

# ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

*by* HOWARD SPRING







# ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

HOWARD SPRING

COLLINS

LONDON · GLASGOW · TORONTO · SYDNEY · AUCKLAND





**H**ITLER and his party came into power in 1933. Hitler did not lose time; he has never lost time; he has always known what he wanted to do. He had very clear ideas about what he wanted to do with the newspaper Press in his State.

*It is his State : make no mistake about that. He owns Germany as absolutely as Leopold the Damned owned the Congo with its rubber-working negroes.*

Not only the Press, but also the cinema and that great powerful instrument, the radio, just rising to the heights of its remarkable achievement : he knew what he wanted to do with all these things.

Within thirty days, one hundred and thirty newspapers had been wiped out of existence, but this did not amount to much, except as a symptom, for there were more than 3,000 newspapers in the country, reflecting all shades of opinion.

What Hitler wanted to do with these papers was to destroy their shades of opinion. They must all express one opinion : his own. Before he had become Chancellor, he received an American journalist, Mr. Vernon McKenzie. Mr. McKenzie said to him : " When you become Chancellor of the Reich, will you permit Press freedom ? "

" Yes," said Hitler. " I shall permit absolute Press freedom, except for enemies of the Reich."



## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

The Reich and the world were soon to learn that an enemy of the Reich was, briefly, anyone who did not say "Yes" when Hitler wanted him to. Individual men and women, classes, trades, religions, even nations, must say "Yes," or Hitler, to use his own famous and significant phrase, lost his patience. This was lost more often than it was to be found in whatever may have been its proper place; and the consequences have become intolerable for this nation which has lost patience in turn, risen, and said: "No more. We'd rather be dead. What about *our* patience?"

Well, in those early days, before all that was to unfurl had become apparent, when the evil flower was still in bud, all the newspapers that did not say "Yes" became automatically enemies of the State. It was necessary to make them cheer together, groan together, lose their patience together at well-chosen moments, and so become not the enemies, but the stout dependable pillars of the regime. They, and the radio, too, must be one mouth-piece, uttering one voice, the voice of the Oracle known as the Leader.





## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

Dr. Joseph Goebbels was appointed High Priest of all those who were to serve the Oracle. Technically, his title was Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. Into his ear fell the wishes, the desires, the commands of the Leader. He must gauge and interpret the state of the famous patience at any moment. Out of his mouth poured into other ears the daily orders : what must be written, how it must be written, what must not be written, what must be spoken or left unspoken on the radio, shown or not shown on the cinema screen, in order that a mighty national Yes or No should be echo to the Leader's Yea and Nay.

Vast resources gradually piled up, his to expend on this never-ending, ever-widening creation of an echo. No one can say exactly what the job has cost, but Mr. McKenzie, the American journalist who had the talk with Hitler, and who has made a profound study of this matter, quotes the Amsterdam newspaper *Het Volk*, which says that £13,000,000 were spent in 1934 and £21,000,000 in 1937. These figures represent not the money which the job cost inside Germany, but the money spent outside Germany. For, as the years rolled on, and the bud of 1933 opened into the dark flower that now overshadows the world, the Echo reached out and out, into every clime, into every moment of time, booming its Yes to Hitler at every hour of day and night, restlessly following the sun, speaking in every tongue. At last, Goebbels was able to say : " We have created the Reich by propaganda." This was true. How was it done ?

It is said that truth is mighty, and will prevail. But it sometimes takes a long time for truth to prevail. A lie often gets a long start of it.

Perhaps, when you have been watching the tide flowing into a creek, you have felt the wind blowing out of the creek, against the tide. On the evidence of your sight, the water was flowing out. You could see the wind-driven waves



Wir dulden keine Subversion  
am Aufbauwerk des Führers



“TO ORGANIZE HATRED AND SUSPICION”

rushing towards the sea. But the tide was flowing in, all the same. The waves were like the breath of lies, having all the appearance of truth, to the unthinking even the *evidence* of truth; but, if you watched the waterline on the opposite rocks, you would see the level of the water rising, not falling. That is the slow, deep way in which truth prevails at last against the surface flurries of opinion and surmise.

