarian People's Party**" lied: Adolf Hitler is member of the "Free of Rome movement." When this was proven to be untrue, the Center Party lied that it was true of Hitler's father. Furthermore: As a child, Hitler supposedly spit on the host. He is a covert Bolshevik.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly had "Champagne parties with beautiful women;" the Kaiser paid Hitler for his activities; Hitler received money from "Horthy's Hungary." Hitler's supporters are supposedly "miserable creatures," reactionary officers, and students. Hitler is a "slave of the capitalists."

**The S.P.D. and Center Party lied:** Hitler betrayed South Tyrol and was rewarded with money from

Italy.

**They lied:** Hitler supposedly received money from a number of big industrialists so that he would use his forces to break strikes.

**They lied:** Hitler supposedly received money from Jews.

**They lied:** Hitler supposedly received money from Ford.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly received money from Borsig.

**The S.P.D. and Center Party lied:** Hitler supposedly was engaged to a Jew.

**The Bavarian Center Party (BPP)** had a Catholic priest spread lies that as a child, Adolf Hitler spat on the host, although this accusation had already been proven false.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Adolf Hitler supposedly received French funds. The *Berliner Tageblatt*, close to the Marxists, worked to spread this lie throughout the world.

**The *Münchener Telegrammzeitung*,** which the S.P.D. and Center Party often use against Hitler, maintain that Hitler supposedly gave an ultimatum to Crown Prince Rupprecht.

**The Center Party lied:** Hitler supposedly had a luxurious 12-room house; he supposedly had a luxurious villa in Berchtesgaden.

**The S.P.D. and Center Party lied:** There was a tapestry supposedly worth 80,000 Marks in the Brown House **[the Nazi headquarters in Munich]**, a banister worth 30,000 Marks, a 3,000 Mark wood-carved chair. Hitler's office was supposedly modeled after Mussolini's.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly received money from Switzerland.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly had negotiations with separatist leader Heinz Orbis.

**The S.P.D. and Center Party** published articles in their newspapers, and the *Münchener Telegrammzeitung*, based on an alleged letter claiming that Hitler received 5,000,000 Marks from Russia for the election. (The proof for the alleged document's falsity was that it had a form of his signature that Hitler no longer used at the time. As a result, even the Soviet Russian government had to distance itself from the forgery.)

**The S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly received a prison sentence for deserting the German army, for which he received amnesty from Kurt Eisner (the slanderer had to pay a 50 Mark fine!)

**The S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly ordered Jewish cemeteries to be desecrated. (Even Berlin Police President Bernhard Weiß had to admit under oath that he knew of no case of grave desecration by National Socialists.)

**The Center Party lied:** Adolf Hitler supposedly said in his book *Mein Kampf* that lies may be used in any situation. The cited passage was false from start to finish.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly sent one of his representatives to Paris to negotiate a German-French military agreement with France.

**The S.P.D. and Center Party lied:** Hitler supposedly stated that in the Third Reich all handicapped children will be killed.

**The S.P.D. lied:** S.A. people were supposedly used by industry to break strikes.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly was paid 2,000 Marks for each meeting he spoke at.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly wanted to introduce forced labor for the unemployed, but National Socialists would be exempt.

**The S.P.D.** spreads false lists of people supposedly killed by the National Socialists.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly had his representative Göring secure a 16-room mansion in Berlin.

**The S.P.D. and Center Party lied:** Hitler was supposedly Czech. When this could no longer be defended, they changed it so that Hitler's mother was supposedly a Czech who always spoke the Czech language.

**The German National Commercial Assistance Federation (D.H.B.) lied:** Hitler supposedly wanted to destroy the unions.

**The S.P.D. lied:** After his speech in Düsseldorf, Hitler supposedly had a fancy dinner with the industrialists.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Schneider-Creuzot supposedly gave Hitler money.

**The Center Party and S.P.D. lied:** Hitler supposedly no longer believes in his mission or in winning the presidential election.

**The S.P.D. lied:** Japan supposedly gave Hitler money.

**The S.P.D. lies today:** If elected Reich President, Hitler would supposedly cut all pensions.

**The S.P.D. lies today:** Foreign countries, above all France, would supposedly not tolerate Hitler as president, German credit would be destroyed, etc., the same things they said in 1925 about a Hindenburg presidency.

**The "middle class papers," along with the S.P.D. and Center Party, lie:** Hitler supposedly wanted at first to extend Hindenburg's term, but was dissuaded through Hugenberg's influence. A "nationalist" paper took on the forgery of a French newspaper about a supposed Hitler representative, who never existed.

**The S.P.D. lies today:** Hitler supposedly receives some of the profits of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, a party salary, and a fee for each of his meetings. This totals, supposedly, 433,200 Marks a year.

**The S.P.D. lies today:** "To save money," Hitler would supposedly kill everyone over the age of 60.

**The S.P.D. and Center Party lie today:** Hitler would supposedly fire all employed women.

**The S.P.D. lies today:** Hitler's father originally had a Czech name, only later replacing it with a German name.

During his political career, Hitler instituted 123 cases against such lies. As it gradually became clear that no reasonable person believed these lies any longer, he only went after occasional examples of the crassest cases.

So it was with claims of accepting French money, Italian money, betraying South Tyrol, desecrating the host, making an ultimatum to Crown Prince Rupprecht, discussions with Heinz Orbis, desecrating Jewish cemeteries, forgeries from his book, deserting the Austrian army, fleeing the front, etc. All the court verdicts, of course, were in his favor. The total of the resulting fines and prison terms was considerable, even if in some cases they were inappropriately lenient.

A new flood of lies gushed over Hitler and his surroundings during the Reich presidential election. Forged letters, forged police reports on interrogations of his staff, were spread about. With interest, but calmly, Hitler and his staff are ready for new lies prepared for the election.

## Answers to the Most Common Lies

### Hitler Betrayed South Tyrol!

Besides a court verdict, a South Tyrolean answered this one. **Count Fedrigotti, a leader of the South Tyrol Home Federation, and Member of the Andreas Hofer Federation**, talked at the end of January of this year with National Socialist Reichstag Representative Hinkel about a speech by Father Innerkosler titled “Hitler’s Betrayal of South Tyrol,” given at a Reichsbanner mass meeting. He stated that the South Tyrol Home Federation refused to allow the South Tyrol question to be used for partisan political attacks against National Socialism. He showed Hinkel a telegram that he had received from Innsbruck as an answer to his request, in which the leaders of the South Tyrol Home Federation sharply rejected Innerkosler’s position in Berlin. **The South Tyroleans knew that Germany’s foreign policy line had to follow the Berlin-Rome-London line, and that Hitler had to draw the appropriate conclusions for his behavior.** They also had to recognize that Mussolini was the first to take sympathetic position against reparations. They only wanted to be sure that South Tyrol was not forgotten.

Hitler certainly has not forgotten the South Tyroleans. He himself was born and grew up in a border region. **He is convinced, however, that the mission of the South Tyroleans is to build a bridge to Italy, and behavior consistent with that will be of more use to them than the German press agitation against Fascist Italy that exploits the South Tyroleans.**

### Is Hitler “Subservient to Rome”?

**A Protestant church official** who knows Hitler personally, and has observed him for a decade in Munich, answers this charge as follows:

“As far as I can tell, it is nonsense to think that Hitler is ‘subservient to Rome.’ If that is true, why do parts of the Catholic clergy fight him so hard? If it were true, it would be easy for him to win their favor! Hitler is German-minded and honorable, but not bound to a religious denomination, for he is the leader of a political party that includes all true Germans.”

A Reformed Protestant pastor wrote this about the same question:

Dear Sir !

You have asked me for information based on my personal acquaintance with Mr. Adolf Hitler.

I have had opportunity to observe Adolf Hitler for years. I am duty-bound to say that claims that Hitler is “in Rome’s service,” that he is “subservient to Rome,” that he is “under Jesuit influence,” are fables and slanders. These distortions are used by his political opponents to harm Hitler’s image among the Protestant part of the German people. If I shared this doubt, I would not be a member of the NSDAP. I cannot understand why such rumors have any credibility today, since it is known that Catholic dignitaries publicly oppose Hitler and his movement.

From my perspective, Hitler may not be judged from a denominational standpoint. Just as he stands above “parties” in the usual sense, so he stands above denominational strife. But he acts like a Christian! He above all is to be thanked — and I share this conviction with many observers — for the fact that a large part of Europe has been so far protected from Bolshevism.

Munich, 27 March 1932.

Hans Wegner, Pastor of the Evangelical-Reformed Church in Munich

## “Hitler is an enemy of the Catholic Faith”

A **Catholic priest** who examined all of Hitler’s statements carefully before he could decide to speak for the party in good conscience, wrote the following about **whether he would vote for Hindenburg or Hitler** on 13 (*sic*) March 1932:

“You want to know whom I, the Catholic priest, am voting for as Reich President. I am not voting for Hindenburg, but rather for Hitler. The day comes for each of us when his strength fails, when he is too old for his duties, regardless of what he did for his nation in his younger and fresher years. One then has the moral obligation to give up the office one has held and pass on the care of the nation to younger and fresher forces. That is why, to say it again, I am voting for Hitler. There has seldom been a man whom I admired as much as Hindenburg. The people who wanted nothing to do with him seven years ago, and held other candidates as worthier Reich Presidents, thought my admiration to be a special sort of evil. I am not shamed of that admiration, and even today it burns within me, because I cannot forget what this man did for my fatherland. Yet still, to say it a third time, I am voting for Hitler, for age is age, and failing strength is failing strength, and it would be terrible for me if this man, in whose camp Germany stood for the long, hard years of war would be driven to partisan political maneuvering. You know that I am hardly uncritical when it comes to your party, but I will rejoice in the day when the world hears the news that Adolf Hitler has been elected President of the German Reich.

Cologne-Delbrück, 3 March 1932, signed Dr. W. Engel.”

After the first round of the election, he added the following lines to the above letter on 18 March:

“...What people are gradually beginning to realize (and which for Hitler is strong incentive to continue in the same direction) is this: the NSDAP is the purest of the political parties. The people who voted for Hitler are people who think the same and have similar wills. Hindenburg’s voters, however, are a mish-mash of political viewpoints, a political stew...

You will surely remember Mr. von Loebell, who put the Hindenburg coalition together seven years ago. I have since discovered that he is a 33rd degree Scottish Freemason. What does Hindenburg really think of Freemasonry? If he himself is a Freemason, you will understand why, particularly after the recent papal statement against Freemasonry, it would be impossible for a Catholic priest to vote for this man, even if he is supported by less well informed leading Catholic priests in Germany...

Signed: Dr. W. Engel”

**If a Catholic priest can vote for Hitler, any good Catholic can do so as well without having any problems with his conscience!** And when he understands that Hitler alone is to thank for the fact that Germany has been saved from Bolshevism, which destroys Christian culture, churches, and altars, he **must** vote for Hitler.

That cannot be changed by attempts to prove that Hitler is “hostile to religion,” using works by private, independent works by National Socialists, or by the poetic fantasies of Dietrich Eckart, whose conversations with Hitler never happened.

## “Hitler — A Czech!”

Hitler was born in Braunau am Inn. Those opponents who spread the lie of a “Czech Hitler” depend on the



confusion of Braunau am Inn with the Braunau in Czechoslovakia. **Braunau am Inn is on the Bavarian border, with only the Inn River between them.** It is over 80 kilometers as the crow flies to the Czech border, twice as much as the distance between Dresden and the Czech border. Up until the second half of the 18th century, Braunau belonged to Bavaria.

**Hitler, therefore, was born within Greater Germany. Both parents are of German blood.** They could not even speak Czech (and Hitler lived many years of his youth with his parents on Reich German soil, in Passau). Hitler became a German citizen before he became a candidate for Reich President by act of the National Socialist government in Braunschweig. He himself always refused to ask the Reich government to give to him what it gave without hesitation to tens of thousands of Galician Jews, even though he had long-since earned it through four years of service at the front in the German army during the war.

## **“Hitler Means Inflation, a Reduction in Unemployment Benefits and Pensions, Civil War, and Chaos”**

These charges are an example of the “stop thief!” tactics used by the parties of the Hindenburg front. They know well enough that a continuation of their regime will lead to complete financial collapse in the not too distant future, already hinted at by current goings on with the banks. Everyone knows that an improvement in finances can only result from a general improvement in the economy, and that this in turn can only result from increased productivity by everyone. They also know that under Hindenburg and the governments under him, unemployment has risen from 736,000 in 1925 to 6,250,000 today, and that if the system of little emergency degree tinkering continues, unemployment will continue to rise. **They know that they can temporarily postpone their system of financial collapse, whether in the short or long term, through measures that will cause inflation. Since they know that, and since they can no longer see any way out, they attempt to divert attention by saying that Hitler will cause inflation. They conceal what they know well enough that Hilferding from their own Social Democratic group was the one who caused inflation.** This completely fulfilled their old program plank on the fight against “capital” and the expropriation of the wealthy, since even the poorest grandma lost the last penny that she had saved for her old age. In thanks, the “bourgeoisie” today marches arm and arm with the comrades of the SPD, attempting to save the system responsible for it all by using Hindenburg’s name. Just as intentionally, they **conceal the fact that it was Hitler who predicted inflation, who said that the government’s measures had to lead to inflation, and who also showed how to avoid inflation.**

**The “Hindenburg parties” know that the financial collapse that their System has to lead to ending unemployment benefits and pensions,** just as the danger of collapse has already led to reducing them. Their leaders know that there are already places in Germany that are no longer able to pay these benefits, and are instead giving them permits that ask the authorities not to arrest them for begging (!) **Since they know this and cannot see any way out, they are spreading the fable that Hitler wants to stop unemployment benefits and pensions.**

**The SPD’s leaders in the “Hindenburg Front” know that if such support is eliminated because of financial collapse, the result will be civil war.** They do not even want to avoid civil war. **To conceal that they accuse Hitler of wanting civil war,** and their bourgeois allies in the “Hindenburg Front” do all they can to help spread this lie. Red Prussia instituted a big effort to search National Socialist homes in the hope of finding support for their fairy tales about civil war.

Why is it that the leaders of the SPD do not even want to avoid the civil war that has to follow the collapse of their regime? Because civil war is a step on the path to reaching their goals. That these remain what they always were, and that they are misusing the name “Hindenburg,” is shown by a passage from the newspaper *Eiserne Front* in Mecklenburg of 6 March 1932:

**“This election is not the decisive battle between capitalism and socialism. Our side certainly cannot achieve that under Hindenburg’s banner. When the hour comes for that, we will vote for someone else.”**

In plain language, German citizens should understand that the SPD, in desperation, is trying to save itself under the “Hindenburg banner.” Once the danger Hitler poses to them is past, they can kick the “bourgeoisie” out. Then the SPD will be able to fight the decisive battle between the system of general expropriation, Marxism, and the system based on private property, on the accomplishments of the individual. **For those who sought to rescue Marxism under the “Hindenburg banner,” the result of the victory of Marxism in this “decisive battle” will be widespread starvation and forced labor, following the Russian model.**

**He who wants to please Scheidemann, Dittmann, Crispian, and the other comrades in the “Hindenburg Front,” therefore, helps by spreading tales about Hitler causing inflation, cutting unemployment payments and pensions, and bringing about civil war and chaos. He thereby contributes to maintaining the current System, which is bringing all these things about!**

## **“Hitler — An Austrian Deserter”**

It has been said that Hitler evaded military service in Austria, and only because of that served in the Bavarian army.

The following document provides the answer:

Office of the State Government, State Registry Office, Nr. 786

### Official Statement

Adolf Hitler, born on 20 April 1889 in Braunau am Inn and resident of Linz, Upper Austria, son of Alois and Klara (maiden name, Plötzl), was found by examination of the 3rd age group in Salzburg on 5 February 1914 to be “too weak for military or support service,” and was declared “unfit for military service.”

Linz, 23 February 1932, signed Opitz

**Hitler, of course, volunteered immediately at the beginning of the war and served in the Bavarian army from the start to the finish. Since he was in Munich at the time, this required the permission of the King of Bavaria. His service at the front was interrupted only by two wounds.**

## **“Hitler — A Shirker”**

**The party that, along with the USPD that had again joined its ranks, just after the revolution proclaimed it an honor to have been a shirker, or even a deserter, invented the lie shortly before the Reich presidential election that Hitler had shirked his duty. At Fournes in particular, he had always been “far from the action.” A temporary ban was imposed on that SPD pamphlet. In the subsequent court proceeding, the judge had to rule that the claim was untrue, based on an impressive number of sworn statements by witnesses, either on paper or directly before the court.**

Here are **excerpts from the sworn statements:**

“... I want to stress that, when during the attack on the axe-shaped piece of forest (later called the Bavarian Forest), I left the cover of the forest near Wyttschaete to better observe the attack, Hitler and another courier from the regimental staff, the volunteer Bachmann, placed themselves in front of me to protect me from machine gun fire with their own bodies.”

Signed: Engelhardt, Major General (retired), former commander of the Bavarian R.-F.-R. 16 (List).

“... I can only give former Corporal Hitler the greatest praise for his extraordinary accomplishments. Fournes was a village behind the regiment’s battle line. It served as a recovery area for battalion relieved from the front, and also served as the seat of the regimental staff during calmer periods. The village was within the danger zone, and was frequently under rather heavy fire. During battle, the

regimental headquarters was moved about 3/4 of an hour forward to Fournelles, and orders had to be carried to the front line. The path was often under enemy machine gun and artillery fire. I can never remember a single time when Hitler was absent from his post. Hitler may wear the medals he earned with pride...”

Signed: Satny, Colonel (retired), former commander of the Bavarian R.-F.-R. 16 (List).

“Mr. Hitler, as corporal, was a courier for the regimental staff, and was not only always willing to carry out hard tasks, but did so with distinction. I stress that the List Regiment, as might be expected from its history, was at the toughest parts of the front, fighting in frequent major battles...”

Signed: Baligand, Colonel (retired), last commander of the Bavarian R.-F.-R. 16 (List).

“... At particularly dangerous points I often was asked for volunteers, and at such times Hitler regularly volunteered, and without hesitation...”

Signed: Bruno Horn, Lieutenant with the Bavarian R.-F.-R. 16 (List).

“... Hitler never hesitated in the least in carrying out even the most difficult order, and very often took on the most dangerous duties for his comrades.

Couriers for the regimental staff had to be among the most reliable people, because serving as a regimental courier during battles and skirmishes required iron nerves and a cool head. Hitler always did his duty, and even after his severe thigh wound, and volunteered to be sent back to his regiment from the reserve battalion immediately after his release from the hospital...”

Signed: Max Amann, former sergeant with the Bavarian R.-F.-R. 16 (List).

“... I often met Corporal Adolf Hitler as he served as courier to and from the front. Anyone who understands the duties of a courier — and any soldier who has served at the front does — knows what it means, day after day and night after night to move through artillery fire and machine gun fire from the rear...”

Signed: Joseph Lohr, officer candidate with the Bavarian R.-F.-R. 16 (List).

“... It is true that Hitler was nearly blinded by a courier mission during a heavy gas attack, even though he was wearing a gas mask...”

Signed: Jakob Weiß, NCO with the Bavarian R.-F.-R. 16 (List).

“... Hitler received the Iron Cross, First Class, during the spring or summer of 1918 for his outstanding service as a courier during the great offensive of 1918, in particular for his personal capture of a French officer and about 15 men, whom he suddenly encountered during a mission, and as a result of his quick thinking and decisive action, captured.

Hitler was seen by his fellow couriers, and many others in the regiment, as one of the best and bravest soldiers.”

Signed: Ernst Schmidt, with the Bavarian R.-F.-R. 16 (List) from November 1914 until October 1918.

The most sensational moment of the trial came during the testimony of Hitler’s regimental comrade Michel Schlehuder, a **Social Democrat** and **union member** for 35 years, who was **called as a witness by the opposing side:**

“I have known Hitler since the departure for the front of the Bavarian R.-F.-R. 16. I came to know Hitler as a good soldier and faultless comrade. I never saw Hitler attempt to avoid any duty or danger.

I was part of the division from first to last, and never heard anything then or afterwards bad about Hitler. I was astonished when I later read unfavorable things about Hitler's service as a soldier in the newspapers.

I disagree entirely with Hitler on political matters and give this testimony only because I highly respect Hitler as a war comrade."

Signed: Michael Schlehuber

## “Hitler Cannot Keep His Promises!”

**Hitler promises nothing, and has never promised anything.** He has begun a number of his speeches by saying that he is not in the happy position of the speakers of other parties who, for example, speak only to farmers and can therefore promise higher prices for their products, or only to city-dwellers and therefore promise lower food prices, or promise higher pay to civil servants, or higher pay to workers, or lower wages to employers, or tax reductions to everyone. He speaks in his meetings to those of all classes and occupations of the German people, and he knows that promises made by others cannot be kept, since they contradict each other. **As he said: “I plan only one thing for the new state: work, work, and more work, for we have become a poor people! However, everyone who wants to work should be able to work and each should know why he is working — he should benefit from the results of his labor.”**

## Hitler Will Make All Working Women Unemployed!”

This has been a particularly effective election lie, based on the falsification of a statement by a National Socialist speaker. **Of course Hitler does not intend to suddenly throw working women onto the street.** He knows that, from an economic standpoint, it makes no difference whether several million more men or several million more women are unemployed. He knows that it would harm the economy and state apparatus if trained, experienced women, who may be better qualified than men, suddenly were laid off. He knows that, under current economic conditions, men cannot suddenly take care of women who were formerly employed. He knows that families with many children, or injured war veterans receiving a starvation pension, cannot do without the usually small income of the woman, if they are not to join the enormous number of people today who commit suicide as a last resort.

**Hitler will not play around with measures like the 4-pfenning emergency decree [In December 1931, the Brüning government decided to issue a four pfennig coin to encourage lower prices. It did not go over well.], but rather will attack the root of the problem.** That means bringing the army of the unemployed, and each individual, back into the productive process.

## “Hitler is Just a Dilettante”

**That is said by the same citizens, and the same “national” newspapers who once saw the former saddle-maker Friedrich Ebert as a worthy president of the German Reich, and who could not say enough about his “significance as a statesman.”** And by the same ones who held Hindenburg for a great genius able to master all areas, even though he himself said in his memoirs that he had never read a book that was not on military matters.

**A former imperial ambassador,** certainly no political novice, said this about Hitler:

“I had two opportunities to speak for a long time with Hitler. I will never be able to forget these conversations.

I hold Hitler to be a political thinker of extraordinary stature. He naturally understands things that require hard work for others.

His fine sense of foreign policy is surprising, which allows him to make the right decision instinctively...”

Burg Rotenburg, Wieslock-Land, Baden, 10 March 1932.

Signed: Franz von Reichenau, Imperial Ambassador (retired), Privy Councilor

One might ask who showed the greater political wisdom: Hindenburg, who when he signed the Young Plan said that it would benefit Germany in every way, or Hitler, who rejected the plan and predicted precisely the consequences it would have for Germany. Or the abilities shown by an entirely unknown man, without resources, in the face of resistance and persecution, who took a group of seven men and made it into the best-organized political movement in Germany, which today has over 11 million supporters, nearly a third of all voting Germans, while the Hindenburg Front includes 16 (!) parties attempting to block Hitler’s victory.

It might also be noted the Italian bourgeoisie once had equally “serious reservations” about the “dilettante” Mussolini. **Mussolini** had this to say during the 1930 Reichstag election: “**Hitler is a great leader, a great organizer.**”

## Answers to Frequent Questions

### Why the Name “National Socialists”?

Hitler says:

**“You cannot be a true nationalist without also being a socialist; you others cannot be true socialists without also being nationalists.**

To be a **nationalist** means loving ones own people more than all others, and worker to be sure that it can hold its own among them. If this people to hold its own against the rest of the world, I must wish and work for the health of each member, to see that things go as well as possible for each individual, and therefore the whole. But then I am a **socialist!**

[Picture of Hitler seated in a car, shaking hands with people.]

And I cannot be a **socialist** without working to be sure that my people can defend itself from attacks by other peoples, and to secure its foundations for life, without working for the greatness of my people, thereby also being a **nationalist**. The strength and significance of my people is the foundation for the prosperity of the individual.

**Therefore, you are National Socialists.”**

### Why are National Socialists not voting for Hindenburg?

**Because Hindenburg, through his Minister Brüning, is stopping the formation of a government that will do everything better than previous governments and that corresponds to the current will of the people.**

Because he is stopping the election of a new Reichstag that would enable such a government.

In short, because Hindenburg is stopping a new election that would bring a National Socialist government to power, even though the National Socialists today are the strongest party in Germany.

### How Can We Be Sure That a National Socialist Government Would Make Things Better?

By their fruits you shall know them! So far, National Socialists have governed the city of **Coburg and the states of Thuringia and Braunschweig**.

**There were no shipwrecks**, as hoped for and predicted by our opponents.

**No civil war resulted**, as hoped for and predicted by our opponents.

**Finances did not collapse**, as hoped for and predicted by our opponents.

To the contrary: **In Thuringia the National Socialist government balanced the budget — for the first time in any German state since the revolution.**

**The accomplishments of the National Socialist government were recognized by those who had previously distrusted National Socialist governments. The best proof of that is the unprecedented increase in votes for National Socialism in areas with National Socialist governments.**

**Since the National Socialists took over the government in Coburg, its votes increased from 5143 (already the absolute majority) to 8,345, in Thuringia from 90,236 to 333,000, in Braunschweig from 67,900 to 124,360.**

That is the answer of voters who had the opportunity to observe and evaluate National Socialist governments.

## **Does Hitler Have Enough Trained People to Fill All the Important Positions?**

**Hitler does not intend to fill all positions with members of his own party.** He has often said — and to parties and organizations that want to make their “claims” — that he will use all leading **experts, men who really understand their fields**, regardless of the party to which they belong. Men who have proved themselves will stay in their positions.

Hitler does not want to subject the German people to further experiments. We have had enough of the experiments of the Hindenburg parties, which brought us inflation, poverty, and economic collapse!

## **Historical Overview**

### **Adolf Hitler**

**was born on 20 April 1889 in Brannau am Inn**, a formerly Bavarian town.

His **father** had worked himself up from the orphaned son of a poor farmer to a customs official. His **mother** also came from a German farming family. Adolf Hitler attended elementary and **secondary school in Linz** on the Danube. His father wanted him to become a civil servant, but he wanted to become an artist. His mother’s death forced him to immediately support himself.

**At 17, he moved to Vienna**, hoping to become an architect, and had to support himself. He worked as a construction laborer and cement mixer, later as a drawer and painter for architects. At 18, he was already **taking part in political life**, becoming an **anti-Marxist**, without being prominent in any way. **Since his youth, Hitler was a fanatic nationalist, and attempted to unite the social experiences of his working years with his nationalist convictions. He suffered hard and bitter poverty for years in Vienna.**

**He moved to Munich in 1912**, learning and studying. He did not have an easy youth, knowing only **work and hardship** from the day he left home with 50 crowns in his pocket.

In February 1914, he was **finally exempted from Austrian military service**. The **World War** began six months

later.

He immediately applied to **enlist in the German army** and received permission from King Ludwig of Bavaria to **join a Bavarian regiment as a volunteer. The new regiment marched off on 10 October 1918.**

On 2 December 1914, the 25-year-old volunteer received the **Iron Cross, Second Class.**

Because of his bravery during the attack on the “Bavarian Forest” and in the other battles in the vicinity of Wyttschaete, he was ordered to become a **courier**, which required particular courage and reliability since messages often had to be carried across open country under the heaviest fire. Soon, his name was known in the regiment beyond the small circle of his comrades.

On 7 October 1916 he was **wounded** by a shell fragment. He returned to his regiment in March 1917. He received a variety of other decorations, including the **Regimental Citation for outstanding bravery** during the battles near Fontaines, and finally the **Iron Cross, First Class.**

On 14 October 1918, he and numerous comrades in his regiment were **seriously wounded by England’s first use of chlorine gas and was temporarily blinded.** The **Revolution** broke out while he was hospitalized.

**Hitler decided to become a politician.**

**In 1919, he joined a small group of 6 men and transformed it into the National Socialist German Workers’ Party. He outlined the goals of the new movement in broad detail,** laying out its goals and nature.

### **The Beginning: Seven Men**

**Hitler speaks for the first time to 7 men in September 1919,** then to 11, to 25, to 111 in December, to 270 in January 1920, and soon to 400. On 14 November 1920, he spoke to **1700 in the first true mass meeting.** Adolf Hitler **organized the young party’s propaganda,** which after one year of activity had had 64 members. One year later — 1920 — it has already grown to 3,000. Hitler increases the number of meetings in Munich to the point that he is speaking to three mass meetings every week, and holds a discussion and training evening each Monday. His main theme was always

#### **the insanity of Versailles,**

refuting strongly claims by the Marxists, the Center Party, etc., that its terms could be fulfilled. He also attacked the slogan these parties used that if Germany “disarmed, so would the others.” He predicted that after Germany disarmed, the others would begin arming in earnest, using not their own money, but billions extorted from the now defenseless German people. He argued against the propaganda of the SPD and Center party, who claimed that the treaty had to be signed or the Ruhr would be occupied, by **prophesying that the Ruhr would be occupied in any case,** regardless of what we signed.

### **1921**

**The first local groups are founded in Rosenheim and Landshut.** Hitler organizes the first protective brigade of the party, and begins the **battle against separatist efforts in Bavaria.** In 1921, the Führer spoke to more than **5,000 people in Munich’s Circus Hall.**

He told his meetings that “fulfilling” the requirements of the treaties would not lead, as the SPD, Center Party, and People’s Party claimed, to a rebuilding of the German economy, but rather the results of the insane policy of fulfillment had to be enormous inflation with immeasurable damage to the German economy. Hitler’s charge that the Black-Red government planned to privatize the railroad was rejected as an “unscrupulous lie.”

An attempt at an internal party revolt fails. Hitler proposes a new party constitution, and receives **dictatorial authority.**

## [A picture of Hitler shaking hands with an admiring crowd.]

The social democracy, no longer able to keep Hitler's name quiet, attempts to deal with the hated man using terror. There are **bloody battles at meetings**, during which the Führer's iron nerves keep the upper hand. He is surrounded by an unbreakable guard, which from now on called itself the Storm Troopers.

### 1922

The conquest of Munich continues, while the movement also begins to spread to the rest of Bavaria. Adolf Hitler rejects all suggestions to compromise or join together with other parties. **He slowly eliminates all other similar "völkisch" party groups** and establishes National Socialist leadership over them.

In October 1922 Adolf Hitler marches **with 800 men to Coburg** and breaks completely, for the first time, Red terror within 24 hours.

Adolf Hitler proclaims publicly that we are nearing the inflation he had predicted would result from the policies of the Black-Red coalition with seven-league-boots. He becomes the System's most dangerous and hated enemy.

The Social Democracy and Center Party begin to give up serious discussions with National Socialism and turn to slanders.

### 1923

**The first major party rally is held in January 1923, and the first party standards are dedicated.** The S.A. is organized along strict lines.

The party's propaganda is reviewed and improved, and the organization takes in the form is still has today. **Numerous fellow fighters have gathered around Adolf Hitler**, most of whom remain his unshakable fighting comrades to this day. Hitler continues to be persecuted, serving

#### his first jail term

for disrupting opponents' meetings, receiving **constant fines**, but does not give up his battle against the System even for a moment.

**During summer 1923, Hitler begins breaking Red terror in most Bavarian cities.** Regensburg, Hof, Bayreuth, Nuremberg, Fürth, Ingolstadt, Würzburg, and Schweinfurt are freed from Social Democratic and Communist terror brigades — sometimes after bloody street fights.

**Hitler's battle against the incompetent Reich government** leads to sharp controversies. **He prophesies the hopelessness of the government's resistance in the Ruhr, continually attacks the senseless attempts to negotiate with France on fulfillment policy. He speaks constantly about the necessity for coming to understandings with Italy and England.**

**In November 1923, Adolf Hitler attempts to bring down the System.** The uprising fails. Adolf Hitler is arrested.

### 1924

A **major trial** is held in Munich in March 1924. It ends with the Führer's technical conviction, but notes that he had **strong moral justification**. Hitler's testimony before the court and his acceptance of complete responsibility so impresses the states attorney that he recommends probation, but the judge sentences him to prison.

The National Socialist Party suffers under the absence of its Führer. Its opponents are convinced that it is destroyed, and therefore sign the criminal **Dawes Plan**. It begins the systematic plundering of Germany, which continues under the Young Plan. The Social Democrats and Center Party rejoice! The goal of German enslavement seems to have



been achieved!

**Hitler seeks in vain to get his comrades who remain at liberty to build a front against the Dawes Plan.** In vain he attempts to show that the promises of the Center Party, the SPD, and the People's Party, according to which foreign loans will restore the economy, reduce unemployment, raise wages and pay, lower taxes, rescue agriculture, are lies. **In vain he states that the Dawes Plan will lead to increased misery**, since the interest on the loans will cripple the economy since the loans are only intended to fulfill Germany's financial obligations under the plan. Bankruptcies and unemployment will increase, taxes will rise, wages and salaries will be reduced, prices will continue to rise, and agriculture will be ruined by forced auctions of farms.

**Hitler is released on 20 December.**

## 1925

**On 27 February 1925, Adolf Hitler calls a meeting to reestablish the party, and speaks for the first time since his release to over 4,000 people.**

Since the National Socialist movement was dissolved after 9 November 1923, and its assets and property seized, Hitler begins to build the party again, without any resources. ***Vorwärts* and *Germania* in Berlin laugh about this attempt and joke about the "fool who went insane while in prison."** But Hitler quickly rebuilds the party. The former leaders once again pledge their loyalty. Hitler reestablishes the party press.

In December 1925, the party has 27,000 members.

**Terrified, the Center Party and Social Democrats ban the Führer from speaking in public for over two years.**

## 1926

**The first party rally after Hitler's release** is held in June 1926.

The bourgeois world is convinced that paying reparations will save Germany, and that the Dawes Plan will stimulate the economy. The Marxists are convinced that their rule can no longer be shaken.

**Reich President Hindenburg** leaves his voters and from now on marches with the Center Party and SPD.

The party is involved in constant battles, but in December 1926 has **over 49,000 members**.

## 1927

**Hitler's speaking ban** can no longer be maintained, and is **lifted**. The Führer speaks in countless mass meetings. The party continues to consolidate from month to month.

**General developments are constantly proving Hitler right.** The Dawes Plan's terrible results become clear. Social Democrats and the Center Party attempt to save what can be saved through lies and slanders.

In August, Hitler calls a **party rally in Nuremberg**, which is a great success.

In December 1927, the party has **72,000 members**.

## 1928

Adolf Hitler leads the party in every stronger battles against today's System. **National Socialism has become the worst enemy of the destroyers of Germany, whether at home or abroad.** Hitler turns above all against the crazy destruction of the farmers and the middle class. He prophesies catastrophic results for the domestic market. It hundreds of meetings, he repeated calls the policy of paying reparations insane, its results destructive and ruinous

for the German economy! The social democracy and Center Party joke, laugh, or mock him, and attempt to take revenge by a **constantly rising flood of lies and slanders of a personal nature.**

In December 1928, **the membership is 108,000.** The young movement has **12 seats** in the German Reichstag.

## 1929

Untiringly, Adolf Hitler continues the battle against the System. The press is built up, the S.A.'s size steadily increases, SS formations are strengthened, propaganda is increased. National Socialist doctrines are deepened.

On 4 August, **the second huge Nuremberg party rally is held.** Hitler leads the battle against the Black-Red System with ever increasing force, and is the undisputed and **most prominent leader of anti-democracy.** All attempts to take the leadership of the party from his hands fail.

In December 1929 the party has **178,000 members.**

## 1930

The **battle against the Young Plan** rages. **Hindenburg strongly defends the Young Plan, maintaining that it will save German, restore the German economy, reduce unemployment, rescue the farmers, and lower taxes.**

**Adolf Hitler declares these views as false and harmful, and prophesizes the opposite.** His party is working to educate the nation through enormous mass efforts.

The opponents answer with a huge flood of lies.

**The Reichstag election is held on 14 September 1930. The party receives over 6 1/2 million votes and 107 representatives.** Party organization is stronger than before, and attempts from outside to organize small rebellions are put down by Hitler with lightning speed, and those not absolutely loyal are expelled.

The Center Party, which has put itself entirely at the disposal of the SPD, begins to **mobilize the Church against Adolf Hitler.** Center Party priests and Center Party bishops lead a fanatic battle against the National Socialist movement, refusing the sacraments to its members, even denying them a Christian burial. **Hitler sticks firmly to his conviction that the Center Party is Germany's ruin, and leads the battle with even greater determination than before. He rejects every effort to force him to make a statement.**

In December 1930, the party has **389,000 members.**

## 1931

The battle against the Young Plan continues. The consequences Hitler predicted begin to appear.

The government begins to function through **emergency decrees**, believing it can use them to save the economy. There are sharp controversies in which Hitler predicts the precise consequences of these policies, and is proven right within a few months, or even weeks.

**Countless National Socialist newspapers** are established, and the **party's central publishing house gradually becomes one of the largest firms of its type.** **The party organization had been built up greatly, and the S.A. has progressed.** The opponents try to top each other with lies; they even have help from France.

**At the end of 1931, the Hitler movement has 806,000 members, a month later 862,000, a month after that 920,000. By the day of the election, it will probably have about a million members and countless millions of voters.**

The once poor worker without any means, and the later German front soldier, has build the largest political

movement Germany has ever had in just 13 years. The opponents have no methods to use against this man any longer except lies and slanders! Just as this man has always won in the past, despite all the lies, he will win the victory **this** time, too!

For who else is there in Germany who has built anything similar from nothing, and in the face of the resistance of the other parties, of high finance, of capital, of the press, of public opinion, of the bureaucracy, of lies, terror, and bloody persecution?

This person is no child of patronage, but rather one who from his boyhood, in the best sense of the word, has been a self-made man!

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**Background:** This pamphlet, issued around May of 1932 (before the July Reichstag election), outlines the official Nazi positions on economic policy. It was issued in a large edition, and was to be binding on party speakers and writers. It provides a wide range of proposals, many of which would have looked attractive to Germans suffering through the Great Depression, which was far worse in Germany than in the United States. It is based on the work of Gregor Strasser, somewhat on the “left” of the party, and who six months later left it. The program aroused considerable opposition from business and financial circles, with the result that Hitler ordered that distribution of it cease in October 1932.

I’m not as familiar with economic terminology as with other areas, so I’m less confident of the accuracy of my translation than I usually am.

**The source:** *Wirtschaftliches Sofortprogramm der N.S.D.A.P.* (Munich: Eher Verlag, 1932).

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## **Emergency Economic Program of the NSDAP**

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Fighting Pamphlet Nr. 16: Pamphlet Series of the Reichspropaganda-Leitung of the NSDAP

Produced by Section IV (Economics) of the Reichsorganisationsleitung der NSDAP. 2nd edition (101,000 to 600,000 copies)

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The following discussion contains the NSDAP’s emergency economic program in the form of concise information for speakers. It provides binding guidelines for NSDAP speakers as well as for press articles.

All statements by party comrades that deviate from or contradict this material are to be viewed as private opinions.

NSDAP speakers are encouraged to use the material particularly during the campaign for 31 June 1932 election.

Gregor Strasser (Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP)

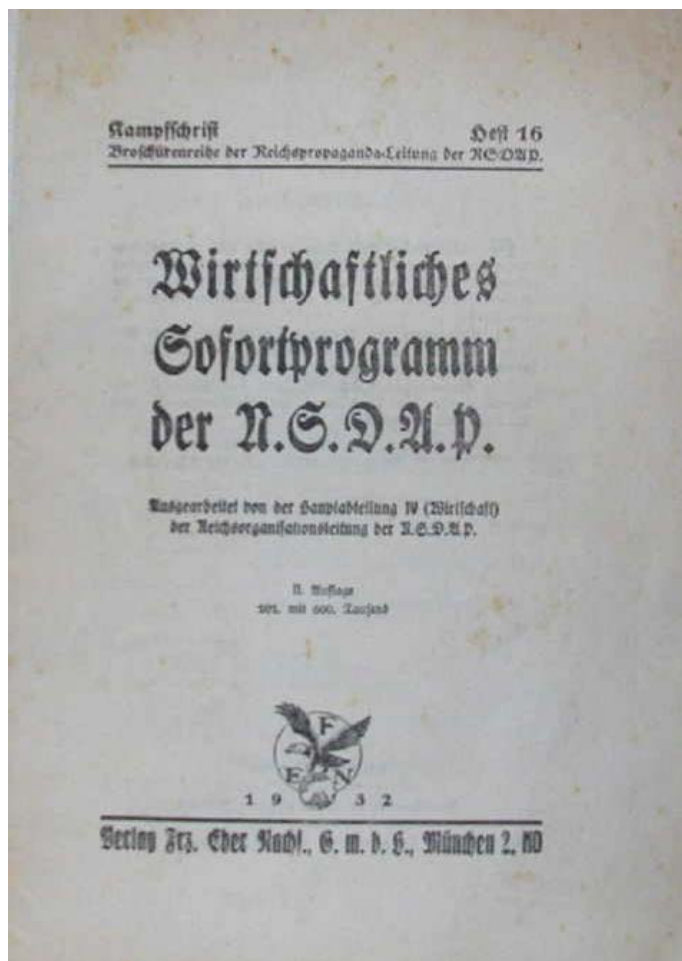
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Literature: Gregor Straßer, *Jobs and Prosperity* (Reichstag speech of 10 May 1932, Franz-Eher-Verlag, 10 pf.

Ottokar Lorenz, *Eliminating Unemployment* (Wirtschaftspolitischer Verlag, Berlin W 35, Am Karlsbad 19, Price: 50 pf.).

# **A. The reasons for creating jobs**

## **1. Unemployment causes poverty, employment creates prosperity.**

Just as the individual sinks into poverty when he no longer has a job, so also must a whole people sink into poverty when it does not use its productive strength and tolerates a political-economic system that hinders people's comrades who are willing and able to work to support themselves.

## 2. Capital does not create jobs, but rather jobs create capital.

The “brilliant” capitalist economists maintain that we cannot work because we lack the means. That is nonsense. The less we work, the less must be our means and the greater the unproductive waste and destruction of our national resources. The more we work, the greater our capital, and therefore the greater the results of our labor.

