I Saturday, 5th July 1941

Aryans and Russians—Necessity of the mailed fist in Russia—Deterioration of soil.

What we need is a collective view of people's wish to live and manner of living.

We must distinguish between the Fascist popular movement and the popular movement in Russia. The Fascist movement is a spontaneous return to the traditions of ancient Rome. The Russian movement has an essential tendency towards anarchy.

By instinct, the Russian does not incline towards a higher form of society. Certain peoples can live in such a way that with them a collection of family units does not make a whole; and although Russia has set up a social system which, judged by Western standards, qualifies for the designation "State", it is not, in fact, a system which is either congenial or natural to her.

It is true that, in a sense, every product of human culture, every work gifted with beauty can be born only of the effect of the constraint which we call education.

The Aryan peoples are peoples who are particularly active. A man like Krümel works from morning to night; such-and-such another person never stops thinking. In the same way, the Italian is as diligent as an ant (bienenfleissig). In the eyes of the Russian, the principal support of civilisation is vodka. His ideal consists in never doing anything but the indispensable. Our conception of work (work, and then more of it!) is one that he sub-mits to as if it were a real curse.

It is doubtful whether anything at all can be done in Russia without the help of the Orthodox priest. It's the priest who has been able to reconcile the Russian to the fatal necessity of work—by promising him more happiness in another world.

The Russian will never make up his mind to work except under compulsion from outside, for he is incapable of organising himself. And if, despite everything, he is apt to have organisation thrust upon him, that is thanks to the drop of Aryan blood in his veins. It's only because of this drop that the Russian people has created something and possesses an organised State,

It takes energy to rule Russia. The corollary is that, the

tougher a country's régime, the more appropriate it is that equity and justice should be practised there. The horse that is not kept constantly under control forgets in the wink of an eye the rudiments of training that have been inculcated into it. In the same way, with the Russian, there is an instinctive force that invariably leads him back to the state of nature. People sometimes quote the case of the horses that escaped from a ranch in America, and by some ten years later had formed huge herds of wild horses. It is so easy for an animal to go back to its origins! For the Russian, the return to the state of nature is a return to primitive forms of life. The family exists, the female looks after her children, like the female of the hare, with all the feelings of a mother. But the Russian doesn't want anything more. His reaction against the constraint of the organised State (which is always a constraint, since it limits the liberty of the individual) is brutal and savage, like all feminine reactions. When he collapses and should yield, the Russian bursts into lamentations. This will to return to the state of nature is exhibited in his revolutions. For the Russian, the typical form of revolution is nihilism.

I think there's still petroleum in thousands of places. As for coal, we know we're reducing the natural reserves, and that in so doing we are creating gaps in the sub-soil. But as for petroleum, it may be that the lakes from which we are drawing are constantly renewed from invisible reservoirs.

Without doubt, man is the most dangerous microbe imaginable. He exploits the ground beneath his feet without ever asking whether he is disposing thus of products that would perhaps be indispensable to the life of other regions. If one examined the problem closely, one would probably find here the origin of the catastrophes that occur periodically in the earth's surface.

2 Night of 5th-6th July 1941, 11.30 p.m.-i.so a.m.

The shortening of space by roads—The frontier of the Urals—Moscow must disappear—The treasures of the Hermitage.

The beauties of the Crimea, which we shall make accessible by means of an autobahn—for us Germans, that will be our

Night of 21st-22nd July 1941

5

Gratitude to the Jesuits—Protestant fanaticism—Similarities between Germany and Italy—Dante and Luther—The Duce is one of the Caesars—The march on Rome—a turning-point in history—Delightful Italian towns—Rome and Paris.

When all's said, we should be grateful to the Jesuits. Who knows if, but for them, we might have abandoned Gothic architecture for the light, airy, bright architecture of the Counter-Reformation? In the face of Luther's efforts to lead an upper clergy that had acquired profane habits back to mysticism, the Jesuits restored to the world the joy of the senses.

It's certain that Luther had no desire to mould humanity to the letter of the Scriptures. He has a whole series of reflections in which he clearly sets himself against the Bible. He recognises that it contains a lot of bad things.

Fanaticism is a matter of climate—for Protestantism, too, has burnt its witches. Nothing ofthat sort in Italy, The Southerner has a lighter attitude towards matters of faith. The Frenchman has personally an easy way of behaving in his churches. With us, it's enough not to kneel to attract attention.

But Luther had the merit of rising against the Pope and the organisation of the Church. It was the first of the great revolutions. And thanks to his translation of the Bible, Luther replaced our dialects by the great German language!

It's remarkable to observe the resemblances between the evolution of Germany and that of Italy. The creators of the language, Dante and Luther, rose against the occumenical desires of the papacy.

Each of the two nations was led to unity, against the dynastic interests, by *one* man. They achieved their unity against the will of the Pope.

I must say, I always enjoy meeting the Duce. He's a great personality. It's curious to think that, at the same period as myself, he was working in the building trade in Germany. Our programme was worked out in 1919, and at that time I knew nothing about him. Our doctrines are based on the foundations

proper to each of them, but every man's way of thinking is a result. Don't suppose that events in Italy had no influence on us. The brown shirt would probably not have existed without the black shirt. The march on Rome, in 1922, was one of the turning-points of history. The mere fact that anything of the sort could be attempted, and could succeed, gave us an impetus. A few weeks after the march on Rome, I was received by the Minister Schweyer. That would never have happened otherwise.

If Mussolini had been outdistanced by Marxism, I don't know whether we could have succeeded in holding out. At that period National Socialism was a very fragile growth.

If the Duce were to die, it would be a great misfortune for Italy. As I walked with him in the gardens of the Villa Borghese, I could easily compare his profile with that of the Roman busts, and I realised he was one of the Caesars. There's no doubt at all that Mussolini is the heir of the great men of that period.

Despite their weaknesses, the Italians have so many qualities that make us like them.

Italy is the country where intelligence created the notion of the State. The Roman Empire is a great political creation, the greatest of all.

The Italian people's musical sense, its liking for harmonious proportions, the beauty of its race! The Renaissance was the dawn of a new era, in which Aryan man found himself anew. There's also our own past on Italian soil. A man who is indifferent to history is a man without hearing, without sight. Such a man can live, of course—but what a life?

The magic of Florence and Rome, of Ravenna, Siena, Perugia! Tuscany and Umbria, how lovely they are!

The smallest palazzo in Florence or Rome is worth more than all Windsor Castle. If the English destroy anything in Florence or Rome, it will be a crime. In Moscow, it wouldn't do any great harm; nor in Berlin, unfortunately.

