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AN EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF RHETORICAL STYLE

IN NINE SELECTED SPEECHES OF ADOLF HITLER

by

CHARLES WILLARD HUBER

B. A. Carroll College, 1957

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

1959

Approved by:



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Dean, Graduate School

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C.W.H.

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CHAPTER I

"I know that one is able to win people far more by the spoken than by the written word, and that every great movement on this globe owes its rise to the great speakers and not to the great writers."

Hitler
Preface, Mein Kampf

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

I. INTRODUCTION

Adolf Hitler, born in 1889, was Reichsfuehrer of Germany from 1933 until 1945. During this period he ruled the German nation through one of the most eventful epochs in its history. The speeches of Adolf Hitler are the most complete expression of his personality. More than any other ruler, he can best be judged by the spoken word. He was essentially a speechmaker. Although his deeds and conquests have most impressed the world, he started as a soap-box orator and spoke his way to power. Hitler's appeal to the masses was undeniable, and, from the earliest days, he showed that he had the gift and the power to stir the German people and to restore their self-confidence. His energy, his daring, his fanatical faith in his own mission were inspiring. To a country humiliated by defeat, impoverished by postwar inflation, and profoundly demoralized by the sense of its own weakness and impotence, Hitler spoke of hope for the future, of conquest, wealth and power. He told the Germans they had lost the war, but they had been betrayed, and that, provided they had faith in themselves and in him, all the glorious

dreams of the past would come true--that they would be strong and proud again, and masters of the world.¹

Hitler's verbal defiance of the Treaty of Versailles, the Weimar Republic, the "November criminals," and of all of the established powers was sweet music to the ears of his listeners. No one had spoken such words to them in years, nor held such promises of revenge. No one had told them that they were still a great people, that the sword was nobler than the plow, that they were innocent of all guilt, and that they were right--right in the eyes of God, right in the eyes of history, always and absolutely right, merely because they were Germans. Hitler told his listeners that they belonged to a superior race, but also that they were victims. He told them that what was wrong with the war was not the war itself but that they had lost it. He told them that the whole world was arrayed against them and wanted the destruction of Germany. He showed them that the Weimar Republic was allied with their enemies because it was a democracy, and therefore international and Jewish. He told them that they had a mission: to regenerate Germany, and to achieve this end, they must be brutal, intolerant and ruthless. He preached violence and hatred to people whom anxiety and despair had made meek and spiritless. Small wonder that Hitler, the ex-soldier, who owned nothing, as he said himself, but a zinc plate with his name on it, should be hailed as a savior when he exclaimed: "Our task is to give to the dictator when he comes a people that is ripe for him.

¹Raoul de Roussy de Sales (ed.), My New Order: Adolf Hitler (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941), pp. 5-6.

German people, awake! It draws near today!"²

Hitler used words as weapons, and his ideas or leitmotifs, although fairly consistent, were modified according to the circumstances and the immediate effect which he wished to obtain. But the technique was always the same: whatever resistance opposed him must finally be broken down by the sheer accumulation of words.³

With this "accumulation of words" Hitler inspired the German nation to build one of the most powerful war machines which had, until then, been assembled. He then commanded that this machine be hurled with all its might at the world. With the spoken word he exhorted the people of Germany to make every sacrifice, in order that his fanatical desires might be accomplished, and he almost succeeded.

This study was made to discover the factors of style which contributed to Hitler's success as a leader of people. As he himself has stated: "I am conscious that I have no equal in the art of swaying the masses."⁴

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON HITLER

Seventy years ago, on April 20, 1889, three republics, the Austria of the treaty of St. Germain, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, were not yet in existence. Four great empires--the Hapsburg, the Hohenzollern, the Romanov and the Ottoman--ruled over Central and Eastern

²Ibid., p. 6.

³Ibid., p. 8.

⁴Herman Rauschnig, The Voice of Destruction (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), p. 212.

Europe. The Bolshevik Revolution and the Soviet Union were not yet imagined: Russia was still the Holy Russia of the Tsars. In the summer of that year, Lenin, a student of nineteen, in trouble with the authorities, moved with his mother from Kazan to Samara. Stalin was a poor cobbler's son in Tiflis and Mussolini was the six-year-old child of a blacksmith in the bleak Romagna.⁵ Franklin D. Roosevelt was a child of seven.⁶ Winston Spencer Churchill was returning, with Kitchener, from his campaign in the Sudan.⁷

On April 20, 1889, in the Gasthof zum Pommer, an inn, in the small town of Braunau on the River Inn which forms the frontier between Austria and Bavaria, Klara Hitler gave birth to a son who was named Adolf.⁸

In 1895 his father retired from his position as a customs official and the family moved from Passau, the Austrian frontier town, where Alois Hitler held his last post, to Hafeld-am-Traun and Lambach; here they stayed only briefly before again moving on to Leonding, a village just outside Linz. The year his father retired, the six-year-old Adolf entered the village school of Fischlham; two years later he was sent to the school of the ancient Benedictine monastery at Lambach. He had a year of school at Leonding and then in 1900 entered the Linz Realschule.

⁵Alan Bullock, Hitler: A Study in Tyranny (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), p. 17.

⁶Huston Peterson (ed.), A Treasury of the World's Great Speeches (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1954), p. 745.

⁷Ibid., p. 772.

⁸Bullock, op. cit., pp. 17-20.

As a child Hitler had set his mind on becoming an artist; however, this dream was most certainly not the dream of the father for his son's future. He had planned that the boy would enter the government service. This deadlock which existed between father and son soon produced a very stubborn boy, one who would study only those subjects which he was interested in. The result of this attitude was that Hitler was forced to move to another school and that eventually he failed to get the customary Leaving Certificate.

His father died on January 3, 1903. His mother then moved with her two children, Adolf and his sister Paula, to Urfahr, a suburb of Linz.

Hitler attempted in 1907 to enter the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. The attempt was unsuccessful, as was the second attempt in 1908.

His mother died on December 21, 1908. Alone, Hitler moved to Vienna where he struggled for subsistence, variously employed as a manual laborer, water color artist and house painter. During this period Hitler found lodging in one of the many third rate homes for men. Here he was placed in contact with many different classes of men and cross-section of nationalities. His hatred of Jews probably stemmed from these associations and from his reading in Vienna prior to 1914. The spirit of anti-Semitism was endemic in the city during this period.

Hitler left Vienna in the spring of 1913. He was then twenty-four years old. He moved to Munich in the early summer, assuming the same manner of living as that which he had experienced in Vienna.

On June 28, 1914, Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated

and on August 1, war was declared by Germany. Hitler enlisted and was enrolled in the 1st Company of the 16th Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment, known as the List Regiment. On October 21, the regiment entrained for the Front, after several weeks of training. Throughout the war Hitler served as a Meldegänger, a runner, whose job it was to carry messages between Company and Regimental Headquarters. On October 7, 1916, he was wounded in the leg. He returned to the Front at the beginning of March, 1917, now promoted to lance-corporal. Again, on October 14, 1917, he was hospitalized as a result of gas poisoning. In December 1914 he had been awarded the Iron Cross, Second Class, and in 1918 was decorated with the Iron Cross, First Class, an uncommon decoration for a corporal.

The years following the war, from 1919 to 1933, were years of struggle for the man who was ultimately to rule Germany. In April of 1920 Hitler left the Army and assumed direction of the propaganda machinery of the Committee of Independent Workmen led by a Munich locksmith, Anton Drexler. This party merged with a similar group led by Karl Harrer. The group then allied themselves to the Austrian Worker's Party, the German National Socialist Worker's Party--D.N.S.A.P.--and adopted the same title.⁹ The party had no program as yet. The members knew only that they were against the Republic and against the Jews, two ideas which they held in common with about twenty other little parties. The first public meeting of the Party with Hitler as the main speaker took place in Munich on February 24, 1920, before an audience of 107 persons. Curiously enough Hitler nearly lost his chance to speak at

⁹Ibid., pp. 21-60.

this meeting because the other party members considered him too nervous and excitable and distrusted his bourgeois leanings. He was finally allowed to speak for twenty minutes. The audience applauded. No doubt he was effective but on the following day not even one Munich newspaper mentioned his name.

From then on the building of the Party was achieved entirely through meetings at which Hitler spoke. The audiences increased too. On December 13, 1922, ten mass meetings were held in Munich with an audience of 20,000.

No one knew better than Hitler himself that his real power was his voice. To increase his effectiveness he took elocution lessons from a Munich actor called Basil.¹⁰

In 1921 Hitler wrested control of the Party from Drexler. In September of 1923 Hitler and the other leaders of the Kampfbund planned their plot against the Government. The putsch was executed on the eighth and ninth of November. The attempt proved to be a dismal fiasco. Hitler was arrested on November 11, and imprisoned at Landsberg, in the wooded valley of the Lech, fifty miles from Munich. Here he was held, except for the brief interlude of his trial in Munich, until December 20, 1924. From July of 1924, while still in prison, he dictated Mein Kampf to Emil Maurice and Rudolph Hess, two of his accomplices.

The period following his release from prison, December 20, 1924, until January 30, 1933, when he was asked by Hindenburg to become Chancellor in a Nazi-Conservative coalition Government, is a story of

¹⁰de Sales, op. cit., p. 4.

step by step political maneuvering. In February he accepted Hindenburg's offer. Nazism was established.¹¹

The world was soon to know this man as they came also to know Stalin, Mussolini, Roosevelt and Churchill. Hitler, now forty-four years old, was well on his way to realizing his ambition, to become the ". . . supreme justiciar of the German people."¹²

III. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. The purpose of this study was to discover the use of rhetorical devices and figures of speech and language, and the effect of changing speaking situations on these elements of rhetorical style, in the speeches of Adolf Hitler as shown by an analysis of nine (9) selected addresses, three from each of three periods in his career, delivered between September 1, 1933, and December 31, 1944.¹³

Importance of the study. As the ". . . supreme justiciar of the German people," as Hitler styled himself in 1934,¹⁴ he became the spokesman for and ruler of the German nation. The speeches themselves were, like their author, important factors of one of the more striking periods of human history.

¹¹Bullock, op. cit., pp. 60-220.

¹²Peterson, op. cit., p. 758.

¹³The period 1919-1933 was referred to as Kampfzeit ("time of struggle"). The period after 1933 was called Machtübernahme (the taking over of power). Ross Scanlan, "Hitler and Mass Brainwashing," The Rhetorical Idiom, ed. Donald C. Bryant (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 208.

¹⁴Peterson, loc. cit.

It may be hypothesized that as the speaking periods in Hitler's career differed there followed a change in his rhetorical style. If this hypothesis has any merit it would add to the importance of any study of this nature. Of further consequence, the study considered the value of these speeches as a part of the more extensive field of public address. In any given society, practices of the period are observed to determine how these practices relate to the body of traditional knowledge in the discipline being observed. This is done to observe if change has occurred. This can be done only by constant examination of practice. In turn this can lead to refinements in the theory of the discipline and make more cogent academic instruction. Only by examination and refinement may the discipline be kept on-going and dynamic.

Limitations of the study. The analysis of the speeches in this study has been restricted to the area of style. This area has been investigated and an outline on the characteristics of rhetorical style has been compiled as a part of this study; however, the areas of Invention, Arrangement, Delivery, Memory, Psychology and many other aspects of Hitler's public address have not been included in the analysis. Other limitations were found when attempt was made to apply certain criteria of style to speeches being analyzed in translation. Also, many speeches were not available in translation. The study was confined by these limitations, but it tried to consider as thoroughly as possible the area which was included.

IV. DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

The stylistic terms used were explained in the examination and

outline of the criteria for evaluation. However, the broader terms "Rhetoric" and "Style" necessitated further explanation in order that the analysis could be more clearly understood.

Rhetoric. Aristotle defined rhetoric as the science of persuasion. "So let rhetoric be defined as the faculty (power) of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion."¹⁵ Four hundred years later Cicero further elaborated on this definition.

Oratory is the result of a whole number of things, in any one of which to succeed is a great achievement. . . . To begin with, a knowledge of very many things must be grasped, without which oratory is but an empty and ridiculous swirl of verbiage: and the distinctive style has to be formed . . . and all the mental emotions with which the human has been endowed are to be intimately understood.¹⁶

Cicero was more concerned with the style and delivery of the speech, and thus reflected the prevailing feeling of his time. In 1872 the British rhetorician Whately distinguished between rhetoric as the term applied to writing and rhetoric as it applied to speaking.

It is evident that in its primary signification, Rhetoric had reference to public Speaking alone, as its etymology implies: but as most of the rules for speaking are of course applicable equally to writing, an extension of the term naturally took place . . . the knowledge of the subjects on which the Orator is to speak, constitutes no part of the art of Rhetoric, though it be essential to its successful employment; and that though virtue and the good reputation it procures, as materially to the Speaker's influence, they are no more to be, for that reason, considered

¹⁵Lane Cooper (trans.), The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), p. 7.

¹⁶E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham (trans.), De Oratore of Cicero (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1942), Vol. 1, pp. 13-15.

as belonging to the Orator, as such, than wealth, rank, or a good person which manifestly have a tendency to produce the same effect.¹⁷

A fourth definition was taken from The Winston Dictionary. This definition, similar to those of Aristotle and Whately, considered rhetoric as the effective use of language: "the branch of knowledge which deals with the correct, forceful, and elegant use of spoken or written language. . . ." ¹⁸ A brief and concise working definition was formed from these observations. Rhetoric: is the art of effective communication in both the oral and written forms.

Style. Mills was aware of the difficulty of defining style.

He stated:

In the literature of rhetoric there are many definitions of style, but most of them are essentially alike. They indicate that style, as a constituent of rhetoric, embraces the choice of words (for precision, imagery, and so forth) and sentence movement (for force, charm, and so forth).¹⁹

Aristotle commented that it is not enough to know what to say--one must also know how to say it. He maintained that the right way of doing this contributes much to the right impression of the speech.²⁰ He further explains some of the characteristics of style.

. . . a good style is, first of all, clear. The proof is that language which does not convey a clear

¹⁷Richard Whately, Rhetoric (London: Charles Griffin and Company, 1872), pp. 1-3.

¹⁸The Winston Dictionary: Advanced Edition (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1940), p. 839.

¹⁹Glen E. Mills, Composing the Speech (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), p. 267.

²⁰Cooper, op. cit., p. 182.

meaning fails to perform the very function of language. The style, again, should be neither mean nor above the dignity of the subject, but appropriate. . . . In style, the illusion is successful if we take our individual words from the current stock, and put them together (with skill). That is what Euripides does, and he led the way to this style.²¹

Cicero said much the same as Aristotle, pointing out the four requisites of style:

Now what better style of expression can there be--I will consider delivery later--than that our language should be correct, lucid, ornate and suitably appropriate to the particular matter under consideration.²²

Brigance listed three qualities of style:

Authorities are generally agreed that there are three fundamental qualities upon which the elements of good style are based. These are (1) clearness, (2) force, and (3) ease, beauty, rhythm: clearness that the speaker's meaning may be understood; force that it may compel attention and so aid the memory; ease that it may not offend the ear and so distract from the thought.²³

He further explained the difference between spoken and written style and then described the oral style.

In short, the difference between written and spoken style is this: Written style must be ultimately intelligible to the reader. Spoken style must be instantly intelligible to the hearer. This requires more vividness in spoken language than in written. In arrangement it requires more frequent use of suspense and climax. In treatment it requires more repetition and restatement.

Yet, at the same time, repetition must be carried through without any sacrifice to energy

²¹ibid., pp. 185-86.

²²Sutton and Rackham, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 31.

²³William Norwood Brigance, Speech Composition (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953), p. 218.

and movement, for these are of more importance in spoken than in written style. . . .

The speaker will use more of the objective elements of vividness, for it is word pictures that abide. That is, he will use more illustrations to throw light on his reasoning; he will use more comparison and contrast, for these factors bring out in sharp relief the outlines of a thought; he will use more figurative language, for figurative language stirs the imagination and sets up mental pictures. Finally, the speaker will use more questions than the writer, for questions bind together the speaker and hearer. . . .

In addition to the quality of instant intelligibility, the spoken style contains more of the personal elements of address. The essayist is absorbed chiefly in his subject, for his readers are unseen, but the speaker must reckon also with his hearers, for they sit before him in plain sight. Therefore his speech abounds with "you," "we," and "they."²⁴

A Dictionary of Literary Terms defined style as follows: "The selection and arrangement of words and sentences, usually the special characteristics of a particular writer."²⁵ The Winston Dictionary defined style in this way: "characteristic manner of writing or speaking; as, a florid style; also, suitable or appropriate diction; as the speech lacked style; mode of expression or execution in any art. . . ."²⁶ From the above comments and definitions the following working definition was formulated: Style is the manner of selecting and arranging words, either in oral discourse or writing so that certain characteristics or lack of them is made manifest.

²⁴ibid., pp. 200-201.

²⁵Charles Duffy and Henry Pettit, A Dictionary of Literary Terms (Denver, Colorado: University of Denver Press, 1951), p. 97.

²⁶The Winston Dictionary, p. 986.

By combining these two definitions, that of Rhetoric and Style, the following working definition of the rhetorical style of a speaker was formulated: Oral or written discourse, in which the recurrence of any characteristic of the traditional elements of style establishes a pattern.

V. ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE STUDY

Chapter II. The second chapter of the analysis included a survey of the literature available on both Hitler's speeches and his life. An analysis and consideration was made of the other studies on the speeches of Hitler and the relative merits and limitations of these studies.

Chapter III. Chapter Three contained the method of procedure which was followed in analyzing the speeches which were selected for this study. The first section was devoted to a division of the selected period. The second section dealt with the justification of the speeches selected for analysis. In the third section of this chapter was found the criteria used in this study. This section also contained an outline of the characteristics of rhetorical style. The fourth section demonstrated the reliability of the method.

Chapter IV. This chapter contained the findings in the analysis of certain elements of rhetorical style of nine selected speeches of Adolf Hitler.

Chapter V. In Chapter Five, the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the nine selected speeches were presented. Also, recommendations for further study upon Hitler as a speaker and as a

personality were presented.

Bibliography. The bibliography of material cited throughout the thesis was listed following Chapter Five. In it were listed the reference data for the footnotes and context of the paper.

Appendix I. In Appendix I of the study the nine selected addresses of Hitler are found with annotations within brackets wherever examples of rhetorical devices or figures of speech and language occurred.

Appendix II. In Appendix II of the study was included the test which was administered to check the reliability of the method.

CHAPTER II

"Certainly I think Hitler to be by far the most effective orator I have heard."

Sidney Huddleston
In My Time

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

I. BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Complete biographies on Hitler were rather limited. Several books were found which dealt with various phases of his career, but these were not complete biographies. Prior to 1936 no biographical material had been written, with the exception of Mein Kampf¹ which was of course not strictly limited to biographical material.

In 1936 Konrad Heiden authored a book entitled Hitler,² which was translated from the German by Winifred Ray. Alan Bullock authored probably the most complete biography to date. His book entitled Hitler: A Study in Tyranny,³ was published in 1952. A search of the Montana State University Library and the Missoula Public Library revealed only these two biographies and nothing of more recent date. The books which were selected that dealt with various phases of

¹Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1940).

²Konrad Heiden, Hitler (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1936).

³Alan Bullock, Hitler: A Study in Tyranny (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952).

Hitler's career were: The Voice of Destruction,⁴ by Herman Rauschnig. This book contained the author's recollections of Hitler's conversations with members of the Nazi hierarchy. Erich Koch-Weser, one of the founders of the Weimar Republic, recorded his personal impressions and observations of Hitler in the book entitled Hitler and Beyond,⁵ published in 1945.

Speech Monographs were surveyed from 1951 (the first listing of "A Bibliography of Rhetoric and Public Address") through the present (1959). Only three references were found:

Speech Monographs; June 1954.⁶

Bullock, Alan. Hitler: A Study in Tyranny. New York: Harper Brothers, 1952.

Hitler, Adolf. Secret Conversations (intro.). H. R. Trevor-Roper, New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953.

Speech Monographs; August, 1956.⁷

Kubizek, August. The Young Hitler I Knew (trans.). E. V. Anderson, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1955 (c1954).

A brief biographical sketch of Hitler was found in the article by H. W. D. Vernon in The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology.⁸

This article briefly analyzed the personality characteristics and

⁴Hermann Rauschnig, The Voice of Destruction (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940).

⁵Erich Koch-Weser, Hitler and Beyond (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1945).

⁶F. W. Haberman, "A Bibliography of Rhetoric and Public Address for the Year 1953," Speech Monographs, Vol. XXI (June 1954), p. 98.

⁷Ibid., Vol. XXIII (August 1956), p. 176.

⁸H. W. D. Vernon, "Hitler: Notes for a Case Study," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 37 (July 1942), pp. 295-308.

mannerisms of Hitler, in relation to his background, with an attempt at a psychological interpretation.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A knowledge of events contemporary with the period of Hitler's speech making was necessary for the purpose of this study. The best source material on this period was found in de Sales' comments in his edited work My New Order.⁹ However this work included only the years 1922 through June, 1941. Therefore it was necessary to find additional background information elsewhere. For this purpose the book Chronology of the Second World War¹⁰ was selected. The following issues of the New York Times were used in compiling press commentary on the speeches:

New York Times, Saturday, October 4, 1941, p. 1, col. 5.

New York Times, Monday, October 1, 1942, p. 1, col. 8.

New York Times, Sunday, November 7, 1943, p. 45, col. 7.

New York Times, Monday, November 8, 1943, p. 45, col. 4.

New York Times, Tuesday, November 9, 1943, p. 1, col. 6.

New York Times, Saturday, January 1, 1944, p. 1, col. 6.

New York Times, Monday, January 1, 1945, p. 1, col. 4.

Other studies which were found useful for historical background were:

Lochner, Louis P. (ed-trans.). The Goebbels Diaries
1942-1943. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1948.

Deuel, Wallace R. People Under Hitler. New York:
Harcourt Brace and Company, 1942.

⁹Raoul de Roussy de Sales (ed.), Adolf Hitler: My New Order
(Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941).

¹⁰Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chronology of the
Second World War (London: 1947).

Gilbert, Felix (ed.). Hitler Directs His War. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950.

III. OTHER STUDIES ABOUT HITLER

The Speech Monographs annually lists all the graduate dissertations and theses in the area of Speech reported from colleges and universities across the nation. An examination of these lists revealed only one study on the subject of Hitler. This study was conducted in 1949 by Paul William Wegner, Jr. at the University of Wisconsin. The study dealt with Hitler's Theory of Rhetoric.¹¹ That study was not available to the author of this study, nor was any information from it utilized in the preparation of this study.

The speeches of Hitler were compiled by Raoul de Roussy de Sales in the book My New Order.¹² This work contained commentary on the historical and political significance of the recorded speeches by period. De Sales' work also contained a chronological listing of important historical background dates before each speech, and press commentary by the New York Times, London Times and Le Temps. The speeches delivered by Hitler after June 22, 1941 (the last recorded in de Sales' study), were obtained from Vital Speeches of the Day for the years 1941 - 1942 - 1943 - 1944.

In the Speech Monographs of August, 1949, there appeared the first part of a two part article by Ross Scanlan. This article, "The

¹¹F. H. Knowler, "Graduate Theses--An Index of Graduate Work in Speech," Speech Monographs, Vol. XVII (June, 1950), p. 200.

¹²de Sales, op. cit.

Nazi Party Speaker System,"¹³ dealt with Hitler's theory of propaganda as it appeared in Mein Kampf, and was interpreted by the official Nazi Party speaker's publication Unser Wille und Weg¹⁴ in issuing party directives relative to the training which the speakers for the National Socialist movement received. The second part which appeared in the June, 1950, issue of the Speech Monographs,¹⁵ was a continuation of the first. The Quarterly Journal of Speech of December, 1951, published an article by Ross Scanlan.¹⁶ In this article the author discussed the Nazi Party speakers and their theory of rhetoric as opposed to traditional rhetoric. In particular Scanlan discussed the theory and practice of Hans Krebs, one of the Party speakers, his association with Hitler and the Nazi Party, and his treatise on public speaking which was published in 1921 and used as a guide for national socialist orators. The Quarterly Journal of Speech also published an article by F. W. Lambertson,¹⁷ in which the author discussed the oratorical technique of Hitler. In this article the author also recorded the personal observations of one of Hitler's elite guards, Eitel W. Dobert, who had witnessed Hitler's technique at a mass meeting of the Party in Dresden.¹⁸

¹³Ross Scanlan, "The Nazi Party Speakers System," Speech Monographs, Vol. XVI (August, 1949), pp. 82-97.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 82, 91.

¹⁵Ibid., Vol. XVII (June, 1950), pp. 134-48.

¹⁶Ross Scanlan, "The Nazi Rhetorician," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XXXVII (December, 1951), pp. 431-40.

¹⁷F. W. Lambertson, "Hitler, The Orator," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XXVIII (April, 1942), pp. 123-30.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 123-24.

This study, then, as far as could be determined, was not identical to any study done previously and offers new evidence to supplement the work done on Hitler.

CHAPTER III

"In this field he (Hitler) is, so far as I know, unequalled."

Edger Mowrer
Germany Puts the Clock Back

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

Adolf Hitler was one of the most prolific orators of all time. In his career he delivered well over 1,500 speeches. A great number of these were delivered during his rise to power prior to 1933, and immediately after. Approximately 500 speeches were delivered by Hitler between 1933 and 1936. No more than 50 major addresses were delivered to the German people between 1933 and December 31, 1944.¹ The speeches delivered prior to January 30, 1933, the period of his rise to power, were not used. Thus only the speeches delivered between January 30, 1933, and December 31, 1944, were considered for selection. The availability of the speeches in translation was limited; however, the speeches which were selected represented the speaking of Hitler over a period of eleven years, in various places, on different occasions and under changing conditions. To aid in the selection of the speeches and to make possible the study of style variation, the period 1933-1945 was divided into three sub-periods: 1) Pre-War Germany, 2) Germany on the Offensive, and 3) Germany on the Defensive.

¹Raoul de Roussy de Sales (ed.), My New Order: Adolf Hitler (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941), p. xiii.

I. DIVISION OF THE PERIOD 1933-1945

Pre-War Germany, 1933-1939

Hitler accepted Hindenburg's offer to become Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933.² The German Reichstag, on March 23, passed an act giving all authority to the Hitler Government and adjourned sine die.³ The Reichstag elections were held on November 12, 1933. Of the 45,142,000 eligible voters, 42,988,000 voted; 39,639,000 for the N.S.D.A.P.; 3,349,000 invalid.⁴

Germany on the Offensive, 1939-1942

The Czech frontier was crossed on March 15, 1939, by German troops. Hitler proclaimed the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.⁵ Poland was invaded at 5:30 a.m. September 1, 1939.⁶ Germany continued offensive actions with the invasion of Denmark and Norway on April 9, 1940, and Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg on May 10.⁷ Dunkirk was evacuated on May 28, and the Battle of France began June 5, 1940.⁸ The German forces entered Paris on June 14.⁹ On July 10, 1940, the Battle of Britain commenced.¹⁰ The German offensive continued. On September 19, 1941, the German forces occupied Kiev, a decisive step in the invasion of Russia,¹¹ and by the 28th of August the German

²ibid., p. 142.

³ibid., p. 152.

⁴ibid., p. 228.

⁵Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chronology of the Second World War (London: 1947), p. 7.

⁶ibid., p. 10.

⁷ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁸ibid., p. 23.

⁹ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰ibid., p. 28.

¹¹ibid., p. 78.

forces had penetrated Russian positions southwest of Stalingrad.¹²

Germany on the Defensive, 1942-1945

The United States entered the war on December 11, 1941.¹³ On September 23, 1942, the German offensive in Russia was checked as Soviet forces assumed the offensive northwest of Stalingrad.¹⁴ In North Africa on October 23-24, the Battle of Alamein began: Rommel's main position was penetrated by the 8th Army.¹⁵ The Allied landing in North Africa began November 7-8. Units of the U. S. Army, Navy and Air Force, together with British troops, supported by the R.A.F., in a convoy of over 500 ships, escorted by more than 350 ships of the Royal Navy, under the unified command of Lieutenant General Eisenhower, made landings at numerous points on the coast of French North Africa.¹⁶ The Russians, on November 22, 1942, announced the Stalingrad Counter-Offensive had begun with a penetration of German positions to a depth of 40 to 50 miles.¹⁷ On February 2, 1943, the remaining German forces at Stalingrad capitulated. Forty-five thousand German prisoners were captured and 146,000 German dead were burned.¹⁸

Sicily was invaded on July 9-10, 1943, by British and American airborne troops.¹⁹ On July 25 Mussolini resigned and was arrested.²⁰ The Allied forces continued their northern thrust and landed in Italy on September 3.²¹ General Eisenhower announced the unconditional

¹²ibid., p. 140.

¹³ibid., p. 93.

¹⁴ibid., p. 144.

¹⁵ibid., p. 149.

¹⁶ibid., p. 151.

¹⁷ibid., p. 155.

¹⁸ibid., p. 167.

¹⁹ibid., p. 193.

²⁰ibid., p. 196.

²¹ibid., p. 205.

surrender of Italy September 8, 1943.²² Fifth Army troops landed at Anzio January 22, 1944.²³ And by June 6, Allied naval forces, supported by strong air forces, began landing Allied armies on the northern coast of France between Cherbourg and La Havre.²⁴ Allied forces landed on the southern coast of France August 15.²⁵ By August 23 Paris was liberated; Rumania accepted Russian armistice terms on the same date.²⁶ Allied forces crossed the Rhine March 23-24, 1945.²⁷ According to evidence collected by British intelligence sources and published November 1, 1945, Hitler and Eva Braun committed suicide on April 30, in a bunker of the Reich Chancellery in Berlin.²⁸ On May 7, 1945, Germany surrendered unconditionally to the Western Allies and Russia.²⁹

II. SELECTION OF SPEECHES

Three speeches were selected from each of the above three periods. A study of the circumstances surrounding each speech clarified its position in relation to its historical period.

The following examination was made of the background of each speech followed by press commentary from leading world newspapers. The addresses were considered in relation to the three periods and in chronological order, starting with the speech of September 1, 1933.

Pre-War Germany, 1933-1939

Speech of September 1, 1933. The speech of September 1, 1933,

²²ibid., p. 206.

²³ibid., p. 236.

²⁴ibid., p. 266.

²⁵ibid., p. 285.

²⁶ibid., p. 287.

²⁷ibid., p. 336.

²⁸ibid., p. 347.

²⁹ibid., p. 350.

was delivered in Nuremberg³⁰ following Hindenburg's offer of January 30 to Hitler to become Chancellor in a Nazi-Conservative coalition Government.³¹ In March the Reichstag gave all authority to Hitler and adjourned sine die.³² Hitler declared, on August 27, 1933, that Germany would never surrender the Saar, no matter what the plebiscite of November 12 decided. The Reichstag election was also to be held on November 12.³³ This speech was one of the many pre-election addresses to the German nation.

Speech of September 9, 1936. The speech of September 9, 1936, was also delivered in Nuremberg at a Party Convention.³⁴ The speech was selected because it was representative of the speeches which were delivered to the Party conventions during this period. In the speech Hitler announced a Four Year Plan to make Germany self-sufficient.

The following were press comments on the speech:

New York Times, September 11--There is no reason to believe that he is satisfied or that he has relinquished the determination expressed in Mein Kampf not only to absorb Austria but also to expand Germany's frontiers eastward to include within the Reich all Germans "for the safeguarding of the race." This could be achieved only through the dismemberment of Poland and Czechoslovakia--and this means war; or the amputation of a portion of the Ukraine from Soviet Russia--and this means war.

These territorial ambitions help to explain Hitler's violent and uncompromising hatred of Soviet Russia and his wooing of Great Britain. If Western Europe and especially Great Britain can be persuaded that Germany is in fact the bulwark against communism, British pressure may be brought to bear on France and its Eastern European allies to permit

³⁰de Sales, op. cit., p. 191.

³¹ibid., p. 142.

³²ibid., p. 152.

³³ibid., p. 228.

³⁴ibid., p. 386.

German expansion at Russia's expense. There are influential British Conservatives who favor this "solution. . . ."

Hitler's reaffirmation of peaceful intentions may be accepted as sincere. But are his ambitions consistent with a peaceful Europe? Does his denunciation of democracy as the forerunner of anarchy help toward stabilization in a troubled world? Does his extolling of the military spirit strengthen the forces of conciliation? To ask these questions is to answer them. Hitler has shown that Nazi Germany is still on the march. The direction and nature of its future advances may determine the issues of peace or war.³⁵

London Times, September 10--. . . The general tone of the proclamation would seem to support the belief that while the Nazi are so much preoccupied with the manipulation of the bolshevist bogey on the stage of foreign affairs there will be a relaxation of the pressure which militant forms of Nazi activity have been exerting at home. Both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches will presumably benefit by this concentration on foreign affairs. Even the Jews may find themselves no worse off for some little time to come although the wild cheering which greeted a casual but unfavorable reference to Jews in the proclamation today was an indication of the extent to which an announcement of further anti-Jewish legislation would have been welcomed in extremist party circles.³⁶

Speech of September 12, 1938. The speech of September 12, 1938, to a Party rally, was delivered in Nuremberg.³⁷ Considerable tension existed in Europe. On September 7, 1938, France had called up reservists to man the Maginot Line. President Roosevelt denied on September 9 that the United States was allied with the European democracies in a "Stop Hitler" movement.³⁸

On September 11, violent Sudeten riots took place in Czechoslovakia.³⁹ The British and French called full cabinet meetings in London and Paris on September 12, as Nazi disorders continued in the

³⁵ibid., pp. 398-99.

