

*Ernst Simmel*

A PSYCHOLOGICAL RADIO OFFENSIVE AGAINST GERMANY

FROM A PSYCHOANALYTICAL VIEWPOINT

The plan put forward in this paper is based on the premiss that it is possible to convey to the Germans a logical sequence of ideas by means of our broadcasts. I realize that that is a purely theoretical assumption, which, at the present time, does not correspond to the facts. Still, I consider it essential to present the plan to the broadcaster in its logical entity. It should enable him to envisage the entire psychological scope of his task, while he is engaged in selecting special parts thereof for specific purposes.

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Before we discuss the details of a psychological broadcasting offensive against Germany, we have to investigate what is meant by "Psychological Offensive", and what its aims are going to be. Also, what the characteristics of broadcasting are, as the weapon at our disposal.

We have to keep in mind that in modern warfare a psychological offensive, as created by the Nazis, is a part of military strategy. It either introduces military action or accompanies it, in order to intensify its destructive aims.

The tendency of such an offensive is to undermine civilian morale by various direct and indirect methods. Its purpose is to weaken the military front of the enemy by furtively demoralizing his home front. This is done by coordinating psychological measures of an indirect propaganda with direct political or military actions of terror, as for instance political murder, or air bombings of the civilian population. Such an indirect propaganda consists, e.g. in whispering campaigns, spreading of rumors by secret agents, and the activities of disguised organizations of fifth columnists. The essential aim of psychological pre-attacks is to create panical conditions, paralyzing the initiative for effective defense.

In this type of psychological offensive, broadcasting is only one among other means, and it is also used only in an indirect and disguised manner. It is smuggled into other radio programs. But it affects the listener's mental condition the more the less he is aware of the fact that these sendings are inspired by the enemy of his country.

To summarize: The general aim of a German psychological offensive is to disintegrate the individual mental system and thus to hinder any collective action based on common reasonable planning.

Our committee has been asked to supply the tools for a "psychological offensive" against Germany, which is to be done through broadcasts alone. Is the aim of this planned broadcasting offensive against Germany identical with the aim of the psychological offensive used by Germany? Is it the purpose of our offensive to disintegrate the individual mental system of the German citizen and thus to undermine German public morale? And if so, could it be done?

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First, we must state that a psychological offensive done by broadcasts only differs in one important point from the sort of offensive described previously. - It cannot be done in any form of disguise. It must be an unconcealed and open attempt to contact public opinion in Germany. This consideration at once gives us an indication whom we shall be able to reach by broadcasting, and what the general principle of our psychological technique should be in order to give the American broadcast the strength necessary to penetrate with its message wider circles of the German population - those circles who are unable or do not want to listen to our broadcasts.

I am thinking of two categories of listeners: The first group whom we shall reach will be those who are already enemies of the present regime in Germany. - It is completely wrong to say that this category does not need our message, as they do not like the Nazi regime

anyhow. These people do not need our broadcasts so much intellectually - but they do need them emotionally. What they need is our encouragement. They have gone through all kinds of physical and spiritual hardship. They are friends or relatives of assassinated underground fighters. They feel discouraged, depressed and doomed. To them we have to convey the message that we are cognizant of the fact that they, as well as many other German citizens, live in Germany as in a besieged town - encircled and oppressed by their own government of terror. But here comes the message of America: We are near, to relieve them from their torturers. We fight for their as well as for our own liberty by fighting against the Nazi domination of the world. These people must welcome the "Voice of America" as the foreboding of a new era of mankind, for which it is worth while to live and to fight.

This category of listeners must be considered by the American broadcaster as his foothold in Germany, from which he will be able to spread his message to two other categories.

The second category of listeners we have to take into consideration are those who suffer from the Nazi regime or the conditions created by it, but have no clear conception of what it is all about. They may come to listen on suggestion of listeners of the first category, or by mere accident, while they are fiddling with their radios in search of information..

These are the two standard categories we have to consider when sending our broadcasts to Germany. The sendings have to be handled so that both categories will grow steadily. - But beyond this, our broadcasts should convey to our listeners the suggestion to establish

audiences for themselves, thus creating a third category of listeners. In this way, they should hand on the "American message" to more and more people, to those who have no radio, or who are unable to listen because of the danger involved.

The ultimate aim, of course, of all the messages sent to the German population, is to make our airborne messages so pregnant with meaning and so stimulating to affective reactions that they will necessarily demand a discharge into adequate action.

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It is very fortunate that the American broadcasting offensive, in order to be effective, can truly rest on the principles of humanity and truth. And this not for sentimental reasons. These have to be silenced in war. But simply, as I pointed out in the beginning, because a psychological attack always has to be adapted to a military strategical plan. And in this respect the strategy of America's army and that of her allies is distinctly different from the strategy of the German war machine.

German psychological offensives are planned as preparations of long duration, to assure success to military action which has to be as short as possible - the "Blitzkrieg". America has neither the ability nor the wish to wage a "Blitzkrieg" on Germany. Besides, a psychological offensive based on broadcasts only is much more limited in comparison with one based on a host of secret agents able to create, slowly and methodically, the emotional condition of the civilian population which eventually paralyzes their defense activities.

The American psychological offensive has as its aim not the tendency to demoralize a mentally well-integrated population, but in the contrary to re-integrate the mental condition of a population already suffering from the demoralizing effects of a psychological offensive staged against them by their own leaders. We have to show that the first ruthless German psychological offensive was launched against the Germans themselves.

Hitler's propaganda has purposefully created and cultivated a panic state of mind of the German people, in order to drive it into and keep it in a mental condition of infantile regression. We must wake up the German people to the realization that they are kept on the stage of dependent infants, i.e. as slaves at home by being permitted to indulge in daydreams of being grown-ups, who are superior and powerful enough to conquer the world abroad. We must help them to re-mature, - that is, to become capable again not only of testing reality, but also of acting like grown-ups who change reality as far as necessary in order to make living worthwhile.

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These few considerations show

that the planned broadcasting offensive has its specific tasks for psychoanalysts. For we psychoanalysts are used to the task of introducing a process of maturation into the mind of mentally disintegrated individuals, and this by means of the spoken word only.

However, there is an important difference between what we do with our psychoanalytic patients, and what we do with the listeners to our broadcasts. Within the psychoanalytic situation, the psychoanalyst is to a much greater degree the listener than his patient. The curative effect of a psychoanalytic treatment, as far as talking is concerned, rests not so much on what the analyst says, but rather on the talking of the patient - on his free associating.

Therefore, we cannot think of attempting to "cure" the German people by psychoanalysis, but we can attempt to influence them by a form of "short psychotherapy", ('Short-wave psychotherapy') based on psychoanalytic principles.

What is the essence of "Short Psychotherapy", as performed by a psychoanalyst? Our therapeutic attitude, as I see it, is the following: We establish a transference to the therapist, and then make use of this transference in order to convey to the patient's intellect a knowledge previously unknown to him. As Freud taught us, the individual can be reached intellectually only as far as the limitations of his narcissism permit it. By demonstrating our love to him, the patient is made capable of loving us, and in return he gradually gives up his narcissistic mental seclusion. Thus he learns to listen to us and to

understand us. To be sure, by such a therapy of speaking, based on the emotional dynamics of transference, we can reach merely the pre-conscious part of the mental system. However, this is important enough, for the pre-conscious harbors the thought-contents which have been suppressed, i.e. shifted aside from consciousness, or contents from the repressed unconscious which could not be kept repressed any longer. What these pre-conscious mental contents need in order to become amenable to consciousness is to be transformed into the process of thinking in verbal ideas.

