**World History – Appeasement**

**Primary Source Collection**

**California History Standard**

10.7 Students analyze the rise of totalitarian governments after World War I.

10.7.2 Trace Stalin’s rise to power in the Soviet Union and the connection between economic policies, political policies, the absence of a free press, and systematic violations of human rights (e.g., the Terror Famine in Ukraine).

10.7.3 Analyze the rise, aggression, and human costs of totalitarian regimes (Fascist and Communist) in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union, noting especially their common and dissimilar traits.

**Common Core State Standard**

Key Ideas and Details

1. Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

2. Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

3. Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

Craft and Structure

6. Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts

Integration of Knowledge and Ideas

8. Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author’s claims.

**Guiding Questions**

Argumentative: What was the most significant cause of the rise of totalitarian regimes?

Informative: What were the causes of the rise of totalitarianism?

**Primary Source Documents**

**Courtesy of Professor Robert Moeller**



“Who will save Prussia from collapse?”

From Seventeen Moments in Soviet History

http://www.soviethistory.org/index.php?page=subject&show=images&SubjectID=1934politburo&Year=1934&navi=byYear



Banners on Red Square, 1937

**J. P. Goodrich, Excerpts from Letter to Herbert Hoover. November 1921November 1, 1921. HERBERT HOOVER, ESQ., The honorable the Secretary of Commerce, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.**

DEAR MR. HOOVER: On reaching Moscow on the 8th of October I found Col. Haskell had gone to Samara, and in accordance with your request that I make a rapid survey of the famine district. I at once arranged to leave Moscow and on the 10th started, going first to Samara. I am now, as you requested, sending you a preliminary report...

In every commune I was in I saw them, in some fields by hand and in others by machine, gathering seeds which grow in profusion on fallow ground and which they call famine seeds because used only in famine years. These they haul to their communes and place in barns and stacks ready for use when all else fails. They did this in 1891 and tell me that while their live stock will not eat it until all else is exhausted, they will eat it when very hungry and it will keep them alive until spring.

I saw on every hand evidences of the greatest care that nothing having any food value be wasted. Cabbage leaves, melon rinds, and articles of this kind ordinarily thrown away are now utilized.

In one commune, Baro in Saratov, I did not notice a single dog, a rather unusual condition for Russia, and on inquiry the local secretary of the commune told me that they had butchered about all of them and made them into bologna and sausage for use this winter.

Following the custom of this people and its tendency to migrate in famine years from the stricken districts to where there is said to be food in plenty, I found many thousands going in all directions, a few toward Moscow and north Russia, many more to Siberia and others down the Volga River and to the Ukraine.

The population of the city of Samara has decreased over 50,000 and the county communes in my opinion, and from the data obtained in the three communes I visited far more than that. …In the German communes alone where the most accurate records are kept, the decrease has been 19 1/2 per cent by migration, cholera, typhus, and starvation, and I am sure it is equally true through the entire famine district. While I am not, as you know, intimately acquainted with the Russian character, this being my first visit. I am very much impressed by the ability of the people to adapt themselves to the very trying situation that confronts them and to a very considerable extent discount the facts as disclosed by the official figures. While all this is true and while the ridiculous so-called human interest stories sent out by sensational newspaper correspondents grossly exaggerate the situation, yet going into the situation as carefully as I could in the limited time at my disposal I am certain that the situation is such that if immediate relief is not given. with the assurance of continued aid until July I hundreds of thousands of people, men, women. and children, will perish in the famine district who otherwise might live.

In making my hurried investigation I did not trust to Government statistics, to appearances in the bazaars or on the cities' streets, nor in the provincial homes in the large cities, where the children whose parents have died or abandoned them are collected together, dirty, half naked, lousy, half starved, mere skeletons with helpless, hopeless, hunted looks in their eyes, but I went down to these communes. distant from the cities and the railroads, slept in their homes, and ate their bread, selecting for this purpose communes which fairly would represent the average condition throughout the Volga for famine district…

You will notice that while in 1919 and 1920 they produced capita, this year they produced but one pood per capita. They have been selling their live stock and everything they could spare to buy food. They are gathering weeds and making every preparation possible in this commune, but they say one-half at least must starve unless they have help, and the facts seem fully to justify the statement… They have 1,146 children under 15 years of age and 800 must have help or die. Eighteen orphans without any parents are being cared for by the commune. Deaths from unusual causes since January 1; Cholera, 25; typhus, 30; starvation, 45.