## 3. Unemployment benefits burden the economy, but job creation stimulates the economy.

Tolerating unemployment means:

1. With less labor, less is produced, and therefore less can be consumed. The result: **hunger, poverty, and wage cuts.**
2. The fewer who work, the fewer who pay taxes, To get the same tax revenues, therefore, individuals must bear a heavier burden. The result: **tax increases.**
3. Decreasing purchasing power and increased taxation forces more firms into bankruptcy. The result: **an increase in unemployment.**
4. The unemployed must be supported by the community, which means an increase in public expenditures. The result: **the collapse of public finance, despite an increase in taxation.**
5. Contributions to the unemployment fund decrease, while poverty forces more to depend on it. The result: **collapse of the unemployment compensation system, despite increases in contributions and cutting of benefits.**
6. Private industry collapses under the increased burdens. Small firms become bankrupt. **Independent people are ruined.** Big capitalist firms, trusts, etc., are rescued by the state, since their collapse would throw hundreds of thousands of people into poverty. **Billions go for rescuing banks, hundreds of millions for supporting the big industrial and shipping concerns.**

All of these sacrifices are useless. Unemployment, poverty, and deficits have to get worse, the general situation ever more hopeless, as long as there is not a complete change. **Only a systematic program of job creation can bring that change.**

If public means are no longer wasted, but rather are used to create jobs, our labor will no longer be wasted, but rather used productively, which will result in improvements everywhere: **an increases in production, increased purchasing power, reduction in taxes, a general improvement in the economy.**

Today we are wasting our resources, but this policy will lead to the formation of new capital. National Socialism will ensure that this new capital belongs exclusively to those who have created it through their labor and sacrifice.

## 4. Working people cannot be satisfied with meager unemployment benefits. Working people demand the right to a job.

Tolerating unemployment means a brutal deprivation of rights for the productive people’s comrade. He is robbed of his freedom to earn his living by his own efforts. He is robbed of the ability to support himself, and is forced to rely on miserable public support, which is constantly being cut. The working people does not want to sell its right to life for these few pennies, but rather demands the right to work. We National Socialists are in the forefront of the battle for the rights of working people. That is why we were the first to proclaim this right, and to have proposed a job creation program.

## B. Methods of creating jobs

### 1. We have the productive capacity for more jobs.

The stupidest objection to job creation is the claim that we lack the productive capacity. We have the land to produce more food (see section C). We have the mines to produce more coal and ore. We have the water power to generate more electricity. We have the machines and factories necessary to produce anything we can think of.

Today, however, the land is not cultivated, mines shut down, factories close their gates, and machines rust. **Our economy is ailing not because we lack productive capacity, but rather because the existing productive capacity is not used.**

## **2. We have markets for increased jobs.**

Markets for German production **must exist as long as the needs of the last German people's comrade are not met.** Today, 6 million people's comrades are unemployed. They are starving, and they and their families suffer the most bitter poverty. And how many of the other people's comrades today have what they need to live? In the face of bitter poverty, the capitalist press dares to write about overproduction. The opposite is true. **German production today is far under what our people needs. It can, therefore, be greatly increased.**

## **3. These markets are available only domestically.**

If the German economy is to meet its real task — meeting the needs of the German people — there are vast opportunities that are not today being met. **Previous economic policy has aimed above all at increasing German exports,** which has **disrupted the domestic market** in the interests of our ability to compete on the world market. (For example, pressure on wages, insufficient protection of domestic production against competition from abroad.) This economic policy has failed completely. Despite all efforts, German exports fell from a monthly average of 1.2 billion marks in 1927 to 506.9 million marks in the first five months of 1932. The current system destroyed the domestic market while simultaneously losing ground on the world market.

## **4. Creating jobs requires refocusing the German economy on the domestic market.**

The results of previous economic policy have proven that all the efforts to increase our exports resulted not in increased jobs, but only in increased unemployment. We therefore have to seek increased sales where they are to be found, in the domestic market. Therefore, we need to increase protection for domestic production (see section F 1), since otherwise the dumping prices of foreign competitors will make selling our own products on the domestic market impossible.

## **5. Focusing on the domestic market requires an increase in agricultural production.**

Although our industrial production capacity is far greater than necessary to meet German demand, our agriculture today is not in a position to produce what the German people needs. Within a few years, however, German soil can be improved and its cultivation intensified so that Germany can be independent of foreign foodstuffs (see Section C).

## **6. The focus on domestic markets must lead to the social liberation of the German worker.**

Refocusing the German economy on the domestic market can succeed only if the masses of the people have sufficient purchasing strength to absorb the increased production. That, in turn, can happen only if each German has the right to a job, and when each worker receives a decent income that corresponds to his achievements. These are the foundations for freeing the worker. And refocusing the economy on the domestic market will automatically reduce the influence of capital, for the significance of the large capitalist concerns will decrease as the significance of agricultural production increases. Given the current situation in Germany, agricultural production cannot expand by expanding the large operations, but rather only by strengthening the independent small and mid-sized farmers. This will provide the opportunity and necessity of helping poor workers to gain their own homes — a further step toward deproletarianizing working people.

## **7. What needs to be done.**

The following steps must be taken to refocus the German economy on the domestic market:

Promoting the fertility of German soil by **land reclamation** (see Section C).



**Building developments with single-family houses** for workers to promote the deproletarianization of working people, strengthening the purchasing power of workers, and encouraging a reduction in the industrial working day (see Section D).

**Building roads, canals, etc.**, to support the domestic exchange of goods, settling people in the East, and loosening the hold of big cities.

**A general financing of production** to promote private industry.

### **8. Only the state can accomplish these tasks.**

The burden on public finance caused by unemployment today hinders any attempt to promote new jobs and production facilities, that is, any growth in private industry. **Economic prosperity will be achieved only through a generous program of job creation, which will also restructure the economy.** Only the state is in a position to accomplish such a task.

## **C. Land Reclamation**

### **1. The extent of necessary land reclamation work.**

- a) Draining land: 8.5 million hectares. The increase in production is 80 marks per hectare, or 680 million marks in total.
- b) Marling meadows and fields: 2 million hectares. This will result in an increase in production of 50 marks per hectare, or 100 million marks.
- c) Cultivable moor lands: 1,900,000 hectares, increasing production by 300 marks per hectare, or 570,000,000 marks.
- d) Cultivable barren land: 600,000 hectares, increasing production by 200 marks per hectare, or 120 million marks.
- e) Redistributing lands in need of improvement: 5 million hectares, increasing production by 25% to 50%, or at least 500 million marks.
- f) Land to be gained by river control, dams, and dikes: not yet determined.

### **2. Benefits and costs of the work**

The increase in production in a-e above totals around 2 billion marks.

The costs are estimated at about 8.5 billion marks, excluding land redistribution costs, by the German Society for Land Reclamation. Assuming an additional 1.5 billion marks for land redistribution, dams, and dikes, total costs would be about 10 billion marks, resulting in an annual increase in productivity of at least two billion marks.

## **D. Worker Housing**

### **1. The private home as dwelling**

Along with food and clothing, housing is one of the necessities of life. The majority of those who live in big cities today do not live in decent apartments, but rather in terrible confined quarters without light and fresh air. The bad effects of such apartments on people is clear from the general state of health and decline in the birthrate in big cities, which are far below the average. The number of deaths exceeds the number of births. Big cities would die out if people did not keep moving in. Expanding big cities is impossible for military reasons (air attacks, gas).

**Objection:** We already have too many apartments today.

**Response:** This false impression results from the general economic crisis. In fact, we have for too few satisfactory dwellings. That will become instantly apparent once unemployment declines and people can again pay for better dwellings. The only people who may be hurt by building settlements of single-family houses are those apartment owners who profit by renting the worst and most unpleasant slums.

## 2. The private home as a productive space

Each private home should have a yard of about 1/4 hectare. That will allow a worker to raise a significant part of the food he needs from his own land. His life thereby becomes more secure, and he is less dependent on his employer. If the worker becomes an owner who is assured work and the results of his labor on his own land, he will be able to survive necessary reductions in working hours that under current economic and social conditions can result only in absolute poverty for workers.

**Objection 1:** Agriculture will be hurt by the gardens of homeowners.

**Response:** Homeowners will be unable to raise either grain or animals on their piece of land. They will have to buy these, as before, from farmers. Their produce will harm no one, for it will not replace existing production, **but rather allow the worker to consume more than before.** They will produce that which they lack today because they are unable to buy it. The market for German agriculture will increase significantly as a result of decreased unemployment and our commercial measures.

**Objection 2:** The produce of homeowners will harm farmers' markets.

**Response:** Homeowners will not sell their produce, but rather usually consume what they produce themselves. Farmers sell little directly to workers. But even if sales decline slightly, it will be made up ten times over by increased sale of young plants, seeds, etc., to home owners.

**Objection 3:** Brüning's government had a complete fiasco with housing settlements at the edges of cities.

**Response:** That is true, **but our plan is entirely different than Brüning's.** The new private homes will not be dog houses, as Brüning's System planned, but rather solid, useful homes in which the owners will take pleasure.

Furthermore, Brüning's housing developments would surely be threatened as he reduces unemployment payments, without the settlers being able to support themselves from their tiny plots of land. National Socialist housing developments will benefit from the general improvement in the economy, which will **guarantee that the homeowners have jobs** (usually part-time employment). This produce will be an additional resource, not his only source of income.

## 3. Building settlements of individual homes

Each worker willing and able to buy a single-family house will receive a 40% subvention from the government. If he has a job he can borrow the rest from a state bank, which will guarantee favorable terms and a quick decision. If he is unemployed, he will be paid for helping to build the settlement (the larger the building program is, the greater can be the number of unskilled workers). A percentage of his pay will go toward the purchase of a single-family house. The terms will be at least as favorable as for the first group.

The plan is to build 400,000 private homes per year. That will provide employment for one million people.

# E. Finances

## 1. Financing public job creation

As new jobs are created, unemployment and welfare payments will decline and tax revenues and social security contributions will increase. These savings and increases will cover at least 50% of total costs. On average, 75% of the costs will be for wages, 25% for plant and material costs (as much of the material costs as possible in are included as wages), with the following savings and revenue increases through job creation:

Savings for the unemployed; office and town payments for unemployment support of 33% of wages, or 25% of the total costs.

Increased revenues for social security: 16% of wages, or 12% of total costs.

Increased taxes: 15% of total costs.

These monies are available for the job creation program. The state does not have to require repayment of these monies after implementation, since the funds would be spent even if the job creation program were not implemented. Those who benefit, or who purchase a private home, can, therefore, easily receive a subvention of 40%. That will encourage them to raise the rest themselves and will therefore contribute to financing job creation. They will not, of course, be able to raise the full amount immediately, but it is reasonable to assume they can provide 20% to 30% of the total costs, Since 50% of total costs will come from savings and increased revenues on the part of the government, 70% to 80% of total costs will quickly be available. The remaining 20% to 30% can be financed by credit. Such a limited increase in credit is no danger to the stability of our currency.

## 2. Financing production

The National Socialist job creation program will increase the prosperity and purchasing power of the people. More will be purchased, and the economy will sell more, and orders will increase. Since these increases will be gradual, interim measures to encourage production are needed.

This will involve providing credit for manufacturing standard products that are in demand and can be stored. These include grain, fertilizers, coal, metals, etc., which will receive subventions under the condition that the products be sold at **specified prices** and that **large numbers of new workers be hired**.

That will result in an immediate increase in production, and give many workers jobs and prosperity.

Harmful impacts on our currency will not occur, since:

1. The products may not be sold at a higher than allowed price,
2. The credit will be paid off as the products are sold.

## F. Commercial and financial measures

### 1. Foreign trade

#### The current situation

Since the middle of last year, foreign countries began systematically to strangle German exports. The result has been a decline in **German exports of about 35%**, more than a third, in the first four months of 1932 as against the previous year, while German imports declined **about 8%** during the same period. This attack by foreign nations on the German economy has worsened our condition significantly. It is time to take defensive measures to rescue our economy.

## Guidelines for our trade policy

Our foreign trade policy must be guided by the following **guidelines**:

1. The reparations policies of post-war governments have made Germany one of the poorest civilized nations. [Footnote: According to **American estimates** by the official Instut (*sic*) of Economics in Washington, Germany has so far paid **38 billion marks in reparations** to the victorious states. According to **German estimates**, if one includes the occupation of the Ruhr and the dismantling of our industry, the total is 67 1/2 billion marks. And this huge sum does not include the value of the land we lost, nor that of our **colonies**. The colonies alone are estimated to be worth **80 to 100 billion marks**. Nor does it include the incalculable **harm and losses** resulting from the arbitrary dismembering of Germany. Furthermore, to pay reparations, Germany took on a **private foreign debt of 10.3 billion marks**, which it must also repay on top of reparations.] It would be an irresponsible waste to accept a negative balance of payments with foreign countries in the future. The German people does **not** exist in order to **accept the surplus production** of other peoples.
2. **We** should strive to produce that which we are **capable** of producing. The German people is forced to do this.
3. National Socialism demands that the needs of German workers no longer be supplied by **Soviet slaves, Chinese coolies, and Negroes**. National Socialism is determined to eliminate the barriers between the cultural level of German workers and German farmers. Therefore, **import restrictions must be implemented** when the result will be work for the German worker or the German farmer. National Socialism opposes **the liberal world economy, as well as the Marxist world economy**. **Instead**, it demands that each people's comrade be protected from foreign competition.
4. Before the war, Germany was one of the great powers. Today, it is a second class country. Its **raw materials** come primarily from abroad, the transportation routes to which can be instantly severed, for Germany is not in a position to maintain and protect the routes to these sources of raw materials. Therefore, a guideline of National Socialist policy is to cover the German people's needs **by its own production as far as possible**, securing the amount in excess of domestic production from friendly European states, **particularly** if they are willing to accept **industrial products from Germany as payment**.

Carrying out these measures will be the task of the Office for Foreign Economic Relations (Foreign Trade Office and Foreign Currency Office).

**Objection 1:** The decline in German exports is simply the result of the world economic crisis.

**Response:** If this were the case, exports of other countries would also have declined by 35% in the first four months of 1932. English exports, however, declined by only 8%.

**Objection 2:** Reducing imports will reduce German exports, and thus result in increased unemployment.

**Response:** German exports will not be reduced by a decrease in German imports, since we will primarily reduce imports from **those** countries from which we imported more than we exported, those with which we had a negative balance of payments. According to the official Reich Statistical Office, Germany had a negative balance of payments of about 270 million marks within countries outside Europe during the first quarter of 1932.

**Objection 3:** Protecting domestic production will lead to a general increase in prices.

**Response:** That will not happen, since to the extent German production increases, welfare payments will decline. Public expenses will therefore be lower, and distributed to a larger range of productive activity. There will, therefore, be no new burdens on the economy, but rather a lesser burden.

## 2. Foreign currency supplies

The bourgeois-liberal and Marxist governments of the post-war period have burdened the German people with foreign debts that are currently about **22 billion marks**. These private debts were loaded on to the German people to cover a part (10.3 billion) of the outrageous reparations payments, in part also (6.3 billion) to pay for **imports** of colonial goods and delicacies, not life necessities for the German people, and also to pay for foodstuffs that could

have been produced domestically.

That is the inheritance that the bourgeois-liberal and Marxist governments have left to us: 22 billion in foreign debt.

These debts

1. have to be repaid with interest. In 1931, the German people had to send **1.6 billion marks** in interest payments abroad.
2. require not insignificant borrowing abroad. This forces the German economy to sell at **dumping and starvation prices**.

It is entirely clear that the measures mentioned are not sufficient to meet the annual payments. We will work out a **reduction in interest** with our foreign creditors, making it equivalent to the rate of interest they charge borrowers in their own countries.

**In the case of short term foreign loans**, currently about 7 billion, we will work out a **long term agreement** with our foreign creditors to free us of the risk of being robbed of the foreign currency we need for raw materials, foodstuffs, and interest payments by sudden events.

We also need a foreign currency policy. If we have a surplus of foreign currency, we do not need a policy. Today, however, we have a **shortage of foreign currency that** forced the Brüning government to develop a policy against its will, even though all the other System parties previously argued that a foreign currency policy was National Socialist nonsense.

Today we have such a shortage of foreign currency that on 30 April 1932 we had **less than 10%** in reserves of gold and foreign currency to **back the marks in circulation**. (Currency in circulation: 4.128 billion. Less than 400 million in gold and convertible foreign currency in reserve. The Reich Bank shows \$140 million, or 600 million marks, but the Reich Statistical Office does not consider these available, since it is in the form of short term loans from abroad, or from the Gold Discount Bank.)

Our present situation: Lacking any usable reserves of foreign currency, and burdened with foreign currency debts of 22 billion marks.

National Socialism will fulfill its duty to the German people, and above all to the younger generation, by using the **limited foreign currency** that we annually have **exclusively** for importing the **raw materials** that industry needs, and temporarily for purchasing the **additional foodstuffs** that we absolutely need, and cannot be produced domestically.

Furthermore, additional withdrawals from the German economy by foreign capital must be **restricted** as long as the German people's economy suffers such catastrophic blood-letting.

In the future, foreign currency may be used only in ways that benefit the whole German people. No one may be paid abroad any longer. It is intolerable that people's comrades who are paid by the state use these means in ways harmful to the German economy.

Under a National Socialist state, the flow of money and capital abroad will only happen if approved by the state **German Foreign Bank (Foreign Currency Office)**. The German Foreign Bank will coordinate all foreign currency and other valuables within the German banking system. National Socialism will insure that the **bleeding dry** of the German economy will **cease**. These measures will contribute to ending the existing system of starvation.

Imagine a large **dam**. Just as the **outlets** ensure that water flows out at an appropriate level, so also will the head of the Foreign Currency Office insure that foreign currency flows in economically appropriate ways, that they be used only for absolutely necessary purposes, and that they do not flow abroad until the German people has survived its great crisis.

As a result of these measures, hundreds of millions will remain in the country, and additional resources will be available for the German economy. National Socialism will use these resources for **job creation**.

**Objection 1:** A foreign currency policy is useless, since one cannot guarantee that some people will not get around the regulations.

**Response:** A foreign currency policy is absolutely necessary to maintain economic order. He who rejects a foreign currency policy might as well reject criminal law, since criminal laws are often violated. Using the same reasoning, one would eliminate the railroad security service and take down the signals, since these measures do not completely eliminate railway accidents.

**Objection 2:** We already have this kind of foreign currency policy.

**Response:** Currently, there is **only an obligation to report** to the Reich Bank for Foreign Currency. We, however, demand that no foreign currency transactions occur without the permission of the German Foreign Bank (Foreign Currency Office), and that **all transfers to and from other countries** go through the Foreign Currency Office. Current policy is **insufficient**, since it exempts payments up to 200 marks, allowing someone to transfer a large sum in 200 mark increments. It also exempts **securities** purchased **before 15 July 1931**.

We, on the other hand, will require that any transfer of foreign currency can be controlled, that a tight law without loopholes be passed to enable the German Foreign Bank to control all foreign currency.

Most important, we will ensure that foreign currency flows into economically important channels, whereas today it is distributed according to a mechanical plan.

Additionally, a foreign currency policy provides the state with the ability to control foreign commerce.

### 3. Law against capital flight

National Socialism demands that everything possible be done to make capital that has been transferred abroad useful again for the German economy.

In order to make the **burdens** its emergency decrees have put on the German people **more palatable**, the **Brüning** government has found it advisable to issue several regulations against capital flight.

These regulations are **in no way enough**:

1. It is necessary to introduce a **general reporting requirement with no minimum level**, and not to **exempt any property** that was sent abroad before a certain time.
2. Foreign companies in Germany, and German companies abroad, must be strictly supervised to prevent capital transfers.
3. Capital transfers must be declared an economic crime punishable by the death penalty.

### 4. Currency Reform

For years, National Socialism has called for Germany **to give up the gold standard**:

1. The Reich Bank's **gold and foreign currency reserves** are constantly declining. As of 30 April 1932, we had reserves to cover **less than 10%** of the banknotes in circulation (the short term foreign credits, according to the head of the Statistical Office are also not sufficient to cover them).
2. This would make German industry competitive on the world market.

The economic effects of departing from the gold standard are most clearly shown by **England's departure from the gold standard**.

According to Nr. 4, Part A of the semi-official *Vierteljahrshefte für Konjunkturforschung*:

“While the contraction process continued in other countries, the process **came to a halt** in the fourth quarter — after a slowing down had already occurred. **Production**, imports of raw materials, and exports **increased**. This is the **result of freeing the pound from the gold standard**, and the resulting change in the value of the pound.”

Giving up the gold standard, therefore, had the **best consequences imaginable** for the English economy. **Within the framework of its emergency program, therefore, National Socialism demands the introduction of an equalization fee (foreign currency tax)** for those countries that have given up the gold standard, or else reduced the exchange rate of their currency during the post-war period in comparison to its value before the war. The equalization fee will be **paid by those who import goods and will be credited to those who export goods**.

**Objection:** Giving up the gold standard means inflation, according to the bourgeois-Marxist press.

**Response:** England gave up the gold standard on 21 September 1931. The pound’s rate of exchange fell by 70%, but the **domestic purchasing power** of the pound remained **unchanged**. According to Nr. 4, Part A, page 16 of the semi-official *Vierteljahrshefte für Konjunkturforschung* (volume for 1931/32):

“There were only slight increases in prices. Up to November, wholesale prices increased by about 8%, then **declined** as a result of developments on the world market. Thus, **after a temporary increase**, prices fell again. The increase in wholesale prices was largely due to adjustments resulting from prices determined abroad to the revaluation of the pound. **Domestic prices** were either **not affected at all, rose only slightly, or even declined**.”

## G. Bank and credit policy

### 1. Bank supervision

The problems with today’s private banking system are clear. Bank presidents receive hundreds of thousands in **pay** for their supposed vastly important work; **each** member of the board of directors, which usually meet only once a year, often **receives** tens of thousands. The responsibility of bank presidents and boards of directors is shown by the fact that the state had to pay 1 1/2 billion marks for their **foolish speculations and bad investments**. Bank presidents **do what they want**, and the **state pays** the bills.

We therefore demand that the banking system and the **money and capital systems** be nationalized, just as the **railroad and postal systems** were fifty years ago, when under Bismarck’s leadership the transportation of persons, goods, and communications were taken under state control.

As a result of the state support since July 1931, through which the Reich covered 1 1/2 billion marks of foolish speculation on the part of the big banks with tax money, **more than half of the German credit bank system is already in the hands of the Reich**.

As preparation for the nationalization of the banking system, we demand the right of the state **to supervise and intervene**, and a requirement that banks **report to the state**.

The **supervisory capacity** must give the state the possibility of fully understanding everything that happens in the banking system, and the **right to intervene** must make it possible to introduce measures in the banking system that are in the interest of the economy. The **reporting requirement** will insure a monthly statement on all positions and important changes.

Only these measures will make it **possible** to stop **foolish investments**. Only they will make it possible to **reduce interest rates** to the necessary degree and break the slavery of interest. And only these measures can create the foundation for **financing the job creation program**.

Furthermore, the head of the Bank Office will have the authority to make the organizational changes he thinks

necessary to prepare for and implement the nationalization of the banking system.

## 2. The money transfer system

Germany is behind in the cashless transfer of money. In **England** checks have become widely accepted. In **America**, children learn how to fill out a check in school. We demand a significant expansion of the money transfer system, in particular of the Reich Bank and the Post Office banks, as well as the systems of **the other credit banks**. We further demand legal protection for cashless money transfers, as already exists in other countries, so that he who writes a check or transfers money at post office banks or Reich Bank branches **without having the necessary funds in his account** will be severely punished. Postdating checks or transfer orders will also be punishable.

**Postal checks** will have a **convenient size**.

An expansion of the money transfer system will help eliminate the **shortage of currency** in circulation, and also **concentrate** the money within the economy, as has happened in England, and which has contributed to the **leading role of the London financial market**. This will also increase the credit basis for job creation. The expansion of the money transfer system will also make the overall financial situation clearer and **decrease** the cost of money transfers.

## 3. Reducing interest rates

The charging of interest has lost its purpose when it devours, or even exceeds, the profits of production. In the latter case, the productive capacity itself, and therefore the jobs, are destroyed. Current interest rates have had that effect. There are significantly higher than during the pre-war period of prosperity. And it is obvious that a healthy economy can bear higher interest rates than one that has collapsed.

A comprehensive state control of the entire banking system must eliminate this situation and reduce interest rates to a point where productive capacity and jobs can be maintained and increased.

The **objection** that this is impossible can be answered by saying that it is absolutely necessary. Besides that, the Brüning government has already worked to reduce interest, although to an insufficient degree, without the consequences that were predicted. If interest rates are not reduced, production will cease entirely, which will put an end to interest, with the result that inflation will once again occur, savings will be lost, and the people and government will sink into chaos.

# H. Administrative and tax measures

## 1. Price controls

Wages, salaries, and private income are part of national income. The degree to which it is a part consists on the one hand on the amount of the wages, salaries, and private incomes, on the other hand on the price of goods. If the price of a good is raised above the appropriate amount (cost of production plus a reasonable profit) because of a cartel or the presence of a monopoly of some sort, the purchaser must pay an unjustifiably larger part of his share of the national income. This is always socially unjust and economically dangerous.

State price controls, therefore, must insure that large deviations from appropriate prices are prevented (fertilizer prices, salt prices, radio tubes, etc.).

**Objection:** This is a harmful intervention by the state.

**Response:** If prices are reasonable, state intervention is **unnecessary**. And the freedom of creative economic activity must not be confused with the freedom to ruthlessly exploit others.

## 2. Avoiding excessive expenditures



To provide the funds for job creation, the state must exercise the greatest economy, just as in private industry.

**Party book officials**, who do nothing for the general good, and who waste public resources, must be eliminated.

**Administration must be simplified**, respecting the well-earned rights of the professional civil service.

**Expenses for prestige projects** must be radically reduced. This includes limitations on the use of government automobiles, etc. As long as cities do not have enough funds for welfare payments, they should not spend a penny for ceremonial activities.

Unnecessary expenses must also be eliminated in **private industry**. **Board of directors honoraria** must be eliminated.

### 3. Increasing the burden on those with strong shoulders

No one will believe that jobs can be created without sacrifice. But the sacrifices need to create jobs cannot randomly be added to all the other burdens laid on working people. All the sacrifices are simply evidence of the fact that the economy is collapsing, and getting worse. Sacrifices to create jobs will lead us out from collapse and to freedom. We will be sure that the sacrifices that have to be demanded will benefit working people (see section D 3: The pay deductions from purchasers of single family houses must not enrich capitalists, but rather increase the property of the worker himself. In the same way, state subventions will enable workers to gain property more easily, or to enable policies that are in the interest of the whole economy or that guarantee our people's food supply). Moreover, we will be sure that the heaviest sacrifices are not demanded from the poorest and neediest. For the duration of the crisis, sacrifices should come from those who are best able to bear them:

Those with **high incomes** over 500 marks monthly must be a surtax for job creation.

**High earners** of over 15,000 marks annually will pay a correspondingly higher tax.

For civil servants, the **highest annual pay** will be fixed at 12,000 marks. (This will not be a permanent change in the salary scale, but rather will be effective only for the duration of the current crisis.) Salaries in private industry will be similar to those of the civil service, taking into account the fact that such employees do not have a pension, and have less job security.

The growth of those with **two incomes** must be completely prohibited.

### 4. Eliminating corruption

Civil servants may not participate in any way in companies with which their offices have business relations.

Doctors may have no connections to pharmaceutical factories and other concerns that manufacture medications or health products.

The death penalty for black marketers and profiteers.

## I. Agriculture

### 1. The current situation

As a result of foreign competition, farmers receive prices that may even be under their production costs, and only a fraction of what consumers in the cities pay.

A further fundamental cause of the poverty of German farmers is the difference in prices for agricultural and industrial products when compared to the pre-war period (The agricultural price index is 91.9, the index for finished industrial products is 118.2.)

Reduced purchasing power and unbearable interest and tax rates have led to catastrophic agricultural indebtedness, which today totals about 15 billion, and devours the available operating capital. Farmers today can pay neither taxes, interest, nor debts, nor are they able to till their fields and bring in the harvest due to a lack of operating capital.

The result: Further impoverishment of framers, reduced purchasing power, increased unemployment, and a lessening of the German people's ability to feed itself.

## **2. Wrong economic policies**

Today, we meet only three quarters of our food needs by our own work on our own soil. The missing quarter of our food needs can be met only in part because of the reduction in our purchasing power and our exports. The German people is starving, starving simplify because of the wrong economic policies of the present System. (Insufficient protection from foreign products, price pressure on agricultural products, interest and tax Bolshevism, toleration and support for outdated middlemen that developed during the period of inflation.)

## **3. Correct economic policies**

Our economic policy must ensure that the German people is fed. It is clear that, with the necessary improvements, e.g. land melioration (see section C), we will be able to meet our full food needs. Full use of German soil would increase the purchasing power of farmers (a third of the total population), create work for more than a million unemployed, and additionally lead to jobs for about a million industrial workers and craftsmen, thus decreasing unemployment payments and increasing tax revenues. This would lead to a general improvement in other branches of the economy and a corresponding improvement in the German economy.

## **4. What measures must be taken?**

1. Raising the prices of agricultural products by reducing imports of agricultural goods. Imports can be reduced from those states that do not take our exports, and correcting the inequity in the prices for agricultural and industrial products, without increasing prices in shops.
2. Eliminating unjust profiteering by middlemen.
3. Reducing the price for fertilizer.
4. Reducing the interest burden to about half of its former level.
5. Reevaluation of long term loans.
6. Legal protections, suspension of the right to seize agricultural products and suspension of interest and principal payments until agriculture recovers.
7. Provision of about 250 million for land improvement loans and about 80 million for grain elevators.
8. Provision of about a million marks for agriculture, in particular for harvest loans (see section E 2.)

## **5. Settling the East**

For reasons of both population and national need, we require the fastest possible program of settlements in the East.

Goal: Establishing independent German agriculture in the threatened East.

Requirements: Fundamental improvements in agriculture in general, multiple years of taxation exemption for the settlers, cheap loans and the creation of markets by improving transportation routes, and making them less expensive.

# **K. Industry**

## **1. Approval requirements for new production facilities**

As outlined in section B 5, Germany's industrial capacity is structured not only at the German domestic market, but also on export opportunities that did indeed exist during earlier periods, but today are lost due to the industrialization

of many countries as well as the protection measures of both old and new industrial nations. We suffer, therefore, from inflated production capacity and underdeveloped agriculture. We must, therefore, invest new capital not in industry, but rather in agriculture. Building new industrial production facilities must be subject to approval. The approval may be granted only if good reasons are presented (e.g., for factories that reduce the need to import raw materials).

## 2. Nationalization and state supervision

**Monopolies** that are not dissolved must immediately come under direct state administration, i.e., be nationalized. A monopoly can be run just as well by the state as by private industry. State control, however, assures that the profits benefit the nation, not finance capital.

**Stock companies** must be placed under state supervision, which will largely follow the model of bank control (see section G 1).

**Objection:** Any state intervention is harmful.

**Response:** State intervention, on the contrary, is necessary to protect the economy from the worst damage by the interests of finance capital. State intervention has gotten a bad reputation only because the Marxist parties always intervened **in the wrong places**. Although the state can administer monopolies much better than private industry, the Marxists gave them over to finance capital (the Dawes and Young Plans gave away the former German Railroad, the match monopoly was given to the big capitalist swindler Kreuger by the Social Democratic Minister of Finance Hilferding), whereas countless unnecessary government concerns were maintained that only competed with craftsmen and manufacturers, producing goods much more expensive and of lower quality than those of private industry.

## 3. Easier financing

Companies that have contracts must be guaranteed the necessary credit to carry out those contracts. See section E 2.

# L. Craftsmen, commerce, and retail

## 1. The current situation

The two great economic sins of the System, the theft of German property through inflation and the theft of property through confiscatory taxation in the years following the inflation, have had the worst and most destructive impact on the independent middle class, proletarianizing a large part of it. The goal of National Socialist economic and social policy is to deproletarianize the German worker. Even more, a policy for the middle class must hinder the proletarianization of further parts of the people. Finance capital attacks the middle class from above, since 100 million mark loans exist for the huge concerns to finance dubious enterprises, but middle class craftsmen, businessmen, and retailers can receive only small loans at unbearable rates of interest. Then there are the department stores, chains, and low-priced outlets. From below, the middle class is attacked by Marxism, **directly** by the Red consumer cooperatives and **indirectly** through legislation (promotion of public companies).

## 2. Department stores and consumer societies

Immediate help is necessary. New department stores, low-priced shops, and chain stores may not be opened. The reorganization of the entire department store system following the National Socialist party program is essential. Tax preferences for user groups (consumer societies) are to be eliminated.

## 3. Cooperatives

All cooperatives that support the independent middle class will be protected and encouraged. Cooperatives that endanger the independent middle class will be combated through taxation and other means.

#### 4. Publicly-owned concerns

Publicly-owned concerns are to be reduced to the absolute minimum necessary. Such concerns will be prohibited immediately from accept private orders, unless there is a compelling public interest or some other requirement (See other assistance measures under the lowering of interest, bank controls, etc.)

#### 5. Public contracts

The public contract system is to be reorganized with the fewest regulations possible, and under Point 16 of the party platform should favor small companies in the awarding of public contracts.

**Objection and Response:** The Marxist objection that one must proletarianize the independent middle class in the interests of hurrying the arrival of the future Marxist state contradicts the interests of the German worker. The goal for the German worker must not be the proletarianizing of the middle class, but rather the deproletarianizing of the German worker, and providing him with property.

### M. Social Questions

#### 1. The right to employment

The foundation for solving the social question is the realization of the right to employment, which can only happen through our job creation program. A **law on employment** will lay down the rights of the worker. Freedom for creative labor will be assured, freedom for capitalist exploitation abolished.

#### 2. Existing jobs must be reserved for German people's comrades

If we are to guarantee the right to employment for our people's comrades, we must prevent non-Germans from taking jobs away from them. According to points 7 and 8 of our party platform, the state is obligated first of all to provide for its citizens. A citizen must be a people's comrade (point 4).

Consistent with this principle, we must be sure that in all production **German material is preferred to foreign material** whenever possible. This principle will be implemented immediately in the case of public contracts. Private industry can be encouraged to do the same, for example by not awarding public contracts to firms that repeatedly prefer foreign materials.

#### 3. Social insurance

National Socialism will do all it can to maintain the social insurance system, which has been driven to collapse by the present System. The only way to rescue social insurance is by creating jobs.

#### 4. Care of the elderly

We will make immediate preparations to carry out point 15 of the party platform: "We demand a generous expansion of support for the aged."

Paying new pensions, of course, can happen only after the newly insured have made contributions over a number of years. Maintenance of benefits for those injured by war and for miners is to be guaranteed.

#### 5. Profit sharing

Interest reductions (section G 3), price controls (section H 1), state supervision of corporations (section K 2), the law on employment (section M 1), the tax measures (section H 3), and the cost-saving measures (section H 2) will assure that all revenues first go to strengthening the German economy and creating jobs. As soon as the German economy has been revived by job creation and begins to produce significant profits, it will be time to develop a comprehensive system of profit sharing.

## **6. Labor service**

The labor service is not compulsory labor for the unemployed, but rather a way to involve all young German men of a certain age range in work that is important for the whole German economy, and that cannot be accomplished through normal means (those in the labor service, therefore, will not compete with workers in normal jobs). There will be no exemptions for students and the wealthy, but rather each will take a shovel in hand to serve the nation through his labor. Respect and honor for manual laborers will thereby increase, just as respect for the military is increased by the introduction of universal military service.

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[Go to](#) the pre-1933 Page.

[Go to](#) the German Propaganda Archive Home Page.

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**Background:** This is a 32-page pamphlet issued by the Nazis during the July 1932 Reichstag campaign. It was the fifteenth in a series of pamphlets issued by the party propaganda office, the *Reichspropagandaleitung*. It lays out the main points on which the Nazis were campaigning.

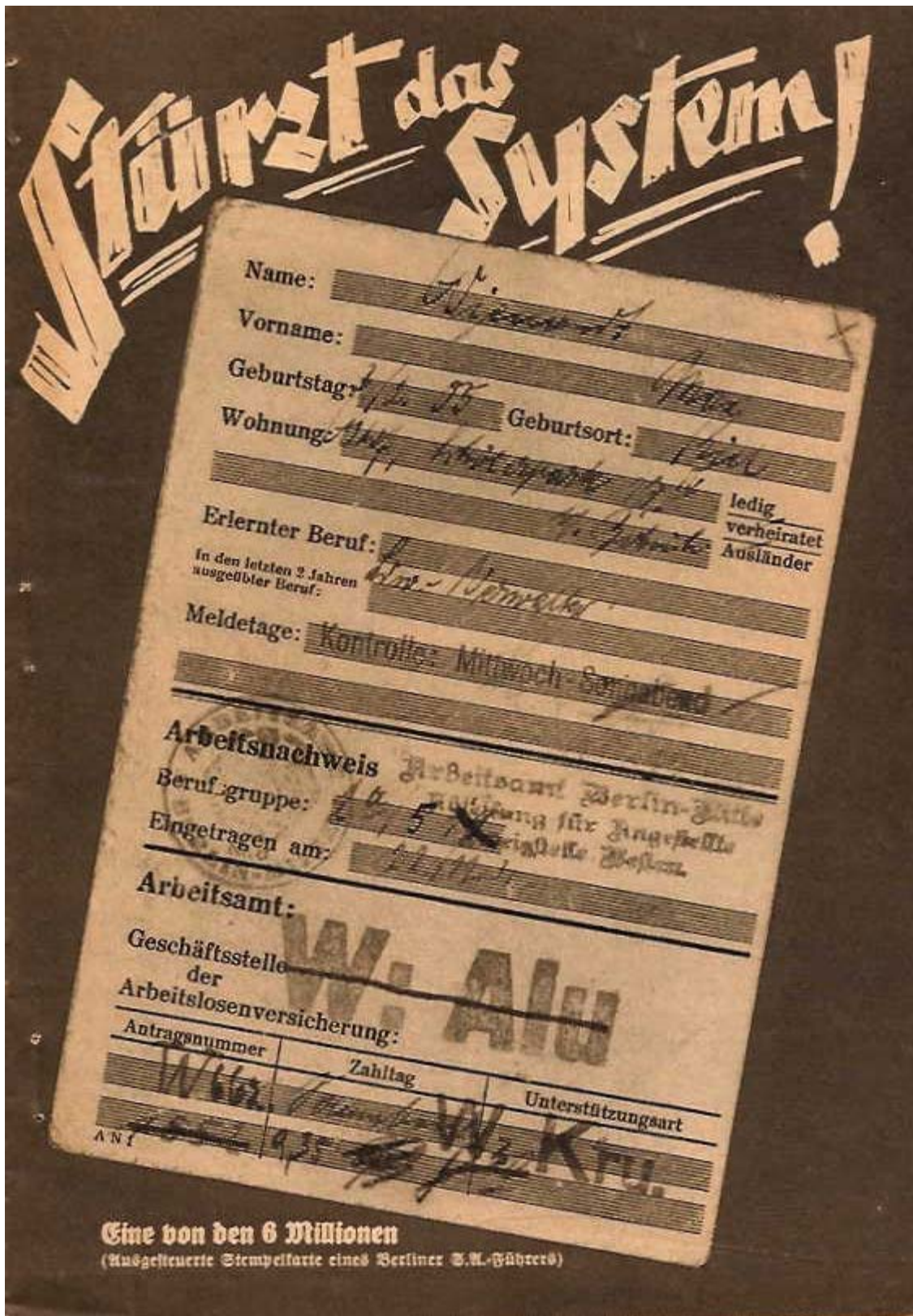
Since the pamphlet is more illustration than text, I've included the full pages, with translations underneath each page. To keep the page size from becoming too large, I've divided it into two sections, with a link to part II at the end of this page.

**The source:** *Stürzt das System* (Munich: Franz Eher, 1932).

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## **Bring Down the System!**

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“One of 6 million [unemployed].” The cover has the unemployment card for a Nazi S.A. leader.

### Am 9. November 1918 „siegte“



**1918:** Scheidemann ruft die Republik aus mit den Worten:  
„Das Volk hat auf der ganzen Linie gesiegt!“

In der schicksalsschwersten Stunde der deutschen Nation entfesselte der Marxismus die seit langem vorbereitete Revolution und stieß damit der kämpfenden Fronttruppe den Dolch in den Rücken.

**Stimmen der Revolutionäre:**

„Die aus der Revolution hervorgegangene Regierung, deren politische Leitung rein sozialistisch ist, legt sich die Aufgabe, das sozialistische Programm zu verwirklichen“  
(aus dem Aufruf der Volksbeauftragten Ebert, Scheidemann usw. vom 12.11.18).

„Das kapitalistische System hat seinen Zusammenbruch erlebt. Die bürgerliche monarchische Regierung ist gestürzt. Das revolutionäre Proletariat hat die öffentliche Gewalt übernommen. Sein Ziel ist die sozialistische Republik“  
(aus Aufruf der Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte von Dresden, Leipzig und Chemnitz vom 14.11.18).

„Arbeiter und Soldaten! Euer Sieg ist auf der ganzen Linie ein rascher und vollständiger. . . . Eure Regierung ist es, die jetzt das Reich leitet“  
(aus Gouvernementsbefehl Gustav Noskes in Kiel vom 11.11.18).  
(Noske „Von Kiel bis Kapp“, S.56).

„Ein besserer innenpolitischer Erfolg war nicht denkbar. Von einer deutschen sozialistischen Republik wurde stolz gesprochen.“  
(Gustav Noske „Von Kiel bis Kapp“, Seite 59.)

„Die Revolution wurde nicht um ihrer selbst willen gemacht, sondern um der besseren Zukunft willen.“  
(Erdard Auer „Das neue Bayern“ Seite 41.)



**Bewaffnete Revolutionäre fahren durch die Straßen der Städte**

The heading, which runs over into page 3: “On 9 November 1918, the System ‘won’ through murder and terror.” Under the top picture is this caption: “1918: Scheidemann declares a republic with these words: ‘The people has been completely victorious.’ It is followed by this text:

At the gravest hour in the history of the German nation, Marxism unleashed its long-planned revolution, and thereby stabbed the fighting soldiers at the front in the back.

