

The Attack on Soviet Union

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Announcement of Invasion of Soviet Union

Josef Goebbels

June 22, 1941

Heute stehen rund 160 russische Divisionen an unserer Grenze. Seit Wochen finden dauernde Verletzungen dieser Grenze statt, nicht nur bei uns, sondern ebenso im hohen Norden, wie in Rumänien. Russische Flieger machen es sich zum Vergnügen, unbekümmert diese Grenzen einfach zu übersehen, um uns wohl dadurch zu beweisen, dass sie sich bereits als die Herren dieser Gebiete fühlen. In der Nacht vom 17. zum 18. Juni haben wieder russische Patrouillen auf deutsches Reichsgebiet vorgeführt und konnten erst nach längerem Feuergefecht zurückgetrieben werden.

Damit aber ist nunmehr die Stunde gekommen, in der es notwendig wird, diesem Komplott der jüdisch-angelsächsischen Kriegsanstifter und der ebenso jüdischen Machthaber der bolschewistischen Moskauer Zentrale entgegenzutreten.

Deutsches Volk!

In diesem Augenblick vollzieht sich ein Aufmarsch, der in Ausdehnung und Umfang der größte, ist, den die Welt bisher gesehen hat. Im Verein mit finnischen Kameraden stehen die Kämpfer des Siegers von Narvik am Nördlichen Eismeer. Deutsche Divisionen unter dem Befehl des Eroberers von Norwegen schützen gemeinsam mit den finnischen Freiheitshelden unter ihrem Marschall den finnischen Boden. Von Ostpreußen bis zu den Karpaten reichen die Formationen der deutschen Ostfront. An den Ufern des Pruth, am Unterlauf der Donau bis zu den Gestaden des Schwarzen Meeres vereinen sich unter dem Staatschef Antonescu deutsche und rumänische Soldaten.

Die Aufgabe dieser Front ist daher nicht mehr der Schutz einzelner Länder, sondern die Sicherung Europas und damit die Rettung aller.

Ich habe mich deshalb heute entschlossen, das Schicksal und die Zukunft des Deutschen Reiches und unseres Volkes wieder in die Hand unserer Soldaten zu legen.

Möge uns der Herrgott gerade in diesem Kampfe helfen!

Germany declares War on Soviet Union

Joachim von Ribbentrop

June 22, 1941

Die deutschfeindliche Politik der Sowjetregierung wurde auf militärischem Gebiete begleitet von einer ständig zunehmenden Konzentrierung der gesamten verfügbaren russischen Streitkräfte auf einer langen Front von der Ostsee bis zum Schwarzen Meer. Schon zu einer Zeit, als Deutschland im Westen im französischen Feldzug stark engagiert war und als sich im Osten nur ganz geringe deutsche Truppenteile befanden, begann das russische Oberkommando mit der systematischen Verlegung größerer Truppenkontingente an die östliche Reichsgrenze, wobei besondere Massierungen gegenüber Ostpreußen und dem Generalgouvernement, ferner in der Bukowina und in Bessarabien gegenüber Rumänien festgestellt wurden. Auch gegenüber Finnland wurden die russischen Garnisonen ständig verstärkt. Die Verschiebung von immer neuen russischen Divisionen aus Ostasien und dem Kaukasus nach dem europäischen Russland waren weitere Maßnahmen auf diesem Gebiete. Nachdem die Sowjetregierung seinerzeit erklärt hatte, dass z.B. das Baltikum mit nur ganz geringen Truppen belegt werden würde, erfolgte allein in, diesem Raume nach Durchführung der Besetzungsaktion eine sich immer steigernde Konzentration von russischen Truppenmassen, die heute auf 22 Divisionen geschätzt werden. Es ergibt sich somit das Bild, dass die russischen Truppen sich immer näher an die deutsche Grenze heranschoben, obwohl von deutscher Seite keine militärischen Maßnahmen getroffen wurden, mit denen eine solche russische Aktion hätte begründet werden können. Erst dieses russische Verhalten hat die deutsche Wehrmacht zu Gegenmaßnahmen gezwungen. Ferner haben sich die einzelnen Verbände des russischen Heeres und der Luftwaffe nach vorn aufgeschlossen, und die Flugplätze entlang der deutschen Grenze sind mit starken Verbänden der Luftwaffe belegt. Seit Anfang April sind ebenfalls vermehrte Grenzverletzungen und sich immer steigernde Überfliegungen des deutschen Reichsgebietes durch russische Flugzeuge festzustellen. Dasselbe trifft laut Mitteilungen der rumänischen Regierung auch für das rumänische Grenzgebiet der Bukowina, der Moldau und der Donau zu.

Das Oberkommando der Wehrmacht hat die außenpolitische Leitung des Reiches seit Anfang d. J. wiederholt auf diese immer zunehmende Bedrohung des Reichsgebietes durch die russische Armee hingewiesen und dabei betont, dass diesem Aufmarsch nur aggressive Absichten zugrunde liegen könnten.

Diese Mitteilungen des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht werden mit allen darin enthaltenen Einzelheiten der Öffentlichkeit bekanntgegeben werden.

Wenn aber noch die geringsten Zweifel über die Aggressivität des russischen Aufmarsches bestehen konnten, so sind diese durch die Nachrichten, die dem Oberkommando der Wehrmacht in den letzten Tagen zugegangen sind, restlos beseitigt. Nach Durchführung der russischen Generalmobilmachung sind heute nicht weniger als 160 Divisionen gegen Deutschland aufmarschiert.

Die Beobachtungsergebnisse der letzten Tage zeigen, dass die Gruppierung der russischen Truppen und insbesondere der motorisierten und Panzerverbände in einer Weise erfolgt ist, dass das russische Oberkommando zu einem aggressiven Vorgehen gegen die deutsche Grenze an verschiedenen Stellen jederzeit in der Lage ist. Die Meldungen über vermehrte Aufklärungs- und Patrouillentätigkeit sowie täglich eingehende Meldungen über Zwischenfälle an der Grenze und Vorpostengefächte zwischen den beiden Armeen vervollständigen das Bild einer aufs äußerste gespannten militärischen Lage, die jederzeit zur Entladung kommen kann. Die heute aus England kommenden Nachrichten über die Verhandlungen des englischen Botschafters Cripps über eine noch engere Zusammenarbeit zwischen der politischen und militärischen Leitung Englands und Sowjetrusslands sowie der Aufruf des früher immer sowjetfeindlich eingestellten Lord Beaverbrook zur Unterstützung Russlands mit allen zur Verfügung stehenden Kräften in seinem kommenden Kampf und die Aufforderung an die Vereinigten Staaten, ein gleiches zu tun, beweist eindeutig, welches Schicksal man dem deutschen Volk bereiten möchte. Zusammenfassend hat die Reichsregierung daher folgende Erklärung abzugeben:

Entgegen allen von ihr übernommenen Verpflichtungen und in krassem Widerspruch zu ihren feierlichen Erklärungen hat die Sowjetregierung sich gegen Deutschland gewandt.

Sie hat – erstens – ihre gegen Deutschland und Europa gerichteten Zersetzungsversuche nicht nur fortgesetzt, sondern seit Kriegsausbruch noch verstärkt;

Sie hat – zweitens – in sich immer steigendem Maße ihre Außenpolitik gegen Deutschland feindlich eingestellt;

Und sie ist – drittens – mit ihren gesamten Streitkräften an der deutschen Grenze sprungbereit aufmarschiert.

Damit hat die Sowjetregierung die Verträge und Vereinbarungen mit Deutschland verraten und gebrochen. Der Hass des bolschewistischen Moskau gegen den Nationalsozialismus war stärker als die politische Vernunft. In Todfeindschaft steht der Bolschewismus dem Nationalsozialismus gegenüber. Das bolschewistische

Moskau ist im Begriff, dem nationalsozialistischen Deutschland in seinem Existenzkampf in den Rücken zu fallen.

Deutschland ist nicht gewillt, dieser ernststen Bedrohung seiner Ostgrenze tatenlos zuzusehen. Der Führer hat daher nunmehr der deutschen Wehrmacht den Befehl erteilt, dieser Bedrohung mit allen zur Verfügung stehenden Machtmitteln entgegenzutreten. In dem kommenden Kampf ist sich das deutsche Volk bewusst, dass es nicht nur zum Schutz der Heimat antritt, sondern dass es dazu berufen ist, die gesamte Kulturwelt von den tödlichen Gefahren des Bolschewismus zu retten und den Weg für einen wahren sozialen Aufstieg in Europa frei zu machen.

Soviet Union Declares War on Germany

Vjaceslav Molotov

June 22, 1941

Граждане и гражданки Советского Союза!

Советское правительство и его глава тов. Сталин поручили мне сделать следующее заявление:

Сегодня, в 4 часа утра, без предъявления каких-либо претензий к Советскому Союзу, без объявления войны, германские войска напали на нашу страну, атаковали наши границы во многих местах и подвергли бомбежке со своих самолетов наши города - Житомир, Киев, Севастополь, Каунас и некоторые другие, причем убито и ранено более двухсот человек. Налеты вражеских самолетов и артиллерийский обстрел были совершены также с румынской и финляндской территории.

Это неслыханное нападение на нашу страну является беспримерным в истории цивилизованных народов вероломством. Нападение на нашу страну произведено, несмотря на то, что между СССР и Германией заключен договор о ненападении и Советское правительство со всей добросовестностью выполняло все условия этого договора. Нападение на нашу страну совершено, несмотря на то, что за все время действия этого договора германское правительство ни разу не могло предъявить ни одной претензии к СССР по выполнению договора. Вся ответственность за это разбойничье нападение на Советский Союз целиком и полностью падает на германских фашистских правителей.

Уже после совершившегося нападения германский посол в Москве Шуленбург в 5 часов 30 минут утра сделал мне, как народному комиссару иностранных дел, заявление от имени своего правительства о том, что Германское правительство решило выступить с войной против СССР в связи с сосредоточением частей Красной Армии у восточной германской границы.

В ответ на это мною от имени Советского правительства было заявлено, что до последней минуты Германское правительство не предъявляло никаких претензий к Советскому правительству, что Германия совершила нападение на СССР, несмотря на миролюбивую позицию Советского Союза, и что тем самым фашистская Германия является нападающей стороной.

По поручению Правительства Советского Союза я должен также заявить, что ни в одном пункте наши войска и наша авиация не допустили нарушения границы и поэтому сделанное сегодня утром заявление румынского радио, что якобы советская авиация обстреляла румынские аэродромы, является сплошной ложью и провокацией. Такой же ложью и провокацией является вся

сегодняшняя декларация Гитлера, пытающегося задним числом состряпать обвинительный материал насчет несоблюдения Советским Союзом советско-германского пакта.

Теперь, когда нападение на Советский Союз уже свершилось, Советским правительством дан нашим войскам приказ - отбить разбойничье нападение и изгнать германские войска с территории нашей родины.

Эта война навязана нам не германским народом, не германскими рабочими, крестьянами и интеллигенцией, страдания которых мы хорошо понимаем, а кликой кровожадных фашистских правителей Германии, поработивших французов, чехов, поляков, сербов, Норвегию, Бельгию, Данию, Голландию, Грецию и другие народы.

Правительство Советского Союза выражает непоколебимую уверенность в том, что наши доблестные армия и флот и смелые соколы Советской авиации с честью выполнят долг перед родиной, перед советским народом, и нанесут сокрушительный удар агрессору.

Не первый раз нашему народу приходится иметь дело с нападающим зазнавшимся врагом. В свое время на поход Наполеона в Россию наш народ ответил отечественной войной и Наполеон потерпел поражение, пришел к своему краху. То же будет и с зазнавшимся Гитлером, объявившим новый поход против нашей страны. Красная Армия и весь наш народ вновь поведут победоносную отечественную войну за Родину, за честь, за свободу.

Правительство Советского Союза выражает твердую уверенность в том, что все население нашей страны, все рабочие, крестьяне и интеллигенция, мужчины и женщины отнесутся с должным сознанием к своим обязанностям, к своему труду. Весь наш народ теперь должен быть сплочен и един, как никогда. Каждый из нас должен требовать от себя и от других дисциплины, организованности, самоотверженности, достойной настоящего советского патриота, чтобы обеспечить все нужды Красной Армии, флота и авиации, чтобы обеспечить победу над врагом.

Правительство призывает вас, граждане и гражданки Советского Союза, еще теснее сплотить свои ряды вокруг нашей славной большевистской партии, вокруг нашего Советского правительства, вокруг нашего великого вождя тов. Сталина.

Наше дело правое. Враг будет разбит. Победа будет за нами.

On German Invasion of Russia

Winston Churchill

June 22, 1941

I have taken occasion to speak to you to-night because we have reached one of the climacterics of the war. The first of these intense turning-points was a year ago when France fell prostrate under the German hammer, and when we had to face the storm alone. The second was when the Royal Air Force beat the Hun raiders out of the daylight air, and thus warded off the Nazi invasion of our island while we were still ill-armed and ill-prepared. The third turning-point was when the President and Congress of the United States passed the Lease-and-Lend enactment, devoting nearly 2,000 million sterling of the wealth of the New World to help us to defend our liberties and their own. Those were the three climacterics.

The fourth is now upon us.

At four o'clock this morning Hitler attacked and invaded Russia. All his usual formalities of perfidy were observed with scrupulous technique. A non-aggression treaty had been solemnly signed and was in force between the two countries. No complaint had been made by Germany of its non-fulfillment. Under its cloak of false confidence, the German armies drew up in immense strength along a line which stretches from the White Sea to the Black Sea; and their air fleets and armored divisions slowly and methodically took their stations. Then, suddenly without declaration of war, without even an ultimatum, German bombs rained down from the air upon the Russian cities, the German troops violated the frontiers; and an hour later the German Ambassador, who till the night before was lavishing his assurances of friendship, almost of alliance, upon the Russians, called upon the Russian Foreign Minister to tell him that a state of war existed between Germany and Russia.

Thus was repeated on a far larger scale the same kind of outrage against every form of signed compact and international faith which we have witnessed in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, and which Hitler's accomplice and jackal Mussolini so faithfully imitated in the case of Greece.

All this was no surprise to me. In fact I gave clear and precise warnings to Stalin of what was coming. I gave him warning as I have given warning to others before. I can only hope that this warning did not fall unheeded. All we know at present is

that the Russian people are defending their native soil and that their leaders have called upon them to resist to the utmost.

Hitler is a monster of wickedness, insatiable in his lust for blood and plunder. Not content with having all Europe under his heel, or else terrorized into various forms of abject submission, he must now carry his work of butchery and desolation among the vast multitudes of Russia and of Asia. The terrible military machine, which we and the rest of the civilized world so foolishly, so supinely, so insensately allowed the Nazi gangsters to build up year by year from almost nothing, cannot stand idle lest it rust or fall to pieces. It must be in continual motion, grinding up human lives and trampling down the homes and the rights of hundreds of millions of men. Moreover it must be fed, not only with flesh but with oil.

So now this bloodthirsty guttersnipe must launch his mechanized armies upon new fields of slaughter, pillage and devastation. Poor as are the Russian peasants, workmen and soldiers, he must steal from them their daily bread; he must devour their harvests; he must rob them of the oil which drives their ploughs; and thus produce a famine without example in human history. And even the carnage and ruin which his victory, should he gain it - he has not gained it yet - will bring upon the Russian people, will itself be only a stepping-stone to the attempt to plunge the four or five hundred millions who live in China, and the three hundred and fifty millions who live in India, into that bottomless pit of human degradation over which the diabolic emblem of the Swastika flaunts itself. It is not too much to say here this summer evening that the lives and happiness of a thousand million additional people are now menaced with brutal Nazi violence. That is enough to make us hold our breath. But presently I shall show you something else that lies behind, and something that touches very nearly the life of Britain and of the United States.