I've seen Rome and Paris, and I must say that Paris, with the exception of the Arc de Triomphe, has nothing on the scale of the Coliseum, or the Castle of San Angelo, or St. Peter's. These monuments, which are the product of a collective effort, have

ceased to be on the scale of the individual. There's something queer about the Paris buildings, whether it's those bull's-eye windows, so badly proportioned, or those gables that obliterate whole façades. If I compare the Pantheon in Rome with the Pantheon in Paris, what a poor building—and what sculptures! What I saw in Paris has disappeared from my memory: Rome really seized hold of me.

When the Duce came to Berlin, we gave him a magnificent reception. But our journey in Italy, that was something else! The reception when we arrived, with all the ceremonial. The visit to the Quirinal.

Naples, apart from the castle, might be anywhere in South America. But there's always the courtyard of the royal palace. What nobility of proportions!

My dearest wish would be to be able to wander about in Italy as an unknown painter.

6 Night of the 22nd-23rd July 1941

British arrogance—The birth of German industry—Trade competition with Britain—Steps towards a durable understanding between Germany and Britain—Dearth of philosophic and artistic sense of the British.

The Englishman is superior to the German in one respect—that of pride. Only the man who knows how to give orders has pride.

Everywhere in the world, Germans are working without getting the wages they deserve. Their abilities are recognised, but the fact that they live solely by their work makes them an object of contempt to the people whom they enrich.

of contempt to the people whom they enrich.

That's the reason why, in the period just before the first World War, the German got so little sympathy in the Anglo-Saxon world.

Around 1870 we had a huge excess population, with the result that every year between two and three hundred thousand of our people had to make up their minds to emigrate. The remedy for this state of affairs would have been to incorporate them in the labour cycle. The only form of production that could be considered was that of the German primary materials

sanctuary. In accordance with the wishes he expressed, Ludendorff has been buried in Tutzing, but I hope that one day his wife will consent to the transfer of his remains to the Soldatenhalle in Berlin. I doubt, though, whether she will give this consent unless she has the assurance that she will be allowed to rest beside him when the time comes. In a like manner, the Hindenburg family have accepted a tomb for the "Old Gentleman" in the Tannenberg monument, on condition that a place is reserved there for his wife. These sentiments are in harmony with the German sense of family, and they must be meticulously respected. For many of our great men, their wives have been the ideal companions of their whole lives, their comrades faithful unto death, their unbreakable shield through all vicissitudes and their inexhaustible sources of strength.

214 nth May 1942, at dinner

Production of honey.

German apiarists could increase their honey production tenfold. Honey was the principal sweetener of the ancient and Middle Ages, and was used even to sweeten wine. The old German drink, Meth, which in my youth was sold at all the Fairs, also had 'a honey basis. The first cakes we ever exported were the honey-cakes of Nuremberg.

215 12th May 1942, at dinner

Sound economic principles—Problem of fats and whale oil
—Prussian colonisation mistakes—One hundred million
Germans in the Eastern territories—Work of prisoners of
war—German migration eastwards—Justification of use of
force—Lesson from the French in Alsace—Problem of
Alsace-Lorraine—A policy of prudence—Jews with blue
eyes and blond hair—Racial regeneration and moral
issues—Marriage by trial—Nostalgia and poetic sense
of Nordic races—"Moral cannibalism".

If we are satisfactorily to solve the problems of the Food Plan and the Industrial Plan, we must get back to sane economic principles. These, unfortunately, disappeared from the moment that our economists began to influence our politicians. Take fats, for example. Our position now would have been very different if, at the opportune moment, we had paid proper attention to the whale-fishing industry and its rational exploitation. Whale oil not only possesses anti-rickets virtues, but also has the advantage that it can be stored indefinitely. We have to-day various processes which enable us to make good use of 88 per cent of a whale; apart from the oil, the meat can be preserved, leather can be made from the skin, and the fin-coverings furnish the basis for a material to all intents and purposes indestructible. The organisation of our whale-fishing industry is therefore for us a problem of the most pressing significance.

Gauleiter Forster recalled that in 1830 the population of the town of Thorn was predominantly German, but that by 1939 the German element had dwindled to quite insignificant proportions. This elicited the following reflections from the Fuehrer:

The fault lies with the policy pursued by Prussia during the last hundred and fifty years. During that period, the Prussian Government transformed the German eastern territories into a veritable punitive colony, sending only such teachers, Government officials and officers as had for some reason or other fallen from grace, or whom it was desired to remove from the functions they had been exercising.

We must make good the mistakes committed by Prussia, and we must do it in the next ten years. At the end of that period I shall expect my Gauleiters to be in a position to inform me that these regions have become once again German.

Forster agreed that this might be achieved in the Danzig-West Prussian province. To succeed, it would be necessary, he thought, to appeal to the best elements of the old Reich and to restrict recruitment to men under fifty. To men above that age one could well apply the adage: "Old trees cannot be transplanted".

I agree. For the re-population of our Eastern territories it is to the younger generation, obviously, that we must turn in the first instance. We must imbue them with a feeling of pride in being invited to go to a country where they will not find their bed nicely made for them, but will be compelled, on the contrary, to create from the beginning—and we must make them understand that we expect them to build up something truly magnificent. One attraction which will certainly appeal to the young is that by emigrating in this fashion they will find opportunities for promotion infinitely more rapid than those of their less enterprising comrades who remain quietly at home, content to follow the beaten track.

My long-term policy aims at having eventually a hundred million Germans settled in these territories. It is therefore essential to set up machinery which will ensure constant progression, and will see to it that million by million German penetration expands. In ten years' time we must be in a position to announce that twenty million Germans have been settled in the territories already incorporated in the Reich and in those which our troops are at present occupying.

Of what can be done for the inhabitants of these regions in the way of civilised amenities we can get some idea from the Poles, who themselves have succeeded in laying out in the heart of the town of Gotenhafen (Gdynia) a series of broad and beautiful arterial roads.

Gauleiter Forster intervened. Even in war-time, he claimed, there were certain cultural aspects which should not be neglected. Turning to the example of Gotenhafen, he remarked that the town possessed three small cinemas but not one large one. The result was that, when warships came into the port to rest, the sailors—whose delight it is to go ashore—were unable toßnd those distractions they eagerly desired. The materials necessary for the construction of a large entertainment hall, which could later be equipped as a cinema, were certainly available on the spot. The construction could not be undertaken, because the necessary labour, which could easily be furnished by sixty Russian prisoners of war, had been refused. The Fuehrer continued¹:

In a case like this we must use common sense; and an undertaking which is so obviously desirable, must not be allowed to

¹ Note by Martin Bormann: 'These pages contain many inaccuracies. In the notes taken of a conversation of considerable length, Dr. Picker fails to indicate precisely who were the speakers and who uttered the various opinions expressed.

lapse simply for want of temporary prisoner-of-war labour. If Gauleiter Forster has the necessary material at his disposal, then we must forthwith give him the prisoners he needs for the completion of the construction.