Voices of the revolutionaries:



“The government that has resulted from this revolution has a leadership entirely socialist, and sees its task as implementing the socialist program.” (From the proclamation of representatives Ebert, Scheidemann, etc., on 12.11.18).

“The capitalist system has collapsed. The bourgeois monarchy has fallen. The revolutionary proletariat has seized power. Its goal is a socialist republic!” (From the proclamation of the workers’ and soldiers’ councils of Dresden, Leipzig, and Chemnitz on 14.11.18).

“Workers and soldiers! You have won a rapid and complete victory.... Your government now leads the Reich.” (From Gustav Noske’s government decree in Kiel on 11.11.18, taken from Noske, *Von Kiel bis Kapp*, p. 56).

“A more total domestic success was not to be imagined. People spoke proudly of a German socialist republic.” (Gustav Noske, *Von Kiel bis Kapp*, p. 59).

“The revolution was not made for its own sake, but rather for a better future.” (Erhard Auer, *Das neue Bayern*, p. 41).

**The caption of the bottom photograph:** Armed revolutionaries drove through city streets.

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## das System mit Mord und Terror



**1918:** Revolutionäre halten ein Militärauto an

Blutiger Bürgerkrieg entbrannte. Die roten „Sieger“ balgten sich um die Beute. Ströme besten deutschen Blutes wurden in den Revolutionswirren vergossen.



**1918:** Strasentampf in Berlin.  
Maschinengewehrposten unter dem Brandenburger Tor

**1918: Revolutionaries stop a military vehicle.**

Bloody civil war erupted. The Red “winners” gathered around the booty. Streams of the best German blood flowed in the chaos of revolution.

**1918: Street fighting in Berlin. Machine gun positions at the Brandenburg Gate.**

## Heute lügen sie: „Mörderpartei“:

Heute hehlt die sozialdemokratische Presse, wenn von Rotmord überfallene Nationalsozialisten sich ihrer Haut wehren. Der „Vorwärts“ zetert von „Mörderpartei“, vergift aber, daß mit der sozialdemokratischen Revolution von den Linksparteien in Deutschland der Terror und der politische Mord eingeführt wurde. Er vergift, daß in den Geburtsstunden der Revolution deutsches Arbeiterblut floß, vergift, daß sein eigener Mitarbeiter, der Jude Kuttner, eigenhändig einen armen unschuldigen Arbeiter erschöß.



Der sozialdemokratische Jude Kuttner, der in den Revolutionswirren einen unschuldigen Arbeiter erschöß



1918: Sanitäter tragen Verwundete vom Kampfsplatz des Bruderkrieges

### Today they lie: “The party of murderers”:

Today the Social Democratic press agitates when National Socialists attacked by Red murderers attempt to defend themselves. *Vorwärts* complains about “the party of murderers,” forgetting that the parties of the Left introduced terror and political murders to Germany during the Social Democratic revolution. It forgets that German workers’ blood flowed during the birthing hours of the revolution, that one of its own members, the Jew Kuttner, shot a poor, innocent worker.

The top picture shows Kuttner, the bottom shows medics carrying a wounded person from the “battleground of civil war.”

**Der erste „Erfolg“**

**Der deutsche Osten geht verloren!**

**des Systems:**

Während in Berlin und überall im Reiche blutiger Bürgerkrieg tobte, zog die deutsche Regierung die deutschen Truppen aus dem Osten zurück. Die Polen konnten sich daher mühelos in den Besitz des entwaffneten und von Truppen entblößten Landes setzen. Westpreußen, altes deutsches Kulturland, ging dem Reiche verloren.



**Rathaus in Thorn**



**Universität in Posen**



**Die Marienburg (Landsseite)**

5

The System’s first “success”: The loss of the German East!

While bloody civil war raged in Berlin and everywhere in the Reich, the German government withdrew German troops from the East. The Poles could walk in and take over the disarmed and undefended territory. The Reich lost the ancient German cultural territory of West Prussia.

The illustrations: the city hall in Thorn, the University in Posen, and the Marienburg.

### Das System treibt



1919: Sozialdemokratisches Propagandaauto bei der Wahl zur Nationalversammlung

Während mit löblichen Versprechungen seitens der Linksparteien eine Nationalversammlung gewählt war, dauerten im Reich die Unruhen an. In München wurde von den Unabhängigen und Kommunisten unter Führung russischer Juden eine Räterepublik ausgerufen, die 8 Wochen mit blutigem Terror München beherrschte. Als die Freikorps, die die unglückliche Stadt befreien sollten, sich München näherten, wurden von den vertierten Kämpfern unschuldige Bürger als Geiseln verhaftet und ein Teil von ihnen, darunter eine Frau, im Luisenpark erschossen. Erst nach Schwere, blutigen Kämpfen gelang es den Freikorps, die Stadt von dem roten Blutterror zu befreien.



1919: Wand im Luisenpark, an der die vertierten Kämpfer unschuldige Geiseln, darunter eine Frau, ermordeten. Bild rechts: Der Nordbefehl zur Ermordung der Münchener Geiseln

*Resolution.*  
Vom Mannschaften des 1. Inf. Regt.  
haben bei Beginn unserer  
1. Mann bei Cachaue gefallt  
sind, sofort Gefallen zu  
erweisen: 40 Mann  
5 Gefallen, also 40 Gefallen.  
Diese Resolution muss sofort  
vorgelesen werden.  
Die Mannschaften des  
1. Inf. Regt. der 1. u. 2. Div.  
Abteilung  
am 1. April 1919  
Der Kommandant  
Der 1. Inf. Regt.  
Der 1. Div.  
Der 2. Div.

## **The System leads to civil war!**

### **1919: Social Democratic propaganda car during the election for the National Assembly.**

While the parties of the Left elected a National Assembly by making loud promises, there was unrest throughout the Reich. A Soviet republic was established in Munich by the Independents and Communists under the leadership of Russian Jews, and for three weeks bloody terror ruled Munich. As the Free Corps neared Munich, intending to liberate it, the bestial Marxists took innocent citizens hostage, and shot some of them, including a woman, in the Luitpold Gymnasium. Only after hard, bloody battles was the Free Corps able to free the city from bloody Red terror.

**1919: The wall in the Luitpold Gymnasium where the bestial Red guards murdered innocent hostages, among them a woman.**

**Adjacent picture: The murder decree ordering the shooting of the Munich hostages.**

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## zum Bürgerkrieg!



München. Von den Marxisen verüßtet und geplünderte Kirche



Durch Granatschuh beschädigtes Haus  
in München



Der Befreier Münchens, der national-  
sozialistische General von Epp

Munich: A church ruined and plundered by Marxists. [\[top\]](#)

A building damaged by shells in Munich. [\[bottom left\]](#)

The Liberator of Munich, the National Socialist General von Epp. [\[bottom right\]](#)

## Das System unterschreibt Versailles



Dem durch blutigen Bürgerkrieg zerrissenen und zerrütteten deutschen Volk wurde in Versailles der Gewaltfrieden diktirt.

Statt sich wie ein Mann gegen dieses Schmachdiktat zur Wehr zu setzen, wurde der Friede im Spiegelsaal zu Versailles von dem Sozialdemokraten Hermann Müller und dem Zentrumsmann Dr. Bell am 28. Juni 1919 unterzeichnet.

Durch diesen Frieden verlor Deutschland in Prozenten (Stand 1913) ausgedrückt:

Fläche . . . . .	13,0
Bevölkerung . . . . .	10,0
Steinkohle . . . . .	25,9
Eisenerze . . . . .	74,5
Zinckerze . . . . .	68,3
Weizen und Roggen . . . . .	15,7
Kartoffeln . . . . .	18,0
Handelsflotte . . . . .	89,4
Kolonien . . . . .	100,0

Das unerhörteste aber, was jemals einem Volke zugemutet wurde, war das Bekenntnis der alleinigen Schuld Deutschlands am Weltkriege.

### The System signed the Treaty of Versailles and tolerated separatism.

The German people, torn apart and shattered by civil war, was forced to sign the Treaty of Versailles.

Instead of resisting this shameful dictate like a man, the Social Democrat Hermann Müller and the Center Party's man Dr. Bell signed it on 28 June 1919 in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

Under this treaty, Germany lost the following percentages (as of 1913):



Territory	13%
Population	10%
Coal	25.9%
Iron ore	74.5%
Zinc ore	68.3%
Wheat and rye	15.7%
Potatoes	18%
Merchant fleet	89.4%
Colonies	100%

And the ultimate to which any people was ever subjected: Germany was declared solely responsible for the World War.

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## und duldet den Separatismus



Prälat Kaas

Während Deutschland um seine Existenz rang, versuchten im Rheinland Separatisten, unterstützt von Frankreich, den deutschen Westen vom Reich zu lösen und einen autonomen Staat zu errichten. Der heutige Vorsitzende der Zentrumspartei, Prälat Kaas, wird seit Jahren beschuldigt, ebenfalls für die Loslösung der Rheinlande vom Reich bzw. von Preußen eingetreten zu sein. Im März 1919 unterschrieb Kaas ein an den Zentrumsführer Trimborn gerichtetes Schreiben folgenden Inhalts:

„Der rheinischen Republik senden vom Moselstrand begeisterte Grüße.“ Trierer Bürger aller Stände. Laut „Trierischer Landeszeitung“ vom 23. September 1919 sagte Kaas in einer Rede vom Tag zuvor:

„Ich bin von Anfang an ein Freund dieser Bestrebungen (der Bildung eines rheinischen Freistaates) gewesen. Ich habe nie zu denen gehört, die am lautesten nach dem rheinischen Freistaat gerufen haben, wohl aber zu denjenigen, die am eifrigsten für eine Verwirklichung der rheinischen Wünsche gearbeitet haben... es lebe das autonome rheinische Land!“

Zu dem französischen Belegierten Oberst Gachet in Trier äußerte Kaas sehr deutlich:

„Wann werfen Sie eigentlich das preußische Gefindel hinaus?“

Im Jahre 1920 meldete Kaas gegenüber dem Zentrumsabgeordneten der Nationalversammlung, Eugène, und den Herren Marx und Dr. Theiß in Trier:

„Nacht, was Ihr wollt, ich bleibe nicht preußisch. Lieber wandere ich aus.“

Und der Direktor der französischen Schule in Trier, Grünber, bestätigte:

„Wenn ich alles aussprechen kann, wird man mit Verwunderung erfahren, welche Angebote uns Franzosen Prälat Kaas machte. Diese Angebote gehen weit über das hinaus, was Separatisten jemals wollten oder angeboten haben.“

*Der rheinischen Republik senden vom Moselstrand begeisterte Grüße, Trierer Bürger aller Stände!  
J. H. Baum, Schminke, Kellert, Fabrikant, Trier  
P. Franke, Orgelgießerei, Sommerberg, Kell.  
Walbe, Prof. Dr. Kaas, G. Sander, Trier.  
Prof. Dr. Theiß  
Herrmann  
G. Sander*



Separatistenbus.  
Der Separatistenführer Mathes schreitet die Front seiner Spielgefährten an

While Germany fought for its existence, separatists in the Rhine area, supported by France, tried to turn Germany's western region into an autonomous zone. The current chairman of the Center Party, Prelate Kaas, was accused for years of favoring the separation of the Rhine area from the Reich, or before that, from Prussia. In March 1919, Kaas signed a letter to the Center Party's leader Trimborn that said:

“The Rhine Republic sends enthusiastic greetings from the banks of the Mosel.” Citizens of Trier of every class.

According to the *Trierischer Landeszeitung* of 23 September 1919, the day before Kaas had said:

“I have been a friend of these efforts (establishing a Rhine free state) from the beginning. I have never been among those who make the most noise about a Rhine free state, but rather probably among those

who have worked the hardest to realize the dream of the Rhine region... Long live the autonomous Rhine state!"

Kaas asked the French delegate Colonel Cachet in Trier this clear question:

"When are you going to throw out the Prussian rabble?"

In 1920, Kaas said this to the Center Party delegates to the National Assembly, Legendre, Mr. Marx, and Dr. Theiß in Trier:

"Do what you want, but I will emigrate rather than become a Prussian."

And the head of the French school in Trier stated:

"One will be astonished to learn what Prelate Kaas offered to us French. His offers go far beyond what the separatists ever wanted or offered."

**Bottom: the handwriting is the text of Kaas's message, quoted above.**

**The separatist leader Matthes before his cronies.**

## Das System bringt Inflation!

Heute schreibt die Journaille, die Nationalsozialisten wollen eine Inflation. Mit dieser erbärmlichen, durch nichts bewiesenen Lüge wollen die schwarz-roten Parteien die Massen von der Tatsache ablenken, daß sie die wirklich Schuldigen an der Inflation von 1923 gewesen sind.

Wie war es doch damals? Um die Geldgier ihrer Parteimänner zu befriedigen, setzten die schwarz-roten Parteien die Notenpresse in eine immer mehr erhöhte Tätigkeit. Die Folge dieses sinnlosen Papiergeldbrudes war die Inflation von 1923, welche das Vermögen des deutschen Volkes vernichtete und Tausende von Existenzen zerstörte. Noch heute sind die schuldigen Inflationsverbrecher von damals unbestraft.



E. P. D. Gifferting,  
der Vater der Inflation

	Stand des Dollars	Notenumlauf
Waffenstillstand 11. 11. 1918 . . . . .	7.53 Mfl.	17 Milliarden
Der Reichsbankdirektor erklärt die Vermehrung der Noten für unschädlich, 3. 8. 1922 . . . . .	830. — Mfl.	190 Milliarden
November 1922 . . . . .	4 175. — Mfl.	644 Milliarden
August 1923. . . . .	3 700 000. — Mfl.	über 100 Billionen
Gifferting (Finanzminister) erklärt die Gefahr des weiteren Marksturzes für überwunden am 31. 8. 1923 . . . . .	130 000 000. — Mfl.	5000 Billionen
September 1923 . . . . .	4200 Milliarden Mfl.	
November 1923 . . . . .		



Bei den Bauten häufte sich 1923 das Papiergeld bis an die Decke

## The System causes inflation!

The gutter press today accuses the National Socialists of wanting inflation. With this miserable lie that lacks any kind of proof, the Black-Red parties are attempting to divert the masses from the fact that they are the real culprits behind the inflation of 1923.

How was it back then? To satisfy the greed of their party leaders, the Black-Red parties ran the printing presses at ever-increasing speed. The result of this senseless waste of paper was the inflation of 1923, which destroyed the wealth of the German people and ruined thousands of lives. Even today, those inflation criminals remain unpunished.

**The chart in the middle of the page shows the increase in inflation between 1918 and November 1923.**

**Bottom Picture:** Piles of paper money climbed to the ceiling in the banks.



**The System's beneficiaries!**

The S.P.D.'s Breitscheid with comrades. They represent starving workers.

Police President Grezesinsky (left) enjoys a good meal.

**But**

Disabled war veterans have to starve.

Page 12

## Das System läßt Deutschland



Iwan Kutisker, ein ostjüdischer Gauner und Schieber, der nur gebrochen Deutsch sprechen konnte. Kutisker betrog den Staat um 14 Millionen Mark. Seine Helfer waren sozialdemokratische Bonzen.



Heereslager

**1920 verschwand Heeresgut im Werte von 5 Milliarden Goldmark in Schieberhänden**

12

**The System allows Eastern Jews to plunder Germany!**

**Iwan Kutisker, an Eastern Jewish crook and black marketer, spoke only broken German. Kutisker defrauded the state of 14 million marks. He was helped by Social Democratic party hacks.**

**In 1920, 5 billion gold marks of military property disappeared into the hands of black marketers.**

Page 13

## von Ostjuden ausplündern!



Julius Barmat

Der Jude Julius Barmat betrog den Staat um 39 Millionen Goldmark und wurde dafür zu 11 Monaten Gefängnis verurteilt. Davon wurden ihm 6 Monate als Untersuchungshaft angerechnet. Die restlichen 5 Monate wurden ihm von der Regierung auf dem Gnadenwege erlassen. Die prominentesten Sozialdemokraten, wie Ebert, Reichskanzler Bauer, Scheidemann, Wels, Heilmann usw., standen mit dem Ostjuden und Schieber Barmat in engster Verbindung.



Der sozialdemokratische Parteivorsitzende Otto Wels. Er stattete Barmat mit einem Empfehlungsschreiben an den englischen Ministerpräsidenten MacDonald aus.



Philipp Scheidemann

über Scheidemanns Beziehungen zu Barmat sagt der Besitzer eines großen Luxus-hotels in Zandvoort in Holland aus: „Herr Philipp Scheidemann, Oberbürgermeister aus Kassel, und Gattin haben in meinem Hotel in Zandvoort vier Wochen gewohnt und gespeist. Jede Woche einmal wurde Herr Scheidemann von Herrn Julius Barmat im Auto besucht. Die Rechnungen für Herrn Scheidemann gingen jede Woche regelmäßig an das Haus Barmat & Compagnie, welches sie ebenso regelmäßig bezahlte.“ Scheidemann bezieht 50 000 M. Jahrespension.

**Der Gesamtverlust des Reiches beträgt 48 Milliarden Goldmark an Werten, die in Schieberhände übergegangen sind**

The Jew Julius Barmat defrauded the state of 39 million gold marks, and was sentenced to 11 months in prison. His six months of pre-trial custody counted toward that. The government pardoned him for the remaining 5 months. Prominent Social Democrats such as Ebert, Reich Chancellor Bauer, Scheidemann, Wels, Heilmann, etc., had the

closest relations with Barmat, the Eastern Jewish black marketer.

Social Democratic chairman Otto Wels. He provided Barmat with a letter of recommendation to English Prime Minister Macdonald.

Philipp Scheidemann

The owner of a large luxury hotel in Zandvoort, Holland, had this to say about Scheidemann's relations with Barmat: "Mr. Scheidemann, Mayor of Kassel, and his wife stayed in my hotel in Zandvoort for four weeks. Mr. Julius Barmat came to visit once a week in his car. Mr. Scheidemann's bill each week went to Barmat & Company, which paid it each week." Scheidemann receives a yearly pension of 50,000 Marks.

**In total, the Reich lost 48 million gold marks of goods to black marketers.**



## Bonzen und Korruption sind



Der ehem. sozialdemokratische Berliner Polizeipräsident Richter (Mitte), der von „Freund Julius“ (Julius Barmat) mit einem goldenen Zahnstocher bedacht wurde

Mit dem Parteibuchbeamten kam in Deutschland der Typ des sozialdemokratischen Bonzen auf, der ohne jedes Pflicht- und Ehrgefühl sich von ostjüdischen Schiebern, Wucherern und Gaunern einladen und beschenken ließ. Als Gegenleistung wurden eingewanderten Ostjuden Staatsgelder als Kredite zur Verfügung gestellt. Der Staat und damit der Steuerzahler wurden auf diese Weise um Millionen und aber Millionen Goldmark betrogen. Musterbeispiele sind Barmat, Kutisker und Sklarek auf der einen Seite, der Polizeipräsident von Berlin, Richter, der sich von Barmat goldene, „abgelegte“ Zahnstocher schenken ließ - und Dutzende korrupter Sozialdemokraten auf der anderen Seite.



Staatssekretär Dr. Robert Weismann, die Eisenerne Säule von Neupotschen (Gartenfest bei seinem Freunde Curtius, 1930)

Weismann, wie erkenntlich Vollblutjude, wurde vor Jahren Protestant, dann Katholik und wallfahrte zum Papst. Er war erst Demokrat, dann Nazist und jetzt Zentrumsmann. Und damit die Zahl drei erhalten bleibt, ist er Staatssekretär des Staatsministeriums, Staatssekretär des Ministerpräsidenten und Repräsentant der Preußenregierung. Gegen Weismann ist seit Jahren öffentlich der Vorwurf des Meineides erhoben. Trotzdem darf Weismann nach wie vor die wichtigsten Posten im preussischen Staatsdienst bekleiden.

### Party hacks and corruption: The hallmarks of the System

With the arrival of party membership book civil servants in Germany came those Social Democratic party hacks who lacked all sense of honor and duty. They associated with, and accepted gifts from, Eastern Jewish black marketers, profiteers, and crooks. In return, Eastern Jewish immigrants were loaned state money. The state, and thereby the taxpayers, were defrauded of millions and millions of gold marks in this way. Barmat, Kutisker, and Sklarek are classic examples on one side. On the other side were the Police President of Berlin, judges, those who picked up those golden toothpicks “left” by Barmat, and dozens of corrupt Social Democrats.

**Top Picture:** Former Berlin Police President Richter (center), who was gifted with a golden toothpick by his “friend Julius” (Julius Barmat).

### **Lower Picture: Weismann at a party in 1930.**

Weismann, a full-blooded Jew, was first a Protestant, then a Catholic who made a pilgrimage to the pope. First he was a Democrat, then a Marxist, and now a Center Party man. To keep to three, he is state secretary in the Ministry of State, state secretary in the office of the Minister President **[of Prussia]**, representative of the Prussian government. For years, he has been publicly accused of perjury. Despite that, Weismann now, as in the past, may clothe himself in the most important positions in the Prussian government.

### **[Go to Part II](#)**

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**[Go to](#)** the pre-1933 Page.

**[Go to](#)** the German Propaganda Home Page.

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**Background:** This is the second part of a 32-page pamphlet issued by the Nazis during the July 1932 Reichstag campaign. The first part is [available here](#).

**The source:** *Stürzt das System* (Munich: Franz Eher, 1932).

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## **Bring Down the System!**

### **Part II**

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**Page 15**

## die Merkmale des Systems



Bernhard Weiß,  
der jüdische Vize-Polizei-  
präsident von Berlin. Wegen  
Weiß ist jetzt auf Antrag  
der Nationalsozialisten im  
Preussischen Landtag ein  
„Chicago-Ausschuß Bern-  
hard Weiß“ eingesetzt  
worden. Der jüdische Vize-  
polizeipräsident wird näm-  
lich von seiner eigenen  
Kriminalpolizei beschul-  
digt, Mitorganisator und  
Schützer von verbotenen  
Spiel-Klubs zu sein, in  
denen er eifrig mitspielt



Fritz Brolat,  
ein Typ des Parteibuch-  
beamten, früher Schlosser-  
geselle, jetzt Direktor der  
Berliner Verkehrs-Gesell-  
schaft, im Sklarek-Skandal  
schwer kompromittiert (er  
ließ sich unter anderem von  
Sklarek seibene Hemden  
zu 80.— Mark das Stück  
schenken und bezahlte sie  
erst, als die Verhaftung  
Sklarek's ruchbar wurde).  
Kommt mit seinem Gehalt  
von 72 000 M. — wie er vor  
Gericht angab — nicht aus

1

**Bernhard Weiß**, the vice-president of the Berlin police. The National Socialists have introduced a motion in the Prussian parliament regarding “Bernhard Weiß’s Chicago Committee.” The Jewish police vice president is accused by his own criminal police of organizing and protecting an illegal gambling club in which he himself eagerly participates.

**Fritz Brolat**: An example of the party membership book civil servant. Formerly a locksmith’s apprentice, he is now director of the Berlin Transportation Company. He was badly compromised by the Sklarek scandal (among other things, he accepted 80 Mark silk shirts from Sklarek, paying for them only after Sklarek’s arrest became known). As he told the court, his 72,000 Mark salary is not enough to get by on.

## Korruption über Korruption



Willi Sklarek



Leo Sklarek

Die Sklareks, ebenfalls ostjüdische Schieber, standen mit den sozialdemokratischen und kommunistischen Stadträten Berlins in wechselseitiger „Geschäftsverbindung“. Die roten Stadtväter pumpten und zechten bei den Sklareks und verschafften ihnen dafür städtische Gelder. Bei den Gelagen wurde — wie vor Gericht festgestellt — der Sekt aus Weinfählern geöffnet und Kaviar aus Löffeln gefressen. Zum Dank für ihre edlen Spenden wurden die Sklareks außerdem die alleinigen Vertragslieferanten des Reichsbanners Schwarz-Rot-Gold, wie aus untenstehender Anzeige aus der offiziellen Reichsbannerzeitung vom 15. Juni 1928 ersichtlich ist.



**Der neue vorbestimmte**  
**Reichsbanner-Einheits-Anzug**  
 für den Gau Berlin-Brandenburg wird nun von der Firma  
**Gebr. Sklarek**  
 Berlin SW 19, Kommandantenstraße 80/81  
 geliefert. Unsere Firma ist **alleinige Vertragslieferantin**  
 des Gaues Berlin-Brandenburg. Sie allein besitzt die ausschließliche  
 Ausführung und Verwendung des Kontrollabdruckes des Bundesvorsitzendes  
 Reichsbannertamenschen, bestelle nur auf Bestellung  
 unsere, die bei jedem Ortsverein zu haben sind und  
 nicht mehr durch ähnlich lautende Aufträge betrogen

**Textilgroßhandlung Gebr. Sklarek**  
 Berlin SW 19, Kommandantenstraße 80/81  
 Belegl. Kostendrucke (Anzüge u. Hüte) stets vorrätig in unseren Geschäftsständen u. im Versand

16

### Scandal after Scandal

The Sklareks, also Eastern Jewish black marketers, had various “business dealings” with Social Democratic and Communist city councilors in Berlin. The Red city fathers borrowed money from, and caroused with, the Sklareks, and in return sent city money their way. At their feasts, Champagne flowed and pots of caviar were devoured. As thanks for their noble gifts, the Sklareks were the sole provider for the Reichsbanner Black-Red-Gold, as is evident from the advertisement below from the official Reichsbanner newspaper of 15 June 1928.

## Worte statt Taten!



Brüning spricht auf der Tagung des Vereins der Ausländischen Presse kurz vor seinem Sturz: „Das fundamentale Problem, das uns Tag und Nacht beschäftigt, ist das Problem der Arbeitslosen!“

„Vorwärts“ vom 30. 5. 32:

„Die Gefahr des Faschismus hatte zwischen der Regierung (Brüning) und unserer Partei eine Art von Notgemeinschaft geschaffen.“



**Hunger und Elend sind die Folgen der Brüning'schen Notverordnungen**

17

## Words instead of deeds!

**Brüning speaks to the Foreign Press Association shortly before his fall: “Our fundamental problem, which occupies our time day and night, is the problem of the unemployed!”**

*Vorwärts*, 30.5.32: “The danger of Fascism has forced a kind of emergency community between the government (Brüning) and our party.”

**Starvation and misery are the result of Brüning’s emergency decrees.**



### The Results of Brüning's emergency decree policies:

The chart shows increases in unemployment, bankruptcies, business investigations, and suicides in big cities.

The total number of suicides in Germany is three times the above figures, meaning that there were about 19,500 suicides in Germany in 1931.

Poverty increases tremendously.

## Notverordnungs-politik:



Tausende und aber Tausende von Betrieben sind stillgelegt, Tausende von Existenzen vernichtet. Millionen ohne Arbeit und Brot. Schuld daran ist die verbrecherische Erfüllungspolitik und die verantwortungslose Wirtschaftspolitik der schwarz-roten Systemparteien.



in das Arbeitslos

19

Thousands and thousands of factories have shut down. Thousands of lives are ruined. Millions are without work and food. This is the result of the criminal reparations policies and the irresponsible economic policies of the Black-Red System parties.





**The System tolerates that the Jew benefits from the collapse of the German economy, and the farmer's grain is seized.**

# Das System duldet,

Villa des Waren-  
hausjuden Eber



daß volksfremde Juden in eleganten Villen wohnen —



Möbilität eines ermittelten Schwerkriegsbeschädigten auf dem Hofe  
(Berlin, Oranienstraße 124)

während Schwerkriegsbeschädigte auf die Straße gefeht werden.

21

**The System tolerates that foreign Jews live in elegant villas while those severely injured during the war are thrown out on the streets.**

# Das System duldet,

Das Warenhaus  
Ra-De-We (Kauf-  
haus d. Westens)  
Berlin feiert sein  
25jähriges  
Jubiläum



daß der Warenhausjude das Volk ausbeutet.



während die kleinen Geschäftsleute, deren Geschäft oft  
für Generationen besteht, zu Grunde gehen.

The System tolerates that department store Jews exploit the people, while small shopkeepers, whose businesses have often lasted for generations, are ruined.

**Soll das so weitergehen?**

**Nein!**

**dies System muß  
gestürzt werden!**

**Darum —**

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**Shall that continue?**

**No!**

**The System must collapse!**

**Therefore —**

# gebt Hitler die Macht!



„Zeit wir vor 12 Jahren die Gründung unserer nationalsozialistischen Partei erlebten, stehen wir in einem ununterbrochenen Kampf gegen die Novemberrevolte und das aus ihr erwachsene System. 12 Jahre lang haben wir damit vor einer Entwicklung gewarnt, die heute als sichtbare Katastrophe ihren grauerregenden Ausdruck findet. Außen, innen- und wirtschaftspolitisch sind unsere Prophezeiungen restlos in Erfüllung gegangen. Mit unheimlicher Sicherheit vollzieht sich der politisch-gesellschaftliche Verfall unseres Volkes und damit sinkt die Kraft, die Interessen unseres Reiches nach außen hin zu wahren, von Monat zu Monat. Im harten Kampf um das Dasein der Völker und Nationen hinkt Deutschland immer mehr und mehr zurück! Eine vernichtete Wirtschaft, Millionen von Arbeitslosen, ein zerbrochener Mittelstand, von Haus und Hof getriebene Bauern sind die Zeugen dieses Verfalls und die Opfer seiner unheilvollen Auswirkungen, denen sich in erster Linie die Regierung Brüning seit bald zwei Jahren unentwegt hingeeben hat. Die Politik der Selbstentwürdigung, die Unterwerfung und die daraus sich ergebende Politik der Eröffnung drohen alles zu vernichten, was jahrhundertelanger Fleiß geschaffen hat und durch ungeheure Opfer an Gut und Blut beschützt worden ist. Das letzte Ergebnis dieser Politik des Verzichtes auf die nationale Kraft und ihre bewusste Regierung muß der Volksewidrum sein.  
(Adolf Hitler, 11. Oktober 1931.)

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## Give Hitler power!

Since the foundation of our National Socialist party 12 years ago we have stood in unbroken struggle against the November revolt and the System that grew from it. **For 12 years we have warned against the developments that today find terrible expression in visible catastrophe. Our prophesies have been completely fulfilled, whether internationally, domestically, or economically. With sinister certainty, the political and social collapse of our people is occurring,** and thereby month by month the strength to defend the interests of our Reich against outside forces. In hard battle to preserve the existence of peoples and nations, Germany is falling further and further behind! The economy ruined, millions of unemployed, the middle class destroyed, farmers driven from their homes and farms; they are the signs of the collapse and the victims of the evil illusions that Brüning's government has spread for nearly two years. The policies of self destruction, of subjection and the resulting policy of paying reparations, threatens to destroy what hundreds of years of labor created and what enormous sacrifices in wealth and blood

protected. **The final result of this policy of abandoning national strength and its proper government must be Bolshevism.** (Adolf Hitler, 11 October 1931)

**In 13 Jahren von 7 Mann zu 13 Millionen Anhängern!**



Die erste Geschäftsstelle der NSDAP.  
in der Corneliusstraße in München, wo die Parteileitung  
in den ersten Kampfjahren untergebracht war, und —



10 Jahre später: Das Braune Haus  
Zum erstenmal erhält die Bewegung einen mächtvollen Ausdruck ihres Willens durch die Schaffung  
des Nationalsozialistischen Parteihaus, das zu einem Wahrzeichen Münchens geworden ist. Darüber  
hinaus ist das Braune Haus für alle Nationalsozialisten das Symbol ihrer einheitlichen Gleichgesinntheit.

**Nur der Nationalsozialismus kann das deutsche Volk vor  
dem drohenden Untergang bewahren.**

**From 7 men to 13 million supporters in 13 years!**

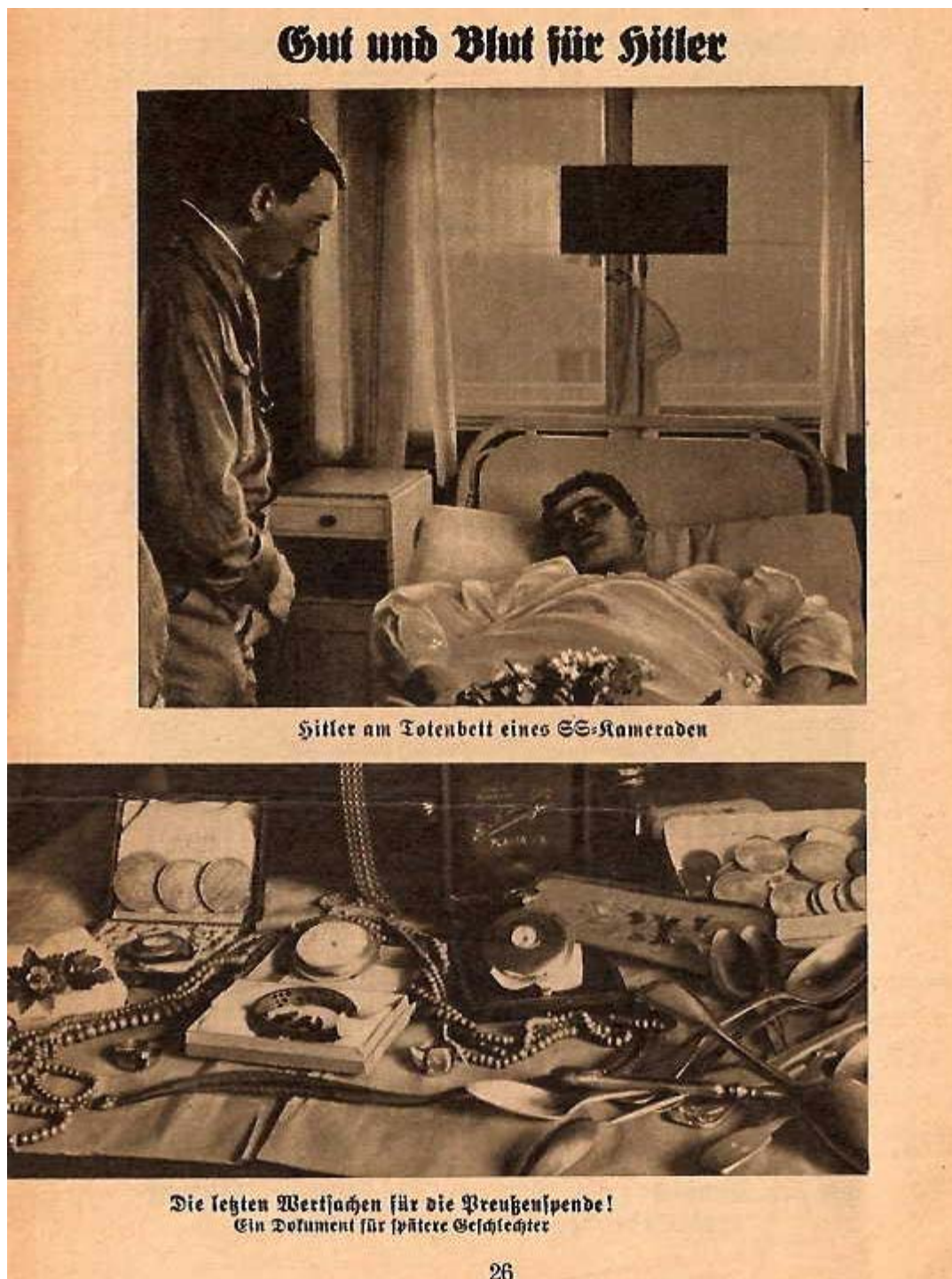
The first business office of the NSDAP on Cornelius Street in Munich, where the party leadership was housed in the first years of struggle, and —

10 years later: The Brown House. For the first time, the movement gained a worthy expression of its goals by

creating the National Socialist party headquarters, which has become a symbol of Munich. More than that, the Brown House is a symbol for all National Socialists of their firm unity.

**Only National Socialism can save the German people from the collapse it faces.**

Page 26



### **Possessions and blood for Hitler**

Hitler at the deathbed of an SS comrade

Last possessions for the Prussian Fund!

A document for coming generations.

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## Hitler's Interesse für die Landwirtschaft



Landvolk in Not

Hitler lässt sich über die furchtbare Notlage der norddeutschen Landwirtschaft unterrichten



Hitler spricht mit mecklenburgischen Landarbeitern

27

## Hitler's interest in agriculture

Farmers in need: Hitler learns about the terrible conditions of North German agriculture.

Hitler speaks with agricultural laborers in Mecklenburg



## Hitler, der väterliche Freund der Kinder



Die Jugend begrüßt Hitler



Hitler auf der Rück-  
fahrt von Ostpreußen  
„Nicht West- und nicht  
Ostorientierung darf  
das künftige Ziel un-  
serer Außenpolitik sein,  
sondern Ostpolitik im  
Sinne der Erwerbung  
der notwendigen  
Scholle für unser deut-  
sches Volk.“

## Hitler, the fatherly friend of children

The youth welcome Hitler.

Hitler returning from East Prussia. “The orientation of our future foreign policy may not be to the East or the West, but rather we need an Eastern policy aimed at winning the necessary soil for the German people.”

## Nationalsozialismus beseitigt Arbeitslosigkeit!



Der 1. Bürgermeister von Koburg, Hg. Franz Schwede, der den Gedanken der freiwilligen Arbeitsdienstpflicht gegen den Widerstand aller Stellen siegreich durchsetzte.

### Arbeitsdienstpflicht in Koburg

In Koburg, wo Nationalsozialisten die Verantwortung für das Wohl der Stadt, ihrer Bürger und vor allem ihrer Jugend auf starken Schultern tragen, hat man sich mit der mechanischen und einfach leichten Unterstützungsauszahlung nicht zufrieden gegeben. Der nationalsozialistische Bürgermeister Schwede hat hier die Erkenntnis, daß Arbeit wesentlicher ist als bloße Befriedigung körperlicher Bedürfnisse, mit echt nationalsozialistischem Tatendrang in praktische Wirklichkeit umgekehrt.

Die gesamte Bevölkerung Koburgs begrüßt den von den Nationalsozialisten zur Wirklichkeit gemachten Gedanken der Arbeitsdienstpflicht. Selbst fanatische, unverbesserliche Gegner kommen zum Bürgermeister Schwede und bitten ihn, ihre Söhne für einen Freiplatz in der Arbeitskolonne vorzumerken.

Seit Jahren reden und reden die im Reich regierenden Systemparteien von der Notwendigkeit, für Arbeit zu sorgen. Die Nationalsozialisten aber handeln und schaffen tatsächlich Arbeit und Brot.

Daß die Nationalsozialisten in Koburg — in der ersten unter rein nationalsozialistischer Verwaltung stehenden Stadt — ganz Hervorragendes geleistet haben, kann jeder aus den Wahlergebnissen der Stadt Koburg ersehen. Die Wahlen, die in Koburg seit dem Juni 1929, wo die NSDAP. erstmalig die absolute Mehrheit erhielt, stattgefunden haben, weisen folgendes Bild auf:

Zwischenstadtratswahl im Juni 1929 (nationalsozial. Mehrheit) . . .	5146 Stimmen,
Stadtratswahl im Dezember 1929 (erneute nationalsoz. Mehrheit) . . .	6348 Stimmen,
Reichstagswahl 1930 (noch größere nationalsozialistische Mehrheit) . . .	7416 Stimmen,
1. Reichspräsidentenwahl 13. 3. 32 . . . . .	8348 Stimmen,
2. Reichspräsidentenwahl 10. 4. 32 . . . . .	9595 Stimmen.



Zur Steinbruch wird das Rohmaterial zum Straßenbau von unseren jungen Arbeitsdienstpflichtigen gewonnen.



Koburger arbeitende Jugend auf der Baustelle. Es gilt, eine neue Ringstraße um die Stadt zu legen.

## National Socialism eliminates unemployment!

**Labor service in Koburg:** In Koburg, where the National Socialists bear the responsibility for the city, its citizens, and above all its youth on their strong shoulders, one was not content with automatic and easy unemployment benefits. Knowing that work is more than simply a way of meeting physical needs, National Socialist Mayor Schwede took practical steps with true National Socialist energy.

The whole Koburg population welcomed the National Socialist idea of compulsory labor. Even fanatic, hopeless opponents come to Mayor Schwede and ask him to find a place for their sons in the labor groups.

Year after year, the System parties governing the Reich talked about the necessity for jobs. The National Socialists acted, and actually created jobs and prosperity. Anyone who wants proof that the Koburg National Socialists really accomplished something great — in the first city entirely governed by National Socialists — has only to look at the election results in Koburg. Since June 1929, when the NSDAP for the first time achieved an absolute majority, the results have been:

City council election in June 1929 (NSDAP majority)	5146 votes
City council election in December 1929 (renewed majority)	6348 votes
Reichstag election 1930 (greater NSDAP majority)	7416 votes
Reich President election 13.3.32	8348 votes
Reich President election 10.4.32	9595 votes

The bottom pictures show the Koburg labor force at work building roads.

Pages 30-31



# National Socialism brings jobs and prosperity.

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Page 32

## Give Hitler Power!

**The system has governed Germany for 14 years.**

**Poverty and misery have ruled for 14 years.**

**14 years of reparations policies have brought Germany to the edge of the abyss.**

Inflation ruined the middle class, the reparations insanity destroyed the economy. Party hacks and corruption have shaken our moral foundations. Marxist agitation for class struggle has torn the people apart, and set one against another. The emergency decrees issued by Brüning's and von Papen's cabinets have vastly increased the poverty of the broad masses, not reduced it. Millions have no job and suffer bitter starvation.

**Is that to continue? — No!**

**The people wants**

the System of November 1918 to fall, that an end be made of the policy of issuing emergency decrees, that class struggle and party bickering finally disappears from Germany.

**The people wants jobs and prosperity!**

**The people wants**

a coalition of all working Germans in the National Socialist people's community.

**The people wants** action, not empty words.

The people's will was clear in the recent provincial elections. For the first time, the National Socialists won absolute majorities in Oldenburg and Mecklenburg.

The German people is awake. On 31 July it will vote for the

## National Socialists

### List 2

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Bring Down the System!

[Go to](#) the pre-1933 Page.

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**Background:** After 1933, the annual Nazi Nuremberg Party Rallies were events of national, even international interest. Four rallies had been held before that, however: Munich (1923), Weimar (1926) and Nuremberg (1927 and 1929). The Nazis published a 62-page booklet to commemorate the 1927 rally, which was a milestone in Nazi history. The Nazis had recovered from Hitler's imprisonment after the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch, and though still an insignificant movement nationally were able to bring tens of thousands of their followers to Nuremberg to put on a show that impressed Nazis from the provinces at least as much as it impressed the citizens of Nuremberg.