The Nazi régime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism. It is devoid of all theme and principle except appetite and racial domination. It excels all forms of human wickedness in the efficiency of its cruelty and ferocious aggression. No one has been a more consistent opponent of Communism than I have for the last twenty-five years. I will unsay no word that I have spoken about it. But all this fades away before the spectacle which is now unfolding. The past with its crimes, its follies and its tragedies, flashes away. I see the Russian soldiers standing on the threshold of their native land, guarding the fields which their fathers have tilled from time immemorial. I see them guarding their homes where mothers and wives pray - ah yes, for there are times when all pray - for the safety of their loved ones, the return of the breadwinner, of their champion, of their protector. I see the ten

thousand villages of Russia, where the means of existence was wrung so hardly from the soil, but where there are still primordial human joys, where maidens laugh and children play. I see advancing upon all this in hideous onslaught the Nazi war machine, with its clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers, its crafty expert agents fresh from the cowering and tying-down of a dozen countries. I see also the dull, drilled, docile, brutish masses of the Hun soldiery plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts. I see the German bombers and fighters in the sky, still smarting from many a British whipping, delighted to find what they believe is an easier and a safer prey.

Behind all this glare, behind all this storm, I see that small group of villainous men who plan, organize and launch this cataract of horrors upon mankind. And then my mind goes back across the years to the days when the Russian armies were our allies against the same deadly foe; when they fought with so much valor and constancy, and helped to gain a victory from all share in which, alas, they were - through no fault of ours - utterly cut off. I have lived through all this, and you will pardon me if I express my feelings and the stir of old memories. But now I have to declare the decision of His Majesty's Government - and I feel sure it is a decision in which the great Dominions will, in due course, concur - for we must speak out now at once, without a day's delay. I have to make the declaration, but can you doubt what our policy will be? We have but one aim and one single, irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi régime. From this nothing will turn us - nothing. We will never parley, we will never negotiate with Hitler or any of his gang. We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea, we shall fight him in the air, until with God's help we have rid the earth of his shadow and liberated its peoples from his yoke. Any man or state who fights on against Nazidom will have our aid. Any man or state who marches with Hitler is our foe. This applies not only to organized states but to all representatives of that vile race of quislings who make themselves the tools and agents of the Nazi régime against their fellow-countrymen and the lands of their birth. They - these quislings - like the Nazi leaders themselves, if not disposed of by their fellow-countrymen, which would save trouble, will be delivered by us on the morrow of victory to the justice of the Allied tribunals. That is our policy and that is our declaration. It follows, therefore, that we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and the Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and allies in every part of the world to take the same course and pursue it, as we shall, faithfully and steadfastly to the end.

We have offered the Government of Soviet Russia any technical or economic assistance which is in our power, and which is likely to be of service to them. We

shall bomb Germany by day as well as by night in ever-increasing measure, casting upon them month by month a heavier discharge of bombs, and making the German people taste and gulp each month a sharper dose of the miseries they have showered upon mankind. It is noteworthy that only yesterday the Royal Air Force, fighting inland over French territory, cut down with very small loss to themselves 28 of the Hun fighting machines in the air above the French soil they have invaded, defiled and profess to hold. But this is only a beginning. From now forward the main expansion of our Air Force proceeds with gathering speed. In another six months the weight of the help we are receiving from the United States in war materials of all kinds, and especially in heavy bombers, will begin to tell.

This is no class war, but a war in which the whole British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations is engaged without distinction of race, creed or party. It is not for me to speak of the action of the United States, but this I will say: if Hitler imagines that his attack on Soviet Russia will cause the slightest division of aims or slackening of effort in the great Democracies who are resolved upon his doom, he is woefully mistaken. On the contrary, we shall be fortified and encouraged in our efforts to rescue mankind from his tyranny. We shall be strengthened and not weakened in determination and in resources.

This is no time to moralize on the follies of countries and governments which have allowed themselves to be struck down one by one, when by united action they could have saved themselves and saved the world from this catastrophe. But when I spoke a few minutes ago of Hitler's blood-lust and the hateful appetites which have impelled or lured him on his Russian adventure, I said there was one deeper motive behind his outrage. He wishes to destroy the Russian power because he hopes that if he succeeds in this, he will be able to bring back the main strength of his army and air force from the East and hurl it upon this Island, which he knows he must conquer or suffer the penalty of his crimes. His invasion of Russia is no more than a prelude to an attempted invasion of the British Isles. He hopes, no doubt, that all this may be accomplished before the winter comes, and that he can overwhelm Great Britain before the fleet and air power of the United States may intervene. He hopes that he may once again repeat, upon a greater scale than ever before, that process of destroying his enemies one by one, by which he has so long thrived and prospered, and that then the scene will be clear for the final act, without which all his conquests would be in vain - namely, the subjugation of the Western Hemisphere to his will and to his system.

The Russian danger is therefore our danger, and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free peoples in every quarter of the globe. Let us learn the lessons already taught by such cruel experience. Let us redouble our exertions, and strike with united strength while life and power remain.

Address to the People of France

Philippe Pétain

June 27, 1941

Français!

Le 17 Juin 1940, il y a aujourd'hui une année, j'adressais mon premier appel à la France. Le disque qui l'enregistra va tourner devant vous. Entendez-le: il vous replacera dans l'atmosphère du jour où cet appel fut prononcé.

...

Je me suis adressé cette nuit à l'adversaire pour lui demander s'il est prêt à rechercher avec nous, entre soldats, après la lutte et dans l'honneur les moyens de mettre un terme aux hostilités.

Que tous les Français se groupent autour du Gouvernement que je préside pendant ces dures épreuves et fassent taire leur angoisse pour n'écouter que leur foi dans le destin de la Patrie.

...

Voilà ce que, d'une voix cassée par l'émotion, je vous disais le 17 Juin 1940.

Ma voix aujourd'hui s'est raffermie car la France se relève. Mais bon nombre de Français se refusent à le reconnaître. Croient-ils vraiment que leur sort est plus tragique qu'il y a un an?

Français, vous avez vraiment la mémoire courte. Croyez-moi. Le moment n'est pas venu de vous réfugier dans l'amertume ou de sombrer dans le désespoir. Vous n'êtes ni vendus, ni trahis, ni abandonnés.

Ceux qui vous le disent vous mentent et vous jettent dans les bras du communisme.

Vous souffrez et vous souffrirez longtemps encore, car nous n'avons pas fini de payer toutes nos fautes. L'épreuve est dure. Beaucoup de bons Français, et parmi eux les paysans et les ouvriers, l'acceptent avec noblesse. Ils m'aident aujourd'hui à supporter ma lourde tâche.

Mais il me faut mieux encore. Il me faut votre foi, la foi de votre cœur, la foi de votre raison. Il me faut votre sagesse et votre patience. Vous ne les acquerrez que dans la discipline que je vous impose et dont, seuls, les oublieux de notre Histoire ou les adversaires de notre unité, cherchent à s'évader.

Rappelez-vous surtout que vous êtes des hommes, les hommes d'une vieille et glorieuse nation.

Ressaisissez-vous. Chassez vos alarmes. Venez à moi avec confiance.

Tous unis, nous sortirons de la nuit où nous a plongés l'affreuse aventure.

Broadcast to the People of Soviet Union

Iosif Stalin

June 03, 1941

Товарищи! Граждане!

Братья и сестры!

Бойцы нашей армии и флота!

К вам обращаюсь я, друзья мои!

Вероломное военное нападение гитлеровской Германии на нашу Родину, начатое 22 июня, продолжается. Несмотря на героическое сопротивление Красной Армии, несмотря на то, что лучшие дивизии врага и лучшие части его авиации уже разбиты и нашли себе могилу на полях сражения, враг продолжает путь вперед, бросая на фронт новые силы. Гитлеровским войскам удалось захватить Литву, значительную часть Латвии, западную часть Белоруссии, часть Западной Украины. Фашистская авиация расширяет районы действия своих бомбардировщиков, подвергая бомбардировкам Мурманск, Оршу, Могилев, Смоленск, Киев, Одессу, Севастополь. Над нашей Родиной нависла серьезная опасность.

Как могло случиться, что наша славная Красная Армия сдала фашистским войскам ряд наших городов и районов? Неужели немецко-фашистские войска в самом деле являются непобедимыми войсками, как об этом трубят неустанно фашистские хвастливые пропагандисты? Конечно, нет! История показывает, что непобедимых армий нет и не бывало. Армию Наполеона считали непобедимой, но она была разбита попеременно русскими, английскими, немецкими войсками. Немецкую армию Вильгельма в период первой империалистической войны тоже считали непобедимой армией, но она несколько раз терпела поражения от русских и англофранцузских войск. И, наконец, была разбита англо-французскими войсками. То же самое нужно сказать о нынешней немецко-фашистской армии Гитлера. Эта армия не встречала еще серьезного сопротивления на континенте Европы. Только на нашей территории встретила она серьезное сопротивление. И если в результате этого сопротивления лучшие дивизии немецко-фашистской армии оказались разбитыми нашей Красной Армией, то это значит, что гитлеровская фашистская армия также может быть разбита и будет разбита, как были разбиты армии Наполеона и Вильгельма.

Что требуется для того, чтобы ликвидировать опасность, нависшую над нашей Родиной, и какие меры нужно принять для того, чтобы разгромить врага?

Прежде всего необходимо, чтобы наши люди, советские люди, поняли всю глубину опасности, которая угрожает нашей стране, и отрешились от благодушия, от беспечности, от настроений мирного строительства, вполне понятных в довоенное время, но пагубных в настоящее время, когда война коренным образом изменила положение. Враг жесток и неумолим. Он ставит своей целью захват наших земель, политых нашим потом, захват нашего хлеба и нашей нефти, добытых нашим трудом. Он ставит своей целью восстановление власти помещиков, восстановление царизма, разрушение национальной культуры и национальной государственности русских, украинцев, белорусов, литовцев, латышей, эстонцев, узбеков, татар, молдаван, грузин, армян, азербайджанцев и других свободных народов Советского Союза, их онемечение, их превращение в рабов немецких князей и баронов. Дело идет, таким образом, о жизни и смерти Советского государства, о жизни и смерти народов СССР, о том – быть народам Советского Союза свободными или впасть в порабощение. Нужно, чтобы советские люди поняли это и перестали быть беззаботными, чтобы они мобилизовали себя и перестроили всю свою работу на новый, военный лад, не знающий пощады врагу.

Необходимо, далее, чтобы в наших рядах не было места нытикам и трусам, паникерам и дезертирам, чтобы наши люди не знали страха в борьбе и самоотверженно шли на нашу Отечественную освободительную войну против фашистских поработителей.

Войну с фашистской Германией нельзя считать войной обычной. Она является не только войной между двумя армиями. Она является вместе с тем великой войной всего советского народа против немецко-фашистских войск.

В целях быстрой мобилизации всех сил народов СССР для проведения отпора врагу, вероломно напавшему на нашу Родину, создан Государственный Комитет Обороны, в руках которого теперь сосредоточена вся полнота власти в государстве. Государственный Комитет Обороны приступил к своей работе и призывает весь народ сплотиться вокруг партии Ленина – Сталина, вокруг Советского правительства для самоотверженной поддержки Красной Армии и Красного Флота, для разгрома врага, для победы.

Все наши силы – на поддержку нашей героической Красной Армии, нашего славного Красного Флота!

Все силы народа – на разгром врага!

Вперед, за нашу победу!

You do your Worst and We will do our Best

Winston Churchill

July 14, 1941

London is so vast and so strong, she's like a prehistoric monster into whose armoured hide showers of arrows can be shot in vain. But a frightful measure of cruelty has been inflicted upon the great cities and seaports of the country and I say here – when we are entitled to speak of London particularly – I say here that we honour them for their constancy in a comradeship of suffering, of endurance and of triumph. That comradeship under this unprecedented novel pressure – hideous pressure, applied to modern communities – has united us all and it has proved to the world the quality of our island life.

I have no doubt whatever – as I said to the forces, the civil defense forces, in Hyde Park this morning – that the behavior of the British People under this trial gains them conquests in the mind, spirit and sympathy of the United States of America, which sweeps into an ignominious corner all the finest tricks of Goebbels' propaganda.

We have to ask ourselves this question: "Will the bombing attacks of last autumn and winter come back again?". Mr. Chairman, we are proceeding under the assumption that they will.

Some months ago I requested my right honorable friend, the Home Secretary and Ministry of Home Security, and his principal colleagues, the Minister of Health and others, to make every preparation for the autumn and winter war, as if we should have to go through the same ordeal as last year only rather worse. I am assured that everything is being done in accordance with those directions. The shelters are being strengthened, improved, lightened and warmed. All arrangements for fire control and fire watching are being improved, perfected. Many new arrangements are being contrived after the results of the hard experience through which we have passed, and the many mistakes no doubt we have made. Our success is the result of making many mistakes and learning from experience.

In the lull many new arrangements have been made, and if the lull is to end, if the storm is to renew itself, London will be ready, London will not wince, London can take it again.

We ask no favours of the enemy.

We seek from them no compunction.

On the contrary, if tonight the people of London were asked to cast their vote whether a convention should be entered into to stop the bombing of all cities, the overwhelming majority would cry: "No, we will mete out to the Germans the measure, and more than the measure, they have meted out to us". The people of London with one voice would say to Hitler: "You have committed every crime under the sun. Where you have been the least resisted there you have been most brutal. It was you who began the indiscriminate bombing. We remember Warsaw in the very first few days of the war. We remember Rotterdam. We have been newly reminded of your habits by the hideous massacre in Belgrade. We know too well the bestial assault you are making upon the Russian people, to whom our hearts go out in their valiant struggle. We will have no truce or parley with you, or the grisly gang who work your wicked will. You do your worst – and we will do our best!".

Perhaps it may be our turn soon; perhaps it may be our turn now.

All engaged in our civil defense forces, whether in London or throughout the country, must prepare themselves, ladies and gentlemen, for further heavy assaults. Your organizations, your vigilance, your devotion to duty, your zeal for the cause, must be raised to the highest intensity.

We do not expect to hit without being hit back, and we intend with every week that passes to hit harder. Prepare yourselves then, my friends and comrades in the Battle of London, for this renewal of your exertions. We shall never turn from our purpose, however somber the road, however grievous the cost, because we know that out of this time of trial and tribulation will be born a new freedom and glory for all mankind.

On US Intervention

Wendell Willkie

July 23, 1941

Let us then frankly recognize the issue with which we are faced: it is the issue of freedom.

Our task today is to make freedom strong.

Democracies love peace and for that very reason Hitler was able to attack them unprepared. It is true that we should – all of us – have taken alarm sooner than we did.

We should have begun to prepare the moment the rise of Hitler revealed our danger – but we did not: and the result is a desperate need for speed, a desperate need for action.

We let things go so long that we cannot now first build up our own defenses and then turn around to see whom we can help.

We cannot spare a day in rendering assistance to all who are providing first line defenses for us, and we must render that assistance even though it means a delay in building up the defense within our own shores.

It means that we must spend every effort to keep Britain afloat. And let us be very clear to this fact: we cannot keep Britain afloat with bare words, we cannot keep Britain afloat with no risks and undelivered goods.

Any such policy spells destruction. It is the most dangerous course that America could possibly pursue. We cannot defend freedom that way.

It is hard – very hard – to face the terrible necessities of this situation.

We did not want to take over Iceland; yet every man dedicated to the preservation of freedom must see that that move was absolutely necessary.

We don't want to have to escort our merchant ships through the perilous waters of the North Atlantic. But the defense and strengthening of freedom is going to require that also. And where the strengthening and defense of freedom requires that we act, let us act like a people who have known what freedom means, who value it and are who are determined never to be deprived of it.