As mentioned above, we appeal to three categories of the German people. (1) To those who are aware of the fact that the Nazi regime is leading Germany into disaster and who long for contact with foreign countries. (2) Those who suffer personally under the conditions in Nazi Germany, but are groping in vain for an understanding of the causes of their misery. (3) The great majority, which does not listen to broadcasts and which has to be reached indirectly through categories (1) and (2) serving as mediators.

Through our broadcasts we are able, at least to a certain degree, to convey to <sup>all our</sup> our listener-"patients" the language they need to express to themselves as ~~well~~ <sup>or</sup> as to their fellow-men what was before only a sort of hazy emotional feeling. In this way we can help our listener to regain his capacity to speak and, moreover, to think - . The "Freedom of Speech" has been abolished in Germany for quite some time, having been put under the ban of drastic punishment. The prohibition to speak, i.e. to verbalize feelings, must have led retroactively to an inhibition to think - for every attempt at thinking in terms of



ethics and reality must have become associated with the sensation of panical fear like a "conditioned reflex". By helping our listeners to regain the capacity to think, we also help them to be prepared for rational acting. For thinking, as Freud formulated it, is "the experimental way of acting", which mediates between impulse and action by taking into account all circumstances of reality.

Moreover, in short psychotherapy we help the patient not only to recognize reality - we are also prepared to support him by active aid in his endeavor to change his external reality as far as necessary for the re-integration of his personality. In this respect, our short-wave sendings must represent us as powerful "grown-ups" to the "child", - the German people. For we are able to bring them active help in their endeavor to change their unsatisfactory reality. - We can proudly profess that the great factor at our disposal for exerting such influence on reality is the American army, the American navy, and the American air force, which will destroy Nazism, the obstacle to the re-building of a civilized Germany.

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Before we try to get a more detailed picture of what the psychodynamics of our broadcasting in Germany should consist of, let us first consider once more the psychoanalytic principles on which these psychodynamics rest.

What are the psychoanalytic principles which should help us to apply to them our "short-wave psychotherapy" ?

1. We have to establish a transference to the broadcaster, representing the "Voice of America".

In order to bring about the restoration <sup>to</sup> of normality, the broadcaster must temporarily claim for himself the place within the super-ego of the Germans which was formerly usurped by Hitler. This can ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> achieved <sup>win</sup> provided he is able first to win the love of the German people. Thus the German people will come to accept America's view of 20th century civilization, and will learn to see and recognize reality through the mediation of the broadcaster. This will help ~~him~~ <sup>them</sup> to ~~gain back~~ <sup>re</sup> their self-reliance, and will bring about the resolve to overthrow Hitler in reality, after ~~already~~ <sup>the theoretical principles</sup> getting rid of him inwardly.

I do not intend to go further into ~~the~~ theoretical considerations about the character changes to be brought about in the Germans. I should prefer to ~~demonstrate~~ <sup>show</sup> the theoretical principles by practical examples later on.

For the purpose of establishing a transference of our listeners to us, we have to take into consideration the fact that the average German citizen is already emotionally fixated on Hitler. The fixation was artificially created by the Nazis' misusing intentionally and systematically the psychological reactions caused by the insecurity of the people's economic situation. We are, therefore, faced with the necessity of bringing about a transference to us by simultaneously dissolving a transference tie already effective, in the emotional attachment to Hitler.

2. We have to use this transference to the end of restoring to normality the disturbed mental equilibrium of the individual German. The normalized German individual is to be able to cancel his allegiance to Hitler, and to adapt (for his own sake) the leadership of America.

What is Normality ? Normality, described in psychoanalytic terms, signifies that the ego is capable of testing reality and acting accordingly, by subduing the demands of its <sup>unuly</sup> infantile instincts, (the 'id') to the demands of its conscience. (The super-ego )

the mental system, brought about by Hitler's influence, affects in particular the functionings of the super-ego. <sup>Through the impairment of their inner mental agent</sup> ~~What is impaired is the capacity of this inner mental ego to control the~~ <sup>ego's relationship to reality on the one hand, and its attachment to the</sup> ~~driving forces of instinct on the other.~~ <sup>the more amenable to the</sup> <sup>which will find repressed</sup> <sup>through the it becomes</sup> In order to understand this problem, it might be helpful to recapitulate in brief the development of the super-ego in general.

The super-ego is the mental factor representing the internalized power of the parents within the ego. During the first year of life, the child, owing to its helpless condition, is fully dependent upon his parent. It overcomes this dependence first by developing mental independence. Its ego acquires the qualities of a character by introjecting the external parental power, thus forming the inner mental power of its super-ego. From then on the child is able to direct his thinking and acting in accordance with the commands of this inner voice just as he previously followed the commands of the external voice of his parents.

Adults who, in situations of absolute helplessness, regress emotionally to the level of children, tend to re-dissolve the inner allegiance to their super-ego. Unable to further rely upon themselves, they re-establish the earlier pattern of a child-parent relationship by transmitting the inner authority of the super-ego back to an external object, to a powerful person as a parent substitute. Thus they have, as it were, an "external super-ego" and their ego follows the commands of this external power as if it were still an inner mental power. The fact that the commanding person and the super-ego of an individual can become actually one under certain conditions, accounts for the thus acquired property which we call "suggestibility". For the external object, (i.e. the commanding person) has, like the super-ego, direct access to the instinctual sources of the "Id", and thus can induce - or better, seduce - the ego to deny actual reality by yielding to the driving affect energies of re-awakened infantile instinct demands

In brief, our ~~intention~~ is to take away the German people's transference to Hitler, to attach it to us and to use this new attachment to the end of ~~making~~ the Germans feel that they are one with us . ~~By being~~

It is only through such an emotional attachment that not only the incentive to listen but also the capability of understanding us can be created.

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 2. For this purpose we have to take into consideration the infantile regressive state of mind of the average German citizen - that state of mind based on his fixation on Hitler. A fixation which was artificially created by the Nazis' misusing intentionally the psychological reactions caused by the insecurity of Germany's economic situation.

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 Before we can know what kind of transference we intend to create, how to use it and how to approach the problem of dissolving the transference ties of our listeners to Hitler, <sup>it must be established</sup> we have to make it clear to ourselves what transference really means. Transference means, in essence, the re-establishment of the emotional fixation of a child to his parents, by substituting the parents of the past by the present therapist.

The "wild" psychotherapist repeats for this purpose the means of an antiquated bad education. He gains the emotional infantile attachment of the patient by spoiling or threatening him. Furthermore, he wants to keep his patient on this childhood level in relation towards him, and thus misuses the transference for his own narcissistic benefit. He wants to be considered the omnipotent father, the ideal of regressive, reactionary education. If, under the pressure of such a transference relationship, some neurotic symptoms disappear, the wild psychotherapist makes the patient believe that his, the therapist's -, magic power has cured him, and that he therefore deserves his eternal worship and gratitude.

We must admit that Hitler has been an extremely successful wild psychotherapist. He has brought about such a child-father relationship between himself and the German people, with the help of a propaganda machinery which was set in motion and kept in motion by brutal terror. In his transference system, the father (dictator) keeps up the child's (people's) belief in his omnipotence by misusing his superior physical strength. The mere existence of such a father is a steady threat to the child. This has no choice but to obey strictly - otherwise, because of his helplessness, he would feel exposed to the dangers of destruction or desertion. Obedience to the father - out of fear - is the only way to retain security, because it is the only escape from the unbearable feeling of panical anxiety. Premiums of pleasure are sometimes used to reward the intimidated child. In such a relationship, the child is forbidden to think or to ask questions - because he shall not understand the motives of his father's commands. For only if his obedience is "blind" will he overlook his father's weaknesses and preserve his belief in his pretended omnipotence.