**The source:** Alfred Rosenberg and Wilhelm Weiß, *Reichsparteitag der NSDAP Nürnberg 19./21. August 1927* (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher, 1927).

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## The 1927 Nuremberg Rally

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**Background:** This is the introduction by Alfred Rosenberg to a 1927 Nazi book on the Nuremberg party rally of that year.

**The source:** Alfred Rosenberg and Wilhelm Weiß, *Reichsparteitag der NSDAP Nürnberg 19./21. August 1927* (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher, 1927).

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## Nuremberg 1927

by Alfred Rosenberg

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The days from 19 to 21 August 1927 are unforgettable for all the participants. Not only party members, but also the citizens of Nuremberg realized that here, finally, primeval German will was once again on display. That will has a clear goal. The thousands of S.A. men who marched past their Führer, gazing proudly on him with shining eyes, returned home with the assurance that the Führer was also proud of them. He saw the best German blood go past him, just as in 1914 when he, yet unknown, joined the great army marching toward the border to help rescue Germany.

All National Socialists were proud that there was not a single conflict during the Nuremberg rally, despite the huge crowds. This is final proof of the fact that where National Socialism dominates the field, the German people's community becomes a reality. The Marxists, as long as they were solid German workers, gave up all their protests and did not following the incitement of their leaders-betrayers. Yes, many citizens of Nuremberg saw to their astonished pleasure that German workers of the mind and hand, many of whom were known to be Social Democrats, were apparently overcome by the impression of the Swastika army and put on badges with our swastika and eagle. In working class districts where a National Socialist hardly dared enter in 1920 or even 1922, swastika banners were hanging from the fourth and fifth floor windows. These German workers had wakened from the betrayal of Marxism, and we raised our hands to them in the hope that they will one day join us, just like the whole group of former Red Fronters who on Sunday, 21 August, put on Adolf Hitler's swastika arm band.

All this together reaffirmed the view that a National Socialist Party Rally is not a rally of the normal sort, but rather a rally of the people in the best sense of the word. The men who marched on the path to Germany's future, the women who spread millions of flowers in greeting, they all testified that the will is the driving element in all that we do. This fiery will inspires and imbues first of all the so varied thousands, and also gives the National Socialist view of the state its characteristic marks. A National Socialist party rally is most evident not in technical discussions, but rather everywhere it steels the will, wherever it builds people.

The German people are the first and most important task of our movement. Only when the core is sure will our radical financial and economic program have any chance at all. National Socialism first of all is a matter of character. The heart of our doctrine in the midst of a collapsed world is bringing out the fundamental values of character of the German people, the ideas of honor and freedom both in the personal and general senses. The old "national" parties failed the test of character, and the Internationale has proven itself the enemy of German values from the very beginning.

National Socialist thinking is clear and determined. Its values are seen not so much in elegant formulations as in the shining eyes of its brown ranks and in the passion of its adherents.

Each of us returned from Nuremberg with renewed strength. Even the least among us knows that he has a great task, so great that it is worth more than a single life. That which was formerly recognized by individuals is beginning to become a mass movement today. This movement will build the first genuine German national state, in contrast to former religious and dynastic states. Nuremberg 1927 gave us the firm foundation. Now we must continue to work! Tirelessly until the army of the swastika is victorious.

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**Background:** This is a chapter from a 1927 Nazi book on the Nuremberg party rally of that year.

**The source:** Alfred Rosenberg and Wilhelm Weiß, *Reichsparteitag der NSDAP Nürnberg 19./21. August 1927* (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher, 1927), pp. 5-8.

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## The National Socialist Party Rally

### Opening and Overall Impression

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It was a good idea to hold the third National Socialist party rally in the old imperial city of Nuremberg. It is a city that was at the center of German history during the great period of the Middle Ages, but also one that threatened to become a fortress of Marxist mass insanity during the 20th century. From 19 to 21 August, it was therefore a symbol that the freedom fighters of the coming German national state will not allow sites of Germany's glorious past to become playgrounds of the Jewish-Marxist denial of all the values of the German people. The reception the marching National Socialist columns received was refreshing. It was as impressive as only a mass meeting can be at which the great ideals of the German freedom movement are welcomed by the hearts of the enthusiastic German people.

The meetings of the party rally, joined by mass participation from the German-minded population of Nuremberg, displayed a unique and powerful unity.

\*

The party rally began on Friday, 19 August, with the arrival of the delegates and the first participants, greeted by the tested NSDAP leader of Franconia, Comrade Streicher, and other Nuremberg party members as they entered Nuremberg's walls. They came from all parts of Greater Germany, from the stolen territories, Czechoslovakia, the occupied Rhine, the Saar, German-Austria, Berlin, the Ruhr, from the north and the south. On foot or bicycle, on motorcycles or in trucks, they had rushed here to participate in the great gathering of the German freedom movement. The Nuremberg population enthusiastically greeted the Brown Shirts and National Socialists. The entire city was talking of what was to come. Swastika flags hung from many private dwellings. The participants were greeted with the colors black-white-gold, white-blue and red white (Nuremberg's city colors). Everywhere there were shouts of "Heil" and meetings of old acquaintances from past German rallies.

As one left the entrance tunnel and entered the main railway station hall, there was a large banner with the words: "Reich Party Rally of the National Socialist German Workers' Party from 19 to 21 August."

Party orderlies with arm bands met the mass of party comrades that grew with each arriving train.

The housing office had its hands full. The mass arrival was handled smoothly, thanks to the exemplary preparation and organization of the party rally, carried out primarily by S. A. Leader Captain von Pfeffer, charged with the task by the party leadership, and the Nuremberg local group and its experienced staff.

The party leadership was headquartered at the Hotel "Deutsche Hof." Here and at the Cultural Union Building, things were in full gear during the entire rally.

\*

The real work of the party rally took place at numerous special meetings in the various rooms of the Culture Union Building as well as other places in the city. These began at 4 p.m. Even these special meetings on various aspects of National Socialist activity were filled to overflowing. They were characterized by lively and energetic discussion by nearly all the party's leaders and early fighters. These various special meetings created the foundations for National Socialism's spiritual mass march.

Everywhere one saw the same picture: the discussions took place under Adolf Hitler's spiritual leadership, whose name, whether spoken or unspoken, guaranteed the fundamental unity of every debate.

Adolf Hitler was greeted enthusiastically wherever he went. Other party members in attendance included the National Socialist parliamentary representatives Gregor Straßer, Dr. Frick, Count Reventlow, Gottfried Feder, Dr. Artur Dinter, Dietrich (Franconia), von Mücke, Stöhr, Haake, Dr. Buttman, Adolf Wagner, Holzwarth, etc. Other party comrades who were active include A. Rosenberg, Dr. Goebbels, Schwarz, Dr. Ley, Captain Loeper, Hildebrandt, Mutschmann, Kaufmann, Munder, etc.

Also present were Representatives Jung and Krebs from the National Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia, as well as a representative from Switzerland.

\*

By early Saturday morning, the streets were filled. Special trains filled with Brown Shirts from every corner of Germany began arriving at 7 a.m. The arriving National Socialist columns from Berlin, Vienna, and the Ruhr received the particular greetings of the throngs gathered in the square outside the station. Besides these three special trains, others came from Halle, Zwickau, Dresden, Munich, Augsburg, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Regensburg, and many other cities. At least a third more arrived than had applied in advance, and by afternoon the large mass quarters were filled to the last bed. More than 8,000 S.A. Men were in the Luitpold Hall alone, 2,000 in the Büsing Garage, 2,500 in the Volksfest Hall. Numerous smaller facilities capable of housing up to a thousand men had to be added. Arriving units marched immediately to their quarters, each accompanied by its own band. They were greeted enthusiastically by the Nuremberg populace. All day long the streets were filled with the marching brown battalions of awakened German lovers of freedom.

\*

The Culture Union Building was decorated with large swastika banners, visible from afar. Saturday afternoon, the delegate's meeting under Adolf Hitler's leadership began. This large hall, holding 3,000 was beautifully decorated. Large swastika banners hung from the galleries and the large stage was decorated with green and gold wreaths and swastika flags, with our huge symbol in the background!

The powerful mass meeting that was the center of the National Socialist Freedom Movement was held here.

By 11 a.m., hundreds and hundreds of delegates from all parts of the Reich filled the hall. The mood was expectant and solemn. This was no ordinary party rally of the type all too familiar in the German Republic. Party rallies are held all over Germany today wherever the representatives of an old era think it necessary to keep their distrustful followers in line by flooding them with rhetoric about "a generation grown old in security." Here in Nuremberg things were different: It was the mass meeting of a generation that has nothing more to do with Germany as it is

today. It has burned the bridges to a social order that deserves, today or tomorrow, to be destroyed. This spirit is alive in the speeches of all the leaders of the National Socialist Party, a spirit filled with faith in the future and in the victory of the National Socialist idea of freedom.

That is what distinguished this National Socialist delegate's conference from all similar gatherings. There was no room for the usual party conflicts. From first to last one sensed a solemn spirit of responsibility for the appearance and honor of our young movement.

The delegates rose to remember the dead of the movement and its martyrs as the festive music of the "Netherlands Hymn of Thanks" filled the hall. No one failed to be moved by the deep solemnity of this powerful moment.

The united picture of the event was enhanced by the presence of all the leadership on the podium. The delegate's congress was a united, powerful and unified mass meeting that did not fail to have its impact on the numerous guests of honor.

As impressive as the opening itself was the impressive conclusion to the Congress late on Sunday afternoon. As the columns of the National Socialist Freedom Movement marched to music through the streets of the city, filling Nuremberg with a festive atmosphere, the Congress meeting in the Culture Union Building, filled to the end to the last seat, reached its high point. The list of speakers itself was impressive. Representatives Dr. Frick, Dr. Buttman, and City Councilman Fiehler reported on the party's parliamentary activity. Party comrades Count Reventlow, Feder, Dr. Dinter, and Dr. Goebbels discussed German foreign policy, the general corruption in political and economic life, the racial question, and issues of National Socialist propaganda. Finally, party comrade Rosenberg spoke on the international situation, laying the spiritual foundation on which Adolf Hitler would build his concluding remarks. The congress joined in a powerful manifesto of German freedom and in a mass meeting for the leader of German freedom. When Hitler concluded the entire hall rose to its feet in a storm of enthusiasm. For all present it was a moving experience to see the leader and his followers, the will and the idea, the movement and the masses, joined together in unbreakable unity. The swastika is the living symbol of that unity.

The Nuremberg party rally of the National Socialist movement was a new and powerful victory of German thinking on freedom. It showed that this idea has taken deep root in the German people, and that no power in the world can destroy it. National Socialism is marching. It marched in Nuremberg in spirit and in deed, with the strength of its idea and the columns of young Germany. The songs and the tread of the swastika's battalions will find an echo throughout Germany!

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**Background:** This is the partial text of Hitler's major speech to the 1927 Nuremberg party rally. Hitler outlines the Nazi claim that it provided not a political platform, but a political faith. Hitler claims of Germany: "It wants a leadership in which it can believe, nothing more."

**The source:** Alfred Rosenberg and Wilhelm Weiß, *Reichsparteitag der NSDAP Nürnberg 19./21. August 1927* (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher, 1927), pp. 38-45.

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## **Adolf Hitler's Speech at the 1927 Nuremberg Rally**

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Our fellow party member Rosenberg began his speech by saying that it is critical for a nation that its territory correspond to its population. As he put it so well: "The nation needs space." How well we know that the fulfillment of this sentence has guided and determined the fate of our nation for many centuries. We know further that, save for a relatively short period of German history, we have not succeeded in the task. The question confronts us today as insistently as ever: No government, of whatever kind, can long escape dealing with it. Feeding a nation of 62 million means not only maintaining our agricultural productivity, but enlarging it to meet the needs of a growing population. This is true in many areas. We National Socialists maintain that industrial production is not the most important in terms of the future of the European peoples. In coming decades it will be increasingly difficult to increase production. It will reach a dead end as the governments that presently do not pay great heed to industrial production over time give themselves to industrialization.

These governments will not be able to meet their own needs with their population. Difficulties in industrial production will inevitably develop, made more serious because they will affect not only one state, but a large number of states in Europe. Increasing competition will naturally force these states to use ever sharper weapons until one day the sharpest economic weapons will give way to the sharpness of the sword; that is, when a healthy nation faces the last either-or, and despite the greatest diligence cannot withstand the competition, it will reach for the sword because the question of life is always the problem about which life turns. It is a question of power.

The first way to satisfy this need, the adjustment of territory to population, is the most natural, healthy and long-lasting. We must however conclude when considering this first or second way that the foundation is power, always power. Power is also a part of economic struggles. Power is the prerequisite to earth and soil. We can see that today. Even the sorrowful effort to adjust the population to the available territory by encouraging the emigration of new generations requires power, even more today as states hermetically seal themselves from the immigration of uncomfortable elements. The more economic difficulties increase, the more immigration will be seen as a burden. The so-called workers' states seal themselves off more than others as a way of building a protective wall against cheap labor. The newcomer after all must be either cheaper or better. Here, too, one comes to the conclusion that maintaining this way of supporting the population requires power.

When we examine the concept of power more closely, we see that power has three factors: First, in the numerical size of the population itself. This form of power is no longer present in Germany.

62 million people who seem to hold together are no longer a power factor in a world in which groups with 400 million are increasingly active, nations for which their population is their major tool of economic policy.

If numbers themselves are no longer a power factor, the second factor is territory. This, too, is no longer a power factor for us, even seeming laughable when one can fly across our German territory in a mere four hours. That is no longer an amount of territory that provides its own defense, as is the case with Russia. Its size alone is a means of security. If the first two sources of power, population, and territory, are inadequate, there remains always the third, that which rests in the inner strength of a people. A nation can do astounding things when it carries this power in its own internal values. When, however, we examine the German people, we must to our horror see that this last power factor is no longer present.

What is the nature of a nation's internal power? Three things are involved: First, a people has intrinsic value in its race. That is the primal value. A people that has the best blood but does not understand it, squandering it, receives no protection from its intrinsic value. And the purity of blood means nothing if the nation can be persuaded of the absurdity that its blood is worthless. Such a deepest value can be present, but not recognized. Individual people today are placed in large groups that no longer enable them to see this value. To the contrary, their program almost claims that there is no value in blood. They see race as completely insignificant.

Second, internal power depends, aside from the value of blood, on the abilities that such a nation still has. A nation cannot be called impotent as long as it is able to produce the minds that are necessary to solve the problems crying out for solution. We can measure the greatness of a people by the minds it produces. That, too, is a value, but only when it is recognized as a value. If a nation has the ability to produce great minds a thousand times over, but has no appreciation for the value of these minds and excludes them from its political life, these great men are of no use. It can therefore collapse, in the best case perhaps passing on its inventions and ideas to the minds of other nations, teaching these nations, but no longer is it a nation called to lead itself.

The third value hidden within a nation is the drive to self assertion. A people that has lost this has almost given up its place in the world, in which each living creature owes its existence only to the eternal striving to rise higher. If a nation today proclaims the theory that it will find happiness in lasting peace, and attempts to live according to that theory, it will one day inevitably succumb to this most basic form of cowardice. Pacifism is the clearest form of cowardice, possessing no willingness to fight for anything at all.

The same person today who preaches limiting the number of children to the nation murders others so that he himself may live.

He therefore eliminates the second form of intrinsic strength, namely the possibility of producing more minds at all. A people that limits the number of its children cannot demand of fate that it give it great minds from the few children who are born. More likely, such a people will hatch the most unworthy offspring and will attempt to preserve them at any price. Such a nation has first born, but no longer any great men.

Truly these three points that form the intrinsic strength of a people are no longer regarded in Germany. The opposite. As I have said, today one places no value on our blood, on the intrinsic value of our race, but rather apostles proclaim that it is completely irrelevant whether one is Chinese, Kaffir, or Indian. If a nation internalizes such thinking, its own values are of no use. It has renounced the protection of its values, for they too must be protected and encouraged. A people that sees its blood as worthless cannot possess the intrinsic will to withstand the competitive struggles of this world. It needs no great minds, does not even want them any more. It will inevitably believe that all people are equal in terms of blood, and will no longer have a need to rise above the others. That is why one needs great minds. It will no longer desire to rise, and that is why one needs great spirits. Since such peoples no longer value their race and see themselves as the same as everyone else, and no longer feel the inner need for happiness or great men, they can no longer struggle, nor do they desire to.

That leads to what the large parties proclaim, namely to a nation that thinks internationally, follows the path of democracy, rejects struggle, and preaches pacifism. A people that has accepted these three human burdens, that has given up its racial values, preaches internationalism, that limits its great minds, and has replaced them with the majority, that is inability in all areas, rejecting the individual mind and praising human brotherhood, such a people has lost its intrinsic values. Such a people is incapable of policies that could bring a rising population in line with its

territory, or better said: adjust the territory to the population.

Our party comrade says one must give the people territory. In Germany, unfortunately, we must first give the territory a people. We see before us today Marxist masses, no longer a German people.

All this would be in vain if the fundamental values were not there. The only thing we may be proud of is this: We have this value, we have our blood-building value, the best proof of which is the great men of world history over the millennia. We have this value of race and personality. We have a third value: a sense of battle. It is there, it is only buried under a pile of foreign doctrines. A large and strong party is attempting to prove the opposite, until suddenly an ordinary military band begins to play. Then the sleeper awakes from his dreams and begins to feel himself a member of a people that is on the march, and he marches along. That is how it is today. We only need to show our people the better way. They see: we are marching already! The German people will come to a knowledge of their intrinsic values when the systematic organized poisoning of their values is replaced by their systematic organized defense.

That large international world power infects a part of the people with the ideas of pacifism to weaken their resistance, and uses another part to attack.

When the German pacifist feels threatened in his practical political activity, he can suddenly become an anti-pacifist, but only against an opponent of his political thinking. He can even reach for bloody weapons. But he calls the battle for the life of the entire nation murder!

This large international power organizes its terror groups by appealing to their lower instincts, but also reduces their potential resistance through intellectual influence. The German people have split in two as a result. In a masterful way, Hitler showed how the split between thinking and action in the politically-minded German citizen or politician leads him to become a democrat, although he knows that the fate of the world is never determined by majorities. This dear German citizen knows that for 1900 years after Christ and for many thousand years before Christ's birth, the world was changed by men, but he now suddenly believes that history is made by the German National Party's Reichstag delegation, which finds the greatest wisdom in the majority principle. In so far as the political citizen has accepted this principle, he has practically given up all hope of victory. The majority, that is cowardice, is for him decisive. Inability, limited wisdom. In theory the majority decides, but in reality it is the international Jew that stands behind it.

We deceive ourselves if we believe that the people want to be governed by majorities. No, you do not know the people. This people does not wish to lose itself in "majorities." It does not wish to be involved in great plans. It wants a leadership in which it can believe, nothing more.

The bourgeois world can no longer master these problems. It does not wish for the elimination of the burdens that weaken our people, The burdens that weaken us are in reality the cause of the success of those powers that Rosenberg calls the world power without a territory. Consider the following facts:

62 million people have an impossible amount of land. There are 20 million "too many." This nation cannot survive in the long term. It must find a way out, which lies neither in the size of its population nor the amount of its territory. Divided in its energies, it must become the victim of those we all know to be our masters. Can that change in the coming years? No!

That is the task of our movement. We are not burdened with the vast and wise experiences of other politicians. We entered political life as soldiers who served at the front while we were overcome by miserable little scum at home. That was our first motivation to enter politics. Nor could we accept the idea that things were as they were, and that we had to adjust to reality. Hitler then brilliantly described the feelings of front soldiers to conditions in the homeland.

There was one place in Germany where there were no class divisions. That was in the companies at the front. There were no middle class or proletarian units, only the company. That was all.

There had to be a way to build this unity at home, and this was clear to them. Why was it possible at the front? Because of the enemy! Because one knew the danger that one faced. If I am to build unity among the people, I must first find a new front, a common enemy so that everyone knows: We must be united, because this enemy is the enemy of us all. If we are not united, the entire German people will sink into the abyss.

It was necessary to make clear the relationship of the individual to his people. It first had to be made clear why he had to feel that relationship. It was the feeling of honor that said to the individual: I am a member of a people of a certain level, and it would be shameful for me to aid in this people's downfall. It would be a break in the holiest solidarity with the members of my own blood.

As I watched the procession today, I thought: Is it not wonderful to have thousands of men who grew through struggle, who matured in it. It is not the outward patriotism of middle class citizens. We want to put an end to this silly squandering of the values of blood. We want to plant responsibility in the people and put an end to the nonsense that leads our people to spill their blood for fantasies or romantic dreams. We want to teach our people one thing: Take care that your children do not starve.

If someone says to you that you are an imperialist, ask him: You do not want to be one? If you say no, then you may never be a father, for he who has a child must always worry about his daily bread. But if you provide his daily bread, then you are an imperialist.

Our goal must be to form a kernel that will steadily grow, winning energy and strength for the great goal. To whom heaven has given the majority of decisiveness, it has also given the right to rule.

Our entire struggle is a battle for the soul of our people. It is further a structure, a structure consisting of those minds who are the bearers of our worldview and who will be the foundation of the new state. In November 1918 the old colors were lowered. These colors have however for us a special significance, not because they were the symbol of the former state, but because they flew before us during four and a half years of battle. One does not soil that for which one has fought for four and one half years. In doing so, one soils only his own honor. When democracy lowered the old colors it did not soil the lasting fame of the German army, but rather established an eternal monument to its own shame, a monument that will live longer than this state. One can lower the colors, but one can not destroy the content of four and one half years, it is an historical fact. The Republic chose its own colors. With bitter pain we saw it reach impotently into an earlier period of German history for its colors. Today it is clear that the Republic could not succeed even in winning the general respect of its citizens for these colors. Today it only suggests that these colors were once really quite respectable.

Believe me, if it was possible to set aside the colors of the most glorious war in our people's history by the stroke of a pen, I admire the faith of those in the present government who believe that the colors of the current German republic will last for eternity.

Hitler discussed the fact that the German people today lack a national flag. One has never considered the flag of the leading group of the time to be the symbol of the nation. There is no symbol today that represents the whole people. The order to see the flag as such a symbol cannot succeed. One thing however is clear: A movement today in Germany that fights for the renewal of the people must give its own symbol to this effort, and that is why we have chosen a new flag that is the symbol of the coming new German Reich: a symbol of national strength and power joined with the purity of the blood.

Our goal is for this flag to increasingly lose its character as a party flag and grow to be the German flag of the future. We see this flag is inextricably bound to the renewal of the nation. May these colors be a witness of how the German people broke its chains of slavery and won freedom. On that day this flag will be the German national flag.

Today you see thousands behind this flag. Seven years ago there was no one. All these people marched past us today under this flag with enthusiasm and glowing eyes because they see in these colors the struggle for the freedom of our people.

With one accord, the whole enormous gathering rose to its feet and greeted Hitler's final words with thousands of

outstretched hands: sentences of brilliant force and majesty, a holy oath of all National Socialists as this Reich party rally were met with constant thundering shouts of "Heil," rendering some of the words unintelligible. Hitler said:

We National Socialists therefore make the holy promise never to rest in raising the honor of this flag, making it our symbol of self discipline, obedience, and order. Let it be to us a symbol of eternal struggle. We see in this flag the victorious sign of freedom and the purity of our blood. We want this flag to be a symbol of salvation, a sign that faith in these great possessions is alive in our people. May in the coming years a party rally occur at which five times as many people march, even if their sacrifice is still greater than ever before!

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**Background:** 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 1928 speech to party members in Berlin.

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

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## **Goebbels' Speech at the 1927 Nuremberg Rally**

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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 that which is 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, but 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, but 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, but rather to use their misery to build the 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.

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**Background:** The Nazis from the beginning put great emphasis on ceremony and ritual. This is a description of the pageantry of the 1927 Nuremberg party rally.

**The source:** Alfred Rosenberg and Wilhelm Weiß, *Reichsparteitag der NSDAP Nürnberg 19./21. August 1927* (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher, 1927), pp. 47-52.

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## **Nuremberg 1927:**

### **Torchlight Procession, Dedication of Banners, Mass March**

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#### **1. The Torchlight Procession**

As darkness fell on Nuremberg's rooftops and walls on Saturday evening, the Brown Shirts vanished from the city's streets. Huge masses of German citizens and party members from Nuremberg and from all parts of the German-speaking world filled the streets in expectation of the appearance of every last German freedom fighter who had come to Nuremberg. Above all they gathered before the Hotel Deutscher Hof, where Adolf Hitler awaited his fighters.

In the distance, march music and unceasing shouts of Heil announced the approach of the procession. Soon its head appeared at the corner. Within a few minutes, the Frauentor moat resembled a sea of fire. In astonishing order, the Brown Shirts marched past their Führer and greeted him with their eyes shining, the hand with the burning torch raised as in an oath. The enthusiasm of both the onlookers and the marchers hardly knew any limits.

First came the Bavarians, with their glorious banner from 1923, then the Brandenburgers, the Hanoverians, the Thuringians, and the Rhinelanders, the Saxons, the Hamburgers, the Holsteiners, the Hessians, the fighters from the Ruhr, the Austrians and Pommeranians, the Mecklenburgers, and those from Baden, our comrades from the Saar and Silesia, Württemberg and Franconia. The new Germany marched. With mine lamps that otherwise lit their way in the pits, National Socialist miners greeted their Führer Adolf Hitler.

It was a moving picture as those from Vienna, Kärnten, Tyrolia, Salzburg, and Lower Austria saw Adolf Hitler for the first time. A so-called Greater German Christian Socialist government had refused to allow them to come to Germany. They came in spite of great sacrifices to gain new strength, to hear their Führer speak, to see him in person.

The endless column of 15,000 to 20,000 men marched past, with ever new banners, new S.A. bands. And that was not all. A large number arrived only in the late evening of Saturday or Sunday morning. About 1,000 Hitler Youths followed the S.A., and the S.S. ended the one-and-a-half hour march of the fighters for the coming Third Reich.

#### **2. The Dedication of Banners on the Luitpoldhain**

A clear fall morning broke on Sunday, 21 August. Processions of S.A. men streamed toward the Luitpoldhain from every part of the city, some marching, some in trucks. The broad terraced field, surrounded by greenery, was the ideal place to hold the huge crowds. Special trains alone brought more than 40,000 people to Nuremberg. At least as

many arrived on regular trains, trucks and busses. A group of Berlin S.A. from the “banned NSDAP” [**The Berlin police had banned the party**] even came to Nuremberg on foot. Their sacrificial deed was announced by a red banner with white lettering, here and also during the torchlight procession and the mass march.

The march of tens of thousands onto the Luitpoldhain was guided by markers right and left of the terraced steps and by blazing fires on fir-decked pylons. It was an organized military accomplishment of the first order. It was under the direction of the calm, sure leadership of the Supreme S.A. leader, Captain von Pfeffer and his staff. Its confidence and discipline proved that the National Socialist S.A. is even today a strong group that is far superior, casting all other such groups in Germany, whether to the left or the right, into the shadows, both in its unified political will and in its military values. Many hundreds of Swastika banners waved above the heads of the Brown Shirts who filled the broad expanse of the field, a remarkably striking picture that increased in intensity as in response to fanfares and drumbeats the storm columns of the new Germany raised their right arms and thundered out their Heils to greet their Führer, who appeared with his staff shortly after 9 a.m. The swastika banners had been brought to the Green Terrace, where now a forest of flags filled three levels in a half circle that surrounded the mighty ranks. To the fore stood the musicians and trumpeters, whose shining instruments bore a white-green cloth on one side, a Swastika on a red background on the other. An enormous crowd surrounded the field, watching this imposing and unforgettable ceremony. It was **the dedication of twelve new standards for the Gaue Bayreuth, Frankfurt a. M., Chemnitz, Ruhr (Hattingen), Potsdam, Zwickau, Essen, Bochum, Nordmark, Vienna, Hanover, Rhine**. The standard bearers stood in a row before Adolf Hitler, whose booming voice went across the total silence of the enormous gathering. After the trumpet sounded, he made the following moving remarks:

**In November 1918 the old flags of a thousand victorious battles were taken down, and with them, too, sank the honor of the Reich.**

**In 1919 this Republic gained its own symbol. Hundreds of thousands and millions of Germans fought this symbol, which was forced upon us. But also in 1919 a movement was founded in holy protest against the destruction of the nation’s honor, against the squandering of our national inheritance, and this movement created its own symbol in 1920. The first German flag was given in 1920 to a small group of people, and today you can see them here. In 1923 the first banner with the eagle was consecrated, in the wish and hope that it would become the victory symbol of Germany’s liberation. In 1924 the movement was dead. In 1926 we received new banners; today we have come together once again, the brown army of the swastika, and again we consecrate twelve banners that obligate us to hold them with the honor they deserve, for they are the flags that will fly over Germany’s future.**

**We ask the Lord who gives us strength to carry this symbol so that each German may look with pride at these banners and that they may fly over all of Germany; not the Germany of Versailles, but the Germany of our German language and tongue. We ask the Almighty to make us strong in the coming years in faith, in the will for freedom, and in the confidence that one may ban an organization, but never a movement. It will rise again, just as we believe that our people and Fatherland will rise again, stronger than ever before. We hope to God that it happens under the sign of these flags and banners!**

Unending shouts of “Heil” joined with the music and the sounds of the fanfares and the beating of the drums. The sun then broke through the clouds, and no one present could take the brightening of the sky as anything but a happy symbol of burning enthusiasm for the great goal of freeing Germany. Adolf Hitler now stepped up to each standard-bearer, looked him in the eye, shook his hand firmly, and then in a strong soldierly voice gave the motto for each standard.

First he said:

**Today as well we want to mark the first two standards of 1923, which experienced the bloody days, so that we can always distinguish them from those that came later in the history of the movement.**

With these words he fastened symbols to the standards from Munich and Landshut. Then he stopped at the banner from Bayreuth and said:

Hold your banner with the same honor as the flag of 9 November 1923, which became the first blood witness.

Hanover: Accept this banner, which I expect you to carry as you have carried the banners in the past.

Rhine: Carry your banner until the day which the German Rhine is one more German.

Vienna: Carry this banner as a symbol of the unity of our movement until the shameful treaties of Versailles and St. Germain are destroyed.

Bochum: Carry this banner as you have carried out the battle against the French assault.

Zwickau: You are receiving the second Saxon banner. Carry it as the first from Plauen has been carried.

Essen: I give you this banner as a symbol of the old weapon city of the German Reich.

Potsdam: Carry this banner until the day that the banned movement in Berlin exists once more.

Ruhr: The best local group in the Ruhr has the honor of carrying the banner of the Ruhr. As of today, *Gau* Ruhr has received three banners. Carry the third in a manner worthy of the other two.

Accompanied by the sounds of the fighting song of the unforgettable **Dietrich Eckart**, the newly consecrated banners returned to their units, and with fanfares and thundering shouts of "Heil," the march of the brown columns concluded.

### 3. The March of the 30,000

When the consecration of the banners finished, waves of people streamed back into the center of the city. Huge throngs of onlookers lined the path of the coming S. A. march: the Wilhelm-Späth Street, Schwieger Street, Wölkern and Pillenreutcher Streets, the Celtis Tunnel, the Frauentor moat, the Pfarrer Joseph Square, Leder Alley, Kaiser Street, up to the platform at the Main Market. Baskets full of flowers were ready. Swastika banners hung from the buildings, along with the white-blue and black-white-red flags.

There was lively and colorful activity before the platform. Soon it was completely filled to the last row with party leaders and their staff, and supporters and friends of the movement. The old and distinguished buildings on the large square were also packed, every floor and every window, with onlookers. The police, polite and correct, did an exemplary job of keeping traffic and trams under control.

The cloudy, gloomy morning of a late summer day had been replaced by brilliant sunshine. The air was clear and warm, the sun even grew hot. The medical team had its work to do.

Meanwhile the leading men of the movement had gathered at the foot of the platform. There were the Reichstag representatives Frick and Feder, provincial parliament deputies von Mücke, Dr. Buttman, Wagner, the Sudeten German delegates Jung and Krebs, the head of the party publishing firm Amann, the editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, and many city leaders.

The excitement rose as two bands in S.A. uniforms along with the dashing Postdam drum corps appeared to lively applause. Shortly after 11 a.m., the imposing march of the entire S.A. began at the Main Market. **Loud music, thundering shouts of "Heil," masses of flowers greeted the brown columns as they marched past in companies, battalions and regiments. Local group followed local group, Gau followed Gau.** All raised their right hand in greeting, marching literally on a carpet of flowers. Each S.A. man, each banner carrier, was covered with flowers. The colorful splendor of late summer did not end; from windows and balconies whole buckets of asters turned the Führer's car into a literal bed of flowers.

Unit after unit marched past. The storm battalions of an awakening, coming Germany, from Upper Silesia and the Nordmark, from the Pfalz, from occupied regions and old Bavaria, from Berlin and the mines of the Ruhr/ Austrians

representing the Ostmark. and the proud sons of Franconia. **Altogether, on foot, bikes, and trucks there were 26,000-30,000 men.** Pride and enthusiasm beamed from each individual. Hardly a breath of wind moved the old banners and flags that had witnessed much blood, or the newly consecrated ones of that day.

The representatives of border areas were greeted with particular enthusiasm. The signs and slogans they had brought with always earned loud applause. There were frenetic outbursts and declarations of brotherhood between the huge crowds and the columns that marched past for two hours, culminating as the SS in their black caps marched past the platform. The German Anthem [**Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles**] rose powerfully to the heavens. Those who had seen the march in Weimar at the 1926 party rally knew that National Socialism's march to victory could not be halted, but the march in Nuremberg surprised even the greatest optimists. The former spirit had returned in even stronger, more confident form, celebrating its resurrection. This 21st of August reestablished a connection with the famed "German Rally" of 1923 [**A major right-wing gathering**], without forgetting what had happened in between.

The last groups of S.A. disappeared as the mighty procession wound its way through Rathaus Square, the Lauser Alley and the Lauser Gate to the Marien Tunnel and then back to Wodan's Square. Thousands of party members thronged forward toward the Führer stretching out their hands in an oath to the future. The jubilation and enthusiasm were indescribable.

The huge square emptied slowly, and the Führer's car had to move slowly through the thick crowds. In the distance one could hear the marching of the columns, and the thundering, untiring, shining "Heils" of the S.A. regiments, joined by the voices of the many thousands who lined the streets.

#### **4. The Conclusion of the Party Rally**

As the delegates' conference closed around 8 p.m., the hustle and bustle in the squares and on the streets signaled that the party rally was nearing its end. The Postdam drummer corps had entertained thousands at the Main Market all afternoon with its dashing music, putting them in a cheerful, excited, elevated mood. The Führer of the movement spoke for the last time at the mass meetings that evening with powerful, breath-taking words about our great cause to the enthusiastic members of the movement, both old and new. While the columns marched to the railroad station to return home on special trains, hundreds of other National Socialists gathered at the Castle, or the old Noris, looking over the rooftops of the city to the broad land of Franconia and into the growing evening, into the soul of the Reich, to that which they longed for, a free National Socialist Germany.

#### **5. Participation in the Party Rally**

Some had seen mass demonstrations, or had experienced the German Rally [**of 1923**], that exceeded in number the march of the National Socialist S.A. past their Führer. But that was not the important thing. More important is that a young movement daily said to be dead displayed an united, uniformed, and strictly disciplined organization of impressive strength. No other political movement in Germany today is anywhere near as able to bring forth such a large military group, a group showing such perfect political and military unity as the National Socialist S.A. There is no comparison to the somewhat similar Stahlhelm [**a right-wing paramilitary organization mostly of combat veterans**]. The Stahlhelm does not have a politically unified spirit. Even the Reichsbanner [**affiliated with the Socialist Party**] claims to be above party, and recruits its members from three or four parties.

Nuremberg proved that only the National Socialist movement has its own protective organization that is dedicated to nothing but the National Socialist idea and its supreme Führer. The great success of the Nuremberg rally is its proof that this organization even today can bring out 30,000 men any day.

By the way, the march of the S.A. at the party rally did not begin to include all National Socialists who attended the rally. To get a reasonably objective idea of the attendance at Nuremberg, coming from north and south, we can best use the official figures from the Nuremberg office of the railroad.

The Nuremberg railway office states:

“47 special trains arrived in or departed from Nuremberg on Saturday the 20th of August and Sunday the 21st. Regular trains also had much greater traffic. A total of 223,600 people arrived or departed.”

The usual Saturday and Sunday traffic at the main Nuremberg railway station seldom exceeds 60,000 people, so 160,000 is a reasonable estimate of the number of National Socialists. But this does not include the thousands who arrived in Nuremberg on Thursday and Friday and who only left on Monday or Tuesday. And there were many thousands who came on foot, on bicycle, and in countless trucks. If we add these people, we have a total of around 200,000 people who arrived or departed. The number of party rally participants can therefore be estimated at around 100,000.

Those who were in Nuremberg on these two days, by the way, will likely find this number too low rather than too high.

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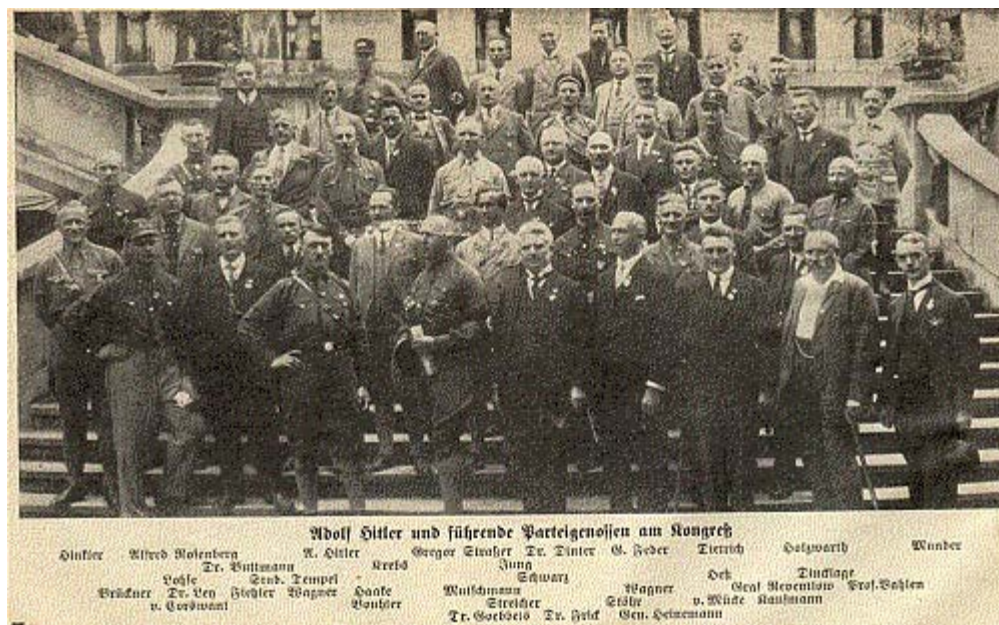
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**Background:** This page includes five of the twelve pictures from a 1927 Nazi book on the Nuremberg rally of that year.

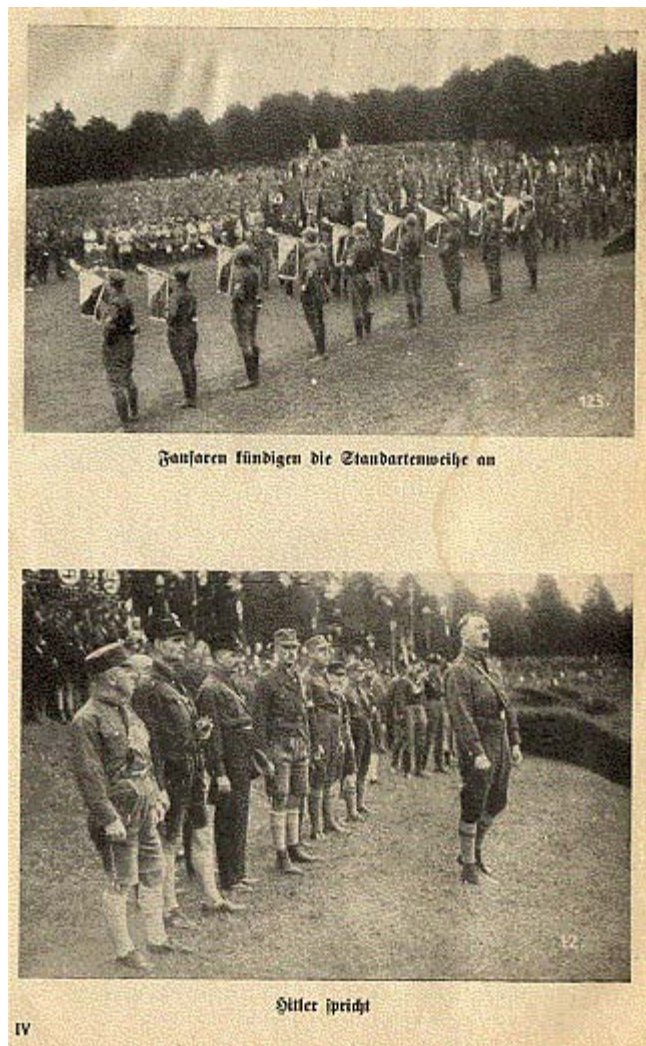
**The source:** Alfred Rosenberg and Wilhelm Weiß, *Reichsparteitag der NSDAP Nürnberg 19./21. August 1927* (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher, 1927).

## Pictures of the 1927 Nuremberg Rally



**This interesting picture shows the gathered Nazi leadership. Some of them (e.g., Dinter and Strasser) later fell into disfavor.**





The caption of the top picture is “Fanfares announce the dedication of flags,” that of the bottom “Hitler Speaks.”



**Caption: The Delegate's Congress in the Kulturvereinshaus**



**Caption: “The Army of Brown Shirts on the Luitpoldhain.** In parenthesis are two quotations from unfriendly newspapers: The *Neue Bad. Landeszeitung*: “...The National Socialists have long been in ruins....” The *Bayr. Kurier*: “...Merely a few thousand from across the nation...”

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[Go to](#) the page on the 1927 rally.

[Go to](#) the Pre-1933 Page.