³⁶ibid., p. 399.

³⁷ibid., p. 515.

³⁸ibid., p. 504.

³⁹ibid.

Sudetenland.⁴⁰

Following were the press comments:

Le Temps, September 14--Chancellor Hitler left matters in an indecisive state. He did not close the door against a peaceable solution of the Sudeten German problem, he put no obstacles in the way of continued negotiations within the framework of Lord Runciman's mediation. But he voiced what were but thinly veiled threats for the future, which were not calculated to dispel the uneasiness which now troubles the life of Europe. The vehement tone of his speech is regrettable. It is quite unprecedented, we believe, that the head of one state should express himself publicly about the head of another in the terms which Chancellor Hitler used in speaking of President Benes. The French will keep in mind the Chancellor's declaration that he would like to put an end to all hostility between Germany and France.⁴¹

London Times, September 13--In his concluding speech to the Nuremberg rally last night, Herr Hitler put forward a firm demand for self-determination on behalf of the Sudeten German subjects of Czechoslovakia. In other respects the speech fell short of expectations. It contained no clear-cut program for a solution of the Central European problem. But at least any temptation to make a coup, which the sight of his surrounding soldiers, airmen, massed storm troopers, and enthusiastic followers might have prompted, has been resisted for the present. The speech in fact, though not altogether reassuring, was not violently disturbing.⁴²

New York Times, September 13--Herr Hitler did not declare war in the anxiously awaited speech delivered in Nuremberg yesterday, but no one who listened to that clear, harsh explosive voice coming over the air to the accompaniment of a thunderous undertone of "Sieg Heil!" received any assurance that he meant peace. . . .⁴³

Germany on the Offensive, 1939-1942

Speech of September 19, 1939. The speech of September 19, 1939, was Hitler's first as a military conqueror. It was delivered

⁴⁰ibid., p. 504.

⁴¹ibid., p. 514.

⁴²ibid., p. 515.

⁴³ibid.

in Danzig.⁴⁴ On September 1, German armies had invaded Poland.⁴⁵ Hitler had explained his position and intentions in a speech to the Reichstag on the same day (September 1).⁴⁶ By September 3, Britain and France were at war with Germany and on September 10, Canada declared war.⁴⁷ President Roosevelt called the Congress to revise the Neutrality Law on September 13.⁴⁸ Russia in compliance with the Soviet-German pact sent troops into eastern Poland on September 17.⁴⁹

Following were the press comments on the speech:

New York Times, September 20--The most noteworthy feature of Hitler's first speech as a military conqueror is that it contains nothing new. . . . Hitler is still explaining why he invaded Poland. Despite the pleas of President Roosevelt, the Pope and the Oslo Powers, the offers to mediate of King Leopold and Queen Wilhelmina, he is still shouting he sought everywhere for peace and nobody would give it to him. . . . Hitler scoffs at the folly of those who try to rupture the "unbreakable ties" between Germany and Italy, or rather between "myself and Mussolini." But he still clings to the idea that he can drive a wedge between France and Britain.⁵⁰

London Times, September 20--. . . some of it (the speech) reads like a rehash of "Mein Kampf" with its gibes at the so-called "Polish State." . . . Proposals which were never communicated in full to any of the Allied Governments . . . now masquerade . . . as the earnest efforts of a zealous seeker for peace. . . . Such a speech calls for a practical and not an argumentative reply. . . .⁵¹

Le Temps, September 21--. . . In his speech in Danzig, M. Hitler, a prisoner of his own crimes, merely argued in his own defense against the evidence, merely dealt in falsehoods in order to conceal from the eyes of his people the tragic aspects of the situation created by the German resort to force, to conceal inescapable realities. He repeated for the hundredth

⁴⁴ibid., p. 706.

⁴⁵ibid., p. 693.

⁴⁶ibid., pp. 683-90.

⁴⁷ibid., p. 693.

⁴⁸ibid.

⁴⁹ibid., pp. 680, 693.

⁵⁰ibid., p. 706.

⁵¹ibid.

time his charges against the "Diktat" of Versailles.

. . . M. Hitler limited himself to proclaiming that he has no war aims in regard to France and England. What was noteworthy about the Danzig speech was that he made no really constructive proposals, and that he did not explain the circumstances and the conditions of the collusion between Germany and Russia. . . .⁵²

Speech of September 4, 1940. The speech of September 4, 1940, was delivered at the opening of the Wartime Winter Relief Campaign in Berlin at the Sportpalast.⁵³ The Dutch forces had given up resistance by May 14, and the Germans began to close the pocket on the northern coast of France.⁵⁴ Dunkirk was evacuated by June 4. The Germans in the meantime had begun their aerial attack against Paris on the 3rd of June. In the light of this phenomenal success the Italians declared war on the Allies on the 10th of June. By June 14 Paris had fallen and the Franco-German armistice was signed in the forest of Compiegne.⁵⁵

Churchill anticipated the ". . . Battle of Britain . . .," in his speech on June 18, 1940.⁵⁶ He was not long in waiting; on July 29, the Germans launched mass air raids over Britain and announced total blockade of British waters on August 17.⁵⁷ President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Mackenzie King met on August 18, and established a joint board of defense for the United States and Canada.⁵⁸ On

⁵²ibid., pp. 706-07.

⁵³ibid., p. 840.

⁵⁴ibid., p. 806.

⁵⁵ibid., p. 808.

⁵⁶Huston Peterson (ed.), A Treasury of the World's Great Speeches (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), p. 781.

⁵⁷de Sales, op. cit., p. 840.

⁵⁸ibid., pp. 840-41.

August 28, 1940, the United States Senate passed the Selective Service Bill.⁵⁹

Following was the press commentary on the speech:

New York Times--. . . Hitler's humor is rare, but his patience has even stricter limits. A dozen times it has reached "the end"--in Czecho-Slovakia, in Poland, in France, in Rumania, over and over again in the past two months with those stubborn British--and now once more he has come to the last limit of his forbearance. Why, then, does he hold his hand? Threats as definite as last night's he has made many times before; yet in no case have they been the prelude to immediate action. Before his former coups, on the contrary, he was at pains to reassure the victim. France was worn down by a winter of waiting. Belgium, the Netherlands and Norway, after many alarms, were lulled into a sense of security before the sudden pounce. . . .

The British cannot afford to discount by a decimal the chances of invasion, as Anthony Eden warned on the anniversary of Britain's declaration of war. But the contrast between Hitler's conduct before previous invasions and his present tactics, the loud warnings that he is surely coming, give rise to questions as to why "General Action" is stalled, and why Hitler overstrains his well-worn patience. Even for that laughing audience it could have been no joke when he broke the news that the British spoke of a three-year war but that Germany was preparing for five years. . . .⁶⁰

Speech of October 3, 1941. The speech of October 3, 1941, was delivered at the annual Winter Relief Campaign at the Sportpalast in Berlin.⁶¹

The Germans had launched their first air raid on Moscow, July 21, 1941.⁶² On July 27-28 the Luftwaffe launched a two hour air raid against London; this was the first since May.⁶³ Through August,

⁵⁹ibid., p. 841.

⁶⁰ibid., pp. 853-54.

⁶¹Vital Speeches, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (November 1, 1941), p. 36.

⁶²Royal Institute of International Affairs, op. cit., p. 68.

⁶³ibid., p. 69.

German air raids continued against Moscow.⁶⁴ German communiques through August and early September reported advances in the Russian campaign. Russian communiques affirmed these reports.⁶⁵ By September 19, the German forces had occupied Kiev and on September 25, German parachute troops attacked Crimea.⁶⁶

Following was the press commentary on the speech:

New York Times, October 4, 1941--Reichsfuehrer Hitler told the German people that his forces had dealt Russia a paralyzing blow and that a German victory was being hastened by a "gigantic" new development under way forty-eight hours on the Eastern Front. Opening the Winter Relief campaign with his first speech since May 10, he asserted that Russian captives numbered 2,500,000 and Soviet plane losses 14,500 . . . Herr Hitler said Russia "is already broken and will never rise again."

. . . He admitted he had been mistaken about the "gigantic" Russian war preparations, and said all Europe had escaped destruction "only by the skin of our teeth." He boasted "There is now no adversary who cannot be forced to yield by an available mass of numbers." Against the enemies outlay of billions he stressed that he had available all the labor of Europe . . .

The Sportpalast contained more than 20,000 uniformed party members who gave their leader a loud welcome as he entered the hall.⁶⁷

Germany on the Defensive, 1942-1945

Speech of September 30, 1942. The speech of September 30, 1942, was delivered to the Nazi Party at the Sportpalast in Berlin.⁶⁸

During August and September the Allied and Russian air operations, on the western Front and in the Mediterranean area, became

⁶⁴ibid., pp. 70-71. ⁶⁵ibid., pp. 71-78. ⁶⁶ibid., pp. 78-79.

⁶⁷New York Times, October 4, 1941, p. 1, col. 5.

⁶⁸Royal Institute of International Affairs, op. cit., p. 144.

more numerous; the Luftwaffe operations were reported on a reduced scale.⁶⁹ On August 26, the Russians announced that a successful offensive on the Moscow front had begun.⁷⁰ The German air raids during September were reported on a greatly reduced scale.⁷¹ The Russians announced the launching of their counter offensive northwest of Stalingrad on September 23, 1942.⁷²

Following was the press commentary on the speech:

New York Times, October 1, 1942--Adolf Hitler told the German people yesterday in his first address in five months that Germany would hold her gains during the coming year and attack where necessary. He promised capture of Stalingrad and said that all preparations had been made to meet any effort to establish a second front. He asserted that Germany would never "capitulate" but would emerge victorious . . .⁷³

Speech of November 8, 1943. The speech of November 8, 1943, was delivered to the 'Old Comrades' of the Nazi Party at Munich.⁷⁴ Italy had surrendered on September 8, 1943, and on October 13 declared war on Germany.⁷⁵ Russia continued counter offensive action and on November 7, Kiev, the "Mother of Russian Cities," was recaptured by Russian forces.⁷⁶ On November 6, 1943, Premier Joseph Stalin, speaking to the Moscow Workers on the eve of the 26th Anniversary of the Bolshevist Revolution, made this comment: Now as you know Hitler

⁶⁹ibid., pp. 135-36.

⁷⁰ibid., p. 139.

⁷¹ibid., p. 141.

⁷²ibid., p. 144.

⁷³New York Times, October 1, 1942, p. 1, col. 8.

⁷⁴Royal Institute of International Affairs, op. cit., p. 221.

⁷⁵ibid., pp. 206, 214.

⁷⁶New York Times, November 8, 1943, p. 45, col. 3.

has not won world domination. He didn't live up to it. May he now go to hell."⁷⁷

The tide had surely turned for Germany. Goebbels felt the tension of the German people. He made the following comment concerning the Fuehrer's intended speech on November 8:

The Fuehrer has the intention of possibly going to Munich November 8 to talk about the over-all situation. Although I don't believe he'll be able to do this, it would be wonderful if he could. In our present situation the people must be cheered up. They have been made somewhat lethargic by continuous alarming news and misfortune. If the Fuehrer could persuade himself to survey the situation in a big speech, this would almost be equal to winning a battle.⁷⁸

Following the speech to the 'Old Comrades' this comment was made by the Propaganda Minister:

During his speech the Fuehrer was in his best form. . . . He had many sparkling turns of phrase. His uncompromising obduracy in proclaiming our will to resist was extremely convincing. This speech will undoubtedly have a deep effect on the German people. Foreign countries, too, will be very much impressed. . . .

I am very happy the Fuehrer has spoken again after so long an interval. It was high time. It was, so to speak, a case of his speaking the redeeming word. The Fuehrer, too, seemed deeply gratified to stand among his fighting comrades again and talk to them.⁷⁹

Following was the commentary by the press:

New York Times, November 9, 1943--On the twentieth anniversary of his abortive beer hall putsch, Adolf Hitler told his party leaders Germany would never capitulate, even though the demands he was making on his armies were "apparently impossible." He declared that the situation was rather

⁷⁷ibid., November 7, 1943, p. 45, col. 3.

⁷⁸Louis P. Lochner, The Goebbels Diaries 1942-1943 (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948), p. 500.

⁷⁹ibid., p. 505.

desperate but held that there could be "no other thought than reckless continuation." He warned he would not hesitate to put a few hundred defeatist "criminals" to death, as a retribution for bombings in the Reich. He admitted America could not be reached but that one State (obviously Britain) could.⁸⁰

Speech of December 31, 1944. The speech of December 31, 1944, was Hitler's last New Year's Day address to the German people.⁸¹ The Allied forces on all European fronts were taking the offensive. Allied air raids were increasing in numbers and intensity.⁸²

On the same occasion, a year earlier (December 31, 1943), the Fuehrer had evidently sensed the darkening clouds. An Associated Press writer made this interesting observation by way of comparison:

Adolf Hitler was quoted last night as having told the German people in a New Year's proclamation for 1944 that "In this war there will be no victors and losers." That is not the way the German people heard it from Hitler in his previous New Year's proclamations. Following are quotations culled from previous New Year's proclamations:

1941, to the armed forces: "The year 1941 will bring the completion of the greatest victory in our history."

1942, to the armed forces: "Now this year 1941 lies behind us . . . it will . . . enter history as the year of the greatest victories of all time . . . You have thrown back the enemy more than 1,000 kilometers."

1942, to the German people: "National Socialist Germany will neither be defeated nor even contemplate capitulation . . . the day will come when one of the contending parties in this struggle will collapse. That will not be Germany we know!"⁸³

This speech, too, was an indication of Hitler's realization that the situation was indeed grave for Germany.

⁸⁰New York Times, November 9, 1943, p. 1, col. 6.

⁸¹Supra, n. 28.

⁸²Royal Institute of International Affairs, op. cit., pp. 298-316.

⁸³New York Times, January 1, 1944, p. 4, col. 3.

Following was the press commentary on the speech:

New York Times, January 1, 1945--At five minutes past midnight, Adolf Hitler, breaking a silence maintained since the attempt on his life last July, spoke over the radio to boast of his "millions of new soldiers and artillery corps" and to affirm that Germany would never capitulate because to do so would be "enslavement." The German dictator said in a twenty-five minute speech that war would not end before 1946 "unless by a German victory."⁸⁴

III. SELECTION OF CRITERIA FOR THE ANALYSIS

Selection of the criteria used in this study was based upon a review of the writings of eight of the more prominent rhetoricians of the western tradition. These rhetoricians included: Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Whately, Herbert Spencer, Glen E. Mills, Genung and Brigance. This selection represented rhetoricians from each of the three great periods in the development of rhetoric, that is, the ancient, the early modern, and the modern. Aristotle was Greek, Cicero early Roman, Quintilian a Roman Spaniard, Whately an early 19 century Englishman, Spencer an early 20 century Englishman, Genung was an early 20 century American, and Mills and Brigance are contemporary Americans.

From the writings of these men, their comments concerning the rhetorical division of style were noted. This study was devoted to the application of certain elements of this division to the selected speeches of Adolf Hitler.

Concerning rhetoric itself, Aristotle stated: "So let Rhetoric be defined as the faculty (power) of discovering in a particular case

⁸⁴ibid., January 1, 1945, p. 1, col. 4.

what are the available means of persuasion."⁸⁵ Rhetoricians since have basically agreed with this observation. Cicero divided the art of rhetoric into invention, arrangement, style, delivery and memory with these observations.

I learned that he must first hit upon what to say; then manage and marshall his discoveries, not merely in orderly fashion, but with a discriminating eye for the exact weight as it were of each argument; next to go on to array them in the adornments of style; after that keep them guarded in his⁸⁶ memory; and in the end deliver them with effect and charm . . .

Aristotle, while giving least consideration to the division of style, nevertheless recognized its importance.

It is not enough to know what to say--one must also know how to say it. The right way of doing this contributes much to the right impression of a speech . . . for success in delivery is of the utmost importance to the effect of a speech.⁸⁷

Cicero justified the importance of style by the beauty of the language produced. He mentioned four requisites of style for oratory.

Now what better style of expression can there be--I will consider delivery later--than that our language should be correct, lucid, ornate and suitably appropriate to the particular matter under consideration.⁸⁸

Quintilian considered style from two points of view:

Style is revealed both [1] in individual words and [2] in groups of words. As regards the former, we must see that they are Latin, clear, elegant and well-adapted to produce the desired effect. As regards the latter,

⁸⁵Lane Cooper (trans.), The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, Inc., 1932), p. 7.

⁸⁶E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham (trans.), De Oratore of Cicero (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1942), Vol. I, p. 99.

⁸⁷Cooper, op. cit., pp. 182-83.

⁸⁸Sutton and Rackham, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 31.

they must be correct, aptly placed and adorned with suitable figures.⁸⁹

Mills used a traditionally accepted definition of style which encompassed the observations of Aristotle and Cicero.

In the literature of rhetoric there are many definitions of style, but most of them are essentially alike. They indicate that style, as a constituent of rhetoric, embraces the choice of words (for precision, imagery, and so forth) and sentence movement (for force, charm, and so forth).⁹⁰

Brigance made essentially the same observation as did Mills, pointing out the three fundamental qualities of style.

Authorities are generally agreed that there are three fundamental qualities upon which the elements of good style are based. These are (1) clearness, (2) force, and (3) ease, beauty, rhythm: clearness that the speaker's meaning may be understood; force that it may compel attention and so aid the memory; ease that it may not offend the ear and so distract from the thought.⁹¹

The area of style was subdivided into four parts with which the rhetoricians seemed most concerned. They were Diction and Word Choice, Sentence Structure, Rhetorical Devices, Figures of Speech and Language.

In order to obtain a clearer distinction of these four subdivisions, it was necessary to take each separately and examine it in terms of the works of the eight rhetoricians. For this purpose the following outline of the characteristics of rhetorical style was constructed.

⁸⁹H. E. Butler (trans.), Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), Vol. III, p. 195.

⁹⁰Glen E. Mills, Composing the Speech (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), p. 267.

⁹¹William Norwood Brigance, Speech Composition (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, Inc., 1953), p. 218.

An Outline of the Characteristics of Rhetorical Style

I. Diction and Word Choice

A. Aristotle:

To diction artistic principles may be applied; and hence, again, we find able writers who win prizes (that is, through artistic management of the diction), . . . for the written compositions owe more of their effect to their diction than to their thought.⁹²

. . . a good style is, first of all, clear. The proof is that language which does not convey a clear meaning fails to perform the very function of language. The style, again, should be neither mean nor above the dignity of the subject, but appropriate.⁹³

Clearness is secured through the use of name-words (nouns and adjectives) and, verbs, that are current terms . . . of these, the speaker should use rare words, compound words, and coined words, but sparingly and seldom.⁹⁴

B. Quintilian:

. . . it is a blemish to have too many monosyllables in succession, since the inevitable result is that, owing to the frequency of the pauses, the rhythm degenerates into a series of jerks . . . the converse is also true as regards long syllables, since their accumulation makes our rhythm drag.⁹⁵

C. Mills:

In brief, we are often judged by the words (as well as the company) we keep.

Appropriateness to the subject and the occasion is a second determinant of usage . . .

A third determinant of usage is the general purpose of the speech. . . .

Finally, appropriateness to the speaker himself should be a criterion of usage.⁹⁶

⁹²Cooper, op. cit., p. 184. ⁹³ibid., p. 185.

⁹⁴ibid., pp. 185-86. ⁹⁵Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 531.

⁹⁶Glen E. Mills, Composing the Speech (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), p. 284.

D. Brigance:

Neither Conrad nor Kipling was expressing a new discovery. Julius Caesar, man of action as well as master of words, had anticipated them by two thousand years. 'The choice of words,' said he, 'is the source of eloquence,' of power.

In turning our attention to the use of words in speechmaking, we note first that man thinks in images, or rather in a succession of images. Not only do words determine the form which these images take in the mind, but they also have clangs, nuances, and echoes which determine the harmony with which they are received.⁹⁷

The raw materials with which a speaker must pattern his thoughts are words. Therefore, the choice of words goes very far toward determining the ultimate vividness of style. So important is this element that we shall consider it in some detail.⁹⁸

E. Whately: [Abstract and Concrete Words]

With respect then to 'Proper' terms, the principal rule for guiding our Choice with a view to Energy is to prefer, ever, those words which are the least abstract and general.⁹⁹

Inexperienced Preachers frequently err in this way, by dwelling on Virtue and Vice, Piety and Irreligion, in the abstract, without particularizing; forgetting that while they include much, they impress little or nothing.¹⁰⁰

F. Spencer: [Abstract and Concrete Words]

The concrete terms produce more vivid impressions than abstract ones, and should, when possible, be used instead, is a current maxim of composition. As Dr. Campbell says, 'The more general the terms are, the picture is the fainter; the more special they are, 'tis the brighter.' We should avoid such a sentence as:

⁹⁷Brigance, op. cit., p. 199.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 220.

⁹⁹Richard Whately, Rhetoric (London: Charles Griffin and Company, 1872), p. 77.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 78.

In proportion as the manners, customs, and amusements of a nation are cruel and barbarous, the regulation of their penal code will be severe.

And in place of it we should write:

In proportion as men delight in battles, bull-fights, and combats of gladiators, will they punish by hanging, burning, and the rack.

This superiority of specific expressions is clearly due to a saving of the effort required to translate words into thoughts. As we do not think in generals but in particulars--as, whenever any class of things is referred to, we represent it to ourselves by calling to mind individual members of it; it follows that when an abstract word is used, the hearer or reader has to choose from his stock of images, one or more, by which he may figure to himself the genus mentioned. In doing this, some delay must arise--some force be expended; and if, by employing a specific term, an appropriate image can be at once suggested, an economy is achieved, and a more vivid impression produced.¹⁰¹

II. Sentence Structure

A. Whately:

If a sentence be so constructed that the meaning of each part can be taken in as we proceed, (though it be evident that the sense is not brought to a close,) its length will be little or no impediment to perspicuity; but if the former part of the sentence conveys no distinct meaning till we arrive nearly at the end, however plain it may then appear, it will be on the whole deficient in perspicuity.¹⁰²

In respect to the Construction of sentences, it is an obvious caution to abstain from such as are too long; but it is a mistake to suppose that the obscurity of many long sentences depends on their length alone; a well constructed sentence of very considerable length may be more readily understood, than a shorter one which is more awkwardly framed. . . . The caution just given is the more necessary to be insisted on, because an author is apt to be misled by reading over a sentence to

¹⁰¹ Herbert Spencer, Philosophy of Style (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1933), pp. 15-16.

¹⁰² Whately, op. cit., p. 106.

himself, and being satisfied on finding it perfectly intelligible, forgetting that he himself has the advantage, which a hearer has not, of knowing at the beginning of the sentence what is coming in the close.

. . . it is a matter of some difficulty to keep in mind the necessity of carefully and copiously explaining principles which by long habit have come to assume in our minds the appearance of self-evident truths.¹⁰³

B. Spencer:

Further, it may be noticed that extreme brevity is another characteristic of passionate language. The sentences are generally incomplete; the particles are omitted; and frequently important words are left to be gathered from the context. Great admiration does not vent itself in a precise proposition, as--'It is beautiful'; but in the simple exclamation--'Beautiful!' He who, when reading a lawyer's letter, should say 'Vile rascal!' would be thought angry; while 'He is a vile rascal!' should imply comparative coolness. Thus we see that alike in the order of words, in the frequent use of figures, and in extreme conciseness, the natural utterances of excitement conform to the theoretical conditions of forcible expression.¹⁰⁴

C. Mills:

In order to achieve that variety in style which has been considered previously, the sentences in a discourse should be built in several ways. . . . Variety in sentence structure can be achieved in terms of length, position of modifiers, inversion, interrupted movement, periodic and loose structure, parallel and balanced clauses, and the four kinds of sentences.

Sentences in speech vary between two words and hundreds in length. Extremely short ones are forceful, while long ones build up cumulated effects. The extended use of either type produces monotony.¹⁰⁵

The four kinds of sentences which may be used are called simple, compound, complex, and compound-complex. A simple sentence has one independent subject-verb statement: "The snow on the mountain near our place was

¹⁰³ibid., pp. 70-71.

¹⁰⁴Spencer, op. cit., p. 37.

¹⁰⁵Mills, op. cit., pp. 304-05.

ten feet deep last winter." A compound sentence has at least two main statements without a subordinate clause: "Each kind of college is best for certain purposes; one should be expected to differ from the other." A complex sentence has a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. A compound-complex sentence has at least two main clauses and one or more subordinate ones.¹⁰⁶

D. Brigrance:

Sentences may be long or short, with infinite gradations between. Neither is better than the other, for each length has its own purpose. Monotony arises from the overuse of either one. Says Hill: "In unbroken succession, short sentences distract or confuse the reader (hearer), long sentences fatigue him."¹⁰⁷

Sentences are either loose or periodic. The loose sentence is one in which each qualifying element is added to the idea to which it belongs with no attempt at artistic or suspended grouping . . . The periodic sentence, on the other hand, by having these qualifying elements before the idea to which they belong, suspends the meaning until the end.¹⁰⁸

The truth is that speakers must use shorter sentences today than they might use a century ago. The tempo of industrial life is faster. People are in more of a hurry. More voices compete for a hearing . . . When any sentence gets over 20 words it starts to be "fairly difficult," when it gets over 25 words it becomes "difficult," and when it goes beyond 30 words it becomes "very difficult." This much has been discovered by research.¹⁰⁹

III. Rhetorical Devices

A. Allusion:

1. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

A hint at something, presumably, but not necessarily, known to the reader, frequently from literature or mythology.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ibid., p. 307.

¹⁰⁷Brigrance, op. cit., p. 233.

¹⁰⁸ibid., p. 234.

¹⁰⁹ibid., pp. 238-39.

¹¹⁰Charles Duffy and Henry Pettit, A Dictionary of Literary Terms (Denver, Colorado: University of Denver Press, 1951), p. 3.

2. Mills:

A casual or passing reference to literature, history, the Bible, and so forth, without necessarily quoting it or identifying the source, is an allusion.¹¹¹

3. Brigance:

Allusion is based upon the great principle of 'reference to experience' or to things with which the hearer, from previous reading, seeing, touching, tasting, smelling, or hearing, is already familiar. We may define allusion as an implicit reference to, or indirect suggestion of, 'some incident, expression, or custom in history or literature of life' that the hearer may be trusted to understand.¹¹² [italics not in text]

4. Bacon & Breen:

Allusion to facts, events, characters, stories outside of work of art itself is so usual with writers that allusion has become a technical word in the vocabulary of critics. An allusion is a reference to something; it may be direct or implied, it may be either simple or complex in its application to meaning within the work of art.¹¹³

B. Contrast - Antithesis:

1. Whately:

One clause may be opposed to another, by means of some contrast between corresponding words in each, whether or not the clauses be so connected that the former could not, by itself, be a complete sentence . . . there can be no doubt that this figure is calculated to add greatly to Energy. Every thing is rendered more striking by contrast; and almost every kind of subject-matter affords materials for contrasted expressions. Truth is opposed to error; wise conduct to foolish; different causes often produce opposite effects; different circumstances dictate to produce opposite conduct; opposite impressions may be made by the

¹¹¹Mills, op. cit., p. 300. ¹¹²Brigance, op. cit., p. 250.

¹¹³Wallace A. Bacon and Robert S. Breen, Literature as Experience (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), p. 136.

same object, on different minds; and every extreme is opposed to the Mean, and to the other extreme.¹¹⁴

2. Spencer:

In Antithesis, again, we may recognize the same general truth. The opposition of two thoughts that are the reverse of each other in some prominent trait, insures an impressive effect; and does this by giving a momentary relaxation to the faculties addressed. If, after a series of images of an ordinary character, appealing in a moderate degree to the sentiment of reverence, or approbation, or beauty, the mind has presented to it a very insignificant, a very unworthy, or a very ugly image; the faculty of reverence, or approbation, or beauty, as the case may be, having for the time nothing to do, tends to resume its full power; and will immediately afterwards appreciate a vast, admirable, or beautiful image better than it would otherwise do.¹¹⁵

3. Genung:

The element of contrast. It is a natural impulse to make calm scenes alternate with stormy or exciting ones, to set people of contrasted character or appearance over against each other, to give opposite moods of the same person in dramatic succession. Life as well as literature is full of such antithesis, occurring in every variety of shading and impressiveness.¹¹⁶

4. Mills:

Antithesis and contrast. Opposites are juxtaposed in this pattern of statement in order to highlight a difference. As a student speaker said, ". . . first in war, last in peace; talk big, but act little!"¹¹⁷

5. Brigrance:

. . . comparison and contrast, have no superior among the objective elements of vividness. They

¹¹⁴Whately, op. cit., pp. 104-05. ¹¹⁵Spencer, op. cit., p. 44.

¹¹⁶John F. Genung, The Working Principles of Rhetoric (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1900), p. 526.

¹¹⁷Mills, op. cit., p. 295.

place black against white, good against bad, and the measure of difference is heightened by the comparison. Every speaker comes to the place where he wants to measure some intangible idea and finds himself without a yardstick. The eulogist desires to measure the greatness of his subject, his genius as a leader, his foresight as a statesman, his influence upon the age. There is no measure save comparison and contrast with other statesmen and other ages.¹¹⁸

C. Climax:

1. Quintilian:

Gradation, which the Greeks call climax, necessitates a more obvious and less natural application of art and should therefore be more sparingly employed. Moreover, it involves addition, since it repeats what has already been said and, before passing to a new point, dwells on those which precede.¹¹⁹

2. Whately:

Comparison is one powerful means of exciting or heightening any emotion; viz. by presenting a parallel between the case in hand and some other that is calculated to call forth such emotions: taking care, of course, to represent the present case as stronger than the one it is compared with, and such as ought to affect us more powerfully.

When several successive steps of this kind are employed to raise the feelings gradually to the highest pitch (which is the principal employment of what Rhetoricians call the Climax,) a far stronger effect is produced than by the mere presentation of the most striking object at once.¹²⁰

3. Spencer:

There are sundry facts which alike illustrate this, and are explained by it. Climax is one of them. The marked effect obtained by placing last the most striking of any series of images, and the weakness--

¹¹⁸Brigance, op. cit., p. 247.

¹¹⁹Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 477.

¹²⁰Whately, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

often the ludicrous weakness--produced by reversing this arrangement, depends on the general law indicated. As immediately after looking at the fire first and the sun afterwards we can perceive both; so, after receiving a brilliant, less weighty, or less terrible one, while, by reversing the order, we can appreciate each.¹²¹

4. Mills:

This figure of amplification accumulates several steps or details in a series of phrases or clauses for the purpose of making a climax concerning a point.¹²²

5. Brigance:

Climax is that well-known principle of arranging thoughts in the order of ascending power. In this manner the thought, with each successive step, rises in interest and importance until the culmination concentrates in itself in some sense the significance of all that has gone before.¹²³

D. Interjection:

1. Quintilian:

Aposiopesis, which Cicero calls reticentia, Celsus obticentia, and some interruptio, is used to indicate passion or anger . . . Or it may serve to give an impression of anxiety or scruple. . . . Again it may be employed as a means of transition . . .¹²⁴

2. Spencer:

Again, it may be remarked that when oral language is employed, the strongest effects are produced by interjections, which condense entire sentences into syllables. And in other cases, where custom allows us to express thoughts by single words, as in Beware, Heigho, Fudge, much force would be lost by expanding them into specific propositions.¹²⁵

¹²¹Spencer, op. cit., pp. 43-44. ¹²²Mills, op. cit., p. 304.

¹²³Brigance, op. cit., p. 263.

¹²⁴Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 407.

¹²⁵Spencer, op. cit., p. 12.

3. Mills:

Interjection. An abrupt insertion of a short expression in the midst of a continuous statement may serve to emphasize the idea. In the case of this one from Ickes' speech "What Constitutes an American?" the interjection intensifies the argument by showing its validity even in the least favorable case: "The continued security of our country demands that we aid the enslaved millions of Europe--yes, even of Germany--to win back their liberty and independence."¹²⁶

E. Repetition:

1. Aristotle:

Such devices . . . as repetition of the same word, which are rightly enough censured in the literary style, have their place in the controversial style when a speaker uses them for their dramatic effect. But if you repeat, you must also vary the repetition.¹²⁷

2. Whately:

The best general rule for avoiding the disadvantage both of conciseness and of prolixity, is to employ Repetition: to repeat, that is, the same sentiment and Argument in many different forms of expression; each in itself brief, but all, together, affording such an expansion of the sense to be conveyed, and so detaining the mind upon it, as the case may require.¹²⁸

3. Genung:

The same idea, the same forms of expression, must recur again and again, in order rightly to be impressed or made clear; and the constant problem is how to effect this repetition with skill and grace.¹²⁹

4. Brigrance:

In addition to iteration and restatement, emphasis through space is also obtained through the repetition of certain words and phrases. Repetition is the intellectual application of the principles used in

¹²⁶Mills, op. cit., p. 304.

¹²⁷Cooper, op. cit., p. 217.