The transference we intend to establish is entirely different, and the use we want to make of it is even more so. It concerns the relationship between a child and his father which is based on mutual understanding through love. The child, of course, must also recognize and acknowledge the superior power of his father and must bow to his superiority; - he feels that his father is superior because he assures him of security by teaching him how to master reality.

From this point of view, we have to establish it first as a fact that America is a power capable of guaranteeing security, and this

in return for not fear but love. The broadcasts of America are the language in which she speaks to the German people. The listeners will understand this language because they feel themselves understood by America. To a child, feeling himself understood is identical with feeling himself loved, and this in particular if - as we intend to do - we help to put into words those suppressed emotions which could not find an adequate expression before - neither in words nor in actions. The understanding thus established through the transference, we will not use to increase our own narcissism, but rather to help the German people to recognize and master their reality - i.e. the existing conditions under which they live and suffer. We have to show the German citizen why he necessarily had to come to a fixation on the dictator - that it was economical and political insecurity which unleashed the emotional factors of panic which drove him into infantile regression and child-like dependence. We have to show him the psychological constellation which still keeps him in that dependence, although reality does not demand it any more. We have to point out to him his deep-seated feeling of insecurity and its causes. We have to demonstrate that security can only be gained by maturing - in a political sense. This means progressing from the state of a child in awe of a dictator to the state of a self-relying citizen - governing his own affairs in a democracy.

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To progress from these more abstract considerations to more concrete ones, let me first mention that I agree with Dr. Langer's proposal to divide the broadcasts into two parts: 1. The short-range

attack, carried on from day to day, and, 2. the long-range campaign which "must set itself a definite goal as well as frame the strategy and the tactics to be employed in using it."

It is obvious that tactics based on psychoanalytic principles, as I recommended them before, refer chiefly to the second, "long-range" campaign. However, the first short-range attack - in its daily addresses, must become the incentive for the audience to listen also to Nr. 2. The "therapeutic" effect we have in mind could only be attempted by the long-range campaign - however, the short-range attack should prepare the listeners and make them eager to cultivate their "long-range" contacts with us.

Thinking of the first category of listener mentioned above, on whom we can rely, what should be the essence of our daily short-range sendings to them? They know or feel that they are groping in the dark - the steady Nazi propaganda and Hitler's bombastic speeches have muddled their brains. They are hungry for facts. Prevented from keeping up with the war and other political events, they try in vain to find an intellectual orientation about the present state of affairs, and the meaning and outcome of all the turmoil in the world.

To them, the American broadcast should bring daily news of the world and, of course, in particular war news. It should also bring talks and news interpretation, which would enable them to see the greater perspective behind actual events. I am thinking of, for instance, broadcasts such as "March of Time" etc. The objectivity with which these news are reported - mentioning frankly the defeats of America as well as



of her allies - should give the listener the assurance that he is listening to reality, as distinct from the "dope" he has to swallow from his own propaganda ministry.

There is no need to worry that the news of defeat might depreciate the status of the U.S. On the contrary. This is to be used to demonstrate America's power. Only a nation sure of itself can admit defeats and scorn lies as an admission of weakness. Precisely by reporting the incipient defeats of America is the broadcaster enabled to establish himself as an authority - as the representative of a strong America. He can declare - quoting the President - that it is the planned strategy of America to relinquish early victories, whenever necessary, and to prepare instead from the very beginning for a war of many years' duration.

Again and again the point must be stressed that it is the well-planned strategy of the military forces of the U.S.A. to wear out the "Blitzkrieg" tactics of the Nazis by exhausting the enemy even by his own victories. This strategical fact would provide the broadcasting offensive with an important weapon.

The "Leitmotiv" of these broadcasts, on which everything else is based, would have to be the announcement, supported by concrete motivations, that this war - in spite of all "Blitz" successes of the Axis - will be a war of immense length. The broadcaster will have to give the German people facts proving that the Allies are prepared for this kind of strategy, which renders individual German successes valueless in the long run. It has to be shown in detail by military experts that now that America, with all her immense resources, has entered the war, Germany must succumb to her own victories. The broadcaster is not

to depreciate the achievements of the German army, but he must show that theirs is an antiquated strategy, that this ambush fighting may be successful at first, because of the modern machinery used, but is bound to collapse under the strain of a long war.

It is my opinion that pounding this fact into the consciousness of the German people will give the unseen broadcaster a nimbus of power. This is necessary, as otherwise the German people might think that their enemies are trying to achieve by talking what they could not achieve by fighting.

It has to be established as a fact that America is an unweakened, invincible nation. Statistics have to be given to the listeners in detail, referring to production, wealth in raw materials, and manpower. The German people has to be told that in the United States an army of 9 million men is in the making, and that America's production capacity, particularly in armaments, is inexhaustible. It must be emphasized that America has always been the teacher of the world in mass production, and all Germany's accomplishments in this field have been based on methods adopted from the United States.

#### AMERICA IS POWER !

This is the essential concept which the listener has to absorb in order to be able to displace his transference from Hitler as an imaginary power to America, which represents a real power. The power of a parent who makes his child feel that he understands his needs. This understanding gives the child the reassurance of security. The parent who provides security gives love and receives love in return.

From an emotional point of view, the listener must be impelled to see only two alternatives in his reaction to America. Either he falls in love with America and considers the fact that America entered the war as the only light in the darkness which will lead Germany out of war and out of the insecurity of barbarism, or he must face the fact that because of America's interference the war will not end until Germany collapses completely - regardless of individual victories.

In other words, he must be impressed with the idea that in his search for security there is no other way but to hang on to America.

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We should not forget, however, that it is the people of category (1) with whom we come into contact first. We have to formulate our addresses in a way which makes them feel that it is their sacred obligation to become the missionaries of our sendings. It will be their task to encourage others to listen and, moreover, to create a nucleus of non-listeners to whom they will spread our messages, our slogans, and our directions which will eventually lead to actions. We must do everything in our power to encourage them to identify themselves with us. We must try to achieve this by expressing the wish of identifying ourselves with them. We both have a task and a duty in common: To defend the "Bill of Rights", which are the rights and duties of every civilized individual on earth. To this end, we need their help - and they need ours. They should consider themselves not only as receivers - for they are we, they, like us, must become the senders of our short-wave messages to Germany.

In discussing general problems of cultural aims and problems of general military strategy, we already bring into contact the two short- and long-range broadcasts. I think that particularly the cultural aims of our war should be discussed in our long-range campaign, but the daily short-range sendings should be used to incite the listener to attend the other sendings for more detailed reports on American feelings about Germany, America's peace aims and the means she intends to employ. The daily short-range broadcast, however, shall attempt already to induce the listener to dissolve his emotional ties to Hitler.

In this respect it is an important factor to demonstrate to the German people that their Fuehrer actually does not love them. The hypocrisy underlying Hitler's tactics has to be revealed. He relentlessly sacrifices the health and lives of millions of fellow Germans, he jeopardizes the very existence of the country for the sake of conquering an illusional "Greater Germany". Detailed reports must be given on things concealed from the German people - the destruction of German lives and goods, which is the consequence of Hitler's strategy based on his lack of love for the Germans. Hitler - to quote from his books - actually despises the German people. It must be shown that Hitler only pretends - that he actually does not care about their wounds, their disfigurements, their deaths. He said, for instance, to Rauschning, that a "Greater Germany" was worth the sacrifice of 3 000 000 Germans.

Hitler's attitude must be contrasted with the attitude of America's leadership. Our President, in full conformity with all Americans, made the firms and unshakable decision to battle down the Nazi

aggressors. However, he does not want to achieve this aim by "Blitzkrieg" victories - for "Blitzkrieg" would entail the death of millions of our best youth. We do not cherish the idea that our youth should die - we want them to live for their country. For we love our people.