[Go to](#) the German Propaganda Archive Home Page.

**Background:** The *Völkischer Beobachter* was the Nazi Party's daily newspaper. Besides covering the general news from a Nazi perspective, it also reported on party activity. This is a typical report of party activity. Such accounts reported almost constant Nazi successes. Elsbeth Zander (1888-1963), a rare Nazi women speaker, later became a top official in the Nazi women's organization.

**The source:** "Kampf um Harburg, die Marxistenstadt. Wie hier, so überall." *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 November 1929, p. 3.

## The Battle for Harburg, the Marxist City

As it is here, so is it everywhere

This is Harburg! It sits on the lower Elbe River. It is not far from the fishing village of Finkenwärder, the birthplace of the unforgettable Gorch Fock. It is close to the North Sea.

It is surrounded by forests and hills. The land of the "Black Hills." Harburg, an industrial city. It is surrounded by smoking factory chimneys. There is a citadel of the Marxists. And — one may never forget this — Harburg is the Red city where brave Captain Berthold was beaten to death by a whipped up mob. Literally beaten to death.

The battle is raging here. Bitterly. The local group has held firm. The banner flies. The lads are holding fast! They hold on to the banner. Harburg's citizens are paying heed.

Meeting after meeting. Hand in hand, the tireless educational work continues, using leaflets and newspapers.

And now there is more of it. It is more evident.

The city is livening up. Something must have gotten people excited. People talk about it in the factories. Groups gather in the streets to read the posters. The talk of the hour: Those hated National Socialists, always attacked and cursed by the *Harburger Volksblatt*, these National Socialists are announcing yet another public meeting.

For days, their "familiar" vivid posters have hung in prominent locations.

Automobiles with police drive through the city. They are heading for the train station to "greet" the S.A. men from Hamburg who are arriving for the meeting.

Are they getting nervous? So much bother, so many worries — so much advertising. Party comrade Elsbeth Zander and the Hamburg *Gau's* business officer Burat are to speak. The meeting is to start at 8:30 p.m. The large hall in the Schützenpark opens punctually at 7:30 p.m. The usual thing happens. It is only 8 p.m. The Schützenpark is filling up. By 8:15 the hall is full, and by 8:30 there is not an empty seat left. Whether sitting or standing, the attendees are packed close together. This time 1500 people have heeded the invitation. Poverty, bitter poverty, makes clear to our people's comrades the direction in which we are heading. Every group is represented. There are people from the middle class, craftsmen, shopkeepers, and in the overwhelming majority, workers from Harburg's factories.

Press reporters have come, too. One can no longer ignore the constantly growing movement. One is forced to take notice of the National Socialists. Sometimes in a friendly way, sometimes with uncertainty, and from the left, as is to

be expected, particularly from the Marxist *Harburger Volksblatt*, with every form of calumny. What time is sacrificed for Adolf Hitler's hated movement.

Party comrade Stummeyer opens the meeting. In a few words, he announces the theme, mentions important events in Harburg, touches on the coming election, and introduces our party comrade Elsbeth Zander.

There is dead silence in the hall as E. Zander begins to speak. The past, and the wretched present are made clear. Pictures come and go **[on the screen]**. Germany as it was, Germany as it is today, Germany as it must be within a few years.

The audience is deeply moved. One no longer is sitting in a hall listening to a lecture. The pictures carry one along, from one point to the next.

It is nearing 10 p.m. The speaker is still talking. She speaks to women and mothers. She arouses them. She warns them: Raise your children to be heroes, fighters for freedom. German women, take sides in the today's battle for freedom. There is breathless silence. Her words have reached them all. The audience catches its breath. Thundering applause shows that here one heart spoke to other hearts.

The applause has not yet ceased as party comrade Burath **[the spelling is inconsistent]** begins to speak. Hard, sharp, accusatory are his words. The system, this System, is examined. Nothing is left but lies and betrayal, miserable cowardliness. One by one, they step onto the stage. The ones now sitting on the throne. Their complete absurdity is revealed. These are the "men" who want to be thought of as the next "Bismarck." Tiny men who would be great. No, a thousand times no. One must constantly fight this system. In legal ways, of course. Germany awake. It is late. Nonetheless, the discussion begins. "Someone" wishes to speak. People had hoped that one of the bigwigs from the SPD would appear, or at least one of the scribblers from the *Volksblatt*. That is not to be. It is safer at home, and one can write better there. One also cannot be held accountable for one's calumnies. Fine and good. A woman communist wishes to speak.

It is interesting in so far as she says that the KPD knows whom it will one day have to point its weapons at. The Red Front and the KPD are also fighting against the Young Plan **[an international agreement on World War I Germans reparations payments]**. And there is the usual litany about the brotherhood of peoples and class struggle.

The meeting is over. Soon, the doors will open again, and we will preach once more, until Harburg, the Marxist city, has become National Socialist Harburg.

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**Background:** Julius Streicher founded *Der Stürmer* in 1923. It was distinguished by unrelenting anti-Semitism. These are cover caricatures from 1927-1932, and are representative of the themes Streicher chose. For further information, see a [chapter from my book on Streicher](#). More material on Streicher is available on [the 1933-1945 page](#) of the GPA.

## Caricatures from *Der Stürmer*: 1927-1932



**Caption:** “When the vermin are dead, the German oak will flourish once more.” (December 1927)

**Explanation:** A Nazi is pumping poison gas into the base of a tree, with dead rats representing Jews around the tree. The rats are labelled “stock exchanges,” “the press,” and “trusts.” The branches of the tree, labeled “Germany,” are industry, agriculture, commerce, the arts, business, the sciences, social welfare, civil service, and workers. This is the earliest Nazi image I know of that suggests poison gas as a way of killing Jews, although Hitler makes a reference to that possibility in *Mein Kampf*.



**Title:** “German Christmas”

**Caption:** The German Christmas angel has her hands tied by the swindling world bank Jews. Meanwhile, the department store Jew, behind the mask of Christmas cheer, is doing a booming business. (December 1928)

**Explanation:** The angel is bound by bands named taxes, credit stops, Dawes tribute and Lugano. The Jew is selling beauty creams and pornographic books.



**Title:** “Fatherland!”

**Explanation:** In the top panel, German family is forced to emigrate because of economic conditions. In the bottom panel, the shop signs all have Jewish names. (March 1929)



**Title:** "Resurrection"

**Explanation:** A worried Jew watches a column of Storm Troopers giving the Nazi salute to a roadside crucifix. This is an interesting attempt to appeal to a Christian audience, and also of using Christian language in a new context. The suggestion is that, somehow, Christ has been resurrected in the Nazi movement. (#13/1929)



**Title:** "The day of revenge is coming"

**Explanation:** A father holds his bleeding son, run over by a car full of careless Jews. This plays on both the charge that Jews were rich and Germans poor, and that Jews cared not at all for the harm they were doing to Germany. (#29/1929)



**Caption:** "I can give him another injection. In the state he's in, he won't notice anything at all"

**Explanation:** The patient, representing Germany, is dripping blood into a pail titled "reparations," with various casts and bandages representing the treaties and international agreements allegedly responsible for Germany's misery. (#33/1929)



**Title:** "Jewish Culture"

**Caption:** "The natural and the unnatural."

**Explanation:** A German couple enjoy the outdoors, while a Jew with his Gentile girlfriend are watching a pornographic movie. (August 1929)



**Caption:** "One can do anything to those Goyim. Our people crucified their Christ on the cross, and we do a great business on his birthday...."

**Explanation:** A Christmas cartoon urging Germans to avoid Jewish shops was standard. (#51/1929)



**Caption:** "The year is over. The struggle goes on!"

**Explanation:** A Nazi grabs a Jew by the collar. (December 1929)

**Caption:** "Sucked dry."



**Explanation:** The caricature suggests the Jews are sucking the economic life from Gentiles. It is one of numerous *Stürmer* cartoons comparing Jews to inhuman and unpleasant creatures. (February 1930)



**Caption:** "The beginning and the end."

**Explanation:** Streicher claimed that Jews were about a massive campaign to seduce and destroy German womanhood. (July 1930)



**Caption:** "They fight and the Jew grins."

**Explanation:** While Germany is crucified on the cross of the Young Plan, an agreement on the payment of reparations from World War I, German political parties are fighting with each other. (August 1930)



**Title:** "The worm"

**Caption:** "Where something is rotten, the Jew is the cause."

**Explanation:** The names in the background are those of Jews involved in major financial scandals. The apple is named "the German economy." The worm is named "Jewish scandals." (November 1931)



**Caption:** "Buy from the Jews, betray your people."

**Explanation:** Another caricature on the Christmas theme. The Jewish shopkeeper is cynically profiting from Christmas. (December 1931)



**Title:** Immunization

**Caption:** "It occurs to me that little good comes from poison or from Jews." [Streicher was suspicious of immunization]

February 1932 (Issue #6)

**Title:** His Worry

**Caption:** "How long will it be before I find myself behind bars in Germany?"



March 1932 (Issue #10)



**Title:** Faust and Mephisto

**Caption:** The Devil is preparing his potion in a caldron titled "Jewish Press": "With this drink in your stomach, you will serve the Jews — and strike your brother."

July 1932 (Issue #29)

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# Der Stürmer

Nürnberg Wochenblatt zum Kampfe um die Wahrheit

HERAUSGEBER: JULIUS STREICHER

Nummer 48 Nürnberg, im Dezbr. 1927 5. Jahr 1927

## Der vergiftete König

### Reichstagskandidat Dr. Hermann Luppe

Wie wir von gut unterrichteter Seite hören, beabsichtigt Luppe, sich in den kommenden Reichstagswahlen zu lassen. Im Wahlkreis Franken soll er als Spitzenkandidat aufgestellt werden. Er hat bereits von den Sozialdemokraten, von den Demokraten und von der bayerischen Volkspartei (!) im Nürnberger Stadtrat sich die Einwilligung zu seiner Kandidatur eingeholt.

Diese Fraktionen sind also damit einverstanden, daß der „Bombensabrikant“ auch noch im Reichstag herumschleift. Sie haben nichts dabei, wenn demnachst der 1. Bürgermeister der Stadt — dem die Nürnberger Steuerzahler ein Jahresgehalt von 36000 Mark zahlen müssen — praktisch für die Stadt nichts mehr arbeiten wird.

Es sind dies die gleichen Fraktionen im Reichstag, die nichts dazu haben, in geheimer Sitzung dem Juden Dr. Süssheim ein Extrahonorar von 6000 Mark zu bewilligen.

Wie wir weiter hören, ist Dr. Hermann Luppe dazu ausersehen, demnachst den Herrn Reichswehrminister Dr. Götter abzulösen. Daß er zum Reichswehrminister eine ganz besondere Eignung hat, ist bekannt. Im Frankfurter war er Feuerwehrcapitän und während des Krieges hat er sich im Frankfurter Rathaus das Eiserne Kreuz II. Klasse am Heimatbunde erworben.

### Ein Freimaurerverbrechen

Dr. Wichtls Enthüllungen sind bestätigt

Im Jahre 1919 schrieb der 65jährige überreichliche Staatsrat Dr. Friedrich Wichtl ein Buch gegen die Freimaurerei. Es trägt den Titel: „Freimaurerei, Weltanschauung, Weltrepublik“.

Als dieses Buch an die Öffentlichkeit kam, da ging ein entsetzlicher Sturm los. Die „Republik“ heulte vor Wut. Sie nannte Wichtls Buch eine „Schandgeburt“, eine „gebrandete Risole“, ein „verlogenes Geschwätz“. Die Wiener Großbürger ließ verständlich, es sei eine „offenbarnde, daß dieser Mann von der öffentlichen Achtung noch nicht abgesetzt ist“. Es dauerte nicht lange, dann wurde Dr. Wichtl in höchstem Ansehen. Während die Augen eines geborenen Wühlers schlagartig waren, wurde Dr. Wichtl im Jahre 1922 verurteilt.

Das Werk des Toten aber wurde in der Deutschen Reichsdruckerei abgedruckt und heißt Nr. 650. Zu beziehen durch die Reichsdruckerei Potsdam.



Wenn das Ungeziefer tot ist, grünt die deutsche Eiche wieder!

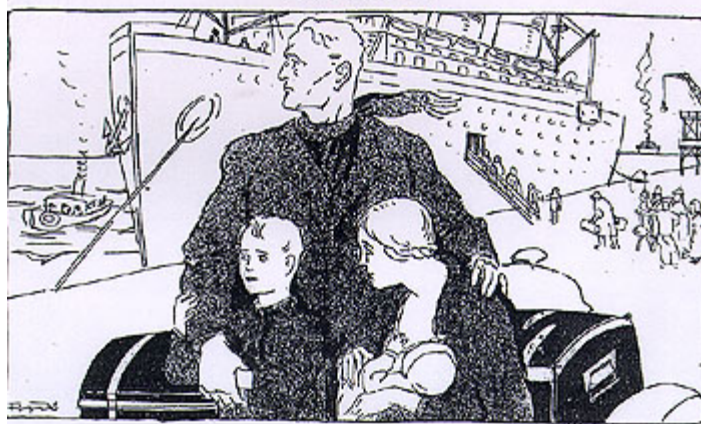
## Die Juden sind unser Unglück!

# Deutsche Weihnacht



Während dem deutschen Weihnachtsengel durch die Gaunereien des Weltbankjuden die Hände gebunden sind, macht der Warenhausjude unter der Maske des Christenfreundes sein Ramschgeschäft

# Waterland!



# Auferstehung





**Der Tag der Rache kommt**



Ich kann ihm ruhig noch eine Spritze geben; in der Verfassung,  
in der er sich befindet, merkt er's gar nicht.

## Jüdische Kultur



**Die süsse Sünde**  
Ein Sittenbild nach dem Roman  
von Vicky Baumblatt  
Regie: Ernst Ludwig Spucknapf  
Photographie: Moritz Klametpapier  
Text: Siegfried Plattfuß  
Bauten: Israel Nabelbroch  
Hauptdarsteller:  
Joe Aftertruck

Von der Natur zur Annatur

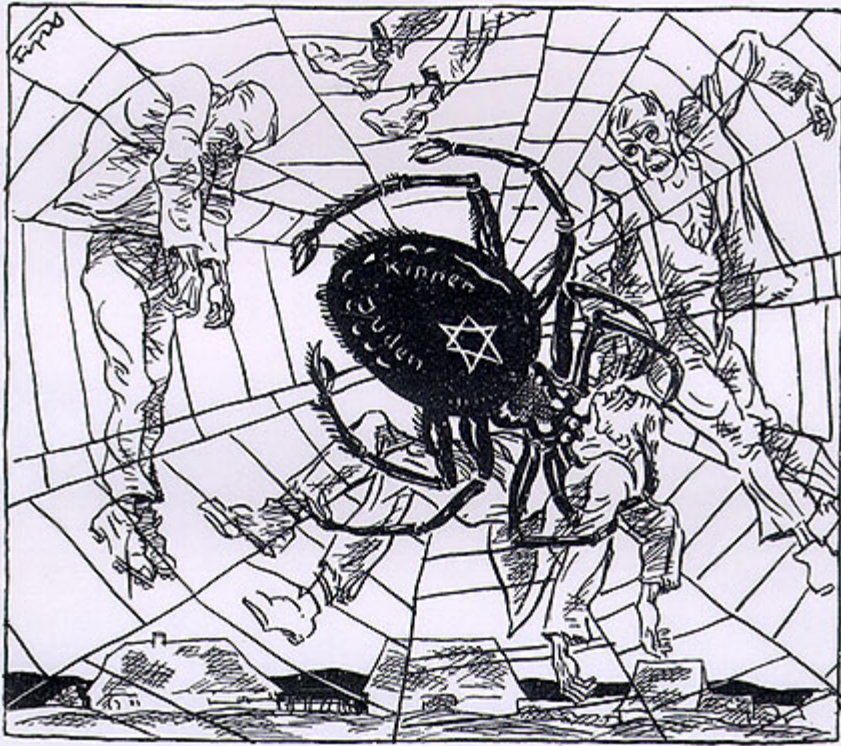


**„Was kann mer doch alles machen mit die Gojim! Ihren Christus haben unsre Zeit gehenkt am Kreuz und aus seinem Geburtstag machen wir ä Riesen-Geschäft . . . .“**

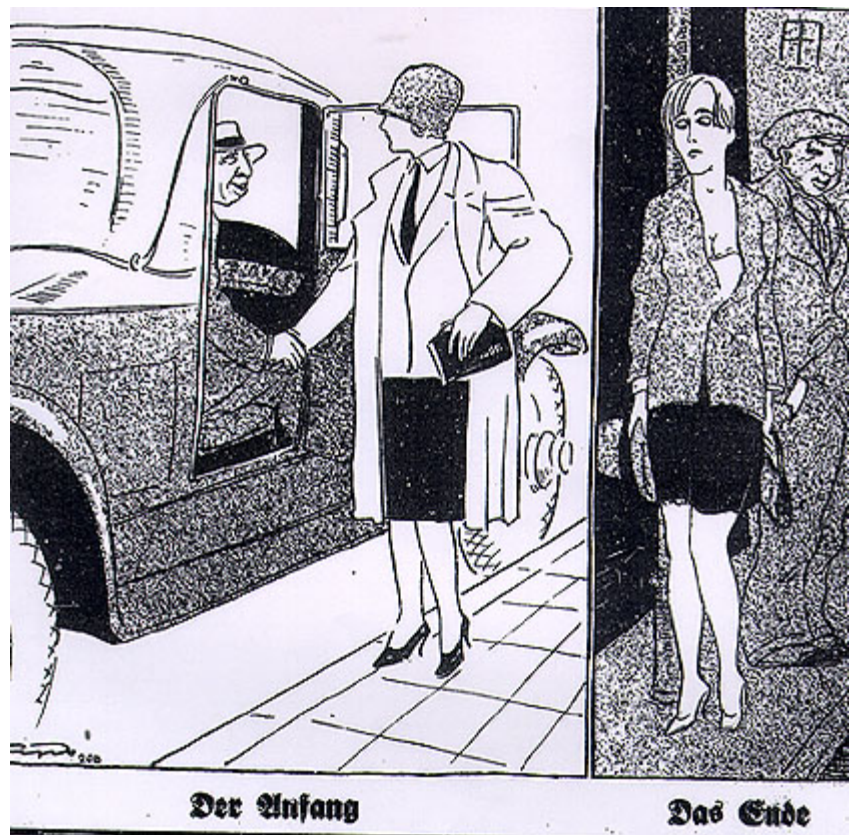




**Das Jahr ist zu Ende. Der Kampf geht weiter!**



**Die Ausgefangten**



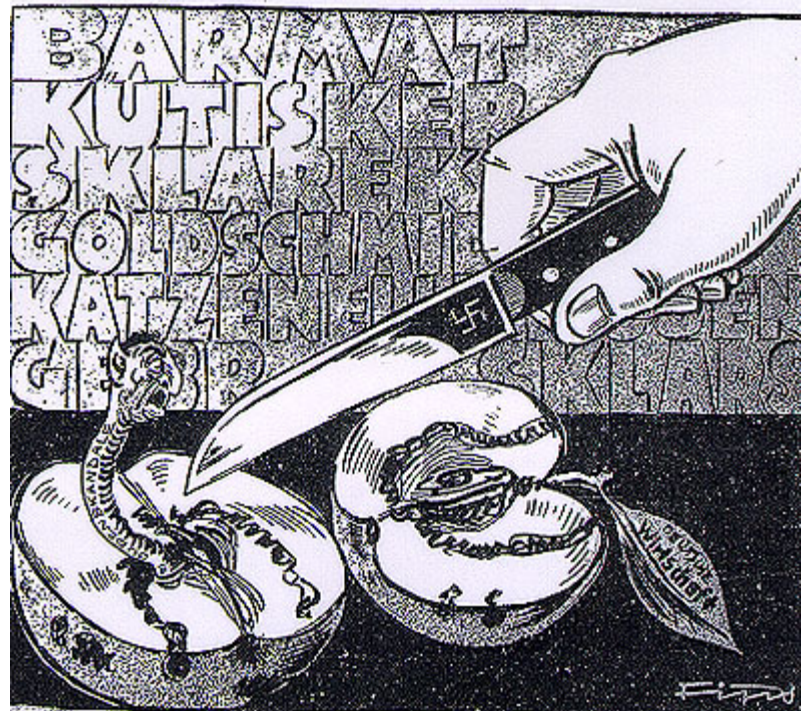
**Der Anfang**

**Das Ende**



Sie raufen sich und der Jude grinst

# Der Wurm



Wo etwas faul ist, ist der Jude die Ursache

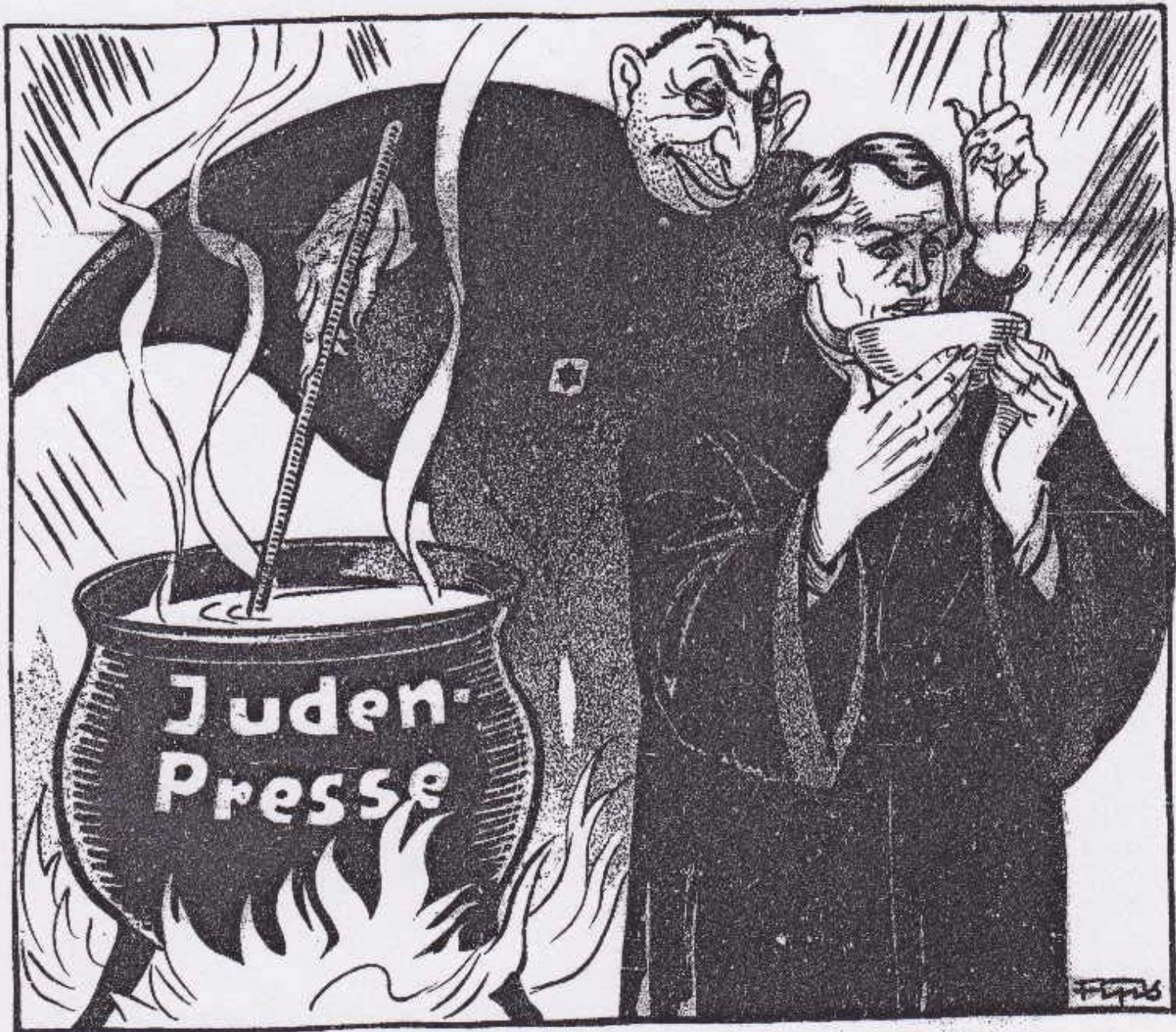
# Sein Nebbach















**Background:** *Brennessel* was the Nazi humor magazine, published from 1931 to 1938. This is a selection of cartoons from its first two years. [Cartoons from 1934](#) are available on another page.

### Cartoons from *Die Brennessel*: 1931-1932

	<p><b>Title:</b> “The Proper Method”</p> <p>This is the cover to the first issue.</p> <p><b>Caption:</b> “It’s always best to grab the bull by the horns.” Houston Steward Chamberlain. (#1, January 1931)</p>
	<p><b>Title:</b> “At the Wailing Wall.” Two Jews are talking:</p> <p>“My son says they are wailing in Germany too.”          “Our people?”          “No, they’re laughing.”</p> <p>The claim is that Jews are prospering amid Germany’s economic hardships. (#4, 1st April issue, 1931)</p>
	<p><b>Title:</b> “The Season at German Theaters.”</p> <p><b>Caption:</b> “Faster, Jean. The Nazis have already smelled our manure.”</p> <p>The claim is that German theaters are offering morally objectionable plays. The Nazis often presented themselves as protectors of the purity of German culture. (#5, 15 April 1931)</p>
	<p><b>Title:</b> “We”</p> <p><b>Caption:</b> “Right” and “Left,” outdated concepts! A new man forms a new era!”</p> <p>A huge Nazi stands on representatives of parties of the political left and right. The cartoon is by Mjöltnir, the pen name for Hans Schweitzer, the most prominent Nazi poster</p>



artist and cartoonist. (4 November 1931)



**Title:** “United Front of the SPD [Socialist Party] and KPD [Communist Party]”

**Caption:** “Heinrich Heine: “Once we found ourselves in the muck, we understood each other immediately.”

The Nazis viewed both the Socialists and Communists as Marxists. Here representatives of the two parties stand together. In the background, a murdered Nazi. (2 December 1931)



**Caption:** “The Internationale fights for ‘human rights’.”

A large fist named “Red Murder” holds a dagger above a pile of Nazi corpses. There were hundreds of dead in both the Nazi and opposing camps. This Mjölfnir cartoon suggests that Nazis were but innocent victims of political violence. (3 February 1932)



**Caption:** “Battling the Weeds.”

A Nazi lops off the heads of his political opponents. This was published shortly before the 31 July 1932 Reichstag election. (13 July 1932)

[Go to](#) the pre-1933 page

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EINZELPREIS 50 Pf.  
ÖSTERREICH KI. 188/1000000

1. JAHRGANG - FOLGE 1 - JANUAR 1931

# DIE BRENNESSEL

VERLAG FRZ. EHER NACHF. GMBH. MÜNCHEN 2 NO

*Die richtige Methode*



*„Das Beste ist es immer, den Stier bei den Hörnern zu packen.“ (Maximilian von Österreich)*

*An der Klagemauer*

Karl Schmitt



*„Mein Sohn, schreibe, im Deutschenland Klagen zu auch.“  
„O Vater, laß!“  
„Nimm die Bücher.“*

*Spielplan an deutschen Theatern*



*Ja, auch schnell, die Hakenkreuzer haben unsere Kunstwerke schon an die Nase gekriegt!*

EPITZELPREIS 30 Pf.  
KOSTENLOS IN BAYERN

1. JAHRGANG / FOLGE 22 - 4. NOVEMBER 1931

# DIE BRENNESSEL

VERLAG FRZ. EHER NACHF. GMBH. MÜNCHEN X 10

W I R



Wie 'Richter', von 'Licht',  
sind die 'Republik'?

Ein neuer Mensch,  
hört er, ist er, 'Licht'?

EINZELPREIS 30 PF.  
OSTERREICH UND ABGABESTEUER

1. JAHRGANG / FOLGE 76 / 2. DEZEMBER 1931.

# DIE BRENNESSEL

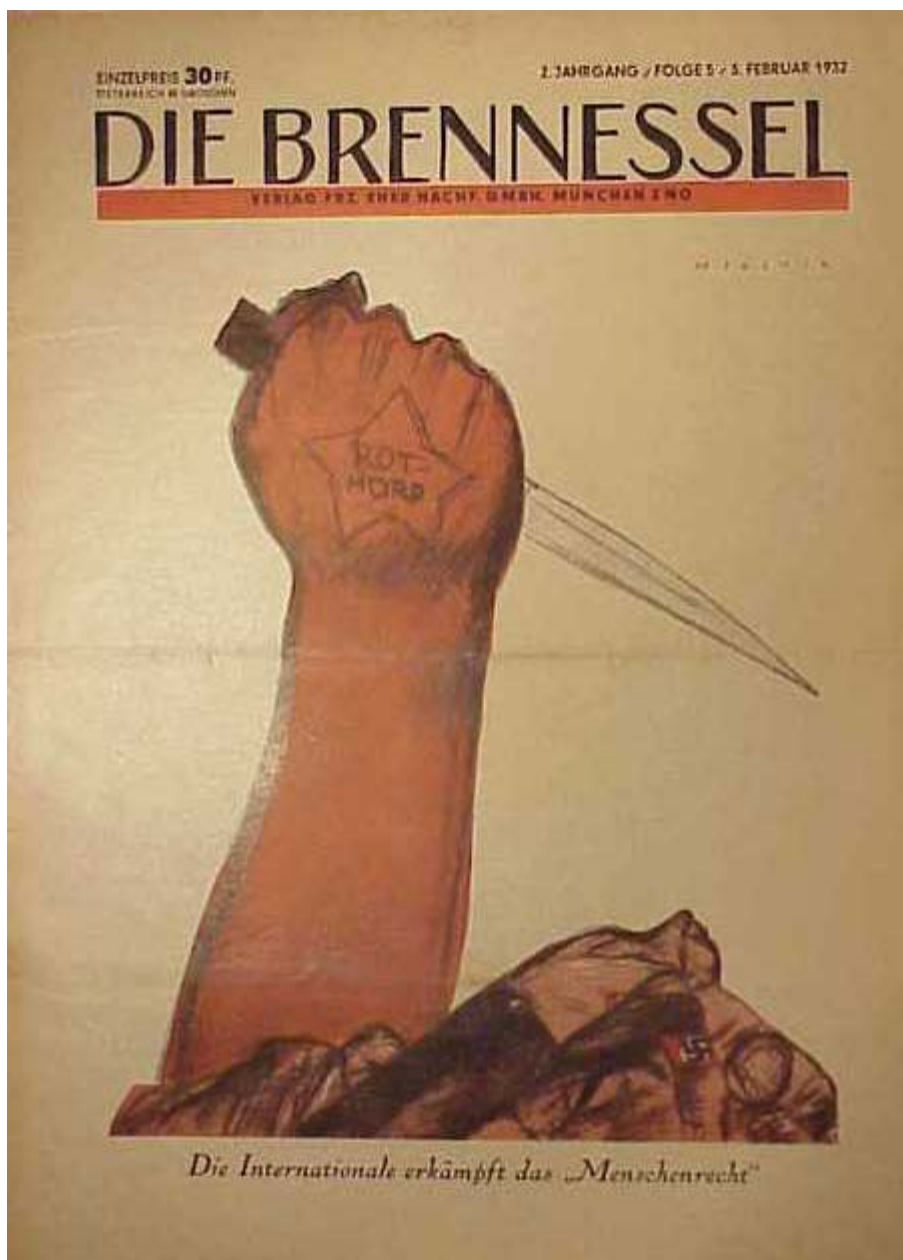
VERLAG FÜR IHRE NACHF. G.M.B.H. MÜNCHEN 3. RD.

*Einheitsfront zwischen S.P.D. und K.P.D.*



*Heinrich Heine: „Dank ich nur im Schmutz uns finden — da verwanden wir uns gleich!“*





*Die Internationale erkämpft das Menschenrecht*

ENZELPREIS 30 Pf.  
WERTBILLET 100 Pf.

2. JAHRGANG · FOLGE 28 · 15. JULI 1932

# DIE BRENNESSEL

VERLAG FRZ. EHER NACHF. GMBH. MÜNCHEN 2 NO.



*Kampf dem Unkraut*

**Background:** The *Illustrierter Beobachter* was the Nazi Party's weekly illustrated magazine. It regularly carried articles on large Nazi rallies, of which this is a typical example.

**The source:** "Deutschland erwacht! Der Freiheitstag in Gera," *Illustrierter Beobachter*, #39/1931 (26 September), pp. 1-3.



**The cover.** Germany awakes! The day of freedom in Gera.

**Article text:** "Hitler Rally in Gera: 5-6 September 1931. Gera was another milestone in our movement's march to victory. Every time our opponents hope that we have reached our highpoint, that things will be downhill from now on, the opposite happens.

Once again, tens of thousands marched in Gera under our movement's victorious symbols. The Führer and Germany showed the whole world that not only the S.A., but the whole movement, is marching in step toward victory. And the fascinating rhythms of the brown columns find an ever stronger and happier reception in the hearts of those who until now have stood afar from us, but are now ready to give themselves fully for the good of their people.

The demonstration in Gera was a meaningful expression of the millions of Germans who believe fanatically in the victory of our movement. That which Adolf Hitler and all the other leaders expressed in these moving days was at the same time the wish and hope of millions, joined in the unshakable will to earn Germany respect, honor, and freedom internationally, and work and prosperity at home. This brutal will is determined to fight until final victory, even if the world is full of devils."

"Adolf Hitler, the Chief of Staff Ernst Röhm, and group leader von Killinger visit the Hitler Youth camp, which gave our Führer



an enthusiastic reception.”



“The Hitler Youth band is everywhere received with enthusiasm.”



“Chief of Staff Röhm, in the name of the S.A., pledges unbreakable loyalty and obedience to the Führer.”



“The flag brigade of the Hitler Youth honors its supreme leader.”



“The women have their hands full feeding the hungry S.A.”



“The enthusiastic and moving march past our Führer Adolf Hitler by the S.A. and S.A. at the Roßplatz.



“The Hitler Youth field kitchen.”



“Germany stands where our flags fly. The flag brigade. In the background, the enormous crowd of the S.A.”

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**Background:** This is a rare piece of ephemera: a Nazi propaganda flyer aimed at factory workers at an aniline factory in Ludwigshafen (later part of BASF). It promotes the *Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation* (NSBO, National Socialist Factory Cell Organization), the Nazi attempt at a labor union. The NSBO was established in January 1931, and this leaflet is undated. Since it deals entirely with local issues, dating it precisely is impossible, but it is clearly from before the Nazi takeover.

Another interesting thing is the title: *Der Nazi-Aniliner*. The Nazis generally did not use the term “Nazi” to refer to themselves, but every now and again it surfaces in their rhetoric. I have about another dozen instances in my files.

I have, by the way, another undated flyer from the same factory that I probably won’t get around to translating, but if you find this particularly interesting and need it for your research, I might be persuaded to provide a scan.

**The source:** *Der Nazi-Aniliner*, Nr. 1 [undated, 1931 or 1932]

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## **The Nazi-Aniline Employee**

Price: 1 Pfennig — Appears periodically — Nr. 1

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**What does he [Hitler] want? What is he fighting for?**

**He is fighting for right of the worker to be a human being.**

**Workers! Employees of the aniline factory! Are you a human being?**

No! Those who once promised you human rights have allowed it to remain necessary, thirteen years after their “glorious revolution,” for you to stand before that wonderful instrument each day that one usually calls a

**time clock,**

in which you

**must stamp your number every day.**

If you are a second too late in the morning, you are penalized a half hour of pay, guaranteed, even though you do your work as well as any other day. And woe to you if don’t show up at the end of the day in the proper uniform and with the proper stamps. You’ll be caught — and then — well, you know well enough what will happen!

And your workers’ council? — It will give its blessing.

**Workers at the aniline factory! Listen! —Does it have to be this way?**

**No!** It does not have to be this way!

We workers don't need a time clock. We want to work without time clocks, as free men. The time clock hurts our work because it makes us second class people.

**Workers! The *Nazi-Aniliner* demands:**

Either that the last time clock be hacked to bits, or else the general director joins with us and punches in just as we do! If it is good for us, it is good for him!

**Workers at the aniline factory! Do you like to smoke?**

During breaks, you have to stand outside to smoke your cigarette, showing to all the world the serf that you are, since only "gentlemen" can smoke inside the factory, along with your workers' council—but not you! At most, you put on a silly expression and ask where is the fire danger in the factory canteen? Your miserable liverwurst, perhaps? But no, that is not the issue, but rather:

**"There have to be distinctions."**

That's what your council of bigwigs wants. You have to know that you are merely a serf, and you therefore have to smoke outside, returning to your job unhappy and annoyed.

**The *Nazi-Aniliner* demands:**

Either smoking is permitted in the canteen, or everyone is forbidden to smoke!

**Workers at the aniline factory!** If you want to wash your hands after eating, you have to use your handkerchief or your sleeves, since there are no hand towels! Your workers' council does not have to worry about that. It simply says: There aren't any, and that's that! — The council of bigwigs, of course, must have its hand towels! Their work, after all, is dirtier than yours!

**The *Nazi-Aniliner* objects to the fact:**

that you are pawed over and searched every day at the gate as you leave!

**Workers! Workers at the aniline factory!**

We do not steal factory property. Let us be proud. We do not want to injure our honor as workers.

**Workers! Workers at the aniline factory!**

**The spying at the factory gate has to stop!**

**Help us get rid of this Negro status!**

**It is unworthy of an honorable German worker!**

**Don't be taken for a ride by your council of bigwigs.**

**Spit on the phrases like "capitalist slaves" that they use to incite you against us.**

**A 15% pay cut!** Who let that happen? Who are the slaves of capital?

**Workers! Workers at the aniline factory! Free yourselves!**

**Join us in the National Socialist Factory Cell!**



**Workers! Workers at the aniline factory!** Rumors are going around that the factory will be closed!

**Listen!**

The *Nazi-Aniliner* guarantees this to you! If we are in control of the government, we **will not be closed, but there will be more work**, even if we have to nationalize the factory.

**Workers! Workers at the aniline factory!**

Join us. Workers and academics stand together in a single front. If you want to have a future, you have to join us. Fight for your honor as a worker and your dignity as a human being.

**Join the National Socialist Factory Cell!**

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## GERMAN PROPAGANDA ARCHIVE

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**Background:** The following includes 16 of the 100 photographs from *The Hitler No One Knows: 100 Pictures of the Life of the Führer*. By 1940, 420,000 copies had been printed. The book was one of the first of the numerous picture books on Hitler put out by Heinrich Hoffmann, who went by the title “Reichsbildberichterstatter der NSDAP.” Hoffmann made his fortune during the Third Reich as Hitler's favorite photographer. A full account of his activities is in Rudolf Herz, *Hoffmann & Hitler: Fotografie als Medium des Führer-Mythos* (Munich: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1994). Even for those who don't read German, Herz's book provides a wealth of photographs of Hitler.






**The source:** Heinrich Hoffmann, *Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt* (Berlin: “Zeitgeschichte” Verlag, 1932).

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### The Hitler No One Knows

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#### [Introduction by Baldur von Schirach, Youth Leader of the German Reich:](#)

	<p>The “whip.” Enemy papers excitedly write that Hitler always carries a riding whip. In reality, it is a dog whip that the Führer carries today as a reminder of the time when he could carry no weapon at all. Then the whip was his only defense...</p>
	<p>As the battle began... this is a picture of the Führer from 1919, when Hitler began calling the German people to resistance at ever larger meetings.</p>
	<p>The earliest picture of the Führer at the beginning of his political activity: Dedicating flags on Mars Field in Munich in 1923.</p>
	<p>After a 3 hour meeting, the Führer strides exhausted through the lines of SA and SS comrades, surrounded by the cheers of thousands who now have new faith and new hope.</p>
	<p>The Speaker. The National Socialist German Workers Party grew through mass propaganda. Even today Hitler is not only the Führer, but also the best propagandist of his movement. His words fall like hammer blows in the hearts of the tens of thousands who hear him: “One does not beg for his rights, one fights for them.”</p>
	<p></p>



The hands of the Führer organize his speech. This picture captures Hitler's hands as he speaks of the unity of the National Socialist and socialist ideas.



On the train. When winter makes roads impassible for automobiles, the Führer travels by train. Otherwise, Hitler always travels in his own car, a large Mercedes, which brings him safely to his destination and saves time.



Here, too, Hoffmann gives him no peace.



When evil men wanted to hurt him deeply, they poisoned his favorite dog. That is how evil fights a good person..



In his beloved mountains. From time to time the Führer visits his “villa” in the Bavarian Alps for a few hours or days. He has a small wooden house that his sister purchased. There he finds the inner strength for new tasks.



A photograph accidentally becomes a symbol. Adolf Hitler, the supposed “heretic,” leaves the Marine Church in Wilhelmshaven.



Even the youngest want to take Hitler’s picture....



On the Pier. A short rest during a trip to East Prussia.



Adolf Hitler’s life style is simple. He never drinks alcohol and does not smoke.



Hitler Youth. Even the youngest fight for him....



The Brown House in Munich is the goal of S.A. men from all regions of Germany. How their eyes glow when the Führer is with them!