Speech On War Production

Winston Churchill

July 29, 1941

I have now described to the Committee a number of solid factors which have fallen upon us since the Dunkirk period, all of which have tended to obstruct and reduce output. I should like to give the Committee some facts and figures to show how far we have succeeded, by improved organization and by the smoother running of our expanding machinery, in overcoming these adverse currents which I have set out at length.

But here I encounter a new difficulty.

I am told we cannot have these Debates in Secret Session: they must be in public. The Germans must read in two or three days every word we say, and therefore I cannot give actual figures. In addition, I am told by my honourable friends to “let us have none of those comparative percentages; let us not be told that we are producing half as much again or double what we produced this time last year, because we were producing nothing last year or something like it”. As my honourable friend said – it is a Lancashire saying – “twice naught is naught”. So, according to these critics, I am inhibited from all vindictory comparisons. I must not say how much better we are than at this time last year when, after all, we had been at war for ten or eleven months, and so were presumably making something. I must not say how much better we are than at the twenty-third month of the last war, nor how our output compares with the peak of the last war, because it is contended conditions have changed.

This is rather easy money for the critics. A handful of Members can fill a couple of days’ Debate with disparaging charges against our war effort, and every ardent or disaffected section of the Press can take it up, and the whole can cry a dismal cacophonous chorus of stinking fish all round the world. But no answer must be made, nothing must be said to show the giant war effort, the prodigy of national zeal, which excites the astonishment of friend and foe, which will command the admiration of history, and which has kept us alive.

I defy these tyrannical prohibitions. I intend to make comparisons, both with the Dunkirk datum period and with the similar and peak periods of the last war. Despite all the troubles I have enumerated, the Ministry of Supply output in the last three months has been one third greater than in the three months of the Dunkirk period. Though our Navy, Army and Air Force are larger, the Ministry has one third more people working in its factories. Thus – despite dilutions, dispersions, reduced food,

the blackout, and all the troubles I have described – each man is turning out, on the whole, each day, as much as he did in that time of almost superhuman effort after Dunkirk. Let me present the balance-sheet. One third more workers and one third more output is quits. But all the adverse factors I have described have somehow or other been cancelled out by superior development of our machinery and organization. We have made, in the last three months, more than twice the field guns we made in the Dunkirk period. The ammunition we are turning out is half as much again. The combined merchant and naval shipbuilding now in active progress is bigger – not only in scale but in current daily volume of execution – than it was at any period in the last war, and, of course, the work now is immeasurably more complex than it was then.

We are told how badly labor is behaving, and then a lot of people who never did a day's hard work in their lives are out after them. Again I claim to look back to the last war. In that war we had many bitter and devastating strikes, and in the final two years nearly twelve million working days were lost through labor disputes. So far, in the whole twenty-three months of this war, we have lost less than two million days. I was anxious to have the latest information about trade disputes in the country. I received, a few minutes before I rose to speak, a report that at eleven o'clock there was no stoppage of work of any kind arising from a trade dispute in any part of Great Britain.

It is the fashion nowadays to abuse the Minister of Labor. He is a workman, a trade union leader. He is taunted with being an unskilled laborer representing an unskilled union. I dare say he gives offence in some quarters; he has his own methods of speech and action. He has a frightful load to carry; he has a job to do which none would envy. He makes mistakes, like I do, though not so many or so serious – he has not got the same opportunities. At any rate he is producing, at this moment, though perhaps on rather expensive terms, a vast and steady volume of faithful effort, the like of which has not been seen before. And if you tell me that the results he produces do not compare with those of totalitarian systems of government and society, I reply by saying: "We shall know more about that when we get to the end of the story".

I dare say that some of our critics will not like this kind of talk. They call it complacency. Living in comparative idleness, they wish to lash the toilers of body and mind to further exertions. To state facts which are true and encouraging is to be accused of a cheap and facile optimism. Our critics do not like it; neither do the Germans, though for different reasons. But I consider that if, for days on end, the whole national effort is disparaged and insulted, and if, all over the world, we are depicted by our friends and countrymen as slack, rotten and incompetent, we are

entitled – nay, it becomes a pressing duty – to restore the balance by presenting the truth.

When I look out upon the whole tumultuous scene of this ever-widening war, I feel it my duty to conclude by giving a very serious warning to the House and to the country.

We must be on our guard equally against pessimism and against optimism.

There are, no doubt, temptations to optimism. It is a fact that the mighty Russian State, so foully and treacherously assaulted, has struck back with magnificent strength and courage, and is inflicting prodigious and well-deserved slaughter for the first time upon the Nazi armies. It is a fact that the United States, the greatest single Power in the world, is giving us aid on a gigantic scale and advancing in rising wrath and conviction to the very verge of the war. It is a fact that the German air superiority has been broken, and that the air attacks on this country have for the time being almost ceased. It is a fact that the Battle of the Atlantic, although far from won, has, partly through American intervention, moved impressively in our favour. It is a fact that the Nile Valley is now far safer than it was twelve months ago or three months ago. It is a fact that the enemy has lost all pretence of theme or doctrine, and is sunk ever deeper in moral and intellectual degradation and bankruptcy, and that almost all his conquests have proved burdens and sources of weakness.

But all these massive towering facts, which we are entitled to dwell on, must not lead us for a moment to suppose that the worst is over.

The formidable power of Nazi Germany, the vast mass of destructive munitions that they have made or captured, the courage, skill and audacity of their striking forces, the ruthlessness of their centralized war direction, the prostrate condition of so many great peoples under their yoke, the resources of so many lands which may to some extent become available to them – all these restrain rejoicing and forbid the slightest relaxation.

It would be madness for us to suppose that Russia or the United States is going to win this war for us. The invasion season is at hand. All the Armed Forces have been warned to be at concert pitch by September 01, and to maintain the utmost vigilance meanwhile. We have to reckon with a gambler's desperation. We have to reckon with a criminal who by a mere gesture has decreed the death of three or four million of Russian and German soldiers.

We stand here still the champions.

If we fail, all fails – and if we fall, all will fall together.

It is only by a superb, intense and prolonged effort of the whole British Empire that the great combination of about three quarters of the human race against Nazidom will come into vehement and dynamic life. For more than a year we have been all

alone: all alone, we have had to guard the treasure of mankind. Although there have been profound and encouraging changes in the situation, our own vital and commanding responsibilities remain undiminished; and we shall discharge them only by continuing to pour out in the common cause the utmost endeavors of our strength and virtue and, if need be, to proffer the last drop of our heart's blood.

The Atlantic Charter

Winston Churchill

August 14, 1941

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First: their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

Second: they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

Third: they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Fourth: they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Fifth: they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

Sixth: after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Seventh: such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

Eighth: they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by

nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

After the Meeting with President Roosevelt

Winston Churchill

August 24, 1941

I thought you would like me to tell you something about the voyage which I made across the ocean to meet our great friend, the President of the United States.

Exactly where we met is a secret, but I don't think I shall be indiscreet if I go so far as to say that it was somewhere in the Atlantic. In a spacious, land-locked bay which reminded me of the west coast of Scotland, powerful American warships, protected by strong flotillas and far-ranging aircraft, awaited our arrival and, as it were, stretched out a hand to help us in.

Our party arrived in the newest, or almost the newest, British battleship, the Prince of Wales, with a modest escort of British and Canadian destroyers.

And there for three days I spent my time in company – and I think I may say in comradeship – with Mr. Roosevelt, while all the time the chiefs of the staff and naval and military commanders, both of the British Empire and of the United States, sat together in continual council.

President Roosevelt is the thrice-chosen head of the most powerful State and community in the world. I am the servant of King and Parliament, at present charged with the principal direction of our affairs in these fateful times. And it is my duty also to make sure – as I have made sure – that anything I say or do in the exercise of my office is approved and sustained by the whole British Commonwealth of Nations.

Therefore this meeting was bound to be important because of the enormous forces – at present only partially mobilized, but steadily mobilizing – which are at the disposal of these two major groupings of the human family, the British Empire and the United States – who, fortunately for the progress of mankind, happen to speak the same language and very largely think the same thoughts, or anyhow, think a lot of the same thoughts.

The meeting was, therefore, symbolic. That is its prime importance. It symbolizes, in a form and manner which everyone can understand in every land and in every clime, the deep underlying unities which stir and, at decisive moments, rule the English-speaking peoples throughout the world. Would it be presumptuous for me

to say that it symbolizes something even more majestic – namely, the marshalling of the good forces of the world against the evil forces which are now so formidable and triumphant and which have cast their cruel spell over the whole of Europe and a large part of Asia?

This was a meeting which marks forever in the pages of history the taking up by the English-speaking nations, amid all this peril, tumult and confusion, of the guidance of the fortunes of the broad toiling masses in all the continents, and our loyal effort, without any clog of selfish interest, to lead them forward out of the miseries into which they have been plunged, back to broad high road of freedom and justice. This is the highest honour and the most glorious opportunity which could ever have come to any branch of the human race.

When one beholds how many currents of extraordinary and terrible events have flowed together to make this harmony, even the most skeptical person must have the feeling that we all have the chance to play our part and do our duty in some great design, the end of which no mortal can foresee.

Awful and horrible things I have seen in these days.

The whole of Europe has been wrecked and trampled down by the mechanical weapons and barbaric fury of the Nazis.

The most deadly instruments of war science have been joined to the extreme refinements of treachery and the most brutal exhibitions of ruthlessness and thus have formed a combine of aggression, the like of which has never been known, before which the rights, the traditions, the characteristics and the structure of many ancient, honoured States and peoples have been laid prostrate and are now ground down under the heel and terror of a monster.

The Austrians, the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Danes, the Belgians, the Dutch, the Greeks, the Croats and the Serbs, above all the great French Nation, have been stunned and pinioned.

Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria – have bought a shameful respite by becoming the jackals of the tiger. But their situation is very little different and will presently be indistinguishable from that of his victims.

Sweden, Spain and Turkey stand appalled, wondering which will be struck down next. Here then is the vast pit into which all the most famous States and races of Europe have been flung and from which, unaided, they can never climb.

But all this did not satiate Adolf Hitler.

He made a treaty of nonaggression with Soviet Russia, just as he made one with Turkey, in order to keep them quiet until he was ready to attack them. And then, nine weeks ago today, without a vestige of provocation, he hurled millions of soldiers with all their apparatus upon the neighbor he had called his friend with the avowed object of destroying Russia and tearing her in pieces.

This frightful business is now unfolding day by day before our eyes. Here is a devil who, in a mere spasm of his pride and lust for domination, can condemn two or three millions, perhaps it may be many more, of human beings to speedy and violent death. Let Russia be blotted out. "Let Russia be destroyed", "Order the armies to advance": such were his decrees. Accordingly, from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, six or seven millions of soldiers are locked in mortal struggle.

Ah, but this time it was not so easy. This time it was not all one way. The Russian Armies and all the peoples of the Russian Republic have rallied to the defense of their hearths and homes.

For the first time Nazi blood has flowed in a fearful flood.

Certainly a million and a half, perhaps two millions of Nazi cannon-fodder, have bitten the dust of the endless plains of Russia. The tremendous battle rages along nearly two thousand miles of front. The Russians fight with magnificent devotion. Not only that, our generals who have visited the Russian front line report with admiration the efficiency of their military organization and the excellence of their equipment. The aggressor is surprised, startled, staggered. For the first time in his experience mass murder has become unprofitable. He retaliates by the most frightful cruelties.

As his armies advance, whole districts are being exterminated.

Scores of thousands, literally scores of thousands of executions in cold blood are being perpetrated by the German police troops upon the Russian patriots who defend their native soil.

Since the Mongol invasions of Europe in the sixteenth century there has never been methodical, merciless butchery on such a scale or approaching such a scale. And this is but the beginning. Famine and pestilence have yet to follow in the bloody ruts of Hitler's tanks.

We are in the presence of a crime without a name.

But Europe is not the only continent to be tormented and devastated by aggression.

For five long years the Japanese military factions, seeking to emulate the style of Hitler and Mussolini, taking all their posturing as if it were a new European revelation, have been invading and harrying the five hundred million inhabitants of China. Japanese armies have been wandering about that vast land in futile excursions, carrying with them carnage, ruin and corruption, and calling it: "the Chinese incident". Now, they stretch a grasping hand into the southern seas of China. They snatch Indo-China from the wretched Vichy French. They menace by their movements Siam, menace Singapore, the British link with Australasia, and menace the Philippine Islands under the protection of the United States.

It is certain that this has got to stop. Every effort will be made to secure a peaceful settlement. The United States are laboring with infinite patience to arrive at a fair and amicable settlement which will give Japan the utmost reassurance for her legitimate interests.

We earnestly hope these negotiations will succeed. But this I must say: that if these hopes should fail we shall, of course, range ourselves unhesitatingly at the side of the United States.

And thus we come back to the quiet bay, somewhere in the Atlantic, where misty sunshine plays on great ships which carry the White Ensign or the Stars and Stripes.

We had the idea when we met there, the President and I, that without attempting to draw final and formal peace aims, or war aims, it was necessary to give all peoples, and especially the oppressed and conquered peoples, a simple, rough-and-ready wartime statement of the goal towards which the British Commonwealth and the United States mean to make their way, and thus make a way for others to march with them on a road which will certainly be painful and may be long.

There are, however, two distinct and marked differences in this joint declaration from the attitude adopted by the Allies during the latter part of the last war, and no one should overlook them.

The United States and Great Britain do not now assume that there will never be any more war again. On the contrary, we intend to take ample precaution to prevent its renewal in any period we can foresee by effectively disarming the guilty nations

while remaining suitably protected ourselves. The second difference is this: that instead of trying to ruin German trade by all kinds of additional trade barriers and hindrances – as was the mood of 1917 – we have definitely adopted the view that it is not in the interests of the world and of our two countries that any large nation should be unprosperous or shut out from the means of making a decent living for itself and its people by its industry and enterprise.

These are far-reaching changes of principle upon which all countries should ponder.

Above all, it was necessary to give hope and the assurance of final victory to those many scores of millions of men and women who are battling for life and freedom or who are already bent down under the Nazi yoke.

Hitler and his confederates have for some time past been adjuring and beseeching the populations whom they have wronged and injured to bow to their fate, to resign themselves to their servitude and, for the sake of some mitigation and indulgences, to collaborate – that is the word – in what is called the New Order in Europe.

What is this new order which they seek to fasten first upon Europe and, if possible – for their ambitions are boundless – upon all the continents of the globe?

It is the rule of the Herrenvolk, the master race, who are to put an end to democracy, to parliaments, to the fundamental freedoms and decencies of ordinary men and women, to the historic rights of nations, and give them in exchange the iron rule of Prussia, the universal goose-step and the strict efficient discipline enforced upon the working classes by the political police, with the German concentration camps and firing parties, now so busy in a dozen lands, always handy in the background.

There is the new order.

Napoleon in his glory and genius spread his empire far and wide. There was a time when only the snows of Russia and the white cliffs of Dover with their guardian fleets stood between him and the dominion of the world. Napoleon's armies had a theme. They carried with them the surges of the French Revolution: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity – that was the cry. There was a sweeping away of outworn, medieval systems and aristocratic privilege. There was the land for the people, a new code of law. Nevertheless, Napoleon's empire vanished like a dream.

But Hitler – Hitler has no theme, naught but mania, appetite and exploitation. He has, however, weapons and machinery for grinding down and for holding down

conquered countries which are the product, the sadly perverted product, of modern science.

The ordeals, therefore, of the conquered peoples will be hard. We must give them hope. We must give them the conviction that their sufferings and their resistances will not be in vain.

The tunnel may be dark and long, but at the end there is light: that is the symbolism and that is the message of the Atlantic Meeting.

Do not despair, brave Norwegians! Your land shall be cleansed not only from the invader but from the filthy Quislings who are his tools.

Be strong in your souls, Czechs! Your independence shall be restored.