But . . . And when Dr. Goebbels said, “We have created the Reich out of propaganda,” this “But” was at the basis of his jubilation. But you can for a long time persuade people, given the necessary propaganda winds, that a rising tide is a falling tide, that black is white and right is wrong, unless they are allowed to see the evidence on the other side.

A lie can be presented with all the persuasiveness of truth. For centuries men have repeated, believing it to be true,



## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

Knowledge is Power. But this is a lie, all the same. Who knows better than the drunkard that the glass he takes up is destroying him? What power does the knowledge give him? Does his knowledge give him the power to pull out from his fatal course? Not a bit of it.

This is a good example of a lie that looks like the truth, and that men still repeat, and will go on repeating, as though it were a gospel pearl. Power resides not in knowledge, but in the use of knowledge; a different matter. Even those Germans who realize most deeply the fatality that now governs their lives will not be rescued by mere knowledge of the facts. They will be rescued when they act upon their knowledge.

Hitler made the lie the basis of his policy. The success of his regime depended on whether he could make the German people accept what he had to offer. He was a pedlar with new wares, arrived in a market crowded with disappointed and disillusioned people. They lacked work, money, a direction for their faith. What did he have to offer to them?

His contempt. His belief that he could bluff them with lies. He had judged well. He succeeded.

He had written the book called *Mein Kampf*, and in it he had referred to "the mass of our nation, that great stupid flock of easily-driven sheep," who "believe and obey because they are too stupid to understand."

There you have Hitler's conception of the function of the people. There you have his inner, essential view of the "Aryan" race for whose advancement towns must be bombed, women and children crushed under tanks, homes smashed to a handful of dust. All for the sake of sheep "too stupid to understand." Remember his own valuation of his "Aryans" when next you hear the German boast that these are the world's master-race.

And remember this, too. When Hitler speaks of the "stupid mass" who must "believe and obey," he means you who read these words. National Socialism, he once said, was



## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

not for export; but it has been exported to Austria, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia. We have yet to see how far it will be clamped upon France, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium. On the issue of this war depends whether it will be clamped upon you; whether you, too, will believe and obey. Hitler does not think highly of you. You, too, are a stupid sheep to be fleeced and, if necessary, turned into cold mutton. Give him the chance, and you won't bleat that off.

Well, what are the sheep to believe in order that they may obey? We do not like enforced obedience in this country, but there is something to be said even for that if what we are forced to believe is the truth.

Here is Hitler's recipe for the leadership of a great nation : " Let the lies of propaganda be big enough, and they will be believed." And, " By skilful and sustained use of propaganda, the people can be made to see the most wretched life as Paradise."



**"TO GET MASSES OF MEN ON THE MARCH"**



## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

Now the strange and terrible thing is that the German people have *consented* to be governed in accordance with this recipe. The recipe is not written in some secret document; it is written in *Mein Kampf*, which every German must read; and of the author of that book the *National Zeitung* said: "God has revealed Himself not in Jesus Christ, but in Adolf Hitler."

The German people have consented to accept Hitler's estimate of themselves. Let the Leader lie. What care we? We accept his lie; we will live for his lie, and, if necessary, die for it. That is what has happened to the minds of a great race, once proud contributors to European culture.

Denying a Nazi propaganda lie, a British writer dismissed it with the comment that it was the sort of lie "that only Dr. Goebbels finds it possible to believe." This is gravely to misunderstand Dr. Goebbels and to underestimate his power. He has written frankly of his own task: "To arouse outbursts of fury; to get masses of men on the march; to organize hatred and suspicion—all with ice-cold calculation."

To do these things, you do not need to believe in your lies: you have only to be sure that those who hear will believe them, *or act as though they did*.

Even the Germans cannot believe all the lies they are told. It is only necessary that they should act as though they did. Peter Drucker has this remarkable passage in his book *The End of Economic Man*: "Beginning with Hitler's frank admission in his book that lying is necessary, the Nazi leaders have prided themselves publicly on their disregard for truth and on the impossibility of their promises, foremost among them Dr. Goebbels. Not once, but several times, I have heard him say in mass meetings when the people cheered a particularly choice lie: 'Of course, you understand all this is just propaganda.' And the masses only cheered louder."