¹²⁸Whately, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

¹²⁹Genung, op. cit., p. 302.

driving a nail--you hammer in the same spot until it is driven home.¹³⁰

F. Rhetorical Question - Interrogation:

1. Mills:

This device involves the use of at least one question the answer to which the speaker leaves for the listeners to supply in their own minds. Some auditors have been known to respond aloud.¹³¹

2. Brigrance:

Very often this restatement takes the form of the rhetorical question, a question the answer to which is not directly given but is unmistakably implied in the form of the question. There are few more telling methods of emphasis than the rhetorical question; it is vivid, terse, sharp; it arouses the attention because it compels the hearer to answer for himself.¹³²

3. Quintilian:

What is more common than to ask or inquire? For both terms are used indifferently although the one seems to imply a desire for knowledge, and the other a desire to prove something. But whichever term we use, the thing which they represent admits a variety of figures.¹³³

4. Whately:

Lastly, to the Speaker especially, the occasional employment of the Interrogative form, will often prove serviceable with a view to Energy. It calls the hearer's attention more forcibly to some important point, by a personal appeal to each, either to assent to what is urged, or to frame reasonable objection; and it often carries with it an air of triumphant defiance of an opponent to refute the argument if he can.¹³⁴

¹³⁰Brigrance, op. cit., p. 216.

¹³¹Mills, op. cit., p. 296.

¹³²Brigrance, op. cit., p. 215.

¹³³Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 377.

¹³⁴Whately, op. cit., p. 107.

5. Genung:

. . . asking of questions for the purpose of rousing interest, and then answering them, is just as legitimate and natural as oratorical interrogation; it is a means of taking the hearer into partnership with the speaker, as it were, in conducting an investigation.¹³⁵

6. Brigrance:

Interrogation is a commonly used form of direct discourse . . . The psychological value of the question is that it boldly puts the proposition up to the hearer to answer for himself instead of laying out a ready-made answer. It is a personal matter, demanding individual attention from each member of the audience. It is an appeal, inviting a silent reply.¹³⁶

IV. Figures of Speech and Language

A. Analogy:

1. The Winston Dictionary:

Partial agreement or resemblance, or the assertion of it, between things somewhat different; as, to say that food is to the body what fuel is to the engine is to draw an analogy.¹³⁷

2. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

A comparison between two things or situations, usually emphasizing at least two points of resemblance, for the purpose of making the basic statement clearer and more emphatic.¹³⁸

3. Genung:

Analogy, by which is meant similarity of relation in diverse subjects, is a much-valued means of making

¹³⁵Genung, op. cit., p. 97.

¹³⁶Brigrance, op. cit., pp. 244-45.

¹³⁷The Winston Dictionary: Advanced Edition (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1941), p. 34.

¹³⁸Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 6.

clear the relations between ideas. Taking obscure and remote principles of things, it makes them familiar by identifying them with principles that we see all around us; and thus the abstruse becomes simple.¹³⁹

4. Brigance:

Analogy and antithesis, or as they are sometimes called, comparison and contrast, have no superior among the objective elements of vividness. They place black against white, good against bad, and the measure of difference is heightened by the comparison . . . The value of these rhetorical elements arises from the salient fact that we cannot measure hot against cold, good against bad, or great against small except by reducing them to such a common denominator as is afforded by comparison and contrast.¹⁴⁰

B. Anaphora:

1. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary:

Repetition of a word or words at the beginning of successive clauses.¹⁴¹

2. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

The repetition of sounds, usually of the same words, in successive clauses.¹⁴²

3. Quintilian:

Sentences may repeatedly commence or end with the same word or may begin and end with the same phrase. The same word may be reiterated either at the beginning or at the conclusion, or may be repeated, but in a different sense.¹⁴³

4. Mills:

Anaphora. This is a kind of repetition in which

¹³⁹Genung, op. cit., p. 567. ¹⁴⁰Brigance, op. cit., pp. 247-48.

¹⁴¹Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. and C. Merriam Company, Publishers, 1956), p. 32.

¹⁴²Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁴³Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 369-70.

each sentence or clause in a series begins with the same words. Lincoln's "We cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground" is a clear example.¹⁴⁴

C. Epigram:

1. The Winston Dictionary:

A short sentence expressing a shrewd antithesis or witty thought.¹⁴⁵

2. Quintilian:

What sin is there in a good epigram? . . . It may be urged, perhaps, that it is a form of ornament eschewed by the ancients.¹⁴⁶

3. Genung:

To be truly epigramic, a saying must give some unexpected turn to the idea; it is in some form the antithesis between what the reader looks for and what he gets. Its essential feature, thus, is the element of surprise.¹⁴⁷

4. Brigrance:

The epigram is a powerful attention-catcher. It mints an old idea into a new form. It is novel. It is interesting. And, since it must perforce be terse, it is easy to remember. . . . The epigram arises from a play on words, from apparent contradictions, or from a sudden turn in the spirit of thought. Russell Conwell, in his lecture, "Acres of Diamonds," satirized a certain insipid rich man's son as:

A human cricket . . . who carried a gold-headed cane under his arm--with more in its head than he had in his.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴Mills, op. cit., p. 302.

¹⁴⁵The Winston Dictionary, op. cit., p. 327.

¹⁴⁶Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 299.

¹⁴⁷Genung, op. cit., pp. 273-74.

¹⁴⁸Brigrance, op. cit., p. 246.

D. Epistrophe:

1. Webster's New International Dictionary:

Termination of successive clauses or sentences with the same expression.¹⁴⁹

2. Mills:

Epistrophe. Contrary to the anaphora, this figure has clauses ending with the same words, as in "An appeal to the Nation" by David Lloyd George: "Treaties have gone. The honor of nations has gone. Liberty has gone."¹⁵⁰

3. Quintilian:

[See anaphora, IV, B, 3. above]

E. Epithet:

1. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary:

A descriptive adjective, noun, or phrase, often complementary, accompanying or occurring in place of the name of a person or thing. An uncomplimentary name or nickname, or a contemptuous term, used invectively.¹⁵¹

2. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

A descriptive term, often attached to a name, and sometimes supplanting it.¹⁵²

3. Aristotle:

There is, of course, some need of epithets; they diversify the usual idiom, and give our language an air of distinction. But we must aim ever at the golden mean, for using too many epithets works more harm than does sheer carelessness about them; neglect does no good, but excess brings a positive evil.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, 2nd ed., unabridged (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. and C. Merriam Company, Publishers, 1950), p. 861.

¹⁵⁰Mills, op. cit., p. 303.

¹⁵¹Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, op. cit., p. 278.

¹⁵²Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 35.

¹⁵³Cooper, op. cit., pp. 190-91.

4. Quintilian:

. . . the epithet . . . is clearly an ornament. Poets employ it with special frequency and freedom, since for them it is sufficient that the epithet should suit the word to which it is applied. . . . But in oratory an epithet is redundant unless it has some point.¹⁵⁴

5. Whately:

Epithets, in the Rhetorical sense, denote, not every adjective, but those only which do not add to the sense, but signify something already implied in the noun itself; as if one says, 'the glorious sun'; on the other hand, to speak of the 'rising' or 'meridian sun,' would not be considered as, in this sense, employing an Epithet.

It is a common practice with some writers to endeavour to add force to their expressions by accumulating the high-sounding qualities of the thing spoken of; but the effect is generally the reverse of what is intended. Most readers, except those of a very vulgar or puerile taste, are disgusted at studied efforts to point out and force upon their attention whatever is remarkable; and this even when the ideas conveyed are themselves striking.¹⁵⁵

The use of Epithets . . . in prose composition, is not to be proscribed; as the judicious employment of them is undoubtedly conducive to Energy.

Indeed it will generally happen, that the Epithets employed by a skillful Orator, will be found to be, in fact, so many abridged arguments, the force of which is sufficiently conveyed by a mere hint; e.g. if any one say, "we ought to take warning from the bloody revolution of France," the Epithet suggests one of the reasons for our being warned; and that, not less clearly, and more forcibly, than if the Argument had been stated at length.¹⁵⁶

6. Genung:

Epithet, with its point and its pervading vigor of trope, is perhaps the most common and serviceable

¹⁵⁴Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 323-24.

¹⁵⁵Whately, op. cit., p. 84. ¹⁵⁶ibid., pp. 85-86.

means of condensing a whole picture, or scene, or spiritual trait, into a word. It is better than pages of inventory description in cases where vividness of conception is needed.¹⁵⁷

F. Hyperbole:

1. The Winston Dictionary:

A figure of speech in which the statement clearly expresses more than the truth; poetic exaggeration.¹⁵⁸

2. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

An exceptional exaggeration.¹⁵⁹

3. Aristotle:

It may be added that successful hyperboles are metaphors; as, for example, the one about the man with the black eye: 'You would have taken him for a basket of mulberries.' The black eye has the purple color; the exaggeration lies in the quantity of fruit. If you employ a word of comparison (saying 'Like this or that'), you have, in effect, a hyperbole, the difference lying only in the formula.¹⁶⁰

4. Quintilian:

I have kept hyperbole to the last, on the ground of its boldness. It means an elegant straining of the truth, and may be employed indifferently for attenuation. It can be used in various ways.¹⁶¹

5. Bacon and Breen:

Hyperbole is exaggeration for effect: "This package you asked me to carry weighs a ton!"-- when it probably doesn't.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷Genung, op. cit., p. 497.

¹⁵⁸The Winston Dictionary, op. cit., p. 475.

¹⁵⁹Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁶⁰Cooper, op. cit., p. 216.

¹⁶¹Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 339.

¹⁶²Bacon and Breen, op. cit., p. 180.

G. Irony:

1. The Winston Dictionary:

Covert sarcasm; ridicule in the guise of compliment or praise; a mode of speech meaning the opposite of what is said.¹⁶³

2. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

Either an attitude or a situation in which words or actions mean the opposite of their customary acceptance. As an example, Swift's Modest Proposal, purports to reduce suffering in Ireland by selling children to the English as food.¹⁶⁴

3. Aristotle:

They, also, who are ironical with you when you are in earnest . . . incense you all the more . . . irony implies contempt. And they . . . who treat others well, and fail to treat him so . . . not to rate him as high as you rate all the world . . .¹⁶⁵

4. Cicero:

Irony too gives pleasure, when your words differ from your thoughts, not in the way of which I spoke earlier . . . but when the whole tenor of your speech shows you to be solemnly jesting, what you think differing continually from what you say . . . This is a choice variety of humour and blended with austerity, and suited to public speaking as well as to the conversation of gentlemen.¹⁶⁶

5. Quintilian:

Irony involving a figure does not differ from the irony which is a trope, as far as its genus is concerned, since in both cases we understand something which is the opposite of what is actually said . . .¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³The Winston Dictionary, op. cit., p. 521.

¹⁶⁴Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 53.

¹⁶⁵Cooper, op. cit., p. 98.

¹⁶⁶Sutton and Rackham, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 403.

¹⁶⁷Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 401.

6. Mills:

Irony and Satire. When a speaker implies something much different from what he says, either to amuse or to satirize, he is using irony. Thus an opponent of the Chicago Tribune referred to the publisher as "that eminent historian, learned military strategist, political philosopher, savior of America and expert on revised spelling." In sarcasm the distinguishing feature is the harsh quality and it may be stated ironically or directly. . . .¹⁶⁸

H. Metaphor:

1. The Winston Dictionary:

A figure of speech in which a name, action or descriptive term characteristic of one object is applied to another to suggest a likeness between them, as in seething emotions: distinguished from simile by not having like or as to introduce it.¹⁶⁹

2. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

A figure of speech wherein a word or phrase denoting one object or idea is applied to another for the purpose of suggesting a likeness between them; an applied comparison.¹⁷⁰

3. Aristotle:

It is metaphor above all else, that gives clearness, charm, and distinction to the style; . . .¹⁷¹

4. Whately:

But to proceed with the consideration of Tropes; the most employed and most important of all those kinds of expressions which depart from the plain and strictly Appropriate Style . . . is the Metaphor, in the usual and limited sense; viz. a word substituted for another, on account of the Resemblance or Analogy between their significations.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸Mills, op. cit., p. 299.

¹⁶⁹The Winston Dictionary, op. cit., p. 614.

¹⁷⁰Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁷¹Cooper, op. cit., p. 187. ¹⁷²Whately, op. cit., p. 79.

5. Spencer:

The superiority of the Metaphor to the Simile is ascribed by Dr. Whately to the fact that 'all men are more gratified at catching the resemblance for themselves, than in having it pointed out to them.'¹⁷³

6. Genung:

A closer association of objects than by simile is made when, instead of comparing one thing with another, we identify the two, by taking the name or assuming the attributes of the one for the other.¹⁷⁴

1. Metonymy - Synecdoche:

1. The Winston Dictionary:

Metonymy: A figure of speech in which not the literal word but one associated with it is used; as, the sword for war, the kettle boils.¹⁷⁵

2. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

Metonymy: Reference made to something by naming an attribute of it or another thing closely associated to emphasize some special characteristic.¹⁷⁶

3. Quintilian:

It is but a short step from synecdoche to metonymy, which consists in the substitution of one name for another, and, as Cicero tells us, is called hypallage by the rhetoricians.¹⁷⁷

4. Whately:

. . . not only does a regard for Energy require that we should not use terms more General than are exactly adequate to the objects spoken of, but we are also allowed, in many cases, to employ less General terms than are exactly Appropriate. In which case

¹⁷³Spencer, op. cit., pp. 30-31. ¹⁷⁴Genung, op. cit., p. 80.

¹⁷⁵The Winston Dictionary, op. cit., p. 615.

¹⁷⁶Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁷⁷Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 313.

we are employing words not "Appropriate," but belonging to the second of the two classes just mentioned. The use of this Trope (enumerated by Aristotle among the Metaphors, but since more commonly called Synecdoche) is very frequent, as it conduces much to the Energy of the expression, without occasioning, in general, any risk of its meaning being mistaken.¹⁷⁸

5. The Winston Dictionary:

Synecdoche: A figure of speech in which the whole is put for a part, part for whole, container for contained, etc; as fifty hands for fifty men; now usually included under metonymy.¹⁷⁹

6. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

Synecdoche: A reference made to something by naming a part of it to emphasize the desired characteristic, or *visa versa*, by naming the whole for a part.¹⁸⁰

7. Quintilian:

. . . synecdoche has the power to give variety to our language by making us realise many things from one, the whole from a part, the genus from a species, things which follow from things which have preceded; or, on the other hand, the whole procedure may be reversed.¹⁸¹

8. Spencer:

Let us begin with the figure called Synecdoche. The advantage sometimes gained by putting a part for the whole, is due to the more convenient, or more accurate, presentation of the idea. If, instead of saying 'a fleet of ten ships,' we say 'a fleet of ten sails,' the picture of a group of vessels at sea is more readily suggested; and is so because the sails constitute the most conspicuous parts of vessel so

¹⁷⁸Whately, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁷⁹The Winston Dictionary, op. cit., p. 1009.

¹⁸⁰Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 100.

¹⁸¹Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 311.

circumstanced; whereas the word ships would very likely remind us of vessels in dock. Again, to say, 'All hands to the pumps,' is better than to say, 'All men to the pumps'; as it suggests the men in the special attitude intended, and so saves effort. Bringing 'gray hairs with sorrow to the grave,' is another expression, the effect of which has the same cause.

The occasional increase of force produced by Metonymy may be similarly accounted for. 'The low morality of the bar,' is a phrase both more brief and significant than the literal one it stands for. A belief in the ultimate supremacy of intelligence over brute force, is conveyed in a more concrete, and therefore more realizable form if we substitute the pen and the sword for the two abstract terms. To say, 'Beware of drinking!' is less effective than to say, 'Beware of the bottle!' and is so, clearly because it calls up a less specific image.¹⁸²

9. Bacon and Breen:

According to definition, synecdoche is a figure of speech in which (1) an inclusive term is used for one of the parts included or (2) one of the parts is used for the inclusive term. Metonymy is a figure of speech which uses one word for another which it suggests.

In metonymy, the relationship is not that of part to whole, but of one thing to another in some sense calling it to mind.

While there is a real difference between synecdoche and metonymy, it is probably clear that both terms are used for situations in which one word is used for another to which it is related in meaning . . .¹⁸³

J. Personification:

1. The Winston Dictionary:

A figure of speech by which things, abstract ideas, or qualities have a personal nature attributed to them.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸²Spencer, op. cit., p. 28.

¹⁸³Bacon and Breen, op. cit., p. 178.

¹⁸⁴The Winston Dictionary, op. cit., p. 723.

2. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

A figure of speech whereby an inanimate object or idea is given human characteristics.¹⁸⁵

3. Bacon and Breen:

. . . personification, which is the attribution of human or animal qualities to inanimate or abstract objects or ideas. Personification may profitably be thought of as a form of metaphor, for there is always a comparison involved.¹⁸⁶

4. Quintilian:

" . . . we are even allowed in this form of speech to bring down the gods from heaven and raise the dead, while cities also and peoples may find a voice."¹⁸⁷

5. Whately:

But the highest degree of Energy (and to which Aristotle chiefly restricts the term) is produced by such Metaphors as attribute life and action to things inanimate: . . . For the disadvantage is overbalanced by the vivid impression produced by the idea of personality or activity: as when we speak of the rage of the torrent, a furious storm, etc.¹⁸⁸

6. Genung:

This figure endows inanimate things, or abstract ideas, with attributes of life and personality.¹⁸⁹

7. Mills:

Personification. In this figure a nonhuman thing is treated as a person. It is most familiar in children's literature.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 75.

¹⁸⁶Bacon and Breen, op. cit., p. 173.

¹⁸⁷Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 391.

¹⁸⁸Whately, op. cit., p. 82.

¹⁸⁹Genung, op. cit., p. 84.

¹⁹⁰Mills, op. cit., p. 297.

K. Simile:

1. The Winston Dictionary:

A figure of speech expressing likeness between objects of different classes by the use of such words as like or as.¹⁹¹

2. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

An expressed comparison between two things, frequently employing like or as.¹⁹²

3. Bacon and Breen:

A figure of speech in which a comparison between two normally dissimilar things is expressed by the word like or as is called a simile.¹⁹³

4. Aristotle:

The simile, as we said before, is a metaphor, differing from it only in that the simile adds the phrase of comparison, which makes it longer . . . nor does it, like the metaphor, say 'this is that'; and hence the mind of the hearer does not have to seek the resemblance.¹⁹⁴

5. Quintilian:

The invention of similes has also provided an admirable means of illuminating our descriptions. Some of these are designed for insertion among our arguments to help our proof, while others are devised to make our pictures yet more vivid . . .¹⁹⁵

6. Whately:

The Simile or Comparison may be considered as differing in form only from the Metaphor; the

¹⁹¹The Winston Dictionary, op. cit., p. 923.

¹⁹²Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 91.

¹⁹³Bacon and Breen, op. cit., p. 173.

¹⁹⁴Cooper, op. cit., p. 207.

¹⁹⁵Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 251.

Resemblance being in that case stated, which in the Metaphor is implied. Each may be found either on Resemblance . . . or on analogy, which is the Resemblance of ratios.¹⁹⁶

7. Genung:

When the thing to be illustrated and the associated object are named together, with a particle or phrase of comparison expressed or implied, and when these compared objects are of different classes, the figure thus arising is called Simile, . . .¹⁹⁷

L. Understatement or Litotes:

1. The Winston Dictionary:

Understatement by denial of the opposite; as, a man of no mean ability.¹⁹⁸

2. A Dictionary of Literary Terms:

A type of understatement, made for emphasis, whereby an affirmative is expressed by denying the contrary.¹⁹⁹

3. Bacon and Breen:

Litotes is a figure expressing an affirmative position by stating the negative of its opposite. For example, suppose one wishes to say that Eugene O'Neill is a first-rate playwright (an affirmative position); he may indicate this by saying, "Eugene O'Neill is no second-rate writer," where second-rate becomes the opposite of first-rate and is qualified by the negative no. We make use of litotes constantly in our daily speech: "She's no dumbbell!" "This candy's not bad!" "That's no small achievement!" The positive meaning is underscored by the negative prefixed to its opposite. Understatement and overstatement are both devices for heightening meaning . . .²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶Whately, op. cit., p. 79.

¹⁹⁷Genung, op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁹⁸The Winston Dictionary, op. cit., p. 573.

¹⁹⁹Duffy and Pettit, op. cit., p. 58.

²⁰⁰Bacon and Breen, op. cit., p. 181.

4. Cicero:

Then again there are those intentional understatements or overstatements which are exaggerated to a degree of the astonishing that passes belief, such as your assertion, Crassus, . . . that Memmius thought himself so exalted an individual that, on his way down into the Market-place, he lowered his head in order to pass under the Arch of Fabius.²⁰¹

Additional Comments by the Rhetoricians on Figurative Language and Rhetorical Devices

A. Cicero:

This is like a weapon either employed for use, to threaten and to attack, or simply brandished for show. For there is sometimes force and in other cases charm in iteration of words, in slightly changing and altering a word and in sometimes repeating the same word several times at the beginning of clauses and sometimes repeating the same word several times at their end . . . and climax, and assigning a different meaning to the same word used several times, and repetition of a word . . . There is also . . . inversion, and antithesis . . . and metonymy, and distinguishing terms, and order, and reference back and digression, and periphrasis. For these more or less are the figures--and possibly there may be even more also like them--that embellish oratory with thoughts and with arrangements of words.²⁰²

B. Quintilian:

There is . . . a considerable difference of opinion among authors as to the meaning of the name (figure), the number of genera and the nature and number of the species into which figures may be divided. The first point for consideration is, therefore, what is meant by a figure. For the term is used in two senses. In the first it is applied to any form in which thought is expressed, just as it is to bodies which, whatever their composition, must have some shape. In the second and special sense, in which it is called a schema, it means a rational change in meaning of language from the ordinary and simple form, that is to say, a change analogous to that involved by sitting, lying down on something or looking back.²⁰³

²⁰¹Sutton and Rackham, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 401.

²⁰²Ibid., Vol. II, p. 165-67.

²⁰³Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 353.

C. Whately:

. . . all that are in any way removed from common use; whether uncommon terms, or ordinary terms either transferred to a different meaning from that which strictly belongs to them, or employed in a different manner from that of common discourse. All the Tropes and Figures, enumerated by Grammatical and Rhetorical Writers, will of course fall under this head.²⁰⁴

D. Spencer:

Turning now to consider figures of speech, we may equally discern the same general law of effect. Underlying all the rules given for the choice and right use of them, we shall find the same fundamental requirement--economy of attention. It is indeed chiefly because they so well subserve this requirement, that figures of speech are employed. To bring the mind more easily to the desired conception, is in many cases solely, and in all cases mainly, their object.²⁰⁵

E. Mills:

Expressions which convey meanings beyond their literal interpretations are figures of speech. They are used to stimulate and hold attention and interest through the arousal of sensory imagery, the satisfaction of the desire for variety, the addition of greater clearness, and the recalling or imagining of associated ideas. Intemperate indulgence in these devices will, of course, defeat their intended purpose.²⁰⁶

F. Brigance:

Figures of speech may be defined as words used in a sense different from their literal meaning. Our language abounds in figures many of which have become so commonplace as to be accepted as literal. Thus we speak of 'a colorless voice,' 'a sweet disposition,' 'a sharp tongue.' Figures promote clearness, for they can often be used when the literal meaning of words is inadequate to communicate an idea; they promote force, for they communicate by images rather than by abstraction and so 'give thought a shape'; and they promote beauty, for they add grace and charm to the style.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴Whately, op. cit., p. 77.

²⁰⁵Spencer, op. cit., p. 27.

²⁰⁶Mills, op. cit., p. 294.

²⁰⁷Brigance, op. cit., p. 252.

IV. RELIABILITY OF THE METHOD

To determine if the factors of style were identifiable, definable and observable phenomena a test was constructed.²⁰⁸ The test contained a sampling of eight of the Rhetorical Devices and Figures of Speech and Language contained in the above outline. There were fifteen possible identifications on the test. The test was administered to a workshop class in Linguistics at Montana State University. Table 1²⁰⁹ was constructed to show the results of the test. Table 2²¹⁰ showed the identification agreement by item. On this table items 3, 7, and 13 had the lowest percentage of agreement. These three items contained figures similar to those contained in 10, 5, and 11 respectively. For the purposes of the test it would appear then that items 3, 7, and 13 were poor examples. The overall average agreement as calculated from the data in Table 2 was 89.33 percent.

²⁰⁸See Appendix II.

²⁰⁹See p. 67.

²¹⁰See p. 68.

TABLE I

AN ANALYSIS OF FIGURES OF SPEECH AND LANGUAGE, AND RHETORICAL DEVICES CORRECTLY [C] AND INCORRECTLY [I] IDENTIFIED BY THIRTEEN SUBJECTS GIVEN RELIABILITY OF ANALYSIS TEST

ITEM IDENTIFICATION	SUBJECTS												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
2	C	C	C	C	C	I	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
3	C	C	C	C	C	C	I	I	C	I	I	C	I
4	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	I	C
5	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
6	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	I	C	C
7	C	C	C	C	I	C	I	C	C	C	I	I	I
8	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
9	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
10	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	I	C	C	C
11	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	I	C	C	C	I
12	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
13	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	I	C	C	I	I
14	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	I	C	C	C	C	C
15	C	C	C	C	C	I	C	C	C	C	C	I	C

TABLE 2
ITEM IDENTIFICATION AGREEMENT
RECORDED IN PERCENTAGES

<u>Item</u> <u>Identification</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	100.
2	92.3
3	61.5
4	92.3
5	100.
6	92.3
7	61.5
8	100.
9	100.
10	92.3
11	84.6
12	100.
13	76.9
14	92.3
15	92.3

CHAPTER IV

"No man has shaken the world with his eloquence so often and so violently as Adolf Hitler. No Human voice has been listened to with more awe."

Raoul de Roussy de Sales
The Making of Tomorrow

FINDINGS IN THE ANALYSIS OF CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF RHETORICAL STYLE IN NINE SELECTED SPEECHES OF ADOLF HITLER

From the outline in Chapter III the stylistic elements of rhetorical devices and figures of speech and language were applied to the nine speeches selected for the study.

The annotations wherever examples of rhetorical devices or figures of speech and language were found, were made within the text of the speech. The example was identified and enclosed within brackets, e.g. [].¹

The speeches were listed under their respective period headings and were examined in chronological order.

From this analysis Tables 3, 4, and 5² were constructed showing a tabulation of figures and devices by period. Also on Tables 6 and 7³ were shown the total tabulation of figures and a total tabulation of devices in order of most frequent occurrence.

¹See Appendix I, p. 85.

²Pages 70, 71, 72.

³Pages 73, 74.

TABLE 3

TABULATION OF RHETORICAL DEVICES, AND FIGURES OF SPEECH AND LANGUAGE
AS FOUND IN THREE SPEECHES OF ADOLF HITLER SELECTED FROM
THE PERIOD PRE-WAR GERMANY 1933-1939

Rhetorical Devices	Sept. 1, 1933	Sept. 4, 1936	Sept. 12, 1938	Total
Allusion	0	4	13	17
Contrast	13	14	6	33
Climax	8	8	5	21
Interjection	0	2	2	4
Interrogation	0	7	0	7
Repetition	2	4	1	7
Rhet. Question	0	3	0	3
<u>Figures of Speech</u>				
Analogy	3	2	1	6
Anaphora	3	7	1	11
Epigram	4	3	1	8
Epistrophe	1	0	0	1
Epithet	7	2	4	13
Hyperbole	2	1	0	3
Irony	1	2	7	10
Metaphor	1	1	3	5
Metonymy	4	4	10	18
Personification	16	20	8	44
Simile	1	0	1	2
Synecdoche	11	10	9	30
Understatement	0	0	1	1

TABLE 4

TABULATION OF RHETORICAL DEVICES, AND FIGURES OF SPEECH AND LANGUAGE
AS FOUND IN THREE SPEECHES OF ADOLF HITLER SELECTED FROM
THE PERIOD GERMANY ON THE OFFENSIVE 1939-1942

Rhetorical Devices	Sept. 19, 1939	Sept. 4, 1940	Oct. 3, 1941	Total
Allusion	4	6	4	14
Contrast	13	14	24	51
Climax	5	8	3	16
Interjection	3	3	0	6
Interrogation	1	2	0	3
Repetition	1	1	10	12
Rhet. Question	2	0	1	3
<u>Figures of Speech</u>				
Analogy	0	3	2	5
Anaphora	8	5	7	20
Epigram	4	2	0	6
Epistrophe	2	2	1	5
Epithet	13	15	9	37
Hyperbole	0	1	1	2
Irony	6	19	7	32
Metaphor	1	4	5	10
Metonymy	15	11	17	43
Personification	13	5	3	21
Simile	0	4	1	5
Synecdoche	31	6	21	58
Understatement	0	1	0	1

TABLE 5

TABULATION OF RHETORICAL DEVICES, AND FIGURES OF SPEECH AND LANGUAGE AS FOUND IN THREE SPEECHES OF ADOLF HITLER SELECTED FROM THE PERIOD GERMANY ON THE DEFENSIVE 1942-1945

Rhetorical Devices	Sept. 30, 1942	Nov. 8, 1943	Dec. 31, 1944	Total
Allusion	7	35	15	57
Contrast	20	25	20	65
Climax	8	7	7	22
Interjection	4	7	4	15
Interrogation	4	5	0	9
Repetition	7	9	16	32
Rhet. Question	10	7	0	17
<u>Figures of Speech</u>				
Analogy	4	4	5	13
Anaphora	7	6	2	15
Epigram	0	1	1	2
Epistrophe	6	1	0	7
Epithet	17	17	20	54
Hyperbole	2	0	0	2
Irony	34	3	2	39
Metaphor	0	3	1	4
Metonymy	17	26	15	58
Personification	4	7	9	20
Simile	1	2	4	7
Synecdoche	9	32	14	55
Understatement	1	0	0	1

TABLE 6
TABULATION OF TOTALS FROM THE THREE PERIODS LISTING
IN ORDER OF MOST FREQUENT RECURRENCE
THE RHETORICAL DEVICES

Rhetorical Devices	Period I	Period II	Period III	Total
Contrast	33	51	65	149
Allusion	17	14	57	88
Climax	21	16	22	59
Repetition	7	12	32	51
Interjection	4	6	15	25
Rhetorical Question	3	3	17	23
Interrogation	7	3	9	19

TABLE 7
TABULATION OF TOTALS FROM THE THREE PERIODS LISTING
IN ORDER OF MOST FREQUENT RECURRENCE THE
FIGURES OF SPEECH AND LANGUAGE

Figures of Speech and Language	Period I	Period II	Period III	Total
Synecdoche	30	58	55	143
Metonymy	18	43	58	119
Epithet	13	37	54	104
Personification	44	21	20	85
Irony	10	32	39	81
Anaphora	11	20	15	46
Analogy	6	5	13	24
Metaphor	5	10	4	19
Epigram	8	6	2	16
Simile	2	5	7	14
Epistrophe	1	5	7	13
Hyperbole	3	2	2	7
Understatement	1	1	1	3

CHAPTER V

"The great masses of the people . . . will more easily fall victims to a great lie than to a small one."

Hitler
Mein Kampf

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

I. CONCLUSIONS

Rhetorical Devices

Contrast. This was the most recurring rhetorical device used by Hitler. Its use steadily increased from one period to the next, as he found it necessary to contrast himself, his ideas, National Socialism, German war progress, and future prognostications with the statesmen, philosophy, Governments, military progress and plans of the Allies.

Allusion. Reference to the past was the second most frequently used rhetorical device employed by the Fuhrer. The use of this device remained nearly consistent in the first two periods; however, in the third period its use was greatly increased.

Climax. Hitler's use of climax remained fairly consistent throughout the nine speeches.

Repetition. Many of the same promises, threats and ideas were given voice again and again. The use of this device was fairly consistent in the first two periods. However, it, also, received

more frequent use in the third period.

Interjection. The device which condenses entire sentences into short phrases or single words and is abruptly inserted in midst of a continuous statement was the fifth most used rhetorical device in the nine speeches. Its use remained consistent in the first two periods but increased in the last.

Rhetorical Question. The asking of a question to which the answer is not directly given but is unmistakably implied in the form of the question, was used by Hitler sparingly in the first two periods. However, the use of this device increased in the third period.

Interrogation. Asking a question of the listener to which the listener must supply the answer or to which the answer may be supplied later by the speaker, was the least used rhetorical device. Its use decreased in the second period but increased in the third.

Figurative Language

Synecdoche. The figure which used the part as standing for the whole or visa versa was the most frequently used figure in the nine speeches. Its use remained fairly consistent in the last two periods, increasing slightly from the first period.

Metonymy. The figure of speech which makes reference to something by naming an attribute of it or another thing closely associated with it to emphasize some special characteristic, was the second most used figure employed by Hitler. Its use increased steadily from one period to the next.

Epithet. Name calling was the next most frequently used figure.

As the situation in Germany increasingly worsened, the use of this figure became steadily more recurrent from the first period through the third, violating the warning given by the rhetoricians concerning its overuse.

Personification. The figure which gives to an inanimate object or idea lifelike qualities or characteristics was one of the four figures which were used less frequently by Hitler as time went on; and of the four, this figure had the greatest decrease in usage.

Irony. Hitler's use of ironic statements, satirical comments and sarcastic jibes remained fairly consistent in the latter two periods; however, the use of this figure increased greatly from the first period.

Anaphora. The repetition of a word or words at the beginning of successive clauses increased in the second period but its use decreased in the third period.

Analogy. The figure which compares two things or situations which are somewhat different, usually emphasizing at least two points of resemblance for the purpose of making the basic statement clearer and more emphatic, was used fairly consistently by Hitler in the first two periods but increased in usage in the third.

Metaphor. The figure of speech in which a name, action or descriptive term characteristic of one object is applied to another to suggest a likeness between them was employed most frequently by Hitler in the second period. In the first and third periods its use remained about the same.

Epigram. Hitler's use of witty expressions and clever sayings

was also one of the four figures which appeared less frequently as the years passed.