Poles! The heroism of your people, standing up to cruel oppressors, the courage of your soldiers, sailors and airmen shall not be forgotten. Your country shall live again and resume its rightful part in the new organization of Europe.

Lift up your heads, gallant Frenchmen! Not all the infamies of Darlan and of Laval shall stand between you and the restoration of your birthright.

Stout-hearted Dutch, Belgians, Luxembourgers! Tormented, mishandled, shamefully cast away peoples of Yugoslavia! Glorious Greece now subjected to the crowning insult of the rule of the Italian jackanapes! Yield not an inch. Keep your souls clean from all contact with the Nazis. Make them feel even in their fleeting hour of brutish triumph that they are the moral outcasts of mankind. Help is coming. Mighty forces are arming in your behalf. Have faith, have hope: deliverance is sure.

There is the signal which we have flashed across the waters, and if it reaches the hearts of those to whom it is sent they will endure with fortitude and tenacity their present misfortune in the sure faith that they, too, are still serving the common cause and that our efforts will not be in vain.

You will, perhaps, have noticed that the President of the United States and the British Representative, in what is aptly called the Atlantic Charter, have jointly pledged their countries to the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny. That is a solemn and grave undertaking. It must be made good. It will be made good. And, of course, many practical arrangements to fulfill that purpose have been and are being organized and set in motion.

The question has been asked: "How near is the United States to war?". There is certainly one man who knows the answer to that question. If Hitler has not yet declared war upon the United States it is surely not out of his love for American institutions. It is certainly not because he could not find a pretext. He has murdered half a dozen countries for far less. Fear – fear of immediately redoubling the tremendous energies now being employed against him – Is no doubt the restraining influence. But the real reason is, I am sure, to be found in the method to which he has so faithfully adhered and by which he has gained so much.

What is that method? It is a very simple method. One by one – that is his plan; that is his guiding rule; that is the trick by which he has enslaved so large a portion of the world.

Three and a half years ago I appealed to my fellow-countrymen to take the lead in weaving together a strong defensive union within the principles of the League of Nations, a union of all the countries who felt themselves in ever-growing danger. But none would listen. All stood idle while Germany rearmed.

Czechoslovakia was subjugated. A French Government deserted their faithful ally and broke a plighted word in that ally's hour of need. Russia was cajoled and deceived into a kind of neutrality or partnership while the French Army was being annihilated. The Low Countries and the Scandinavian Countries acting with France and Great Britain in good time even after the war had begun, might have altered its course and would have had at any rate a fighting chance. The Balkan States had only to stand together to save themselves from the ruin by which they are now engulfed. But one by one they were undermined and overwhelmed. Never was the career of crime made more smooth.

Now Hitler is striking at Russia with all his might, well knowing the difficulties of geography which stand between Russia and the aid which the Western democracies are trying to bring. We shall strive our utmost to overcome all difficulties and to bring this aid. We have arranged for a conference in Moscow between the United States, British and Russian authorities to settle the whole plan. No barrier must stand in the way.

But why is Hitler striking at Russia and inflicting this suffering on himself, or rather making his soldiers suffer this frightful slaughter? It is with the declared object of turning his whole force upon the British Islands and, if he can succeed in beating the life and strength out of us – which is not so easy – then is the moment

when he will settle his account, and it is already a long one, with the people of the United States and generally with the Western Hemisphere.

One by one – there is the process; there is the simple dismal plan which has served Hitler so well. It needs but one final successful application to make him the master of the world.

I am devoutly thankful that some eyes at least are fully opened to it while time remains. I rejoice to find that the President saw in their true light and proportion the dangers by which the American people, as well as the British people, are now beset. It was indeed by the mercy of God that he began eight years ago that revival of the strength of the American Navy without which the New World today would have to take its orders from the European dictators, but with which the United States still retains the power to marshal her gigantic strength and, in saving herself, render an incomparable service to mankind.

We had a church parade on the Sunday in our Atlantic bay. The President came on to the quarterdeck of the Prince of Wales where there were mingled together many hundreds of American and British sailors and marines. The sun shone bright and warm while we all sang the old hymns which are our common inheritance and which we learned as children in our homes. We sang the hymn founded on the Psalm which John Hampden's soldiers sang when they bore his body to the grave and in which the brief precarious span of human life is contrasted with the immutability of Him, to whom a thousand ages are but as yesterday and as a watch that is past in the night.

We sang the sailors' hymn "For Those in Peril", and there are very many in peril on the sea. We sang "Onward, Christian Soldiers", and indeed I felt that this was no vain presumption, but that we had the right to feel that we were serving a cause for the sake of which a trumpet has sounded from on high.

When I looked upon that densely packed congregation of the fighting men of the same language, of the same faith, of the same fundamental laws, of the same ideals and to a large extent of the same interests and certainly in different degrees facing the same dangers, it swept across me that here was the only hope, but also the sure hope, of saving the world from merciless degradation.

And so we came back across the ocean waves uplifted in spirit, fortified in resolve. Some American destroyers, which were carrying mails to the United States Marines

in Iceland, happened to be going the same way too, so we made a goodly company at sea together.

And when we were right out in mid-passage one afternoon a noble sight broke on the view. We overtook one of the convoys which carry the munitions and supplies of the New World to sustain the champions of freedom in the Old.

The whole horizon – the whole broad horizon – seemed filled with ships. Seventy or eighty ships of all kinds and sizes, arrayed in fourteen lines, each of which could have been drawn with a ruler, hardly a wisp of smoke, not a straggler, but all bristling with cannon and other precautions on which I will not dwell, and all surrounded by their British escorting vessels, while overhead the far-ranging Catalina airboats soared, vigilant, protecting eagles in the sky.

And then I felt that hard and terrible and long-drawn-out as this struggle may be, we shall not be denied the strength to do our duty to the end.

We still are Master of our Fate

Winston Churchill

September 09, 1941

Late in July I learned that the President of the United States would welcome a meeting with me in order to survey the entire world position in relation to the several and common interests of our respective countries.

As I was sure that Parliament would approve, I obtained His Majesty's permission to leave the country.

I crossed the Atlantic Ocean in one of our latest battleships to meet the President at a convenient place. I was, as the House knows, accompanied by the First Sea Lord, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and the Vice Chief of the Air Staff, together with the Permanent Secretary to the Foreign Office and others.

We were therefore in a position to discuss with the President and with his technical advisers every question relating to the war and to the state of affairs after the war.

Important conclusions were reached on four main topics.

First of all, on the Eight-Point Declaration of the broad principles and aims which guide and govern the actions of the British and United States Governments and peoples amid the many dangers by which they are beset in these times.

Secondly, on measures to be taken to help Russia to resist the hideous onslaught which Hitler has made upon her.

Thirdly, the policy to be pursued towards Japan in order, if possible, to put a stop to further encroachment in the Far East likely to endanger the safety or interests of Great Britain or the United States and thus, by timely action, prevent the spreading of the war to the Pacific Ocean.

Fourthly, there was a large number of purely technical matters which were dealt with, and close personal relations were established between high naval, military and air authorities of both countries.

I have, as the House knows, hitherto consistently deprecated the formulation of peace aims or war aims – however you put it – by His Majesty's Government, at this

stage. I deprecate it at this time, when the end of the war is not in sight, when the conflict sways to and fro with alternating fortunes and when conditions and associations at the end of the war are unforeseeable.

But a Joint Declaration by Great Britain and the United States is an event of a totally different nature. Although the principles in the Declaration, and much of the language, have long been familiar to the British and American democracies, the fact that it is a United Declaration sets up a milestone or monument which needs only the stroke of victory to become a permanent part of the history of human progress.

The purpose of the Joint Declaration signed by President Roosevelt and myself on August 12, is stated in the Preamble to be “to make known certain common principles in the national policies of our respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world”.

No words are needed to emphasise the future promise held out to the world by such a Joint Declaration by the United States and Great Britain. I need only draw attention, for instance, to the phrase “after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny” to show the profound and vital character of the solemn agreement into which we have jointly entered.

Questions have been asked, and will no doubt be asked, as to exactly what is implied by this or that point, and explanations have been invited. It is a wise rule that when two parties have agreed a statement one of them shall not thereafter – without consultation with the other – seek to put special or strained interpretations upon this or that passage. I propose, therefore, to speak today only in an exclusive sense.

First, the Joint Declaration does not try to explain how the broad principles proclaimed by it are to be applied to each and every case, which will have to be dealt with when the war comes to an end. It would not be wise for us, at this moment, to be drawn into laborious discussions on how it is to fit all the manifold problems with which we shall be faced after the war.

Secondly, the Joint Declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire. We are pledged by the Declaration of August 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth with ourselves – subject, of course, to the fulfilment of obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests. Burma also is covered by our

considered policy of establishing Burmese self-government and by the measures already in progress.

At the Atlantic meeting we had in mind, primarily, the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the States and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke, and the principles governing any alterations in the territorial boundaries which may have to be made.

So that is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown.

We have made declarations on these matters which are complete in themselves, free from ambiguity and related to the conditions and circumstances of the territories and peoples affected.

They will be found to be entirely in harmony with the high conception of freedom and justice which inspired the Joint Declaration.

Since we last met the Battle of the Atlantic has been going on unceasingly. In his attempt to blockade and starve out this Island by U-boat and air attack and the very formidable combination of U-boat and air attacks the enemy continually changes his tactics. Driven from one beat, he goes to another. Chased from home waters, driven from the approaches to this island, he proceeds to the other side of the Atlantic. Increasingly hampered by United States patrols in the North Atlantic, he develops his malice in the South. We follow hard upon his track, and sometimes we anticipate his tactics.

But it is not desirable to give him too precise or, above all, too early information of the success or failure of each of his various manoeuvres, and it was therefore decided that the publication of our shipping losses at regular monthly intervals should cease.

Accordingly, no statement of losses has been published for July and August, and I do not think the time has come to give the actual figures yet. The public, and indeed the whole world, have however derived the impression that things have gone much better in those two months. I cannot deny that this is so.

The improvement in the sea war manifests itself in two directions. In the first place, there is a very great falling off in the sinkings of British and Allied ships, with a corresponding increase in the tonnage of invaluable cargoes safely landed on our shores. The estimates which I made at the beginning of the year of the volume of our importations for 1941 – and which I mentioned to the House on another

occasion, to which it would be improper to refer: the secret session – look to me as if they would not only be made good but exceeded. The second improvement is the extraordinary rise during the last three months in the destruction of German and Italian shipping. This has been achieved very largely by the development of new and brilliant tactics by the Coastal Command and the Royal Air Force bombing squadrons, acting with the Coastal Command.

To the exploits of the Air Force must be added those of our submarines.

I have for some time looked for an opportunity of paying a tribute to our submarines. There is no branch of His Majesty's Forces which in this war has suffered the same proportion of fatal loss as our submarine service. It is the most dangerous of all the Services. That is perhaps the reason why the First Lord tells me that entry into it is keenly sought by officers and men. I feel the House would wish to testify its gratitude and admiration for our submarine crews, for their skill and devotion, which have proved of inestimable value to the life of our country.

There are other perils which have been overcome and other labours of splendid quality which have been performed unknown, or almost unknown, to the public. I mentioned some of these to the House upon a private occasion, and it has been suggested to me that this particular reference should also obtain publicity. The first deals with the anti-mining service. We do not hear much about the mine menace now. Yet almost every night 30 or 40 enemy aeroplanes are casting these destructive engines, with all their ingenious variations, at the most likely spots to catch our shipping.

The attack, which began in November, 1939 – which began, indeed, when the war opened – with the ordinary moored mine laid by night in the approaches to our harbours, was succeeded before the end of 1939 by the magnetic mine, with all its mysterious terrors, and is now waged continually by the acoustic mine as well as the magnetic in many dangerous combinations.

We do not hear much about all this now because, by the resources of British science and British organisation, it has been largely mastered. We do not hear much about it because 20,000 men and 1,000 ships toil ceaselessly with many strange varieties of apparatus to clear the ports and channels every morning of the deadly deposits of the night. You will remember the lines of Kipling:

Mines reported in the fairway,

warn all traffic and detain.

Sent up Unity, Claribel, Assyrian, Stormcock, and Golden Gain.

This is going on night after night, day after day, and it may well be imagined, as the service has to be performed in all weathers and constantly under the attack of the enemy, how excellent is the service rendered by the brave and faithful men engaged in it. We do not hear much about them because this work is done in secret and in silence, and we live on. We take it as a matter of course, like the feats of the salvage service, to which I must also refer. The salvage service has recovered, since the beginning of the war, in every circumstance of storm and difficulty, upwards of 1,000,000 tons of shipping which would otherwise have been cast away. These marvellous services of seamanship and devotion and the organisation behind them, prove at every stage and step the soundness of our national life and the remarkable addictiveness of the British mind and the tenacity of the British character by which we shall certainly be saved and save others.

Although, as I have admitted, there has been a very great improvement in our losses at sea in July and August, it would be a very foolish mistake to assume that the grave dangers which threaten us are at an end.

The enemy has been employing a greater number of U-boats and also a larger number of long-range aircraft than ever before, and we must expect further increases. We have made prodigious exertions and our resources are continually growing. The skill and science of the Admiralty Staff and their Commanders, working in perfect harmony with the Royal Air Force, have gained these successes, but the Admiralty would be the last to guarantee their continuance as a matter of course, and certainly the slightest relaxation of vigilance, of exertions and of contrivance would be followed swiftly by very serious relapses.

It must be remembered also that the Germans are much hampered on the American parts of the Atlantic, which are very extensive, by the fear of trouble with the powerful American Naval forces which ceaselessly patrol the approaches to the Western Hemisphere. This has been a great help to us. I wish it might be a greater help. But here again, the enemy's tactics may change. No doubt Hitler would rather finish off Russia and then Britain before coming to close quarters with the United States. That would be in accordance with his habitual technique of one by one. Hitler has, however, also the greatest possible need to prevent the precious ammunition supplies, now streaming across the Atlantic, in pursuance of the policy of the United States Government, from reaching our shores. Should he do so the

area of the danger zones would again become ocean-wide. In the meanwhile, let us hear no vain talk about the Battle of the Atlantic having been won. We may be content with the successes which have rewarded patience and exertion, but war is inexhaustible in its surprises, and very few of those surprises are of an agreeable character.

Now I turn to a far wider field.

The magnificent resistance of the Russian Armies and the skilful manner in which their vast front is being withdrawn in the teeth of Nazi invasion make it certain that Hitler's hopes of a short war with Russia will be dispelled.

Already in three months he has lost more German blood than was shed in any single year of the last war. Already he faces the certainty of having to maintain his armies on the whole front from the Arctic to the Black Sea, at the end of long, inadequate, assailed and precarious lines of communication, through all the severity of a Russian winter, with the vigorous counter stroke which may be expected from the Russian Armies.

From the moment, now nearly 80 days ago, when Russia was attacked, we have cast about for every means of giving the most speedy and effective help to our new Ally.

I am not prepared to discuss the military projects which have been examined. Such a discussion would be harmful to our interests, both for what was said and for what was not said. Nor will it be possible for anyone representing the Government to enter upon any argument on such questions.

In the field of supply more can be said. I agreed with President Roosevelt upon the message which was sent to Premier Stalin, the terms of which have already been made public. The need is urgent, and the scale heavy. A considerable part of the ammunition industry and iron and steel production of Russia has fallen into the hands of the enemy.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union disposes of anything from 10 to 15 million soldiers, for nearly all of whom they have equipment and arms.

To aid in the supply of these masses, to enable them to realise their long continuing force and to organise the operation of their supply, will be the task of the Anglo-American-Russian Conference.