This mind which founds its policy on a lie is the mind whose





## **"I WILL NOT VIOLATE AUSTRIA"**

*On the night of March 11<sup>th</sup> 1938: the Nazi tanks enter Vienna.*

workings must be interpreted to the world through the department which Dr. Goebbels controls. It is important to consider this mind's conception of truth. All very well to say that big lies will be believed; that may be just a politician's flourish. Has Hitler, in actual cold practice, lived up to his own saying?

Yes. So much so that this may almost be laid down as a safe rule to follow: What Hitler says he will never do is the thing he means to do next.

While he was still no more than an agitator in Bavaria, it was feared that he would make a *putsch*—a sudden effort to seize power by violence. He was summoned before the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, and to him Hitler said: "I give you my word of honour that I will never in my life make a *putsch*."



## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

He made the *putsch* not long afterwards, and when a fellow-worker reproached him for breaking his word, he said : " Yes. I have done that. Forgive me. I did it for the Fatherland."

Hitler said : " The assertion that the German Reich intends to violate the Austrian State is absurd." He then invaded Austria.

Hitler said : " We don't want any Czechs." He then invaded Czecho-Slovakia.

Hitler said : " Whatever may be the differences between the two countries"—Germany and Poland—"an attempt to remove them by warlike action would have disastrous effects which would bear no relation to any possible gain." This was true; how true he is in process of learning. Nevertheless, he then invaded Poland.

Hitler said, and said with ten thousand bitter variations : " We see in Bolshevism a bestial, mad doctrine." With the exponents of this bestial, mad doctrine he then concluded an alliance.

His avowal of detestation for Bolshevism has been so vehement and so long-continued that the unthoughtful might have expected his handshake with Stalin to bring the regime crashing about his ears. But no. Even this final revelation of perjury as an implement of power was accepted by the " stupid mass " on whom he could count so well. One might imagine the faithful Goebbels chanting : " Even that, you know, was only propaganda," and the listeners cheering louder than ever.

Little wonder, then, when he had made his pledge to France in the railway carriage at Compiègne—" We will not use the French fleet in the war against Britain"—that we took measures to ensure that one of his promises at least should be kept.

There remains one perjury for Hitler to commit. He has yet to become the champion of Jewry. We see now that it is



## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

a stone-cold fact that if he took the Jews to his bosom to-morrow, Germans would find it a routine and unremarkable conversion. They would not be surprised if he produced a certificate of Jewish birth. They would merely scuttle round, busily and scientifically, hunting out Hebrew great-great-grandmothers, and ready to damn Churchill for not having a drop of Jewish blood in his veins.

Such, after a mere seven years, has been the effect of propaganda upon the minds of a European people, docile enough to accept any lie, or to act as if they accepted it.

We have seen, then, in the first place that Hitler publicly proclaimed the lie to be his weapon. We have seen in the second place that he has been honest in this : in practice, he has lied as he said he would lie.

We must now consider how Dr. Joseph Goebbels, as



**"WE DON'T WANT ANY CZECHS"**

*March 15<sup>th</sup> 1939: the Germans enter Prague.*





**"I WANT PEACE WITH POLAND"**

*Sept. 1<sup>st</sup> 1939: the German army crosses the frontier.*



### ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

one cares to challenge this statement, let him name an area, and I'll name a Nazi act."

These acts have all come from the centre at which Dr. Goebbels sits, "with ice-cold calculation," stirring the brew of hate. Here we are concerned with his activities only in so far as they display themselves through pronouncements of the newspaper Press and the radio.