Generally speaking, I am of the opinion that in cases like this practical considerations should be regarded as the determining factor, and particularly so when it is a question of construction to be undertaken in the Eastern territories. One must resolutely turn a blind eye to the counsels of moderation emanating from a tea-table conference in Berlin. The mistakes made by the Prussian Government in these territories which we are trying to resuscitate are too numerous for us to be hide-bound by theoretical edicts.

From the cursory research made into the causes of the diminution of population of Germanic origin in the regions, two appear to stand out. They are: the nobility and the clergy. We know quite well to what degree the Roman Catholic Church made common cause with Poland in the political struggles. What is less known is the fact that in these regions the German nobility was entirely indifferent and took no pains at all to put German interests before all others. On the contrary, with these gentry, the question of caste was of primary consideration, even when it was a question of Polish nobles. Gauleiter Forster is perfectly right when he says that this tendency was greatly fostered by common keenness on shooting and hunting, which constituted a species of open-air freemasonry. Everything possible was done to dispossess the small German landowner and to replace German agricultural labourers by Poles. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the German nobility struck a mortal blow at the Germanic conception and undermined all the efforts that were made to maintain it.

The Prussian Government, by failing to take measures to counteract these tendencies, gave proof of its total ignorance of historic values. The German Emperors obviously had very good reasons when they applied themselves to the task offorming and maintaining in these South-eastern territories a number of small Germanic colonies. It was done deliberately, and it was the aim of their policy that there should live and develop in these marches of the Reich a population of Germanic origin as

dense as possible. If we wish to correct the mistakes of the last century in this respect, we must act decisively. We must remember the example set by the knights of the Germanic Orders, who were by no means kid-gloved. They held the Bible in one hand and their sword in the other. In the same way our soldiers in the East must be animated by the National Socialist faith and must not hesitate to use force to gain their ends, if need be.

We can even learn a lesson from the way the French behaved in Alsace. Without the slightest regard for the generations of men who would have to suffer in consequence, they set to work to eradicate from Alsace every vestige and trace of German influence, thrusting brutally the customs and the culture of France down the throats of the inhabitants. Acting in the same way we will mercilessly wipe out bilingualism in these territories, and the radical methods to which we shall have recourse will themselves prove their efficiency, even on the population hostile to Germanisation. We shall rapidly achieve a clear-cut situation, so that, by the second generation, or at latest by the third, these regions will have been completely pacified.

As regards Alsace and Lorraine, if we want to re-make these into authentic German provinces, then we must drive out all those who do not voluntarily accept the fact that they are Germans. Gauleiter Burckel has already taken severe measures in this sense—but we shall still have to get rid of a further quarter of a million of "frenchified" Alsatians. Should we send them to France, or should we send them to colonise the Eastern territories? From the point of view of principle, this is of no great importance. It is just a question of opportunity. And to fill the void left by their departure presents no problem at all. Baden alone can provide innumerable peasant sons willing to settle in Alsace and Lorraine, particularly as there is little room for them to remain in their own homeland. Actually, the farms in Baden are too small to allow a German family to rear on them a family of more than two children.

As regards the Germanisation of the Eastern territories, we shall not succeed except by the application of the most severe measures. Nevertheless I am convinced that these territories

will bear a profound Germanic imprint after fifty years of National Socialist history!

Gauleiter Forster quoted the problems raised by numerous special cases. He quoted the case of a Polish workman employed in the theatre at Graudenz, who wished to become a German national and stated in support of his claim that he had a German grandmother. Should an application of this kina be rejected out of hand? One thing was certain no German would wish to do the work that this Pole was doing in the There were, added Forster, the problems of the Graudenz, theatre. Catholic Sisters of Charity, who were doing splendid work among victims of contagious diseases, and of the Polish women working in the household of a badly wounded German. In Forster's opinion, if any Pole desired to acquire German nationality, the decision should depend upon the general impression made by the candidate. Even in cases where it was not possible to trace exactly the antecedents of the individual, there were nevertheless certain ethnical characteristics, which, taken in conjunction with character and standard of intelligence, gave sure guidance. According to Forster, it would appear that Professor Günther, a specialist in these matters, was quite right when he asserts, after a tour of ten-odd days through the province of Danzig, that four-fifths of the Poles living in the north of that province could be Germanised. When called upon to make decisions in such cases one should not forget, added Forster, that real life is always stronger than theory, and that therefore one should Germanise wherever possible, bearing in mindpast experience and relying on one's common sense. In the southern and south-eastern parts of the province, it would be better to start by establishing garrisons, with the object of "resuscitating" the population, and only later to examine the possibilities of Germanisation. The thing to be avoided in all these regions and throughout the intermediary period was the introduction of German priests. It would be far better to support the Polish clergy. Polish priests, with the pressure that could be put on them, would prove more malleable. One could count on their going each Saturday to the Governor and asking what should be the subject of their sermonfor the next day. Even better would be to persuade the Polish Bishop to remain in close touch with the German Gauleiter, and thus to ensure the transmission, through him, of all the instructions thought desirable to the priests under him. In this way, Forster concluded, it would

¹ Marginal note in Bormann's handwriting: "According to Forster's opinion, which is quite wrong."

be possible to maintain order in the country, even during the transition period.

The views of Gauleiter Forster met with strong opposition, especially from Reichsleiter Bormann. The latter admitted the necessarily empirical character of some of the decisions to be taken, but maintained that, as regards the Poles, care should be exercised not to Germanise them on too wide a scale, for fear they might inoculate the Germanpopulation with too strong a dose of their blood, which could have dangerous consequences. At this point the Fuehrer spoke again:

It is not possible to generalise on the extent to which the Slav races are susceptible to the Germanic imprint. In point of fact, Tsarist Russia, within the framework of her pan-Slav policy, propagated the qualification Slav and imposed it on a large diversity of people, who had no connection with the Slavonic race. For example, to label the Bulgarians as Slavs is pure nonsense; originally they were Turkomans. The same applies to the Czechs. It is enough for a Czech to grow a moustache for anyone to see, from the way the thing droops, that his origin is Mongolian. Among the so-called Slavs of the South the Dinars are predominant. Turning to the Croats, I must say I think it is highly desirable, from the ethnical point of view, that they should be Germanised. There are, however, political reasons which completely preclude any such measures.