Simile. The comparison which uses like or as increased slightly from one period to the next.

Epistrophe. Ending successive clauses or sentences with the same word or phrase was used only once in the first period by Hitler. Its use increased in the last two periods.

Hyperbole. The use of excessive exaggeration for effect was one of the four figures which decreased in usage.

Understatement. This figure which denies the opposite of what is stated was the least employed figure. Hitler used this figure only once in each period.

From the above observations the writer concluded that the hypothesis stated in Chapter One was supported; namely, that as conditions in Germany varied during Hitler's career they were accompanied by changes in certain elements of his rhetorical style.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The purpose of this study was to discover the elements of rhetorical style and the effect of changing speaking situations on the elements of rhetorical style in the speeches of Adolf Hitler as shown by an analysis of nine selected addresses. The speeches which were studied were all delivered by Hitler after he had assumed control of the German nation. His speaking prior to that time was not considered.

This study has made no attempt to cover the entire rhetorical implications of Hitler's speaking. For example, the areas of Invention

and Arrangement were not analyzed. Nor were all of the available means of Persuasion studied. Also no attempt was made to determine the causes for the apparent style change.

Another area which remained for further examination was a comparative study of Hitler's rhetorical qualities with those of his contemporaries or with those of the great orators of history. Benesch,¹ in his conclusions, stated that the figures used least by Churchill were Epithet, Personification, Contrast and Interjection; and those used to a lesser degree than most were Irony, Metonymy and Synecdoche. The conclusions in Benesch's study on Churchill in most instances were in contradistinction to those made in this study on Hitler.

An analysis of the same speeches could be done by one or more other persons to determine the degree of agreement between the identifications of rhetorical devices and figures of speech and language by this writer and other observers.

There are still many areas which remain for further exploration into the speeches of Adolf Hitler.

¹Walter J. Benesch, "Rhetorical Qualities in the Speeches of Winston Spencer Churchill" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Speech, Montana State University, 1956), p. 260.

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APPENDIX I

Pre-War Germany, 1933-1939

SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 1, 1933¹

Nuremberg

When in the year 1919 the National Socialist Movement came into being in order to create a new Reich in place of the Marxist-democratic Republic, such an enterprise seemed hopeless and foolish. Above all, the caviling intellectuals [Epithet] with their superficial historical education had no more than a pitying smile for such an undertaking. Most of them very well knew that Germany would fall on evil times. The greater part of the so-called intelligentsia [Epithet] understood very well that the rulers of the November Republic were either too evil or too incompetent to lead our people. But they did not recognize that this new regime could not be overcome by those forces which for fifty years have steadily retreated before the attacks [Personification] of Marxism, finally, in the hour [Metonymy] of greatest emergency, to capitulate miserably. Perhaps part of the reason for this was that the political leaders of the nation were aging, outdated. They could not or would not recognize the time necessary for the restoration of the strength [Personification] of a nation.

Strength cannot be found in an organization which has none [Epigram]. It was therefore an error when in 1919 and 1920 the men who recognized the distress [Personification] of the Fatherland [Synecdoche] thought that a change in the leadership of the bourgeois parties would suddenly give them the strength to annihilate the inner enemy.

When one has glorified a false democracy for seventy years, one cannot attempt a dictatorship in the seventy-first year [Contrast - Epigram]. It leads to ridiculous experiments.

With few exceptions, age destroys the mental [Personification] as well as the physical [Personification] powers of generation. Because each man wishes to see for himself the growth and the fruits [Personification] of his struggle, he seeks for easier, that is, quicker ways to transform his ideas into realities [Analogy]. The rootless intellectual [Epithet], lacking all understanding of organic development, tries to evade the law of growth by hasty experiments. Nationalism, on the other hand, was ready from the very first to undertake the long and painful task [Personification] of building up anew the structure which would later destroy Marxism. But because this way was not understood

¹de Sales, op. cit., pp. 191-97.

by the superficial intelligence [Epithet] of our politicalized bourgeoisie, the new Movement could at first develop only among those groups who were not miseducated, who were uncomplicated and therefore closer to nature.

What the intellect of the intellectual could not see was grasped immediately by the soul, the heart, the [Anaphora] instinct of this simple, primitive, but healthy man. It is another one of the tasks of the future to re-establish the unity between feeling and intellect; that is, to educate an unspoiled generation [Metonymy] which will perceive with clear understanding the eternal law of development and at the same time will consciously return to the primitive instinct.

National Socialism directed its appeal for the formation of a new Movement to the broad masses of the people. Its first task was to inspire by suggestion those few whom it had first won over with the belief that they would one day be the saviors of their Fatherland [Metonymy]. This problem of educating men to believe and have faith in themselves was as necessary as it was difficult. Men who socially and economically belonged to subordinate, and frequently oppressed groups, had to be given the political conviction that some day they would represent the leadership of the nation.

While the former leaders of the bourgeois world talked about 'quiet progress' and declaimed profound treatises at tea parties [Irony], National Socialism began its march [Personification] into the heart of the people [Contrast]. We held hundreds of thousands of demonstrations [Hyperbole]. A hundred and a hundred thousand times [Hyperbole] our speakers spoke in meeting halls, in small, smoky taverns, and in great sports arenas [Anaphora]. And each demonstration not only won us new adherents, but above all made the others firm in their belief and filled them by suggestion with the kind of self-confidence without which success is not possible. The others talked about democracy and kept away from the people. National Socialism talked about authority, but it fought and wrestled with the people as no movement in Germany had ever done [Contrast].

For all time to come this city shall be the place where our Movement will hold its Party Congress, for it was here that for the first time we proclaimed the new will of Germany.

It is for this reason that you have been convoked here for the Fifth Party Congress of the N.S.D.A.P., the first in the new German Reich. A miracle has taken place in Germany [Climax]!

The National Socialist Revolution has overthrown the republic of treason and perjury [Epithet], and in its place has created once more a Reich of honor, loyalty, and decency [Contrast]. It is our great good fortune that we did not have to bring about this Revolution as leaders of the 'historic minority' against the majority of the German nation. We rejoice that at the end of our struggle but before the

final turn in our destiny, the overwhelming majority of the German people had already declared itself for our principles. Thus it was possible to accomplish one of the greatest revolutions in history with hardly any bloodshed. As a result of the splendid organization of the movement which brought about this Revolution, at no moment did we lose control of it.

Aside from the Fascist Revolution in Italy, no similar historic action is comparable in discipline and order with the National Socialist uprising. It is particularly pleasing that today the great majority of the German people stand loyal and united behind the new regime.

Our perilous political situation was accompanied by a no less dangerous economic situation. The rapid decline of the past winter seemed to be leading to a complete collapse. The great historian, Mommsen, once characterized the Jews in the life of nations as a 'ferment of decomposition' [Simile - Epithet]. In Germany this decomposition had already made great progress [Analogy - Metaphor]. National Socialism [Synecdoche] opposed with fierce resoluteness [Personification] this creeping 'decline of the West,' because we were convinced that those inner values which are natural to the civilized nations of Europe, and to our own German nation in particular, had not yet been completely destroyed.

As sole possessor of State power, the Party [Synecdoche] must recognize that it bears the entire responsibility [Personification] for the course of German history. The work of education which the Movement [Synecdoche] must carry on is tremendous. For it is not enough to organize the State in accordance with pacific principles; it is necessary to educate the people inwardly. Only if the people has an intimate sympathy with the principles and methods which inspire and move the organization of its State, will there grow up a living organism instead of a dead, because purely formal and mechanistic, organization [sic].

Among the tasks we face, the most important is the question of eliminating unemployment. The danger in unemployment is not only a material one. It is neither logical, nor moral, nor just, to continue taking away from those who are able to work a part of the fruits of their industry in order to maintain those unable to work--no matter for what reasons they are unable. It is more logical to distribute the work itself instead of distributing wages [Contrast]. No one has a moral right to demand that others should work for him so that he will not have to work himself. Each has a right to demand that the political organization of his nation, the State, find ways and means to give work to all [Climax].

We are following paths [Metonymy] for which there is hardly any model in history. It is thus at any time possible that one or another measure that we take today may prove unworkable. It is thus all the more necessary to put a stop to that carping criticism [Epithet] which tends only towards disintegration. It is [Anaphora] no matter whether

a thousand critics live or die, what does matter is whether a people shall be conquered and ruined and in consequence as a community lose its life [Contrast]. All those who since November, 1918, through their mad or criminal action hurled our people into their present misfortunes, those who proclaimed such phrases as 'Freedom,' 'Brotherliness,' and 'Equality,' as the leit-motiv of their action--they do not share today the fate and the sufferings of the victims of their policy [Climax]! Millions of our German fellow-countrymen through them have been given over to the hardest stress imaginable. Need, misery, hunger, do violence to their existence [Personification]. Those who misled them indeed enjoy abroad the freedom to slander their own people for foreign gold, the liberty to deliver them up to the hatred of their neighbors: they would, if they could, see them attacked and shot down, defenseless, on the battlefield.

The rise and the astonishing final victory of the National Socialist Movement would never have happened if the Party had ever formulated the principle that in our ranks everyone can do as he likes. This watchword of democratic freedom led only to insecurity, indiscipline, and at length to the downfall and destruction of all authority [Contrast]. Our opponents' objection that we, too, once made use of these rights, will not hold water; for we made use of an unreasonable right, which was part and parcel of an unreasonable system, in order to overthrow the unreason of this system [Repetition]. No fruit falls which is not ripe for falling [Epigram]. When old Germany fell, it betrayed its inner weakness, just as the November Republic has revealed its weakness to everyone by now [Analogy].

By its political education, therefore, the Party [Synecdoche] will have to fortify the mind of the German people against any tendency to regression. While we deny the parliamentary-democratic principle, we champion most definitely the right of the people itself to determine its own life [Contrast]. In the parliamentary system we do not recognize any true expression of the will of the people, but we see in it a perversion, if not a violation, of that will [Contrast]. The will of a people [Repetition] to maintain its existence appears first and in its most useful form in its best brains.

The greater the tasks with which we are faced, the greater must be the authority of those who must accomplish these tasks [Climax]. It is important that the self-assurance of the leaders of the whole organization in their decisions should arouse in the members and followers of the Party an untroubled confidence. For the people will justifiably never understand it if they are suddenly asked to discuss problems which their leaders cannot cope with. It is conceivable that even wise men should not in questions of special difficulty be able to reach complete clarity [Contrast]. But it means a capitulation of all leadership if it hands over precisely those questions to public discussion and allows the public to state its views. For the leaders thereby imply that the masses have more judgment than they themselves have [Contrast]. This cannot be the attitude of the National Socialist party [Synecdoche]. The

Party [Synecdoche] must be convinced that it will be able to cope with all problems, that because it has chosen its human material in living struggle, its leaders are politically the most competent men in Germany [Climax].

Our Party must follow the same law that it wishes to see the masses of the nation follow. It must, therefore, constantly educate itself to recognize authority, to submit voluntarily to the highest discipline, so that it will be able to educate the followers of the Party to do the same. And in doing this the Party [Synecdoche] must be hard and logical.

Power and the brutal application of power can accomplish much [Climax]. But in the long run no state of affairs is secure unless it is firmly rooted in logic [Contrast]. Above all: The National Socialist Movement [Synecdoche] must profess [Personification] its faith in that heroism which is content to face all opposition and every trial rather than for a moment to be false to the principles which it has recognized to be right. The Movement [Synecdoche] must be filled with one fear [Personification] alone--the fear lest the time should ever come when it could be charged with dishonesty or thoughtlessness.

To save a nation one must think heroically [Epigram]. But the heroic thinker must always be willing to renounce the approval of his contemporaries where truth is at stake [Contrast].

May the very manner of this demonstration renew our understanding that the Government of the nation must never harden into a purely bureaucratic machine: it must ever remain a living leadership, a leadership [Synecdoche] which does not view the people as an object of its activity, but which lives [Personification] within the people, feels [Personification] with the people and fights [Personification] for the people [Epistrophe]. Forms and organizations can pass, but what does and must remain is the living substance of flesh and blood. All of us desire that the German people shall remain forever upon this earth, and we believe that by our struggle we are but carrying out the will of the Creator, who imbued all creatures with the instinct for self-preservation. Long live our nation [Climax]. Long live the National Socialist party [Climax]!

SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 9, 1936²

Nuremberg

As we open this 'congress of honor,' we are stirred by two emotions, first, one of pride as we look back on the last four years, especially the last year, and, secondly, a feeling of the justification of all our acts as we behold the world about us filled with dissension and instability.

Elsewhere years, if not decades, in the life of a nation pass without claiming especial consideration except where they involve political and economic collapse, and it is in this connection that we National Socialists proudly assert that the period of Germany's collapse dating from November, 1818 [Allusion], moved at a slower pace than the period that marks the four years of our national recovery [Contrast].

Was this miracle [Metaphor] a genuine revolution or was it not [Rhetorical Question]? Have our achievements justified it in the eyes of the German people and, above all, who else but us could have accomplished this wonder [Rhetorical Question]?

What, however, has Nazism [Synecdoche] made of Germany in these four years [Interrogation]? Which of our opponents would have the insolence to appear as a complainant against us today [Rhetorical Question]?

What appeared in my proclamation of 1933 [Allusion] to be fantastic and impossible now appears a mere modest announcement of accomplishments that tower above it [Contrast].

Our opponents did not believe it possible that time [Metonymy] would accomplish that program [Personification] of 1933, which now looks so small to us. What would they have said, however, if I had presented to them that program which Nazism has genuinely accomplished in the last four years [Interrogation]?

How they would have laughed if I had declared on January 30, 1933, that in four years Germany would have reduced its unemployment from six to one million;

That the forced sale of peasant holdings would have been brought to an end;

That the income of German agrarian economy would be higher

²ibid., pp. 387-98.

than in any preceding year in our peace time;

That the total national income would have risen from 41,000,000,000 marks to 56,000,000,000;

That the German middle class and the German trades would experience a new period of prosperity;

That commerce would regain its feet [Personification];

That the German Hanseatic cities would no longer resemble ship cemeteries;

That in 1936 ships totaling 640,000 tons would be under construction at German wharfs;

That a multitude of factories would not double but triple and quadruple their employes;

That many other new factories would appear;

That the Krupp works would again hear the rumble of machines working for Germany's regeneration;

That all these undertakings would recognize that their final law was service to the nation and not unscrupulous private profit;

That inactive automobile factories would not only come to life again but would be greatly increased in size;

That our production of automobiles of all sorts would increase from 45,000 in 1932 to almost 250,000 now;

That in these four years the deficits of our cities and provinces would disappear;

That the Reich would have a tax income increase of about 5,000,000,000 marks yearly;

That the Reichsbank would finally be made financially sound;

That its trains would be the fastest in the world;

That the German Reich would receive roads such as had never been built since human culture existed;

That of 7,000 kilometers (about 4,350 miles) of roads projected 1,000 would be in use after only four years and 4,000 more would be under construction;

That tremendous new homestead colonies with hundreds of

thousands of houses would appear in the Reich;

That new buildings would rise which are among the largest in the world;

That hundreds upon hundreds of new immense bridges would cross valleys and gulleys;

That German culture in such and like accomplishments would demonstrate its internal character;

That the German theater would experience a renaissance;

That the German people would take an active part in the revival of the drama;

That Germany would experience a great intellectual awakening without a single Jew having a hand in it;

That the German press would work only in the interests of Germany;

That new professional ethics would be proclaimed for German business;

That the German human being would experience a thorough reformation of his modes of activity and his character [Anaphora - Climax].

What would our opponents have said if four years ago I would have predicted that four years hence the German people would be a united nation with neither Social Democrats, Communists, Centrists nor bourgeois parties left to transgress against the German people or trade unions to scatter dissension among the workers [Interrogation]?

What would they have said had I then predicted that four years hence there would no longer be independent states with their own legislatures and sixteen different flags and traditions, but that the whole nation from the humblest worker up to the soldier would be pledged to one flag [Contrast - Metonymy - Interrogation]?

But, above all things, what [Anaphora] would our opponents have said had I then prophesied that during these four years Germany [Synecdoche] would have shaken off [Personification] the chains of the slavery of Versailles, that the Reich would have regained its defense freedom, that, as formerly in peace time, every German would dedicate two years of his life to the freedom of his country, that our coasts and our commerce would be protected by a navy now in the course of construction, that a powerful new air weapon would vouchsafe protection to our cities and factories, and that the Rhineland would again be restored to the sovereignty of the Reich [Anaphora - Interrogation]?

And perchance what would these opponents [Repetition] have said had I predicted that before even four years had elapsed this National Socialist policy for the recovery of our honor and national freedom would receive an affirming endorsement by ninety-nine per cent of the German electorate [Interrogation]?

But a second miracle, and one which cannot fail to fill us with grim satisfaction, is the realization that our other predictions have proved all too true [Climax].

Unrest, hate, and mistrust fill the world about us. With the exception of one major Power and a few other States, we encounter throughout Europe the convulsions of [Personification] bolshevistic rioting and revolution.

My party comrades, did it not strike you as something akin to symbolism that at a time when in other countries hate reigned [Personification] and ruin spread [Personification] there could take place in Berlin amid the plaudits of a happy people an Olympic festival dedicated to the noble motives of enlightened humanity [Interrogation]?

Despite all their attempts, it was not possible for even Jewish reporters to distort the truth and misrepresent what millions had seen with their own eyes.

But while these Jewish-bolshevistic baiters and revolution mongers [Epithet] talked and showed a preference for applying an incendiary torch to human culture, National Socialist Germany, through heroic efforts and within its own frontiers and the restricted scope of its domestic resources has striven to rehabilitate its national economy, protect the lives of its people, and insure its [Anaphora] economic future.

The worries and disappointments [Personification] that the government of the German people have encountered in this process in the last four years were probably greater and more acute than those that had confronted other governments in half a century [Contrast].

The problems of our national economic maintenance are infinitely great. First, the 136 persons per square kilometer in Germany cannot find complete sustenance of their own even with the greatest efforts and the most ingenious exploitation of their existing living room.

What the German peasant has accomplished in these last few years is singular and unique. What the National Socialist State [Synecdoche] has accomplished in the cultivation of the last heath and the last moor in Germany cannot be surpassed.

However, in spite of all, there will always remain a deficiency in some fields of our nutrition. To cover this deficiency by import is all the more difficult because unfortunately we also lack in Germany a number of important raw materials.

German economy is, therefore, compelled to compensate for its lack of foods and raw materials by industrial export, which must likewise take place under all circumstances because of the unavoidability of imports, especially in the case of food.

It is regrettable that the rest of the world has no understanding for the nature and magnitude of these tasks, thanks to the frivolous as well as stupid and, yes, even spiteful treatment of these problems [Interjection].

In order to buy a certain amount of fat for Germany, Germany must export goods to an even greater value. But since questions of food are not, as some foreign statesmen seem to think [Interjection], matters of malicious intentions but vital tasks, it follows that the exports that are a presupposition of these imports must take place under all circumstances.

It is therefore a truly deplorable lack of reason to reproach a people with its cheap exports when for lack of self-sustaining economic territory that people absolutely needs exports in order to import the food lacking.

If, therefore [Anaphora], an English politician declares that Germany does not need colonies because it is free to buy raw materials, then the declaration of this gentleman is about as intelligent as the question of that well-known Bourbon Princess who at the sight of the revolutionary mob roaring for bread remarked in surprise why, if the people did not have bread, they did not eat cake [Analogy - Climax].

If the German people and the German Reich had not been squeezed for fifteen years and deprived of all their international savings, if they had not lost all their foreign investments and if [Anaphora] they still had their own colonies, we could master these problems much easier.

The objection that colonies would not help us much is unjustified. The leadership of the State which has produced no longer deniable economic accomplishments under conditions such as faced the German Government would likewise know how to administer colonies with economic usefulness [Contrast].

For it was much harder for the German State and Economic leadership, for instance, to reduce the number of unemployed from six and one-half to one million within our overpopulated territory and at the same time assure daily bread [Metonymy] for all than it was in those countries which at any rate seem to have been unable to solve this question thus far [Contrast].

As National Socialist State leaders we follow a natural but to some foreigners perhaps incomprehensible principle, namely, we are not so much moved by the question whether butter is more or less plentiful

at the time or whether eggs get scarcer or not; our first concern is rather to keep the broad masses of our people at work earning wages and thereby save them from sinking back into the ghastly distress of unemployment.

We are less interested in whether the upper classes get so and so much butter all the year round, but we are greatly concerned to assure cheaper fats for the broad masses and, most of all, to keep them from unemployment [Contrast - Repetition].

The bourgeois governments surrounding us will naturally consider this wholly incomprehensible, but then Germany has no bourgeois but a National Socialist government [Contrast].

It is therefore also the great task of our national economy to guide the consuming power of our people in those directions in which we can satisfy it from our own national production.

Inasmuch as an increase in our agricultural production is possible only to a limited extent, the increase in production must take place in other fields. It is the task of our national leadership and popular education to guide and interest the nation in these fields and increase its requirements in these directions.

But if foreign critics make German armaments responsible for the German butter shortage, if they reproach us that instead of buying butter we are carrying through Germany's rearmament, then I can only give these notable economists [Irony] the advice to consider what would happen if the millions of German workers now producing for Germany's domestic requirements and therewith for our armaments should suddenly be put to the production of export goods [Contrast].

I am afraid that these clever economists [Irony] would cry out in even greater despair in view of the then inevitable flooding of the world markets with cheap German export goods.

Like every healthy [Personification] national economy German economy has first of all the desire to utilize as far as possible its own economic possibilities for the maintenance of its people, in order to use the secondary consideration and participate with its own healthy [Personification] economy in world economy.

Inasmuch as the National Socialist State [Synecdoche] under no circumstances is willing to restrict the numbers of its population, but is rather determined to increase the natural fertility of the nation, we are forced to consider and weigh the consequences of such a development for the future.

A substantial increase in production from our soil is impossible and a substantial increase in exports in the near future is improbable.

It is therefore the task of the National Socialist State

economic leadership to investigate thoroughly what essential raw materials, fuel, etc., can be produced within Germany.

The foreign exchange we can save will serve in the future as an additional safeguard for our food supply and for the purchase of those materials which cannot be found in our territory under any circumstances.

I therefore announce this today as our new four-year program [Climax].

In four years Germany must be wholly independent of foreign countries in respect to all those materials which can in any way be produced through German capability, through our chemistry, machine, and mining industries. The creation of this great German raw material industry will employ productively those masses freed by the completion of rearmament. We hope thus to increase national production in many fields so as to reserve the proceeds of our exports first of all for food and for raw materials, which we will still lack.

I have just issued necessary orders for carrying out this mighty German economic plan. Its execution will take place with National Socialist energy and force [Personification].

Independent of this, Germany cannot, however, relinquish her demand for a solution of her colonial demands. The right of the German people to live is just as great as that of the people of other nations.

I know, my National Socialist racial comrades, that this new program represents a mighty task, but scientifically it is already solved in many fields; the production methods are being already partly tried.

As National Socialists we never acknowledged the word 'impossible' and we shall not accept it in the future as an enrichment of our vocabulary [Epigram]. In four years we will give an accounting to the nation on this gigantic work and assure its nutrition [Personification] and with that its life [Personification] and independence.

Perhaps we shall hear anew in the mouths [Synecdoche] of Western democrats the complaint that we deprive business of freedom for its own arbitrary activity and put it in the straight-jacket of our State planning. But you, my racial comrades, will understand that the question here is not democracy or freedom, but being or not being [Contrast].

Not the freedom or profit of some industrials is the subject for debate here, but the life [Personification] and freedom [Personification] of the German nation. Whoever believes he cannot exist because of the curtailing of freedom has no right to exist in our community. Posterity will not ask [Personification] us whether in this critical and dangerous period we held high democratic freedom, meaning

license, but whether we succeeded in keeping a great people from economic and political collapse [Contrast].

The National Socialist State leadership is so sovereign, so above all economic ties, that in its eyes [Metonymy - Personification] the designations 'employee' and 'employer' are immaterial concepts. Before the higher interests of the nation there are neither employer nor employee, but only labor delegates of the entire people [Contrast].

Just as we in Germany can solve the problems before us only if internal peace is preserved, so we are convinced that the European peoples and States can approach a happier future only through the preservation of European peace [Contrast]. It is our grim determination, however, not to let Germany become the unarmed victim of any foreign military power.

We have learned from the last eighteen years. We know what is the fate of the nation that, without force [Personification] of its own, depends on foreign justice. We see around us signs of evil times to come. What we [Anaphora] preached for years about the greatest world danger at the end of this second thousand years of our Christian era has become a terrible reality [Climax - Allusion].

Everywhere the undermining work of bolshevist agents has begun. In the period while bourgeois statesmen are discussing non-intervention, the Jewish revolutionary headquarters [Synecdoche] in Moscow is using the radio and every available financial and other agent to accomplish revolution on this continent.

Do not tell us that by constantly referring to these dangers to Germany we are creating a fear psychosis. We are National Socialists. We have never been afraid of bolshevism [Contrast].

We are not, however, members of that absurd bourgeois guild who sing 'Who's afraid of the big, bad wolf?' on the edge of a catastrophe and then, when its eyes are finally opened, jumps under the bed, teeth chattering [Analogy - Hyperbole - Epigram].

We German National Socialists have never been afraid of communism. We only recognized the real character of this shameful Jewish world-destroying doctrine [Epithet]. We studied its abominable methods and warned against its results.

We are not afraid today of a bolshevist invasion of Germany, not, however, because we do not expect it but because we are determined to make the nation so strong that it will be able, like National Socialism within our boundaries, to face this doctrine of world hate and resist victoriously every foreign attack [Climax].

This is the explanation of the military measures we have taken. Germany's measures will be larger or smaller in proportion to the

dangers surrounding us. It is for us no pleasure to lock up these forces of our people in armaments and barracks. We are simply men enough to look the facts in the face.

I want to state this proclamation before the whole German people that I am profoundly convinced that it is necessary to preserve Germany's bulwark of peace as I guaranteed its internal peace. I will not avoid any measure calculated to give the nation [Synecdoche] a sense of security and above all to secure for ourselves the sense that the complete independence of the Reich [Synecdoche] is guaranteed.

I, therefore, after discussions with the Reich War Minister, decreed the immediate introduction of a two-year military service term. I know that the young German, without moving an eyelash, will obey this necessity.

The present regime in Germany has the right to ask this of Germans, for we all served in the great war [Allusion] not for two but for four years. We did it for Germany, for the German nation, for our German [Repetition] homeland. The Nazi movement [Synecdoche] fought [Personification] fifteen years and required great sacrifices from its followers for the salvation of Germany from the internal bolshevist enemy.

The army educated us. We have all come from the army, those of us who became the party Storm Troops and the motor corps. The army gave us the men with whom we created our Storm Company's old guard and movement.

To the army [Repetition] shall belong for two years the young sons of our people so they will secure the strength and capacity to fight for the independence [Personification] and freedom [Personification] of our Fatherland [Synecdoche], for the protection of the German nation. Because I am able to make this declaration of the fourth Reich Party Day I regard with profound joy this proudest accomplishment of the National Socialist Government's military spirit.

Now generation after generation will make the most noble sacrifice that can be demanded of man [Climax].

The German people have in the year 1936, in the fourth year of the National Socialist regime, ended the period of their historic dishonor [Epigram - Climax].

SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 12, 1938³

Nuremberg

Since the days when we took over the Government the United front around Germany is standing against us. Today we again see plotters, from democrats down to Bolsheviks, fighting against the Nazi State. While we were struggling for power, and particularly in the decisive final struggle, they formed a united bloc against us.

We are being insulted today, but we thank God that we are in a position to prevent any attempt at plundering Germany [Synecdoche] or doing her violence. The State that existed before us was plundered for fifteen years [Allusion]. But for this it was praised as being a brave and democratic State [Irony].

But it becomes unbearable for us at a moment [Metonymy] when a great German people, apparently defenseless, is delivered to shameless ill-treatment and exposed to threats. I am speaking of Czechoslovakia. This is a democratic State. It was founded on democratic lines by forcing other nationalities, without asking them [Interjection], into a structure [Metonymy] manufactured at Versailles [Allusion]. As good democrats [Irony] they began to oppress and mishandle the majority of the inhabitants. They tried gradually to enforce on the world their view that the Czech State had a special political and military mission to perform in the world. Former French Air Minister Cot has only recently explained this to us. According to his opinion, the task of Czechoslovakia is in case of war to bombard German towns and industrial works.

This mission, however, is in direct contrast to the vital interests, to the wishes, and to [Anaphora] the conception of life of a majority of the inhabitants of this State. But the majority of the inhabitants had to be quiet, as any protest against their treatment was regarded as an attack on the aims of this State and therefore in conflict with the Constitution. This Constitution, as it was made by democrats [Interjection], was not rooted in the people but served only the political aims of those who oppressed the majority of the inhabitants. In view of these political aims, it had been found necessary to construct this Constitution in a manner giving the Czechs a predominant position in the State.

He who opposes such encroachment is an enemy of the State and, according to democratic conceptions of the State, an outlaw. The

³ibid., pp. 504-14.

so-called nation of the Czechs has thus been selected by Providence, which in this case made use of those who once designed Versailles, to see that no one rose against this purpose of the State [Irony]. Should, however, some one belonging to the majority of the oppressed people of this nation protest against this, the nation may knock him down with force and kill him if it is necessary or desired. If this were a matter foreign to us and one that did not concern us, we would regard this case, as so many others, merely as an interesting illustration of the democratic conception of people's rights and the right of self-determination and simply take note of it.

But it is something most natural that compels us Germans to take an interest in this problem. Among the majority of nationalities that are being suppressed in this State there are 3,500,000 Germans. That is about as many persons of our race as Denmark has inhabitants [Contrast]. These Germans, too, are creatures of God. The Almighty did not create them that they should be surrendered by a State construction [Metonymy] made at Versailles to a foreign power that is hateful to them, and He has not created 7,000,000 Czechs in order that they should supervise 3,500,000 Germans or act as guardians for them [Irony] and still less to do them violence and torture. The conditions in this nation are unbearable, as is generally known. Politically more than 3,500,000 people were robbed in the name of the right of self-determination of a certain Mr. Wilson [Allusion - Irony] of their self-determination and of their right to self-determination [Contrast]. Economically these people were deliberately ruined and afterward handed over to a slow process of extermination.

These truths cannot be abolished by phrases. They are testified to by deeds [Contrast]. The misery of the Sudeten Germans is without end. They want to annihilate them. They are being oppressed in an inhuman and intolerable manner and treated in an undignified way. When 3,500,000 who belong to a people of almost 80,000,000 are not allowed to sing any song that the Czechs do not like because it does not please the Czechs, or are brutally struck for wearing white stockings because the Czechs do not like it, and do not want to see them, and are terrorized or maltreated because they greet with a form of salutation that is not agreeable to them, although they are greeting no Czechs but one another, and when they are pursued like wild beasts [Simile] for every expression of their national life, this may be a matter of indifference to several representatives of our democracies or they may possibly even be sympathetic because it concerns only 3,500,000 Germans [Irony]. I can only say to representatives of the democracies that this is not a matter of indifference to us [Climax].

And I say that if these tortured creatures cannot obtain rights and assistance by themselves, they can obtain both from us. An end must be made of depriving these people of their rights. I have already said this quite clearly in my speech of February 22.

It was a short-sighted piece of work when the statesmen at

Versailles brought the abnormal structure [Epithet] of Czechoslovakia into being. It was possible to violate the demands of millions of another nationality only so long as the brother nation itself was suffering from the consequences of general maltreatment by the world.

To believe that such a regime could go on sinning without hindrance forever was possible only through a scarcely credible degree of blindness [Irony]. I declared in my speech of February 22 before the Reichstag that the Reich [Synecdoche] would not tolerate [Personification] any further continued oppression of 3,500,000 Germans, and I hope that the foreign statesmen [Synecdoche] will be convinced that these were no mere words.

The National Socialist State has consented to very great sacrifices indeed, very great national sacrifices for the sake of European peace; not only has it not cherished so-called thoughts of revenge, but on the contrary it has banished them from all its public and private life.

In the course of the seventeenth century France took Alsace and Lorraine from the old German Reich in the midst of peace [Allusion]. In 1870 to 1871, after a hard war that had been forced upon her, Germany demanded these territories back and obtained them [Allusion]. After the World War they were lost again [Allusion]. The minster of Strasbourg meant a great deal to us Germans [Understatement]. When we decided finally to renounce it, it was for the purpose of serving the cause of European peace in the future.

Nobody could have forced us to give up these ideas of revenge of our own accord if we had not wanted to do so. We have given them up because we wanted once and for all to end this eternal dispute with France [Allusion]. At other frontiers also the Reich [Synecdoche] ordered [Personification] that the same determined measures be taken and adopted the same attitude.

National Socialism advanced [Personification], truly supported by the spirit of responsibility. We shouldered voluntarily the greatest sacrifices in the form of claims surrendered in order to preserve peace for Europe in the future and, above all, in order to have on our part a way for a reconciliation of nations. We have acted far more than merely from loyalty. Neither in the press [Metonymy] nor in the films nor on the stage was propaganda carried out contrary to these decisions. Not even in literature was an exception tolerated. In this spirit I myself made an offer for a solution of the questions at issue in order to remove tension in Europe. We ourselves voluntarily restricted our power in an important field [Synecdoche] in a hope never to have to cross swords [Metonymy] again with the nation in question.