I examined all their communal warehouses and found a small amount of grain in one house, the others empty. They say they can get along until January I if they have the assurance of help after that time. They say the Government has promised help but they are afraid it can not give much relief ...

I could tell you stories of want, suffering, and death due to underfeeding and starvation. Of an old peasant found at Kazan last week along the roadside dead with a little dead child in his arms. Of another father at the same place without food, seeking, with three children, to enter a boat to go down the river, where he might find help, and when told but two of the children could go promptly threw the youngest in the river and boarded the boat, saying "if I can not go, all three must die; it is better that one should die and the others live," and they let him go his way. Of two young peasant girls we found an the outskirts of Barn, their parents dead of cholera four days before, and they with nothing to eat for four days but cabbage leaves and carrots eaten raw, poor, hungry looking. frightfully emaciated, half naked waifs shivering in the cold raw wind, and I could tell you of these things until you would be sick at heart, as I have been. but that does not help to solve the situation….

I am sending to you, under separate cover. some comments on the political situation, and also send you herewith a rather rough translation of an article that appeared in a Kazan paper the day we were there, and later on this week will forward to you some statistics concerning the famine situation.

J. P. Goodrich.

Source: Russia Relief: hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Sixty-seventh Congress, second session, on H.R. 9459 and H.R. 9548 for the relief of the distressed and starving people of Russia, December 13 and 14, 1921�(Washington : Govt. Print. Off., 1921), pp. 24-30, 33-35.

**Excerpts from SPEECH DELIVERED AT A PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION OF THE R.C.P.(B.)**

***January 17*, *1925***

**J. Stalin, *Trotskyism,* Moscow, 1925**

**From J. V. Stalin, *On the Opposition*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1974**

**pp. 183-87.**

…You know, comrades, that the discussion started with Trotsky's action, the publication of his *The Lessons of October*.      The discussion was started by Trotsky. The discussion was forced on the Party.      The Party replied to Trotsky's action by making two main charges. Firstly, that Trotsky is trying to revise Leninism; secondly, that Trotsky is trying to bring about a radical change in the Party leadership. Trotsky has not said anything in his own defence about these charges made by the Party.      It is hard to say why he has not said anything in his own defence. The usual explanation is that he has fallen ill and has not been able to say anything in his own defence. But that is not the Party's fault, of course. It is not the Party's fault if Trotsky begins to get a high temperature after every attack he makes upon the Party.      Now the Central Committee has received a statement by Trotsky (statement to the Central Committee dated January 15) to the effect that he has refrained from making any pronouncement, that he has not said anything in his own defence, because he did not want to intensify the controversy and to aggravate the issue. Of course, one may or may not think that this explanation is convincing. I, personally, do not think that it is. Firstly, how long has Trotsky been aware that his attacks upon the Party aggravate relations? When, precisely, did he become aware of this truth? This is not the first attack that Trotsky has made upon the Party, and it is not the first time that he is surprised, or regrets, that his attack aggravated relations. Secondly, if he really wants to prevent relations within the Party from deteriorating, why did he publish his *The Lessons of October*, which was directed against the leading core of the Party, and was intended to worsen, to aggravate relations? That is why I think that Trotsky's explanation is quite unconvincing...