Some of the pronouncements you will dismiss at once. You will say they are too absurd for you to consider. Here are some of them: "In Cardiff bread is sold only every second day." "In England sugar is almost unobtainable." "English children rummage in the dustbins for food." "The

mouthpiece of the Oracle, translated the lie into a thousand forms, spreading it first at home and then to the farthest parts of the earth. If you doubt that the farthest points have been reached, read *Here Lies Goebbels*, by Mr. Vernon McKenzie, whose views—and facts—have already been mentioned. "Hitler has protested time and again," writes Mr. McKenzie in that book, "against foreign interference in what he asserts are purely German concerns, while at the same time he has deliberately and viciously, as a basis of his political policy, done his best, or worst, to stir up trouble in every inhabited part of the world. This is no rhetorical generalization. If any-



**"WE SEE IN BOLSHEVISM A BESTIAL, MAD DOCTRINE"**

*Aug. 23<sup>rd</sup> 1939: the signing of the Russo-German Agreement.*







"THE GRAF SPEE DESTROYED THE THREE BRITISH SHIPS"



"ENGLISH CHILDREN RUMMAGE IN THE DUST-BINS FOR FOOD"



"AN ORGANIZATION OF YOUNG SPIES"





## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

*Graf Spee* destroyed the three British ships." "The Boy Scout Movement, an organization of young spies, is a devilish inspiration of Sir Robert Baden-Powell." "Lawrence of Arabia's death was engineered by British politicians."

Now, when we read such nonsense, we are tempted to dismiss it with a smile; but don't let us smile too soon. We are not expected to believe these things, but there are millions of listeners who will believe them, listeners in Germany and other countries, who have no means of knowing that they are untrue. Remember that we can, even now to a considerable extent, look into Germany, listen-in to Germany, and know the truth about what is happening in Germany; but the Germans are shut by propaganda into a sealed cell. They can't look out of it. For reading this pamphlet they might be shot; for listening to a foreign and forbidden broadcast they might go to a concentration camp, where they will experience more than being merely concentrated.

Naturally enough, they prefer not to die and not to go to gaol, and if they can avoid these evils merely by remaining ignorant of what is happening in the world, or by believing some fantastic story of what is happening in the world—why, they do so.

Dr. Goebbels is the Minister of Enlightenment, but it is not his business to enlighten Germans with the truth about England or France or the United States of America. Rather it is his business to make these democracies seem like harassed congregations of benighted savages, scrounging around their mud-huts for the wherewithal to keep body and soul together. Remember, then, that the lies that make you smile are bringing hope, cheer, hate, and what not to your enemies. They are not being wasted. You can write it down as an axiom that every Nazi lie gets home somewhere.

To us, the contradictions of Nazi propaganda seem as amusing as the plain lies. On the one hand, we are told:



## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

"The Polish army did not receive English armaments because London Jews did not profit by it"; and on the other: "On the battlefields of the Vistula most of the abandoned guns are of British origin." We are told: "Now, as in 1914, England will save her skin," and also that "England was compelled in the last war to fight with all her resources."

Here again, do not believe that the lies are wasted. They may be wasted on you; but the Nazi propaganda machine takes care that one of these contradictory statements reaches one ear, and the other reaches another; and the right ear for each statement is well chosen.

One of the things that astonish an onlooker is the ease with which Hitler made the whole Press of Germany his tool. Many German papers were used to saying what they were paid to say. Bismarck had a fund out of which he bought newspaper support. But for the whole Press of a great country to be either put out of existence or reduced to a dictator's echo: this was something new, significant and terrible.

It was done by the passing of a law under which all those who wrote in the newspapers became servants of the State. The old-style free journalist could like it or lump it. He could remain and write what he was told to write, or he could lose his job. The coming-on young men who wanted to be journalists were sent to special camps where they took a course of training in Nazi ideas. No doubt they would have to master the elementary principles, such as that contained in Hitler's saying: "Foreign policy is a means to an end, and the sole end to be pursued is the advantage of our nation. . . . All other considerations — political, religious, humanitarian — must be completely disregarded." And perhaps they would consider this saying of a Nazi judge: "Right is what benefits the German nation. Wrong is what would be hurtful to it."