This was not done because we could not have built more than 35 per cent of its ships, but it was done in order to make a contribution toward a final lessening of tension, and appeasement in a serious

situation. They immediately accepted it and confirmed an agreement that meant for Europe's peace more than all the talk [Metonymy] made in Geneva's League of Nations. Germany had definitely become reconciled to a large number of her frontiers. Germany is determined to accept these frontiers as unalterable and definite, and thereby give Europe a feeling of peace.

This self-restriction of Germany is obviously interpreted by many people [Synecdoche] as a sign of Germany's weakness. I wish to put this view right today. I think it would hardly serve European peace if I left any doubt about the following: Acceptance of these frontiers does not mean that Germany [Synecdoche] is disinterested in all European problems and particularly that she is indifferent to what is happening to 3,500,000 Germans and that she does not feel [Personification] with them in their plight. We quite understand that the French and British defend their interests in the whole world. I may assure the statesmen [Metonymy] in Paris and London that there are also German interests that we are determined to defend in all circumstances [Climax].

May I remind you of my speech to the Reichstag in 1933 [Allusion], when for the first time I stated before the world that there may be national questions that I would take it upon me to fulfill in spite of all distress and danger that may be connected with them. No European nation has done more for peace than Germany. No nation has made greater sacrifices. But it must be realized that these sacrifices also have their limits and that the National Socialist State must not be confused with the Germany of Bethmann-Hollweg and Hertling [Allusion].

If I make this statement here, it is done especially because in the course of this year an event took place that forced us all to subject our attitude to certain correction. In this year, as you know, after endless postponement of any kind of plebiscite had occurred, local elections, at any rate, were to take place in Czechoslovakia. Even in Prague people were convinced of the untenable nature of the Czech situation. They were afraid of Germans joining up with other nationalities. They thought that at last measures must be taken to influence the result of the elections by bringing pressure on the conduct of the elections. The Czech Government discovered the idea that the only effective thing to do was brutal brow-beating. To give effect to this they decided to make a demonstration to the Sudeten Germans of the forces of the Czechoslovak State. Above all, the brute force of the Czechs' power must be displayed to warn them against representing their national interests and to make them vote accordingly. In order to make this demonstration plausible before the election, Dr. Benes and the Czech Government invented the lie that Germany had mobilized troops and was about to invade Czechoslovakia.

I have the following statement to make on this subject today: There is nothing new about making such lying statements. Last year

the press [Metonymy] of other countries published the false news that 20,000 German soldiers had landed in Morocco. The Jewish fabricators [Epithet] of these press lies hoped to bring about war by this means. A statement to the French Ambassador sufficed to put an end to this lie. Also the Ambassador of another great power was immediately informed that there was not a word of truth in this Czech statement. This statement was repeated a second time and immediately brought to the notice of the Prague Government. But the Prague Government needed this lie as a pretext for their own monstrous work and terrorist oppression [Epithet] in influencing the elections.

I can assure you in addition that, first, at that time not a single German soldier more was called up and, second, not a regiment marched [Personification] to the frontier. At this time there was not one soldier not in his peacetime garrison. On the contrary, an order was given that anything that might appear like pressure on the Czechs on our side was to be avoided. Despite this, this base campaign [Epithet] took place in which the whole of Europe was mobilized with the object of holding elections under military pressure, brow-beating citizens and thus depriving them of their right to vote.

For this purpose moral justification was needed so that no one should shrink from the unscrupulousness of plunging a great State [Metonymy] and Europe into a great war. As Germany had no such intention, and indeed, on the contrary, was convinced that local elections would confirm the rights of the Sudeten Germans, nothing was done by the Reich Government. That, however, was made the occasion for saying, after nothing had happened, that Germany had drawn back in consequence of the agitation of the Czechs and the intervention of Great Britain and France.

You all understand that a Great Power cannot suddenly submit a second time to such a base attack. In consequence I took the necessary precautions. I am a National Socialist and as such I am parrying every attack. I know exactly that by yielding to such an irreconcilable enemy as Czechoslovakia this enemy could never be reconciled but only incited to a still higher opinion of itself.

The old German Reich is a warning for us. In its love for peace it went as far as self-sacrifice without thereby being able to prevent war [Allusion]. Conscious of this, I took very serious measures on May 28.

First, the strengthening of the Army and air force was, on my order, considerably increased forthwith and immediately carried out.

Second, I ordered an immediate extension of our fortifications in the West.

I may assure you that since May 28 the most gigantic fortifications that ever existed are under construction there. With the same

aim in view, I have entrusted the Inspector General of German Road Constructions, Dr. Todt, with a new task. He has accomplished one of the greatest works of organization of all time. On the construction of the defenses in the West there are now 278,000 workmen in Dr. Todt's army [Synecdoche]. In addition, there are, further, 84,000 workmen and 100,000 men of the labor service as well as numerous engineer and infantry battalions.

The German railways are taking to these districts daily 8,000 cars of material apart from the materials transported by motor vehicles.

The daily consumption of gravel is more than 100,000 tons. Before the beginning of winter, Germany's fortifications in the West will be finished. Their power of defense is already in existence to its full extent. After completion it will comprise 17,000 armored and concrete fortifications. Behind this front of steel and concrete [Metaphor], which is laid out in three and partly in four lines, of a total depth up to fifty kilometers, there stands a German people in arms.

These most gigantic efforts of all time have been made at my request in the interest of peace. In no circumstances shall I be willing any more to regard with endless tranquillity a continuation of the oppression of German compatriots in Czechoslovakia [Climax].

Herr Benes indulges in tactics and speeches. He is trying to organize negotiations to clear up questions of procedure on the lines of Geneva and to make small concessions. This cannot go on forever. This is not a matter of phrases; it is of right--that is, of violated right.

What the Germans demand is the right of self-determination,^{*} which every other nation also possesses. It is not up to Herr Benes to give the Sudeten Germans gifts [Metonymy]. They have the right to claim a life of their own just as much as any other people [Climax].

If the democracies, however, should be convinced that they must in this case protect with all their means the oppressors of Germans, then this will have grave consequences. I believe I am serving peace the more if I do not leave any doubts about this. I did not raise the claim that Germany may oppress 3,500,000 French or then that 3,500,000 English shall be surrendered to Germany for oppression [Contrast]. But I demand that the oppression of 3,500,000 [Repetition] Germans in Czechoslovakia shall cease and be replaced by the free right of self-determination. We would regret it if thereby our relations with other European nations should suffer harm. However, we are not to be blamed. Moreover, it is up to the Czechoslovak Government to discuss matters with the authorized representatives of the Sudeten Germans and bring about an understanding in this or that way.

My business and the business of us all, however, my comrades,

is to see today that right does not become injustice in this case, for German comrades are concerned [Epigram]. Moreover, I am not willing to allow a second Palestine to be created here in the heart of Germany by actions of other statesmen [Allusion].

The poor Arabs are defenseless and perhaps deserted. The Germans of Czechoslovakia, however, are neither defenseless nor deserted [Contrast]. I believe I must state this especially at this party convention at which for the first time representatives of our German Austrian legion take part. They know best how much pain it causes to be separated from a mother country [Personification]. They, too, will first understand the meaning of my statements today. They will also agree with me most enthusiastically if I state before the entire nation that we would not deserve to be Germans if we were not willing to adopt such an attitude and bear the consequences in this or that way arising from it.

If we remember the exacting demands that in past years even small nations believed they could address to Germany, the only explanation that we can find is that there is scant willingness to see the German Reich as a State that is more than a temporary upstart.

Standing in Rome in the spring of this year I realized how the history of mankind is viewed and judged in intervals that are too short and therefore inadequate [Allusion]. The history of a millennium comprised only a few successions of generations. What becomes exhausted in the present can rise up again in the same time. The Italy and Germany of today are proof of this. They are rejuvenated nations [Metaphor] that one may describe as new in this sense.

But this youth does not rest on new soil, but on old historic soil. The Roman Empire begins to breathe [Personification] again; however, though historically and infinitely younger, it is likewise no new creation in its national new form.

I had the insignia of the old Reich brought to Nuremberg in order to induce not only my own nation but also the whole world to consider that more than a thousand years before the discovery of a new world a mighty Germanic Deutsches Reich existed [Allusion]. Dynasties came and disappeared [Contrast]. Outer forms have changed. The people today have been rejuvenated, but substantially they always remained the same. The German Reich has slumbered [Personification] a long time and the German people have now awakened and taken their thousand-year-old crown [Metonymy] to themselves.

For us, the historical witnesses [Metaphor] of this revival, there is proud joy and a humble sense of gratitude to the Almighty. For the rest of the world it should equally be a suggestion and a lesson that they should study history again from a higher vantage point and a lesson not to fall into their old mistakes again.

The new Italian Roman Empire and the German Empire are in all

truth very old creations. People do not need to love them, but no power in the world can any more remove them [Analogy - Climax]. [End of de Sales' translation.]

Comrades and National Socialists, in this hour the first party day of Greater Germany comes to a close. We are all filled with powerful historical impressions of these days. Your national pride and your confidence have been strengthened in the face of this demonstration of strength, resolution and determination of our nation.

Go now again into those little districts that you for almost two decades have borne in your hearts as Germans and National Socialists. You have the right to be able to carry your German heads raised once again in pride. We all have a duty never to bow them again to a foreign will. May this be our pledge, so help us God [Climax]!⁴

⁴Adolf Hitler, Vital Speeches, Vol. IV, No. 24, (October 1, 1938), p. 741.

Germany on the Offensive, 1939-1942

SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 19, 1939⁵

Danzig

My District Leader, My Dear Danzigers:

Not only you experience this moment with deepest emotion; nay, the entire German nation experiences it with you, and I, too, am aware of the greatness of the hour [Synecdoche] when I, for the first time, tread on the soil [Synecdoche] which German settlers occupied five centuries ago and which for five centuries was German [Allusion], and which--thereof you may rest assured--will remain German.

The fact that a province was torn from the German Reich and that other German territories were given to the Polish State was explained on the grounds of national necessity. Later, plebiscites everywhere showed that no one wished to become a part of the Polish State--that Polish State which arose [Personification] out of the blood [Metonymy] of countless German regiments [Synecdoche]. It then expanded [Personification] at the expense of old settlement areas and above all at the expense of intelligence and economic possibility.

One thing has been clearly proved in the last twenty years; the Poles who had not founded that culture also were not able to maintain it [Contrast]. It has been shown again that only he who is himself culturally creative can permanently maintain real cultural performance.

Thirty years would have been sufficient to reduce again to barbarism those territories which the Germans, painstakingly and with industry and thrift, had saved from barbarism. Everywhere traces of this retrogression and decay were visible.

Poland itself was a 'nationalities State.' That very thing had been created here which had been held against the old Austrian State. At the same time Poland was never a democracy. One very thin anemic upper class here ruled not only foreign nationalities but also its so-called own people.

It was a State built on force and governed by the truncheons of the police and the military. The fate of Germans in this State was horrible. There is a difference whether people of lower cultural value

⁵de Sales, op. cit., pp. 693-706.

has the misfortune to be governed by a culturally significant people or whether a people of high cultural significance has forced upon it the tragic fate of being oppressed by an inferior [Contrast].

In this inferior people all its inferiority [Repetition] complexes will be compensated upon a higher culture-bearing people. This people will be horribly and barbarically mistreated and Germans have been evidence of this fate for twenty years [Allusion].

It was, as already emphasized, tragic and painful. Nevertheless, as everywhere else, I tried to find a solution here which might have led to a fair adjustment. I have tried in the West [Synecdoche] and then later in the South [Synecdoche] to maintain final frontier delineations in order thus to deliver region upon region from uncertainty and assure peace and justice for the future. I made the greatest efforts to attain the same thing here also.

The world [Synecdoche], which immediately sheds tears [Personification] when Germany [Synecdoche] expels [Personification] a Polish Jew [Epithet] who only a few decades ago came to Germany, remained dumb and deaf [Personification] toward the misery of those who, numbering not thousands but millions, were forced to leave their home country on account of Versailles [Metonymy]--that is, if these unfortunates were Germans [Interjection].

What was for us and also for me most depressing was the fact that we had to suffer all this from a State [Metonymy] which was far inferior to us; for, after all, Germany is a Great Power, even though madmen [Epithet] believed the vital rights of a great nation could be wiped out by a crazy treaty [Epithet] or by dictation [Metonymy].

Germany was a big power and had to look on while a far inferior people of a far inferior State maltreated these Germans. There were two especially unbearable conditions: First, this city whose German character nobody could deny was not only prevented from returning [Personification] to the Reich but in addition an attempt was made to Polonize it by all kinds of devices; second, the province [East Prussia] severed from the German Reich had no direct contact with the Reich, but traffic with this province was dependent upon all kinds of chicanery or upon the good will of this Polish State [Irony].

No power on earth would have borne this condition as long as Germany. I do not know what England would have said about a similar "peace solution" [Irony] at its expense or how America or France would have accepted it. I attempted to find a solution--a tolerable solution-- [Interjection] even for this problem. I [Anaphora] submitted this attempt to the Polish rulers in the form of verbal proposals. You know these proposals. They were more than moderate.

I do not know what mental condition [Personification] the Polish Government [Synecdoche] was in when it refused these proposals. I know,

however, that millions of Germans sighed with relief, since they felt I had gone too far. As an answer, Poland gave the order for the first mobilization. Thereupon wild [Personification] terror was initiated, and my request to the Polish Foreign Minister to visit me in Berlin once more to discuss these questions was refused. Instead of going to Berlin, he went to London [Contrast]. For the next weeks and months there were heightened threats, threats which were hardly bearable for a small State but which were impossible for a Great Power to bear for any length of time.

We could read in Polish publications that the issue at stake was not Danzig but the problem of East Prussia, which Poland was to incorporate in a short time. That increased. Other Polish newspapers stated that East Prussia would not solve the problem, but that Pomerania must, under all circumstances, come to Poland.

Finally it became questionable in Poland whether the Oder would be enough as a boundary or whether Poland's natural boundary was not the Oder but the Elbe [Contrast]. It was debated whether our armies would be smashed before or behind Berlin [Contrast].

The Polish Marshal [Metonymy], who miserably deserted his armies, said that he [Synecdoche] would hack the German Army to pieces. And martyrdom began for our German nationals. Tens of thousands were dragged off, mistreated, and murdered in the vilest fashion. Sadistic beasts [Epithet] gave vent to their perverse instincts, and this pious democratic world [Irony] watched without blinking an eye.

I have often asked myself: Who can have so blinded Poland [Interrogation]? Does anyone really believe that the German nation will permanently stand that from such a ridiculous State [Rhetorical Question]? Does anyone seriously believe that [Rhetorical Question]? It must have been believed because certain quarters [Synecdoche] described it as possible to the Poles, certain quarters [Synecdoche] which general warmongers [Epithet] have occupied decades long, yes, hundreds of years long and which they occupy even today.

These quarters [Synecdoche] declared that Germany was not even to be considered as a Power [Metonymy]. The Poles were told that they would easily be able to resist Germany, and, going a step further, assurance was given that if their own resistance was not enough they could depend on the resistance and assistance of others [Synecdoche]. The guarantee was given which put it into the hands of a small State to begin a war, or again perhaps not to do so.

For these men Poland, too, was only a means to an end. Because today it is being declared quite calmly that Poland was not the primary thing, but that the German regime is. I always warned against these men. You will recall my Saarbruecken and Wilhelmshaven speeches. In both these speeches I pointed out the danger that in a certain country such men could rise and unmolested preach the necessity of war--Herren

Churchill, Eden, Duff-Cooper, etc.

I pointed out how dangerous this is, especially in a country where one does not know whether these men may not be the Government in a short time. I was then told that that would never happen. In my opinion they are now the Government [Metaphor]. It happened exactly as I then foresaw. I [Anaphora] then decided for the first time to warn the German nation [Synecdoche] against them. But I also have left no doubt that Germany, under no circumstances, will capitulate to the threats or coercion of these people.

On account of this answer I have been strongly attacked: because certain practices have gradually been developed in democracies; namely, in democracies war may be advocated. There foreign regimes and statesmen may be attacked, calumniated, insulted, sullied because there reign freedom of speech and the press. In authoritarian States, on the other hand, one may not defend one's self because there reigns discipline [Contrast].

You know, of course, of those August days. I believe it would have been possible in those last August days, without the British guarantee and without agitation by these warmongers [Epithet], to have reached an understanding. At a certain moment England [Synecdoche] herself offered to bring us into direct discussion with Poland [Synecdoche]. I was ready. Of course it was the Poles [Synecdoche] who did not come.

I came to Berlin with my Government and for two days waited and waited. Meanwhile, I had worked out a new proposal. You know it. I had the British Ambassador informed of it on the evening of the first day. It was read to him sentence by sentence and the Reich Foreign Minister gave him a supplementary explanation. Then came the next day and nothing occurred except for Polish general mobilization, renewed acts of terror, and finally attacks against Reich territory.

Now in the life of nations [Personification], patience must not always be interpreted as weakness. For years I patiently looked on these continuous provocations. What keen suffering I underwent in these years only few can imagine, because there was hardly a month or week in which deputations from these districts did not come to me depicting unbearable conditions and imploring me to interfere.

I have always begged them to try again. This continued for years, but I have recently also warned that this could not go on forever. After again waiting and even receiving new proposals I finally decided, as I declared in the Reichstag, to talk with Poland in the same language [Metonymy] as they talked to us, or believed they could talk to us--the language [Metonymy] which alone they seem to understand.

Also, at this moment peace could have been saved. Friendly Italy and Il Duce came in and made a suggestion for mediation. France

agreed. I also expressed my agreement. Then England rejected also that suggestion and replied that, instead, Germany might be served with a two-hour ultimatum with impossible demands. England erred in one thing. There once was a government in Germany in November, 1918, that was kept by England [Allusion], and they confound the present German regime with one they kept and confound the present German nation with the misled and blinded nation of that time.

One does not send ultimatums to the Germany of today. May London make note [Epigram - Climax]!

In the last six years I had to stand intolerable things from States like Poland--nevertheless I sent no ultimatum. The German Reich is not inclined and will not be addressed in such a tone. I knew if Poland chose war she chose it because others drove her into war, those others who believed they might make their biggest political and financial killing in this war. But it will not be their biggest killing, but their biggest disappointment [Contrast].

Poland [Synecdoche] chose to fight [Personification] and she received a fight. She chose this fight light-heartedly because certain statesmen assured her they had detailed proof of the worthlessness of Germany and her armed forces, of the inferiority of our armament, of the poor morale of our troops, of defeatism within the Reich, of [Anaphora] a discrepancy between the German people and its leadership.

The Poles were persuaded that it would be easy not only to resist but also to throw our army back. Poland constructed her campaign on these assurances of the Western general staffs. Since then eighteen days have passed, and hardly elsewhere in history can the following be said with more truth: The Lord has struck them down with horse, with man and with wagon [Epigram - Climax].

As I speak to you our troops stand along a great line from Brest-Litovsk to Lwow, and at this moment endless columns of the smashed Polish Army have been marching as prisoners from that sector since yesterday afternoon. Yesterday morning there were 20,000; yesterday afternoon 50,000; this morning 70,000 [Epistrophe]. I do not know how great the number [Metonymy] is now, but I know one thing: what remains of the Polish Army west of that line will capitulate within a few days, they will lay down their arms or be crushed. At this moment, our thankful hearts fly [Personification] to our men. The German Army gave those genius-statesmen [Irony], who were so well-informed [Irony] as to conditions within the Reich, a necessary lesson [Epigram - Climax].

At this moment we want to give the Polish soldier absolute justice. At many points the Pole fought bravely. His lower leadership made desperate efforts, his middle-grade leadership was too unintelligent, his highest leadership was bad, judged by any standard. His [Anaphora] organization was--Polish [Epithet].

I ordered the German Air Force to conduct humanitarian warfare--that is, to attack only fighting troops. The Polish Government and army leadership ordered the civilian population to carry on the war as francstireurs⁶ from ambush [Contrast]. It is very difficult under these circumstances to hold one's self back. I want to stress that the democratic States should not imagine it must be that way. If they want it otherwise, they can have it otherwise [Contrast]. My patience can have limits here also.

So, we have beaten Poland within eighteen days and thus created a situation which perhaps makes it possible one day to speak to representatives of the Polish people calmly and reasonably.

Meantime, Russia [Synecdoche] felt moved, on its part, to march [Personification] in for the protection of the interests of the White Russian and Ukrainian people in Poland. We realize now that in England and France this German and Russian co-operation is considered a terrible crime. An Englishman even wrote that it is perfidious--well, the English ought to know. I believe England thinks this co-operation perfidious because the co-operation of democratic England with bolshevist Russia failed, while National Socialist Germany's attempt with Soviet Russia succeeded [Contrast].

I want to give here an explanation: Russia remains what she is; Germany also remains what she is [Contrast]. About only one thing are both regimes clear: neither the German nor the Russian regime wants to sacrifice a single man for the interest of the Western democracies. A lesson of four years was sufficient for both peoples. We know only too well that alternately, now one then the other, would be granted the honor to fill the breach for the ideals of the Western democracies.

We therefore thank both peoples and both States for this task. We intend henceforth to look after our interests ourselves, and we have found that we best have been able to look after them when two of the largest peoples and States reconcile each other. And this is made simpler by the fact that the British assertion as to the unlimited character of German foreign policy is a lie. I am happy now to be able to refute this lie for British statesmen. British statesmen, who continually maintain that Germany intends to dominate Europe to the Urals now will be pleased to learn the limits of German political intentions. I believe this will deprive them of a reason for war because they profess to have to fight against the present regime because it today pursues unlimited political goals.

Now, gentlemen of the great British Empire, the aims of Germany are closely limited. We discussed the matter with Russia--they, after all, are the most immediately interested neighbor--and if you are of the opinion that we might come to a conflict on the subject--we will not.

⁶Free Shooters.

Britain [Synecdoche] ought to welcome the fact that Germany [Synecdoche] and Soviet Russia [Synecdoche] have come to an understanding, for this understanding means the elimination of that nightmare [Metonymy] which kept British statesmen from sleeping [Metonymy] because they were so concerned over the ambitions of the present [German] regime to conquer the world. It will calm you to learn that Germany does not, and did not, want to conquer the Ukraine. We have very limited interests, but we are determined to maintain those interests despite all dangers, despite anyone.

And that we did not permit ourselves to be trifled with in those past eighteen days may have been proved sufficiently. How a definite settlement of State conditions in this conflict will look depends first and foremost upon the two countries which there have their most important vital interests.

Germany [Synecdoche] has there limited but unalterable claims, and she will realize those claims one way or another. Germany [Synecdoche] and Russia [Synecdoche] will put in place the hotbed [Metonymy] of conflict in the European situation which later will be valued only as a relaxation of tension.

If the Western Powers now declare that this must not be, under any circumstances, and if especially England [Synecdoche] declares that she is determined to oppose this in a three- or five- or eight-year war, then I want to say something in reply:

Firstly, Germany, by extensive yielding and renunciation in the west and south of the Reich, has accepted definite boundaries. Germany [Synecdoche] tried by these renunciations to attain lasting pacification. And we believe we would have succeeded were it not that certain war-mongers [Epithet] could be interested in disturbing the European peace.

I have neither toward England nor France any war claims, nor has the German nation since I assumed power. I tried gradually to establish confidence between Germany and especially its former war enemies. I [Anaphora] attempted to eliminate all tensions which once existed between Germany and Italy, and I may state with satisfaction that I fully succeeded.

That ever closer and more cordial relations were established was due also to personal and human relations between Il Duce and myself. I went still further, I tried to achieve the same between Germany and France. Immediately after the settlement of the Saar question I solemnly renounced all further frontier revisions, not only in theory but in practice. I [Anaphora] harnessed all German propaganda to this end in order to eliminate everything which might lead to doubt or anxiety in Paris [Synecdoche].

You know of my offers to England. I had only in mind the great goal of attaining the sincere friendship of the British people. Since

this now has been repulsed, and since England [Synecdoche] today thinks [Personification] it must wage war against Germany, I would like to answer thus:

Poland will never rise again in the form of the Versailles Treaty. That is guaranteed not only by Germany but also guaranteed by Russia.

It is said in England that this war, of course, is not for Poland. That is only secondary. More important is the war against the regime in Germany. And I receive the honor of special mention as a representative of this regime. If that is now set up as a war aim, I will answer the gentlemen in London thus:

It is for me the greatest honor to be thus classed. On principle I educated the German people so that any regime which is lauded by our enemies is poison for Germany and will therefore be rejected by us. If, therefore, a German regime would get the consent of Churchill, Duff-Cooper and Eden it would be paid and kept by these gentlemen and hence would be unbearable for Germany. That, certainly, is not true with us. It is, therefore, only honorable for us to be rejected by these gentlemen [Irony]. I can assure these gentlemen only this: If they should praise, this would be a reason for me to be most crestfallen. I am proud to be attacked by them [Contrast].

But if they believe they can thereby alienate the German people from me, then they either think the German people are as lacking in character as themselves or as stupid [Epithet] as themselves. They err in both. National Socialism did not educate the German people in vain during the past twenty years. We are all men who, in their long struggle, have been nothing but attacked. That only tended to increase the love of our followers and created an inseparable union. And as the National Socialist party took upon itself this years-long struggle, finally to win it, thus the National Socialist Reich and the German people take up the fight and those gentlemen may be convinced: By their ridiculous propaganda [Epithet] the German people will not be undermined. Those bunglers will have become our apprentices for many years before they can even attempt propaganda [Epigram].

If peoples go to pieces it will not be the German people, who are fighting for justice, who have no war aims and who [Anaphora] were attacked.

Rather, those peoples will break when they gradually find out what their misleaders [Epithet] plan, and gradually grasp for what little reason they are fighting, and that the only reasons for war are the profits or political interests of a very small clique. A part of it declared in Britain that this war will last three years. Then I can only say: My sympathies are with the French poilu. What he is fighting for he does not know. He knows only that he has the honor to fight at least three years. But if it should last three years, then the word

capitulation will not stand at the end of the third, and at the end of the fourth year the word capitulation also will not be, and not in the fifth either, and also not in the sixth or seventh year [Epistrophe - Climax].

These gentlemen should take note of the following: Today you have the Germany of Frederick the Great before you [Allusion]. These gentlemen can believe this. The German people will not split up in this fight but become more unified. If anything splits up it will be those States that are not so homogeneous, those empires built on the oppression of peoples. We are fighting only for our naked beings. We are not able ourselves to be misled by propaganda.

Just imagine [Interjection]! There are people who say there are those ruling in another land who do not please us, so now we have war with them. Naturally they do not carry on the war themselves, but look about for someone to conduct it for them. They provide cannon and grenades [Synecdoche] while others provide grenadiers and soldiers. Such an utter lack of conscience!

What would be said if one of us should say that the present regime in France or Britain does not suit us and consequently we are conducting a war? What immeasurable lack of conscience. For that, millions of persons are shipped into death. These gentlemen can say that calmly, for they themselves never have been on the battlefield for even an hour.

But we will see how long they keep nations at war. There can be no doubt of one thing, however. We will take up the gauntlet [Metonymy] and we will fight as the enemy fights. England, with lies and hypocrisy, already has begun to fight against women and children. They found a weapon which they think is invincible: namely, sea power. And because they cannot be attacked with this weapon they think they are justified in making war with it against women and children--not only of enemies but also of neutrals if necessary.

Let them make no mistake here, however. The moment could come very suddenly in which we could use a weapon with which we cannot be attacked. I hope then they do not suddenly begin to think of humaneness and of the impossibility of waging war against women and children. We Germans do not like that. It is not in our nature. In this campaign I gave an order to spare human beings. When columns cross a marketplace it can occur that someone else becomes the victim of attack.

In those places where insane or crazy people did not offer resistance not one windowpane [Metonymy] was broken. In Cracow, except for the air field, railroads and the railroad station, which were military objectives, not one bomb fell. On the other hand, in Warsaw the war is carried on by civilian shootings in all streets and houses. There, of course, the war will take in the whole city. We followed these rules and would like to follow them in the future. It is

entirely up to England to carry out her blockade in a form compatible with international law or incompatible with international law [Contrast]. We will adapt ourselves thereto.

But there should be no doubt about one thing:

England's goal is not 'a fight against the regime' but a fight against the German people, women and children. Our reaction will be compatible, and one thing will be certain: This Germany does not capitulate. We know too well what fate would be in store for Germany. Mr. King-Hall⁷ told us in the name of his masters: A second Versailles [Metonymy], only worse.

What can be worse? The first Versailles Treaty was intended to exterminate 20,000,000 Germans. Thus the second can only realize this intention. We received more detailed illustrations of what has been intended, what Poland shall have, what crowns will be placed on what [Anaphora] heads in France, etc. The German people take notice of this and shall fight accordingly.

We are determined to carry on and stand this war one way or another. We have only this one wish, that the Almighty, who now has blessed our arms [Synecdoche], will now perhaps make other peoples understand and give them comprehension of how useless this war, this debacle [Epithet] of peoples, will be intrinsically, and that he may perhaps cause reflection on the blessings of peace which they are sacrificing because a handful of fanatic warmongers [Epithet], persons who stand to gain by war, want to involve peoples in war [Climax].

⁷Commander Stephen King-Hall, retired naval officer who wrote a privately-circulated news letter.

SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 4, 1940⁸

Berlin, Sportpalast

The first year of war came to its end a few days ago. The second has begun, and we are opening a new Winter Relief Campaign.

The successes of the first year, my countrymen, are unique--so unique that our enemies could not anticipate the course of events and that even many Germans have scarcely been able to grasp their magnitude and speed.

We cannot draw a comparison with the first year of the World War [Allusion], for at that time, in spite of utmost bravery and tremendously greater sacrifices, only partial results were attained and not a single important decision won. As for today, we need only cast a glance at the huge triangle [Analogy] now protected by German arms [Contrast]: in the East, the river Bug; in the North, the North Cape, Kirkenes and Narvik; in the South, the Spanish border. A number of our foes have been eliminated. And it is only thanks to her fortunate geographic location and to her extraordinary speed at withdrawing that England has not yet suffered the same fate. For things are not as some British politicians describe them; namely, that the British Army is like a spirited horse [Simile], eager for battle and burning with the desire to be let loose at last to fight the Germans [Analogy - Contrast]. The British were close enough to us at one time to satisfy any such 'desire' without difficulty, but they withdrew from our vicinity and described their sorry retreats [Epithet] as great victories. All their 'successes' are of this nature [Irony]. Besides the vast territory at present dominated by German troops, our Italian ally has undertaken an offensive in East Africa; he has strengthened his position there and has thrown the English back.

Naturally, the British have had 'successes,' too [Irony]. However, their successes are of a kind which people in their normal senses cannot understand. Time and again we have seen British propaganda pass from one extreme to the other--from the greatest heights to the lowest depths--only to achieve even greater heights a few days later [Contrast]. For instance, at one time the following appeared in their papers: 'The die is now being cast. If the Germans do not get to Paris--and they will not--they have lost the war. Should they nevertheless get there, England will win the war.' In this fashion, England has won many 'victories' since September third [Irony]. Her most magnificent victory--or as we see it, her most shameful failure

⁸de Sales, op. cit., pp. 841-53.

[Contrast]--was the flight from Dunkirk.

But what won't a man do in a pinch [Interjection]! We need only read the British war communiques to know the nature of these 'successes' [Irony]. We find such phrases as 'we are told that . . . ,' or 'it is stated in well-informed circles . . . ,' or 'it is to be gathered from the statement of experts . . . ,' or [Anaphora] 'there is serious basis for the assumption that' Once they even used this formula: 'It is believed that there are reasons for the assumption that, etc.'

Any defeat can be transformed into a success in this way. Just as we were entering Poland, the British propagandists declared that they had learned from well-informed circles that the Germans had already suffered a considerable number of grave defeats and that the Poles were victoriously pushing towards Berlin [Contrast]. Only a few days later, 'well-informed circles' [Irony] stated emphatically that events in the East had definitely taken a 'new turn.'

Equally well-informed 'experts' [Irony] remarked that, even should Germany be successful--which was, of course, impossible--this success would be a failure in the light of higher strategic values. After we had reached the very gates of Warsaw, British reports stated that 'there was justification for the belief that the Allied attack in the West had won its first decisive success.'

This sort of thing went on until the day when Poland was no more. The comment elicited by these events was something like this: 'This is a great relief. Poland in the East has always been our weakest spot. Now, at last, we can concentrate on the theater of war in which we are superior to the Germans--and that they will soon find out [Climax].'

Then things were quiet for quite a while. Of course, this period was a colossal, continuous success for British forces and an equally constant defeat for the Germans [Irony - Contrast]. It is inconceivable how much the English achieved during those months and how much we missed [Irony]. What all didn't British politicians see clearly and calculate correctly; what right moments didn't they seize during that time [Irony]!--And how many busses didn't we miss [Irony]! And then came Norway [Contrast - Climax]!

When operations began, British war-news makers [Epithet] rejoiced over the 'frightful mistake' the Germans had made. 'The Germans have at last made a mistake, and now they will suffer for it' was the comment, and the British were happy that at last an opportunity had come of measuring their strength against ours. Of course, they could have done this at any time, for after all, on the Western front only a few hundred yards had separated our positions. But there they had acted as if we were invisible to them.

And now in Norway, thanks to our stupidity, and particularly

my own, a kindly fate for the first time gave them the opportunity of pitting their military might against ours [Irony]. And they got their fight [Climax].