We must be prepared for serious sacrifices in the munitions field in order to meet the needs of Russia. The utmost exertion and energy will therefore be required from all concerned in production in order not only to help Russia but to fill the gaps which must now be opened in our longed-for, and at last arriving supply. It must be remembered that everything that is given to Russia is subtracted from what we are making for ourselves, and in part at least from what would have been sent us by the United States. In terms of finished munitions of war the flow of our own production in this country and the Empire is still rising. It will reach full flood during this third year of our wartime munitions production.

If the United States are to fulfil the task they have set themselves, very large new installations will have to be set up or converted, and there will have to be a further curtailment over there, as they fully recognise, of civilian consumption. We must ourselves expect a definite reduction in the military supplies from America on which we had counted, but within certain limits we are prepared to accept those facts and their consequences.

If we now look back for a moment, we can measure the solid improvement in our position in the Middle East or East which has been achieved since the French suddenly fell out of the war and the Italians made haste so eagerly to come in against us.

At that date all we had in those parts was from 80,000 to 100,000 men, starved of munitions and equipment, which had all been sent to the French front, always first to claim the best we had.

We had lost our means of safe communication through the Mediterranean and almost all the main bases which we occupied.

We were anxiously concerned for our defence of Nairobi, Khartoum, British Somaliland and, above all, of the Nile Valley and Palestine, including the famous cities of Cairo and Jerusalem. None was safe, but, nevertheless, after little more than a year we have managed to gather very large and well-equipped Armies, which already begin to approach 750,000 men, which are supplied and are being supplied with masses of equipment of all kinds.

We have developed an Air Force almost as large as that we had in Great Britain when the war began, an Air Force which is rapidly expanding.

We have conquered the whole of the Italian Empire in Abyssinia and Eritrea, and have killed or taken prisoner the Italian armies of over 400,000 men by which these regions were defended. We have defended the frontiers of Egypt against German and Italian attack.

We have consolidated our position in Palestine and Iraq.

We have taken effective control of Syria and provided for the security of Cyprus.

Finally, by the swift, vigorous campaign in Persia which has taken place since the House last met we have joined hands with our Russian Allies and stand in the line to bar the further Eastward progress of the enemy.

I cannot help feeling that these are achievements which, whatever the future may contain, will earn the respect of history and deserve the approval of the House.

Thus far then have we travelled along the terrible road we chose at the call of duty.

The mood of Britain is wisely and rightly averse from every form of shallow or premature exultation. This is no time for boasts or glowing prophecies, but there is this: a year ago our position looked forlorn and well nigh desperate to all eyes but our own. Today we may say aloud before an awestruck world: "We still are master of our fate. We still are captain of our souls!"

On the Greer Incident

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

September 11, 1941

My fellow Americans, The Navy Department of the United States has reported to me that on the morning of September 04 the United States destroyer Greer, proceeding in full daylight towards Iceland, had reached a point southeast of Greenland. She was carrying American mail to Iceland. She was flying the American flag. Her identity as an American ship was unmistakable.

She was then and there attacked by a submarine. Germany admits that it was a German submarine. The submarine deliberately fired a torpedo at the Greer, followed later by another torpedo attack. In spite of what Hitler's propaganda bureau has invented, and in spite of what any American obstructionist organization may prefer to believe, I tell you the blunt fact that the German submarine fired first upon this American destroyer without warning, and with deliberate design to sink her.

Our destroyer, at the time, was in waters which the Government of the United States had declared to be waters of self-defense – surrounding outposts of American protection in the Atlantic.

In the North of the Atlantic, outposts have been established by us in Iceland, in Greenland, in Labrador and in Newfoundland. Through these waters there pass many ships of many flags. They bear food and other supplies to civilians; and they bear material of war, for which the people of the United States are spending billions of dollars, and which, by Congressional action, they have declared to be essential for the defense of our own land.

The United States destroyer, when attacked, was proceeding on a legitimate mission.

If the destroyer was visible to the submarine when the torpedo was fired, then the attack was a deliberate attempt by the Nazis to sink a clearly identified American warship. On the other hand, if the submarine was beneath the surface of the sea and, with the aid of its listening devices, fired in the direction of the sound of the American destroyer without even taking the trouble to learn its identity – as the official German communiqué would indicate – then the attack was even more

outrageous. For it indicates a policy of indiscriminate violence against any vessel sailing the seas –belligerent or non-belligerent.

This was piracy – piracy legally and morally. It was not the first nor the last act of piracy which the Nazi Government has committed against the American flag in this war. For attack has followed attack.

A few months ago an American flag merchant ship, the Robin Moor, was sunk by a Nazi submarine in the middle of the South Atlantic, under circumstances violating long-established international law and violating every principle of humanity. The passengers and the crew were forced into open boats hundreds of miles from land, in direct violation of international agreements signed by nearly all nations including the Government of Germany. No apology, no allegation of mistake, no offer of reparations has come from the Nazi Government.

In July 1941, nearly two months ago an American battleship in North American waters was followed by a submarine which for a long time sought to maneuver itself into a position of attack upon the battleship. The periscope of the submarine was clearly seen. No British or American submarines were within hundreds of miles of this spot at the time, so the nationality of the submarine is clear.

Five days ago a United States Navy ship on patrol picked up three survivors of an American-owned ship operating under the flag of our sister Republic of Panama – the steam ship Sessa. On August seventeenth, she had been first torpedoed without warning, and then shelled, near Greenland, while carrying civilian supplies to Iceland. It is feared that the other members of her crew have been drowned. In view of the established presence of German submarines in this vicinity, there can be no reasonable doubt as to the identity of the flag of the attacker.

Five days ago, another United states merchant ship, the Steel Seafarer, was sunk by a German aircraft in the Red Sea 220 miles south of Suez. She was bound for an Egyptian port.

So four of the vessels sunk or attacked flew the American flag and were clearly identifiable. Two of these ships were warships of the American Navy. In the fifth case, the vessel sunk clearly carried the flag of our sister Republic of Panama.

In the face of all this, we Americans are keeping our feet on the ground. Our type of democratic civilization has outgrown the thought of feeling compelled to fight some other nation by reason of any single piratical attack on one of our ships. We are not

becoming hysterical or losing our sense of proportion. Therefore, what I am thinking and saying tonight does not relate to any isolated episode.

Instead, we Americans are taking a long-range point of view in regard to certain fundamentals – a point of view in regard to a series of events on land and on sea which must be considered as a whole – as a part of a world pattern.

It would be unworthy of a great nation to exaggerate an isolated incident, or to become inflamed by some one act of violence. But it would be inexcusable folly to minimize such incidents in the face of evidence which makes it clear that the incident is not isolated, but is part of a general plan.

The important truth is that these acts of international lawlessness are a manifestation of a design – a design that has been made clear to the American people for a long time. It is the Nazi design to abolish the freedom of the seas, and to acquire absolute control and domination of these seas for themselves.

For with control of the seas in their own hands, the way can obviously become clear for their next step – domination of the United States, domination of the Western Hemisphere by force of arms. Under Nazi control of the seas, no merchant ship of the United States or of any other American Republic would be free to carry on any peaceful commerce, except by the condescending grace of this foreign and tyrannical power. The Atlantic Ocean which has been, and which should always be, a free and friendly highway for us would then become a deadly menace to the commerce of the United States, to the coasts of the United States, and even to the inland cities of the United States.

The Hitler Government, in defiance of the laws of the sea, in defiance of the recognized rights of all other nations, has presumed to declare, on paper, that great areas of the seas – even including a vast expanse lying in the Western Hemisphere – are to be closed, and that no ships may enter them for any purpose, except at peril of being sunk. Actually they are sinking ships at will and without warning in widely separated areas both within and far outside of these far-flung pretended zones.

This Nazi attempt to seize control of the oceans is but a counterpart of the Nazi plots now being carried on throughout the Western Hemisphere – all designed toward the same end. For Hitler's advance guards – not only his avowed agents but also his dupes among us – have sought to make ready for him footholds, bridgeheads in the New World, to be used as soon as he has gained control of the oceans.

His intrigues, his plots, his machinations, his sabotage in this New World are all known to the Government of the United States. Conspiracy has followed conspiracy. For example, last year a plot to seize the Government of Uruguay was smashed by the prompt action of that country, which was supported in full by her American neighbors. A like plot was then hatching in Argentina, and that government has carefully and wisely blocked it at every point. More recently, an endeavor was made to subvert the government of Bolivia. And within the past few weeks the discovery was made of secret air-landing fields in Colombia, within easy range of the Panama Canal. I could multiply instance upon instance.

To be ultimately successful in world mastery, Hitler knows that he must get control of the seas. He must first destroy the bridge of ships which we are building across the Atlantic and over which we shall continue to roll the implements of war to help destroy him, to destroy all his works in the end. He must wipe out our patrol on sea and in the air if he is to do it. He must silence the British Navy.

I think it must be explained over and over again to people who like to think of the United States Navy as an invincible protection, that this can be true only if the British Navy survives. And that, my friends, is simple arithmetic.

For if the world outside of the Americas falls under Axis domination, the shipbuilding facilities which the Axis powers would then possess in all of Europe, in the British Isles and in the Far East would be much greater than all the shipbuilding facilities and potentialities of all of the Americas – not only greater, but two or three times greater, enough to win. Even if the United States threw all its resources into such a situation, seeking to double and even redouble the size of our Navy, the Axis powers, in control of the rest of the world, would have the manpower and the physical resources to out build us several times over.

It is time for all Americans, Americans of all the Americas to stop being deluded by the romantic notion that the Americas can go on living happily and peacefully in a Nazi-dominated world.

Generation after generation, America has battled for the general policy of the freedom of the seas. And that policy is a very simple one, but a basic, a fundamental one. It means that no nation has the right to make the broad oceans of the world at great distances from the actual theatre of land war, unsafe for the commerce of others. That has been our policy, proved time and again, in all of our history. Our policy has applied from the earliest days of the Republic and still applies – not merely to the Atlantic but to the Pacific and to all other oceans as well.

Unrestricted submarine warfare in 1941 constitutes a defiance – an act of aggression – against that historic American policy.

It is now clear that Hitler has begun his campaign to control the seas by ruthless force and by wiping out every vestige of international law, every vestige of humanity.

His intention has been made clear.

The American people can have no further illusions about it.

No tender whisperings of appeasers that Hitler is not interested in the Western Hemisphere, no soporific lullabies that a wide ocean protects us from him – can long have any effect on the hard-headed, far-sighted and realistic American people.

Because of these episodes, because of the movements and operations of German warships, and because of the clear, repeated proof that the present government of Germany has no respect for treaties or for international law, that it has no decent attitude toward neutral nations or human life – we Americans are now face to face not with abstract theories but with cruel, relentless facts.

This attack on the Greer was no localized military operation in the North Atlantic. This was no mere episode in a struggle between two nations. This was one determined step towards creating a permanent world system based on force, on terror and on murder.

And I am sure that even now the Nazis are waiting – waiting to see whether the United States will by silence give them the green light to go ahead on this path of destruction.

The Nazi danger to our Western world has long ceased to be a mere possibility. The danger is here now: not only from a military enemy but from an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion.

There has now come a time when you and I must see the cold inexorable necessity of saying to these inhuman, unrestrained seekers of world conquest and permanent world domination by the sword: “You seek to throw our children and our children’s children into your form of terrorism and slavery. You have now attacked our own safety. You shall go no further.”

Normal practices of diplomacy – note writing – are of no possible use in dealing with international outlaws who sink our ships and kill our citizens.

One peaceful nation after another has met disaster because each refused to look the Nazi danger squarely in the eye until it had actually had them by the throat.

The United States will not make that fatal mistake.

No act of violence, no act of intimidation will keep us from maintaining intact two bulwarks of American defense.

First: our line of supply of material to the enemies of Hitler.

Second: the freedom of our shipping on the high seas.

No matter what it takes, no matter what it costs, we will keep open the line of legitimate commerce in these defensive waters of ours.

We have sought no shooting war with Hitler. We do not seek it now. But neither do we want peace so much, that we are willing to pay for it by permitting him to attack our naval and merchant ships while they are on legitimate business.

I assume that the German leaders are not deeply concerned, tonight or any other time, by what we Americans or the American Government says or publishes about them. We cannot bring about the downfall of Nazism by the use of long-range invective. But when you see a rattlesnake poised to strike, you do not wait until he has struck before you crush him.

These Nazi submarines and raiders are the rattlesnakes of the Atlantic. They are a menace to the free pathways of the high seas. They are a challenge to our own sovereignty. They hammer at our most precious rights when they attack ships of the American flag – symbols of our independence, our freedom, our very life.

It is clear to all Americans that the time has come when the Americas themselves must now be defended. A continuation of attacks in our own waters or in waters that could be used for further and greater attacks on us, will inevitably weaken our American ability to repel Hitlerism.

Do not let us be hair-splitters. Let us not ask ourselves whether the Americas should begin to defend themselves after the first attack, or the fifth attack, or the tenth attack, or the twentieth attack.

The time for active defense is now.

Do not let us split hairs. Let us not say: “We will only defend ourselves if the torpedo succeeds in getting home, or if the crew and the passengers are drowned”. This is the time for prevention of attack.

If submarines or raiders attack in distant waters, they can attack equally well within sight of our own shores. Their very presence in any waters which America deems vital to its defense constitutes an attack.

In the waters which we deem necessary for our defense, American naval vessels and American planes will no longer wait until Axis submarines lurking under the water, or Axis raiders on the surface of the sea, strike their deadly blow first.

Upon our naval and air patrol – now operating in large number over a vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean – falls the duty of maintaining the American policy of freedom of the seas now. That means – very simply, very clearly – that our patrolling vessels and planes will protect all merchant ships – not only American ships but ships of any flag – engaged in commerce in our defensive waters.

They will protect them from submarines. They will protect them from surface raiders.

This situation is not new. The second President of the United States, John Adams, ordered the United States Navy to clean out European privateers and European ships of war which were infesting the Caribbean and South American waters, destroying American commerce.

The third President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, ordered the United States Navy to end the attacks being made upon American and other ships by the corsairs of the nations of North Africa.

My obligation as President is historic; it is clear – yes, it is inescapable.

It is no act of war on our part when we decide to protect the seas that are vital to American defense. The aggression is not ours. Ours is solely defense.

But let this warning be clear. From now on, if German or Italian vessels of war enter the waters, the protection of which is necessary for American defense, they do so at their own peril.

The orders which I have given as Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army and Navy are to carry out that policy at once.

The sole responsibility rests upon Germany. There will be no shooting unless Germany continues to seek it.

That is my obvious duty in this crisis. That is the clear right of this sovereign nation. This is the only step possible, if we would keep tight the wall of defense which we are pledged to maintain around this Western Hemisphere.

I have no illusions about the gravity of this step. I have not taken it hurriedly or lightly. It is the result of months and months of constant thought and anxiety and prayer. In the protection of your Nation and mine it cannot be avoided.

The American people have faced other grave crises in their history – with American courage, with American resolution. They will do no less today.

They know the actualities of the attacks upon us. They know the necessities of a bold defense against these attacks. They know that the times call for clear heads and fearless hearts.

And with that inner strength that comes to a free people conscious of their duty, conscious of the righteousness of what they do, they will – with Divine help and guidance – stand their ground against this latest assault upon their democracy, their sovereignty, and their freedom.

On US Non Intervention

Charles Lindbergh

September 11, 1941

We cannot allow the natural passions and prejudices of other peoples to lead our country to destruction.

The Roosevelt administration is the third powerful group which has been carrying this country toward war. Its members have used the war emergency to obtain a third presidential term for the first time in American history. They have used the war to add unlimited billions to a debt which was already the highest we have ever known. And they have just used the war to justify the restriction of congressional power, and the assumption of dictatorial procedures on the part of the president and his appointees.

The power of the Roosevelt administration depends upon the maintenance of a wartime emergency. The prestige of the Roosevelt administration depends upon the success of Great Britain to whom the president attached his political future at a time when most people thought that England and France would easily win the war. The danger of the Roosevelt administration lies in its subterfuge. While its members have promised us peace, they have led us to war heedless of the platform upon which they were elected.