You see how important "our nation" becomes when it is

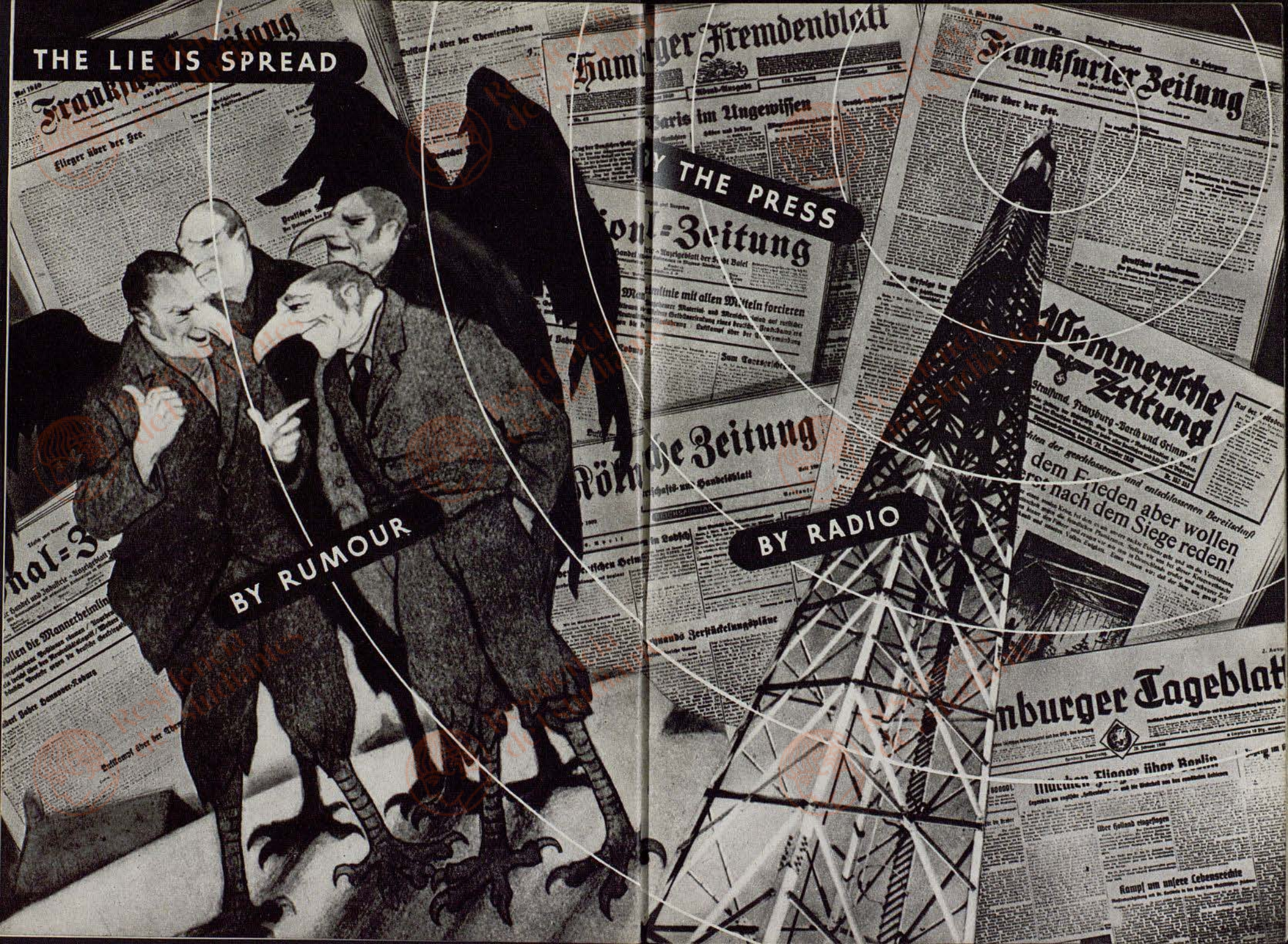


THE LIE IS SPREAD

THE PRESS

BY RUMOUR

BY RADIO







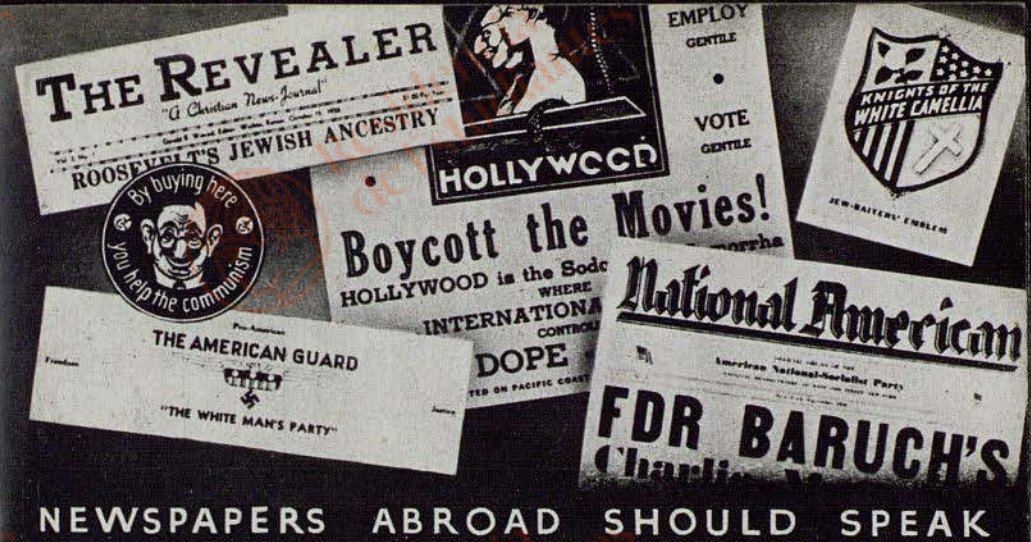
SUPPLYING THE WORDS WHICH

not convenient for the moment to call it a mass of stupid sheep!

The old journalist who remained at his desk, his conscience smothered, and the young journalist bursting with the enlightenment received in his camp, were not, however, trusted to expound the Nazi doctrine. Every day a representative of every newspaper must attend at the office of the Ministry of Propaganda. There Dr. Goebbels or one of his deputies received them and gave them the paper's orders for the day: what to write up, what to write down, what must have a headline across the page, and what must appear in four lines at the foot of a column with no heading at all. In accordance with these orders, the old and the young journalist alike must do their daily work.

This system had a very convenient side to it. When a newspaper had shouted what Dr. Goebbels told it to shout, Dr. Goebbels, who controlled both the paper and the wireless, could in turn shout into the radio what the newspaper had said, quoting it as though it were wisdom independently arrived at. So the Echo spread.

And how did it work out if an Editor rebelled? Rebellion,



NEWSPAPERS ABROAD SHOULD SPEAK

you may be sure, was rare; but there is a story concerning a sturdy, independent German which would make quite a little comedy if one could be sure that the man continues to live his sturdy independent life.

He was the editor of a small paper appearing three times a week in a town of 9,000 inhabitants, and when Germany invaded Austria he was commanded to bring his paper out on a day of the week when it was not accustomed to appear. He did not do this, and, when the paper did appear, he put up the mild headline "Change of Tendency in Austria."

He was haled before a "Court of Honour," which complained that this headline was "strange," and demanded to know why the paper had not come out on the day ordered. The editor explained that he had gone to a shooting-match, and said: "If the earth had crumbled, I wouldn't have let anyone bother me that night."

The Court of Honour gravely recorded in its findings: "Even should it be supposed, in favour of the accused, that he had been drinking too much, these words show his attitude of opposition to the instructions of the Propaganda Office."



## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

He was found "completely incapable of exercising his profession," and thus disappeared—who knows whither?—one of the old individualists whose crime was that he'd be damned before he'd swell the Echo.

So the whole of the Press within the Reich was subjugated to its ignominious status : it must see to it that the "stupid sheep" had no means of becoming less stupid.

But there was much to be done outside the Reich, too. It was very convenient for Dr. Goebbels, when speaking on the radio, to quote his own words as the wisdom of the Press. How much more convenient, and more convincing, if he could quote the Press of other countries ! "Do not take my word for it. But listen to what is said by the Press of Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, South America !" How convenient !

So he set about that as well, supplying the words which newspapers abroad should speak, the ideas they should stress ; and supplying, too, the money which made them servile. The names are known of newspapers all over the world which receive a valuable consideration for opening their columns, both of news and views, to Nazi propaganda.