As regards the substance of the matter, two points should be noted: concerning "permanent revolution" and change of the Party leadership. Trotsky says that if at any time after October he happened on particular occasions to revert to the formula "permanent revolution," it was only as something appertaining to the History of the Party Department, appertaining to the past, and not with a view to elucidating present political tasks. This question is important, for it concerns the fundamentals of Leninist ideology. In my opinion, this statement of Trotsky's cannot be taken either as an explanation or as a justification. There is not even a hint in it that he admits his mistakes. It is an evasion of the question. What is the meaning of the statement that the theory of "permanent revolution" is something that appertains to the History of the Party Department? How is this to be understood? The History of the Party Department is not only the repository, but also the interpreter of Party documents. There are documents there that were valid at one time and later lost their validity. There are also documents there that were, and still are, of great importance for the Party's guidance. And there are also documents there of a purely negative character, of a negative significance, to which the Party cannot become reconciled. In which category of documents does Trotsky include his theory of "permanent revolution"? In the good or in the bad category? Trotsky said nothing about that in his statement. He wriggled out of the question. He avoided it. Consequently, the charge of revising Leninism still holds good.

**Iosif Stalin, Excerpts from A Year of Great Change. On the Occasion of the Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution. November 7, 1929**

**Original Source:** **Pravda****, 7 November 1929.**

The past year was a year of great change on all the fronts of socialist construction. The keynote of this change has been, and continues to be, a determined offensive of socialism against the capitalist elements in town and country. The characteristic feature of this offensive is that it has already brought us a number of decisive successes in the principal spheres of the socialist reconstruction of our national economy.

We may, therefore, conclude that our Party succeeded in making good use of our retreat during the first stages of the New Economic Policy in order, in the subsequent stages, to organize the change and to launch a successful offensive against the capitalist elements.

When NEP was introduced Lenin said:

"We are now retreating, going back as it were; but we are doing this in order, by retreating first, afterwards to take a run and make a more powerful leap forward. It was on this condition alone that we retreated in pursuing our New Economic Policy ... in order to start a most persistent advance after our retreat." (Vol. XXVII, pp. 361-62.)

The results of the past year show beyond a doubt that in its work the Party is successfully carrying out this decisive directive of Lenin's.

If we take the results of the past year in the sphere of economic construction, which is of decisive importance for us, we shall find that the successes of our offensive on this front, our achievements during the past year, can be summed up under three main heads.

*I. In the Sphere of Productivity of Labor*

There can scarcely be any doubt that one of the most important facts in our work of construction during the past year is that we have succeeded in bringing about a decisive change in the sphere of productivity of labor. This change has found expression in a growth of the creative initiative and intense labor enthusiasm of the vast masses of the working class on the front of socialist construction. This is our first fundamental achievement during the past year.

The growth of the creative initiative and labor enthusiasm of the masses has been stimulated in three main directions:

a) the fight -- by means of self-criticism -- against bureaucracy, which shackles the labor initiative and labor activity of the masses; b) the fight -- by means of socialist emulation -- against labor shirkers and disrupters of proletarian labor discipline;

c) the fight -- by the introduction of the uninterrupted working-week -- against routine and inertia in industry.

As a result we have a tremendous achievement on the labor front in the form of labor enthusiasm and emulation among the vast masses of the working class in all parts of our bound less country. The significance of this achievement is truly inestimable; for only the labor enthusiasm and zeal of the vast masses can guarantee that progressive increase of labor productivity without which the final victory of socialism over capitalism in our country is inconceivable…

*II. In the Sphere of Industrial Construction*

Inseparably connected with the first achievement of the Party is its second achievement. This second achievement of the Party consists in the fact that during the past year we have in the main successfully solved the problem of accumulation for capital construction in heavy industry, we have accelerated the development of the production of means of production and created the prerequisites for transforming our country into a metal country.

That is our second fundamental achievement during the past year.

The problem of light industry presents no special difficulties. We solved that problem several years ago. The problem of heavy industry is more difficult and more important.

It is more difficult because its solution demands colossal investments, and, as the history of industrially backward countries has shown, heavy industry cannot manage without huge long-term loans.

It is more important because, unless we develop heavy industry, we cannot build any industry at all, we cannot carry out any industrialization.

And as we have not received, and are not receiving, either long-term loans or credits of any long-term character, the acuteness of the problem for us becomes more than obvious.

It is precisely for this reason that the capitalists of all countries refuse us loans and credits, for they assume that we cannot by our own efforts cope with the problem of accumulation, that we shall suffer shipwreck in the task of reconstructing our heavy industry, and be compelled to come to them cap in hand, for enslavement.