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The essential changes we intend to bring about in the character attitude of the Germans can of course be attempted in a systematical way only by long-range sendings.

For this latter purpose, the long-range sendings should be mentioned in every short-range broadcast. However, since we may anticipate that quite a few of the listeners will be attending for the first time, without any previous preparation, it is important that the sporadic listener as well as the faithful attendant be given something concrete in every broadcast. This will stimulate him to listen to the next one. The fact that some of the things we have to say will not be new to those of our listeners who are already enemies of the Nazi regime should not prevent us from saying them. We should emphasize that we tell them what they should tell them what they should tell others.

What we aim at by our long-range broadcasts, in accordance with our psychotherapeutic principles, is to help the German people to mature, i.e. to give up its infantile regression by dissolving its irrational transference-ties to Hitler. To this end, we must prove that Hitler is far from being capable of being a real father. He does not love anyone because he is not capable of loving at all. To hang on to

him gives no security, even an attempt at identifying oneself with him, - i.e. ~~to substitute identification love for object love~~ - does not open any other way for future security. It is impossible to accept his views as a guidance to a reliable orientation about the problems of our time. For Hitler is the most untrustworthy representative of reality. This man has always lied to every one about everything - and even, - as has to be shown later - created artificial illusions and delusions among his followers, in order to keep up the nimbus of his pseudo-omnipotence. Hanging on to Hitler means insecurity in the present as well as in the future. The Germans have to overthrow him both outwardly and inwardly, in order to be able to re-establish a community of adults, i. e. people who govern themselves in a democracy.

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In the following, I shall give a short outline of how I think the principles of psychoanalytic psychotherapy could be applied to our long-range campaign. We had already begun to make our listeners see that Hitler actually does not love the German people. It must be shown that he is factually incapable of loving anyone - for otherwise he could not be so savagely cruel, even to his friends. He has assassinated everybody who diverted from his own opinion. For this reason his best friend, Hess, who helped him come to power, had to flee from him into the more secure arms of Hitler's enemy, the British. - In the blood purge of 1934, Hitler ruthlessly killed his intimate friend, Roehm and many other Nazis who had in mind to stick to the principles of Nazi ideology, which Hitler himself had previously propagated.

To prove that Hitler is incapable of loving, it must also be pointed out that this man, who talks so much about the duty of German men and women to found families and produce children for the "Vaterland" is himself not capable of being a father. He does not know how to love a wife and children. Hitler actually loves only himself. He considers Germany a part of his own ego, and it is for this very reason that he wants to inflate it out of all proportion. However, there does not exist today and never will exist that "Greater Germany" which, in accordance with a fantastic wish-dream of Hitler, should enslave the other countries all over the world.

The German soldier who is on duty in the occupied areas of other countries will be gravely mistaken and deceived in case he should consider himself the son of an already-existing Greater Germany. He may come to such an erroneous conclusion because, for the time being, he is allowed to stand, clothed in the German uniform, for instance in Paris, in the Dome des Invalides, and look down on Napoleon, the hero of the French nation. However, the shots which killed German soldiers and officers in occupied areas are warning signals for the Germans - proving that no killing of thousands of hostages will prevent the enslaved peoples from destroying all their oppressors in due time, and this because they feel that the mighty American nation has taken up their cause as its own. It is Hitler's fault that Germany is looked upon with hatred among the great family of civilized nations. He introduced into modern warfare, as a technique, the destruction of <sup>the</sup>/unarmed and unprotected civilian population, in order to lame the morale of the armed forces defending them. He massacred innocent citizens as hostages in

order to create terror. He bombed open cities and even ordered his planes to machinegun thousands of fleeing civilians - men, women and children, running for their bare lives.

The Germans must be taught that their national narcissism, which makes them believe themselves the masters of the world, is nothing but an irrational daydream, which nowadays is not compatible with the reality of international relations. It is collective hyper-narcissism, artificially induced and cultivated for the purpose of preventing recognition of individual misery in the homeland.

In the pursuit of our purpose to oust Hitler from the power he exerts over the mind of the Germans, and substitute ourselves in his stead, we must contrast our attitude with his. We do not pretend to possess divine power; however, because we are human beings, we are able to understand their distress. We must admit that errors have been committed in the past by other countries, which at least contributed in creating the desperate situation of the German people from which they hoped to be rescued by Hitler. It was partly the Treaty of Versailles and, on the other hand, the insufficiency of the League of Nations, which contributed to German misery. However, it is not true that Germany has lost the first world war because - as Hitler and his followers pretended, - "they laid down their arms because of confidence in the 14 points of President Wilson." Germany lost the war because, after  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years, she was exhausted economically and mentally and even militarily - whereas the Allies had gained new strength, in particular through the aid of America. It must again be stated that Hitler falsified the facts when



he propagated the thesis that the terrible economic crisis, which brought many Germans to the edge of starvation, was due to the Versailles Treaty; proof of this is the fact that the same economic depression occurred with the same severity also in the U.S.

We have to communicate to the listener that there exists a superior knowledge, which is unknown to Hitler, and which comes from impartial scientific research. We want the German people to realize that we know that a change of economic conditions is going on in the world, and that a new order is in the making. Every one of us knows that world economics and intra-national as well as international relations need a new order. The many new discoveries in science and technics make that indisputable. We should refer, for instance, to the inventions of the technique for using the air surrounding our globe as a means to bring all people living on earth into closer contact with one another: The radio technique of speaking, and the airplane technique of flying. - Both of these techniques result in rendering the border restrictions of nations less important. However, the meaning of this new trend in the development of history is not - as Hitler thinks - that Germany will swallow all the other nations.

Hitler only pretends to fight for a new order. What he really stands for is the old order - the old disorder. What we want to bring about is a mutual agreement of all nations, in order to forestall recurring conditions of economic distress, which entail wars and inflation, again creating economic distress, in a vicious circle. This vicious circle cannot be broken by Hitler's insane policy, based on concepts of ancient world conquerors and tyrants.

It is Hitler's policy of war and destruction which has brought the German people back exactly where it stood in 1919 and the following years. Hitler is actually the representative of the old order - the policy of endlessly recurring disaster.

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How could Hitler succeed in preventing the German people from seeing conditions as they were, and from anticipating a disaster of Germany as a result of Hitler's leadership ? The answer is that a specific mental state of the German people was responsible for this - a mental state which was brought on by the fact that, in consequence of the first world war, they suffered not only from present want, but - which was more significantly - also from complete hopelessness concerning the economic and political future of their country. The youth of Germany had nothing to look forward to. There was no incentive for professional training, since their prospects consisted merely in the depressing chance of permanent unemployment.

We must refer to this misery of post-war Germany in order to be able to make our audience conscious of the frame of mind they were in when they sold themselves to Hitler. This state of mind was one of panic - and we must explain to them what "panic" means.

Panic is a mental condition, always brought about by a situation of absolute helplessness. And helplessness makes children out of adults, who, in their despair, long for the guidance of a strong man, alike to a father, who should be superior in order to give them back the feeling of security. Panic also drives men together in masses. Since

they do not know what to do, they long to submerge into a mass where all responsibility will be taken away from them as individuals, and left to the mass as such and its leader. Men in such a panical condition follow an old atavistic gregarious (herd) instinct, as e.g. may be observed in a flock of sheep.

Hitler misused this panical mental condition of the German people, and he did it consciously and purposefully. With the help of terror and deceit, he established his power over them with the admitted intention of keeping them on the level of fearful, dependent children.