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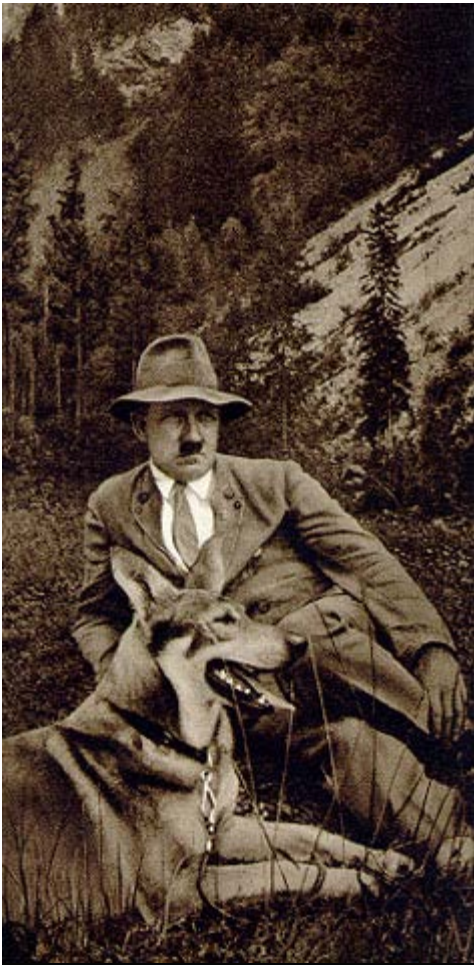






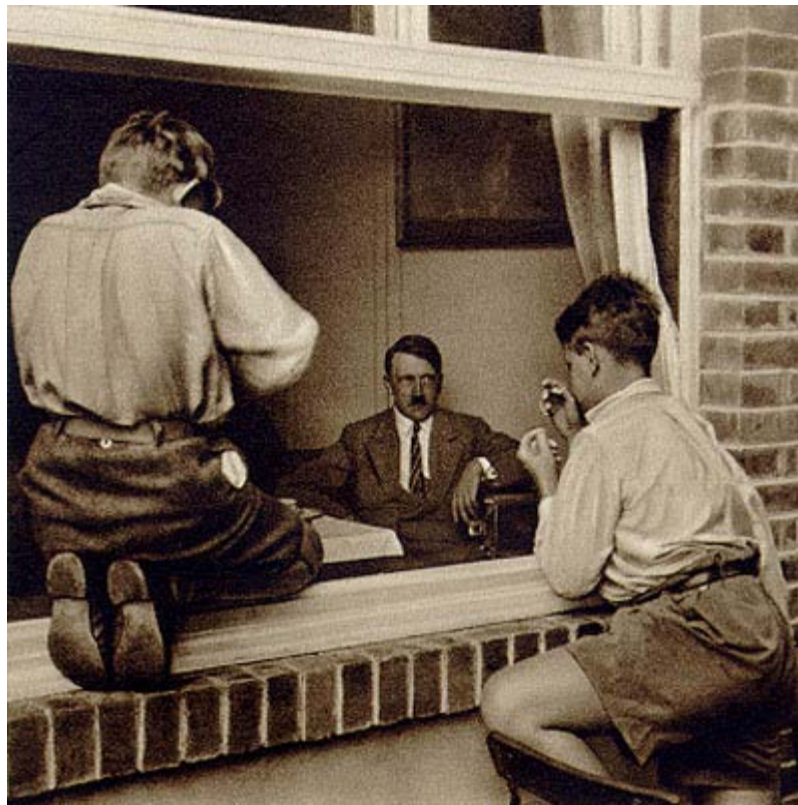




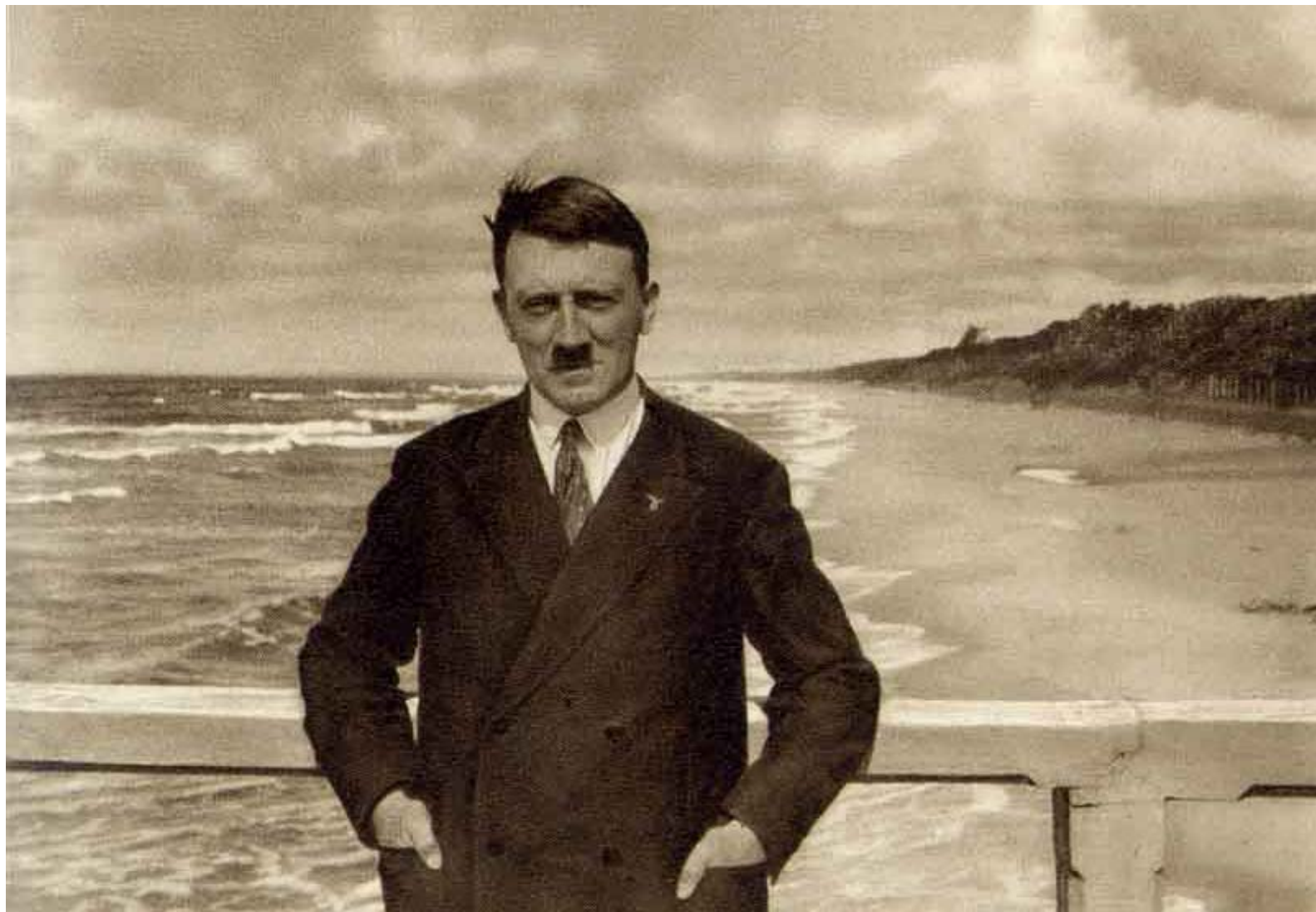


















**Background:** The *Flammenwerfer* was a twice-monthly Nazi propaganda flyer, particularly aimed at members of the Social Democratic Party. This is the issue for June 1932, released a month before the July Reichstag election. It summarizes the major Nazi propaganda claims. For those interested, there is a complete run of the publication at the *Bundesarchiv* library in Berlin.

**The source:** *Flammenwerfer*, Second year, 10th edition, June 1932.



## *The Flamethrower*

**The cover.** The caption at the bottom: “The people rise up!”



**Page 2:** The main headline, running over to the next page, is: “The [Weimar] system came to power through murder and terror!” The top picture is captioned “Barricades.” The text: “Red murder raged in the cities. Noske (the defense minister during the revolution) estimated that 1200 people died in Berlin alone in March [1919]. The center left photo is captioned: “‘Revolutionary’ Criminal Types.” The text: “The first ‘action’ of the revolution was to open the prisons and arm the criminals.” The bottom right photo is captioned: “The Results of Revolt.” “Erzberger has to wait until the arrogant ‘victor’ is ready to receive the German representatives.” The text at the bottom left is: “Front soldiers cross the bridges over the Rhine carrying the black-white-red flag. They were not yet infected by the ‘warriors at home.’ The result of the Marxist-led revolution was Germany’s unconditional surrender. Our soldiers at the front were stabbed in the back by Jewish agitators, deserters, and people without a conscience. Ebert and Scheidemann, standing to the right, were the fathers of the revolution. Don’t they look like two well-fed citizens?”



Page 3: The top right photo: “The wall in the Luitpold Gymnasium in Munich, before which innocent hostages (including a woman) were murdered by bestial Marxists.” The caption to the center right photo: “An apartment in Munich destroyed during the Soviet Republic.” Bottom right: “A destroyed church facility. Churches were plundered by the Marxist criminals. The caption of the center document photo: “The command to murder the hostages.” The center text: “During the most fateful hour in the history of the German nation, Marxism unleashed its long-planned revolt, thus stabbing fighting soldiers at the front in the back. The System then ruled Germany for fourteen years. For fourteen years, Germany suffered poverty and misery. Fourteen years of their policies have brought Germany to the edge of the abyss. The left top caption: “The basement of the Liutpold Gymnasium in Munich, where the Red Guards imprisoned the hostages before shooting them. Bottom left caption: “While civil war raged in Germany, misery took its course. In Versailles, the Social Democrat Müller and the Center Party man Bell signed the “peace

treaty,” which, besides everything else, said that Germany bore the sole guilt for the war.”



Page 4: The caption running over to page 5: “The system means poverty and misery.” Below it, the caption reads: “6 million unemployed, 6 million starving!” The four people shown: “**General Groener**, to whom the soldier’s oath is merely an idea. Known for his hatred of the NSDAP. He lost his office because he banned the National Socialist S.A., but considered the civil war army of the Reichsbanner [**the Social Democratic Party’s paramilitary group**] a pillar of the state. **Bernard Weiß**, the Jewish vice president of the Berlin police. The National Socialists in the Prussian Parliament have established ‘Bernhard Weiß Chicago Committee.’ The Jewish vice president of police has been charged by his own criminal police of organizing and protecting an illegal gambling club, in which he is an eager participant. **Albert Grczesinski**, police president of Berlin. He had to disappear as a Prussian minister because of his love affair with Daisy (he was married). He held on as police president, however. Such a man can never be allowed to say: ‘Hitler should be chased out of Germany with a dog whip.’ **Dr. Hilferding**, the father of inflation, a Jewish gynecologist from Vienna. He was Reich Finance Minister in 1933, and declared on 31 August 1923 that the danger of a further decline in the mark was past. Nonetheless, the mark continued to fall. In September 1923, a dollar was worth 130,000,000 marks. In November 1923, it reached 4.2 billion marks.” The center left photo: “Social Democratic bigwigs enjoy themselves in the Reichstag restaurant.” Center right photo: “Sklarek’s [**a Jew involved in a major Berlin financial scandal**] villa, scene of drinking bouts with Marxist city councilors. The two bottom photos: “**But** the unemployed stand in line at the unemployment office and the unemployed are ruthlessly evicted.”



Page 5: Top right: “Brüning speaks at a meeting of the foreign press association shortly before his fall from power: ‘The fundamental problem that concerns us day and night is the problem of unemployment.’” Under that: “Down with the system of emergency decrees.” The photo to the upper right: “The unemployed outside the unemployment office in Neukölln.” Below that: “Shipping and commerce have ceased.” Middle right photo: “They are looking for a job.” Banner below: “Put new men at the rudder! Vote NSDAP List 2.”

**General Epp**, the liberator of Munich, **Dr. Goebbels**, the conqueror of Berlin, **Gregor Strasser**, the honored early battler for National Socialism, **Baldur von Schirach**, the national leader of the National Socialist youth.”



Page 6: National Socialism brings: Peace, prosperity, jobs, and food.

Page 7: “Germany is waking up! In every *Gau* in the German nation, Adolf Hitler is calling an awakening people to fight for freedom.” Picture to the upper left: “Hitler during a stop in Danzig during his aerial tour of Germany.” Picture to the center right: “Hitler leaving the newly established National Socialist business office.” Captions to the lower right: “Hitler



leads the S.A., the youth greets the future leader of Germany, Hitler speaks with farmers in Mecklenburg.”



Page 8: “Millions expect, millions trust, millions hope for Adolf Hitler. They all believe in Adolf Hitler.”

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**Aufgeworfene Barrikaden.**  
In den Städten tobte Rotmord. Noske (z. Zt. der Revolution Wehrminister) beziffert allein die Zahl der bei den Märzkämpfen in Berlin ums Leben gekommenen auf 1200.



**„Revolutionäre“ Verbrechertypen.**  
Die erste „Tat“ der Revolutionäre war, die Gefängnisse zu öffnen und die Verbrecher zu bewaffnen.



Fronttruppen ziehen mit schwarz-weiß-roten Fähnchen über die Rheinbrücke. Die Frontsoldaten waren von der „Heimkriegsrevolution“ noch nicht angesteckt.

Die Folge der von den Marxisten angezettelten Revolution war die bedingungslose Kapitulation Deutschlands. Gegen die kämpfende Front war aus der Heimat von jüdischen Volkshetzern, Deserteurern und gewissenlosen Subjekten der tödliche Dolchstoß geführt worden.



Nebenstehend: Ebert und Scheidemann, die Väter der Revolution. Sahen sie nicht wie zwei wohlgenährte saturierte Bürger aus?



**Die Folgen der Revolte:**  
Erzberger muß auf Foch warten, bis es dem übermütigen „Sieger“ paßt, die deutschen Vertreter zu empfangen.



Die Wand im Luitpoldgymnasium zu München, vor der die unschuldigen Geiseln (darunter eine Frau) von den verlorien Marxisten ermordet wurden.



Die Generäle:  
Oben links: Fürst v. Thurn und Taxis  
Oben rechts: Graf v. Helldorf v. Weitzing  
Unten links: Prof. Berger  
Mitte: Dr. Baumbach  
Unten rechts: Walter Dietz  
Rechts: Neukirch



Durch die Kämpfe in der Räterepublikzeit in München verwüstete Wohnung.



Der Mordbefehl zur Erschießung der Geiseln.

In schicksalsschwerster Stunde der deutschen Nation entesselte der Marxismus die seit langem vorbereitete Revolte und stieß damit der kämpfenden Fronttruppe den Dolch in den Rücken. Dann hat 14 Jahre lang das System in Deutschland regiert. 14 Jahre lang stand Deutschland im Zeichen von Not und Elend. 14 Jahre Erfüllungspolitik hat dann Deutschland an den Rand des Abgrundes gebracht.



Keller im Luitpoldgymnasium zu München, in dem die Geiseln vor ihrer Erschießung eingesperrt hatten.



Zerstörte Kircheneinrichtung. Die Kirchen wurden von dem marxistischen Verbrechergesinde geplündert.



Während in Deutschland der Bürgerkrieg tobte, nahm das Unheil seinen Lauf. In Versailles unterschrieben der Sozialdemokrat Müller und der Zentrumsmann Bell den „Friedensvertrag“, der Deutschland neben allem anderen Unrecht zu dem Geständnis der alleinigen Kriegsschuld zwang.

# Das System bedeutet No

## 6 Millionen arbeitslos 6 Millionen ohne Brot!



**General Groener**  
Für den der Falschheit nur eine Lösung ist. Bekannt durch seine haderlichen Kämpfe gegen die NSDAP. Er stürzte, weil er die nationalsozialistische S. A. vertrat, die Bürgerkriegsarmee des Reichsherrn aber für eine Stütze des Staates erklärte.

**Bernhard Weill**  
der jüdische Vizepräsident von Berlin. Gegen Weill ist jetzt auf Antrag der Nationalsozialisten im Preussischen Landtag ein „Chicago-Ausschuss Bernhard Weill“ eingesetzt worden. Der jüdische Vizepräsident wird nämlich von seiner eigenen Kriminalpolizei beschuldigt, Mörderminister und Schützer von verbotenen Spielclubs zu sein, in denen er eifrig mitziespiele.

**Albert Grzesinski**  
Polizeipräsident von Berlin. Er mußte als preussischer Minister zurücktreten, weil seine Linkesallianz (er war verheiratet) mit der Dasey ihn unendlich machte. Zum Polizeipräsidentenposten läßt es aber. Ein solcher Mann durfte sich die Ausierung erlauben: „Man müßte Hitler mit der Mundepolizei aus Deutschland jagen“.

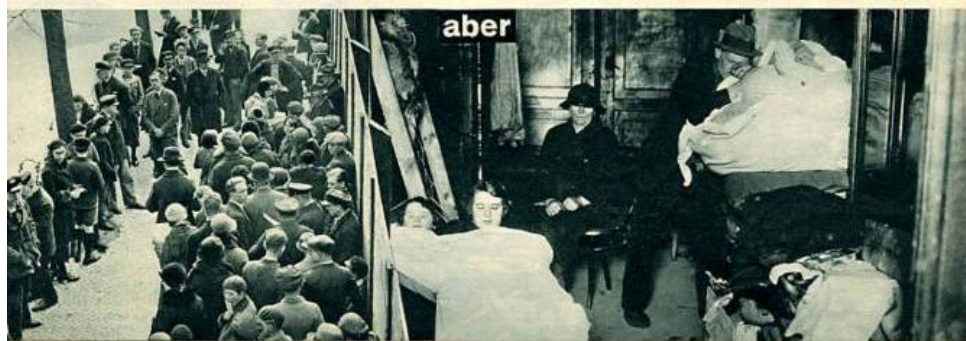
**Dr. Hirthling**  
der Vater der Inflation, ein jüdischer Finanzier aus Wien. Er war 1920 Reichsfinanzminister und erklärte am 31. August 1923 die Gefahr des weiteren Marksturzes für überwunden. Im Sept. stürzte die Mark trotzdem unauflöslich weiter. Der Dollar stand im Sept. 1923 = 18.000/000 M. Im November 1923 hatte der Stand des Dollars mit 4.200 Millionen Mark einen Höhepunkt erreicht.



Sozialdemokratische Bonzen prassen im Reichstagsrestaurant.



Sklarek's Villa, in der die Saufgelage der korrupten marxistischen Stadträte stattfanden.



Arbeitslose stehen Schlange beim Stempelamt

**und**

Arbeitslose werden rücksichtslos exmittiert.

# Rund Elend



Arbeitslose vor dem Neuköllner Arbeitsamt.



Grünig spricht auf der Tagung des Vereins der ausländischen Presse kurz vor seinem Sturz: „Das fundamentale Problem, das uns Tag und Nacht beschäftigt, ist das Problem der Arbeitslosen.“



Schiffahrt und Handel liegen brach.

## Stürzt das System der Notverordnungen



Sie suchen Arbeit.

# Neue Männer an's Ruder! Wählt N.S.D.A.P.-Liste 2



General Epp, der Befreier Münchens



Dr. Goebbels, der Eroberer Berlins



Gregor Strasser, der verdiente Vorläufer des Nationalsozialismus



Baldur von Schirach, der Reichsführer der nationalsozialistischen Jugend

# Der Nationalsozialismus bringt:





Hitler auf seinem Deutschlandflug bei der Zwischenlandung in Danzig

# Deutschland erwacht!

In allen Ecken der deutschen Nation ruft  
Adolf Hitler das erwachende Volk zum  
Befreiungskampfe auf.



Hitler beim Verlassen  
einer neuerrichteten  
nationalsozialist.  
Geschäftsstelle.



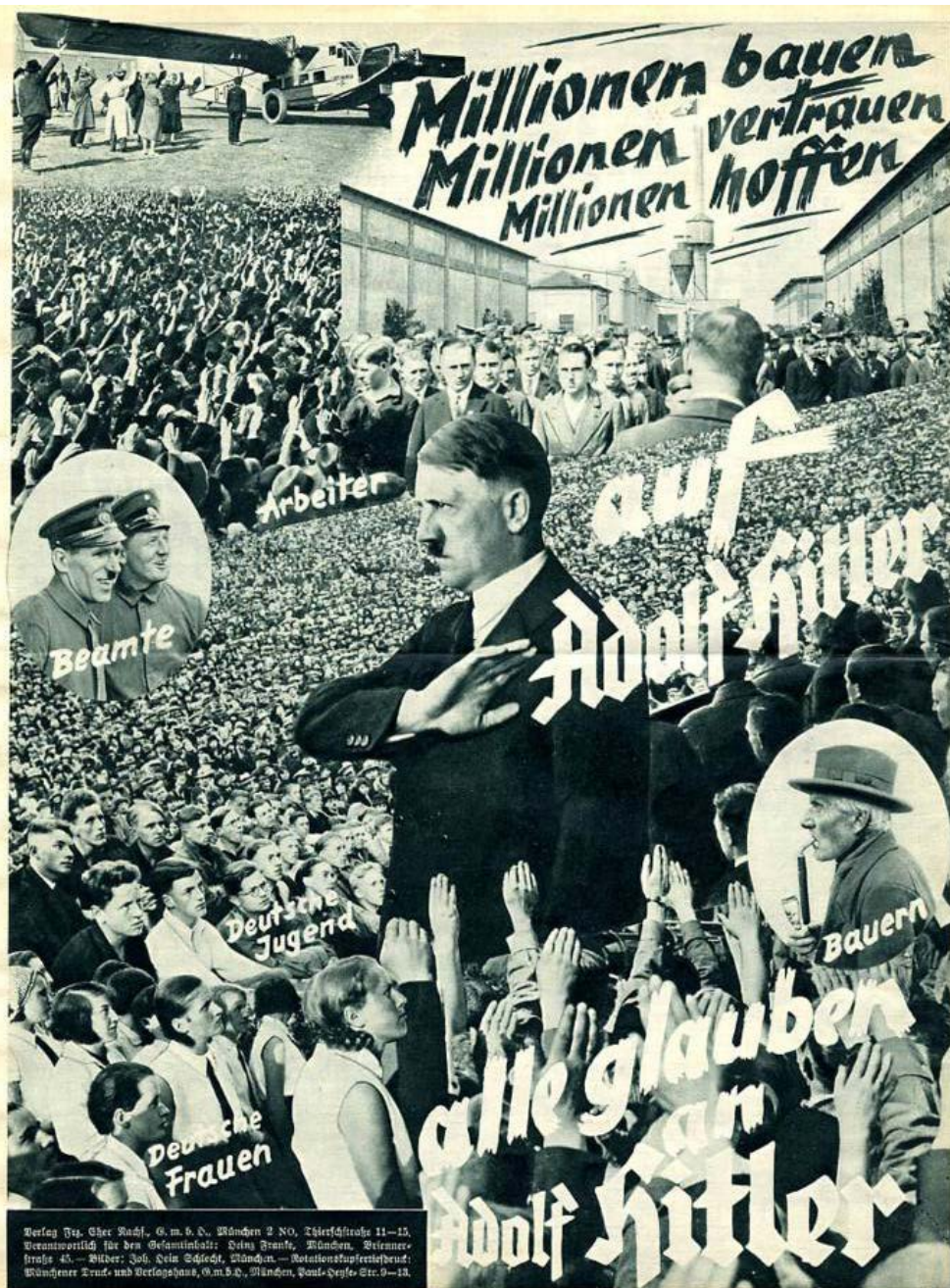
Oben:  
Hitler schreitet die  
Front der S.A. ab.



Nebenstehend:  
Die Jugend begrüßt  
den Führer des  
kommenden  
Deutschlands.



Unten:  
Hitler spricht mit  
mecklenburgischen  
Landarbeitern.



**Background:** The Nazis creatively adopted technology to political campaigning even before their takeover of power in 1933. During the presidential election in April 1932, the party organized mass rallies throughout Germany. Hitler spoke at as many as five cities on the same day, flying from one to the next. This book, published shortly afterwards, gave an account of the aerial tour, with numerous photographs. I provide five of them here, including three wide-angle shots of mass rallies. Clicking on the pictures will lead to a larger image.

**The source:** Heinrich Hoffmann and Josef Berchtold, *Hitler über Deutschland* (Munich: Frz. Eher Nachf., 1932).

## Hitler Over Germany



The book's cover



The top picture shows a rally in Berlin with 200,000 in attendance.

The bottom picture shows “more than 100,000” people in Chemnitz.

The top photograph is of a night rally in Görlitz with “over 100,000” people.

The bottom photo claims 120,000 in Atona, outside Hamburg.





The top photograph claims 30,000 attendees in Stuttgart.

The bottom photo has 30,000 in Bad Kreuznach.

This is a scene on the plane on Hitler's 43rd birthday, 20 April 1932.

This two-page spread shows scenes of Hitler's tour.

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HITLER

über  
Deutschland





200000, ein schier unübersehbares Menschenmeer im Berliner Lustgarten





Wieder über 100000 Schlesier in Görlitz



120000 Menschen in Altona



30000 Württemberger in der Stuttgarter Festhalle

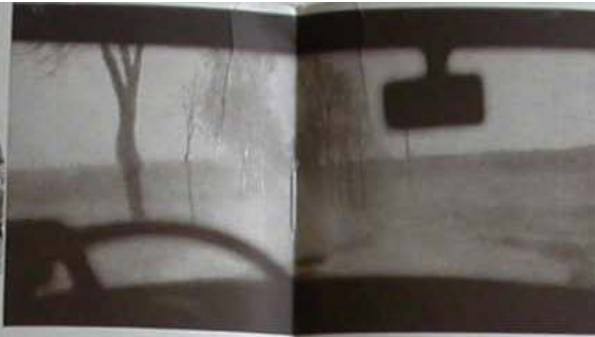


30000 Rheinländer in Bad Kreuznach





Triumphzüge und  
Lanzenreitenden grüßen  
in jedem Dorf den Führer.



Im 100-Kilometer-Tempo auf den Landstraßen in den Masuren



In Erwartung des Führers  
stehen Tausende an den  
Dorfeingängen



Auf  
dem Golden-  
friedhof in  
Sachsenstein



Von Königsberg durch die Masuren, ein einziger Triumphzug  
Unten: Auf dem Machtflug von Weidenburg



Gespräch  
mit dem  
H.A.-Führer  
Ehrenkreuz  
Littmann



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**Background:** By 1932, the Nazi Party's regional units (*Gaue*) generally published their own newspapers. I here translate the articles on the first page of an October 1932 issue of *Rote Erde* (Red Earth), the Nazi newspaper published in Bochum. The articles give interesting examples of Nazi propaganda for the period shortly before Hitler took power. I also translate several interior articles that present Nazis as innocent victims of the Marxists. This issue appeared ten days before the 6 November 1932 Reichstag elections, at which the Nazis lost some votes. This issue was kindly given to me by Neil Hever.

**The source:** *Rote Erde*, issue of 27 October 1932.

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Nr. 244 Volume 2 — Thursday, 27 October 1932

## Rote Erde

Vote for List 1

*Bochumer Nationalzeitung — Beobachter für Hagen und das Sauerland — Dortmunder Nationalanzeiger*

Publisher: Josef Wagner, M.d.R [Member of the German Reichstag]

Official daily newspaper of *Gau* Westfalen-Süd of the NSDAP

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**Hitler speaks** on Sunday, 30 October, at 4 p.m., together with *Gauleiter* Jos. Wagner, Bochum, in the Wesfalahalle, Dortmund. Tickets available from the *Gauleitung* Westfalen-Süd, Bochum, Kanalstr. 40. Telephone: 63 402.

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## Jakob Goldschmidt II

**Banker Hirschland-Essen, Papen's Party Whip in the Industrial Region**

**How Hirschland Pulls the Strings of Papen's Propaganda**

**Coal Syndicate and Gelsenkirchen Mine**

(From our Essen office). Essen. 27 October. Although the leading men of the chambers of commerce in the Rhine-Ruhr area present themselves as "nationally" minded, nearly all have openly supported Papen's [Papen was the current chancellor] anti-social policies. The Essen Chamber of Industry and Commerce supported the Papen regime at a large general meeting. They did have a few suggestions, but stressed that they were in no way a criticism of Papen's great accomplishments.

The Essen Chamber of Commerce has never been willing to criticize any government. One example suffices: During the Reichstag debate on the Dawes Plan [an international agreement on German World War I reparations], this group sent a telegram to the government that stated: "We do not only support the Dawes Plan, we demand the



**Dawes Plan.**” The chamber was in a frenzy about the Dawes Plan, and supported it throughout the district.

It really should have been a bit more careful, for the main proponent of the chamber’s Dawes Plan frenzy was

### **the Georg Hirschland Bank**

(owner: Simon Hirschfeld). It has a branch in New York, and all the banks were in a frenzy about the Dawes Plan **because it involved a loan of 400 million marks, from which both German and American banks earned money.** Hirschland is a Jew, a notary, one who aspires to the upper class, and the little Joseph Goldschmidt of the west. Goldschmidt drew as many high officials and politicians as he could into his net by loaning them money for speculative purposes. The result was that when his empire collapsed, the politicians saw to it that the uncovered (i.e., vanished) assets were guaranteed by the Reich, which meant the taxpayers paid for this rotten speculation.

Hirschland, too, understood how to secure important people as customers. For example, he made an enormous loan to a director of the Coal Syndicate. As the shares sank, his debts grew. Three months ago, he had to give up all his cash, his house, his car, his horses, in short all he had, worth about a million marks. He is still deeply in debt to Hirschland, and half of his salary will go directly to Hirschland for many years.

According to the press in Essen, J., the first director of the coal syndicate, is also indebted to Hirschland as the result of speculation. It is therefore no surprise that the coal syndicate does a large percentage of its business with Hirschland, which the other banks are complaining about.

**Hirschland, however, is the chief of Papen’s propaganda in Essen, particularly in the chamber of commerce. He is supported by numerous other Jews and half Jews: Cosmann, Simon-Dölken, Freudenberg, etc.**

Unfortunately, no one knows how many other members of the chamber of commerce are secretly in Hirschland’s debt. One does know that the banks almost forced leading corporate directors to engage in speculation. Many made heavy investments in their own firms to increase their control, and thus were drawn into the financial collapse. The deceased general director Winkhaus (of Hoesch, Neuessen) lost almost his whole fortune after he borrowed money to purchase shares in Hoesch, although it is not clear if he borrowed the money from Hirschland. In any event, the curse of the stock market is once again proven.

**The chairman of the Essen Chamber of Commerce, Tenglemann,** however, is general director of the Gelsenkirchen Mine, the majority ownership of which passed from Flick to the Reich. The Reich is already sending a commissioner (from Flortow) to Essen to examine the salaries of high officials from Gelsenberg, **Tengelmann and all the other directors are fully dependent on the Papen government. It is therefore no surprise that the Essen chamber of commerce, under Tenglemann’s lead, praises Herr von Papen. But that means nothing to the people.**

\*\*

**The German people can see from this, and many more, examples how Jewish-capitalistic channels make public relations for Herr von Papen’s government. On 6 November, the working people of the Ruhr will see to it that people like Hirschland and Goldschmidt will not only be made incapable of further harm to the productive German economy, but that they also will be finished once and for all.**

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### **The End is at Hand**

## **Hindenburg Greatly Disappointed!**

**The Black and Red Cabinet Meets — Herr von Papen Goes Hunting**

**Brotherhood between the Ruling Class and the SPD?**

(Wire dispatch from our Berlin office) **[The situation discussed in this article was rather complicated. Hindenburg, as president, had dissolved the socialist-led government of Prussia in July 1932, appointing Chancellor von Papen Reich Commissioner for Prussia. This was brought before the German supreme court in Leipzig, which basically affirmed the “Prussian coup.”]**

Berlin, 27 October. The excitement over the Leipzig decision has not subsided. **One can even say that it will intensify.**

Each of the two parties declared itself the winner, following the lovely motto “Sometimes he’s ahead, sometimes I’m behind.” That is the most interesting aspect of the Leipzig decision. The old black & red Prussian government lost, as did the Papen-Bracht government.

Both sides seem to be agreed that they do not want to fight about it. If appearances do not deceive, things will continue as they have been going. **The von Papen-Bracht government’s move to the left can become public.** The black and red cabinet met yesterday in the Prussian welfare ministry. **At the same time, the Reich Chancellor and Reich Commissioner was trying to shoot a buck on the property of his wife’s relatives near Bitterfeld.** One has to admire Herr von Papen’s calmness. His friends do not share it.

It is rather surprising when a newspaper like Ullstein’s *B.Z. am Mittag* writes: **“The situation the von Papen government finds itself in is more difficult than ever, which gives the elections of 6 November greater importance than one first thought.”**

The paper further confirms our view that the von Papen-Bracht system and the Braun-Severing system **[the deposed leaders of Prussia]** are reaching an understanding. It writes: “Neither side can always give a cold shoulder to the other. Both sides will have to respect the decision of the high court and come to terms. As difficult as that will be, working against and at cross purposes to each other would be even worse...”

One has the impression that, all coolness aside, the von Papen camp does not want to deny that those in the “commissioner’s camp” are being very cautious about giving up anything by taking the first step toward agreement. One is apparently afraid that an agreement could cost one too much power.”

Since the Ullstein paper has relatively good connections with both the “old” and the “new” systems, this comment is most valuable.

One must ask, however, if these plans have any chance of success.

Neither of the battling parties has any claim to power any longer. Both have no support with the people, both are building governments in the air.

**The only movement that has the right to leadership in the Reich as well as in Prussia is the one that has the support of the broadest range of the German people: Adolf Hitler’s National Socialism.**

The battle can become a farce if the Prussian parliament does form a government. Both groups will have to vanish, returning to the coffin from which they rose, without any mandate from the people.

And this is true not only of the potential display of brotherhood, but also for Reich President von Hindenburg.

**Even at the risk of an official denial — denials do not frighten us any longer — that the Leipzig decision has thrown the Reich President into the deepest distress. This distress will be directed entirely against the man who told the Reich President that the court in Leipzig would decide entirely in von Papen’s favor. Once before, Hindenburg had the feeling that he had not been presented with things as they actually were. He changed chancellors as a result. Given what we hear from the presidential palace, this time his feeling of having been misled is a few degrees higher than it was then!**

The ghosts of the past may be trying to pretend that they are still alive, but the Nornes [the Nordic goddess of fate] is ready to cut the thread of their lives. What belongs to the past should not be exhumed from the grave.

Victory belongs to life and the future!

---

## Hitler — Papen — Hugenberg!

Thoughts on the Hitler Meeting in Dortmund on 30 October 1932

by Jos. Wagner, Member of the Reichstag

Even today, one can, without exaggerating, assert that the question of Hitler and his so-called opponents Papen-Hugenberg has already been decided in the Führer's favor.

Initially, clever press management and insidious agitation on the part of the German National Party members won public sentiment to the cause of Herr von Papen and Hugenberg, but it has already suffered frightfully along the entire line. Even those circles close to the Reich chancellor have found the hair in the soup, and have more or less openly commented that the current chancellor is in a very shaky position. Attentive observers and students of such matters note that things are following the usual course. Use up, then throw away what has proved not to be useful; that is a political principle that always determines "personnel policies"!

Papen's weakening naturally carries with it the frustration of Hugenberg's hopes and plans, since he and his party had totally relied on von Papen. There is already a "twilight of the gods" atmosphere around him and his camp.

How far the forces around von Papen and Hugenberg have fallen in so short a time! They make laughable attempts to attack the NSDAP by talking about someone who has left, or even been thrown out of, the party, someone who with great intellectual exertions of some kind has "left" the party, presenting the public with, he thinks, "an earthshaking political event." After one has studied the reasons given, one can only smile in pity, since they display a total lack of logical and intellectual judgment.

What can one say when people overcome by rage and depravity send anonymous letters to National Socialist leaders that insult them and their movement, then close with praise for von Papen and the "great" Hugenberg. These documents are all proof of the other side's inferiority complex, its feeling of inferiority over against the NSDAP. They make one proud of the greatness of the movement that one is fighting for.

In the face of all the noise surrounding von Papen and Hugenberg, how powerful is the self-assurance and clarity of Adolf Hitler! Neither he nor his associates think, even for a moment, of using the methods so beloved by the other side. Our language is clear and without pity, but factual. Hitler's thoughts display the deepest conviction and certainty about how things really are, with a unique idealistic force. Over all that towers his deep connection to everything that concerns our people.

He recently published an "open letter" in the *Völkischer Beobachter*. [The Nazi Party's daily newspaper]. His critical, and positive, comments about Herr von Papen and his government's activity show such deeply powerful statesmanship and economic understanding that one can, without exaggeration, consider him one of the most powerful minds in the field of politics.

One has to consider it an insolent overestimation of one's own abilities when a member of the ruling club, Walther Schotte, makes the miserable claim in his pamphlet "Papen, Schleicher, Gayl" that: "the leadership of the NSDAP is not yet ready to assume power." It may be that we are not such experts in intrigue as some members of the ruling club; however, Hitler and his staff are far superior in statesmanship to these "fine gentlemen."

In every regard, Hitler shows that he is a leader in the truest sense of the word. In the hardest battle, he bears the

greatest load on his shoulders. In every situation, he displays the greatness of an unshakable will and devotion to an idea, cause, and people. The words of the great Prussian king apply to him: "I am the first servant of my people." Hitler's leadership is displayed in his powerful and creative intellect, bound with a preference for action in every areas.

On 30 October, this man will speak to many thousands in Westphalia. And in this land of labor and earnestness, there is tremendous understanding of the greatness of this man. Love and admiration come only rarely to expression from the children of this red earth. But one thing is clear:

This coming Sunday, Hitler will be greeted with unprecedented jubilation, for his steadfastness, his strength of character, his striving forward, attracts Westphalians. This land of labor and of deep souls stands firmly and loyally to the Führer of Germany's future!

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## Bestial Marxist Murder of a 12-Year-Old Hitler Youth

### Defilement of the graves of murdered S.A. Men

Vienna, 26 October. (Our own correspondent) The inhuman, bestial Marxist wave of murder rages through the land. No day passes without new reports of murderous attacks on S.A. and S.S. men, or on Hitler Youth members, by **murdering bandits of the "Iron Front" or by Moscow's hirelings**. At any time of the day or night, bloodthirsty beasts in human form cold-bloodedly murder decent people who do not want to hear about Marxist insanity.

In recent days, the terroristic and bloody acts of the red murders have increased enormously. Our fallen S.A. comrades in Vienna are hardly buried before there are **new reports of gruesome deeds by Vienna's Marxists**. **On Sunday, the twelve-year-old Hitler Youth boy Josef Grün attempted to visit the graves of fallen S.A. men at the Ottakringer Cemetery. He was attacked by a man with an "Iron Front" badge and received severe internal injuries, from which he later died in the hospital.**

The hatred that the Jewish bodyguards in Austria, the Schutzbund, have for German workers in the NSDAP is shown by the fact that they have repeatedly desecrated the graves of our murdered comrades. Wreaths have been stolen and the banners on them were dirtied with the Sklarek arrows of the "Iron Front." **[The Sklarek brothers were Jews involved in a major German financial scandal. Three arrows were the symbol of the Iron Front.]**

The German population in Vienna is outraged by the most recent bloody deed and by the moral depravity of Austrian Marxists.

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## Red Bandits Attack Hitler Girls

Berlin, 27 October. (Our own wire service) Yesterday, a horde of communist bandits bestially attacked two Hitler girls. The red scoundrels approached the girls in a crude manner. When the girls rejected their obscene advances, they were brutally attacked. **One girl was thrown to the ground and injured so seriously that she lost consciousness and had to be taken to the hospital.**

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[Go to](#) the pre-1933 Page.

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**Background:** This is a two-sided Nazi election flyer from 1932, directed to communists. It was for the Prussian state elections of that year, and is a strong appeal for communists to leave their party and join Hitler. "List 8" refers to the Nazi position on the ballot. There were as many as 30 parties listed on the ballot. Each had a list number.

# Communists!

We are hungry and on the dole, we lack food and jobs. We have bitter wives at home, and children whose every wish we must deny, or discontented parents, brothers and sisters.

It has been this way for months, years; how long can it go! One week follows another. Everything stays the same, conditions get worse, never better.

Things are the same for us as they are for you.

Does it have to stay that way? **No!**

It really is not necessary. A condition that people have caused can be changed by them too.

You trust Russia. You have been fighting for your idea for years. What has happened? You have 3/4 of a million fewer votes than in September 1930. Despite the need, despite the misery! Do you really believe that your cause can lead us to better times, that your wavering, aimless leadership that has been wrong so often in the past can actually win? Do you believe that Russia will help?

Would it not be better to help ourselves! For the German proletariat to help itself?

We Nazis help each other.

He who has something to eat shares it with him who has nothing. He who has a spare bed gives it to him who has none. That is why we have become so strong. The election shows what we can do. Everyone helps! Everyone sacrifices! The unemployed give up their wedding rings. Everyone gives, even if it is but a penny. Many small gifts become a large one. Ten million 10 pfennig coins are a million marks. We don't need any capitalists, the lie



that you are always told. We do it ourselves, and are proud of it.

We all help and sacrifice because we believe in our idea and our Führer.

Without our party program, we would not have become so large and strong. We believe in our program because it says that our leaders have pledged to carry it out, even if it requires the sacrifice of their own lives.

Adolf Hitler wrote the program and we know that he will hold to it.

Help build the people's state! It doesn't matter where you came from, we are interested only in what you can do, and in your character.

We want to fight. We oppose current conditions!

We want to escape this misery!

That is why we fight today's system!

That is why we want to rule Prussia!

Help us! We can do it!

Enough! Things have to change!



# Vote

## National Socialist

### (The Hitler Movement)

#### List 8!

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**Background:** This is the earliest general guide to Nazi propaganda that I know of. According to an introductory note: “This small brochure is intended to briefly outline the work of the Propaganda Department, to explain propaganda, and provide several important guidelines for making propaganda.” At the time it was produced, Gregor Strasser and Heinrich Himmler were in charge of party propaganda. The brochure is also interesting in that it provides a full list of Nazi speakers of the day, though I have not included that listing. This was published somewhere between late November 1926 and February 1927. The Nazi propaganda organization developed rapidly after 1927. See, for example, a more detailed 1930 pamphlet by G. Stark titled [Modern Political Propaganda](#), which takes some of its material directly from this brochure.

**The source:** Propaganda Abteilung, *Propaganda* (Munich: Reichs-Parteileitung der N.S.D.A.P., 1927).

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## Propaganda

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## **Guidelines for Propaganda**

To introduce propaganda, we begin with the most important passages from our Führer Adolf Hitler's book *Mein Kampf*. In Chapter 6 titled "War Propaganda," he writes:

"Propaganda is a means and must be evaluated as such, from the standpoint of the goal."

"It has always to speak only to the masses."

"The task of propaganda lies not in the scientific training of the individual, but rather in drawing the attention of the masses to certain facts, events, necessities, etc...."

"It is wrong to want to give propaganda the multi-sidedness of scientific instruction."

"...Effective propaganda must limit its points of a few and these points must be repeated until even the

last member of the audience understands what is meant by them.”

“It must limit itself to a few themes and repeat them incessantly.”

“Each change must never affect the content of propaganda, but rather must always draw the same conclusions.”

The Führer wrote these words as a judgment about war propaganda, and they are even more true today than they were then. The only difference today for us National Socialists is that we are not propagandizing lies and untruths as England did during the War, but rather we are preaching freedom and prosperity, socialism and patriotism to our confused people.