But what do the results of our work during the past year show in this connection? The significance of the results of the past year is that they shatter to bits the anticipations of Messieurs the capitalists.

The past year has shown that, in spite of the overt and covert financial blockade of the USSR, we did not sell ourselves into bondage to the capitalists, that by our own efforts we have successfully solved the problem of accumulation and laid the foundation for heavy industry. Even the most inveterate enemies of the working class cannot deny this now…

How can anyone doubt that we are advancing at an accelerated pace in the direction of developing our heavy industry, exceeding our former speed and leaving behind our "age old" backwardness?

Is it surprising after this that the targets of the five-year plan were exceeded during the past year, and that the optimum variant of the five-year plan, which the bourgeois scribes regard as "wild fantasy," and which horrifies our Right opportunists (Bukharin's group), has actually turned out to be a minimum variant?...

*III. In the Sphere of Agricultural Development*

Finally, about the Party's third achievement during the past year, an achievement organically connected with the two previous ones. I am referring to the radical change in the development of our agriculture from small, backward, individual farming to large-scale, advanced collective agriculture, to joint cultivation of the land, to machine and tractor stations, to artels, collective farms, based on modern technique, and, finally, to giant state farms, equipped with hundreds of tractors and harvester combines.

The Party's achievement here consists in the fact that in a whole number of areas we have succeeded in turning the main mass of the peasantry away from the old, capitalist path of development -- which benefits only a small group of the rich, the capitalists, while the vast majority of the peasants are doomed to ruin and utter poverty -- to the new, socialist path of development, which ousts the rich, the capitalists, and re-equips the middle and poor peasants along new lines, equipping them with modern implements, with tractors and agricultural machinery, so as to enable them to climb out of poverty and enslavement to the kulaks on to the high road of co-operative, collective cultivation of the land.

The achievement of the Party consists in the fact that we have succeeded in bringing about this radical change deep down in the peasantry itself, and in securing the following of the broad masses of the poor and middle peasants in spite of incredible difficulties, in spite of the desperate resistance of retrograde forces of every kind, from kulaks and priests to philistines and Right opportunists.

For the first time in the history of mankind there has appeared a government, that of the Soviets, which has proved by deeds its readiness and ability to give the laboring masses of the peasantry systematic and lasting assistance in the sphere of production.

*Conclusions*

We are advancing full steam ahead along the path of industrialization -- to socialism, leaving behind the age-old "Russian" backwardness.

We are becoming a country of metal, a country of automobiles, a country of tractors.

And when we have put the USSR on an automobile, and the muzhik on a tractor, let the worthy capitalists, who boast so much of their "civilization," try to overtake us! We shall yet see which countries may then be "classified" as backward and which as advanced.

Source: I. V. Stalin, Works (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1952-1955), Vol. XII.

**Bruno Heilig,**

**Excerpts from "Why the German Republic Fell"**

**(1938)**

**Excerpts from the  Original Electronic Text at the web site The Weimar Republic.**

*An Austrian journalist, Mr. Bruno Heilig, who went to England in 1938, speaks with the authority of one who worked for thirty years at his profession as editor or foreign correspondent of leading newspapers in Austria, Germany, Hungary and the Balkans. For five years preceding the collapse of the Weimar Republic he was in Berlin, at first on the staff of the Vossische Zeitung and later as correspondent of the Vienna Wiener Tag and the Prague Prager Presse. The succeeding five years he spent in Vienna, where he was leader writer and foreign editor of Der Wiener Tag and the influential Monday paper Der Morgen. Thus he twice had the opportunity of following the development of modern tyranny. More intimate is the acquaintance he made of it as prisoner for thirteen months within the concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald, a life described by him in his book Men Crucified. "Why the German Republic Fell" first appeared in the English magazine "Land & Liberty."*