In selecting these three groups as the major agitators for war, I have included only those whose support is essential to the war party. If any one of these groups – the British, the Jewish, or the administration – stops agitating for war, I believe there will be little danger of our involvement.

I do not believe that any two of them are powerful enough to carry this country to war without the support of the third. And to these three, as I have said, all other groups are of secondary importance.

When hostilities commenced in Europe, in 1939, it was realized by these groups that the American people had no intention of entering the war. They knew it would be worse than useless to ask us for a Declaration of War at that time. But they believed that this country could be enticed into the war in very much the same way that it was enticed into the last one. They planned:

First: to prepare the United States for foreign war under the guise of American defense.

Second: to involve us in the war, step by step, without our realization.

Third: to create a series of incidents which would force us into the actual conflict.

These plans were of course, to be covered and assisted by the full power of their propaganda.

Our theaters soon became filled with plays portraying the glory of war. Newsreels lost all semblance of objectivity. Newspapers and magazines began to lose advertising if they carried antiwar articles. A smear campaign was instituted against individuals who opposed intervention. The terms "fifth columnist," "traitor", "Nazi", "anti-Semitic", were thrown ceaselessly at any one who dared to suggest that it was not to the best interests of the United States to enter the war. Men lost their jobs if they were frankly antiwar. Many others dared no longer speak.

Before long, lecture halls that were open to the advocates of war were closed to speakers who opposed it. A fear campaign was inaugurated. We were told that aviation, which has held the British fleet off the continent of Europe, made America more vulnerable than ever before to invasion. Propaganda was in full swing.

There was no difficulty in obtaining billions of dollars for arms under the guise of defending America. Our people stood united on a program of defense. Congress passed appropriation after appropriation for guns and planes and battleships, with the approval of the overwhelming majority of our citizens. That a large portion of these appropriations was to be used to build arms for Europe, we did not learn until later. That was another step.

To use a specific example: in 1939 we were told that we should increase our Air Force to a total of 5000 planes. Congress passed the necessary legislation. A few months later, the administration told us that the United States should have at least 50000 planes for our national safety. But almost as fast as fighting planes were turned out from our factories they were sent abroad, although our own air corps was in the utmost need of new equipment. So that today, two years after the start of war, the American army has only a few hundred thoroughly modern bombers and fighters – less, in fact, than Germany is able to produce in a single month.

Ever since its inception, our arms program has been laid out for the purpose of carrying on the war in Europe, far more than for the purpose of building an adequate defense for America.

Only one thing holds this country from war today: that is the rising opposition of the American people. Our system of democracy and representative government is on

test today as it has never been before. We are on the verge of a war in which the only victor would be chaos and prostration.

We are on the verge of a war for which we are still unprepared, and for which no one has offered a feasible plan for victory – a war which cannot be won without sending our soldiers across the ocean to fight and to force a landing on a hostile coast against armies stronger than our own.

We are on the verge of war, but it is not yet too late to stay out. It is not yet too late to show that no amount of money, or propaganda, or patronage can force a free and independent people into war against its will.

Winterhilfswerk Speech

Adolf Hitler

October 03, 1941

Meine deutschen Volksgenossen und Volksgenossinnen!

Wenn ich heute nach langen Monaten wieder zu Ihnen spreche, dann geschieht es nicht, um etwa einem jener Staatsmänner Rede und Antwort zu stehen, die sich vor kurzem wunderten, warum ich solange geschwiegen hätte. Die Nachwelt wird einmal abwägen und feststellen können, was mehr Gewicht hatte in diesen dreieinhalb Monaten: die Reden des Herrn Churchill oder meine Handlungen.

Ich bin heute hierhergekommen, um wie immer zum Winterhilfswerk eine kurze Einleitung zu geben. Es wurde mir dieses Mal das Herkommen besonders schwer, weil in diesen Stunden, da ich hier sein kann, an unserer Ostfront sich wieder im Vollzug eingeleiteter Operationen ein neues gewaltiges Ereignis vollzieht.

Seit achtundvierzig Stunden ist abermals eine Operation von gigantischem Ausmaß im Gange. Sie wird mithelfen, den Gegner des Ostens zu zerschmettern.

Ich rede nunmehr zu Ihnen im Namen der Millionen, die in diesem Augenblick kämpfen, um Sie, die deutsche Heimat, aufzufordern, zu allen anderen Opfern auch in diesem Jahr das zusätzliche Opfer des Winterhilfswerks auf sich zu nehmen.

Seit dem 22. Juni tobt nun ein Kampf von einer wahrhaft weltentscheidenden Bedeutung. Umfang und Tiefe dieses Ereignisses wird erst eine Nachwelt ganz klar erkennen. Sie wird einst in ihren Feststellungen zu dem Ergebnis kommen, dass damit eine neue Zeitenwende begann.

Auch dieser Kampf wurde von mir nicht gewollt.

Seit im Januar 1933 mir die Vorsehung die Führung und Lenkung der Geschehnisse des Reiches anvertraute, hatte ich ein Ziel vor Augen, das im wesentlichen im Programm unserer nationalsozialistischen Partei umrissen war. Ich bin diesem Ziel nie untreu geworden und habe mein Programm niemals aufgegeben.

Ich begann diese Aufgabe in dem Augenblick, als andere bereits an ihr entweder gescheitert waren oder überhaupt nicht mehr an die Möglichkeit der Erfüllung eines solchen Programms glaubten. Was wir nun in diesen Jahren in friedlichem Aufbau geleistet haben, ist einmalig. Es ist für mich und für meine Mitarbeiter oft 'geradezu eine Beleidigung, uns mit jenen demokratischen Nullen abgeben zu müssen, die überhaupt auf nicht eine einzig wahre große Lebensleistung zurückzublicken in der Lage sind.

Ich und wir alle hätten diesen Krieg nicht notwendig gehabt, um etwa unsere Namen zu verewigen. Dafür hätten die Werke des Friedens gesorgt, und zwar

genügend gesorgt. Und außerdem, wir waren nicht etwa am Ende unserer Schöpfungen angekommen, sondern wir standen vielleicht auf manchen Gebieten erst am Beginn.

Die innere Sanierung unseres Reiches war uns gelungen, unter schweren Voraussetzungen. Denn immerhin, in Deutschland müssen 140 Menschen auf dem Quadratkilometer ernährt werden. Die andere Welt hat es hier leichter. Und trotzdem haben wir unsere Probleme gelöst, und die andere Welt ist zum großen Teil an diesen Problemen gescheitert. Es waren folgende Grundsätze:

Erstens: die innere Konsolidierung der deutschen Nation.

Zweitens: die Erringung unserer Gleichberechtigung nach außen und

Drittens: die Einigung des deutschen Volkes und damit die Wiederherstellung eines naturgegebenen Zustandes, der durch Jahrhunderte nur künstlich unterbrochen worden war.

Es war also, meine Parteigenossen und meine Volksgenossen, unser äußeres Programm auch von vornherein festgelegt, daher auch die äußeren Maßnahmen von vornherein bestimmt. Keineswegs war damit gesagt, dass wir jemals nach einem Krieg strebten.

Aber etwas war bestimmt: dass wir unter keinen Umständen verzichten wollten auf die Wiederherstellung der deutschen Freiheit und damit einer der Voraussetzungen zum deutschen Wiederaufstieg.

Ich habe aus diesem Gesichtspunkt heraus der Welt sehr viele Vorschläge unterbreitet. Ich brauche sie hier nicht zu wiederholen, das besorgt die tägliche publizistische Tätigkeit meiner Mitarbeiter, wie viele Friedensangebote ich dieser Welt machte, Abrüstungsvorschläge, Vorschläge zur friedlichen Herbeiführung vernünftiger wirtschaftlicher neuer Ordnungen.

Es ist das alles abgelehnt worden.

Trotzdem ist es uns allmählich gelungen, in jahrelanger Friedensarbeit nicht nur die inneren großen Reformarbeiten durchzuführen, sondern auch die Einigung der deutschen Nation einzuleiten, das Großdeutsche Reich zu schaffen, Millionen deutsche Volksgenossen damit wieder in ihre eigene Heimat zurückzuführen und das Gewicht ihrer Zahl damit auch dem deutschen Volk wieder als machtpolitisches Gewicht zur Verfügung zu stellen.

In dieser Zeit gelang es mir, eine Anzahl von Bundesgenossen zu erwerben, an der Spitze Italien, mit dessen Staatsmann mich eine persönliche enge und innige Freundschaft verbindet.

Auch zu Japan wurden unsere Beziehungen immer besser. In Europa hatten wir außerdem von früher her eine Reihe von Völkern und Staaten, die uns in einer

immer gleichbleibenden Sympathie und Freundschaft gegenüberstanden; vor allem hier Ungarn, einige nordische Staaten. Es sind zu diesen Völkern andere hinzugekommen, leider das Volk nicht, um das ich am meisten geworben habe in meinem Leben: das britische.

Nicht, dass etwa das englische Volk vielleicht dafür allein die Verantwortung trägt in seiner Gesamtheit, im Gegenteil, es sind einige Menschen, die in ihrem verbohrt Hass, in ihrem Wahnwitz jeden solchen Versuch einer Verständigung sabotierten, unterstützt von jenem internationalen Weltfeind, den wir alle kennen: dem internationalen Judentum.

So gelang es leider nicht, Großbritannien, vor allem das englische Volk, mit dem deutschen in jene Verbindung zu bringen, die ich immer erhofft hatte.

So kam eben, genau wie 1914, der Augenblick, da die harte Entscheidung getroffen werden musste. Ich habe auch davor dann allerdings nicht zurückgeschreckt. Denn über eines war ich mir im klaren: wenn es eben nicht gelingen konnte, die englische Freundschaft zu bekommen, dann war es besser, die Feindschaft traf Deutschland in dem Augenblick, indem ich selber noch an der Führung des Reiches stand.

Denn wenn durch meine Maßnahmen und durch mein Entgegenkommen diese englische Freundschaft nicht zu erwerben war, dann war sie für alle Zukunft nicht zu erwerben, dann blieb nichts anderes übrig als der Kampf. Dann aber bin ich dem Schicksal nur dankbar, wenn dieser Kampf von mir geführt werden kann.

Ich bin daher auch der Überzeugung, dass es mit all diesen Männern wirklich keine Verständigung gibt. Es sind das Wahnsinnige, Narren, Leute, die seit zehn Jahren kein anderes Wort kannten als nur eines: Wir wollen wieder einen Krieg mit Deutschland!

In Monaten, in denen ich mich bemühte, eine Verständigung herbeizuführen, da hatte dieser Herr Churchill nur immer einen Ruf: "Ich will einen Krieg haben!"

Er hat ihn jetzt!

Und alle seine Mit Hetzer, die nichts anderes zu sagen wussten, als dass das ein reizendes Krieg sein wird, die sich gegenseitig damals am 1. September 1939 beglückwünschten zu diesem kommenden reizenden Krieg, sie werden jetzt unterdes vielleicht schon über diesen reizenden Krieg anders denken.

Und wenn sie es noch nicht wissen sollten, dass dieser Krieg für England keine reizende Sache wird, so werden sie's mit der Zeit noch merken, so wahr ich hier stehel.

Diese Hetzer haben es damals fertig ,gebracht, Polen vorzuschieben; die Hetzer aber nicht nur hier in der alten, sondern auch die Hetzer in der neuen Welt. Sie haben schlau den Polen vorgeredet, dass erstens Deutschland sowieso nicht das sei, was es zu sein vorgebe, und zweitens dass man ja die Garantie besäße, unter allen

Umständen die notwendige Hilfe zu bekommen. Das war die Zeit, in der England noch nicht in der Welt herum gebettelt hat um Hilfe seinerseits, sondern noch jedermann großzügig seine Hilfe versprach. Das hat sich ja seitdem schon wesentlich geändert.

Wir hören jetzt ja nicht mehr, dass England einen Staat in den Krieg führt mit dem Versprechen, ihm zu helfen, sondern wir hören jetzt nur mehr, dass England in der Welt herum bittelt, es möchte ihm geholfen werden.

Diese Verschwörung von Demokraten, Juden und Freimaurern hat es damals fertig gebracht vor zwei Jahren, zunächst Europa in den Krieg zu stürzen. Es mussten also die Waffen entscheiden.

Seitdem nun findet ein Kampf statt zwischen der Wahrheit und der Lüge.

Und wie immer, wird dieser Kampf für die Wahrheit am Ende siegreich ausgehen.

Das heißt mit anderen Worten: was immer auch die britische Propaganda, was immer auch das internationale Weltjudentum und seine demokratischen Helfershelfer zusammenlügen mögen, an den historischen Tatsachen werden sie nichts ändern.

Und die historische Tatsache ist, dass nicht die Engländer in Deutschland stehen, dass nicht die anderen Staaten etwa Berlin erobert haben, dass sie nicht etwa nach dem Westen oder nach dem Osten vorgerückt sind, sondern die historische Wahrheit ist, dass seit nunmehr zwei Jahren Deutschland einen Gegner nach dem anderen niedergeworfen hat.

Ich habe das gar nicht gewollt, ich gab ihnen sofort nach der ersten Auseinandersetzung wieder meine Hand. Ich war selber Soldat gewesen und weiß, wie schwer Siege zu erkämpfen sind, wie viel Blut und Elend, Jammer, Entbehrungen und Opfer sich damit verbinden.

Ich bin sofort zurückgestoßen worden. Und seitdem haben wir es ja erlebt, dass jedes Friedensangebot von mir sofort von diesem Kriegshetzer Churchill und seinem Anbauausgenützt wurde, um zu erklären, das sei der Beweis unserer Schwäche, das sei der Beweis, dass wir nun nicht mehr könnten. Ich habe es daher aufgegeben, noch einmal diesen Weg zu versuchen. Ich habe mich zur Überzeugung durchgerungen, es kann hier nur eine ganz klare Entscheidung, und zwar eine weltgeschichtliche Entscheidung für die nächsten hundert Jahre erkämpft werden.

Immer in dem Bestreben, den Umfang des Krieges zu begrenzen, habe ich mich im Jahre 1939 zu etwas entschlossen, das Sie, meine alten Parteigenossen, vor allem als das Schwerste begreifen, was ich, ich möchte fast sagen, an menschlicher Demütigung unternehmen musste.

Ich habe damals meinen Minister nach Moskau geschickt. Es war die bitterste Überwindung meines Gefühls. Aber in solchem Augenblick darf ja nicht das Gefühl eines Menschen entscheiden, wenn es sich um das Wohl von Millionen anderer

handelt. Ich habe versucht, hier zu einer Verständigung zu kommen. Sie wissen selber im Innern am allerbesten, wie ehrlich und aufrichtig ich diese Verpflichtungen dann gehalten habe. Weder in unserer Presse noch in unseren Versammlungen ist auch nur ein Wort mehr seitdem über Russland geschrieben worden, kein Wort mehr über den Bolschewismus. Leider hat sich die andere Seite von Anfang an daran nicht gehalten. Die Folgen dieser Abmachung war ein Verrat, der zunächst den ganzen Nordosten Europas liquidierte. Was es für uns damals bedeutete, stillschweigend zusehen zu müssen, als das kleine finnische Volk abgewürgt wurde, das wissen Sie ja alle selbst.

Und was es für mich als Soldat bedeutete, hier zusehen zu müssen, wie ein übermächtiger Staat über einen kleinen herfällt, das wissen Sie auch.

Ich habe aber geschwiegen.