When operating far afield, it was sufficient to send material. In important countries nearer home, German journalists, whose functions were not confined to journalism as we understand it, appeared in increasing numbers. Listen again to Mr. McKenzie, who has combed Europe in his search for the truth about Nazi propaganda : "German journalistic representation abroad was in many cases entirely disproportionate to the news value of the places where they were located. In the summer of 1938 there were eighty-three officially designated Nazi journalists in London, at least three times as many as were required for the legitimate aspects of their work. In Copenhagen, nine out of the thirteen members of the Danish Foreign Press Association were German. In Paris the number exceeded one hundred at one time. In Brussels in November, 1939, there were seventeen Nazi 'Press attachés'





THE INEFFABLE HAW-HAW



## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

who claimed diplomatic immunity. In Warsaw, a few weeks before the invasion of Poland, there were at least twenty German correspondents. In the city of Lwow, the Nazis had several journalists and a Consular staff of seventeen where the British had two."

Few English people ever read the German newspapers; now they are unable to obtain them anyway. Therefore, so far as our own minds are concerned, their power for mischief is at an end, though they can still do harm through their influence upon the minds of other peoples.

Dr. Goebbels's radio is still at work, and the most intelligent and damning thing English listeners can do is simply to remember that it *is* Dr. Goebbels's radio; that is, the Echo of Hitler, who has proclaimed that his success depends on the continuity and enormity of lying, and who has so abundantly proved that he not only thinks these things but does them.

Therefore, believe none of it, whether it sound true, false or half-baked. Few of us have either the time or the facilities for discovering the catch in it, but be sure the catch is there. Whatever the source of the broadcast, whether it be the ineffable Haw-Haw or this voice or that, never forget it has all first passed through the Goebbels sieve, and you are not listening to an individual voice at all, but only to someone permitted by Dr. Goebbels to utter a loud or small rumble of the never-ending Hitler Echo.

Be sure that the radio is the last thing in the world which the German State would permit to be used save for the purposes of the State; and you have been told from the fountain-head of the Echo itself what those purposes are. Keep those words ever before you when you are listening to a German broadcast. The broadcast is not made for *your* advantage or information. "The sole end to be pursued is the advantage of our nation," and before this consideration





AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF LYING ...

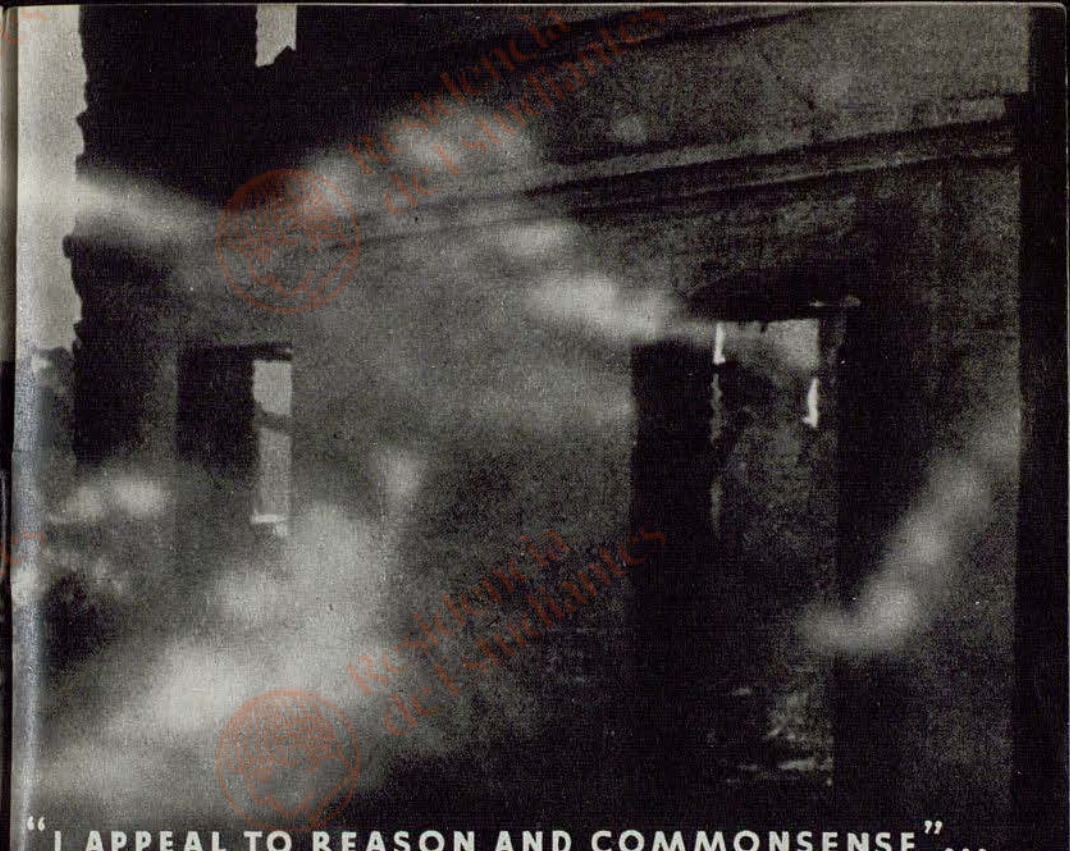
"all other considerations—political, religious, humanitarian—must be disregarded."