Our struggle and our propaganda have one supreme principle: **to take truth and only truth as the foundation of our propaganda.**

### **The Propaganda Committee**

Paragraph 7 of the NSDAP Party Statute states: “To enable the development of the organization, besides the board elected by the membership meeting, the following committees with particular tasks are established:

a) The Propaganda Committee, with a chairman and 8 members. Its goal is to deal with questions relating to propaganda.

The chairman will be appointed by the head of the organization.

The chairman determines the committee’s members in consultation with the party leadership.

The current members of the committee are:

Chair: Gregor Strasser, Member of the Reichstag, pharmacist, Landshut, Zweibrückenstr. 684

Member and Vice Chairman: Heinrich Himmler, degree in agriculture, Munich, Glückstr. 19/2 r.

The office of the committee is: NSDAP, Schellingstr. 50, Telephone 29 0 31.

All payments should be directed to the party’s account: NSDAP, Munich, 23 3 19.

Only personal correspondence should be sent to the home addresses of the chairman and vice chairman. Otherwise, mail should go to the main address.

### Types of Propaganda

#### **A. Speeches, Meetings and Discussion Evenings**

Our Führer Adolf Hitler wrote in Part I of his book *Mein Kampf*:

“But the force that set the great historical avalanches of religious and political change in motion was from the beginning the magic force of the spoken word alone.”

“The course of a people’s history can be changed only by a storm of glowing passion, but only he can awaken passion who carries it within himself.”

“It alone gives the words to him whom it has chosen, the hammer blows that open the door to the hearts

of a people.”

“Each movement with great goals must anxiously be on guard to ensure that it does not lose touch with the broad masses of the people.”

These words remind us never to forget that we are a financially weak party, and the speech for this reason alone is the cheapest and therefore the best propaganda.

1. **The speaker** is the public representative of the party and the proclaimer of a new worldview. He must therefore be knowledgeable and morally upright, having a good reputation as a soldier and also as a man. Each *Gau* leader must therefore know the speakers of his region and know if the speaker fulfills all the necessary qualifications.

2. According to Directive 5 of the Propaganda Department, the individual *Gaue* have reported the following speakers:

**[The brochure lists a total of 209 speakers, divided by *Gau*, with their occupations and addresses. 59 of them are authorized to speak anywhere in the country, the rest are limited to their *Gau*. The topic specialties of 21 of these speakers are also given. It lists an additional speaker, a Russian, who is an expert on Freemasonry and Bolshevism. This list is a valuable guide to early party leaders, but will not likely interest most readers of this page, so I won't include the names.]**

#### d) Approval of New Speakers

The speakers listed above are the official speakers of the party. The speaker list was compiled on the basis of information supplied by the *Gaue*.

From now on, party comrades wishing to be recognized as official speakers of the party must submit the following papers to their *Gau*, which will pass them on to the party headquarters:

Attestation by the *Gauleiter* of their rhetorical ability

Certificate of good character

A precise biography with as much supporting material as possible

Only upon receipt of these documents, which should be passed on by the relevant *Gau*, will the Propaganda Department send written appointment as an “official speaker.” As of today, this approval can come from no other party office.

A. I. 3. The speaker is no necessary evil that the local group has to pay, but rather the propagandist of the idea. He sacrifices his time, strength, health and material possessions for the party. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to provide an honorarium and to cover his expenses. Recognition of his abilities and demonstrated skill encourages the speaker.

4. On the other hand, it is a matter of honor for the speaker to hold to his schedule as much as is humanly possible. Meetings are to be conducted regardless of the attendance. This is a matter of the prestige of the party.

The speaker should always remember that although speaking at a discussion evening may seem to bring less prestige, it often is a greater success for the movement than a public meeting.

A. II. 1. The public political meeting is the place where an authoritative speaker presents the goals of the movement and the position of our worldview on domestic and international events and relates it to the fundamental spiritual thinking of every group of our people. The public meeting is therefore a matter of the prestige and growing strength of the movement. The manner of its preparation is the test of the local group. The proper term for the invitation is: “public people’s meeting” (*öffentliche Volksversammlung*). The term “mass meeting” should be used only when one

really expects a mass turnout.

2. The **theme of the public meeting** should always be chosen to draw people to the meeting, particularly the group one is appealing to. We distinguish between worldview and current events themes. An example of presenting worldview political themes is the brochure with poster texts published by Dr. Goebbels, which can be ordered from the business office of the *Nationalsozialistische Briefe*, Elberfeld, Oststr. 69.

The other type of meeting theme uses sensational events of the day, Jewish or Marxist scandals, and foreign events, which can be stated in few words — usually 3 or 4 words in large type. These will arouse the curiosity of the masses, or their wrath about international events. They will attend hoping to hear something sensational or to hear something to the advantage of their group or class.

One may not choose only worldview political themes or current events themes, else one will lose contact with the masses, or attract only the mere masses, not valuable fighters. The goal is to have the public eagerly awaiting each meeting, as was true for a period in Munich during the years 1922-1923.

### 3. **Announcing a Meeting:**

a) Use clever, concise, large and striking **posters**. In most areas they should regularly use the same colors. In so far as the police allow, the preferred color is the familiar red of the National Socialist posters in Munich. Despite the high cost, effective public posters are by the best and most effective method of announcing a meeting, and therefore the cheapest as well. For examples of poster texts see the appendix to Book I of *Mein Kampf*.

In provinces and areas where posters with large texts are banned, it will be helpful to secure the picture posters put out by the Propaganda Department, on which locally relevant texts can be pasted. All posters should include propaganda for the *Völkischer Beobachter* [**the party daily newspaper**] (insofar as this is allowed by the police).

In smaller areas, posters that can be filled out are available from the Propaganda Department.

Meeting promotion is assisted by:

b) **the leaflet**, which announces the meeting and provides short, vivid and striking text that will attract the desired opponents to the meeting.

Such leaflets can also be pasted up around the area. It is also good to print meeting notices on the backs of official party leaflets (which, with the exception of Nrs. 2 and 9, always leave room on the back side for a **meeting notice** applied with a rubber stamp in red ink).

The Propaganda Department also has illustrated leaflets available with brief texts and a call to join the party. These can be distributed or pasted up, but can also be used as an invitation to a meeting, since they have space on the back to ass the place, time and speaker.

c) Invitations by **advertisements** in the bourgeois press are usually very expensive and directly support our opponents. They should only be used where it is a matter of local custom, the omission of which could harm the meeting. In that case, a condition must be the inclusion of a report provided by the local group leadership in the issue containing the advertisement.

d) The **announcement** of the meeting — as is the case with all other functions of the local group — should be carried in the central organ of the movement, the *Völkischer Beobachter* as well as in the recognized regional party papers, as this enables a complete picture of the movement's work, which is also good for the public.

All such advertisements and announcements should be **sent to the Propaganda Department**, not directly to the *Völkischer Beobachter*.

e) A very effective and cheap form of advertising is to **carry posters** through the streets of the city on the day of a

meeting. This requires police approval. The local group leader determines whether this is advisable under the given conditions. This is influenced by the political stance of the population and the strength of the opponents, but not by “bourgeois ideas of beauty.”

f) For financial and propaganda reasons, **selling tickets in advance** is strongly recommended. This can be done by individual party members or in several shops, in which case the posters must announce this.

4. The following principles should be followed when **holding meetings**.

a) Before the meeting, the speaker should be informed of the local political situation.

b) The meeting chair, with a witness, should assume control from the host.

c) Meeting protection should be assured either by a sufficient number of local or neighboring S.A. men, or by request to the police. The latter is particularly important in the case of meetings that may turn violent, for the riot damage act requires it. The state's responsibilities begin only when damages exceed 400 marks.

d) It has proven advantageous in certain meetings and in certain places to have a part of the S.A. in civilian dress scattered throughout the room in order to deal with expected troublemakers.

e) The chairman conducts the meeting. His introduction and conclusion should be at most 3-5 minutes.

f) Attendance by party members is both expected and tactically necessary, given the opponents. No party member should want to demonstrate, either by not appearing at all or by being inattentive, that he already knows everything that the speaker has to say.

g) Only **one speaker** from each party is permitted during the discussion period. Announce at the start that a speaker cannot give his speaking time to someone else. It is better in advance to give a speaker from another party a longer speaking time, if that is required by the local situation.

h) At the start of each discussion speech at difficult meetings, it is good to announce the time to the audience to keep the discussion speaker and his supporters from claiming that he has only spoken for 5 or 10 minutes.

i) Make propaganda during the meeting for the central organ of the movement, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, either through brief words from the chairman or before the meeting and during the breaks with brochures.

k) Each meeting is to be closed by the chairman with a “Heil” to National Socialism and our Führer Adolf Hitler.

l) Singing a song at the conclusion of a meeting makes sense only if this can be done well. The meeting chairman should give directions. It is to be sung standing up, not by singing one stanza as people are leaving. Thin and scattered voices by several party members make a bad impression, particularly when the opponent begins to sing his battle song.

5. **Reports.** A report for each meeting and each larger discussion evening is required. All reports should contain the unvarnished truth, and should be sent to the Propaganda Department, which will send abbreviated and corrected copy to the *Völkischer Beobachter*. A meeting report should in general include no more than six lines, including the theme, attendance, speaker, success and impact of the meeting. Only when the speaker has treated an important theme in a fresh way is it necessary to summarize briefly his speech.

The Propaganda Department has to have the right to condense reports, lest the *Völkischer Beobachter* consist only of meeting reports that largely say the same thing. On the other hand, the goal of the meeting report section of the

*Völkischer Beobachter* is to report the work of the movement throughout Germany, as well as the efforts of the local group and the efforts of the speaker. We suggest therefore that speakers make a monthly or quarterly report along these lines: "Party comrade ... spoke in these meetings, which were well, poorly, etc., attended. The Propaganda Department will include this information in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, too, since good work deserves to be recognized.

A.III.1. In public people's meeting, the movement speaks authoritatively to the public. The **discussion evening**, on the other hand, serves to deepen the understanding of our idea and educate party members. It also allows for an exchange of views with racial comrades who are friendly toward the movement, or at least honestly uncertain. Through argument and counter-argument, they may be turned into supporters. Without doubt, the movement has deepened its cohesion through discussion evenings and won some of its best fighters. One discussion evening should be held every month. If no public meeting is held in a month, it should be replaced by a second (or even if possible a third) discussion evening.

A discussion evening is not a membership meeting, open only to a certain audience, but rather a **public** gathering to which party members may bring guests or truth-seeking racial comrades.

Securing a speaker is not as great a problem as in a public people's meeting, Party members not rhetorically suited for a larger public meeting can do very well in a discussion evening as long as they possess a firm grasp of the aims of the movement.

They will become increasingly better speakers, and the give-and-take with party members will help them become able to serve as discussion speakers at the meetings of other parties. Working out plans for discussion evenings in individual local groups, selecting appropriate and available speakers and assigning suitable party members with particular themes will always be one of the most important and fruitful tasks of the *Gau* leader, his subordinate, or the district leader.

2. The political, civic, and cultural knowledge, as well as everything that has to do with the National Socialist worldview, covers an enormous amount of ground. We list here several resources for discussion evenings (the items in quotation marks are foundational for the area).

a) **The movement as Worldview: Development, Growth, Structure, and Goals:**

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, volumes I and II  
"Hitler's Speeches"  
Alfred Rosenberg, *Völkisch Thinking about the State*  
Rudolf Jung, *National Socialism*  
The Hitler Trial

b) **The 25 Theses [the official party platform]**

Alfred Rosenberg, *The Nature, Principles, and Goals of the NSDAP*  
Dr. Josef Göbbels, *The Little ABC of National Socialism*  
*The Nazi-Sozi*

c) **Foreign Policy**

Adolf Hitler, *The Question of South Tyrolia*  
*Mein Kampf*, volumes I and II  
For teaching, Hans Grimm, *People without Space*, novel, 2 volumes

d) **Economic Policy**

Financial Policy  
Gottfried Feder, *The German State and its National and Social Foundations*

*Manifesto on Breaking the Slavery of Interest  
The Construction and Economic Bank*

For teaching

Henry Ford, *My Life and Work*

*My Life and Work* (popular edition)  
*A Great Today, a Greater Tomorrow*

Agricultural Issues

Dr. Rosikat, *The Destruction of Farmers*  
*World Struggle* Nr. 26

**e) Cultural Policy**

Wolf, *Applied Cultural History*  
Georg Schott, *Cultural Tasks of the 20th Century*  
Langbehn, *Rembrandt as a Teacher*  
Adolf Bartels, *History of German Literature*, 2 volumes

*Jewish Origin and the Study of Literature*

Paul de Lagarde, *Writings for the German People*, 2 volumes  
Dr. Hans Günter, *Knight, Death, and the Devil*  
Nüse, *German Law*

**f) German History**

Walter Classen, *The Growth of the German People*, 3 volumes  
Einhard, *German History*  
Dr. Wolf, *Applied History*

*World History of the Lie*

**g) The Racial Question**

Dr. Hans Günther, *The Racial Study of the German People*

*Racial Portraits*  
*Brief Racial Study of Europe*  
*Nordic Thinking among the Germans*

St. Chamberlain, *Race and Personality*  
Herwig Hartner, *Eroticism and Race*  
Dr. Clauß, *Race and Soul*

**h) The Jewish Question**

Fritsch, *Handbook of the Jewish Question*

*The False God*

Warmund, *The Law of the Nomads*  
Alfred Rosenberg, *The World Struggle*, quarterly



*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and Jewish World Politics*  
*Immorality in the Talmud*  
*Zionism as the Enemy of the State*

Stauff v. d. March, *The Jews in the Judgment of the Ages*  
Dr. Aug. Rohling, *The Talmud Jew*  
Henry Ford, *The International Jew*, 2 volumes  
Wilh. Meister, *Jewry's Guilt*  
Artur Dinter, *Illumination from the Talmud*

**j) The Struggle against High Finance and the Dawes Plan**

Dr. Buchner, *World Struggle*, Nrs. 33 and 34  
Gregor Strasser, *World Struggle* Nr. 21  
Wilh. Reinhardt, *Expert Testimony*  
Dr. Buchner, *The Organization of Stock Exchange Pirates (World Struggle Nr. 35)*

**k) Marxism**

Alfred Rosenberg, *Stock Exchange and Marxism*  
  
*International High Finance as Lord of the Workers' Movement*  
  
"Stab in the Back Documents"  
Meyer Hermann, *The German Person*, volume II  
Dietrich Klagges, *What is Marx to Us Today?*

**l) Bolshevism**

Dietrich Eckart, *Bolshevism from its Origins to Lenin*  
Miloftonsky, *The Blood Thirst of Bolshevism*  
Alfred Rosenberg, *The Plague in Russia*  
Dr. Gregor, *A Sea of Blood*

**m) Freemasonry**

Dr. Wichtl, *World Freemasonry, World Revolution, World Republic*  
Alfred Rosenberg, *The Crimes of Freemasonry*  
Karl Heise, *Freemasonry and World War*, *World Struggle* Nr. 24, 30, 37

**n) Jehovah's Witnesses**

Fetz, *World Annihilation through Jehovah's Witnesses*

**o) Current Events**

Alfred Rosenberg, *The Center Party and the Bavarian People's Party*  
  
*Dr. Heim and the November Republic*

**p) Weimar Republic, the Treaty of Versailles, and the War Guilt Question**

Frenthogh-Loringhoven, *The Weimar Constitution*  
Verlag Reklam, *The Treaty of Versailles* (text)  
Wohrhardt, *The Real Guilty Parties*  
Demartial, *Mobilizing the Conscience*

#### q) **League of Nations**

Adolf Dresler, *The League of Nations and World Finance*

#### r) **Fascism**

Adolf Dresler, *Mussolini and Fascism*

Mannhardt, *Fascism*

For education:

Sarfatti, *Mussolini*

Mussolini, *Speeches*

All books listed here can be purchased from the Franz Eher Book Shop, Munich, Thierschsstr. 15, Postal Bank Account Munich, 11346,

It is also necessary for each local group leader to collect articles in our press and keep them in special folders so that he will have reliable, authoritative material to deal with all questions handled in discussion evenings and before the public.

We particularly recommend the series announced by Party Comrade Gottfried Feder in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Nr. 266 of 17 November 1926. As they appear, they will fill many gaps that exist today for discussion evenings,

And Adolf Hitler's office recommended the *Nationalsozialistische Briefe* of 11 December 1925, which provides current and principal treatment of issues. It is an important help in political work. It can be ordered from Elberfeld, Oststraße 69. It costs 1.50 marks quarterly.

Obviously, one should follow Adolf Hitler's order of 30 July 1926 and subscribe to the monthly *Weltkampf*, published by Alfred Rosenberg. The *Weltkampf* costs 2.40 marks a quarter and can best be ordered through the Verlag Franz Eher, Munich.

The Propaganda Department will periodically announce other recommended publications that can be used for education.

The Propaganda Department is preparing a collection of material for discussions at the meetings of our opponents. As soon as it is financially feasible, a periodical will be published to instruct lower level leaders about the political situation, the activities of our opponents, and other such things.

The educational activity presumes a local group library, the value of which cannot be stressed too highly. An important condition for the spread of our worldview to broader circles is the support of party comrades by purchasing and disseminating our publications.

#### A. IV. **Visiting Other Meetings**

The movement's development always follows this course:

1. The enemy ignores the newly founded local group.
2. Attempts to mock the local group, which has grown despite attempts to ignore it.
3. Once the local group has become strong, terror is used against it in meetings and on the street.
4. The enemy is afraid of the successful movement and boycotts its meetings.

In the last stage, it becomes necessary for us to attend the opponent's meetings and speak during the discussion period. The tactical principle is: "Never lose touch with the opponent." Here are some guidelines to follow:

1. The local group leader decides whether to participate in the discussion period of an opponent's meeting and chooses the discussion speaker. He must be supported by a corresponding number of party comrades. The

arbitrary selection of a well-meaning but unsuited party comrade as debate speaker is to be avoided under all circumstances. The disgrace of such a debate speaker will not fall on him, but on the movement.

2. It is advisable to talk personally with the opponent's meeting chairman in advance to agree on the speaking time. If that is refused, or if there is insufficient time, one must consider whether one can and will participate in the discussion, or whether it is better to leave the hall, loudly announcing the reason. One should recall that there is no point to filling the halls of our opponent when there will be no opportunity for discussion.
3. Experience shows that the usually too brief discussion period is used unfruitfully if it focuses on what the opponent's speaker said. The best use of the discussion is usually to make strong attacks against the speaker's party and then clearly express our worldview and political line.
4. In the case of very short discussion periods, it is best to ask the opponent very precise and painful questions, which are best written out in advance, and demand that the speaker answer them. If the speaker does not answer these questions, he must be forced to by heckling. This should be done even at the risk of "serious differences of opinion" **[i.e., physical violence]**.
5. Material for this type of discussion will be given in the Propaganda Department's planned brochure "Discussion Material" and the planned regular updates.

## B. Press

"He who complains about the national alienation of large parts of our people does not understand the situation as long as he fails to realize that it is no surprise in a time when the whole information system is nine-tenths controlled by Jews or their allies. Thousands and thousands of so-called "German" newspapers consciously and willingly contribute to the destruction of our national body. Only a few exert weak resistance, and hardly a one goes over to the attack.

The creation of a National Socialist press is our movement's most difficult task. It will determine in the future either our success of the final collapse of the German nation. Munich, 28 December 1925."

These words of the Führer show us the decisive significance that the printed word of the press has today for a political idea and worldview. Party comrades should always remember that our newspapers get no Jewish money, no Jewish advertising, and because of the fear and cowardliness of German businessmen, they also get few German advertisements. We are able to proclaim the truth only because our newspapers cannot be bought. But they will only be wasting their time if their work is not sacrificially supported by the promotional work of party comrades, particularly through subscriptions. Each major political party has its major newspaper. What *Vorwärts* is for the Socialists and *Germania* is for the Center Party, the *Völkischer Beobachter* is for the NSDAP, and in even greater measure. Its survival and growth is a matter of the prestige of the party.

The existing weekly newspapers, some of which have a particular theme and others of which are *Gau* newspapers, are only supplements to the leading daily newspaper. They are valuable and necessary for the movement. We append a list of the official NSDAP press. (The *Kurier for Lower Bavaria* is not included, since as the result of a change in ownership it is no longer an official party paper.)

*Völkischer Beobachter*, Central Organ, Munich, Thierschstraße 15  
*Illustrierter Beobachter*, Munich, Thierschstraße 15 **[an illustrated weekly]**

### Weekly Newspapers

*Deutscher Michael*, Augsburg  
*Die Flamme*, Bamberg  
*Berliner Arbeiterzeitung*  
*Der National Sozialist für Norddeutschland*  
*Der National Sozialist für Westdeutschland*  
*Der National Sozialist für Mitteldeutschland*  
*Der National Sozialist für Rhein und Ruhr*  
*Der National Sozialist für die Ostmark*

*Der National Sozialist für Sachsen* [This series published by Gregor Straßer]

*Der Streiter*, Forsheim

*Der Hakenkreuzler*, Oberzenn

*Der Niedersächsische Beobachter*, Hanover

*Westdeutscher Beobachter*, Cologne

*Der Eisenhammer*, Lambrecht

*Der Stürmer*, Nuremberg

*Südwestdeutscher Beobachter*, Tübingen

*Der Nationalsozialist*, Weimar

*Oesterreichsischer Nationalsozialist*, weekly, Vienna

Organized advertising for the *Völkischer Beobachter* and the rest of the party press is a prime task of the S.S. and the S.A. Each S.S. And S.A. member as well as every other diligent party comrade, should always be promoting the *Völkischer Beobachter* or some other National Socialist newspaper, and the greatest honor for successful promotion of the *Völkischer Beobachter* is to receive a picture of the Führer with his autograph.

## C. Leaflet Propaganda

I. To have effective **leaflet propaganda** for the whole Reich that reaches the masses it is necessary for it to be unified. This is according to the will of the Führer and his colleagues who are in closest contact with him. Were each *Gau* and local group to produce its own leaflets, propaganda would be dissipated and the unified strength of the movement, which above all should be expressed in its propaganda, would suffer. For this reason, and because it is cheaper to print leaflets in large numbers, local groups **may distribute only the official leaflets released by the Propaganda Department of the Reichsparteileitung.**

**II. 1. The first series of 10 leaflets** is being sent with this brochure. It can be ordered at any time from the Propaganda Department for 30 pfennig. Future leaflets will be announced by the Propaganda Department in the *Völkischer Beobachter* and will be released in series of 10.

The limitation to ten leaflets, covering the battle against capitalism, agricultural questions, pay issues, railroad issues, the *Zionist Protocols*, the party program and a speech by the Führer, is unfortunately necessary, since as is the case of most things in the world, it is a question of money.

2. **Leaflets needed in a particular area** should be sent in draft form to the Propaganda Department, and may be printed with its permission. Just as is the case with the official party leaflets, they should contain only the absolute truth.

3. The Propaganda Department requests good ideas for leaflets.

4. **Leaflets from the German Renewal Community of the Hammerverlag or those from other political organizations may no longer be used.**

## III. Distributing Leaflets

1. Leaflets cost money, which we do not have a lot of. Leaflets therefore may not be thrown away or carelessly distributed, but rather they are to be distributed where they will do some good. In the same way, old newspapers should not be thrown away, but rather reused as propaganda.

2. The **best methods of distribution**, depending on conditions, include:

- a) Distributing leaflets on streets and public squares to passersby;
- b) Delivering them to every house or apartment, and putting them in mailboxes;
- c) Distributing them at closing time at large factories or buildings;

d) Distributing them from vehicles during propaganda caravans or on streetcars;

e) Regularly sending a particular series of leaflets, brochures and newspapers to a **particular** group of people we are working on. Old newspapers and the *Illustrierter Beobachter* are suitable here as well. It is worth the 3 pfennig in postage: one is more likely to read what he gets in the mail than what he is handed. That which comes in the mail is likely to be read, if only to see who is sending it. The next step is to invite the person to a discussion evening.

f) It is also good to leave leaflets, brochures and newspapers in railway cars, streetcars, restaurants and businesses where one shops, as well as in the offices of doctors and dentists and in public baths.

All party comrades whose job allows them the opportunity to meet many people every day should display newspapers, the *Illustrierter Beobachter*, leaflets and brochures in their shops and waiting rooms, and should hang pictures of Hitler or the like.

The local group leader should constantly remind all party comrades to ask for the “Völkischer Beobachter,” the *Illustrierter Beobachter*, and other party papers in all the restaurants, train stations and newspaper sellers they visit.

g) Posting leaflets or putting them in display cases is another method of leaflet propaganda.

h) Local groups and propaganda wardens are encouraged to set up a **bulletin board or display case** (or several in larger cities), in which each day the *Völkischer Beobachter* can be posted, as well as new leaflets and brochures or other National Socialist newspapers, postcards, the *Illustrierter Beobachter*, photographs of marches of the Storm Troopers, etc., which will have propaganda value.

## D. Other Propaganda Methods

**I. Slides and Film:** To ignore the appeal of colorful pictures, sensations and the movies to people would be to neglect a very important way of propagandizing our movement.

We therefore use slide shows and films in our propaganda. We call attention to three possibilities:

1. Slide shows by **Captain Lieutenant Hellmuth von Mücke** on the voyages of the *Emden* and the *Ayesha*. Such slide shows should be arranged with Party Comrade von Mücke himself, and at least two or three months in advance. Here as with meeting speakers, it is recommended for reasons of cost to work out a series of lectures within a *Gau*. Due to the many requests he receives, details must be worked out with Party Comrade Mücke two months in advance. Pay close attention to the guidelines that Party Comrade Mücke provides and be sure the conditions for a slide show are present to avoid a deficit for the local group, since the costs for transporting the apparatus and pictures is naturally high. Party Comrade Mücke's address: Dresden-Loschwitz, Veilchenweg 32.
2. Slide shows from the **S.S. Headquarters** in Munich on the events between 1919 and 1923 in Munich. Requests, and information on the conditions and nature of the talk is available from the S.S. leadership, Munich, Schellingstr. 50
3. **Films on racial science, sports, the S.A.** And other topics will be prepared by the Propaganda Department itself and will be available for a modest cost along with the necessary equipment from here. Exact details and prices will be published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* as soon as the film service is established.

II. We also make mention of **picture posters** which promote our views (without inviting viewers to a meeting), or are pasted up during election periods where they cannot be torn down and where they will catch the eye of passersby, making them aware of our ideas and worldview. The Propaganda Department will issue such posters, and announce them in the *Völkischer Beobachter*.

III. **Propaganda Marches** by uniformed S.A. And S.S. units are a very effective method of propaganda when the

number of participants, their organization and appearance are in order. If these conditions are not met, a propaganda march has the opposite effect. Propaganda marches must always be organized and ordered by the *Gau* leader, or at least be approved by him. Bands and music increase the effectiveness of such marches.

#### IV. Holidays:

1. Propaganda includes the appropriate celebration of **National Socialist holidays**, which have already become a tradition in the movement. These include:

- a) the memorial for 9 November,
- b) Christmas, with presents for unemployed party members and poor children,
- c) The summer solstice on 22 June.

These are to be conducted in a simple and dignified manner, without incurring major costs.

2. In holding so-called **German evenings** and other such social gatherings, the local group should always remember that we are neither reactionaries nor bourgeois, and that these events can easily turn into slimy nationalism or songfests.

If it is necessary to hold such a German evening, usually for financial reasons, it should be conducted in a manner befitting the nature and dignity of the movement.

3. A word of warning about the numerous **German Rallies** held in the summer and fall months. The optimism of some diligent local groups results in large deficits for the local group, and even with the greatest economy on the part of the participating party comrades, there can be a series of unanticipated expenses that affect the family budget and cause problems. And not meeting financial obligations naturally has consequences for the party.

National Socialism's major annual public mass meeting is the **Party Rally**. Attending it must be the sacrificial longing of each individual party comrade. The necessary funds should be saved by economy and by giving up on alcohol and tobacco over the course of the year.

The Führer's will is, therefore, that we not hold German Rallies. In any event, permission for such events should be secured in advance from the Propaganda Department of the *Reichsparteileitung* — and in advance of any kind of preparation. The request should include a justification of the need and a precise schedule, along with careful estimates of the cost. The Propaganda Department will then make a decision after discussing the matter with the party leadership.

If the party leadership determines that the plan is unnecessary, it will ensure that speakers and prominent party comrades will not participate.

4. Point 3 does not refer to simple *Gau* meetings of the S.A., or a *Gau* meeting of party comrades from all local groups in a *Gau* on the occasion of *Gau* or county rallies. This includes only gatherings for which party members outside the relevant *Gau* or local group are not invited, and for which **the resulting costs are minor**.

#### E. Paying for Propaganda

I. Minor expenses for propaganda should never come from the local group's treasure. These include distributing leaflets in small numbers, buying stickers and postage stamps and postage for sending newspapers and leaflets. A propaganda warden who cannot secure the necessary donations for these purposes is unsuited for the larger tasks of propaganda.

II. The costs for larger propaganda actions covering whole neighborhoods or for working on entire classes and groups (e.g., railway workers, civil servants, the unemployed) can be paid for in part by the local group, but where

possible they should be covered largely or entirely by the receipts from selling propaganda items, books, brochures, the *Völkischer Beobachter* and *Illustrierter Beobachter*. Ideally, propaganda pays for itself. Of course, any profits from propaganda should be used to make more propaganda, not used for other purposes.

**Statistics.** To keep up-to-date, the Propaganda Department always needs information on the latest mass meetings and activities of our opponents. It is the central office to which information flows from towns and *Gaue* throughout Germany, enabling on overall view of the opponent's activities. This is useful for overall party planning, but also for our own propaganda purposes and to evaluate our attacks on the enemy.

## F. Announcements and Material for Propaganda

### I. Here are some **major one-time announcements**:

All local groups are to report by 15 April 1927 at the latest to their *Gau*, and all *Gaue* and independent local groups are to report at the latest to the Propaganda Department by 30 April 1927 the following information:

1. Each area or local group or *Gau* is to report all Jews living in the area, including as far as possible baptized Jews, with details on their persons, age, occupation and address. This is necessary in order to develop reliable statistics on Jews in the whole population.
2. Each area, local group or *Gau* is to report everyone in the area who belongs to any kind of Masonic lodge, regardless of its type. This does not include groups such as the Schlaraffia or the Druid Order (which are already known). Send in any available membership lists or other lists. Listing who belongs to a lodge is easy if one watches the meeting place or lodge building on the night of a meeting. Keeping a careful watch on these secret meeting places or synagogues where the leaders meet is always advisable. A list of Freemasons is necessary for the central office to keep an eye on these who want to covertly spy on us.
3. A list of the worst local opponents.
4. A list of names and addresses of all Germans known by party comrades who are living abroad. This should be announced to all party comrades ad discussion evenings. They should send the names directly to the Propaganda Department of the NSDAP, Munich, Schellingstr. 50.
5. A report of all opponent misdeeds, attacks and terrorist acts since the party was founded in the area. This report should include a brief and precise description of each case, as well as the results (loss of work time, hospital stay, etc.).
6. A report of all prison terms and fines suffered by party members because of political activities. This report too should include brief but precise details, since material from both reports will be published.

II. **Standard Reports due at regular intervals** to the Propaganda Department are included in the guidelines for the activity reports of the *Gaue* and local groups of the NSDAP, due on the 15th of each month.

We stress that local groups subordinate to a *Gau* should submit their reports to the relevant *Gau* office, whereas independent local groups submit their reports directly to the Propaganda Department of the *Reichsleitung*. Missing the deadlines will result in a sharp reproof, and in repeated instances by informing the Führer.

### III. **Regular reports to be submitted as needed** — as rapidly as possible — include:

1. News on layoffs and plant closings.
2. Railway accidents and factory accidents in the Dawes Railway
3. Statistics, newspaper reports and notices about demographic matters (birthrates, mortality, etc.).
4. Articles and reports about the party or its members, about meetings, etc.
5. Reports on Marxist, Jewish, Ultramontane and all other political scandals involving our opponents
6. Reports, as soon as they can be confirmed, of Jewish members of the German National People's Party, the Homeland and Royal League, the Stahlhelm, Jungdo, or any other national and "völkisch" oriented group.

All newspaper articles and clippings sent to the Propaganda Department should include the issue number, date and newspaper name, without accompanying explanation. The Propaganda Department will not acknowledge the receipt

of such items.

## **Rights and Duties of the Propaganda Department**

The Propaganda Department:

1. has the sole right and duty of publishing all party leaflets and propaganda material;
2. the right and duty to oversee the propaganda activity of all *Gaue* and local groups of the NSDAP, and to require changes and improvements;
3. the right to appoint speakers in larger local groups, independent of the *Gau*.
4. The Propaganda Department handles all propaganda correspondence and is alone responsible for the area of propaganda.

## **Conclusion**

This brochure is nothing more than advice and counsel for the propaganda activities of the NSDAP. The best advice is of no value if propaganda is not conducted by active and fanatic fighters with an unbreakable desire for battle.

We may never forget that propaganda is only an activity that wins ground and people for the organization of fighters, and wins supporters from the masses. It can only achieve its goals when it stays in constant touch with the people.

Every method that leads to this end is correct.

Propaganda is not conducted according to bourgeois standards. Our opponents, the Jews, capitalism, and Marxism, should always be kept on edge and be unsettled by our propaganda.

**Our activity should never cease; remember that we are fighting**

**for freedom and prosperity**

**and that our goal is**

**a National Socialist state!**

**Long live National Socialism!**

**Long live Adolf Hitler!**

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## **List of Available Leaflets, Flyers and Posters Published by the Propaganda Department**

**Leaflets:**

1. Program Points
2. Revelations of the "Times"
3. Is This Your Battle against Capitalism, Marxist?
4. Bank Directors
5. The Misery of Unemployment
6. Farmers, Wake Up!
7. Rescuing the Rural Population
8. To those with Savings Accounts and Retirees
9. The Morgan-Dawes Plan and the Railway
10. The Social Mission of National Socialism



## Illustrated Flyers

1. Workers, with an invitation to a meeting
2. Unemployed, with an invitation to a meeting
3. Farmers, with an invitation to a meeting

**[A price list follows.]**

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**Background:** This is a translation of G. Stark's pamphlet on propaganda techniques. It was the first in a series of pamphlets produced by Goebbels' *Reichspropaganda-Abteilung*, the propaganda section of the Nazi Party. It aimed at providing information for Nazi propagandists in larger cities. This translation uses the third printing, at which point 55,000 copies were in circulation. The original runs 23 pages of text. It includes some material taken from [an earlier Nazi brochure on propaganda](#), but develops matters in greater depth.

**The source:** G. Stark, *Moderne politische Propaganda* (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher Nachf., 1930).

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## ***Modern Political Propaganda***

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### **Introduction**

Propaganda in cities differs in many ways from that in the countryside. The major reason is the entirely different life style of big-city dwellers. They are politically more sophisticated and have an entirely different attitude towards things.

The following observations focus on large cities, not on the countryside. However, the essentials of propaganda are largely similar.

The face of the city, as a center of production and consumption, is marked by advertising. The concentration of many companies leads to intense competition, which is won not necessarily by the firm with the best product, but rather with the best advertising. Poster pillars, newspapers, billboards and so on hammer incessantly on the victim, until finally he bends to the power of the advertising firm and buys.

This out-and-out commercial advertising is aimed exclusively at earning money, and appeals only to the billfold. But the most effective advertising is not necessarily for the best product.

Political **propaganda** is something entirely different. It uses indeed in part the same methods to reach its goals, but rests on entirely different assumptions. Propaganda is by no means simply commercial advertising applied to the political, or spiritual arena. They seek only momentary effect, whereas political propaganda seeks the systematic enlightenment necessary to win supporters to a worldview. We recall the many comrades who gave their lives for the movement. They were propagandists of the deed up to the last breath.

The **Organization** of the party must be such that it is able to make good use of the citizens who have been won for the movement.

### **The Organization of Propaganda**

The recognition that only a unified propaganda apparatus has the likelihood of success led the party headquarters and several regional offices (*Gauleitungen*) to create central propaganda offices. Where that has not yet happened, immediate steps should be taken.

The task of these propaganda centrals is to study advertising methods and see how we can use them, which requires above all a well-organized propaganda organization.

To this end each local group must train propaganda wardens, who will lead the entire local propaganda effort and are responsible for its flawless execution in their areas. These propaganda wardens, subordinate to the local and section offices, work closely with the cell leaders and cell officers, as well as with the S.A. It is often a good idea for the propaganda warden to train others in his section or local group to help him with his duties.

Of course, **each regular party member** should help out with propaganda. To be a member is to be obligated to serve. The S.A. is also obliged to be ready to serve at any time, regardless of the weather.

Regular party members should be grouped in units to carry out house-to-house propaganda.

A special group, skilled in hanging posters, should not be lacking.

The Gau offices provide sections and local groups with guidelines for propaganda. These guidelines should be on paper, and are finding for all sections and local groups. In propaganda department **meetings**, questions and advice for propaganda wardens will be discussed. **Regular meetings** of the propaganda wardens discuss current questions of propaganda. Special **educational courses** provide propaganda wardens with the proper skills. To support what they hear, special **notebooks** are produced.

The entire collection of propaganda material should generally be produced by the Reich or the Gau propaganda offices. Economics of scale save considerable sums.

Although the sections and local groups generally enjoy considerable flexibility, at particular times (e.g., during major campaigns, elections, etc.) they must follow precisely the plans of the propaganda central.

The press office is a branch of the propaganda department. It should receive clippings of all reports of attacks, meeting disturbances, marches and so on from both our own and the enemy press.

## The Methods of Propaganda

To carry out propaganda effectively in the cities, it is necessary to understand the proper use of the most important methods of propaganda. It is above all essential that the propaganda warden does not follow advice coming from a desktop, but rather that he is and remains in close contact with the people. Only he who understands everyday life, and who is familiar with events in political life, will be able to speak effectively to the people he wishes to persuade. Without that contact, advertising speaks in a dead language. **To see with the eyes of the masses — that is the whole secret of effective propaganda.**

There are four kinds of propaganda:

1. Propaganda through **the written word**,
2. Propaganda through **the spoken word**,
3. Propaganda through **mass marches**,
4. Propaganda through **cultural gatherings**.

**1. Propaganda through the written word:** flyers, leaflets, party newspapers and books, advertising circulars, apartment newspapers and factory papers, posters, stamps, other newspapers, N.S. stamps and postcards, banners and billboards, slides, and films. Remember that it is against the law to use walls, building facades, street surfaces, and so on. The following observations apply only to permitted forms of propaganda.

a) Not much needs to be said about the effectiveness of **stickers**. Their task is to be a constant reminder to the indifferent and to gradually unsettle them. Stickers in the wrong places are usually placed by the enemy to discredit us.

Identical stickers next to each other make a good effect. “Many drops wear away stone” applies here. Incessantly, repeatedly, people must see our stickers!

How should they look? They should be small enough so the person applying them will have enough saliva. They should be brief (few, but vivid words). The layout should be good, with no white space at the edges where graffiti can be written. Each party member should carry such stickers with him. One can apply them quickly and inconspicuously.

b) The **flyer**, with a few sentences, which is distributed on the street, has lost its effectiveness. It is soon thrown away, and its content, mostly only an announcement of a meeting, is hardly noticed.

Successful small leaflets (30 by 60 mm) that carry texts like this:

“National Socialists buy only in German shops. The middle class paper: the *Völkischer Beobachter*.”

These small leaflets can be left in shops.

Another promising innovation is **flyers with caricatures**. A timely sketch by our Mjölfnir [**a Nazi cartoonist**] with an appropriate caption is effective. Good pictures are also effective (e.g., illustrations from the *Angriff* or from the pamphlet “[Those Damned Nazis](#)”).

Flyers in various colors, but with identical slogans, some with caricatures, spread through entire city districts are effective. For example:

- Against Marxism and Reaction — the National Socialists!
- For Freedom and Bread — the National Socialists!
- Your greeting: Heil Hitler!
- Down with the party corpses! Power to the National Socialists!
- Become a National Socialist, all else is shit. The NSDAP has the welfare of the city in mind.

The slogans can be ordered from the propaganda department.

All flyers, leaflets, posters, and so on that are posted should be attached in a way that makes them difficult to remove. Random application requires a lot of effort, and is besides illegal. Our opponents use plate glass successfully; also display windows of German shops.

c) The **leaflet** should contain a brief, easily understandable idea. It should appeal to the enemy, which demands a certain skill on the part of the writer. The text can be **cruder in working class districts**, more **subtle** in the style of the Berlin democratic papers in middle class neighborhoods. The most important phrases should be in bold or larger type. Tiny text, bad organization, and boring material kill interest. The interest of the indifferent, from whom one cannot expect much effort, must be awakened.

The legal issue here is important. The distributor of a leaflet is at risk when information about the printer or author is missing.

Information about distribution is given in rubrics d) and e).

d) **Special issues of party newspapers** have a special note in red at the top announcing a particular meeting. A rubber stamp can be used for this. Circle the date in red.

A **trial subscription** to our newspapers can have a remarkable effect on the average person who receives little mail.

Don't underestimate the impact of mailing advertising material and meeting invitations to those in the S-Files (sympathizers file) maintained by local groups and sections. Mail is much more personal. Over time it has its effects.

Each party member must ask for our newspapers in all restaurants, railway stations, newspaper kiosks, and so on.

More than ever, it is important to provide reading rooms with copies of our papers.

And don't forget the little things, to which we owe much success. One always brings newspapers (new and used), leaflets, etc. along. At appropriate times, one "accidentally" leaves them in the train, streetcar, in restaurants, businesses in which one shops, in doctor and dentist offices, at the barber, etc.

**Books** are such an obvious means of advertising that nothing more needs to be said.

e) The **brochures**, which in contrast to leaflets provide the reader with more detailed treatments of various issues, suffer the disadvantage of costing sections and local groups considerable money. The Propaganda Department tries to provide these at reasonable prices by printing large numbers. We are preparing a brief version of our party program in an edition of 150,000, which will cost 2 pfennig.

Brochures treating current issues will follow.

Party members in normal clothing are very effective when they distribute such brochures at busy corners. This propaganda is even stronger when the distributor has a sign that says something like "Free Brochure: How Long Will It Go On?" He who understands the psychology of the masses knows that people will take such brochures only when they are free.