Hitler rules through the obedience of the people only because this obedience is blind. It is the blind obedience of intimidated children, who do not see that Hitler is leading them into a abyss by deluding them with the Fata Morgana of a "Greater Germany" which will be the super-nation of the world in the future.

However, Hitler was not certain that all the members of the German nation were really in such an emotional condition of panic which would deprive them of the capacity to think logically and weigh their arguments.

For this reason, he deliberately tried and succeeded in artificially increasing panic reactions among the German population. The system he used for this purpose - and which was planned by him and his accomplices, Goebbels and Goering - is the most unheard-of thing in the history of civilization. It is the system of "terror" - based on psychological principles, and ruthlessly applied by Germans against Germans. The SS and the Gestapo are the tools he used in carrying out his barbaric plan.

It has to be shown that terror is the most despicable of all weapons, because it means the cowardly attack of several armed individuals on a single, unarmed one. This "technique" serves not only the purpose of destroying all actual or potential opponents of the regime, but moreover to drive all other citizens into an artificial loyalty arising from fear.

Besides, Hitler has poisoned all inter-human relationships within Germany itself by instilling into the minds of the citizens the need of spying on one another. Hitler thus isolated every individual emotionally by inducing him to distrust his neighbor and to be afraid even of his friends.

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How could Hitler, under such conditions, creep into the people's confidence ? He managed it by horrible deceits. From the very beginning, he has lied to the German people. These lies indicate how much he despises it and, on the other hand, how little he himself must have believed in the validity of his true reasons. Detailed descriptions of these original lies must be given. I am referring, e.g. to the "Reichstag Fire", the facts of which have been revealed by an international trial in London. Every righteous German will feel revolted on hearing that Goering and others, calling God the Almighty as their witness, perjured themselves - lying that innocent persons like the boy Van der Lubbe had set the Reichstag afire, and permitting this boy to be executed, while it was they themselves who had committed the

crime. Hitler and Goering stepped up to their posts as murderers and incendiaries - and this in order to guide the people's imagination in the wrong direction.

We have to emphasize again and again that Hitler's speeches - as well as his actions - do not originate from love to the German people. The fascinating influence he exerts upon his followers is brought about by an elaborate psychological technique.

This "technique" is based on a misuse of our modern knowledge of the dynamics of the human mind. Panic - artificially created and spread among the citizens reduces them to ~~a~~ <sup>the</sup> mental state of intimidated and over-credulous children. It is due only to this type of maneuvering that Hitler could succeed in stripping them of all the rights of adult citizens by paralyzing their initiative for defense.

The German people has to be reminded that once it was politically mature, i.e. that there was once a democracy in which they had the right to think, to say what they thought, and to act in accordance with their convictions. They must be made to understand what a mockery it is today when Hitler calls the "Reichstag" together, while it was he who symbolically burned Democracy in the Reichstag fire. Now he calls the so-called "members of Parliament" together like schoolboys, permits them to cry "Heil Hitler"! and then sends them home again.

The former citizen of Germany is today merely a subject of Hitler. He has forfeited all his right to free decision. Neither today nor ever in the future, as long as Hitler and his clique rule Germany, will he be allowed to make decisions about himself. He has no voice as to his work, or even where he wants to work. He has forfeited his

right to choose his religion, his friends, even his wife... Hitler, who pretended to cement the nation anew, has destroyed the pillars on which the nation rested - the German family and German love life. And again: The German citizen is today as powerless as an unhappy, helpless child, left at the mercy of a cruel, tyrannic father.

We, the Americans, want to bring Freedom back to the Germans. Freedom of thinking and Freedom of acting. For only if Freedom is restored in Germany can we feel secure in our liberties in America. Our President, Roosevelt, carefully watches that the liberties of our democracy are preserved even under the condition of war. It was he who coined the bitter word that "the center of today's world slave market is Berlin." And these words betray the sincere pity our President feels for the German people, who suffer directly under the whip of their slave drivers.

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The best way of making an individual or a group of individuals immune against the effects of propaganda is - as I have mentioned previously - to make them conscious of the psychological technique employed. Nazi propaganda aims directly at the emotional forces of the irrational unconscious and tries to exclude any critical interference of the super-ego, either by paralyzing it (through dread) or by bribing it (by narcissistic premiums.) We are able to counteract this "technique" / by diverting the attention of the individual from the content of propaganda messages to the mechanism of their presentation, /we block an immediate emotional reaction, /We interpolate the intellectual process of thinking - the experimental way of acting - and /give the ego a chance of pausing and testing reality.\*

Footnote:

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\* Page 27

In the course of my personal contacts with Nazi activities in Germany as well as here in Los Angeles, I have had the opportunity to test the correctness of this assumption. In one public gathering here, for instance, Nazi-representatives propagated their Hitler-ideology partly openly and partly in a disguised fashion, as "open-minded Americans". They tried to bring the audience to an emotional uproar in order to render their argumentation proof against intellectual criticism. I succeeded in calming down the audience and disarming the Nazi speakers by taking the following stand in the discussion: I started out by saying: "I have not the slightest doubt concerning the sincerity behind the enthusiasm of the Nazi representatives in this hall. I am also certain that the speakers we have just heard are men of the highest intelligence. Therefore it cannot be their personal fault if the views they have expressed are so disparate from ours, and seem so unapproachable by common logics." Then, turning to the audience, I went on to explain that there is no sense in getting excited about the stubborn refusal of a Nazi speaker to discuss the issue on a dispassionate, intellectual level. Avoiding the issue - that is just what the Nazi speakers are trying to do. Keeping the people from logical thinking by starting an emotional uproar. That is their aim. That is the reason why they say foolish things which they do not believe themselves. They are not concerned with the content of our controversies. They are merely interested in bringing about certain psychological effects within the audience. This

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\* Page 27 cont.

is assembly-strategy, based on a certain psychological technique, skillfully schemed and prescribed by the Nazi party leaders. This technique is always the same: Nazi speakers or Nazi hecklers shift the emphasis from the actual issue to personal matters in order to stir up emotions contrary to logical arguments. E.G. They ask how much a speaker gets for defending the principles of Democracy.

The Nazi speakers taking part in the discussions always play a certain part, like actors, reacting to their cues. In this way they obey the orders of their superiors, because they are convinced that the ultimate aim of their superiors must be reasonable.



In carrying out the principle of demasking German propa-  
 ganda, fabricated for consumption within Germany, as based upon a  
 psychological technique rather than conviction and love for the people,  
 it might not be unwise to tell ~~the listeners of the life work of~~  
~~Sigmund Freud. He was the discoverer of the natural laws which govern~~  
~~the human passions of love and hate as well as of anxiety. He has~~  
~~published his findings because he wanted to help mankind, to help~~  
~~them conquer their deep-seated anxieties and establish emotional secu-~~  
~~rity. Such emotional security helps mankind to dispose of innate de-~~  
~~structive energies, and to turn hatred into love for the constructive~~  
~~aim of civilization.~~

It must be made known <sup>a v.</sup> to the Germans that Goebbels as well  
 as Mussolini had carefully studied the doctrines of Freud. However,  
 they managed to turn the principles of the great benefactor into their  
 opposite. <sup>They had</sup> They misused <sup>his</sup> his discoveries <sup>of the dynamics of the human</sup>  
 mind for the purpose of creating artificially panic and hatred among  
 the German population, in order to keep it under the thumbs of their  
 tyrannic rulers. x

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The American broadcaster must make up his mind which stand  
 to take in relation to the most effective psychological weapon at the  
 command of Hitler, i.e. his anti-semitism. I want to emphasize that in  
 my opinion the most erroneous and fateful attitude would be to say:  
 Americans must keep clear of this issue, otherwise our audience might  
 think that Hitler was right when he proclaimed that America is governed

by Jews. This more cowardly than careful attitude of "keeping quiet because people might think Hitler is right" helped much in establishing anti-semitism as such a powerful instrument in the hands of Nazi propaganda. We must keep in mind that, in Nazi psychological warfare, anti-semitism is nothing but a technical device - like the "luftwaffe" in physical warfare. It is Hitler who decides against whom his "technical devices" are to be directed. Therefore he and not we determine who is and who is not a Jew. Jews, to Hitler, are all those from whom money can be extorted, and towards whom he can direct the hatred and aggressions which otherwise would destroy him. Therefore it makes no difference how much we protest that America is not governed by Jews - Hitler will designate anyone who is his actual or potential enemy as a Jew. Thus he declared Stalin a Jew, previous to the non-aggression pact, and has long since called Roosevelt a Jew, in correct estimation of the political and human attitude of the President of the U.S.A.