There you have in Hitler's own words the purpose of German broadcasting, because it is the purpose of all the activities of the German State. Write it on a card and hang it over your radio set, and that will help you to listen to German broadcasts, if listen you must, in the right spirit.

From this brief outline of what has happened to the German Press and radio during the last seven years, two facts become clear, one arising out of the other.

In the first place we see that a nation has been enslaved to a degree which would have been thought impossible ten years ago. For the authority which controls with so unceasing a vigilance every word that is written in the Press, every word that is spoken on the radio, controls also every word that is





**"I APPEAL TO REASON AND COMMONSENSE"...**

written or spoken in any other quarter. When, for seven years, not a soul up and down the length and breadth of a great land dares to speak or write the true thoughts of the heart or mind, then, indeed, you have a nation reduced to a slavery more terrible than the slavery of the ancient world where a slave was often encouraged to write and to speak.

And from this follows the answer to the question often asked : "Are we fighting the German people, or a gang who have seized the country?"

It is perhaps the bitterest thing which any humane heart can force itself to confess : that all its effort must be directed against the mass of a nation. But that admission must be made and all its implications accepted. We are fighting the

German people, and we must fight them to the bitter end.

The seven years' rule of what Dr. Goebbels has frankly admitted to be "hatred and suspicion," blown into being with "ice-cold calculation," has been only too successful. The spread of Hitlerism like a mad conflagration throughout Europe would have been impossible without the consent, co-operation and pride of those who have forgotten their membership of a human family with standards of conduct built up through centuries of painful endeavour. Hitlerism is overthrowing more than territories, toppling more than crowns. It is hacking down the dreams of peace, the hopes of progress, the long scheming towards nobler and gentler living, that have irradiated the finest minds of the race. It is obliterate-



## ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

ting the tracks of the pioneers and letting back the jungle a-prowl with beasts.

And Hitlerism, which is doing this, is now, whatever it may have been in the beginning, more than Hitler. It is Hitler plus those whose brains have been sucked out so that in their stead might be installed that nauseous doctrine which they must "believe and obey."

They are believing and they are obeying. They obey as they turn peaceful villages to a wreck of shattered timber and a moan of mothers and a cry of children. They obey as they lay in ruins the proud monuments of art and industry and make a desolation where once was a city. They obey as they turn their guns on fishermen struggling in the sea, as they blow out the lights that men have lit to guide ships on the dark waters, as they roar in their mechanical monsters over the bodies of the old and frail whose one offence is that they cannot run quickly enough before these stupid sheep, these Aryan supermen—have it how you will—who so gladly fulfil the wishes that send them forth to plague the earth.

They obey, and because of their obedience they cannot be less than our enemies. Nor can they be more. They are simple enemies such as this people has met and overthrown before. We at least do not accept their boasted overlordship. We have heard of sheep in wolves' clothing. Let Hitler send his hordes in the terrible habiliments of the tiger. We have his own word for it that they are sheep after all. Let us be more cordial than their leader and give them the credit of being men. So are we; and we shall meet them with the resolution of men whose brains have not been pithed by seven years of dangerous and diabolical nonsense.





... COMMONSENSE WILL REPLY



# ALL THEY LIKE SHEEP

by HOWARD SPRING