It is really an irony of fate that the blow which was probably the hardest the British suffered at the time was due to their own propaganda. For long after we had thrown [Metonymy] the Norwegians back beyond Hamar and Lillehammer, a British brigade came marching along, innocent and unsuspecting, towards Hamar. They had no communications with their rear [Synecdoche]--our 'Stukas' and fighting bombers had seen to that. So they listened to the British Broadcasting System. And from the British Broadcasting System, the brigadier learned that we were still a long way from Lillehammer and that we had been badly beaten. So the brigadier marched in to Lillehammer at the head of the brigade and peacefully went to bed, a box filled with documents labelled 'strictly secret' and 'not to be abandoned to the enemy' at his side. And here, during the night, our troops captured him and his precious treasure chest [Metonymy]. That is what happens when a man relies on that noted war correspondent [Irony], Mr. Churchill [Climax].

It was the same thing everywhere: they lied and lied. When they were thrown into the sea, they called it a 'tremendous victory.' When they saved a few shattered remnants from Andalsnes and Namsos, they told the world that this was 'the most stupendous success in modern British military history.' Of course, we cannot beat that [Irony]: but we have a few facts to confront it with. Militarily, Norway ceased to exist within a few weeks and the British forces had to evacuate. Then came the battle of the West--and we did not miss that bus [Analogy] either. This last campaign, in particular, was an uninterrupted series of defeats for the Allied coalition. The facts--the historical facts [Interjection]--prove it conclusively. And yet this campaign, too, ended in a spectacular British victory--the magnificent, glorious feat of arms at Dunkirk [Irony]. I have seen with my own eyes what they left behind; it looked rather untidy [Understatement].

Now French resistance, too, has been broken. How do they explain that away [Interrogation]? After Norway had been thoroughly cleared of the Allies, the explanation was: 'But that is what we wanted. All we wanted was to get the Germans up here. This is a victory, an outstanding victory for us; it shortens our front.'

And now, after the French collapse, the text was: 'Now, for the first time, England can really concentrate her forces. We are no longer compelled to scatter and waste our troops. Now we have reached the strategic position we have wished and hoped for all the time. The dead weight of France has been dropped. All it did was cost us valuable British blood. But now we'll show them [Repetition]!'

From the very beginning, definite predictions were made as to how long the war would last. 'The war will last three years. Britain is preparing for three years of war,' said London [Synecdoche]. This

had to be done, for the wealthy people who own stock in munitions factories are intelligent enough to know that their new plants could not possibly pay inside of six months or a year [Hyperbole]. The thing simply has to last longer than that [Irony]. -

However, I was just as careful, and immediately said to the Reich Marshal: 'Goering, we must be prepared for a five-year war' [Contrast]. Not that I thought that the war would last five years. But no matter what happens, England will be broken, one way or another. That is the only timetable [Metonymy] I have. Of course, everything will be prepared wisely, carefully and conscientiously. Of that, you are aware. And if today, in England, people are very inquisitive and are asking: 'But why doesn't he come [Interrogation]?' they may rest assured; he'll come all right. One shouldn't be so inquisitive. This world will be set free. The possibility of one nation blockading a continent whenever it feels like it must be done away with once and for all. It must be made impossible in the future for a pirate state [Epithet] to deliver four hundred and fifty million people to poverty and misery whenever it feels so inclined. As Germans we are sick and tired, for all time, of having England tell us what to do, even, whether we may drink coffee or not. When the British feel like it, they simply stop our coffee imports. I, myself, do not drink coffee, but it angers me that others should not be allowed to drink it [Irony].

It is simply unbearable that a nation of eighty-five million people can be penalized by another nation whenever it suits some plutocrat [Epithet] in London. I have offered the English people the hand [Synecdoche] of friendship time and again. You know yourselves: that was my foreign program. The other day I made that offer for the last time. I now prefer to fight until, finally, a perfectly clear decision is reached. This clear decision can only consist in the elimination of the regime of vile and miserable warmongers [Epithet] and the creation of a situation in which it will, in the future, be impossible for one nation to play tyrant over all Europe. Germany and Italy will see to it that history will never repeat itself.

All Britain's Allies will avail her nothing, neither Haile Selassie nor Mr. Benes, nor any of the others; not even King Haakon or Queen Wilhelmina or the French General de Gaulle. Whatever other plans they may have, whatever they may be scheming in the deepest recesses of their minds, we are on our guard, we are prepared for anything, we are resolved and ready to act at any time. We [Anaphora] cannot be frightened by anything. The German National Socialists have been tempered and toughened by hard experience. First, we were soldiers in the Great War [Allusion]; later, fighters for German resurrection. What we suffered in those years has hardened us. We cannot be intimidated nor taken by surprise.

When the British entered the war a year ago, they said they had an ally. We were curious as to who that might be. They said: 'He is a General, his name is "General Revolution" [Personification - Simile].'

How little they know the German people and their new National Socialist State! London waited for 'General Revolution' [Metonymy] to do something. Nothing happened on September 6 and 7, and disappointment came on September 8. They were so sure that 'General Revolution' [Metonymy] would take the offensive within a week--but he was nowhere to be found [Contrast - Analogy].

Then they said: 'We have an alliance with another general; his name is "General Hunger" [Personification - Simile].' Right from the start we had expected that these great humanitarians [Irony] would try to starve millions of women and children as they did in the World War, and we were prepared. This General was another blank [Metonymy], a phantom [Metaphor]--another one of Mr. Churchill's 'jack-o'-lanterns' [Metaphor - Analogy]. They have now discovered a third Ally, 'General Winter' [Personification - Simile - Analogy]. He was here once before. He failed then and he will fail again.

As long as the English have such obscure foreign generals they should not forget to promote their own most prominent native general to the rank of, say, a marshal of the empire [Irony]. I refer to 'General Bluff' [Personification - Epigram]. He is their one reliable ally and thoroughly deserves promotion to the most exalted rank. As far as we are concerned, that general cannot beat us. Maybe the British people can be fooled by him; but the German people know England too well to be duped. The babbling [Epithet] of Mr. Churchill or of Mr. Eden--reverence for old age forbids the mention of Mr. Chamberlain [Irony]--doesn't mean a thing to the German people. At best, it makes them laugh. For a character like Mr. Duff Cooper there is no word in conventional German. Only the Bavarians have a word that adequately describes this type of man, and that is: Krampfhenne⁹ [Metaphor - Epithet]. The gentlemen may set their minds at rest. They will not win the war by such means. The other means, thank God [Interjection], are in our hands [Metonymy], and they will remain in our hands. When the hour [Metonymy] has struck, in place of Generals [Personification] Hunger, Revolution, Winter and Bluff, we shall again appoint General Action [Epigram]. And then we shall see who is the best of them [Contrast - Climax]!

The gratitude of the German nation to its soldiers I have already conveyed in my Reichstag speech.¹⁰ In these days we are particularly grateful to the Air Force, to those courageous men who fly to England day after day to deliver our answer [Metonymy] to what the clever Mr. Churchill invented [Irony]. I shall have more to say about that later. But the thanks which I wish above all to voice today are addressed to the home front. They are thanks for the year which has just passed, thanks to the entire German nation for the

⁹An excitable hen.

¹⁰July 19, 1940.

conduct it displayed in this year, in situations which were not always easy.

For perhaps some of us do not realize what it meant to evacuate 700,000 people within a few weeks last year. It was done without a hitch. Of course, as compared with some other peoples, everything had been well prepared. But what these people had to shoulder was often very hard and they put up with it admirably. We are happy that they have now been able to go home [Irony].

It is wonderful to witness the splendid discipline of our people in this war. We see it particularly well just now, while Mr. Churchill is demonstrating his new brain-child [Epithet], the night air raid [Metaphor]. Mr. Churchill [Synecdoche] is carrying out these raids, not because they promise to be highly effective, but because his air force cannot fly over Germany in daylight. Whereas German fliers and German planes are over English soil every day [Contrast], the Englishman, in daylight, can scarcely manage to get across the North Sea. That is why he comes at night and, as you know, drops his bombs indiscriminately on residential districts, farms and villages. Wherever he sees a light, he drops a bomb. For three months I did not answer, because I believed that such madness [Epithet] would be stopped. Mr. Churchill took this for a sign of weakness. No doubt you know that we are now answering it every night to an ever-increasing extent.

If the British Air Force drops two or three or four thousand kilograms of bombs, we will drop a hundred and fifty, a hundred and eighty, two hundred thousand, three hundred thousand, four hundred thousand [Epistrophe] kilograms and more in a single night [Contrast]. If they say that they will carry out large-scale attacks on our cities, we will blot out theirs. We [Anaphora] will stop the handiwork of these night pirates [Epithet], so help us God. The hour will come when one of us will crack [Metonymy]--and it will not be National Socialist Germany [Climax].

Once before in my life, I carried out such a fight to the bitter end [Allusion]. My foe was broken--that foe [Synecdoche] who now, in England, finds his last European refuge. In view of this, it is essential to realize how important is the shaping and development of our German National community. We could not have achieved all this if out there on the front lines there stood a German soldier, lost and unable to count on any one but himself--out of touch with kindred souls [Metonymy] at home.

The strength of the German soldier at the front is founded upon the knowledge and certainty that he is backed by the entire nation, in iron unity [Metaphor] and fanatical in purpose. Our people have high aims, far higher than merely winning the war. What we want to do is build a new State. And that is why others hate us so. They have said it often enough. They say: 'But your social experiments are very dangerous. If that kind of thing begins to spread, and if our workers

see it, it will be bad. It costs billions and earns nothing. There is no profit and no dividend to be gotten out of it. What good is it? We are not interested in such a development. We welcome everything that helps the materialistic progress of humanity--provided that such progress nets a profit. But social experiments--all the things you are doing--can only serve to awaken the greed of the masses and to pull us off our pedestal. You can hardly expect that of us [Irony].'

We have been looked upon as the bad example; whatever we tried was no good because it was meant for the people. We have taken the road to truly social legislation and towards a sociological development which is hated in other countries. For they are plutocracies [Epithet] in which a very small clique of capitalists rules the masses and, naturally, co-operates closely with the international Jews [Epithet] and the Freemasons. We have known these enemies from the days of our inner struggle [Allusion]; it is the dear old coalition of the Weimar system [Allusion].

They hate us on account of our social principles, and everything that we plan and carry out in that direction looks dangerous to them. They are convinced that this development must be destroyed. But I am convinced that the future belongs to this development, and that those states which do not follow it will sooner or later collapse [Contrast]. Unless they find a solution dictated by reason, the states which have social problems remaining unsolved will sooner or later end in chaos [Contrast]. National Socialism has prevented chaos in Germany [Contrast].

You know our aims, and you know that we defend them persistently and with fixity of purpose--and that we shall achieve them. That is why all these international plutocracies [Epithet], the Jewish newspapers [Synecdoche], the Stock Exchanges [Synecdoche] of the world, hate us; that is why all the countries whose attitude is identical or similar, are in sympathy with those democracies. It is precisely because we know that the fight is a struggle for the entire social foundation of our nation and is directed against the very substance of our life that, while we are fighting for these ideals, we must profess them again and again [Climax].

Our Winter Relief Campaign, the most magnificent relief organization in the world, is a powerful demonstration of this spirit.

No one will doubt that we could easily have found other ways of solving the financial problem involved in relief. The simplest way would have been taxation. It would not have been necessary to build up this gigantic organization; we could have had it all done by civil servants. But while the financial result might have been the same or even better, spiritually it would have fallen far short of what has been achieved, for in its present form it is a voluntary organization of the German national community, applied to a practical end.

The people have been educated not only to give, but also to do voluntary charity work themselves. For there are two who do their share: the one who gives his offering and the other who administers it--without pay. Every little girl who helps in the street collections, all the occupational groups, up to the leaders of government, business, art and so forth, who carry out this work--all undergo a practical education in the community spirit.

And that, my countrymen, is the decisive point. We are all of us burdened by traditions of the past, of origin, of social status, or of a profession. We must either renounce the co-operation of millions of people, whose activities as citizens and whose professional work are indispensable but who are not yet awake to such a spirit of community or we must educate them in that spirit. National Socialism [Synecdoche] has always taken the stand that every attitude is to be understood as a product of education, habit and heredity, and that it can be influenced by education.

The child growing up in our country did not at birth have prejudices of caste or class; such prejudices are created by education. The differences are artificially forced upon the child, and unless we wish to renounce our desire to form a truly organic, well-built human society we must remove those differences. We have undertaken this task of rebuilding human society, and we are beginning to carry it through in every field. As soon as the child has reached the age at which, formerly, it was educated to the differences in life, we begin to educate it in the things we all have in common [Contrast].

And if one person or another asks about the results:--Well, we have been at our task for little more than a few years; first, in building the sense of community in our party, and, second, for nearly eight years in the German nation. That is a short time, but the results are tremendous if we consider that for centuries every effort had been headed in the opposite direction. These tremendous demonstrations of our community sense show what has been achieved.

Twenty years ago, all this would have been impossible; thirty years ago, unimaginable; forty years ago [Anaphora] it would even have been wholly unwanted; today it is a reality [Climax]. We educate people toward a uniform view of the fundamentals of life, towards a uniform, equal sense of duty. We are convinced that after this kind of education has gone on for some time people will be the products of that education. In other words, they will then be as representative of the new ideas as they are still, in part, representative of older views. It is a long, hard road of refinement and education. That progress is being made is best illustrated by the Winter Relief Campaign.

When the first campaign was started, there were many people in Germany who said: 'Why, what's this? A man with a collection box? Avoid him'--or perhaps made some silly remark.

That this has changed, one can easily see from the fact that the amounts have increased from year to year. Perseverance did the trick. The most hide-bound [Epithet] conservative realized after a while, first, that since the collectors always came back, it did him no good to refuse, second, that he really should do his part and, third, that after all, a real job was being done.

How many wounds we have healed in Germany with this fund! We have helped human reconstruction everywhere. What huge social facilities we have created!

Believe me, the opposition of many people to such innovation is merely due to inertia and congenital slowness of mind. But once they see what a job is being done, they say: 'Well, if that's what my money helps do, there is no reason why I should not do my bit.'

I would never have hoped or imagined that this thing would become so great or that it might ever do so much good. What is being done is simply magnificent. And when once a man comes to realize this, even if he is a bull-headed [Epithet] believer in the old order [Allusion], he is well along on the road towards understanding the new Germany.

On the other hand, if we had said to a man, thirty years ago: 'Sir, here's a collection box. Now, you go and stand at the street corner and ask people to give you a coin for their fellow men,'--what would his answer have been?

'Now, now, I'll contribute myself. But you cannot ask me to do that. After all, I'm Mr. So-and-So, I'm not going to do that. What would people say? How do I know that some fellow won't come along with some fool remark?'

That man would have been no better than the one who might have made the remark to him. Education is mutual. It is excellent if people see what silly things some people will say to others. But within a very few years, the Winter Relief Work has shown how easy it is for a great idea to influence the people of a nation.

All it requires is a little time. We attack them from all sides. This education is being carried on everywhere. I don't know how often Napoleon's words about a Marshal's baton [Metonymy] in every soldier's knapsack used to be quoted in bygone days [Allusion]. They were not to be taken literally for normally it was impossible for a soldier even to think of such possibilities.

All that has been changed today. Where formerly the highest decorations were awarded only to officers, every brave private can earn them today [Contrast]. A world of prejudice has been done away with,-- a whole world of prejudice--and, believe me, in decades to come, life in our State will become more and more fine. The tasks become greater

and greater. They help us to bring our people closer and closer together and to create an ever more genuine community. And if there are some who simply will not co-operate we'll give them a state funeral at the end of their days. For they will be the last vestiges of a past age, almost of historic interest. But the future belongs to the young nations which solve this problem. We have undertaken its solution and we'll carry it through [Climax].

The more the world realizes that this great nation is one single community, the more it will realize how hopeless is England's fight. The enemy may be able to break a people who are divided, but eighty-five millions united in one will, one resolve and one [Anaphora] readiness to act cannot be broken by any power on earth [Climax].:

SPEECH OF OCTOBER 3, 1941¹¹

Berlin

German men and women, if I speak today again after many long months to you it is not to reply to one of those statesmen [Synecdoche] who recently wondered why I had been silent for such a long time. Posterity will one day be able to weigh up which was more important in the past three and a half months, the speeches of Churchill or my actions [Contrast].

I have come here today to deliver a short introductory address on the Winter Help scheme. This time it was particularly difficult for me to come here because in the hours in which I can be here a new, gigantic event [Metonymy] is taking place on our eastern front.

For the last forty-eight hours an operation of gigantic proportions is again in progress, which will help to smash the enemy in the East [Synecdoche]. I am talking to you on behalf of millions [Synecdoche] who are at this moment fighting and want to ask the German people at home to take upon themselves, in addition to other sacrifices, that of Winter Help this year.

Since June 22 a battle of decisive importance for the world has been taking place. Only posterity will clearly see [Personification] its dimensions and depth and will realize that [Personification] it marked a new era.

I did not want this struggle. Since January, 1933, when Providence entrusted me with the leadership of the German Reich, I had an aim before my eyes [Synecdoche] which was essentially incorporated in the program of our National Socialist party. I [Anaphora] have never been disloyal to this aim and have never abandoned my program.

I made efforts to bring about the construction of a people who, after a war lost through its own fault [Allusion], had experienced the deepest collapse in its history. This in itself was a gigantic task. And I began this task at a moment when others had either failed in it or no longer believed in the possibility of ever accomplishing such a task. What we achieved in these years in the way of peaceful reconstruction is unparalleled.

It is for me and my collaborators an offense to be compelled to

¹¹Adolf Hitler, Vital Speeches of the Day, Vol. VIII, No. 2, (November 1, 1941) pp. 36-40.

have dealings with those democratic entities who are not in a position to look back even upon one single true great work in their lives. I and all of us did not need this war to perpetuate our names. Moreover, we were not at the end of our achievements, but in some fields still at the beginning [Contrast].

We succeeded in internally restoring our Reich although under difficult conditions for in Germany 140 people per square kilometer have to be fed [Repetition]. Yet we have solved our problems, while others foundered on the problem [Contrast].

We had the following principles: First, the internal consolidation of the German nation; second, the attainment of equal rights externally; third, the unity of the German people and thus the restoration of natural conditions which had been interrupted only artificially.

Our external program, therefore, was laid down in advance. This did not mean that we would ever strive for war. But one thing was certain, that we would in no circumstances renounce the restoration of German freedom and thus one of the conditions of the German revival [Metonymy].

I have submitted to the world many proposals along these lines. I need not repeat them here. This is done by my publicist collaborators. How many peace offers have I made to the world and disarmament proposals for a peaceful, new sound world economic order [Rhetorical Question - Repetition]? All these were rejected by those who could not hope that such peaceful work would keep their regime at the helm [Metonymy].

In spite of that we gradually succeeded through long years of peaceful work in carrying through not only great internal reforms but also the unity of the German nation, in creating the German Reich and in bringing back millions of Germans to their homeland [Metonymy].

During this period I succeeded in gaining a number of allies. These were headed by Italy, with whose statesmen I am linked by ties of personal and cordial friendship. Our relations with Japan continue to improve. In Europe, too, there were a number of nations and States which maintained their old friendship and sympathy, in particular Hungary and some Nordic States. New nations have been added to a number of these.

Unfortunately there is not among them the nation I wooed [Metonymy] most strongly, Britain. The British people as a whole do not bear the sole responsibility. On the contrary, there are a few people who, in their deep hatred, in their senselessness, sabotage every attempt at such an understanding, supported by that enemy [Epithet] of the world whom you all know, international Jewry.

We did not succeed in bringing about such a link [Metonymy]

between Great Britain, especially the English people, with the German people as I had always hoped for. Just as in 1914 the moment came when a hard decision had to be taken [Allusion]. I did not shrink from it, for I realized one thing, that if it were impossible to gain the friendship of England it would be better if Germany experienced her enmity at a time when I was still the leader of Germany.

If the friendship of England [Synecdoche] could not be won by the measures I had taken and the advances I had made, then it could never be won in the future. There was no other choice then but to fight.

I am grateful to fate that I may lead this fight. I am convinced that no understanding can be reached with these men. They are mad fools [Epithet], men who for ten years had not spoken another word but "We want another war with Germany." When I endeavored to bring about an understanding, Churchill cried, "I want war!"

He has got it now. And all his co-warmongers [Epithet], who say that this will be a "charming war," who congratulated each other on September 1, 1939, on this coming "charming war," may now perhaps think differently about this "charming war" [Repetition], and should they not know yet that this war is no charming affair for England they will surely become aware of it in due course, as truly as I am here. These warmongers [Epithet] succeeded in pushing Poland forward, these warmongers [Epithet] not only of the Old World [Synecdoche] but also of the New World [Synecdoche].

That was the time when England did not go about begging others for help, but still magnanimously promised help to every one. This has since changed [Contrast]. In those days I made proposals to Poland. Now that events have taken a course different from the one we wished, I must say that it was indeed Providence [Repetition] that prevented the acceptance of my offer at the time.

This conspiracy of democratic Jews and Free Masons dragged [Personification] Europe into war two years ago. Arms [Metonymy] had to decide [Climax].

Since then a struggle has been taking place between truth and lies [Contrast] and, as always, this war will end in the victory for truth. In other words, whatever lies British propaganda, international world Jewry and its democratic accomplices may concoct they will not change historical facts. And it is a historical fact that for two years now Germany has been defeating one opponent after another.

I did not want it [Repetition]. Immediately after the first conflict I again held out my hand [Metonymy]. I have been a soldier myself and I know how difficult it is to win a victory.

My hand [Metonymy] was rejected. And since then we have seen

that each peace offer was immediately exploited by the warmonger [Epithet] Churchill and his confreres so that they could say it was proof of our weakness. I have, therefore, given up trying this way. I have laboriously reached this conclusion: a clear decision must be fought out, that is to say, a decision of importance for history for the next hundred years.

Always endeavoring to limit the scope of the war, I decided to do something which was difficult for me to do. In 1939 I sent my Minister to Moscow [Synecdoche]. That meant the most bitter triumph over my feelings. I tried to come to an understanding.

You yourselves know best how honestly we observed our obligations. Neither in our press nor at our meetings was a single word about Russia mentioned. Not a single word about bolshevism. Unfortunately, the other side did not observe their obligations from the beginning [Contrast].

This arrangement resulted in a betrayal [Metonymy] which at first liquidated the whole northeast of Europe. You know best what it meant for us to look on in silence as the Finnish people were being strangled [Metonymy], what it meant to us that the Baltic States [Synecdoche] were also being overpowered. What that meant can be judged by those who know German history and know that there is not a single square kilometer there of land which has not been opened up to culture and civilization by German pioneer work.

Yet I remained silent. I took a decision only when I saw that Russia had reached the hour [Synecdoche] to advance against us at a moment [Synecdoche] when we had only a bare three divisions in East Prussia, when twenty-two Soviet divisions were assembled there [Contrast]. We gradually received proof that on our frontiers one airdrome after another was set up, and one division after another from the gigantic Soviet Army was being assembled there.

I was then obliged to become anxious for there is no excuse in history for negligence. I am responsible for the present of the German people and as far as possible for its future. I [Anaphora] was therefore compelled slowly to take defensive measures.

But in August and September of last year one thing was becoming clear. A decision in the West with England which would have contained the whole German Luftwaffe was no longer possible, for in my rear there stood a State which was getting ready to proceed against me at such a moment, but it is only now that we realize how far the preparation had advanced. I wanted once again to clarify the whole problem and therefore I invited Molotoff to Berlin.

He put to me the four well-known conditions. First, Germany [Synecdoche] should finally agree that, as Russia [Synecdoche] felt herself again endangered by Finland, Russia [Synecdoche] should be able

to liquidate Finland. This was the first question which I found difficult to answer. But I could not do otherwise than refuse this.

The second question concerned Rumania, a question whether a German guarantee would protect Rumania against Russia. Here, too, I stand by my word. I do not regret it, for I have found in General Antonescu a man of honor who at the time blindly stood by his word [Metonymy].

The third question referred to Bulgaria. Molotoff demanded that Russia should retain the right to send garrisons to Bulgaria and thus to give a Russian guarantee to Bulgaria. What this means we know from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania [Contrast].

In this question I said that such a guarantee was conditioned by the wishes of the country whose guarantee was to be given and that I did not know anything about it and that I would have to make inquiries and to consult with my allies.

The fourth question referred to the Dardanelles. Russia demanded bases on the Dardanelles. If Molotoff is now trying to deny this, that is not surprising. If tomorrow or the day after tomorrow he will be no longer in Moscow, he will deny that he is no longer in Moscow [Contrast].

He made this demand and I rejected it. I had to reject it. This made things clear to me and further talks were without result. My precautions were called for.

After that I carefully watched Russia [Synecdoche]. Each division we could observe was carefully noted and counter-measures were taken.

The position in May had so far advanced that I could no longer dismiss the thought of a life and death conflict. At that time I had always to remain silent, and that was doubly difficult for me, perhaps not so difficult with regard to the German people for they had to realize there are moments when one cannot talk if one does not wish to endanger the whole nation.

More difficult was silence for me with regard to my soldiers, who, division by division, stood on the eastern frontier of the Reich and yet did not know what was actually going on. And it was just on account of them I could not speak.

Had I dropped one single word I would not have changed Stalin's decision. But the possibility of surprise, which remained for me as a last weapon [Simile], would then not have existed.

Any such indication, any such hint, would have cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of our comrades [Synecdoche]. I was therefore silent until the moment when I finally decided to take the first step

myself. When I see the enemy leveling his rifle at me I am not going to wait till he presses the trigger [Contrast]. I would rather be the first to press the trigger.

This was the most difficult decision of my whole life for every such step opened up the gate [Analogy] behind which secrets are hidden so that posterity will know how it came about and how it happened. Thus one can only rely on one's conscience, the confidence of one's people, one's own weapons and what one [Anaphora] asks of the Almighty. Not that He supports inaction but He blesses him who is himself ready and willing to fight and make sacrifices for his existence.

On June 22, in the morning, the greatest battle in the history of the world started. Since then something like three and a half months have elapsed and here I say this:

Everything since then has proceeded according to plan. During the whole period the initiative has not been taken even for a second out of the hand of our leadership. Up to the present day every action has developed just as much according to plan as formerly in the east against Poland and then against the west [Synecdoche] and finally against the Balkans.

But I must say one thing at this point: We have not been wrong in our plans. We have also not been mistaken about the efficiency and bravery of the German soldier. Nor have we been mistaken about the quality of our weapons.

We have not been mistaken about the smooth working of the whole organization at the front and extending over a gigantic area in the rear. Neither have we been mistaken about the German homeland.

We have, however, been mistaken about one thing. We [Anaphora] had no idea how gigantic the preparations of this enemy were against Germany and Europe and how immeasurably great was the danger, how by the skin of our teeth we have escaped destruction not only of Germany but also of Europe.

That I can say now. I say it only today because I can say that this enemy is already broken [Metonymy] and will never rise again [Climax].

Her power had been assembled against Europe, of which unfortunately most had no idea and many even today have no idea. This would have been a second storm of Ghengis Khan [Allusion]. That this danger [Metonymy] was averted we owe in the first place to the bravery, endurance and sacrifice of the German soldiers and also the sacrifice of those who marched with us.

For the first time something like a European awakening passed through this continent. In the north, Finland is fighting, a true

nation of heroes, for in her wide spaces she relies on her own strength, her bravery and tenacity.

In the south, Rumania is fighting. It has recuperated with astonishing speed from one of the most difficult crises that may befall a country and the people are led by a man at once brave and quick at making decisions.

This embraces the whole width of this battlefield from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. Our German soldiers are now fighting in these areas and with them in their ranks Finns, Italians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Croats and Spaniards are now going into battle. Belgians, Netherlanders, Danes, Norwegians and even Frenchmen have joined.

The progress of this unparalleled event [Synecdoche] is known to you in outline. Of the three German Army groups, one had the task to break open the center and to open up the way to the right and the left. Two flanking groups had the task, one to advance against Leningrad and the other to occupy the Ukraine. These first tasks have been substantially achieved.

During this time of great historical fighting the enemy is asking, "Why is nothing happening?" But something had always been happening. But because something was happening we could not talk.

If I were the British Prime Minister today, I would probably keep talking in the circumstances because there is nothing happening there and that is the difference [Contrast]. We could not, not because we did not pay homage to the everlasting achievements of our soldiers, but because we could not give any information to the enemy in advance of situations of which he, with his miserable [Epithet] news service, became aware only days or even weeks later.

A German High Command communique is the report of truth [Repetition], even if some stupid British newspaper lout [Epithet] declares it must first be confirmed. German High Command communiques have been thoroughly confirmed. We have defeated the Poles and not the Poles us [Contrast], although the British press has been saying the opposite. There also is no doubt that we are in Norway and not the British [Contrast].

Nor is there any doubt we were successful in the Netherlands and Belgium and not the English [Contrast]. There is also no doubt that Germany has conquered France and that we are in Greece and not the English or the New Zealanders [Contrast]. Nor are they in Crete but we are there [Contrast]. Thus the German High Command spoke the truth [Repetition].

It is not different in the East. According to the British version we have for three months suffered one defeat after another,

yet we are 1,000 kilometers beyond our frontier. We are east of Smolensk, we are before Leningrad and are on the Black Sea. We [Anaphora] are before the Crimea and the Russians are not on the Rhine [Contrast].

If, therefore, the Russians have been continuously victorious they did not make use of their victories. Indeed, after every victory they marched back 100 or 200 kilometers [Hyperbole], evidently to lure us deep into the area [Irony].

The magnitude of this battle is shown by the following figures. They are many among you who have experienced the World War [Allusion] and they know what it means to take prisoners and to advance hundreds of kilometers.

The number of prisoners has now risen to roughly 2,500,000 Russians. The number of captured or destroyed guns in our hands [Synecdoche] is, in round figures, 22,000. The number of captured or destroyed tanks in our hands [Synecdoche] amounts to over 18,000. The number of destroyed and shot-down planes is over 14,500 [Epistrophe].

Behind our front line is a Russian area twice as large as the German Reich when I took over leadership in 1933, or four times as large as England [Contrast]. The beeline [Metonymy] covered by the German soldiers is from over 800 to 1,000 kilometers. The marching distance of this is often one and a half times or twice as great.

They are fighting on a front of gigantic length, and against an enemy who, I must say, does not consist of human beings but of animals or beasts [Metaphor]. We have seen now what bolshevism can make of human beings.

We cannot bring to the people at home the pictures we have at our disposal. They are the most sinister that human brains [Synecdoche] can imagine. The enemy is fighting with a bestial lust of blood on the one hand and out of cowardice and fear of his commissars on the other hand [Contrast].

Our soldiers have come to know the land after twenty-five years of Bolshevist rule. Those who went there and, in their hearts or bodies, have something of a communistic outlook in the narrowest sense of the term, have returned cured of this idea.

The pictures of this paradise of workers and peasants as I have always described it will be confirmed by five or six million soldiers after the end of this war. They will be witnesses upon whom I can call. They have marched through the streets of this paradise [Irony].

It is a single armaments factory [Metaphor - Analogy] against Europe at the expense of the standard of living of the people. Our soldiers have won victories against this cruel, bestial [Epithet]

opponent, against this opponent with the mighty armaments.

I cannot think of a phrase that would do justice to them. What they are continually achieving in bravery, courage and immeasurable efforts cannot be imagined.

Whether we take our airmen or fighters, our dive-bombers, our navy crews which man our U-boats, whether we finally take our Alpine troops in the north, or whether we [Anaphora] take men of the S. S. detachments, they are all alike. But above all, and I would like to emphasize this especially now, stand the achievements of the German infantrymen.

We have three divisions, my friends, which since Spring have marched from 2,000 to 3,000 kilometers. This includes numerous divisions which have covered 1,500 or 2,000 kilometers. This speaks for itself.

I can say that if one speaks of lightning [Metonymy] war, then these soldiers deserve to have their deeds described as lightning [Metonymy], for such performances in marches forward have never been surpassed in history, except by the headlong flights of some English regiments.

There are only some historic, precipitated retreats which have surpassed these performances. In any case, there was no question of such long distances, for the enemy took care to keep near to the coast.

I do not mean thereby to disparage the enemy. I only want to render to the German soldier the justice he deserves. He has achieved the unsurpassable. All organizations associated with him are partly workers, but also partly soldiers. For in this mighty space almost everybody is a soldier [Metaphor] today.

Every worker is a soldier [Metaphor]. Every railway man is a soldier [Metaphor]. In the whole of this area everybody must build with weapons, and it is a colossal area. What was achieved behind this front is just as grandiose as the achievements at the front.

Over 25,000 kilometers of Russian railways are again functioning. Over 15,000 kilometers of Russian railways have been converted to the German gauge. In the east the length of line which today has been converted into the German gauge is more than fifteen times as great as what used to be the longest trunk line in the Reich, that from Stettin to the Bavarian Alps, which is just short of 1,000 kilometers.

What this has cost in sweat and effort even the people at home may not appraise. And behind all this there are the labor battalions and labor services of our organization. The whole gigantic front of these services and of the Red Cross, medical officers, stretcher bearers and Red Cross nurses are all making sacrifices.

Behind this front a new administration is already being built to look after the whole of this gigantic area.

If this war lasts much longer, Germany and her allies will make use of it and its usefulness will be tremendous, for there is no doubt that we know how to organize it. If I give you now, in a few sentences, a picture of the unique achievements of the German soldiers and of all those who are today fighting or working in the East, I would also convey to you the gratitude of our soldiers for the excellent, first-class weapons the country has supplied to them and their gratitude for the munitions that are at their disposal in unlimited quantities as fast as they can be transported.