NUMBERLESS NEWSPAPER articles and books have been published on the subject of Hitler's career and Germany's turning to barbarism. They describe in minute detail the comings and goings of the actors of that tragedy; they reveal secrets about political and diplomatic interviews, about intrigues and conspiracies too. They give you a more or less reliable picture of the characters of the leading persons and entertain you, perhaps, with spicy stories about their private lives. You get splendidly informed, yet you are not satisfied. The more you have learned about the events the more you are puzzled. There was a country with a fine democratic constitution built on the ideas of liberty and self-government. Its people had been glad to get rid of the Kaiser after the Great War, and had elected for the Weimar National Assembly men whose records and programmes offered the best guarantee for a radical extirpation of the hated old Prussian ideas. Then some crooks, some fools, and some weaklings appeared on the stage of history, and liberty was thrown away, and democracy became rubbish. Hitler attained power under observance of a democratic constitution, the fundamental principle of which was self-government and self-determination of the people. He became Chancellor just in the same way as any of his predecessors, by regular appointment. There was no reason why the people should submit to tyranny against their will. They followed the tyrant voluntarily, many of them jubilant. How did it happen, how could it happen?...

THE INDUSTRIAL BOOM

After the disastrous years of the inflation, business revived almost suddenly…

The recovery which started in Germany in 1924 had all the elements of an investment boom. Factories scrapped their old plant and replaced it with up-to-date machines. Germany was going to become the most advanced industrial country in the world, surpassing even the United States. Busy times drew millions of people to the big towns, the population of greater Berlin increasing rapidly by two millions to six and a half millions…

Prices and rents of land soared at once, and so, too, rose the cost of building materials, with manufacturers protected against foreign competition by high customs duties... It was "good business" to be on good terms with members of the City Council, the Stadtrat…

SPECULATION IN LAND VALUES

Land speculators had a fantastic time, some doubling or trebling their fortunes overnight. While the common people toiled feverishly and proudly to build up the new Germany that should be the world's most advanced community, money poured into the pockets of those who gambled in land values.

The high rents for flats and premises in the new buildings reacted upon and forced up the rents in the old ones. During the war, rents had been fixed by law at the prewar level, and that law had remained in force during the whole period of the inflation. Suddenly the newspapers began an agitation that it was unjust to maintain the great difference between the rents in the new and in the old buildings, and this was so successful that an amended law permitted the proprietors of prewar buildings to raise rents up to 125 per cent of the prewar level…

THE AGRICULTURAL LAND

Half the area of the agricultural land in Germany is taken up by large estates which are in the hands of the old military nobility, the Junkers. The other half is cultivated by peasants, the number of peasants being nine times as great as the number of Junkers…

After the War of 1914-1918 the question of land reform was much discussed in Germany. The republic, peace-loving and led by socialists, was expected to make a radical departure from the old economic ideas. Millions of soldiers being demobilized could have been settled and the agricultural output could have been greatly increased, since according to official statistics the value of the output of the small farms was up to 47 per cent higher than that of the large estates; in dairy farming even up to 69 per cent higher. After years of fatigue and starving, the physical condition of the people also needed improvement.

THE "HELP FOR THE EAST" AND THE JUNKERS

But nothing happened. No land reform was initiated, nothing but some timid steps towards market gardens and allotments near the cities and towns. When, later, owing to the competing imports from the grain-growing transAtlantic countries, and to the fall of corn prices on the world market, the Junkers got involved in difficulties, the government helped them handsomely…

You may ask why the people tolerated all this.

The answer is that he who holds the land holds the real source of power. Germany has actually been ruled by 12,000 Junkers and some hundred aristocrats. With their own votes, they would not have succeeded in getting a single seat in any legislative body. Yet their parties, the German National Party and the German Peoples' Party, managed to get more than 100 members into the Reichstag. In Prussia, which covers two-thirds of the Reich, the relations between the landowners and the people had hardly changed since the time of serfdom, the people voting as the landlord wished they should…

INDUSTRIAL COLLAPSE

Germany was in a state of intoxication at that time. Modernize, modernize at all costs, was the only idea that people could entertain. In 1930 the first signs of a crisis became manifest. Laborers stood off by machines met with difficulties when looking for other employment. Industrialists and merchants complained of difficulties in selling their merchandise. The position deteriorated month by month, week by week. In 1931 the crisis was in full swing. The ordinary means to meet the crisis had failed. By restriction of production things went from bad to worse…

The breakdown of the German banks in the summer of 1931 further proved the truth of the theory of the invariable costs. The industrialists and the merchants were unable to meet debts and interest and therefore the banks bad to stop payment. Yet the debts in question were nothing other than the capital invested during the prosperity, that is the money the landowners had swallowed. The invariable costs had quickly become insupportable and were simply not paid.