There is one cardinal principle. This question of the Germanisation of certain peoples must not be examined in the light of abstract ideas and theory. We must examine each particular case. The only problem is to make sure whether the offspring of any race will mingle well with the German population and will improve it, or whether, on the contrary (as is the case when Jew blood is mixed with German blood), negative results will arise.

Unless one is completely convinced that the foreigners whom one proposes to introduce into the German community will have a beneficial effect, well, I think it's better to abstain, however strong the sentimental reasons may be which urge such a course on us. There are plenty of Jews with blue eyes and blond hair, and not a few of them have the appearance which strikingly supports the idea of the Germanisation of their

kind. It has, however, been indisputably established that, in the case of Jews, if the physical characteristics of the race are sometimes absent for a generation or two, they will inevitably reappear in the next generation. One thing struck me when I visited the Arsenal at Graz. It is that among the thousand suits of armour to be seen there, not one could be worn by a present-day Styrian—for they are all too small. To me, that is a proof that the representatives of the Germanic tribes who settled formerly in Styria not only infused new strength into the indigenous blood-stream, but also, by virtue of their own more vigorous blood, imposed their own attributes on the natives, and thus created a new racial type. This encourages me to station troops who are ethnically healthy in those regions where the race is of poor quality and thus to improve the blood-stock of the population.

You may object that such a practice might well undermine the moral sense of the German people. My answer to that is that it is just the sort of horrified objection one would expect from the moral hypocrite and the pretentious upper ten thousand. These people are shocked at the idea that a Turk may have four legitimate wives, but they admit that the Prussian Princes had forty, and often more, mistresses in the course of their lives. Such hypocrisy drives me to fury. The Prussian Prince, as he gets bored with his successive mistresses, can pack them off like bits of refuse of no importance, and we have here among us blackguards who regard them as men of honour. And these same renegades heap sarcasm on the honest German citizen who, with complete disregard of caste, marries the girl by whom he has had a child! It is these hypocrites who are responsible for mass abortions and for the existence of all those healthy women deprived of a man, simply as the result of reigning prejudice. Is there a more lovely consecration of love, pray, than the birth of a handsome babe, glowing with health? Although it is obvious to the eyes of any reasonable person that nature blesses the love of two beings by giving them a child, these sinister degenerates claim, if you please, that the status of a man or a woman depends on a sealed document given by the State—as if that were of any importance in comparison with the ties which unite two people in love!

To my way of thinking, the real ideal is that two beings should unite for life and that their love should be sanctified by the presence of children. If our farms have remained often for centuries, in some cases for as long as seven hundred years, in the possession of the same family, it is for the most part because marriages were arranged only when an infant was on the way. And for centuries the Catholic Church bowed to this custom and tolerated what was called "the trial". When the birth of the infant was imminent, the priest would remind the future father of his duty to marry. Unfortunately the Protestant Church has broken with these healthy customs and has prepared the way, with the aid of laws written or unwritten, for a hypocrisy whose object it is to stigmatise as something shameful a marriage which has been provoked by the arrival of a child. And don't let us forget, if we are going to be completely truthful, that a large part of the Prussian nobility owes its existence to a fauxpas on the part of one of the girls of the bourgeoisie.

Moreover, these prejudices only operate in reverse, and logic has no bearing on the trend of our desires—for the admissibility of the dissolution of marriage on account of incompatibility is legally recognised. If it is contrary to the law of nature to insist on the maintenance of a union in which the partners are unable to agree, it is no less wrong to put obstacles in the way of a marriage justifiable on the grounds of perfect reciprocal unity. My age saves me from the suspicion that I am perhaps pleading *pro domo*, and so I am able to invite attention to the importance of this problem.

I shall have no peace of mind until I have succeeded in planting a seed of Nordic blood wherever the population stand in need of regeneration.

If at the time of the migrations, while the great racial currents were exercising their influence, our people received so varied a share of attributes, these latter blossomed to their full value only because of the presence of the Nordic racial nucleus. Thus it is that we have acquired a sense of poetry, a tendency to nostalgia, which finds its expression in music. But it is thanks to those attributes that are peculiar to our race and which have been preserved in Lower Saxony that we have been able harmoniously to absorb extraneous characteristics—for we

possess one faculty which embraces all the others, and that is, the imperial outlook, the power to reason and to build dispassionately.

In the notes in which the ideas of Frederick the Great were jotted down, I was pleased to find again and again opinions similar to those I have just expressed. For instance, when *der alte Fritz* stigmatises as "moral cannibalism" the opposition to his healthy racial policy, which was on all fours with our own, and when he comes out in favour of marriage based on the presence of an illegitimate child, then I have nothing but approval.

216 13th May 1942, at dinner

Political instability of Vichy—France's alternatives—Inadequacy of Pétain—Mistrust of Laval—Dangers of a phantom Government—What Germany will keep.

The thing that strikes me above all in the present-day policy of the French is the fact that, because they were anxious to sit on every chair at the same time, they have not succeeded in sitting firmly on any one of them. The explanation is that the soul of the country has been torn asunder. In the Vichy Government alone a whole heap of tendencies is apparent—anti-Semitic nationalism, clerical pro-Semitism, royalism, the spirit of revolution and so on. And as a final misery, if an energetic man make a mistake, there seems to be no provision in the political plan whereby a swift and clear-cut decision can be reached. There are nevertheless only two possible courses which French policy can pursue, and France must choose one of the following:

- (a) She must renounce her metropolitan territory, transfer her seat of Government to North Africa and continue the war against us with all the resources of her African colonial empire, or
- (b) She must join the Axis Powers, and thus save the greater part of her territory. She must intervene in Central Africa and ensure for herself possessions there, which will compensate her for the loss of the territories which she will inevitably have to cede, when the peace treaty is signed, to Germany, Italy and Spain.

take the consequences, for the Church defended itself without mercy. Which is understandable, of course, for the more bigoted a man or an organisation is, the more shattering becomes the impact of the revelation of their errors and, with it, the destruction of the whole basis of their thought. History shows that inventors have met much the same fate. The postmaster who made the epoch-making discovery that it was possible to place a vehicle on rails and propel it by steam was, at the time, uproariously ridiculed by the postal directors—that is, by the experts. The tragedy is that it is always an inventor's fate to attack something which is already established and which has therefore come to be regarded by the people as immutable. In addition, the initial effect of a new invention is invariably to create disorder. War, which gives added impetus to every form of activity, is therefore undoubtedly the most favourable atmosphere for invention. Aviation, for instance, made more progress in three and a half years of war than in thirty years of peace. One has only to recollect that in 1906 it was taken as axiomatic that the aeroplane was valueless unless it could attain a speed of twenty-five miles an hour.