Erst als ich von Woche zu Woche mehr empfand, dass Russland nunmehr die Stunde gekommen sah, gegen uns vorzugehen, als in einem Augenblick da wir knappe drei Divisionen in Ostpreußen besaßen, 22 russische sich dort ansammelten, als ich allmählich die Unterlage erhielt, wie an unserer Grenze Flugplatz um Flugplatz entstand, wie eine Division nach der anderen aus dem ganzen riesenhaften Weltreich hier zusammengezogen wurde, da war ich ja nun verpflichtet, auch meinerseits besorgt zu sein.

Denn es gibt in der Geschichte keine Entschuldigung für ein Versehen, eine Entschuldigung, die etwa darin besteht, dass man nachträglich erklärt. Ich habe das nicht bemerkt, oder ich habe es nicht geglaubt.

Ich fühle mich nun einmal, solange ich an der Spitze des Reiches bin, verantwortlich für des deutschen Volkes Dasein, für seine Gegenwart und, soweit es ein Mensch überblicken kann, auch für seine Zukunft.

Ich war daher gezwungen, langsam auch meinerseits Abwehrmaßnahmen einzuleiten.

Sie waren rein defensiver Natur.

Aber immerhin ergab sich bereits im August und September des vergangenen Jahres eine Erkenntnis: eine Auseinandersetzung im Westen mit England, die vor allem die ganze deutsche Luftwaffe gebunden hätte, war nicht mehr möglich, denn in meinem Rücken stand ein Staat, der bereits sich fertig machte, in einem solchen Augenblick gegen uns vorzugehen. Wieweit aber diese Vorbereitungen getroffen waren, das allerdings haben wir erst jetzt im vollen Umfang kennen gelernt.

Ich wollte nun noch einmal dieses ganze, Problem klären und habe deshalb damals Molotow nach Berlin eingeladen. Er stellte mir die bekannten vier Bedingungen:

Erstens: Deutschland müsste endgültig einwilligen, dass, nachdem sich Russland erneut von Finnland bedroht fühlte, Russland zu einer Liquidierung von Finnland schreiten könnte.

Ich konnte nicht anders, als diese Zustimmung verweigern.

Die zweite Frage betraf Rumänien: die Frage, ob die deutsche Garantie Rumänien auch gegen Russland schützen würde. Ich musste auch hier zu einem nun einmal gegebenen Wort stehen. Ich bereue es nicht, dass ich es getan habe, denn ich habe, auch in Rumänien einen Ehrenmann gefunden, in dem General Antonescu, der auch seinerseits zu seinem Wort blind gestanden ist.

Die dritte Frage damals betraf Bulgarien. Molotow forderte, dass Russland das Recht erhalte, nach Bulgarien Garnisonen zu legen und damit über Bulgarien eine russische Garantie auszuüben. Was das heißt, das wussten wir ja unterdes von Estland, Lettland und von Litauen her zur Genüge.

Die vierte Frage betraf die Dardanellen. Russland forderte Stützpunkte an den Dardanellen. Wenn Herr Molotow das jetzt abzustreiten versucht, so ist das nicht verwunderlich. Er wird, wenn er morgen oder übermorgen nicht mehr in Moskau sein wird, es auch abstreiten, dass er nicht mehr in Moskau ist.

Er hat diese Forderung gestellt, und ich habe sie abgelehnt. Ich musste sie ablehnen.

Und damit war ich mir allerdings klar, denn es ist ja auch die weitere Unterredung ergebnislos verlaufen, dass nunmehr eigentlich höchste Vorsicht am Platze war. Und ich habe nunmehr Russland sorgfältigste beobachtet. Jede Division, die wir feststellen konnten, wurde bei uns gewissenhaft eingetragen und durch Gegenmaßnahmen pflichtgemäß beantwortet. Die Lage war bereits im Mai soweit gediehen, dass es keinen Zweifel mehr darüber geben konnte, dass Russland die Absicht hatte, bei der ersten Gelegenheit über uns herzufallen. Und gegen Ende Mai verdichteten sich diese Momente so, dass man nunmehr den Gedanken einer Auseinandersetzung auf Leben und Tod nicht mehr von sich weisen konnte.

Ich musste damals nun immer schweigen. Und es ist mir das doppelt schwer geworden. Nicht so schwer vielleicht der Heimat gegenüber. Denn letzten Endes muss die begreifen, dass es Augenblicke gibt, in denen man nicht reden kann, wenn man nicht die ganze Nation in eine Gefahr bringen will. Viel schwerer ist mir das Schweigen meinen Soldaten gegenüber geworden, die nun Division an Division an

der Ostgrenze des Reiches standen und doch nicht wussten, was eigentlich vor sich ging, keine Ahnung hatten von dem, was in Wirklichkeit unterdes sich verändert hatte und die doch eines Tages vielleicht zu einem schweren – ja! – dem schwersten Waffengang aller Zeiten antreten mussten.

Und gerade ihretwegen durfte ich ja nicht reden, denn hätte ich auch nur ein Wort verloren, dann hätte dies Herrn Stalin nicht im geringsten in seinem Entschluss geändert, aber die Überraschungsmöglichkeit, die mir als letzte Waffe blieb, die wäre dann weggefallen.

Und jede solche Vorankündigung – ja! – jede Andeutung hätte Hunderttausende von unseren Kameraden das Leben gekostet. Ich habe deshalb hier auch in dem Augenblick noch geschwiegen, in dem ich mich endgültig entschloss, nunmehr selber den ersten Schritt zu tun. Denn wenn ich schon einmal sehe, dass ein Gegner das Gewehr allmählich anlegt, dann werde ich nicht warten, bis er abschießt, sondern dann bin ich entschlossen, lieber selber vorher abzuziehen.

Es war, das darf ich heute hier aussprechen, der schwerste Entschluss meines ganzen bisherigen Lebens. Denn jeder solche Schritt öffnet ein Tor, hinter dem sich nur Geheimnisse verbergen. Erst die Nachwelt weiß ganz genau, wie es kam und was geschah. So kann man nur sich mit seinem inneren Gewissen abfinden und dann das Vertrauen auf sein Volk, auf die selbstgeschmiedeten Waffen stärken und dann das, was ich früher oft sagte, den Herrgott bitten, nicht dass er einem hilft durch die Unterstützung des Nichtstuns, sondern dass er dem den Segen gibt, der selbst bereit und gewillt ist, heilig und opfervoll für sein Dasein zu kämpfen.

Am 22. Juni morgens setzte nun dieser größte Kampf der Weltgeschehen ein. Seitdem sind etwas über dreieinhalb Monate vergangen, und ich darf hier zunächst eine Feststellung treffen: es ist alles seitdem planmäßig verlaufen.

Ich spreche das erst heute aus, weil ich es heute aussprechen darf, dass dieser Gegner bereits gebrochen ist und nie sich mehr erheben wird!

Hier hat sich gegen Europa eine Macht zusammengeballt, von der leider die meisten keine Ahnung hatten und viele auch heute noch keine Ahnung besitzen. Es wäre dies ein zweiter Mongolensturm geworden Cengiz Khan.

Dass diese Gefahr abgewendet wurde, das verdanken wir zunächst der Tapferkeit, der Ausdauer, der Opferwilligkeit unserer deutschen Soldaten, und dann auch den Opfern all derer, die mit uns marschiert sind.

Denn zum ersten Mal ist dieses Mal doch so etwas wie ein europäisches Erwachen durch diesen Kontinent gegangen.

Im Norden kämpft Finnland – ein wahres Heldenvolk Denn in seinen weiten Räumen steht es oft ganz nur allein auf seine eigene Kraft, auf seinen Mut, auf seine Tapferkeit und seine Zähigkeit gestellt.

Im Süden kämpft Rumänien – es hat sich aus einer der schwersten Staatskrisen, die einem Volk und einem Land passieren können, in staunenswerter Schnelligkeit erholt unter einem ebenso tapferen wie Entschluss freudigen Mann.

Und damit umfassen wir auch bereits die ganze Weite dieses Kriegsschauplatzes, vom Eismeer bis zum Schwarzen Meer. In diesem Rahmen kämpfen nun unsere deutschen Soldaten und in ihren Reihen und mit ihnen gemeinsam die Finnen, die Italiener, die Ungarn, die Rumänen, Slowaken, Kroaten sind im Anmarsch, Spanier, sie rücken jetzt in die Front, Belgier, Holländer, Dänen, Norweger, ja selbst Franzosen sind eingerückt in diese große Front!

Wenn die Gegner in dieser Zeit gewaltigster weltgeschicht einmaliger Kämpfe oft sagten. "Warum geschieht jetzt nichts?" – es ist immer etwas geschehen!

Aber gerade weil etwas geschah, konnten wir nicht reden.

Nicht weil wir die dauernde Leistung unserer Soldaten nicht genügend würdigen, sondern weil wir dem Gegner keine Kenntnis geben dürfen, voreilig von Situationen, die ihm selbst bei seinem miserablen Nachrichtendienst erst oft Tage, ja manches Mal Wochen später bewusst werden.

Denn ich habe das neulich schon im Wehrmachtsbericht bringen lassen, der deutsche Wehrmachtsbericht ist ein Bericht der Wahrheit.

Wenn irgendein blöder britischer Zeitungslümmel nun erklärt, das müsste erst bestätigt werden, der deutsche Wehrmachtsbericht ist bisher schon gründlich bestätigt worden! Denn es gibt doch wohl keinen Zweifel, dass wir gesiegt haben in Polen und nicht die Polen, obwohl die britische Presse es anders behauptet hat. Und es gibt auch keinen Zweifel, dass wir in Norwegen sitzen und nicht die Engländer. Es gibt auch keinen Zweifel, dass wir in Belgien und Holland erfolgreich gewesen sind und nicht die Engländer. Und es gibt auch keinen Zweifel, dass Deutschland Frankreich besiegt hat und nicht umgekehrt. Es gibt auch keinen Zweifel, dass endlich wir in Griechenland sind und auch wieder nicht die Engländer oder die Neuseeländer. Und auch auf Kreta sind sie nicht, sondern wir sind dort. Also hat der deutsche Heeresbericht die Wahrheit gesagt und nicht die anderen.

Und im Osten ist es nicht anders. Nach der englischen Version haben wir seit drei Monaten eine Niederlage nach der anderen bekommen. Aber wir stehen tausend Kilometer über unserer Grenze. Wir stehen östlich von Smolensk, wir stehen vor Leningrad, und wir stehen am Schwarzen Meer, wir stehen vor der Krim und nicht

die Russen stehen etwa am Rhein. Wenn also bisher Russland dauernd gesiegt hat, dann haben sie ihre Siege jedenfalls nicht ausgenutzt, sondern sie sind nach jedem Sieg hundert oder zweihundert Kilometer sofort zurückmarschiert, wahrscheinlich um uns in die Tiefe des Raumes zu locken!

Im Übrigen sprechen über die Größe dieses Kampfes einige Zahlen. Es sind viele unter Ihnen, die noch den Weltkrieg mitgemacht hatten und die wissen, was es heißt, Gefangene zu machen und auch nur hundert Kilometer vorwärts zu erobern. Die Zahl der Gefangenen ist nunmehr auf rund 2,5 Millionen Russen gewachsen. Die Zahl der erbeuteten oder vernichteten, aber bei uns befindlichen Geschütze beträgt bereits jetzt rund 22 Tausend. Die Zahl der vernichteten oder erbeuteten, also bei uns befindlichen Panzer beträgt jetzt bereits über 18 Tausend. Die Zahl der vernichteten, zerstörten oder abgeschossenen Flugzeuge über 14,5 Tausend.

Und dahinter befindet sich nun ein Raum, der zweimal so groß ist, als das Deutsche Reich war, das ich 1933 zur Führung erhielt oder viermal so groß als England. Die Luftlinie aber, die die deutschen Soldaten zurückgelegt haben, beträgt fast durchgehend heute über 800 bis 1000 Kilometer. Das ist Luftlinie und das sind Marschkilometer, die oft das Anderthalbfache und Doppelte bedeuten, auf einer Frontlänge, die gigantisch ist, und einem Gegner gegenüber, der – das muss ich hier aussprechen – nicht aus Menschen besteht, sondern aus Tieren, aus Bestien. Was der Bolschewismus aus Menschen machen kann, das haben wir jetzt hier gesehen. Wir dürfen der Heimat nicht die Bilder bringen, die uns da zur Verfügung stehen. Es ist das Grauenshafteste, was Menschengehirne sich ersinnen können. Ein Gegner, der zugleich kämpft aus tierischer Blutgier einerseits und aus Feigheit und Angst vor seinen Kommissaren andererseits.

Ein Land, das nach fast fünfundzwanzigjährigem bolschewistischem Dasein nunmehr unsere Soldaten kennengelernt haben. Und ich weiß nur eines: wer dort war und noch im Herzen in irgendeiner Falte vielleicht noch Kommunist und nur im ideellsten Sinne gewesen sein sollte, der kehrt zurück von dieser Auffassung als geheilt; da können Sie überzeugt sein.

Das Paradies der Arbeiter und der Bauern, das ich immer geschildert habe, das werden nach Beendigung dieses Feldzuges fünf oder sechs Millionen Soldaten bestätigen, so wie ich's geschildert habe. Das werden die Zeugen, die, ich darin aufrufen kann. Die sind über die Straßen dieses Paradieses marschiert. Die haben in diesen elenden Katen dieses Paradieses nicht leben können, denn sie gehen gar nicht hinein, wenn es nicht unbedingt notwendig ist. Sie haben die Einrichtungen gesehen

dieses Paradieses. Es ist das eine einzige Waffenfabrik auf Kosten des Lebens Standards dieser Menschen, eine Waffenfabrik gegen Europa.

Und gegen diesen grausamen, bestialischen, tierischen Gegner, gegen diesen Gegner mit dieser gewaltigen Rüstung, da haben unsere Soldaten diese Siege erkämpft.

Ich weiß kein Lob, das ihrer gerecht werden könnte. Was sie an Mut und an Tapferkeit hier dauernd vollbringen und an Anstrengungen, an unermesslichen Anstrengungen, es ist unvorstellbar. Ob es sich um unsere Panzerdivisionen oder Motordivisionen handelt, oder ob es sich um unsere Artillerie oder Pioniere, dreht, ob wir unsere Flieger nehmen, unsere Jäger, unsere Sturzkampfbomber, unsere Schlachtflieger, oder ob wir unsere Marine nehmen, und ich schließe hier gleich ein die Besatzungen wie immer unserer U-Boote, ob wir endlich unsere Gebirgstruppen im Norden nehmen, oder ob wir die Männer unserer Waffen-SS nennen, sie sind alle gleich. Über allem aber, und dar, möchte ich hier wieder besonders betonen, über allem steht in seinen Leistungen der deutsche Infanterist, der deutsche Musketier.

Denn, meine Freunde, wir haben dort Divisionen, die seit dem Frühjahr über zweieinhalb bis dreitausend Kilometer zu Fuß marschiert sind, zahlreiche Divisionen, die tausend und eineinhalb und zweitausend Kilometer zurückgelegt haben. Das spricht sich leicht aus. Ich kann sagen, wenn man überhaupt von Blitzkrieg redet, dann verdienen es diese Soldaten, dass man ihre Leistungen als blitzartige bezeichnet. In der Geschichte sind sie im Vorwärtsmarschieren noch nie, übertroffen worden, höchstens im Davonlaufen von einigen englischen Regimentern.

Ich will dabei nicht etwa den Gegner schmähen, ich will nur dem deutschen Soldaten die Gerechtigkeit zuteilwerden lassen, die er verdient. Er hat Unübertreffliches geleistet! Und mit ihm auch alle die Organisationen, die heute teils Arbeiter sind, teils aber auch Soldaten. Denn in diesem gewaltigen Raum, da ist heute fast jeder Soldat. Jeder Arbeitsmann ist Soldat. Jeder Eisenbahner dort ist Soldat. In diesem ganzen Gebiet muss alles dauernd mit der Waffe Dienst tun. Und es ist ein Riesengebiet.