The Government rushed in to help the banks, which got accommodation at the expense of billions of marks drawn from the people's taxes. Then began the flow of other subsidies, as those to the Junkers and the heavy industry to which reference has been made, and light industry had also to be subsidized by way of helping it to meet those "invariable costs."

The crisis grew, ever deepening…

FROM POPULAR GOVERNMENT TO DESPOTISM

Seven million men and women (one-third of the wage-earning people) unemployed, the middle class swept away: that was the position about one year after the climax of prosperity. Progress, conditioned as it was, had rapidly produced the most dreadful poverty.

… Was there a link between the economic and the political collapse? Emphatically, yes. For as unemployment grew, and with it poverty and the fear of poverty, so grew the influence of the Nazi Party, which was making its lavish promises to the frustrated and its violent appeal to the revenges of a populace aware of its wrongs but condemned to hear only a malignant and distorted explanation of them.

In the first year of the crisis the number of Nazi deputies to the Reichstag rose from 8 to 107. A year later this figure was doubled. In the same time the Communists captured half of the votes of the German Social Democratic Party and the representation of the middle class practically speaking disappeared. In January 1933 Hitler was appointed Reichskanzler; he attained power, as I said before, quite legally. All the forms of democracy were observed. It sounds paradoxical but it was in fact absolutely logical.

… The inevitable effect of poverty on political developments under popular government is stated in this quotation: “To put political power in the hands of men embittered and degraded by poverty is to tie firebrands to foxes and turn them loose amid the standing corn; it is to put out the eyes of a Samson and to twine his arms around the pillars of national life.”

When the disparity of condition increases, so does universal suffrage make it easy to seize the source of power, for the greater is the proportion of power in the hands of those who ... tortured by want and embruted by poverty are ready to sell their votes to the highest bidder or follow the lead of the most blatant demagogue; or who, made bitter by hardships, may even look upon profligate and tyrannous government with the satisfaction we may imagine the proletarians and slaves of Rome to have felt, as they saw a Caligula or Nero raging among the rich patricians…

I do not believe that the Germans would have followed Hitler in his hates and revenges if the people had been living under reasonably good social conditions instead of being as they were under the lash of so much unemployment and privation. True, Adolf Hitler may be the particular German specimen of what Henry George calls the most blatant demagogue. But do you consent to Mussolini, the Latin-speaking tyrant? And what about Norwegian, Dutch, French, Hungarian, Roumanian and Bulgarian fascists? The German people - or a large proportion of them - were only the first to follow Hitler. Others joined in later under the lead of their most blatant demagogues. All Europe is either Communist or Fascist, with few exceptions. It was not fear or downright political stupidity that prevented so many European countries from joining in the fight against Hitler and it was not mere incompetence that defeated France. It was the strong Fascist forces existing in those countries and the influence of the respective blatant demagogues (though not yet in official power) that paralyzed the peoples; and the outcome is that the superlative of all the blatant demagogues has become the leader of the lot. Thus, national character is but of subordinate effect. The circumstances are the determining factor.

THE LESSON - DEMOCRACY DESTROYED BY SOCIAL INEQUALITY

Similar conditions will be of the same effect everywhere. What happened in Germany will inevitably happen anywhere that similar conditions prevail. In some Continental countries it has happened already. The Nazi regime is not Hitler's, the man's, achievement. Nazidom has grown organically out of a rotten democracy, and the rottenness of that democracy is the natural consequence of unequal economic conditions; and unequal economic conditions obtain all over the world owing to the instituted private appropriation of the rent of land. Therefore every country is potentially a Fascist country. Germany is but the type of a development which no country can escape except by the establishment of the equal right to the occupation and use of land. Therefore also there can be no lasting peace even after the defeat of Nazism if the present economic structure of the civilized countries remains. The private appropriation of the rent of land is the deadly enemy of mankind.