231 3rd June 1942, at dinner

Technological warfare—The elephants of Hannibal.

It is astonishing to note to what a degree the ancients succeeded in adapting technology to the needs of war.

The victories of Hannibal without his elephants, or of Alexander without his chariots, his cavalry and the technique of his archers are impossible to conceive.

In war, the best soldier—that is to say, the soldier who achieves the greatest success—is the one who has the most modern technical means at his disposal, not only in battle itself, but also in the field of communications and supply.

In time of war, to face oneself with the dilemma—shall we have a soldier or a technical expert?—is the greatest mistake one can possibly make. A sound strategy, therefore, must be one which succeeds in moulding the technical means at its disposal in such a manner as to meet one's needs with the maximum of efficiency.

232 4th June 1942, at dinner

Murder in Prague—Heydrich's imprudence and rashness.

The Fuehrer comments on the assassination of Heydrich.

I shall forthwith give an absolute order that in future our men who are particularly exposed to danger must implicitly obey the regulations laid down to ensure their safety.

Since it is the opportunity which makes not only the thief but also the assassin, such heroic gestures as driving in an open, unarmoured vehicle or walking about the streets of Prague unguarded are just damned stupidity, which serves the country not one whit.

That a man as irreplaceable as Heydrich should expose himself to unnecessary danger, I can only condemn ac stupid and idiotic. Men of importance like Heydrich should know that they are eternally being stalked like game, and that there are any number of people just waiting for the chance to kill them. The police alone, with the means of information at their disposal, cannot guarantee security. When a car collides with a tree, for example, it takes them goodness knows how long to decide whether there has, in fact, been any foul play. If a driver is shot, and the car crashes, the passengers cannot really know what has happened, for when one is travelling at sixty miles an hour a bullet reaches its mark long before the sound of its discharge is heard.

So long as conditions in our territories remain unstable, and until the German people has been completely purged of the foreign rabble, our public men must exercise the greatest care for their safety. That is in the interest of the nation.

233 5th June 1942, midday

Pre-disposition of the Finns to mental diseases—Effects of study of the Bible thereon—Religious mania—Germans must avoid spiritual sickness.

The topic of conversation was the exceptionally large number of cases of mental disease in Finland. Among the causes put forward as possible explanations of the vulnerability of the Finns to these types of

diseases were—the Aurora Borealis and the strong inclination prevalent among Finns to worry unduly over religious problems. In Finland the farms are often as much as thirty to fifty miles apart, and the inhabitants, condemned, particularly in winter, to a comparatively isolated existence, feel the need of mental exercise; an exceptionally strong tendency to religious surmise is therefore understandable. The Fuehrer expressed himself as follows:

It is a great pity that this tendency towards religious thought can find no better outlet than the Jewish pettifoggery of the Old Testament. For religious people who, in the solitude of winter, continually seek ultimate light on their religious problems with the assistance of the Bible, must eventually become spiritually deformed. The wretched people strive to extract truths from these Jewish chicaneries, where in fact no truths exist. As a result they become embedded in some rut of thought or other and, unless they possess an exceptionally commonsense mind, degenerate into religious maniacs.

It is deplorable that the Bible should have been translated into German, and that the whole of the German people should have thus become exposed to the whole of this Jewish mumbojumbo. So long as the wisdom, particularly of the Old Testament, remained exclusively in the Latin of the Church, there was little danger that sensible people would become the victims of illusions as the result of studying the Bible. But since the Bible became common property, a whole heap of people have found opened to them lines of religious thought which—particularly in conjunction with the German characteristic of persistent and somewhat melancholy meditation—as often as not turned them into religious maniacs. When one recollects further that the Catholic Church has elevated to the status of Saints a whole number of madmen, one realises why movements such as that of the Flagellants came inevitably into existence in the Middle Ages in Germany.

As a sane German, one is flabbergasted to think that German human beings could have let themselves be brought to such a pass by Jewish filth and priestly twaddle, that they were little different from the howling dervish of the Turks and the negroes, at whom we laugh so scornfully. It angers one to think that, while in other

parts of the globe religious teaching like that of Confucius, Buddha and Mohammed offers an undeniably broad basis for the religious-minded, Germans should have been duped by a theological exposition devoid of all honest depth.

When one seeks reasons for these phenomena, one is immediately struck by the extent to which the human brain reacts to external influence. A child, for example, who in its very early years has been frightened with the threat of the bogey-man in the dark, will frequently retain throughout all the years of its development a fear of entering a dark room, a cellar or the like; among women a fear of this nature inculcated in early youth often persists for a lifetime. On the other hand, there are dangers which, not ever having come to his notice, a man completely ignores. A child living in an area exposed to bombing and to whom the dangers of a bombardment have not been explained, will regard an enemy air attack as a noisy firework display, and will not as a rule show the slightest sign of fear.

The essential conclusion to which these considerations leads me is that we must do everything humanly possible to protect for all time any further sections of the German people from the danger of mental deformity, regardless of whether it be religious mania or any other type of cerebral derangement. For this reason I have directed that every town of any importance shall have an observatory, for astronomy has been shown by experience to be one of the best means at man's disposal for increasing his knowledge of the universe, and thus saving him from any tendency towards mental aberration.

234 5th June 1942, at dinner A Saint is promoted to the rank of General!

A report was submitted to the Fuehrer, according to which the Caudillo had decided, in a decree dated 22nd September 1941, to award the full honours of a Field-Marshal to Saint Funicisla, the patron saint of Segovia, in recognition of the miracle she performed \(\beta \text{v} \) years ago, whereby three thousand nationalist soldiers under the command of de Volera, the Minister for War at the time, were enabled successfully to defend that city against an assault by fifteen thousand Reds. He was told also of another case in which a saint was appointed General because,

when a bomb penetrated the church of which she was the patron saint, she prevented it from exploding. The Fuehrer intervened as follows:

I have the gravest possible doubts that any good can come of nonsense of this kind. I am following the development of Spain with the greatest scepticism, and I've already made up my mind that, though eventually I may visit every other European country, I shall never go to Spain.

235 7th June 1942, midday

Monarchical tendencies in Spain supported by the Church—Same old tactics for the seizing of power—A new revolution in Spain would spell ruin—Two "little requests" from Admiral Horthy—The river Tisza is the Hungarian Rhine—Horthy's son—Inter-allied Military Commissions in 1925—Treason among Germans—The emigres of 1933—Views on the crime of treason—All traitors should be shot—Conscientious objectors—Settling with "Bible students".