There is only the problem of transportation. We have seen to it that, in the midst of this huge war of materials, the function of production has been organized in a large area, for I know that there is now no adversary who cannot be forced to yield by an available mass of munitions.

And if at times you read in the newspapers about the gigantic plans of other States, of what they intend to do and to begin, and when you hear of sums running into billions, remember I now say, first, we place the whole continent in the service of this struggle; second, we do not talk of capital but of labor, and we place this labor 100 per cent in this service. If we do not talk about it, this does not mean that we are not doing anything [Contrast].

I know perfectly well that the others are doing everything better than we do [Irony]. They are building tanks that are invincible, that are faster than ours and do not need any gasoline [Irony]. In the fighting we have everywhere put many of them out of action [Contrast]. That is decisive.

They build wonder planes; everything they do is amazing [Irony]. All they do is incomprehensible [Irony], even technically incomprehensible [Irony], but they have no machines that can surpass ours [Contrast], and the machines we drive or fly today, or with which we shoot today, are not the machines we shall drive, fly or shoot with next year [Contrast].

I believe that will satisfy every German. Everything else will be seen to by our inventors and by our German workers and working women. Behind this front of sacrifice and bravery in the face of death there is also the home front, a front formed by city and country.

Millions of German workmen are laboring in the cities and in the country. An entire people is engaged in the struggle.

This united German people was confronted by two extremes in the world outside. In one the capitalist State denies the natural right to their people by lies and treachery and in which they keep solely their

own vested interest. On the other side stood the Communist extreme, a state that has brought inconceivable misery to millions and desired to bring the same misery to the entire world [Contrast].

In my opinion this imposes on us only one duty, to strive more than ever after our National Socialist ideals. For we must be clear on one point. When this war is concluded, it is the German soldier who will have won it, the German soldier who has come from the peasants and the factories who really represents the masses of the people.

It will have been won by the German home front, with millions of men and women workers and peasants, the creative men in the office and in the professions. All these millions of active people will have won it [Repetition]. Those who labor at home have the right to know that this new State will be built for them.

The experiences of the front will produce still more fanatic National Socialists. In Germany the system of justice reigns. He who has been able to lead, whether in the military, political or economic field, will be equally valuable and equally esteemed in Germany, but just so highly esteemed will be he who put out help, without whose assistance the greatest leadership would not be capable of anything. That is decisive.

The German people can be proud today. They have the best political leaders, the best generalissimos, the best engineers and economic organizers and also the best workmen, best peasants and best [Repetition - Anaphora] people.

To weld all these people into one indissoluble community was the task we set ourselves as National Socialists. This task confronts Germany more clearly today than ever before.

I shall emerge from this war one day again with my party program, the fulfillment of which is more important to me today than during those first days. I have come here to tell the German people that in the Winter Help scheme it has the opportunity to show the community spirit. What sacrifices those at the front are bearing cannot be made up by anything. What the German home front [Synecdoche] has achieved and will still achieve will stand before history.

Only when the entire German people become a single community of sacrifice can we expect and hope that Almighty God will help us. The Almighty has never helped a lazy man. He does not help the coward. He does not help a people that cannot help itself.

The principle applies here, help yourselves and Almighty God [Repetition] will not deny you his assistance [Climax].

Germany on the Defensive, 1942-1945

SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1942¹²

My German fellow countrymen and countrywomen: It is really already a year since I talked to you from this place, to all of you and to the German nation. In some respects this is regrettable. In the first place, I am sorry myself to be unable to step before you more frequently. In the second place, because I am naturally afraid my speeches thereby do not become better, but worse. Because even to make speeches, one must practice.

Unfortunately, my time is much more limited than the time of my worthy enemies. Those who can travel around the world for weeks on end, with a widebrimmed sombrero on their heads and in a white silk shirt, and somewhere else again in some other outfit, they can naturally busy themselves with speeches [Irony].

I really had to occupy myself during this time much more with actions and with deeds. Furthermore, I naturally cannot make a speech each week or each month--for what should I say [Interrogation]?

What must be said today is being said by our soldiers. The subjects I could discuss today are also naturally more difficult. The subjects of the discussions of my enemies are simpler [Contrast]. Those speeches, which at an earlier time, were made from the fireplace or such locations in the form of chats, were sent out into the entire world [Allusion].

The subject of discussion is more difficult because I do not consider it right to deal now with subjects regarding the formation of what shall be in the future. I rather consider it right that we all occupy ourselves now with such problems as are required from us at this time [Contrast].

To brew [Metonymy] an Atlantic Charter together is, of course, very simple. Of course, such stupidity [Epithet] shall have validity only for very few years. It shall be simply abolished by the duress [Personification] of facts.

It is also easier for another reason for our opponents to talk because after vain attempts which lasted many years they have suddenly

¹²Adolf Hitler, Vital Speeches of the Day, Vol. IX, No. 1, (October 15, 1942), pp. 5-11.

discovered our party program. We see now with surprise that they promised to the world for the future what we have already given to our German nation and for which we have been blessed by those others, with a war [Contrast].

It is also a very witty thing if, for instance a President says, "We want that in the future everybody shall have the right to suffer no further want" [Allusion], or something similar. One can only say to that that it would have been much easier, in all likelihood, if the President [Synecdoche], instead of having jumped into war, had used the entire labor energy of his country in caring for his own people and in order to build up useful production of his nation which, in spite of the fact that only ten persons live there per square kilometer [Repetition], suffers want and misery. Thirteen million persons are unemployed [Contrast].

These gentlemen could have done all these things, instead of now posing before the world as judges [Simile] who declare, "We shall look out in the future that the want of the past shall not reoccur, that times of unemployment shall be banned forever, that everybody shall get an apartment." All that could have been done and accomplished by these empire proprietors [Epithet] a long time ago, in their own countries. And now they suddenly discover exclusively nothing but the fundamentals of the National Socialist program [Contrast].

If I now hear any person telling me--I believe it was that Eden, but after all one never knows which nonentity [Epithet] talks over there--when he now says that the difference between the two sides is: that the Germans have a faith and we¹³ also have a faith, but that the Germans believe in something in which they do not believe, while we believe in something in which we do believe [Epistrophe]--then I can only say that if they really would believe what they pretend to believe, then they should have professed that belief earlier.

Why, then, did they declare war upon us? After all, they are not so far away from us. We, at least, did not only believe in something. We also did what we believed [Contrast]. And now we believe that we must defeat the enemies unto definite, final victory. This we believe [Climax].

Naturally we cannot go into discussions regarding the concept of belief with people who, for instance, believe that Namsos (in Norway) was a victory, or who believe that Andalsnes (in Norway) was a victory, or who even believe that Dunkerque was altogether the greatest victory in the history of the world [Irony].

They believe that some sort of expedition lasting nine hours is an astounding and most encouraging sign of victorious action [Hyperbole].

¹³The United Nations.

With such people we with our modest successes can naturally not compare ourselves [Irony].

What are our things compared to that [Rhetorical Question]? If we advance 1,000 kilometers, that is nothing; that is a positive failure [Irony]. If we, for instance, during the last few months--in the few months during which one is at all capable of waging a war in such country--if we then advance to the Don and down that stream and finally reach the Volga; if we continuously storm Stalingrad--which we shall also take, you may depend on it--then all that means nothing [Irony]!

If we advance to the Caucasus, then that also means nothing [Irony]. If we occupy the Ukraine, if we take into our possession the Soviet coal, all that again means nothing [Irony]. If we take 65 or 70 per cent of all Russian iron, that means absolutely nothing [Irony]. Nothing at all.

If we get the greatest grain country of the world, that is again absolutely nothing [Irony]. If [Anaphora] we secure for ourselves the gasoline sources there, that again is nothing [Irony]. Altogether all that is nothing [Irony - Epistrophe].

But when Canadian advance units and English troops come to Dieppe, and when they are able to maintain themselves for nine hours, only to be annihilated completely, then that is an encouraging and most astonishing sign of the inexhaustible victorious strength of the British empire [Irony].

How does our air force compare with that [Rhetorical Question]? How does our infantry compare with that [Rhetorical Question]? What is the effectiveness of our tank arm? What are all these compared with that of the capabilities of our engineer forces [Rhetorical Question]? Or those of our railroad troops [Rhetorical Question]? And so on [Rhetorical Question]?

How does our gigantic transportation installation, which opened an entire continent and which, one may say, in a few months reconstructed a new world, that is nothing [Irony].

U-boats [Rhetorical Question]? Of course, also nothing [Irony]. Already in 1939 they amounted to nothing [Irony - Epistrophe]. Already then Churchill stepped up and said, "I can make the fortunate report that the U-boat danger may be considered as definitely obliterated. We have destroyed more U-boats than the German fleet has ever had [Hyperbole]."

Or, just a minute, no, no [Interjection], that was not Churchill; that was Duff Cooper who pleased to say so, but, as already explained, each of these loud-mouths [Epithet] is worse than the other, and one gets them mixed up all the time.

That we have thrown them out of the Balkans, that we have captured Greece, that we have occupied Crete, that [Anaphora] they were driven out of North Africa, all that is nothing to them [Irony].

But if somewhere, let us say, just a few men land to overcome a lone sentry of ours, such things then are deeds [Irony]. Those are accomplishments [Irony]. Those who believe in such a manner will never be able to understand our belief. But if the Englishmen now really believe what they pretend to believe, one can really only be worried about their sanity [Irony].

Nevertheless, they have, of course, plans for the future. They say, "The second front will come. The second front is already marching ahead. Watch out! Turn back!"

We have not watched out and did not turn back, and calmly kept on marching ahead [Contrast]. And by that I do not mean to say that we do not prepare ourselves of course, for a second front.

And if Churchill says, "We shall leave it to the Germans to worry about where and when we shall open a second front," then I can only say, "Mr. Churchill, you have never yet caused me to fear [Climax]."

But regarding the fact that we must worry and think, you are right. Because if I had an opponent of adequate scope--of real military size--then I could actually calculate approximately where he would attack [Contrast]. But if one has before one military idiots [Epithet], in such a case one cannot even guess where they will attack [Contrast].

That might actually be the craziest undertaking and that is the only disagreeable factor, that one never knows in the case of these mentally diseased and eternally drunk [Epithet] persons what they are actually about to do next [Repetition].

Regardless of where will be the next place he will choose, he will be able to speak of good fortune if he will be able to stay on firm land for a mere nine hours [Irony].

The year 1942 included many things. It was in my opinion the greatest, most fateful trial among the nations. It was the Winter of 1941-42. I may say that the German people, and especially the Army, was safeguarded by Providence during that Winter.

Worse things cannot and will not come any more. That we have conquered that Winter--General Winter [Irony]--that in the end the German front lines were finally maintained and that we could attack again this Spring, that is to say in the early Summer, that [Anaphora], I believe, is proof that Providence was satisfied with the German people.

It was a very difficult and a very hard test, the most bitter trial of all. Nevertheless, we overcame this most difficult period

[Contrast]. Not only that, but in all calm we managed to put into order the attack divisions, the motorized troops and to regroup respectively to form these divisions. These units were destined to initiate the further victories.

Naturally, the offensive did not happen along and proceed the way our enemies had thought. But, after all, it is not necessary that we work along the lines of their recipes [Metonymy]. As I said, these recipes [Metonymy] of theirs did not have too much success [Understatement].

I believe we can be satisfied with the past three years if we look back upon them. Our aims were set by us by the most sober consideration at all times. We were staking a lot where we had to. We considered carefully whenever we had enough time. And we were careful where we believed we had to be careful under any and all circumstances; but we [Anaphora] were also very valiant wherever valor alone was able to save us [Contrast].

For this year we have prepared for ourselves a very simple program. In the first place, under all circumstances, we must hold whatever must be held. That is to say, we must let the others attack as much as they wish wherever we have no intention to advance. We must hold everything and must wait to see who tires soonest.

In the second place, we must attack under all circumstances where attack is necessary.

The aim in all this is a very clear one: annihilation of the right arm [Synecdoche] of these international conspirators, of capitalists and plutocracy and bolshevism [Epithet]. It is certainly the greatest danger that has ever come in modern times to the German people [Climax].

And now, my fellow-party members, now you will also understand this one thing. There exists people on the side of our opponents who say, "Why, then, do they stop suddenly?" Because we are careful. Because we do not run to the very end in order to be forced to run backward afterward; because we halt so long at any given place until we have our supply lines in complete order.

People who are not militarily schooled naturally cannot grasp that fact. That is why they have no successes. All these people, however, who have undergone only a little military education will admit that all that we took in the past few months, merely in terms of space, is unique in the history of the world.

I say that also because there might be among us some old reactionary Philistines [Epithet - Allusion] who will say: "Now what, after all, is all that? Already they have been standing still for eight days!" Well, now, my dear Philistine [Epithet], you are really

the one whom we need most. You should go out there to regulate traffic for us [Irony - Analogy].

The whole people, however--I know that--has in its entirety the traditional faith in its military leadership and in the accomplishments of its soldiers, and knows we never halt without good reason [Climax].

While we are on the defensive in Northern Europe, as well as in the west, we gain thereby all necessary conditions for the necessary organization of Europe with regard to this war.

You know, of course, that our opponents accomplish miracles at all times without end [Irony]. There is no tank that they construct that is not the best in the world [Irony]. There is no airplane they build that is not, of course, the best in the world [Irony].

There is no cannon, no matter how simple a cannon they manufacture, but that it is The Cannon, the most astonishing cannon of the whole world [Irony - Epistrophe].

They manufacture a new machine gun or a new automatic pistol. Then, right away, it is a miracle pistol [Irony]. They say right away that this one pistol of theirs is, exclusively, the only outstanding invention in this world. If afterward one looks at that junk, we here would not even put such stuff into the hands of our soldiers.

They are far superior to us in every matter [Irony]. They are superior to us, above all, in their unequaled generals [Irony]. They are ahead of us in the courage of their soldiers [Irony]. Every single Englishman would take on at least three Germans. The trouble is, one cannot find him. Is it not so [Rhetorical Question]?

They are superior as to their equipment [Irony]. What is a German tank compared to an English tank [Rhetorical Question]? Or to an American tank [Rhetorical Question]? And so forth.

But at any rate the great heroes of this war will be written into the book by our side. History [Synecdoche] shall in the future do honor to the truth of facts as well as be just with us. On our side, we shall take care of the further development of our alliances, the cooperation between the allies.

We shall be in the lead with our oldest ally, Italy. On one front we already are fighting together on many sectors, and that is good. It shows, and is proof, that all the hatred the enemy arouses is merely idiocy and madness [Epithet].

We know exactly what would happen to our two countries from the aims expressed by our enemies. We know what the idiotic and mad fate of the Italian and the German peoples would be were it up to their set aims.

But beyond that we know what the fate of Europe would be if that other world [Synecdoche] ever won a victory [Synecdoche]. We know what the fate of Europe would be.

Already today they say, "Yes, naturally, we shall then take over the protection of Europe against bolshevism." To that I can only reply, "Let England watch out for herself and safeguard herself against bolshevism [Contrast]."

We need that help from nobody. We succeeded in overcoming bolshevism in our interior, and we shall also get along beyond our borders. We have already proven that.

If in a country Archbishops hold sacred masses where their altar cloths have on one side the Bolshevist insignia and on the other the arms of their country [Analogy], then I see a black future for such a country. We know much better what such things lead to.

The English will experience that yet. Perhaps fate and Providence [Repetition] will punish her one day in the same manner in which Germany was once punished, punished for having entered a pact with such peoples.

Germany and Italy, as well as Spain and an entire row of European nations, Rumania, and so forth, have managed to finish with the problem I speak of. Whether the rest of the world will also be able to cope with it, this war will show in its results. But that the remainder of this world will not be able to cope with us, of that they all may be convinced.

If we total up all our allies, also those who fight on our side--Rumanians, Hungarians, Croats, Slovaks and so on, and above all the Finns in the North, and then the Spaniards and so on--if we total them all up we may well say that today already there is in progress a European crusade [Repetition]. To this must be added the German volunteers of the Elite Guard. And there are several legions of individual European States.

It is in reality all of Europe that has gathered here, just as it did in the old days against the Huns or the storming Mongols [Allusion].

And now, since our last talk to you, Japan has also entered this war. And Japan, of course, has suffered nothing but defeats [Irony]; and the Japanese generals are, of course, absolutely nothing compared to the incomparable and most heroic and most famous generals of England, or especially of America--such as MacArthur [Irony]! What kind of general isn't he [Interrogation]? What is he not [Interrogation]? And how little is a little Japanese when compared to him!

Only the Japanese have taken Shanghai and Hong Kong and they

have captured Singapore and they have taken into their possession the Philippines, and they sit on New Guinea and will get all New Guinea into their possession, and [Anaphora] they have occupied Java and Sumatra [Contrast], but all that is absolutely nothing when compared with the immense victories which England and America have won there [Irony]. Battles, sea battles such as the world has never seen before, were fought there.

And now Roosevelt declares, "About the losses I shall not mention a single word. I don't want to express myself at all about the subject." We know these heroes altogether too well. Today we have a global alliance, not only of the have-nots, but of all the peoples who fight for honor and decency and which have decided to clean up definitely this most base coalition [Epithet] the world [Synecdoche] has ever seen [Personification]. If I speak of that, I must also mention another matter.

I already have mentioned that as early as 1939 either Churchill-- or was it Duff Cooper [Interrogation]?--said they had destroyed the German U-boats without a trace. There were no U-boats left any more. And from time to time reports came again and again: "Now they have been definitely eliminated." But the success of the U-boats has since been greatly supported by the heroic activities of our air force, and rise from month to month [Contrast - Repetition].

And now our enemies declare: "We have enormous means of defense; we have new methods; the British and the American spirit [Metonymy] have invented [Personification] entirely new machines by which we shall cope with such danger." I can only tell you, the German spirit [Metonymy] is not asleep [Personification] either. We also work [Contrast].

Above all, our U-boats are succeeding beyond all expectations. And I can assure these gentlemen that all this will not change. You may be convinced that we shall stay in the running without a halt [Climax].

In the meantime, we continue to build and rebuild weapons, and up to now we have come up every year with a new weapon that was superior to those of the enemy. And that will also continue in the future. Thus, when we review the total outcome, we must declare that also the last months of this year were most successful, and that again in the future we shall again be still more successful.

And now, admittedly, besides the second front, one appears to have also another method. The man who invented the bombing war against the guiltless civil population declares that this bombing war will be considerably strengthened against Germany and so on.

I wish to state only one fact: In May, 1940, Churchill sent out the first bombers against the German civilian population. At that

time I warned--almost throughout four months--of course, in vain. And then we went in and attacked. And we beat him so thoroughly that he suddenly began to howl, and had to declare that it was barbarism, that it was terrible that England would revenge herself.

The man who has all that upon his conscience--if I do not mention the chief warmonger [Epithet] of this war, Roosevelt--that man who is guilty of it all [Interjection], he then dared to pose as the innocent. Again they wage that type of war.

But I wish to express but one thought: The hour shall come when we will reply. Let us hope that by then these two chief war criminals [Epithet] and their Jewish strawmen [Epithet] refrain from whining and baaa-ing when the end of England will be more terrible than the beginning.

They have drawn nation after nation into this war. The string-pullers of the psychopath [Epithet] of the White House have actually accomplished an evil [Metonymy] which nobody will be able to mend [Metonymy]. All the talk and chatter of the adversaries will be fruitless.

Anti-Semitism is growing, and every nation that enters this war will come out of it an anti-Semitic State. Jews laughed in Germany when I prophesied something. I don't know if they laugh still, or if they have already forgotten to laugh. But I can assure them they will forget to laugh everywhere. I will be right in this prophesy too.

The world historic successes of these last months are so big that it is necessary to think of those to whom we owe these successes. You can read in the newspapers of the big victories. But you read also for weeks nothing else than "The operations are progressing" or "The operations are progressing satisfactorily" or this or that part of the front is calm or that in another part of the front attacks have been repelled.

What is hidden behind these simple words of the High Command you don't even suspect. The High Command communique must try to find a balance in order to put the different actions according to their importance for the whole operations. But this does not mean that where a combat is small it is easier for the German soldier than where big decisions are taken [Contrast].

All that is simple to read, yet it is terribly difficult. It is similar to what it was in the World War [Allusion]. The soldiers came back home and they were asked how it was. And they had finally to admit that one could not explain it to somebody who had not experienced it. This cannot be told. Who has not experienced it himself does not know it. He does not understand it [Epistrophe]; one cannot explain it to him [Climax].

And thus some keep quiet and do not say anything because they feel that one cannot depict it as it is in reality, and especially when one is up against such a barbarous, bestial [Epithet] enemy as it is the case in the East [Synecdoche], an enemy of whom one knows there is no pardon, an enemy who is not recruited from men but in fact from beasts [Analogy].

Behind all these dull statements there is superhuman suffering, immense devotedness, immense heroism, immense [Anaphora] energy.

This has been many weeks and months of continuous devotion, compared with a sentence printed in a newspaper. When we consider this we must recognize that whatever the homeland [Synecdoche] is doing it cannot be grateful enough to his soldiers. And by this not only our soldiers are meant but all soldiers of our allied nations who fight on our side.

In this connection something more must be mentioned, that the German Army does not act as, for example, the British. We do not always send other people to dangerous places, but we consider it as our duty and as our honor to bear ourselves our blood burden plentifully. We have no Canadians or Australians who can pick the chestnuts from the fire [Analogy] for us [Contrast].

We fight with our allies as faithful, absolute honorable allies. We consider it necessary, that only from such action can result what we National Socialists who come from the first World War have always envisaged, this large empire of a close people's community united in sorrow and joy.

This war has shown us one bright side--the comradeship [Interjection], what our party always aspired for, the great community of people. All German tribes [Allusion] contribute. The foundation of the great German Reich would have been, without this only a legal act, so it is a document [Metonymy] signed with the blood [Synecdoche] of all of us.

This document can be suppressed by nobody. All talk and babble will be ineffective. It is a document that will give to this State not only the formal right but also the inner content.

When you read lists of owners of the Knight's Cross or the Iron Cross you find names of simple men, lance corporal or noncommissioned officers beside the names of generals [Contrast]. When you look at the promotion lists of our young officers, here begins already the break through of the Nationalists Socialist community in its whole frame. A birth certificate [Metonymy] does not exist any more [Climax - Repetition].

The notion of capital does not exist any more. Ancestry [Metonymy] does not exist any more [Epistrophe]. Only one thing

exists, the value of brave, of the efficient men, of the decided, the bold who is able to be leader of his people. In fact, on this war will emerge a people's community strengthened by community of blood [Metonymy], in the sense of the National Socialist ideas. That will perhaps be the greatest blessing [Metonymy] resulting from this war. You will come out from this war better, free from many prejudices and you will see how right our national socialist ideas have been.

This is quite sure: No bourgeois State will survive this war. Only those who will be able to unite their peoples from national and social points of view will emerge victoriously from this war. That we National Socialists have laid the basis of this conception, we owe it, I owe it, to my experiences of the First World War.

I myself, when I returned from the Great War [Allusion], made clear to the German people the basic points of the party and its program.

Each member of the peoples' community now has every way open to him that his talent permits.

In this moment we also must point to the basic idea: the German worker must slave away in the one thought to deliver the weapons to the front. Labor altogether accomplishes unbelievable feats. And that labor shows loyalty to the present-day state, to its leadership and, above all, to its soldier comrades and working colleagues.

And, above all, millions of German women have aligned themselves in the union of German labor, so that today even women accomplish the work of two men.

And, finally, I must point out that also our free professions in real self-sacrifice have taken part in our action. Millions and millions of these also give their all without regard.

We do not ask for lip service. Every one must help with all he has, and serve this community in a useful way and nobody is entitled to evade in a moment when millions defend this community with their blood [Metonymy].

I address this appeal to the entire German people, in the name of all our soldiers and of all those who sacrifice themselves in the war plants, or in the country or wherever it may be.

But I also say in this hour that we will destroy pitilessly every saboteur of this community.

In one of its serene hours an English paper wrote some weeks ago that one should not laugh at German Winter relief because there is one fact that when in England one man becomes rich at the cost of others, he gets in the best case some hours' arrest or some weeks' or

months' prison and lives afterward better than every soldier on the front, while in Germany every one who becomes a criminal against the community starts his way to his grave [Metonymy - Contrast].

This English paper is right. In a time when the best men of our people are on the front and millions are there, there is no place for criminals or good for nothings [Epithet] who destroy the nation. Those who try to get rich from what is destined to our soldiers must reckon that he will be eliminated without pity. Every German must know it that what he gives to his soldiers or the needy will reach those who merit it or those to whom it is destined.

No habitual criminal should think that he will be saved by a new crime. We will see to it, that not only the decent shall die on the front, but also that the criminal and the indecent at home shall not survive this time. A German woman who must go home at night from her work should not fear that a good for nothing or a criminal does her harm. We will exterminate these persons. We have exterminated them and it is therefore that so few of such cases happen.

I think that in that respect, too, I act in the sense of our community. But before all in the sense of the front who has the right to ask that while the soldiers sacrifice their lives at the front, their families and their wives should be protected at home.

But I must assure to the front another thing--namely, how tremendously courageous this German hinterland is. How it suffers the hardships of this war. I know a city, a Frisian city. I wanted to evacuate it a long time ago, because it has been attacked again and again. I [Anaphora] wanted to take away the children, to bring them in security and the women, but it was impossible.

They came back again and again, and it was impossible to remove them in spite of the fact that this city suffered so much. Here, too, we see tremendous heroism. Not only heroic men, but also heroic women, and not only women but also boys who have just reached their fifteenth, sixteenth or seventeenth year. They stand with all their life for our pledged community [Repetition]. They know that either we will win victory all together, or will perish all together [Contrast].

If the soldiers did not know that, you could not ask from him to risk his life under such terrible circumstances. On the other hand, the interior must know too that with this Winter Relief, which should be a particularly strong document [Metonymy] of this indissoluble community, the nation will make a plebiscite [Metonymy] which will be something else than a mendacious stupid vote, a plebiscite [Metonymy] in which the nation declares: We stand for our soldiers as our soldiers stand for us.

We will never and in no circumstances capitulate. Our enemies shall conduct war as long as they will be able to do it. All we can

do to beat them, we will do. It is impossible that they should ever beat us. It is impossible [Interjection]. National Socialist Germany and the States allied with her will emerge from this war with a glorious victory as real peoples with a people's state [Climax].

SPEECH OF NOVEMBER 8, 1943¹⁴

Munich

My party comrades, men and women; German racial comrades [Synecdoche]: Scarcely a third of a man's lifetime is included in the time that has passed since the day which we are commemorating today, and for the celebration of which I have returned for a few hours to your midst. Yet there is hardly a period in the history of mankind which has experienced in 20 years such mighty, world-shaking events, so influencing the fate of nations [Allusion]. It is fitting to call to mind in retrospect the main features of the events of that time.

The political aims of the Reich of that time were directed only toward the maintenance of world peace. National defense resources were accordingly not utilized to the fullest possible extent, as regards either manpower or material. The mere fact that the Reich of that time, in spite of almost 30 million more inhabitants than France [Repetition], possessed even numerically a smaller Army, is the best disproof of the claim made later that peace had been threatened by this State [Synecdoche].

The encirclement [Metonymy] of Germany did not have any other purpose but the one which was quite frankly proclaimed by numerous Englishmen, namely, to destroy the Reich, as the organically strongest European power, by a war of coalition, in the same way in which England had fought in previous centuries first Spain [Allusion], then Holland [Allusion], and finally France [Allusion], in long-drawn-out wars.

The small British Island [Synecdoche] which had gradually subjugated a quarter of the total surface of the globe through numerous acts of war, nevertheless, did not renounce using, at the beginning of and during the First World War, the shopworn moralizing phrases, which England had always taken into every war with her: Fight for the freedom of small peoples! Fight for the reorganization of the world in the name of justice! Fight for democracy! Fight [Anaphora] for the equality of all races!", and other similar high-sounding phrases.

In spite of the fact that a tremendous world-wide superior force was bearing down on the German Reich of that time [Allusion], no decisive victories against it were gained at any point, so that the final breakdown could be ascribed less to the deeds of the sword [Metonymy] than to the influence of a subversive propaganda. An American president [Allusion] dangled before the democratic Germany

¹⁴Adolf Hitler, Vital Speeches of the Day, Vol. X, No. 4, (December 1, 1943), pp. 108-15.

of that time, the ideal [Metonymy] of a new world order in 14 points [Allusion]. The people were politically too little trained to be able to see through this haze [Metonymy] and mist [Metonymy], and above all they were too ingenuous in taking these democratic assurances seriously.

The leadership of the State consisted of weaklings [Epithet] who, instead of fighting as duty [Metonymy] commanded to the last breath [Metonymy], followed the seemingly easier way of compromise and thus of submission [Contrast]. By so doing they were, however, driven by parties and leaders who were completely dominated by the outside world [Synecdoche], not only spiritually but also materially. Thus the Ninth and the Eleventh of November came about [Allusion]. The German people, trusting in the solemnly given assurance laid down their arms [Synecdoche], and even changed their form of Government.

Now the monarch [Metonymy] deserted the Army and the people and went into the. . . . Most of the foundations of a true State authority were lost through a revolution of the most unprincipled degeneration [Epithet], and in its place came a democracy more or less degenerate [Epithet], bordering on anarchy. Thereby the conditions imposed by our enemies [Synecdoche] were not only met but actually surpassed. Hardly in any country in the world was Jewry able to celebrate such triumphs as in the November Germany of that day [Allusion]. And then, in spite of all, there began a period of the most abominable capitalistic exploitation and extortion [Epithet], after continued moral and political acts of violence against our people.

Individual men rose in different places in Germany in protest against this process of decay and attempted, by various methods, to find ways and means to salvation [Metonymy]. I, too, a soldier unknown and nameless, resolved in the days of the collapse [Metonymy], to oppose this process; to appeal to the Nation, in order to cure it of its internal malady [Metonymy], and to mobilize all the strength needed for the self-assertion of the State [Synecdoche].

In an unremitting and relentless struggle for the hearts and souls [Metonymy] of individual men we were gradually successful in winning over hundreds, then thousands, and finally tens of thousands of followers. All of them felt themselves bound to support the proclamation of a national community which was to draw its strength [Personification] from the entire people. Separation into classes and parties was rejected. After international Jews [Epithet] had corrupted the German economy by way of inflation and had destroyed the means of livelihood of millions, came the recognition of the unavoidable necessity for a solution of the problems besetting the Nation. On November 8, 1923, at the eleventh hour . . . [Allusion].

Twenty years have passed since that November 8 [Allusion]. If we recall it today with particular emotion, two thoughts move [Personification] us: First, what a marvelous record our movement has made! How strong [Personification] the faith of our unknown followers! How

we succeeded through this fanaticism and through unshakable persistence not only in overcoming collapse of the movement in a few years, but also in finding new strength for its later rise! For how many people were there later in Germany who, especially after the assumption of power, behaved as if the victory of the National Socialist Party [Synecdoche], the movement and its philosophy had in any case been a matter of course from the beginning.

As far as the foresight of these people was concerned, just the opposite held true; for they were the ones who believed least of all in such a victory insofar as they did not see in the movement from the beginning a temporary, at least an insignificant phenomenon. They were convinced, especially after the Ninth of November, 1923 [Allusion], that this, as they thought, dead [Personification] political party or even its philosophy would never again come to life [Personification]. Indeed, even in November, 1923 [Allusion], the conviction that our struggle was hopeless was established more strongly in these circles than was the belief in our victory.

The second thought, however, which impresses us today can only be this: What really would have become of Germany and Europe if the Eighth and Ninth of November, 1923, had not occurred, that is, if the National Socialist world of ideas had not conquered the German Reich [Interrogation]?

The assumption of power in the year 1933 is indissolubly bound to the Eighth of November, 1923 [Allusion]. On this day for the first time, there was a cleavage of spirits in the young movement; the weak were expelled, but those that remained were filled with a heightened and strengthened fanaticism. From that time forward came the period in which National Socialist ideas could win men more easily than before. The Party became the germinating source [Metaphor] for the consolidation of our world of ideas, for long before 1933 the National Socialist State had millions of followers in the community of our people in addition to those of the Party.

But what would have become of Europe [Interrogation]? What, above all, of our German Reich and our beloved homeland, if in consequence of a lack of faith and of a lack of readiness on the part of the individual to contribute his utmost to the movement, Germany would have remained what it was at that time, the impotent democratic State at the start of my career [Interrogation]? When asked this question every thinking person virtually trembles, especially today, for no matter what Germany would otherwise look like, the Eastern European, inner-Asiatic-Bolshevik colossus [Epithet - Allusion - Synecdoche] would have completed its armaments and would never have lost sight of the goal [Metonymy] of its planned destruction of Europe.

The German Reich militarily, however, with its completely inadequate Reichswehr of 100,000 men, without an inner political ideology, and without material arms, would have made a show of

resistance only for a few weeks against this world Power [Synecdoche]. Today it need no longer be proved how fallacious it was to think that Europe could be protected from Bolshevik Russia--let us say, by Poland. Then there is still another belief, namely, that one might perhaps have been able to appease the Bolshevik colossus [Allusion] by renouncing all ideas of force, that perhaps their plans for world conquest would be forestalled by a peaceful and . . . disarming Europe [Irony].