**From the Internet Modern History Sourcebook**

**Adolf Hitler: Excerpts from The Obersalzberg Speech**

… After all there are only three great statesmen in the world, Stalin, I and Mussolini. Mussolini is the weakest, for he has been able to break the power neither of the crown nor of the Church. Stalin and 1 are the only ones who visualise the future. So in a few weeks hence I shall stretch out my hand to Stalin at the common German-Russian frontier and with him undertake to re-distribute the world.

Our strength lies in our quickness and in our brutality; Genghis Khan has sent millions of women and children into death knowingly and with a light heart. History sees in him only the great founder of States. As to what the weak Western European civilisation asserts about me, that is of no account. I have given the command and I shall shoot everyone who utters one word of criticism, for the goal to be obtained in the war is not that of reaching certain lines but of physically demolishing the opponent. And so for the present only in the East 1 have put my death-head formations' in place with the command relentlessly and without compassion to send into death many women and children of Polish origin and language. Only thus we can gain the living space [lebensraum] that we need. Who after all is today speaking about the destruction of the Armenians?

… To be sure a new situation has arisen. I experienced those poor worms Daladier and Chamberlain in Munich. They will be too cowardly to attack. They won't go beyond a blockade. Against that we have our autarchy and the Russian raw materials.

Poland will be depopulated and settled with Germans. My pact with the Poles was merely conceived of as a gaining of time. As for the rest, gentlemen, the fate of Russia will be exactly the same as 1 am now going through with in the case of Poland. After Stalin's death-he is a very sick man-we will break the Soviet Union. Then there will begin the dawn of the German rule of the earth…

The opportunity is as favourable as never before. 1 have but one worry, namely that Chamberlain or some other such pig of a fellow will come at the last moment with proposals or with ratting. He will fly down the stairs, even if I shall personally have to trample on his belly in the eyes of the photographers…

For you, gentlemen, fame and honour are beginning as they have not since centuries. Be hard, be without mercy, act more quickly and brutally than the others. The citizens of Western Europe must tremble with horror. That is the most human way of conducting a war. For it scares the others off…

The speech was received with enthusiasm. Göring jumped on a table, thanked blood-thirstily and made blood-thirsty promises. He danced like a wild man. The few that had misgivings remained quiet.

From Documents on British Foreign Policy. 1919-1939. eds. E. L. Woodward and Rohan Riftlep; 3rd series (London: HMSO, 1954), 7:258-260.

Propaganda Poster from Mussolini's Italy.  It reads, *One for all, all for the Duce.*

*From: http://sitemaker.umich.edu/fascistpersonalitycult/benito\_mussolini*



Courtesy of Professor Robert Moeller

“This worker is breaking the "chains of Versailes", and choosing Hitler”



**Modern History Sourcebook:  Hymn to Stalin**

Thank you, Stalin. Thank you because I am joyful. Thank you because I am well. No matter how old I become, I shall never forget how we received Stalin two days ago. Centuries will pass, and the generations still to come will regard us as the happiest of mortals, as the most fortunate of men, because we lived in the century of centuries, because we were privileged to see Stalin, our inspired leader. Yes, and we regard ourselves as the happiest of mortals because we are the contemporaries of a man who never had an equal in world history.

The men of all ages will call on thy name, which is strong, beautiful, wise and marvelous. Thy name is engraven on every factory, every machine, every place on the earth, and in the hearts of all men.

Every time I have found myself in his presence I have been subjugated by his strength, his charm, his grandeur. I have experienced a great desire to sing, to cry out, to shout with joy and happiness. And now see me--me!--on the same platform where the Great Stalin stood a year ago. In what country, in what part of the world could such a thing happen.