During discussion about the Blue Division—the Spanish Division serving on the Eastern front—the conversation turned once more to the internal situation in Spain. Reichsleiter Bormann remarked that the increasing swing in favour of a monarchy received more than a little encouragement from the clergy. The Fuehrer agreed, and continued:

The activities of the Church in Spain are no different from those of the Catholic Church in our own country, or indeed from those of most Churches in any other country. Any Church, provided it is in a position to exert influence on the civil régime, will, as a matter of principle, support or tolerate only such a régime as knows and recognises no form of popular organisation other than one under the ægis of the Church, and is therefore dependent, for purposes of general administration, solely on the Church, as the only organised leadership of the people.

Unless it is prepared to renounce that striving for power, which is inherent in every Church participating in politics, the Church in Spain cannot recognise the present régime, which has created in the Falange an organisation of its own for the direction of the Spanish people. There is therefore only one thing the Falange can do to establish definite relations with the Church, and that is to limit the intervention of the latter to religious—

that is, supernatural—affairs. If one once allows the Church to exercise the slightest influence on the governing of the people and the upbringing of the younger generation, it will strive to become omnipotent, and one makes a great mistake if one thinks that one can make a collaborator of the Church by accepting a compromise.

The whole international outlook and political interest of the Catholic Church in Spain render inevitable conflict between the Church and the Franco régime, and a new revolution thus comes within the bounds of possibility. Spain may well have to pay with her blood, in the not too distant future, for her failure to carry through a truly national revolution, as was done in Germany and Italy.

Kallay, the new Prime Minister of Hungary, came to me with two "little requests" from Regent Horthy—namely, that firstly the Lord God and secondly I myself should turn a benevolent blind eye if the Hungarians started a fight with the Rumanians. From the Hungarian point of view, said Kallay, such a fight would be a struggle against Asia, for the frontier between Europe and Asia was, in Hungarian eyes, the line where the Orthodox Church ceased to hold sway. It was, after all, he said, only the countries on this side of that frontier which had played their part in European cultural development and all its great accomplishments, such as the Reformation, the Renaissance and the like. It was for this reason that Hungary had always been hostile to Russia and had at the time been at a loss to understand the policy of the Third Reich when it made its pact with Russia.

Kallay went on to point out that the river Theis held the same significance for the Hungarians as did the Rhine for Germans. The Rhine, in German eyes, was a German river; in the same way the Tisza to Hungarians was not an international frontier but a national waterway.

In the field of domestic politics, Kallay mentioned the necessity for a Land Reform Act in Hungary. Such a reform, he thought, should, however, confine itself simply to increasing the size of the very smallest holdings.

Kallay then spoke of Horthy's son, whom he described as a great thruster and whom, he asserted, the Hungarian troops

fighting on our Eastern front regarded as a great hero. This I can well believe, for I know that his father, the Regent, is a man of exceptional courage.

I must say I think Horthy has worked out a very neat plan. For, if his son wins his spurs fighting for the Germans, then the latter can hardly raise any objections if the Hungarians appoint him deputy to his father and eventually grace him with the glory of the crown of St. Stephen. Equally Horthy's Hungarian political opponents can take no possible exception to the activities of Horthy junior, since he has proved himself in the struggle against Bolshevism.

Under the Weimar Republic treason assumed such proportions that even military secrets were published in the press and bandied about in open session in the Reichstag.

When the foreign military commissions quitted Germany in 1925, they left behind them an organised Intelligence Service and spy-ring, which not only rendered their further presence redundant but, in the opinion of the military attachés accredited to Berlin, has also functioned to their complete satisfaction ever since.

I was again and again infuriated by the state of moral degeneracy which alone made possible the setting up of this gigantic spy-ring in Germany and which found expression in the most blatant and shameless form of treason. Even to-day I remember a case, where a Member of the Reichstag asked, in open session, whether the Government was aware of the fact that in X Street a section of four tanks of the German Reichswehr had been seen, whose specifications were obviously contrary to the conditions imposed by the Versailles Treaty, and what action did the Government propose to take in the matter? Alas, at that time I could do no more than cause a list to be drawn up of all these traitorous elements, so as to be in a position, after the assumption of power by the National Socialist Party, at least to punish these blackguards as they deserved.

That we got rid of the majority of this riff-raff in 1933 without having to do much about it, is due to the fact that no fewer than 65,000 citizens of the State fled the country as soon as we came into power. I admit we did not know exactly what misdemeanour each individual had committed, but we were pretty safe in assuming that in most cases it was the dictates of their own

consciences which caused them to flee abroad. A little later quite a number of them thought better of it and showed an inclination to return to Germany. We quickly dammed this flow-back of undesirable elements by announcing that all who returned would, as a matter of principle, have to pass through the concentration camps, and that any against whom crimes were proved would be liable to be shot. In this way the Reich was freed of many thousands of anti-social elements, whom it would otherwise have been difficult to catch or fling out. Heydrich and his Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service) very soon broke up the rest—a service that was all the more valuable because the Department of Justice proved quite incapable of the task.

Our Department of Justice frequently enraged me by its handling of crimes of treason. For instance, on one occasion they recommended a traitor to mercy on the grounds that he was "primarily employed as a smuggler and should therefore be dealt with as such"! It was only with the greatest difficulty that I was able to persuade Dr. Gürtner, the Minister for Justice, of the absolute necessity of exercising the utmost severity in cases of treason. When details of fortifications in East Prussia were betrayed, Gürtner went so far as to recommend a mild punishment, because, after all, the damage done was of a minor nature! I told Gürtner pretty straight that it was quite impossible to judge what damage had been done. How could one tell whether, one day, one of these betrayed strong-points would not be occupied in war by a Divisional Commander and his Staff and be destroyed? Such an event might have a decisive effect on operations. Was that damage "of a minor nature"?

Eventually I had to tell Gürtner of my implacable resolve to have traitors, who had been too leniently treated by the normal courts, handed over to an SS Commando and shot. For treason is an offence revealing a hostile mind (ein Gesinnungs-delikt), and every traitor must be executed regardless of the amount of damage he has done.

Initially, the People's Court (*Volksgerichtshof*), set up under the aegis of the Department of Justice, did not, in my opinion, carry out its task with that measure of severity which I thought desirable. It was also by no means easy to make the Legislature adapt itself to the obvious needs of the State, because the

jurist members of the Cabinet agreed only after much hesitation to accept treason as a crime revealing a hostile mind.

In all the discussions on this subject I found myself repeatedly compelled to say that such a thing as treason on idealistic grounds did not exist. The only type of treason which one might possibly regard as springing from certain moral inhibitions is a refusal to join the armed forces on grounds of religious conviction. But we should not fail to point out to these elements which refuse to fight on religious grounds that they obviously still want to eat the things others are fighting to get for them, that this was quite contrary to the spirit of a higher justice, and that we must therefore leave them to starve.