Considering the views the President has frequently expressed, concerning the Freedom and human Rights America stands for, no American broadcaster need feel ashamed of sympathizing with the German Jews, so barbarously prosecuted by Hitler. Moreover, I am certain that, if done in the right way, our listeners will take it as an indication of power that the American government is not afraid of being considered as Jews by Hitler, i.e. as his implacable enemies.

Of course, we have to demonstrate the deeper psychological reason for the Nazi government's need to cultivate anti-semitism. They need the fiction of an "International Jewry" as inimical to the so-called Aryan or German race for the purpose of the "psychological warfare".

Through this fiction they were able to establish in the minds of the German people the idea that the external enemy of the country had his representatives in their own ranks.

The establishment of such an associative connection enables the technicians of Nazi propaganda to deal with the minds of the German people ("Deutsche Volksseele") as with dynamos, the power of which they direct into whatever channels they consider appropriate to their politics. The Jews within the country can always be blamed when the external enemies of Nazi Germany gain in either victories or prestige. Thus the hatred and destructive tendencies, which cannot be placed emotionally on those external enemies, find a rationalization in hatred against the Jews inside Germany.

Above all, we know - and the Goebbels psychologists knew it too - that anti-semitism is badly needed as the emotional basis on which the Germans' awe of the dictator rests. They need anti-semitism in order to secure Hitler's position as the "beloved leader". Freud thought that a leader can always feel secure in the love of his followers as long as he can deflect their hatred from his own person by presenting to them another object for their aggressions. The father transference to a leader is always ambivalent. The hatred-part of it must be directed away towards someone else. On the other hand, an enormous amount of aggressive-destructive energies has been stirred up in the minds of the German people, because of the many frustrations they had to suffer from their government. Also, those destructive tendencies must be taken care of by directing them against the Jews.

We must tell the German people, in simple words, that Hitler chose the Jews as a counterpart of himself. He did this in self-defense. He has to lead astray the emotional reactions of his people in order to protect himself against the manifestations of their disappointment and rage.

We must ask the Germans: How was it possible that you did not notice ~~how~~ <sup>that</sup> every increase of Hitler's power brought on a decrease in the material and moral standards of ~~the~~ <sup>in</sup> life of Germany - the deprivation of your freedoms, the decline of German civilization and decency, the wounds and mutilations and death of the best of your youth, the impending economic disaster of the whole country? And we must reply: It is Goebbels' psychological "technique" which has prevented you from seeing this by detracting your attention and making you believe that there exists something like the devil in the form of the International Jew, who hates you and is responsible for this destruction. Only if we dare to be consistent and do not evade facing the phenomenon of anti-semitism can we expect to do away with the emotional basis on which the transference love of our listeners to Hitler rests. Only then will they be able to recognize in him the cause of all their misery and turn against him instead of against the Jews.

In order to achieve this, incidents from Hitler's rise to power should be reported, or war events which show that every time Hitler was in danger of losing prestige because of diplomatic and military defeats, a new wave of anti-semitism was turned on - a new wave of hatred, meant to deflect the people's attention from failures in Hitler's

politics. Therefore our slogan must be: Germans - watch out ! Every time your government starts a new campaign against the Jews, it indicates that something is wrong with Hitler - and that Goebbels is trying to conceal it from you.

To show how fallacious the thoughts and words of Germany's leaders really are, Goebbels for instance should be quoted, who announced over the radio: "If somebody maintains that Jews are human beings too, I reply that that is maybe right, if we accept that fleas are also animals." This statement should be ~~compared with the~~ <sup>contrasted with</sup> the achievements of some great scientists of Jewish descent. Spinoza should be mentioned, the author of "Ethics", Wassermann, and Ehrlich, Freud and others... In contrast to these great men, persons like Goering, Goebbels and Hitler can be cited as "parasites" on the body of the German nation. Hitler became a millionaire because millions of Germans were ordered to buy his book: "Mein Kampf".. The other gentlemen belonging to the "Fuehrer" clique also made millions, which they have deposited in Banks in Foreign countries - a crime on which the same men put the penalty of death.

Incidents could be reported, showing how Hitler has started to instill the Jew-hatred into the minds of the people. In June 1933, e.g., 100 prominent physicians of Jewish faith were arrested in Berlin. They were maltreated physically for a few days, and then released after having been forced to sign a declaration that they had been fairly treated. At the same time, big headlines appeared in all newspapers - ordered by Goebbels - explaining that these Jewish doctors were the heads of a "Marxist conspiracy" against Germany.

The problem of anti-semitism should be used by the broadcaster for the purpose of re-erecting a "civilized" super-ego within the German mind. The broadcaster should appeal to the conscience of Germans who derive personal advantages from the maltreatment of their Jewish fellow-citizens. It should be declared impossible for anyone to sleep in a bed which used to belong to a Jew - a Jew who was stripped of all his belongings and - together with his family - was driven out of the country in order to be jammed into a Ghetto in Poland with many thousand others of these unfortunate "German citizens". The man in such a bed should always remember that its owner is about to die from cold and starvation.

On the other hand - the Germans should be told of incidents of heroism which occurred in fighting off anti-semitism as a disgrace to Germany. It should be told that the entire world admired that high Austrian officer who dared protect a Jew after the German invasion of Vienna. He found an old Jewish gentleman on his knees, scrubbing the street - forced to do this by German soldiers. The Austrian officer sent the soldiers home, asked the Jewish gentleman to get up, and addressed him as follows: "Please accept my apologies in the name of the German people."

Symbols which Hitler has created to publicly designate the Jews as outcasts should be deprived of their emotional effect. We should impress our audience by statements like: "The yellow star which every Jew has to wear on his sleeve does not mean a defamation for the Jews. He is wearing the order of a king who once, in ancient history, led the

Jews to glory. On the other hand, every German who sees such a yellow star on the sleeve of a Jewish fellow-man should feel ashamed. The yellow star is not a defamation of the Jews - it is the defamation of Germany by Hitler. Every one who sees a yellow star should - if only in his heart - "apologize in the name of the German people" like that Austrian officer.

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Speaking of symbols reminds us to consider their general significance from a psychoanalytic point of view, and the particular use the Nazis make of them for the purpose of exerting and maintaining suggestive influence over the masses.

Thinking in symbols is the oldest and most primitive way of thinking. It is an emotional pre-stage of intellectual thinking. Thinking in concrete picturization precedes the capacity of intellectual abstract thinking. The function of a symbol comes about in accordance with the tendencies of the mental primary process in the unconscious - through the processes of displacement and condensation. The mere sight of a symbol - e.g. of a flag - causes stereotyped reactions as in a conditioned reflex. The specific significance of such reactions is that they result from a direct appeal of the symbol to the unconscious instinct sources. Affectual energies, stirred up in this way, drive at an immediate discharge into actions by excluding the intellectual process of thinking. Therefore symbols are always used in such situations - as e.g. battles - where it is necessary to cause people to stop thinking, and instead act quickly guided by emotions only.