I write books. I am an author. All thanks to thee, O great educator, Stalin. I love a young woman with a renewed love and shall perpetuate myself in my children--all thanks to thee, great educator, Stalin. I shall be eternally happy and joyous, all thanks to thee, great educator, Stalin. Everything belongs to thee, chief of our great country. And when the woman I love presents me with a child the first word it shall utter will be : Stalin.

O great Stalin, O leader of the peoples,

Thou who broughtest man to birth.

Thou who fructifies the earth,

Thou who restorest to centuries,

Thou who makest bloom the spring,

Thou who makest vibrate the musical chords...

Thou, splendour of my spring, O thou,

Sun reflected by millions of hearts.

---A. O.Avidenko

**From the Internet Modern History Sourcebook:  Stalin's Purges, 1935**

*In 1936, Stalin began to attack his political opponents in a series of" purges" aimed at destroying the vestiges of political opposition to him. What follows is the* o*fficial explanation from textbooks published before Stalin's excesses were repudiated by his successors.*

The achievements of Socialism in our country were a cause of rejoicing not only to the Party, and not only to the workers and collective farmers, but also to our Soviet intelligentsia, and to all honest citizens of the Soviet Union.

But they were no cause of rejoicing to the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes; on the contrary, they only enraged them the more as time went on.

They infuriated the lickspittles of the defeated classes - the puny remnants of the following of Bukharin and Trotsky.

These gentry were guided in their evaluation of the achievements of the workers and collective farmers not by the interests of the people, who applauded every such achievement, but by the interests of their own wretched and putrid faction, which had lost all contact with the realities of life. Since the achievements of Socialism in our country meant the victory of the policy of the Party and the utter bankruptcy of their own policy, these gentry, instead of admitting the obvious facts and joining the common cause, began to revenge themselves on the Party and the people for their own failure, for their own bankruptcy; they began to resort to foul play and sabotage against the cause of the workers and collective farmers, to blow up pits, set fire to factories, and commit acts of wrecking in collective and state farms, with the object of undoing the achievements of the workers and collective farmers and evoking popular discontent against the Soviet Government. And in order, while doing so, to shield their puny group from exposure and destruction, they simulated loyalty to the Party, fawned upon it, eulogized it, cringed before it more and more, while in reality continuing their underhand, subversive activities against the workers and peasants…

The investigation established that in 1933 and 1934 an underground counter-revolutionary terrorist group had been formed in Leningrad consisting of former members of the Zinoviev opposition and headed by a so-called "Leningrad Centre." The purpose of this group was to murder leaders of the Communist Party. S. M. Kirov was chosen as the first victim. The testimony of the members of this counter-revolutionary group showed that they were connected with representatives of foreign capitalist states and were receiving funds from them.

The exposed members of this organization were sentenced by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to the supreme penalty - to be shot.

Soon afterwards the existence of an underground counter-revolutionary organization called the "Moscow Centre" was discovered. The preliminary investigation and the trial revealed the villainous part played by Zinoviev, Kamenev, Yevdokimo and other leaders of this organization in cultivating the terrorist mentality among their followers, and in plotting the murder of members of the Party Central Committee and of the Soviet Government…

The chief instigator and ringleader of this gang of assassins and spies was Judas Trotsky. Trotsky's assistants and agents in carrying out his counter-revolutionary instructions were Zinoviev, Kamenev and their Trotskyite underlings. They were preparing to bring about the defeat of the U.S.S.R. in the event of attack by imperialist countries; they had become defeatists with regard to the workers' and peasants' state; they had become despicable tools and agents of the German and Japanese fascists.

The main lesson which the Party organizations had to draw from the trials of the persons implicated in the foul murder of S. M. Kirov was that they must put an end to their own political blindness and political heedlessness, and must increase their vigilance and the vigilance of all Party members....

Purging and consolidating its ranks, destroying the enemies of the Party and relentlessly combating distortions of the Party line, the Bolshevik Party rallied closer than ever around its Central Committee, under whose leadership the Party and the Soviet land now passed to a new stage - the completion of the construction of a classless, Socialist society.

From *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks): Short Course* (Moscow,1948),pp.324-327,329.