Leaflets, free newspapers, and brochures should be **distributed** only in such places where it is likely that they will be read immediately. Good places are in train stations, for those going to a train, **not** coming from one. People will read on the train, but not on the street. Another example: distribute in the morning at factory gates (**not** at the end of the shift). Then the material can be read and discussed during the breakfast break. Our leaflets and newspapers are also good reading for those waiting in the unemployment offices, for travelers in long distance trains, etc., anywhere where time must be killed and people will read anything.

The best success comes through the **systematic distribution** of advertising material from **door-to-door**. This should be done only on **Sunday mornings** so that people can read them at their leisure with their morning coffee.

Get every citizen a brochure on Sunday morning!

f) An important method of propaganda is the so-called "**neighborhood newspaper**," which, following the Communist example, are produced for a specific area and distributed only there.

They contain news about our neighborhood activities and about the questions of the day. To keep the sections and local groups free from difficulty with the law, the political part is printed by a central office in the *Gau*. The sections and local groups need to produce only the general section, list the section meetings, the *Gau* meetings, and so on. An effective masthead is important.

g) The **factory newspaper** is modeled after the neighborhood newspapers. They are designed only for a single factory and cover work issues and political issues. To make them more interesting, events in the relevant factory are covered. These newspapers are monitored by a central Gau office. Typical mastheads: *NSB-Scheinwerfer*, *Siemens-Lautsprecher*, *Lorenz-Aktie*, etc.

h) **Posters**, despite their considerable cost, are the best form of propaganda, and in relation to their cost a cheap method of advertising.

Posters with text give a brief summary of a meeting and acquaint the reader with the goals of the speaker. It is well known that our textual posters have their own style, such that the attentive observer recognizes from a distance that it is something from the Nazis. Large posters in red must be designed so that they stand out on the poster pillar. A small poster is ineffective, and not in keeping with the significance of our movement. No one reads a poster stuffed with text. The top must be clear enough to draw attention. The bottom must also catch attention. The swastika should be used sparingly at first, particularly in middle class districts.

The headline must be large; it should dominate the poster. In general, only the name of the party should be emphasized in the text. The text should, as already mentioned, be short and make the meeting topic clear. A mention of our press is also appropriate.

Effective posters emphasize words that create a certain mood and can be noticed from a distance.

A good example was the familiar large poster of *Gau* Greater Berlin: *Heil Kaiser Dir!*, that had great success because it appeared at the right time (27. January) and at the right places in the proper size.

We are preparing examples of good posters and an article titled "Posters and leaflets from idea to reality."

The text poster fulfills its purpose when, besides the already-mentioned clear content, there is sufficient time to read it. If not, the picture poster is better. The effect of the picture poster lies with its capacity to be understood at a glance, to get across the spiritual attitude instantly, whereas the text poster needs a certain time to read and a longer time to think about. The hurried city-dweller does not have much time. Mostly, he only catches a quick look at a poster while walking past. The picture has to instantly say at a glance everything that a longer text poster says. Herein lies the difficulty. It is hard to find a riveting picture with a few catchy words. There aren't many Mjöltnirs [a leading Nazi artist]. For us, the picture poster is simply a question of money. Here, too, we are limited by financial weakness.

The posters from *Gau* Berlin for the Reichstag election of 1928 and the city elections of 1929 are familiar. The Rathenau poster from the "Angriff," halfway between a text and picture poster, had great effect. Unfortunately, it could be used only in a limited way. The illustration will be passed along to the individual *Gau* offices for use in other posters.

The advertising campaign for the *Angriff* was imitated by the Ullstein paper *Tempo*, though to a degree corresponding to the financial strength of the firm. Our posters were:

- Nr. 1. The Attack
- Nr. 2. When will the Attack happen?
- Nr. 3. *The Attack*, the German evening newspaper.

Ullstein did it this way:

1. You lack Tempo!
2. You will soon have Tempo.
3. Tomorrow you will have Tempo.
4. *Tempo*, the daily evening newspaper.

The legal side has already been covered in section c) (leaflets).

i) **Stamps** can be effective when used on letters, newspapers, etc. They should use very short slogans. It's a good idea to carry a stamp with one, in order to be able to use it whenever possible. As already mentioned, other posters may not be stamped; such stamps will be produced by the propaganda offices and distributed to subordinate units.

k) Too little attention is given to the **local press**, particularly in smaller towns. People learn about the NSDAP only from the standpoint of their party press. Our successes are either ignored or played down. Nonetheless, some local papers with wide readership do not oppose us. These papers are usually willing to print material we provide.

Meeting announcements in the **Community Calendar** are generally carried. There may be a small charge for longer notices.

Always send newspapers a brief, objective, but nonetheless informative **meeting report** for their local sections.

Advertisements in the middle class press are usually very expensive and only support the enemy. They should be

used only when absolutely necessary. Favorable treatment of the meeting should be made a condition of buying an advertisement.

l) **Stamps**, which the Reich Propaganda Office produces in an attractive manner, are not lacking in effect. They can be placed on the first page of letters, on cards and so on in the bottom third. The price varies from 1/2 to 2 pfennig. The price of these stamps finances other propaganda.

**Postcards** of the movement should be sent to friends and acquaintances at every opportunity. They may even have an impact on republican letter carriers.

m) A simple but still effective form of propaganda is the **banners** with short slogans that hang in our large meetings. They can be used in smaller versions on trucks and vans. In such cases, be sure to protect them. Bicycle columns too can be used for propaganda.

n) Another method is the so-called **railway track advertising**. With the permission of the property owner, signs can be erected. The *Völkischer Beobachter* has won a large number of new subscriptions in this way.

**Rooftop advertising** is also useful, Unfortunately, it is expensive when the approval of the owner is required.

o) The use of **slide shows and film** depends on the available means. The party's first films have already been produced by the central office and *Gau* Berlin. A major film is in the works. We, too, should use the most modern advertising methods to serve our movement.

## 2. Propaganda through the spoken word

Propaganda by the spoken word — talking with the individual, study groups, discussion evenings, mass meetings, choruses — usually result from the written word. The two forms of propaganda are inseparable.

a) The most basic form of oral propaganda is the **discussion with the individual**. This form is still the most effective, since deep contact is established. It is easier to do that in this way than in study groups.

b) The **study group** deepens the idea and educates the party member, and encourages closer contact with citizens who are friendly or at least honestly uncertain about the movement. Through them we win supporters by give and take. Without doubt, the movement from its beginnings built the inner strength it needed and won its best fighters through study groups. Every local group should hold two study groups a month. If in a given month no public meeting is held, it should hold another study group.

A discussion evening is not a membership meeting, open only to a certain audience, but rather a public gathering to which party members may bring guests or truth-seeking racial comrades.

Securing a speaker is not as great a problem as in a public people's meeting, Party members not rhetorically suited for a larger public meeting can do very well in a discussion evening, as long as they possess a firm grasp of the aims of the movement.

They will become increasingly better speakers, and the give-and-take with party members will help them become able to serve as discussion speakers at the meetings of other parties.

The speaker is the propagandist of the idea, who sacrifices his time, strength, health and material welfare for the movement. Recognizing his ability and caring for him provides support he needs.

It is a matter of honor for a speaker to meet his obligations insofar as it is humanly possible. Meetings should be held regardless of the attendance. The credibility of the party is at stake.

The speaker should keep in mind that although his activity in study evenings promises little fame, they often bring more success for the movement than a public meeting.

e) The public mass meeting is the place where an authoritative speaker proclaims the aims of our movement and the nature of our worldview with regard to domestic and international events to every class of the population. The meeting is therefore a matter of the prestige of the party and a source of strength. The manner of its preparation is the mark of a good local group or section. One should speak of a “mass meeting” only when the masses will really appear.

The theme of the meeting should always be chosen to reach the people, particularly the group that one wants to attract to the meeting. We distinguish between world view and current event themes.

The other way to choose meeting themes is to find sensational events, scandals of the Jews or Marxists, in particular events that can be summarized in three or four words. This encourages the masses to come from curiosity, anger over political events, or in the hope of hearing something advantageous given their financial or class interests.

Do not neglect either worldview or political themes. Otherwise, one either loses contact with the masses, or on the other hand attracts only the masses, not the valuable fighters we need. The goal is to build the enthusiasm of the masses from meeting to meeting so that they are eager to come, as was achieved in an exemplary manner in Munich during the years 1922/23.

The following **principles for conducting meetings** apply:

1. Before the meeting, the speaker should be informed of the local political situation.
2. The meeting chair, with a witness, should assume control from the host.
3. Meeting protection should be assured either by a sufficient number of local or neighboring S.A. men, or by request to the police. The latter is particularly important in the case of meetings that may turn violent, for the riot damage act requires it. The state's responsibilities begin only when damages exceed 400 marks.
4. It has proven advantageous in certain meetings and in certain places to have a part of the S.A. in civilian dress scattered throughout the room in order to deal with expected troublemakers.
5. The chairman conducts the meeting. His introduction and conclusion should be at most 3-5 minutes.
6. Attendance by party members is both expected and tactically necessary, given the opponents. No party member should want to demonstrate, either by not appearing at all or by being inattentive, that he already knows everything that the speaker has to say.
7. In the discussion period, only one speaker from each party is permitted. Announce at the start that a speaker cannot give his speaking time to someone else. It is better in advance to give a speaker from another party a longer speaking time, if that is required by the local situation.
8. At the start of each discussion speech at difficult meetings, it is good to announce the time to the audience to keep the discussion speaker and his supporters from claiming that he has only spoken for 5 or 10 minutes.
9. Make propaganda during the meeting for the central organ of the movement, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, either through brief words from the chairman or before the meeting and during the breaks with brochures.
10. Each meeting is to be closed by the chairman with a “Heil” to National Socialism and our Führer Adolf Hitler.
11. Singing a song at the conclusion of a meeting makes sense only if this can be done well. The meeting chairman should give directions. It is to be sung standing up, not by singing one stanza as



people are leaving. Thin and scattered voices by several party members make a bad impression, particularly when the opponent begins to sing his battle song.

If many communists are present, do not close with the national anthem. The following case demonstrates this. One of our well-known speakers spoke to a meeting with a predominately communist audience. After he had impressively demonstrated the whole miserable swindle of Bolshevist equality to the audience, the chairman wanted to close the successful meeting with the national anthem. The speaker whispered to him "don't sing the national anthem!" The chairman said: "At the request of the speaker, we won't sing the national anthem!" This stupidity led the communists to say that we had good speakers, but were still reactionaries, while the Stahlhelm members present thought we were concealed Marxists after all!

d) **Choruses** supported by a trumpet are effective. Several short, compelling sentences, repeated often, have a strong effect on a meeting. Be sure they have practiced, and are not in an awkward position.

### 3. Propaganda through mass marches:

The third type of propaganda includes **Demonstrations**, local S.A. marches, *Gau* and Reich party rallies. Here all that needs to be said is that good discipline is the best propaganda.

### 4. Propaganda through cultural gatherings:

Cultural gatherings are the fourth group. The influence of theater and movies on the masses is well known. One has to think only of Piscator or of Russian films like "Battleship Potemkin" and "The General Line." We must try to use these institutions for our purposes, and to combat the destructive influence of cultural Bolshevism. The *N.S. Volksbühne* and the *N.S.-Filmbühne* have been established in some cities already and have done well. They are not only a recreational outlet for party members, but also promotional gatherings. Our theater presents only works displaying the German spirit. The *N.S.-Filmbühne*, which strives to produce our own films, also shows films that put heroic thoughts in the foreground.

In order to use our films every day, we should attempt to supplement political speeches with films in the suburbs. Even the smallest cell can be reached and informed in this way.

This has been only a survey of propaganda. It must be used in various ways, but will be successful only when it is conducted by fanatical fighters with unbreakable wills.

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**Background:** The following essay was published in the Nazi monthly for propagandists. It shows in a satirical way some of the problems Nazi propaganda faced before 1933.

**The source:** *Wille und Weg*, 1 (1931), pp. 252-253

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## How I Treat a Local Group Leader

F. Eckthaser

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When the *Gau* or county has obligated me to speak for a local group, it is not necessary for me to write the local group leader informing him when I will arrive. The local group leader is intelligent enough to find out somehow when and how I'll get there. He'll be cross with me if I tell him everything. He'd also be annoyed if I tell him what I like to speak about. I leave it to him to choose the topic. If he choose a topic I can't handle, he certainly shouldn't complain if I don't stick to it. In order to avoid unnecessarily bothering the local group leader, I always try to arrive at the meeting hall a few minutes before it begins. The local group leader will certainly find me there and will be pleased that I am so punctual, even too punctual (since meetings always begin a half hour later than announced). Besides, if I came early the local group leader would have to be bothered to talk to me about what the audience thinks and what they want to hear. I like to save local group leaders the trouble. If I see that the meeting is poorly attended, I console the local group leader by telling him that my recent meetings have all been poorly attended and I have therefore waived my fee, but that today I can't do that because I don't have any money left.

In order not to overburden the few in the audience, I give a short but sharp speech. I tear everything apart and bitch and complain. How we plan to construct the Third Reich and how we will master the social and economic conditions, well, the local group leader will certainly have told his people that already. Besides, they'll see how it is done when the Third Reich arrives. Above all it is necessary to tell a lot of jokes so that the listeners can laugh heartily. The local group leader will certainly laugh, too, and won't feel so bad about the new deficit. In my conclusion I won't say anything about contributing to the party or advertising the party press. And I won't say anything about joining the S.A. or the party. The people know that already. Besides, the local group leader can do that. He's always happy to be able to say something.

If I stay with the local group leader, I have a lot of time to help him reorganize his group. I have so much experience that I can use my visit to change the whole inner workings of the group to suit my tastes. Local group leaders in the provinces don't understand very much, so they are pleased when I help out.

If I am staying at the local group leader's home, I try to arrive after mealtime so that I don't disturb the normal routine. The local group leader's wife will surely be happy if I eat by myself.

When I leave, the local group leader will be delighted if I ask him to write his *Gau* newspaper to report on the success of the meetings I spoke at. In that way everybody will hear about his group.

That is the way I make myself popular with local group leaders.

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**Background:** The following essay was published in the Nazi monthly for propagandists. It shows in a satirical way some of the problems Nazi speakers faced before 1933.

**The source:** *Wille und Weg*, 1 (1931), pp. 188-189.

## How I Treat a Speaker

by Heringsblatt

The speaker is a creature who knows everything. It is, therefore, unnecessary to meet him at the train station, since he will surely find the way to my house on his own. I live in a suburb outside town, so the two-and-a-half-hour walk will do him good. Speaking is a healthy occupation, after all; they are in good shape. When the speaker arrives at my front door, I'll still be at the office. Unless my wife is doing something else, she'll be at home. If she isn't home, the speaker can certainly find something to do for a while. We have a nice museum, for example, as well as the old Swedish fortifications. If my wife happens to be at home (though why should one assume she would be?), the process is as follows. My wife will bring him to the kitchen. Why should the poor man sit alone in his room and be bored? Neither my wife nor I want that. First my wife, then I, will tell him all our political opinions. We can talk about such matters better than anyone. That's a good way to start. Then we take out all the old family pictures. This is so exciting that he will scarcely notice the noise of my four children, but rather despite the weariness caused by his long train ride (which isn't all that bad), he'll be able to listen attentively to my flow of words. After all, I want to be a speaker too some day. The speaker will see that I am already gifted.

After we have eaten, we go to the meeting. It's best to go on foot; a little rain doesn't matter. The meeting begins. My introduction should be as long as possible, since one must become known, after all. It's a pleasure to hear oneself talk. Then I introduce the speaker, and explain that he will now speak. After the speech, I make sure as many people as possible have a chance to talk to him. I've noticed that speakers just beam with joy when lots of people want to talk with them after a speech. If the party propaganda central office has banned discussion periods after speeches, I hold one anyway. People want that in my area, and besides I thereby fight the slogan of the SPD

**[Socialists]:** "The masses will win."

There are always a lot of people standing around the speaker after the meeting. That's time time to ask the speaker "How much should I pay you?" Of course, I know that it is uncomfortable for the speaker to ask for an honorarium. He will likely say "the cost of my train ticket, Mr. Heringsblatt." After all, one has to know to keep one's local group treasury full. I then pay the speaker what he asks for in coins. That way, everyone knows and hears what he is getting. Why shouldn't everyone know? Mostly I give the speaker only the return fare or even half of that — he can, I assume, walk the rest of the way!

"You tell me, my friend, that this speaker has over 2000 marks in political fines to pay? Well, I never knowingly engage such a speaker. And please don't tell anyone, since we surely don't have the money to help him out!"

After we talk until 3 a.m. in the morning, we head home. You know that I live in the outskirts of the city. Someone takes a shot at us on the way home. My, what times we live in! The speaker sleeps on the sofa in the living room. Party member Knorpel wanted to get him a hotel room with a proper bed, but I want to be sure the speaker has the honor of sleeping on the local group leaders's sofa. We talk for another hour. Since I have to be up at six, I wake the

speaker at 5 to give him the opportunity to bid me farewell. As we part, I encourage him to ask my *Gauleiter* [**the regional party leader**] for the part of the honorarium I didn't pay. My *Gauleiter* is happy to make up the difference.

Now you know why my local group never has any financial problems.

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**Background:** This article discusses the Nazi approach to rural propaganda. The second round of the 1932 presidential elections had been held, and the Nazis were considering what to do next. The article also indicates that the Nazis were not always unified on propaganda strategy.

**The source:** Gustav Straebe, “Nächste Aufgaben der ländlichen Propaganda,” *Unser Wille und Weg*, 2 (1932), pp. 135-139

## Coming Tasks of Rural Propaganda

by Gustav Staebe

One of the movement’s most important sources of strength is its ability to move from one challenge that it has overcome directly to the next, following the example of its Führer. The millions who voted National Socialist on 24 April [**the presidential election**] and the active fighters may enjoy their well deserved satisfaction, but it has never been in the nature of National Socialism for its followers and leaders to fall into a kind of victory psychosis. Instead, we immediately evaluate the new situation and the increased efforts of the System to respond, then to decide what to do next. The Wilhelmstraße [**the government district in Berlin**] is the key to changing today’s conditions. That is where laws can be passed to build the Third Reich and where National Socialist provincial governments can be supported. That is why the battle was continued in the five provinces where our electoral victory was greatest on 24 April, even on the very night of our success. Just as we have always felt it necessary to deepen the ideological understanding of our voters and newly-won members, so, too, this goal directly follows the election. We must use clever advertising to support our successes. Individuals must be persuaded to become convinced National Socialists by thorough work and forceful training. Only then will their confidence in a National Socialist government be unshakable, not to be weakened by a perhaps unpopular action by a National Socialist minister.



This essay discusses how such individual effort can best be used successfully with the German rural population. Adolf Hitler expressed the great importance of National Socialist rural propaganda in his 8 February 1931 speech to the First National Socialist Farmers’ Congress in Weimar. The Third Reich would be founded in the rural population, or it would fail. “Show ourselves in the

villages!” That is the guideline of our propaganda leader. The more National Socialism takes hold in the countryside, the stronger will be the foundation of the Third Reich.

It is to be hoped that farmer training courses will be held in every district. Wherever that was done before 24 April, the result was a good harvest. In those areas the swastika flag flew from the most secure flagpole; there, too, it rested on the most effective public propaganda both in meetings and written form.

The farmers’ educational weeks have had excellent results. The main credit belongs to their organizer and leader, party comrade Albert Friehe from Lower Saxony. Under his thorough and energetic leadership, a small army of

knowledge-hungry German farmers and especially their sons gathered in many districts. Party comrade Friehe and his untiring comrades, along with district agricultural experts and leading farmers who were party members, organized courses in provincial towns easily reached from the surrounding villages. The courses were clear and easily understandable. Townspeople and rural people got to know each other better, and farmers and workers finally found the common path to a unity of the German people and its fate. A brief summary of the content of the courses: Preservation and increase of national strength, population, national health and culture, which can give new life and strength only in a new Reich. Blood and soil are once again a new symphony, as they were for our ancestors. There can be no improvement in agriculture and in guaranteeing the nation's ability to feed itself as long as German farmers see their purpose only in liberal-capitalistic and economic ways. Problems such as genetics and the racial question also came to the fore in the courses, even if they unfortunately were often neglected in election propaganda. They are the highest thinking of the people's movement.

The farmers' educational courses also gave rhetorically gifted party members, and not only those from rural areas, but also those from cities who wanted to learn more, fundamental knowledge on overcoming liberalism, and therefore the proletariat. It gives him the resources he can use in future public meetings to build the worldview of National Socialism brick by brick.

Farmers' educational courses are the best foundation for a solid organization of the movement in rural areas. They are good not only for the rural population that hungers for such knowledge, but also lead to proper and effective rural propaganda.

\*

An important help is the most effective means of rural propaganda, the "National Socialist Rural Post." The "National Socialist Rural Post" is published on Adolf Hitler's orders and is the party's only official agricultural weekly. Its superiority to all forms of city propaganda was particularly clear in the last election campaign. When political leaders in agricultural areas reflect on the impact of the "N. S. Rural Post", its importance cannot be overlooked. Reports reaching the party leadership from throughout the country report its success, and make good suggestions for improving its content and level. To summarize the many responses, one might say: The "National Socialist Rural Post" is the most successful propaganda method to reach the German rural population. No other party has such a newspaper, since no other party has recognized like the NSDAP that changes in the political attitudes of the rural population can result only from using methods that can be understood by them and are consistent with their psychology. No one doubts the necessity of the "National Socialist Rural Post."

If coming issues of the "National Socialist Rural Post" are to reach the new rural voters in an understandable way that deepened their ideological understanding, the newspaper must be better publicized. In the interests of our larger goal, all concerns about local papers must be dispensed with. The "National Socialist Rural Post" is not a local paper, and will keep its national focus. It is not a competitor to other National Socialist newspapers. The results of recent weeks give the lie to those who thought that the "National Socialist Rural Post" had too little applicability to their area, and therefore ignored it. In just those areas it is most clear: the farmers wanted the "green paper," and asked also for our local papers. The "National Socialist Rural Post" takes firm root where it is properly promoted. In places where it is distributed without much plan and where there is no follow-up, people know what it is, but do not take the step of subscribing.

In the near future, advertising columns must go from farmer's house to farmer's house. Each farmer, farm worker or agricultural hand, and anyone else in the countryside, must be persuaded persistently, but not obnoxiously, to subscribe to the only National Socialist farmer's newspaper. If the propagandist is clever and persuasive, he will not leave a single house without at least having won a new subscriber. Encourage every new party member to send his subscription to the Verlag Frz. Eher, Munich, Thierschstr. 11. The next election will show where rural propaganda has been properly done, and where it has not been.

\*

If rural propaganda is to deepen the hold of our ideas, it is absolutely necessary to build a group of speakers who can address meetings in the villages. I proposed in this place some time ago that such training be separated from the *Gau*

speaker courses. Unfortunately, my proposal found only limited acceptance. Separating the training of rural and city speakers is a prerequisite for success with the rural population. The Agriculture Department in the NSDAP's central office has a special section responsible for rural advertising. It is headed by party comrade Metzner, formerly an associate of Fritz Reinhardt of Herrsching **[who ran the party's correspondence course for speakers]**. This office has the necessary material for training rural speakers and is ready to help the districts **[Gau]** in establishing training courses.

In rural speeches, it is advisable to emphasize the positive, and restrict criticism to agricultural policy. The clearer a speech, the more successful it will be. It would be good for our speakers to organize their speeches along these lines: Where is the System leading us (Pan-Europe), where does National Socialism want to go?!

\*

We all expect difficult political battles. We are nearing the final battle, and all our strength must be gathered and used. We cannot have a single farmer who rejects the sole party that not only will help him, but sees in him the foundation of a new state. That only gives a weapon to the System. As we fight for the farming villages, we are fighting for food, for freedom, and for the independence of our posterity.

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**Background:** This article from the Nazi monthly for propagandists discusses the lessons of the 31 July 1932 Reichstag elections. It is interesting as a Nazi analysis of what worked and what didn't.

**The source:** Gustav Straebe, "Bewährte moderne Propagandamethoden," *Unser Wille und Weg*, 2 (1932), pp. 230-233.

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## Tested Methods of Modern Propaganda

by Helmut von Wilucki

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The difficult election battle is behind all the parties. The Reichstag election of 1932 was particularly difficult for the NSDAP, since an enormous flood of lies from all the other parties, including the DNVP [**Conservative Party**], was directed toward us. The events of June even forced us in part into the defensive. That was naturally difficult for us, since in all previous elections we were always on the attack.

Since the KPD [**Communists**] did not particularly exert themselves in this campaign and since the other parties made greater efforts, but not in the area of propaganda, the main battle was between the NSDAP and the SPD [**Socialists**]. These two parties are the only ones that did anything new in the area of propaganda. This article will discuss the propaganda methods that proved effective in the last campaign in *Gau Süd Hannover-Braunschweig*.

In general, one can say that the SPD's propaganda was very clever and understood the psychology of the masses. They saw the significance of the swastika symbol, and how it seized the feelings of people and did not let them go. Therefore, they found a compelling symbol for the "Iron Front," the three arrows, and had the desired success with it. Along with other clever methods of propaganda, the three arrows encouraged many Social Democrats to new activity. Our counterpropaganda could not do much, since the three arrows of "activity, discipline, and unity" aimed not at the mind, but at the feelings of the Marxists. We did our best to ridicule the "arrow" propaganda by connecting the three Sklarek brothers [**Jewish figures in a major Berlin financial scandal**] to the three arrows in the press, stickers, and "visiting cards." Our large red flag with three white arrows and the large inscription "Manufactured by the Sklarek Brothers" won wide attention in heavily trafficked areas.

The SPD's "visiting card" propaganda worked only because of its novelty. We replied to it with our intellectually weightier visiting cards from the "Sklarek Brothers."

The SPD's weekly slogans during the election campaign, which came in circular letters from the SPD's headquarters, were well thought out. For its supporters, the most effective slogan was: "Iron Front against Hitler barons!"

Fortunately for us, we secured a copy of the circular letter enough in advance to make some preparations. The SPD planned to use a slogan affirming the "welfare state" in the second week of July. We in *Gau Süd Hannover-Braunschweig* cleverly used the slogan in mass meetings during the first week, making it impossible for them to use it.

The SPD had planned to use the slogan: "For the welfare state of millions against the welfare state of the

millionaires.” We used the slogan “Against the welfare state of the bigwigs and profiteers, for work and food for millions.” This reduced the effectiveness of their slogan and campaign.

The SPD used daily newspapers for propaganda, apparently following our example during past campaigns. We had good success by regularly delivering our papers to citizens. Their newspaper the *Volksville* used the method with which the SPD has always had the most success, namely the political lie. It used newspapers and leaflets to spread the lie about the “Hitler Emergency Decrees” of the Papen government. This seems to have had its intended success on a large number of retirees and relief recipients who were not capable of independent thinking.

Our most effective propaganda method was undoubtedly the Hitler mass meeting. The fact that the Führer placed all his energy in the service of propaganda, and the way in which he did it, had an effect on the masses of the voters. It was an event not only in our press, but also to some degree in other newspapers as well. As a result, not only those citizens who participated in the meetings, but everyone else as well was influenced by the spell of the Führer’s mass meetings.

We had prepared by years of smaller meetings. That made the mass meetings in the grand style effective during the July campaign, particularly when they were supported by large marches. The S. A. march was always the movement’s best method of propaganda. The Papen government’s ban on demonstrations was intended to remove our advantage in this regard over other parties. We had already held the first small marches and had completed all preparations for the planned 24 July march.

We reduced our leaflet propaganda in favor of newspaper propaganda in *Gau Süd Hannover-Braunschweig*. We delivered an election newspaper to every house in every village, adjusting it to the audience. One version was directed to the rural population, another to industrial districts. During the last ten days of the campaign, we delivered our *Gau* newspaper, the *Niedersächsische Tageszeitung* to every household in the cities and to the easily reached villages. That allowed us to refute the opponent’s lies each day, and remind readers of our goals and previous accomplishments. Distributing the newspaper to the entire *Gau* was possible because we had a previously prepared plan that used the newspaper’s existing distribution system.

Another part of newspaper propaganda is supplying the so-called “neutral” press with news and material supporting our views. We were able to provide numerous newspapers in the province with our *Gau Süd Hannover-Braunschweig* press service. Provincial papers have a difficult time of it. The editors are beginning to see that it is time to adjust to the electoral masses of the largest party. Many gladly accept our material, particularly since they can receive it without cost and ready for printing. Our opponents have always provided “factual” information to so-called “neutral” newspapers as a way of influencing the voters. It is obvious that we too have to use this method of propaganda.

Following the example of one local group, we used “personal” letters throughout the *Gau*. Model letters were provided to local groups. The letters were then reproduced either by hand or by machine, with personal address. Two days before the election, they were delivered to all voters, not only our supporters. There were different letters for people we knew to be Marxists, farmers, retirees, women, etc. Determining success is naturally possible only in a few cases. But many stories testify that such letters achieved their goal.

We made increased use in this campaign of flags and banners. Election banners in our party’s colors, seen daily by passers-by, surely had an impact. Electric lighting and loud speaker music ensured that they could also be seen at night.

It is particularly effective if Hitler’s flags can dominate the streets during an election. Unfortunately, one has to work hard to persuade supporters to do this. The only place we succeeded in getting really well-flagged streets was in Hannover, and that took constant effort. A corresponding number of the opponent’s “arrow” flags made their appearance too, producing a kind of “election psychology” even in those who were otherwise inattentive. We also distributed thousands of small flags with a swastika and the slogan “Vote for List 2”, with which children and adults made heavy use in the days before the election **[each party had a numbered place on the ballot]**.

We used sound films for the first time in this election campaign. Despite limited time, we succeeded in arranging

about 200 performances in 70 places. Sometimes we were able to have our film shown during regular movie shows. Usually, we arranged special events in conjunction with the film. The films were everywhere received with interest and enthusiasm. The films with the Führer and party comrades Dr. Goebbels, Straßer and Göring were particularly successful.

25,000 fellow citizens saw an outdoor showing of “The Führer Speaks” and “German Arms — German Honor.” We used a 10 by 13 meter screen. We can already tell that sound films are a valuable addition to our propaganda activity, particularly when lower rental costs will give local groups the chance to make a small profit.

Loudspeaker wagons are particularly during campaigns, since they allow us to overcome Marxist efforts to keep people away from our meetings, as well as the indifference of those who do not attend. They cannot ignore a 15-20 watt loudspeaker in the streets of a small town or village, even if they want to. We began each time with march music to set the proper atmosphere for the recorded speech by a well-known party member that followed. We closed with a record of a group singing the Horst Wessel Song. Local group leaders repeatedly told us that this propaganda is particularly suited for areas in which meetings are not successful.

The usual forms of propaganda must naturally be continued after the campaign to firm up the voters we have won and win new supporters. Sound films will have a major role from now on. We also need to provide good German theater and musical events, with the works of German artists. We must make it possible for every citizen to attend such an event monthly for a low price. That is one further step to break the Jewish domination of the arts and to win back the German people’s soul.

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**Background:** This article from the Nazi Party's monthly for propagandists discusses Nazi propaganda battles with the Marxists, which to their minds included both the socialists (SPD) and communists (KPD). The article notes that National Socialism has gone about as far as it can in reaching the middle class. The target now has to be the workers, which the writer notes will be a difficult task. He directs some rather biting criticism at many Nazi propagandists. It was published late in 1932, at a critical time. Nazism had lost ground in the 6 November 1932 Reichstag election, and the party was weary after a year of almost constant elections. There had been two presidential elections, two Reichstag elections, and the Prussian state elections, not to mention a variety of others.

**The source:** Fritz Oerter, "Unsere Redner im antimarxistischen Kampf. Die Bilanz eines Wahljahrs," *Unser Wille und Weg*, 2 (1932), pp. 350-356.

## Our Speakers in the Anti-Marxist Battle

by Fritz Oerter

As we review the Reichstag, provincial parliament, and city elections of 1932, we must conclude that the day of huge mass meetings and mass marches is over, at least when it comes to winning new supporters for the National Socialist movement.

Those citizens whom we could interest in our world view through marches and mass meetings, the sensible members of the middle class, have been reached. The "middle class" reactionary front has been ground down — despite their election "victory" of 6 November. Nationalist circles are the ones that increasingly visited our mass meetings, that saw our marches with growing enthusiasm, and remain today about 95% of the attendees at our meetings, although they have long since been won over to National Socialism.

But this loyal core of National Socialist supporters will surely grow weary of filling our mass meetings. In some *Gaue*, it is already true that only the most prominent leaders of our party like Hitler, Straßer, Goebbels, Goering, Frick, etc., are able to bring out crowds in the tens of thousands. The high point of this form of propaganda is over, and we must now reach those circles which our propaganda so far has unfortunately been unable to reach in sufficient numbers.

Let us be honest with ourselves. The road is free and open, but our main enemy has done unexpectedly well in resisting the National Socialist advance. We have certainly succeeded in fragmenting the Marxist front and in winning a large number of former Marxists for our worldview. The Social Democrats are fighting desperately for their survival, and thanks to National Socialist educational work hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people who once were firm supporters of Marxist nonsense are beginning to waver. They are looking into the National Socialist movement, naturally against the wishes of their "leaders." Still, Marxist propaganda, and especially its press, regularly succeeds in leading people who have seen the light back into error, and bringing them back under the control of Marxist party leaders.

Why? In opposing Marxism, we oppose a deeply-rooted worldview that is based on over sixty years of intensive work. It is in turn founded on the still older liberal worldview and economic order. It enjoys not only the protection of tradition, but the strength a younger movement can bring to bear against an older one. Liberalism was not able to resist Marxism. The liberal parties and ideologies could only fight defensively against a worldview with greater

strength and clarity of purpose. Even the Marxist worker who long doubted and sought for something better eventually had to conclude that Marxism is the only worldview that can bring a new and better society and economic order. Who can hold it against him that he rejected the forces that denied him equality and a share in the results of his labor? The German worker absorbed Marxism in his parents' home, and was surrounded by people who thought the same in the workplace. In what remained of his sound understanding, he knew that there was a flaw somewhere in the worldview. He realized that there was a catch somewhere to the lovely teachings of "expropriating the expropriators," of "the equality of everyone with a human face," of "international brotherhood," of "international solidarity," but he did not know where, and there was no one to show him the contradictions, the weak points, in the thinking of Karl Marx and his followers.

Thanks to our ten years of educational work, he is suspicious. He became a seeker, a doubter, but unfortunately only a few of his comrades have found their way to us. The 1932 election results prove this. We have made inroads into the ranks of the SPD [**Socialists**] and the KPD [**Communists**], but not to the extent that the "leaders" of the Marxist parties have deserved as a result of their inability, incompetence, and contradictory policies.

Every National Socialist fighter who speaks to meetings of Marxist workers must recognize this and draw the necessary conclusions. The Marxist party "leaders" have made mistake after mistake. They have promised everything since 1918 and delivered nothing. They have worked a hundred times with Jewish racketeers and a thousand times with capitalism. They are responsible for all the need and misery of the German people, and of German workers. Yet if our Reich, *Gau*, and county speakers do not succeed in reducing the Marxist nonsense propounded by the Socialists and Communists to absurdity, their sacrificial work will not succeed in widening the breach in the Marxist front. Without that, the deceptive Marxist worldview will fail to collapse in the manner of those organizations that supported calcified liberalism.

**We should not take Marxism lightly!** To defeat the enemy, we must know its weapons. If its weapons are good, we must have better ones if we are to survive. Only when we know, and know precisely, what Marxism teaches can we succeed in convincing the Social Democratic and Communist workers of the unfruitfulness of this doctrine, thereby making National Socialists of them. Of course, it remains necessary to show German workers who are still enthused about the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lassalle, or Lenin what kind of "leaders" they have. However, revealing the nature of their "leaders" and policies shakes only their confidence in their party, but rarely their attitudes about the worldview.

Our propaganda, our intensive educational work, must make clear to the German worker that the aims of the "Communist Manifesto" and the "Erfurt," "Görlitz," and "Heidelberg" programs, proclaimed for decades, are impossible and utopian, and that the materialist philosophy and economic system of the "Capital" are erroneous and lead in the wrong direction. We must show them that this is the reason for the behavior of many Social Democratic and Communist "leaders." They have no choice but to play such a treasonous role. Only if we do this will Marxism's supporters give up all hope of a future Marxist state and become willing to consider true German socialism.

The conclusion is simple: **Training, untiring and thorough training, is necessary!** It is necessary not only for the members, whom some functionaries and speakers handle as if they were a bit stupid, but for everyone at the political front. For officials and speakers, anti-Marxist training is of the greatest importance. Unfortunately, many of our speakers — and often not the worst ones either — have completely avoided training about Marxism. True, they understand National Socialist thinking, but not Marxist views and theses. They are like army officers who have good soldiers, but do not know how strong the enemy is or where he is located.

That is why there are complaints about this or that speaker in nearly every *Gau*. Party members want better education, better speakers, to enable them to hold their own against opponents, even if a question comes up that goes beyond current events. Marxist meeting visitors have been worked on through the lies of an unscrupulous press. They are especially critical. A single ill-chosen phrase or the least sign of uncertainty drives these citizens away, and some who were making their way toward us are lost forever. Our work has made them distrust their own leaders, but the long rabble-rousing of their "leaders" has also left them suspicious about National Socialist thinking.

It is nonsense to think that a popular style of speaking (which often turns out to be vulgar) is enough to win sympathy for the speaker in a meeting of workers. The opposite! The Marxist worker can tell what is genuine and what is artificial. When he sees that a speaker has taken on a “popular” style of speaking, or that he wears a shirt without a collar, or rolled up sleeves or other things like that, he becomes reserved and critical. Obviously a workers’ meeting is not a university auditorium. The speech must be simple and clear. But coarse language and shabby clothing generally harm the overall impression, just as do an elevated, lecturing style and elegant dress.

There is too much of this going on, in part due to a lack of through training that is replaced by outward appearances. Unnecessary exaggeration is also harmful. For example, a speaker at a meeting of workers before the 6 November election announced that our vote total would rise significantly and that we would win 250 seats. The half-won Marxists lost faith in this prophet and the worldview he preached. Even worse, some National Socialist speakers who fail to understand Marxism’s idea of class struggle said that the NSDAP might call for a general strike if Herr von Papen dared to dissolve the newly elected Reichstag. Similar exaggerations, of which there were unfortunately many, destroy everything that the speaker thinks he accomplished in his speech.

One mistake is particularly common. When National Socialist speakers who were formerly Marxists speak in workers’ areas, the publicity often says : “The former Marxist union secretary so-and-so will speak on the theme “Marxism or German workers.” The Marxist worker attends such a meeting to hear a discussion of worldviews. He is deeply disappointed when he gets only a normal discussion of current events, which does not in any way make it easier for him to decide which worldview to support.

What good does such a meeting do the Marxist worker? He knows that his “leaders” have betrayed the “goals of the revolution.” He knows they supported the Young Plan. He knows that Soviet Russia is not a land of milk and honey. He knows that National Socialism is fighting von Papen. He knows that Hindenburg was supported by the Social Democrats and some in the KPD. He did not come to listen to a former Marxist speaker to hear these things again. He wants to hear something different. He wants to know why this former Marxist left the red flag and now fights for the swastika. He is a seeker. He has lost faith in Marx and his doctrines. His world is threatening to collapse, and he wants a new and better worldview.

The former Marxist who found a new worldview in National Socialism should help his former party members to make a final break with Marxism. He should make it easier to for them to become National Socialists. The Marxist worker wants to hear why the speaker today opposes which he once honestly fought for, perhaps for more than a generation. He wants to know why the speaker chose National Socialism, and how it is superior to Marxist thinking.

The attitude of a large part of the Marxists who come to our meetings can be summarized in this way: They no longer believe their “leaders”; they doubt Marxist doctrine; they look to the worker-speakers of the National Socialist people’s movement to find a justification to bring them from Marxism to National Socialism.

They want a plausible justification and good reasons for doing what they instinctively feel. For decades the materialist worldview was pumped into them. They learned to evaluate everything from a materialistic and rational perspective. As convinced Marxists, they were ruled by cold, clear reason, not by feelings. Mind and stomach, not heart and soul, were the driving forces behind events. In their heart and soul, many of these former Marxist workers are already National Socialists; only their materialism keeps them from breaking with the false gods of the past.

The movement’s speaker has the task of making it easier for Marxist workers to break with the past. He must be ready and able to give these citizens a logical basis for their emotional longing for National Socialism. He can do that only by knowing the Marxist worldview as well as he knows his own. He must be able to deal directly with the ideas of Marxists in the audience. He must be able to handle even the best Marxist discussion speakers.

Can every National Socialist speaker do that? No. The news from the *Gaue* proves it. The order of the day is thus training and more training. Some good National Socialist literature already deals with the fundamentals of Marxism. The National Socialist who has read these materials and understood them is capable of dealing with the average Marxist speaker, but not with well-trained Marxist speakers who have a solid understanding of the writings of Marx and Engels and who have mastered them. Therefore, the training should be conducted by party comrades who have studied Marxist doctrine in depth and are able to cross swords with even the best opponents from the Marxist camp.

Unfortunately, many diligent speakers have the incorrect belief that they do not need to learn anything further, that it is enough if they keep up with current events. They will know better once they have participated in a well-organized training course in which Marxist workers with better than average political education defend their worldview against the attacks of National Socialism. In such a course, the National Socialist speaker learns what he is lacking in order to be able to win the German worker to National Socialism. In fair and factual ways, but also in compelling and precise form, these training courses discuss the worldviews of National Socialism and Marxism. These discussions prove that the National Socialist worldview is far superior to Marxist ideology, but also that Marxist spokesmen, including minor functionaries and speakers, enjoy training that could be of great value to some of our speakers in workers' meetings. The lack of such training is the reason that many of them lack the success they desire.

When our Führer determines Germany's fate, such training will be of particular importance. Hand in hand with the practical refutation of Marxist theories that will come by realizing National Socialism, we need an intensive theoretical education of the working masses in order to free the last German worker from internationalism and materialism. They need to be persuaded of German idealism, of the principle that "the common good goes before the individual's good."

This is hard work, but the goal is worth it. **Millions of German citizens will once again believe in their race, fatherland,** and social justice. To work, then, you National Socialist fighters against Marxism and Reaction! Prepare yourselves for the final battle against Marx and his followers! Then victory will no longer be denied us!

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