The Nazis obviously intentionally misuse the inhibitory effect which symbols exert on the intellectual capacity of judging.

in order to be killed there ? Does it know what brutalities are committed under the pretense of obedience to the "law for the purification of the German race"?

All this is not only a crime against human civilization, it is also a stupid crime against the development of medical science. Everybody who has some knowledge of the development of the science of medicine knows how many diseases were incurable in the past that are curable today. What is incurable today may, therefore, be curable to-morrow.

"HEIL HITLER !"

This slogan should be shown to be a contradiction in itself. It should be pointed out how much presumption lies in replacing the traditional German greeting "Gruess Gott" by "Heil Hitler". And from now on, every German, greeting his fellow man with the prescribed phrase: "Heil Hitler", should, at least in his mind, add "Un-heil Hitler!"

There is no doubt that many Germans have a longing for the cultural achievements of our 20th century civilization. Their ego is ready to acknowledge again a "cultural" super-ego, if they could only get hold of what they have been deprived of for such a long time - the spiritual goods of modern civilization. This longing is an indication of re-awakened tendencies in the minds of these Germans to re-engage the process of sublimation for the purpose of mastering crude <sup>infaustible</sup> instinctual forces. We should make use of these tendencies for the therapeutic purpose of helping the German people to re-mature.

One effective way seems to be the following: The broadcasts, both the short-range and the long-range sendings, should from time to



time present such artistic and scientific works as used to be German once, but are forbidden under Hitler. Quotations from Lessing, Fichte, Kant should be given, poems by poets like Heine should be recited, music by Mendelssohn should be played, and, above all, the great German dramatist, Schiller, should be properly represented. I am thinking of "Don

Carlos", but especially of "Wilhelm Tell" - the Ruetli scene where the Swiss people decide to overthrow the tyrant:

Nein! Eine Grenze hat Tyrannenmacht !  
 Wenn der Gecrueckte nirgends Recht kann finden,  
 Wenn unertraeglich wird die Last, - greift er  
 Hinauf getrosten Mutes in den Himmel  
 Und holt herunter seine ew'gen Rechte,  
 Die droben haengen unveraeusserlich -  
 Und unzerbrechlich, wie die Sterne selbst.

No ! - there is a limit to a tyrant's power  
 If the oppressed can nowhere find his right,  
 He reaches, self-reliant, to the sky  
 And seizes his eternal rights,  
 Which, like the stars suspended there,  
 By no one can be bought or broken.

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After having discussed in such detail the attitude the broadcaster should take regarding the negative aim of this war, (to overthrow the Hitler regime) it seems necessary to me to add a few words concerning his attitude in regard to the positive aim of the war - i.e. a peace program which would also be acceptable to the Germans. In discussing this positive aim, we act in conformity with our endeavor to influence the German people by applying <sup>the principles of</sup> "short psychotherapy."

For - helping our "patient" to free himself from the bonds of his unconscious is only the first step of our therapeutic endeavor. The second step must consist in showing him the rational aims to which his conscious ego can attach his emotional energies after their release from their irrational fixations.

The aims to fight for are designated as "The Fight For Peace and Democracy". However, this phrase will remain shallow to our listener unless we are able to give it a new and encouraging meaning.

The U.S. government has already made it known to the world what her aims are: President Roosevelt, in his historical meeting with Churchill, proclaimed ~~the 8 points of the Peace program.~~ a peace program of eight points.

However, just in the capacity of a psychological adviser, I must say that the Roosevelt-Churchill program does not appear suitable to arouse the rebel passions of the German people against their government in their present mental state. This not so much because of its contents as because of its lack of concreteness, which leaves it open to misinterpretation and, above all, to suspicion.

We should not forget - as I mentioned previously - that the Nazi-propagandists have carefully kept alive the memory of Wilson's 14 points and his peace program. As Hitler has had the United States on his war time-table from the very beginning, Goebbels has long ago started to infect the mind of the Germans with distrust against the U.S. The Wilson program has been used for this purpose time and again. This argument was particularly suitable because in this way Goebbels could nourish the national narcissism of the Germans by telling them that they had really won the first world war - and that it was only due to Wilson's "treachery" that they were robbed of the fruits of their victory.

The broadcaster should take pains to destroy this myth, and prove instead that the peace proposals of our president - in opposition to those of Hitler - are not stratagems, but may be taken at their face value. In order, however, to restore the confidence of the Germans in the statements of the President of the U.S.A., it seems to me necessary to comment on the 8-point program in a more concrete manner. As a psychological adviser, and without going into details, I may say only this

much: The gist of the comment should be that the Roosevelt program is not oriented by views concerning conditions of the past - but rather by views concerning conditions to be created in the future. This program does not intend the re-instatement of conditions existing previous to this war - it strives for the creation of a completely new organization of international relationships.

The President's aims are not retrogressive - they are progressive.

It is necessary to stress this point... for the idea of fighting for "Peace and Democracy" is to the Germans a conception belonging to the past, and one, moreover, which has failed to make good its promises. The American slogan of the first World War, "The War to end War" was not unknown to the Germans. The peace, however, which followed that war, is still associated in their minds with all kinds of mental despair and economic distress. The bitter experiences of inflation or permanent unemployment are considered by the Germans the direct consequence of the Peace Treaty of Versailles. Goebbels trains them to think that every new peace - which is not dictated by Hitler - will be a second Peace of Versailles.

It is like an obsessional idea of persecution implanted into the German mind that the German nation is and always will be persecuted by merciless enemies and enviers, and the only way to bring peace to the world is for the Germans to conquer all the other nations and dictate to them their peace. It is a well-calculated idea of Hitler's to give this "Pax Germanica" the name of "The New Order." the attribute "new" gives the German people the assurance that the "old" peace can never happen again - provided Hitler wins the war.

The American broadcaster, whose task it is to overcome the distrust of his listener in the sincerity of America's statements about her war aims, cannot pass over the peace of Versailles. He will have to admit, frankly, the errors which have been made in this instance. On the other hand, he will have ample opportunity to point out how right the Allies were in suspecting that a certain caste within the German people understands no way of regulating international affairs except by wars - a class of people who, under the deceptive slogan of "National Socialism" have now managed to subjugate their own countrymen, by means of the most cruel warfare ever heard of..

The American broadcaster must also make it clear where he stands in regard to the "league of Nations", that instrument which was created, after the first world war, as the executive agent for guaranteeing peaceful relations among the nations. As the Germans see it: The activities of the League of Nations were not concerned with establishing international peace, but rather with a continuation of the warfare against Germany by means of diplomacy, after the German nation had been disarmed. Therefore, the Germans are afraid of the re-birth of such a League of Nations, which would again nullify the successes of their victorious battles, won at such an immense sacrifice of life.

And "Fight for Democracy." - What does that mean to many of the Germans ? They know that they have had a democratic form of government for 14 years - and that this democracy has gone bankrupt. The democratic government, resting on 32 parties in parliament, has proved to be incapable of leading the Germans out of disaster. As members of

these various parties, they felt it as a great burden to be considered partly responsible for the disaster they had been unable to avert. To them it came as a great relief to be able to follow this one man, Hitler particularly since despising Democracy helped them to get rid of their feeling of guilt and individual helplessness.