I regard it as an act of exceptional clemency that I did not, in fact, carry out this threat, but contented myself with shooting one hundred and thirty of these self-styled Bible Students (Bibelforscher). Incidentally, the execution of these hundred and thirty cleared the air, just like a thunderstorm does. When the news of the shootings was made public, many thousands of similarly minded people who proposed to avoid military service on the score of some religious scruple or other lost their courage and changed their minds.

If you wish to wage war successfully or to lead a people successfully through a difficult period of its history, you must have no doubts whatever on one point—namely, any individual who in such times tries, either actively or passively, to exclude himselffrom the activities of the community, must be destroyed.

Anyone who for false reasons of mercy deviates from this clear principle is aiding, willingly or unwillingly, the dissolution of the State. We can see the beginnings of this process to-day in a country like Sweden.

236 7th June 1942, at dinner

A Procession at Barcelona—Harassing the Falange—My distrust of Serrano Suner—Superior resistance of Italians to Church heresies—German Emperors and the Church—A Requiem Mass for the Protector of Bohemia and Moravia.

The Fuehrer was informed that on the occasion of the Corpus Christi procession in Barcelona, the Governor of the town forbade by edict the people taking part in the procession to wear the uniform either of the Falange, the Falangist Militia or any part of them. A solitary exception was made infavour of the regional Chief of the Falange and his suite. It appears from the report that this prohibition was obtained by the Nationalists through the medium of the Church authorities. In this connection it will be recalled that some weeks ago incidents occurred between the Nationalists and the members of the Falange, who nevertheless represent the official State Party. It is further significant that the Madrid newspaper Arriba attacks this ban and states roundly that the wearing of the blue shirt is a duty to which the Falangists are in honour bound, and that all those who oppose them are despicable creatures.

The Fuehrer's opinion follows:

One sees only too clearly from this sort of thing how the Spanish State is rushing towards fresh disaster. The priests and the monarchists—the same mortal enemies who opposed the resurgence of our own people—have joined together to seize power in Spain. If a new civil war breaks out, I should not be surprised to see the Falangists compelled to make common cause with the Reds to rid themselves of the clerico-monarchical muck. What a pity it is that the blood shed in common by the Falangists, the Fascists and the National Socialists during the war has not brought better results! But in Spain, unfortunately, someone will always be found willing to serve the political interests Serrano Suner, the present Minister for of the Church. Foreign Affairs, is one of them. From my first meeting with him I was conscious of a feeling of revulsion, in spite of the fact that our Ambassador, with abysmal ignorance of the facts, introduced him to me as the most ardent Germanophile in Spain.

That the Fascists were spared a second civil war is due to the fact that the movement, initiated in Rome, succeeded in uniting the Italian nation in spite of the opposition of the Church. Further, Fascism clearly defined the position as regards what things fell within the sphere of the Church and what things fell within the sphere of the State. When the Church refused to recognise the law for the formation of the Fascist Youth Organisation, the Fascists retaliated by ruthlessly breaking up every religious procession from Rome right down

to the South of Italy. The result was that within three days the Church had come to heel.

Speaking generally, the history of Italy shows that the Italian people adopt a very much more realistic attitude towards the Church than do the Spaniards or, alas, not a few Germans! Is it not a sad thought that each time the Italians flung out some Pope or other, there was always a German Kaiser ready and willing to restore order in the Vatican? I must be honest and confess that I myself have not been guiltless in this respect. By creating a Bishop of the Reich I tried to bring a little clarity into the equivocal situation in the Evangelical Church. When I see what is happening to-day in Spain, I congratulate myself on the failure of my efforts. Once more Providence prevented me from committing a mistake I was on the point of making. Who, indeed, is prepared to give me a guarantee that one fine day the Protestant Bishop of the Reich will not make common cause against me with the Pope!

The established religions, and particularly the Catholic Church, are adepts at presenting an innocent mien and in flattering the man in power. I myself experienced this when, shortly after assuming power, I received a visit from the Bishop Bertram. He brought me the good wishes and the homage of the Catholic clergy with such unction that, had I not known differently from bitter personal experience, I would not have believed it possible that a single National Socialist could have been excluded from the Church on account of his convictions, or could have been persecuted, and even execrated after death.

It is with such semblance of humility that the Church has always wormed its way into power and succeeded in winning its way by flattery into the good graces of the German Emperors, from Charlemagne onwards. It is the same technique as that employed by sophisticated women, who at first exude charm in order to gain a man's confidence, and then gradually tighten the strings, until they hold them so firmly that the man dances like a puppet to their whims. With a little diplomatic *savoir faire* such women manage even to persuade their husbands—exactly as in the case of the Church and the German Emperors—that it is they who rule the roost, and this in spite of the nose-ring on which they are so obviously being led!

Quite recently the Church tried to pull off a new one of this kind. The Bishop of Bohemia and Moravia begged permission to be allowed to hold a Requiem Mass with chimes for SS Obergruppenfuehrer Heydrich. I told the gentleman bluntly that he would have been much better employed if he had previously offered prayers for the safety and welfare of the Reich Protector!

237 8th June 1942, at dinner

The rôle of coming generations—Extension of the Germanic idea—A new name for the Reich capital—Youth should lead youth—Ridiculous anomalies in religious divergence—Influence of the National Socialist youth within the family—Penurious inadequacy of school-teachers—Propaganda—The rôle of the Press in national education.

During dinner photographs were passed round, showing the Reich Youth Leader in the company of Youth Group Leaders, male and female, from Norway, Denmark, Holland, etc. The Fuehrer expressed himself as follows:

It is an excellent thing that Axmann has been at the front as a soldier. The loss of an arm in battle will undoubtedly enhance his prestige with the youths, not only of Germany, but also of the other countries. I am very pleased, too, to welcome Axmann's efforts, and to see how he strives continuously to bind the youth of the German lands with ever closer bonds to National Socialism and to the German way of thought. For once youth has been won over to an idea, an action like that of yeast sets in. Youth effervesces and goes on working and working for an idea, regardless of anything that the older generation can do to stop them. Even in Denmark, the opposition of the older generations will not prevent the youth from adopting in ever-increasing numbers the German way of thought, for they feel they spring from the same racial origins. By methodically supporting the development of this movement I am cutting the ground from under the feet of the old King of Denmark and drawing his people away from him, in exactly the same way as I succeeded at the time in estranging the people of Austria slowly but surely from the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg régime.