Und was hinter dieser Front geleistet wurde, ist genau so gewaltig wie die Leistungen der Front. Über 25000 Kilometer russische Bahnen sind wieder in Betrieb. Über 15000 Kilometer russische Bahnen sind auf deutsche Spur umgewandelt worden. Und wissen Sie, was das heißt? Das heißt, dass der größte Querschnitt des Deutschen Reiches von einst, etwa von Stettin bis zu den

bayerischen Bergen, dass also eine solche Linie, die knapp tausend Kilometer umfasst, fünfzehnmals nebeneinandergelegt worden ist, heute bereits auf deutsche Spur im Osten.

Und hinter dieser Front baut sich bereits die neue Verwaltung auf, die dafür sorgen wird, dass diese ganzen riesigen Gebiete, wenn dieser Krieg länger dauert, der deutschen Heimat und den uns Verbündeten nützen wird. Und ihr Nutzen wird ein ungeheurer sein, und es soll keiner zweifeln, dass wir sie zu organisieren verstehen!

Wenn ich Ihnen aber nun so nur in wenigen Sätzen ein Bild der einmaligen Leistungen unserer Soldaten gebe und all derer, die heute hier im Osten kämpfen oder tätig sind, dann möchte ich auch den Dank der Front der Heimat übermitteln, den Dank unserer Soldaten für die Waffen, die die Heimat geliefert hat, für die ausgezeichneten und erstklassigen Waffen, den Dank für die Munition, die dieses Mal zum Unterschied des Weltkriegs in unbegrenzten Mengen, soweit sie nur transportiert werden kann, zur Verfügung steht.

Es ist nur ein Transportproblem. Wir haben so vorgesorgt, dass in der Mitte dieses gigantischen Materialkriegs ich auf großen Gebieten die weitere Produktion nunmehr einstellen konnte, weil ich weiß, dass es jetzt keinen Gegner mehr gibt, den wir mit den vorhandenen Munitionsmengen nicht niederzwingen würden.

Und wenn Sie manches Mal in der Zeitung lesen über die gigantischen Pläne anderer Staaten, was sie alles zu tun gedenken und beginnen, und wenn sie hier von Milliarden Summen hören, so, meine Volksgenossen, erinnern Sie sich an das, was ich jetzt sage:

Erstens: wir stellen in den Dienst dieses Kampfes auch einen ganzen Kontinent.

Zweitens: wir reden nicht von Kapital sondern von Arbeitskraft. Und diese Arbeitskraft stellen wir hundertprozentig in diesen Dienst.

Drittens: Wenn wir darüber nicht reden, dann heißt das nicht, dass wir nichts tun.

Ich weiß ganz genau, dass die anderen alles besser machen als wir. Sie bauen Tanks, die unüberwindlich sind. Sie sind schneller als die unseren, sie sind stärker gepanzert als die unseren, sie haben bessere Kanonen als die unseren, und sie brauchen gar kein Benzin. Im Kampf haben wir sie bisher noch überall abgeschossen. Und das ist das Entscheidende. Sie bauen Wunderflugzeuge. Es sind

immer Wunderdinge, die sie machen, alles unbegreiflich, auch technisch unbegreiflich. Aber sie haben noch keine Maschinen, die die unseren übertreffen. Und die Maschinen, die bei uns heute fahren oder schießen oder fliegen, sind nicht jene Maschinen, mit denen wir nächstes Jahr fahren oder schießen oder fliegen werden.

Millionen und Millionen deutsche Arbeiter, sie schaffen unentwegt. Und es ist bewunderungswürdig, was sie leisten. Und über allem auch hier wieder die deutsche Frau, das deutsche Mädchen, die Millionen von Männern ersetzen, die heute an der Front sind. Wir können wirklich sagen, zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte: ein ganzes Volk ist jetzt im Kampf, teils an der Front, teils in der Heimat.

Wenn ich aber das ausspreche, dann ergibt sich für mich als alten Nationalsozialisten daraus eine zwingende Erkenntnis. Wir haben nun zwei Extreme kennengelernt.

Das eine das sind die kapitalistischen Staaten, die mit Lügen oder mit Betrügen und mit Betrügereien ihren Völkern die natürlichsten Lebensrechte verweigern, die ausschließlich ihre Finanzinteressen im Auge behalten, die bereit sind, dafür Millionen Menschen zu opfern.

Nach der anderen Seite, da sehen wir das kommunistische Extrem: einen Staat, der unsagbares Elend über Millionen und Millionen gebracht hat, und auch nur seiner Doktrin das Glück der anderen opfert.

Daraus kann es nun in meinen Augen für uns alle nur eine Verpflichtung geben, nämlich: unserem nationalen und sozialistischen Ideal mehr denn je zuzustreben. Denn über eines müssen wir uns im klaren sein: wenn dieser Krieg einst beendet sein wird, dann hat ihn gewonnen der deutsche Soldat, der aus den Bauernhöfen, aus den Fabriken und so weiter stammt, der in seiner Masse wirklich die Masse unseres Volkes darstellt. Und es hat ihn gewonnen die deutsche Heimat mit den Millionen Arbeitern und Arbeiterinnen, Bauern und Bäuerinnen. Es haben ihn gewonnen die schaffenden Menschen im Kontor, im Beruf, alle diese Millionen Menschen, die tätig sind, die haben ihn gewonnen. Und für diese Menschen muss dann dieser Staat hier aufgerichtet werden, ausschließlich für diese Menschen.

Wenn dieser Krieg zu Ende sein wird, dann werde ich aus ihm zurückkehren als ein noch viel fanatischerer Nationalsozialist, als ich es früher war. Und es wird ein Glück sein für alle diejenigen, die zur Führung berufen sind. Denn in diesem Staat herrscht ja nicht, wie etwa in Sowjetrussland, das Prinzip der sogenannten Gleichheit, sondern nur das Prinzip der Gerechtigkeit. Wer als Führer geeignet ist,

sei es militärisch, politisch, oder sei es wirtschaftlich, er ist uns immer gleichhoch wert. Aber genau so wert, muss auch derjenige sein, ohne dessen Mitarbeit jede Führung ein leeres Tun bliebe, nur Gedankenakrobatik. Und das ist das Entscheidende. Das deutsche Volk kann heute stolz sein. Es hat die besten politischen Führer, es hat die besten Feldherren, es hat die besten Ingenieure, Wirtschaftsführer, Führer, Organisatoren, es hat aber auch den besten Arbeiter, den besten Bauern; es hat das beste Volk.

Und alle diese Menschen nun in eine Gemeinschaft zu verschmelzen, war einst die Aufgabe, die wir uns als Nationalsozialisten stellten, die Aufgabe, die uns heute noch viel klarer ist als je zuvor. Ich komme aus diesem Krieg einst zurück wieder mit meinem alten Parteiprogramm, dessen Erfüllung mir noch wichtiger ist und zu sein scheint als vielleicht am ersten Tag.

Diese Erkenntnis hat mich auch heute nur ganz kurz hierher geführt, um das dem deutschen Volk zu sagen. Denn es hat auch im Winterhilfswerk wieder eine Gelegenheit, den Geist dieser Gemeinschaft zu bekunden. Was die Front opfert, das kann überhaupt durch nichts gut gemacht werden. Aber immerhin, auch das, was die Heimat leistet, muss vor der Geschichte dereinst bestehen können. Es muss wenigstens so sein, dass der Soldat, der an der Front ist, weiß, dass zu Hause sich die Heimat um jeden Zurückgebliebenen bekümmert und für ihn nach bester Möglichkeit sorgt. Das muss er wissen. Und das muss sein, damit auch diese Heimat dereinst in Ehren genannt wird neben den gewaltigen Leistungen der Front.

Jeder weiß, was er tun muss in dieser Zeit. Jede Frau und jeder Mann, sie wissen, was man mit Recht von ihnen fordert und was zu geben sie verpflichtet sind. Und wenn sie nur einmal über die Straßen gehen und im Zweifel sein sollten, ob sie noch einmal geben sollen oder geben müssen, dann mögen sie nur einen Blick seitwärts wenden, vielleicht wird ihnen dann einer begegnen, der viel mehr als sie für Deutschland geopfert hat. Und nur dann, wenn dieses ganze deutsche Volk zu so einer einzigen Opfergemeinschaft wird, dann allein können wir auch erwarten, dann können wir hoffen, dass uns die Vorsehung auch in der Zukunft wieder beistehen wird.

Der Herrgott hat noch niemals einem Faulen geholfen. Er hilft auch keinem Feigen. Er hilft auch keinem Volk, das sich nicht selber helfen will.

Hier gilt im größten der Grundsatz: Volk, hilf dir selbst, dann wird der Herrgott seine Hilfe dir nicht verweigern!

These are Great Days

Winston Churchill

October 29, 1941

Almost a year has passed since I came down here at your Head Master's kind invitation in order to cheer myself and cheer the hearts of a few of my friends by singing some of our own songs.

The ten months that have passed have seen very terrible catastrophic events in the world – ups and downs, misfortunes – but can anyone sitting here this afternoon, this October afternoon, not feel deeply thankful for what has happened in the time that has passed and for the very great improvement in the position of our country and of our home?

Why, when I was here last time we were quite alone, desperately alone, and we had been so for five or six months. We were poorly armed. We are not so poorly armed today; but then we were very poorly armed. We had the unmeasured menace of the enemy and their air attack still beating upon us, and you yourselves had had experience of this attack; and I expect you are beginning to feel impatient that there has been this long lull with nothing particular turning up.

You cannot tell from appearances how things shall go. Sometimes imagination makes things out far worse than they are; yet without imagination not much can be done. Those people who are imaginative see many more dangers than perhaps exist; certainly many more than will happen; but then they must also pray to be given that extra courage to carry this far-reaching imagination.

But for everyone, surely, what we have gone through in this period – I am addressing myself to the School – surely from this period of ten months, this is the lesson:

Never give in. Never give in. Never, never, never, never – in nothing, great or small, large or petty – never give in, except to convictions of honor and good sense. Never yield to force. Never yield to the apparently overwhelming might of the enemy.

We stood all alone a year ago, and to many countries it seemed that our account was closed, we were finished. All this tradition of ours, our songs, our School history, this part of the history of this country, all were gone and finished and liquidated.

Very different is the mood today. Britain, other nations thought, had drawn a sponge across her slate. But instead our country stood in the gap. There was no flinching and no thought of giving in; and by what seemed almost a miracle to those outside these Islands, though we ourselves never doubted it, we now find ourselves in a position where I say we can be sure that we have only to persevere to conquer.

You sang here a verse of a School Song: you sang that extra verse written in my honor, which I was very greatly complimented by and which you have repeated today. But there is one word in it I want to alter - I wanted to do so last year, but I did not venture to. It is the line: "Not less we praise in darker days".

I have obtained the Head Master's permission to alter darker to sterner. "Not less we praise in sterner days".

Do not let us speak of darker days: let us speak rather of sterner days. These are not dark days; these are great days – the greatest days our country has ever lived; and we must all thank God that we have been allowed, each of us according to our stations, to play a part in making these days memorable in the history of our race.

Broadcast to the People of Soviet Union

Iosif Stalin

November 07, 1941

Товарищи красноармейцы и краснофлотцы, командиры и политработники, рабочие и работницы, колхозники и колхозницы, работники интеллигентного труда, братья и сестры в тылу нашего врага, временно попавшие под иго немецких разбойников, наши славные партизаны и партизанки, разрушающие тылы немецких захватчиков!

От имени Советского правительства и нашей большевистской партии приветствую вас и поздравляю с 24-й годовщиной Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции.

Товарищи! В тяжелых условиях приходится праздновать сегодня 24-ю годовщину Октябрьской революции. Вероломное нападение немецких разбойников и навязанная нам война создали угрозу для нашей страны. Мы потеряли временно ряд областей, враг очутился у ворот Ленинграда и Москвы. Враг рассчитывал на то, что после первого же удара наша армия будет рассеяна, наша страна будет поставлена на колени. Но враг жестоко просчитался. Несмотря на временные неуспехи, наша армия и наш флот героически отбивают атаки врага на протяжении всего фронта, нанося ему тяжелый урон, а наша страна, — вся наша страна, — организовалась в единый боевой лагерь, чтобы вместе с нашей армией и нашим флотом осуществить разгром немецких захватчиков.

Бывали дни, когда наша страна находилась в еще более тяжелом положении. Вспомните 1918 год, когда мы праздновали первую годовщину Октябрьской революции. Три четверти нашей страны находились тогда в руках иностранных интервентов. Украина, Кавказ, Средняя Азия, Урал, Сибирь, Дальний Восток были временно потеряны нами. У нас не было союзников, у нас не было Красной Армии, — мы ее только начали создавать, — нехватало хлеба, нехватало вооружения, нехватало обмундирования. 14 государств наседали тогда на нашу страну. Но мы не унывали, не падали духом. В огне войны организовали тогда мы Красную Армию и превратили нашу страну в военный лагерь. Дух великого Ленина вдохновлял нас тогда на войну против интервентов. И что же? Мы разбили интервентов, вернули все потерянные территории и добились победы.

Теперь положение нашей страны куда лучше, чем 23 года назад. Наша страна во много раз богаче теперь и промышленностью, и продовольствием, и сырьем, чем 23 года назад. У нас есть теперь союзники, держащие вместе с нами единый фронт против немецких захватчиков. Мы имеем теперь сочувствие и поддержку всех народов Европы, попавших под иго гитлеровской тирании. Мы имеем теперь замечательную армию и замечательный флот, грудью отстаивающие свободу и независимость нашей Родины. У нас нет серьезной нехватки ни в продовольствии, ни в вооружении, ни в обмундировании. Вся наша страна, все народы нашей страны подпирают нашу армию, наш флот, помогая им разбить захватнические орды немецких фашистов. Наши людские резервы неисчерпаемы. Дух великого Ленина и его победоносное знамя вдохновляют нас теперь на Отечественную войну так же, как 23 года назад.

Разве можно сомневаться в том, что мы можем и должны победить немецких захватчиков?

Враг не так силен, как изображают его некоторые перепуганные интеллигентки. Не так страшен чорт, как его малюют. Кто может отрицать, что наша Красная Армия не раз обращала в паническое бегство хваленые немецкие войска? Если судить не по хвастливым заявлениям немецких пропагандистов, а по действительному положению Германии, нетрудно будет понять, что немецко-фашистские захватчики стоят перед катастрофой. В Германии теперь царят голод и обнищание, за 4 месяца войны Германия потеряла 4 с половиной миллиона солдат, Германия истекает кровью, ее людские резервы иссякают, дух возмущения овладевает не только народами Европы, подпавшими под иго немецких захватчиков, но и самим германским народом, который не видит конца войны. Немецкие захватчики напрягают последние силы. Нет сомнения, что Германия не может выдержать долго такого напряжения. Еще несколько месяцев, еще полгода, может быть годик, — и гитлеровская Германия должна лопнуть под тяжестью своих преступлений.

Товарищи красноармейцы и краснофлотцы, командиры и политработники, партизаны и партизанки! На вас смотрит весь мир, как на силу, способную уничтожить грабительские полчища немецких захватчиков. На вас смотрят поработанные народы Европы, подпавшие под иго немецких захватчиков, как на своих освободителей. Великая освободительная миссия выпала на вашу долю. Будьте же достойными этой миссии! Война, которую вы ведете, есть война освободительная, война справедливая. Пусть вдохновляет вас в этой войне мужественный образ наших великих предков — Александра Невского,

Димитрия Донского, Кузьмы Минина, Димитрия Пожарского, Александра Суворова, Михаила Кутузова! Пусть осенит вас победоносное знамя великого Ленина!

За полный разгром немецких захватчиков!

Смерть немецким оккупантам!

Да здравствует наша славная Родина, ее свобода, ее независимость!

Под знаменем Ленина — вперед к победе!