The broadcaster - taking into consideration the emotional background of antipathy many Germans feel against Democracy - will be careful not to create the impression as if America/ intended to re-instate the old, unsatisfactory democratic regime. Besides, he will explain to his audience that Democracy itself is not the final aim of our fight for a better future of the human race. For Democracy as such is only a form of a people's self-government - the decisive factor, which makes this form efficient, depends on the content with which a people fills this form. If the Republican regime has failed in Germany, it was not because Democracy failed - it was rather because the German people did not make the right use of it. The broadcaster may anticipate one objection to this statement, the validity of which he cannot deny; the objection is that it was not only the German people's fault if they did not use their democratic rights sufficiently - it was, to a certain extent, also the fault of ~~various~~ foreign powers, including the U.S.A. The <sup>German</sup>/representatives of Democracy, on various occasions, fought a desperate struggle against the growing menace of Fascism in Germany - and they found no support or encouragement whatsoever from the great powers outside Germany. The broadcaster will increase the confidence of his listeners in the sincerity of his arguments if he admits that this accusation is justified. And America, as well as the principle of Democracy itself, will only gain in prestige through such a frank statement.

In conclusion we may say: We shall be able to arouse the fighting spirit of the German people for re-conquering their democratic freedom, if we make it plausible to them that Democracy is the only means which opens new ways of peace for further development of human interrelation, international as well as intra-national, ~~and~~ whereas dictatorship, leaving the power in the hands of a few who are not responsible to any one, blocks the initiative of free-thinking men and turns the wheels of civilization back to the times of ancient barbarism, Democracy is based on the collaboration and cooperation of men with free convictions, i.e. on peace - and therefore wants peace. Dictatorships are created and kept up by brutal force - and therefore dictators, in order to remain in power, need permanent wars against every one opposing them, individual citizens as well as entire nations.

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#### EPILOGUE

I have compiled my psychoanalytic views concerning a broadcasting offensive against Germany as a member of a committee appointed for this purpose by Dr. Walter C. Langer. I hope, therefore, that this presentation will come to the attention of those high authorities whose task it is to lead the United States through this war. It is for this reason that I consider it my patriotic duty to add a few remarks which may seem beyond the scope of psychological advice, ~~since, however, as~~ I have XI stressed before, <sup>that/</sup> a psychological offensive can only be effective if it goes hand in hand with the strategical aims of the military High Com

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I want to emphasize now that/  
mand during the war, -/such a psychological offensive must also be based on certain concrete and known aims of the Government regarding the time after the war. It is about these peace aims that I should like to voice my personal opinion.

As a preamble, may I say that I consider it indispensable to win the cooperation of the German people itself for the endeavor of the Allies to overthrow the Nazi regime. And this for the following reason:

We are all confident that America and her allies will finally win this war. But I do not think that we have as yet fully realized what such a victory over the Hitler clique would entail. Anyone who knows the destructive emotional forces which determine the decisions of Hitler will realize that he and his men will never accept a defeat. They will never admit that the German army has been beaten, and that they have to agree to peace terms because of a hopeless strategical situation. They know too well that, coming home defeated, they will be killed by their own people. Therefore - if only out of the need to deny the imminence of their own downfall - they will mobilize all available forces of destruction against their enemies, not caring even if this means the destruction of their own country.

I am afraid that the Nazis have already arranged things for this "endspurt of the war" on this hemisphere. I am not only referring to certain regions in South America which they may be planning to use as military springboards for attacks on North America. The danger of Hitler's "fifth column" within our country itself seems to me no less grave. Anyone who, like myself, has had the opportunity to observe the ways and means of the Nazis during their rise to power in Germany cannot fail to recognize that they are at work here - trying to prepare a regime of terror - to be brought into action at a time when conditions will



appear to them ripe for this purpose. Indications of a psychological Nazi campaign to this end are unmistakable to the observer.

In conclusion, I should like to say this: President Roosevelt is entirely correct in stating that victory over the Nazis can only be won after a long war. A "long war", however, would mean unheard-of destruction and disaster for all countries involved. I foresee not only military upheavals in Latin America, plotted by Hitler's fifth column there - I foresee also monstrous acts of terror in our own country, which will aim not only at the destruction of our vital industries and munitions factories, but also at the destruction of the mental and physical health of the population. (I am referring for instance to Hitler's statement, quoted in Rauschning's book: "Experiments concerning the use of microbes (bacteria) for war purposes show 'favorable' progress.")

Therefore, we have to try everything in our power to bring this war to a finish before the Hitler regime, in the process of its own collapse, destroys many of America's material and cultural goods, and also many lives of both her armed forces and non-combatant population. In short - our idea should not be to win victory in order to break the Hitler regime, but rather to break the Hitler regime in order to win victory without bleeding to death ourselves.

To this end, we must win the cooperation of the German people. In my opinion, this aim can be achieved if the United States government proclaims its peace aims in a much more concrete form than has been done in the 8 points. Our government should proclaim a program which can effectively counterbalance Hitler's program of the "new Order", and which - propagated by all means of communication, (broadcasts, leaflets, agents,) will enthruse the Germans to fight for it on our side.

It is far beyond my intention or ability to venture any suggestion as to the detailed political content of such a program. I hope, however, that it will not be considered immodest if I say something about the method through which the abstract terms "Peace and Democracy" can gain a new and concrete shape - visible and understandable even to the Germans, to whom, up to the present time, these concepts have had the connotation of disappointment and frustration.

*In my opinion, it is the only possible way to reach the*  
~~If I were the President of the U.S.A., I should call together~~  
 the representatives of the 26 nations who have pledged themselves to fight a common war against the axis for a common peace. The purpose of this meeting should be the discussion of the question how to realize the Roosevelt-Churchill program. *The program remains as such - as it is -*  
~~The attitude I, as President of the United States, would take, would be the following:~~ *attitude is:*

A permanent peace after this war is only possible if relations between the different nations are regulated by an International Parliament instead of by the former League of Nations. The members of this World Parliament are to be elected by the individual nations by a free and secret poll. The decisions of this parliament should be based on consultations with expert committees. The members of these committees need not be members of the International Parliament, but should also be elected by the individual nations in a secret poll.

The idea of fighting for a peace which includes the foundation of a World Parliament as its organizatory instrument will be a stimulus to the fighting spirit not only of the German people but of our allied nations as well. They would all fight for the possibility of a new organization of international, cultural and economical relationships, and for the right to take part in the decisions about their concrete shape. Be-

sides, they would feel assured that in the future they, as democrats, would have more than the right to vote on a final declaration of war; they would have a voice in international negotiations, making it possible for them to help in avoiding conflicts leading to wars.

It is too well known to the peoples of all countries that the present world war was brought about by the different countries' need of raw materials and their diverging commercial interests. The awareness of this fact partly accounts for the lack of war enthusiasm to be observed in nearly all nations. They know that it is the economic interests of their countries which are at stake, and they ask themselves why it should not be possible to agree upon a distribution of the necessary goods among the nations by peaceful settlement instead of by brutal force. An International Parliament seems to me the appropriate institute for such settlements.

The objection might be raised that such an International Parliament would be just as helpless as the League of Nations has been, because it would have no executive power to enforce its decisions. To this we might reply: On the suggestion of America, the first decision of this World Parliament might be the following: "The World Parliament declares that the air surrounding the globe is the element of nature which connects the people of this earth with one another. The technical achievements which allow man to master this element shall not be used for the opposite purpose, i.e. for purposes which are bound to destroy peaceful intercommunication between nations." In practice, this means that: 1. The use of Radio is to be placed under the supervision of the International parliament, and, 2. that no country is permitted to ~~maintain~~ maintain the military weapon of a national air force.

However, only the World Parliament itself will have at its command an International Police Squadron of Fighter and Bombing planes - serving as an executive in carrying out its decisions - if necessary, by force.