SCHOOL AND HITLER YOUTH

Following the example of Bismarck, who never ceased to preach the pan-Germanic idea to the Bavarians, the Prussians, etc., we must systematically draw all the Germanic peoples of continental Europe into the German channel of thought. I really believe that by re-naming Berlin the capital of our Reich "Germania", we would give very considerable impetus to the movement. The name Germania for the capital of the Reich in its new representative form would be very appropriate, for it would give to every member of the German community, however far away from the capital he may be, a feeling of unity and closer membership. There would be no technical difficulty about re-naming Berlin, as we can see from the Germanisation of Gdynia into Gotenhafen and the changing of the name of Lodz into Litzmannstadt.

In the same way as the press, the school also must be used as an instrument for the education of the people, and must therefore be organised and directed without any regard for private interests.

The school alone, however, as the instrument for the education of youth, does not suffice, because it is too prone to give priority of interest to purely academic achievement.

It is for this reason that I have formed the supplementary organisation of the Hitlerjugend and endowed it with the bold motto "Die Jugend von Jugend gefuehrt werden soll"—Youth must be led by Youth. In this way I have set up, in their very early years, a process of selectivity amongst young people, whereby the little group leaders soon select themselves. To the judgment of the schoolmaster, who normally confines himself to exact scholastic attainments, is thus added by the Hitler Youth the judgment of the youth leaders, which lays primary value on character—that is, on sense of comradeship, endurance, courage and qualities of leadership.

The effective value of the school and the Hitler Youth as instruments of education depends on the quality of the instructors. In the choice of leaders for the Hitler Youth and of teachers for the Department of Education, our first principle must be to ensure that these instructors of both kinds are chosen from men who will remain as an example to youth for the rest of their lives, exactly as the instructors in the gymnasia of

Ancient Greece set the example of bodily and spiritual perfection to the youth submitted to their charge. It is between the ages of ten and seventeen, that youth exhibits both the greatest enthusiasm and the greatest idealism, and it is for this period of their lives that we must provide them with the best possible instructors and leaders, for only the very best will guarantee the high standard of education at which we uniformly aim.

The criminal follies committed under the Weimar Republic in the field of education were most clearly demonstrated to me by a report on the conditions obtaining in Baden at the time of our assumption of power. The factional splitting of youth education in Baden had been carried to such a pitch that there were actually separate water-closets for Protestant and Catholic children! The Government of the time was apparently blissfully ignorant of the corrosive poison which such a partition of the educational system injected into the soul of youth.

It is also during these years of adolescent development that a child's sensibility is at its strongest. How many of our leading Party members were originally brought into the National Socialist movement by the influence of their own children! Again and again young people, filled with enthusiasm for National Socialism, have succeeded first in persuading their mother, and then, with her help, in winning over the father for the NSDAP.

It is therefore most important that a proper appreciation of the requirements of youth should be inculcated and strengthened among the teachers in schools. For the ensuring of a continuous supply of school-teachers, we must not overlook the claims of those who, from their environment or as a result of their professional activities, are particularly suited to the purpose. I am thinking primarily, in this respect, of the women and the time-expired soldiers.

In my opinion, women teachers and ex-soldiers are ideal for the elementary schools. There is no need to give these teachers any exaggerated form of training or to stuff their heads till they become stupid with mental indigestion; all that is required is to equip them with just the knowledge that is essential for the elementary schools. A teacher who is destined to spend his life in a village has no need of high academic learning. This does not *at* all mean that teachers who prove exceptionally efficient should be deprived of the opportunity of promotion. One does not keep a keen officer for ever drilling recruits; if one did, he'd probably hang himself! In the same way, the best of our teachers must be given the chance of advancement into the higher branches of their profession, and not be condemned to teach for ever in the elementary schools. And in particular, we must make it easy for them to be promoted from elementary to intermediate schools.

Reichsleiter Bormann has just told us that there is such a dearth of teachers in the Warthegau, that it has been necessary to reduce the period of preparatory training even below that obtaining in Austria. Personally, I don't think that matters very much. Those who feel within themselves the urge to higher things will use their free time in seeking the necessary knowledge. The important thing is that all those who feel that they are worthy of an intermediate or higher education should know that the State will pave their way as regards both instruction and study.

Conversation then turned to questions of administration, the complexities of its organisation and the duplication of effort which not infrequently ensued. The Fuehrer said:

In my opinion, it is a mistake to set up a propaganda department in each Ministry, and even in some of the higher administrative departments. The Ministry of Propaganda and the Press Service of the Reich are there to meet all needs. I have myself set an example in the Chancellery, by refraining from setting up any special propaganda or press department, and I do not find that this in any way hinders the immediate fulfilment of any press or propaganda instructions I issue. When I am travelling, I can stop at any railway station, give any instructions I consider necessary, and be sure that, through the medium of the press and the radio, by the next morning public opinion will be properly prepared for any political announcement I may have to make—even a Russo-German pact!

It is only by means of the concentration of the whole machinery of press and propaganda in one single organisation that a unified direction of the press can be assured. And a unified press is a prerequisite, if the press is to enjoy the confidence of the people and thus also to become effective as an instrument of popular education. For only a unified press is free from those contradictions of news items, of political, cultural and such-like communications, which make it laughable in the eyes of the public, rob it of any prestige as a purveyor of truth and of any value as an instrument for the education of public opinion.

How little this was understood in the circle of the so-called national press was brought home to me in 1920 in the course of an altercation with the Reverend Traub, the editor of *Eiserne Blätter*. When I told the reverend gentleman as bluntly as I could that a free press must give way to a unified and controlled press, because the former was nothing more nor less than a free forum for the dissemination of Jewish impertinences, he crumpled entirely. The mentality of the so-called Nationalists of the type of the Reverend Traub was very correctly assessed by Dietrich Eckart, when he declared that the *Eiserne Blätter* (The Pages of Iron) should more properly be called "Blecherne Blätter" (Pages of Lead).

What an enormously important instrument for the education of public opinion the press could become was never understood by the so-called Nationalists. And yet, what other instrument is so well suited to the purpose? I myselfput the press on the same footing as the Department of Education, and in both cases, I maintain, private interests must play no part whatsoever, either in their organisation or in the control of them.

238 22nd June 1942, midday

Popularity of Rommel and Dietl—Fine British publicity for Rommel—Motorised warfare in the desert—The triumph of the Volkswagen.

Dr. Göbbels turned the conversation to the subject of General Rommel. He stated that Generals like Brauchitsch, Rundstedt and others were far from enjoying a popularity comparable to that of Rommel or Dietl. If the press were suddenly to stop writing about men like Brauchitsch and Rundstedt, the public would soonforget all about them. Rommel and Dietl, on the other hand, stood so high in popular esteem that their names had become the personification of German military