My party comrades, that strikes me just as if the geese and chickens were one fine day to make the foxes a solemn declaration that they no longer intended to attack foxes, hoping thereby to turn the foxes into vegetarians [Analogy]. This Bolshevik Asiatic colossus [Epithet-Allusion] will continue to storm [Personification] against Europe until in the end it is itself broken and beaten [Metonymy]. And how they always maintain that, for example, Finland has jeopardized the peace of the world! And yet it was attacked [Contrast], and without Germany's interference . . . its existence would have been put to a new and terrible trial as far back as 1941.

This onslaught [Metonymy] from the east of Europe [Synecdoche], threatening again and again for almost 2,000 years [Allusion], can be successfully opposed and brought to a halt by one single State only--that is Germany [Interjection]. If this struggle [Metonymy] is boundlessly hard even for our people, that is only proof that without Germany no State at all would be in a position to resist this plague [Analogy - Metaphor]; that every hope of the individual European peoples to stem the Eastern hordes [Synecdoche - Allusion] by "good behavior" or by clever bargaining is the most childish stupidity [Epithet] or miserable cowardice [Epithet], and above all, that the belief that another Power [Synecdoche], perhaps even a non-European one, could take over instead of Germany the protection of this Continent, is not only senseless but betrays a real moral weakness. It is above all the most complete lack of . . . when many countries act as though they believed that the Jewish-plutocratic West [Epithet] could overcome the Jewish-Bolshevik [Epithet] East.

No [Interjection], the opposite will take place. One day the Jewish-Bolshevik East [Epithet] will relieve Western Jewry of its burden of having to go on being hypocritical [Contrast]. The same naive people, however, who believe today to have found in Stalin the spirit that will pull the chestnuts out of the fire will [Analogy - Repetition] experience, perhaps sooner than they are able to fathom, that the spirits conjured from the underworld undermine them themselves, their own countries too. One thing, my Party Comrades, is certain. Without the National Socialist movement there would not be a strong German Reich today. And without this German Reich, which no doubt is militarily the most effective in Europe . . . there would already no longer be a European future [Contrast - Climax].

One thing must be emphasized--that England [Synecdoche] has again been the driving force in this war. The fact that it combines

within itself, with Jewry, the original cause, expression, and conduct of the war corresponds to a repetition of the occurrence of the First World War [Allusion]. But when such powerful historical events do not lead twice to the same result, then it may be considered certain, that neither can the forces of that time be compared with the forces of today [Contrast].

And it should no longer be a secret to anyone that the present Germany is a different State from the Germany of 1918 [Allusion], just as November 9, 1943, no longer resembles November 9, 1918 [Contrast - Allusion].

The struggle [Synecdoche] in which we find ourselves since the year 1939 is too tremendous and unique to be measured with the yardstick [Metonymy] of small quarrels between States. We are now fighting in the 5th year of this greatest struggle of all times, but let us remember one thing [Contrast]. When he started, the enemy in the East [Synecdoche] stood barely 150 kilometers from Berlin. In the West his cohorts menaced the Rhine [Synecdoche]; and the Saar region was situated in the fire [Metonymy] of his artillery. At the Belgian-Dutch frontier the satellites [Synecdoche] bound by treaty to England and France lay in ambush [Personification] merely 100 kilometers from our largest industrial region, while the democratic government of Norway affirmed the accords which were to lead them one day into the camp [Metonymy] of our enemies. The Balkans were pregnant with the latent danger of the worst surprises. Through the behavior of her King and his clique, Italy was forced to . . . , and Germany thereby was placed quite alone on her own resources.

Then, my fellow Party members, this National Socialist State [Synecdoche] destroyed this ring of encirclement [Metonymy] with powerful, history-making blows, and through the heroism of its soldiers thrust back the front almost everywhere far more than 1,000 kilometers [Contrast]. Our enemies have become modest [Irony]. What they today designate as victories, they formerly put down as quite insignificant operations for us [Contrast]. Solely through these "insignificant" operations [Irony] undertaken at that time, was the strong field of battle created, on which the present struggle of the peoples is being essentially fought.

If these sacrifices of the greatest European State allied with us have in the end become more or less useless, then can it be ascribed only to the planned sabotage of miserable cliques [Epithet] which, after years of weakness, stirred themselves at length to a single deed which, to be sure, they may lay claim as unparalleled in the history of shamelessness.

It goes without saying that the Italian collapse even in its consequences could not be without a reaction on the total development of the war. Even so the hopes of our enemies are vain in this instance, too. What they had frivolously hoped for did not enter the picture, and that element [Synecdoche] will not enter which they still hope to come

from it. They had hoped that the German divisions in Italy would be cut off and annihilated at a blow; that the German-occupied islands would thus be lost; that the Balkans would fall into their lap like a ripe fruit [Analogy - Simile]; and that they would, therefore, be able to carry the war up to the German borders with one thrust. The onslaught to the Brenner Pass has turned into a snail-paced [Epithet] offensive far south of Rome. This offensive will still take its toll in blood [Metonymy], and not according to the estimates of our enemies, but . . . corresponding to our plans.

Each new landing will force them to accumulate even more shipping space. It will split the forces of our enemies and will give new possibilities to the assault by our weapons. But wherever any such landing takes place, it comes up against our preparedness [Synecdoche] and it will then certainly come to the realization, that--and this can be addressed to Churchill [Interjection]--it is one thing to land in Italy and to come up against Italians, and quite another thing to land at the Channel and in France, Denmark, or Norway and come up against Germans [Contrast]. And then it will also be proved whether our retarding tactics in several sectors mean weakness, or cool deliberation [Climax].

The battle in the East [Synecdoche] is the hardest that the German people has ever had to carry out. What our men endure here cannot be compared in any way with what our enemy is accomplishing. But here also their final goal, that of bringing the German front to a collapse, will not only not be reached, but, as always in world history [Allusion], the last battle alone will carry with it the decision. However, that country will fight this last battle to its advantage which utilizes this decisive hour [Synecdoche] with the greatest . . . , the greatest perseverance, and the greatest [Anaphora] fanaticism.

What I, therefore, demand of the German soldier is tremendous. It is the task of the front [Synecdoche], however, to make possible in the end the seemingly impossible [Contrast], and it is the task of the homeland [Synecdoche] to support and give strength to the front [Synecdoche] in its struggle against the seemingly impossible, or against that which seems impossible to bear; and to realize to its full extent that the destiny of our entire Nation, of women and children, and of our entire future depends on this, and that by exerting our ultimate effort the decision in our favor will be brought about; that every sacrifice they are bringing today would be in no proportion to the sacrifices that would be demanded of us, should we be unable to win the war [Contrast]; that all in all there can be no other thought in our minds than that of a ruthless conduct in order to win the victory, no matter what the situation may be, regardless of where we may have to fight [Climax].

The National Socialist Party has the task of being a model through its leaders and through its members. The burdens of the

struggle in the homeland, just as much as at the front, will be borne, first and foremost, by the Party comrades.

Regardless of whether they are men or women, they will then form the regiment of unbending resistance. They will have to help the weak, and support the strong, they will have to bring the unworthy to his senses and, if necessary, even call him to order, or to destroy him. For there is one thing about which there can be no doubt, this war is a merciless one, and the aims of our enemies are accordingly satanic [Epithet].

If a British newspaper writes that the German people should be surrendered to Russian Bolshevism for so and so many years so that the latter could carry out its "measures" [Metonymy] on them; or, if English priests pray that Bolshevism may succeed in decimating or even totally exterminating the German people at some later date, then the only answer in this case is a fanaticism, just as great, which forces everyone to exemplary fulfillment of his duties. Too many sacrifices have been made for anybody to have the right to exclude himself from these sacrifices for the future.

Everyone of our courageous soldiers who fought somewhere in Russia and is not going to come back to the homeland has a right to demand that others be just as brave as he himself was [Contrast]. For he didn't die so that others would surrender the very thing for which he fought; but he died so that by his sacrifices and by the sacrifices of all the comrades and all the fellow citizens at the front and in the homeland, the future of this homeland, the future of our Nation might be saved [Climax].

Our enemies believe, above all, that they will be able to wear down the German people today with bluff [Metonymy] and with propaganda, with bluff by acting as if victory were already won. If it wouldn't be so serious one really could laugh sometimes about this practice. At a time when they chase from one conference to the other to smooth over their various disagreements, to find possibilities to gain some footholds, at such a time they act as if they were already the victors. They call together commissions to work on the shaping of the post-war world. It would be much more useful if they would occupy themselves with the shaping of their own world [Synecdoche] at this present moment [Contrast].

They call together commissions which are charged with seeing to it that the world will be supplied with food after the war. It would be better if they would supply with food at this time their own people, millions of whom are threatened by famine at this very moment [Contrast]. It is typical British-Jewish, shameless impudence [Epithet] that they act today as if they would be at all in a position to master the problems of the world, they who were not even able to master their own problems and who needed the war to escape the accounting which would have been demanded of them for not solving their own problems [Contrast].

Finally, their propaganda measures in some instances go in directions which are still familiar to us from the World War [Allusion]. First: they try, in the first place, to create the impression in the German people and even more in the people of our Allies, by means of a flood of paper, that the war is not only won, that it is already decided, but also that inside the nations great masses are longing for this development to occur. There is one answer we must give here, at this point: I do not know whether there are persons among the German people who really hope to gain something by a victory of the Allies. These could only be people who think exclusively of themselves; criminals who are willing to serve as executioners [Epithet] of their own people. Everybody else, however, who belongs to his people, knows exactly what a victory of these enemies would mean. Therefore, there are no groups in Germany who hope for this victory; there are today only some few criminals who believe perhaps that they can thus build up a better future for themselves.

However, let nobody be doubtful, let nobody deceive himself about this one thing: We shall take care of these criminals; that which happened in the year 1918 will not repeat itself a second time in Germany [Allusion]. At a time when such great sacrifices have been demanded from thousands, nay tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands [Epistrophe] of courageous soldiers, we shall not shrink from bringing other people to terms who are not ready to make these sacrifices. If tens of thousands of the very best people, if our dearest fellow citizens can die, then we certainly shall not shrink from putting to death without much ado a few hundred criminals at home.

What the German Homeland here has to bear is known to all of us. What my personal feelings are regarding this, you cannot imagine. When this war began the American President hypocritically approached me with the request that we should pledge ourselves not to wage a war with bombs. We did this and also kept our promise. This was only done for the purpose of giving the others time to prepare for this type of war themselves, in order to start it at a given time [Contrast].

I should like to express two things here: first, what I had wanted to prevent were the sacrifices among women and children, the sacrifices on the part of the homeland [Synecdoche] altogether. What sorrows me is that all these people lose their possessions. Almost trivial in comparison with these are the damages caused to our cities, for this must be clearly understood by us: Those we will rebuild and more beautifully than ever. If it is possible for a nation, to fight against a whole world, if it is possible for a nation to build six or eight million, or ten million cubic meters of concrete into fortresses in one year, if it is possible for a nation to build thousands of armament factories, it will no doubt be possible [Anaphora] for us to build two or three million homes each year. In less than 3 years the homes will be rebuilt without exception. Let them destroy as many as they will [Climax].

The Americans and the English are at present planning to rebuild the world. I am at present planning to rebuild Germany [Contrast]. While this reconstruction of the world by the Americans and the English will never take place, the reconstruction of Germany by National Socialism will be carried out completely and according to plan [Contrast].¹⁵ And for this purpose our mass organizations, starting with the O. T. [Contrast], to the Reich Labor Service, including all the rest of German industry, will be drafted. Let's put an end to the so-called war criminals! Here they will find a useful occupation for the first time in their lives.

That was the first thing I had to say, regarding this, and the second thing, well believe it or not, but the hour of revenge will come! For thank God [Interjection], even if we cannot reach America for the time being, another State [Synecdoche] lies well within our reach and this one we will deal with.

And thirdly I would like to add: If our opponent thinks that by this he will decrease the intensity of the Germans will to war, he is laboring under a misapprehension. Especially he who has once lost what he had, can have only one wish; namely, that the war will never be lost, for only a victorious war can help him win it back again [Contrast]. Thus the hundreds of thousands who were victims of the bombings are the advance guards of revenge [Metaphor].

Does our opponent really doubt that I am participating in domestic work and conferences, as I used to [Interrogation]? When the war began, I immediately, as the result of Chamberlain's announcement [Allusion]--and their capitalistic understanding naturally was that the war must last at least 3 years, that is the shortest possible time . . . their investment [Interjection - Repetition]--I immediately had a 5-year program drawn up. Since then I have had this program extended. In the same manner in which we formerly handled our long-term plans we now handle this one, too. The gentlemen may be assured, that the war was by no means agreeable to us, for we did have peace-time programs.

So we had peace programs. I regret very much that I [Synecdoche] cannot carry them out at this time, and that I [Synecdoche] cannot create anything more useful. But since this is not possible, we will at least never surrender prematurely, but look at time as our ally [Simile]. Let this war last as long as it may. Germany will never capitulate. And never will we repeat the error of the year of 1918 [Allusion], namely, to lay down the arms a quarter-hour before 12 o'clock. You can count on this; Germany will be the very last one, to lay down her arms, and that will be 5 minutes past 12 [Epigram - Contrast].

My party comrades! Twenty years ago I really had nothing before

¹⁵[Organization Todt] Dr. Todt, Inspector General of German Road Construction.

me [Allusion]. At that time I had worked for 4 years and had toiled hard, and had my thoughts fixed with a burning heart on one thing; namely, on the success of this movement and on the salvation of the Fatherland, and then everything was destroyed at a blow.

At that time, when the . . . thought that they could drag me before the court and then break me before the court, and when they thundered at me and . . . , then I didn't hesitate and despair, but in those months I wrote "Mein Kampf" [Allusion]. And today they can also be convinced that it can never be said of me that I can ever be affected by despondency. I have studied too much history not to know that great victories have never been achieved except through suffering and under the greatest tribulations [Allusion]. There is no great hero in world history who has not remained steadfast in the face of the greatest tribulations [Allusion - Repetition].

Anyone can endure . . . times, but when it thunders and storms, only then do strong characters reveal themselves. Any weakling can stand victories, but when the going becomes rough, only then it becomes evident who is a real man, and who doesn't lose his nerve in such times, but who remains cool, and daring, and who [Anaphora] never in the least has any thought of capitulation.

Believe me, if in 1918 I had been a member of the Democratic Party I also would have despaired of Germany. As it was, I was then a member of the German Armed Forces, a musketeer [Metonymy] among millions of them, and that has given me my faith. And my whole fight in the movement for the soul [Metonymy] of the German people and the soul [Metonymy] of the broad masses, the millions of workers and peasants-- only this fight has made me really strong, because it acquainted me with the most precious thing there is, the unspoiled strength of the broad masses, of the millions of fellow citizens from whom finally evolved the National Socialist idea of the State from which our people's community sprang [Repetition].

Now every one of these foreign statesmen should free himself from one thought, the thought that the German leadership will ever lose its nerve or that by any chance they should ever weaken.

I believe that God helps the one who helps himself [Repetition], that is, the one who never gives up in any emergency and in any danger. But above all my dear fellow citizens, consider what shameless ingratitude toward Providence it would be if one of us would ever really become unnerved.

What blessings have we not received from this Providence [Rhetorical Question]? What successes has Providence not given us [Rhetorical Question]? What magnificent victories has Providence not let us win [Rhetorical Question]? In these few years we have completely changed an almost desperate situation in which our country, our Reich, found itself. Has this Providence not led our Armies far beyond the

borders of the Reich [Rhetorical Question]? Has not this Providence let us master hopeless situations like the Italian collapse [Rhetorical Question]? And then would we want to be so contemptible, and despair of or doubt this Providence [Rhetorical Question]?

I bow in gratitude before the Almighty that He has blessed us thus and that He has not sent us more severe trials. For it could just as well have happened that this battle should have spilled over into German territory, and we would have had to fight in Germany, but I would have fought here also--everywhere and at every place--and I would never have capitulated [Repetition]. Thus with the gracious help of the Almighty we managed successfully to carry this struggle on against a world of superiority far beyond the borders of the Reich, and in view of this could there be anyone who can still be shameless enough to despair, or even doubt the blessing of Providence [Rhetorical Question]? He would only deserve that the . . . God forsake him [Climax].

Because I believe in the justice of this God, I cannot do anything but hold the banner high, especially in storm and strife, and I am proud to be the leader of this Nation, not only in happy days, but especially in hard ones [Contrast], and I am happy that in those days I can again give strength and confidence to the Nation, and that I can, and may, give comfort and strength to the entire German Nation; and that I can [Anaphora] say to it: German Nation, be completely reassured; whatever may happen, we will master everything. At the end there is victory.

After the World War was over and I spoke in public for the first time I said something like the following: We should not haggle with fate at all. For 4 years we were accompanied by good fortune such as God could grant only to one who had been chosen. We almost won the victory. And then our people became ungrateful. In spite of these victories they suddenly lost their morale, lost their faith and became weak, and because of this they no longer deserved the favor of the . . . and I have so often said--as you will remember yourselves [Interjection]--that Providence has made it clear to us, very clear, that she gave us that, which we deserved [Allusion].

It shall be our pledge today that this will never be repeated. That we shall not become presumptuous and that we shall never desert Providence [Repetition] when we have to give up a few kilometers somewhere, or even have to give up a few hundred kilometers, even if we are forced to do so by the necessities of war, when we are so far away from the homeland. . . . They would be doing exactly the thing which during the World War [Allusion] we considered to be the worst thing that could happen, and this we must not repeat a second time [Allusion].

When . . . bombing raids come, then it is above all the Party [Synecdoche], which, here again, sees to it that order is maintained, and that all is done which is humanly possible. My party comrades, can you imagine at all that in the First World War we could have suffered

and endured even for one month what we have now been bearing for years [Interrogation - Contrast]? Can you imagine that [Interrogation]? That is the merit of our movement, that is the merit of the manly education of our people, that is the National Socialist woman.

And as long as this power remains with us, we do not need to despair, but, on the other hand, we look into the future with proud confidence [Contrast]. I have come here only for a few hours in order to speak to you, followers of long standing. Tomorrow I shall have returned. I leave you with a pleasant memory of my comrades-in-arms, a pleasant memory of a great period in the past [Allusion]. But you should leave here with the fanatical confidence and with the fanatical belief that nothing else can exist for us but our victory [Repetition].

For that we are fighting, for that very many have already died, for that others will also make the supreme sacrifice, for that [Anaphora] generations, who already . . . will live. For the blood that is shed here today our Nation will be amply repaid. It will again grant an existence to millions of men in new homesteads. We will, therefore, remember once more our comrades who as National Socialist fighters have paved the way, which can be no other way than that of the greatness of our Fatherland, the greatness of our German nation, our National Socialist Party, our German Reich. Sieg Heil [Climax]!

SPEECH OF DECEMBER 31, 1944¹⁶

Only the turn of the year causes me to speak to you today, my German men and women. The present time has demanded more than speeches from me. Events of the past twelve months and the happenings of July 20¹⁷ in particular have forced me to devote my whole attention and working capacity to the only task I have lived for for many years past--the faithful struggle of my people [Allusion].

Although our enemies [Synecdoche] have predicted our collapse during every one of the past years, they set special hopes on the year 1944. Never before did victory appear as near to them as during the August days of the past year, when one disaster appeared to tread [Personification] closely on the other's heels.

But we have once again, as so often before [Interjection], been successful in turning fate away [Contrast]. Some credit is due--apart from the struggle and work of all my countrymen at home and at the fronts [Synecdoche]--to my own work and my own devotion.

I have acted in accordance with the conviction I gave expression to during the memorable Reichstag session on September 1, when I said that in this struggle Germany would be forced to her knees [Personification] neither by armed blows [Metonymy] nor by time [Metonymy] and that a November 9, 1918 [Allusion], would never be repeated in the German Reich [Climax].

Anyone who only knew Germany in the days of her weakness [Allusion] might have thought this country would be granted neither reassertion nor strength to maintain itself against the whole world of enemies. Thus the Jewish-international world conspiracy [Epithet] has lived [Personification] on hopes from the very first day. Every time the people threatened to become suspicious, prophecies were fashioned from hopes [Epigram] and, with a certain propagandistic impudence [Epithet], represented to the eyes [Synecdoche] of the masses as being absolutely certain and matters of course.

¹⁶Adolf Hitler, Vital Speeches of the Day, Vol. XI, No. 7, (January 15, 1945), pp. 201-05.

¹⁷Attempt to kill Hitler with bomb carried into meeting at Rastenburg, his headquarters in East Prussia by Colonel von Stauffenburg, Chief of Staff of Home Army. Stauffenburg and others were shot at War Ministry during night; July 21, at 1 a.m., Hitler, Goering, and Doenitz broadcast, revealing plot by army to assassinate Hitler. See Royal Institute of International Affairs, op. cit., p. 278.

This propaganda used two methods although, like all lies, they will prove in the end short-lived [Personification]. On one side, in order to allay the impatience of the masses in Allied countries, dates are fixed by which German collapse is to be expected with certainty; on the other side problems are being tackled, the solution of which be necessary for the Allies after such collapse.

Before the war had even begun, the first English utterance [Synecdoche] was already at hand [Metonymy] to the effect that the joint Anglo-French declaration of war would, after seven to eight days at the latest, lead to internal revolution in Germany and thus to the collapse of the German Reich.

With almost astronomical regularity, this was followed in the spring and autumn, and sometimes also in between, by ever renewed assurances of the unconditional collapse of Germany and thus the surrender--both these things would be, of course, identical [Interjection]--was now just around the corner. As early as autumn, 1939, one such assurance came on the heels [Metonymy] of another. Once it was General Mud [Personification - Analogy], then General Hunger [Personification - Analogy], and then again General Winter [Personification - Analogy], that was to defeat us [Irony - Allusion].

The year 1940 particularly was abundantly blessed at its beginning with such Allied proclamations [Irony]. New prophecies were propounded after the French campaign--namely, that if Germany did not now succeed in ending the war within two months, by September at the latest, the German collapse would irrevocably occur in the spring of 1941.

That spring hardly passed when new dates in the summer and finally in the winter of 1941 were once again given as the time of our certain destruction.

Since then this game has repeated itself year by year. Once it was said the war would be over before the leaves would fall [Metonymy]. Then again it was said Germany would be confronted with capitulation before the new winter would have set in.

With the certainty of a sleepwalker [Metaphor - Analogy], one [Synecdoche] called August, 1944, the month of unconditional surrender and prophesied shortly afterward a joint meeting of the leading statesmen in Berlin before Christmas. A short while ago the new date was January. Then March, 1945.

Now it is declared more carefully, as these two months are rapidly coming nearer, that it was to be August [Repetition].

In June, they will surely again talk about the winter of 1946, except that the war will in fact end in the meantime and not by German capitulation [Contrast]--this will never come [Interjection]--but by German victory [Climax].

Parallel to these prophecies, however, takes place the theoretical setting up of ever new commissions--in order to reinforce psychologically the correctness of the assumptions--to deal with European problems after the war, the foundation of companies for the regulation of food supplies after a German collapse, in other words re-establishment of those racketeer [Epithet] institutions which we know from the World War [Allusion] proclamation of economic agreement [Allusion - Metonymy], the setting-up of transport regulations and air bases, and the drafting and announcement of laws for the treatment of German people, which are truly idiotic [Epithet] in parts [Repetition].

All this is done in a manner as if the war had already been won and as if it was even now possible to think over at leisure all the measures necessary for the Government of Europe by States [Synecdoche] which, however, themselves afford sorry examples of how people should not be governed [Contrast - Repetition].

This propaganda maneuver can be rehearsed before unintelligent masses [Epithet] in democratic states for an astonishingly long time. Yet one day it will even there become apparent that this is nothing else but one of those frauds [Epithet] which are the regular custom in these countries [Contrast]. If, nevertheless, one or another of the leading men in the Western democracies really should believe what is dished up to the nations, this could only be explained by three causes:

First, that they do not know the German people at all, and particularly that they do not know that the last 300 years of German history [Allusion] were not a true picture of the character of the German people and its ensuing disunity [Repetition], but that this German people has, since it entered history, been not only one of the most decisive, but the most decisive factor in European history, and thus in the history of the world, and that it is this today, and that it will be this all the more in the future [Contrast - Climax].

Secondly, that they have not the faintest idea about the meaning of the National Socialist State, and that they completely fail to grasp the essence of this national idea. The achievements the National Socialist regime has accomplished under the most difficult conditions have remained unknown to most of the people in countries surrounding us and had remained hidden because information for the public, and hence the formation of public opinion, was there completely in the hands of the Jews [Epithet] and had been carried out in completely distorted and mendacious [Epithet] manner.

Thus it seems as if even now it would be unknown to them that the National Socialist State can neither be replaced by Bolshevism nor by democratic-plutocratic ideology [Epithet]--as far as it is at all possible to speak of such a thing. Both of them have shown themselves by their actions in Germany itself to be completely incapable and, in addition as regards their achievements in their own countries under their rule, merely to represent a deterrent example [Contrast].

Thirdly, that on the other hand in these countries something else has existed, something which, it is true the overwhelming mass of sound German people does not know, namely, a small clique of drawing-room politicians [Epithet] and armchair generals [Epithet] who, in complete ignorance of their intellectual, political and military insignificance [Epithet], have tried to convince the world that some day they would come to power by a coup d'etat, and would then be easily able to offer capitulation on the lines of those of Italy, Finland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

Just as little knowledge as our enemies therefore had concerning Germany, and smaller their knowledge was concerning the essence of the National Socialist State [Contrast], all the more gladly did they count upon assurances of these people, completely lacking in any character, believing their fantastic thoughts and fulminations to be the truth, and rewarded them not only with firm belief, but also with payments in cash.

I should like to state once more, in contrast to all this, now at the termination of a year which has given us ample opportunity of furnishing proof that this nation, this state and its leading men are unshakable in their will and unswerving in their fanatical determination to fight this war to a successful conclusion in all circumstances--if it means taking in our stride all reverses which fickle [Personification] fate may impose upon us--I wish once more to state the conclusions which can be drawn from the past and the present and which must be known by all for the future.

Firstly, we know from the past and the present the aims of our enemies. What the British-American statesmen intend to do with the German Reich, what measures the Bolshevist rulers and finally the international Jews, who are behind everything [Repetition], intend to apply against the German people is fully known to us.

Their successful application would not only entail the complete tearing asunder of the German Reich, deportation of 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 Germans abroad, the enslavement of the remnants of our German people and the corruption of our German youth, but would particularly result in the complete starvation of millions of people of our nation.

But apart from all this, one can only live either in freedom or die in servitude. If in the past these realizations were decried as mere National Socialist propaganda phrases or were dismissed as such, today they are the openly admitted aims of the leading statesmen and the press and the Jews of these countries and thus represent an official statement of the enemy Governments [Contrast].

In the second place, in contrast to this we are resolved to go to the extreme. The world must know that this State will, therefore, never capitulate [Repetition], that the German Reich of today--like all great states of the past [Allusion - Repetition]--may on its road

[Metonymy] be exposed to reverses, but that it will never be deflected from this road [Metonymy]. The world must know that the present leaders of the State share the sorrow and suffering with its people but will never capitulate on account of suffering and sorrow; that, on the contrary, it is resolved to meet every crisis with still greater effort, to make up by increased working zeal for what has been lost by tardiness [Contrast].

The world must know these leaders not only express their highest appreciation to every German who does his duty, but also give him assurance that in times to come his individual contribution to the shaping of our nation will not be forgotten, but that, on the other hand, they will annihilate everyone who intends to evade this contribution, thus degrading himself to be the tool of foreigners [Contrast - Repetition].

Because we know the aims of our enemies, because they themselves offer us all the necessary enlightenment, thanks to the propagandistic talkativeness [Epithet] of their statesmen and journalists, the entire German nation perceives what fate would be destined for it should it ever lose this war; therefore it will not lose it. It must and will win it [Climax].

What our enemies are fighting for--the Jews excepted--they do not know themselves; what we fight for, however, is clear to us all. It is the preservation of the German man and woman. It is our Fatherland. It is our 2,000-year-old civilization [Allusion]. It is the children and the children's children of our people. It is [Anaphora], in fact, all which makes our lives worth living. That is the reason why this people displays that spirit and that bearing which entitle it to believe in its own future and in its reward by Providence [Climax - Repetition].

That this fight itself is an incredibly hard one is due to the enemy's aims I have mentioned before. For, as they intend to exterminate our people, they are already trying this out during the war by means hitherto unknown to civilized mankind. When destroying our towns, they do not only hope to kill German women and children but also to eliminate manifestations of our 1,000-year-old civilization which they cannot in any way rival. This also was the meaning of the war of annihilation against Italy's cultural monuments and their intention in continuation of the struggle in France, in Belgium and the Netherlands.

However, like the phoenix [Allusion] from the ashes, so first of all from the ruins of our towns German determination has risen in spite of all [Analogy]. It has taken possession not only of millions of soldiers but also of millions of workers, female workers, of women and even of children. The suffering inflicted on these millions individually is immeasurable, but equally immeasurable is the greatness of their bearing [Contrast].

When one day this time of trial has come to an end every German will be boundlessly proud to declare himself a member of such a nation.

One day the time will come in which the violation of culture practiced by our enemies will continue to burn in our memory and will be felt as a disgrace by themselves.

I know, my Volksgenossen, what this war is demanding of you. There is hardly a man in any great country of this world who knows his people and their homes better than I know Germany. To all those German towns, localities and landscapes which are being destroyed today, I have come so infinitely close, speaking from both the historical and the personal viewpoint. For decades I was bound to them not only in historical and cultural-historical and personal love but I also participated to the utmost in the fate of their future development.

But it is just this which makes it rather easier for me to bear all this sorrow, because I more than anybody else know that the German people with such determination have time and again risen from abject misery and I also know that, once at the end of this period, German towns will again rise from the ruins as new proof of the magnificence of the German towns [Contrast].

The National Socialist State [Synecdoche], with its energy and initiative [Personification], will newly erect in a few years all that which is liable to destruction today. Outwardly our towns will be more impressive and more beautiful than ever before. The place of destroyed tenements will be taken by healthier homes for the German people and our social and cultural requirements will find more careful consideration than has been possible before [Contrast].

Nevertheless, we shall no longer possess many irreplaceable documents of art and culture and no longer be in a position to build them anew. Above all we can never replace the sacrifices of numerous people dear to us and we shall not be able to replace the loss of their accumulated memories which had grown dear to them in the course of long life [Contrast]. All these great treasures and small memories will in the end find, if not replacement, then at least compensation in the common memories of our people of a time of the hardest battle of destiny that any people has ever had to endure and which they have borne with such heroism common to them all [Climax].

The year of 1944 was a year of the heaviest strain in this gigantic struggle [Synecdoche]. It was also a year in which it was proved once and for all that the bourgeois social order [Epithet] was no longer in a position to defy the storms [Metonymy] of the present or the gales [Metonymy] of tomorrow's situation.

State after State, which does not find the way to truly social reorientation, will take the road to chaos [Metonymy]. The liberal age is a thing of the past. To hold the opinion that this upsurging of people can be met by proletarian-democratic compromises is childish; just as childish as Metternich's [Allusion] when confronted with tendencies toward national unity of the nineteenth century.

The consequences of the absence of any truly new social reorientation of life are lack of moral will to resist not only of the people, but also lack of moral strength of their leaders to resist. We have seen in all countries that the attempt at the renaissance [Allusion] of democracy was a complete failure. The tangled knot of these political amateurs [Epithet] and military politicians of a bygone bourgeois epoch [Epithet], with their petty feuds, is preparing with a fatal certainty to plunge into chaos and--in Europe at any rate--economic catastrophe on a nationwide scale.

Indeed, here is one factor which has already shown itself to be true: This most densely populated continent on earth either lives under an order which guarantees the greatest consideration for individual abilities and which, with the strongest suppression of all egoistic tendencies, prevents their excesses [Repetition]; or in States [Synecdoche] such as we see in central and western Europe which are incapable of living, that is to say nations which are doomed to destruction [Contrast].

Following the example of royal Italy, Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary collapsed during this year. This collapse was, in the first place, due to cowardice [Epithet] and lack of determination of their leaders. They themselves and their actions can be understood only in relation to the corrupt and socially immoral atmosphere of the bourgeois world. The hatred expressed by many statesmen [Synecdoche], particularly of these countries, toward the Germany of today is nothing but the voice of an uneasy conscience [Simile]; the expression of an inferiority complex [Simile] vis-a-vis our organization of a human community which frightens them because it successfully represents aims which do not correspond to their economically confined egotism [Epithet] and the political shortsightedness [Epithet] that goes with it [Contrast].

For us, however, my German Volksgenossen, it merely means a fresh obligation to realize with increasing clarity that the existence or non-existence of the German future depends on the consistent development of our people's State and also that all the immeasurable sacrifices which our people have made are thinkable only if an order of society is presupposed which does away with all privileges and thus makes the whole people not only the bearer of equal duties but also of equal rights--a society, moreover, that makes war without mercy on social illusions of a time that has outlived itself, and which sets in their place the most valuable reality there is--namely, a nation in which the mass of human beings is joined together by the same blood [Allusion], the same character and experience of long history [Allusion], whose origin as substance we do not owe to the arbitrariness of mortals but to the unfathomable will of the Almighty [Contrast - Repetition].

The knowledge of the moral value of this, our conviction, and the resulting aims of our struggle for existence, give to us, and above all to me, strength to continue the struggle in the gravest hours [Synecdoche] with the strongest faith and an unshakable confidence.

The people, also and in particular, are bound to their leaders by this conviction in such hours. It has secured that unprecedented response to the appeal which I had to address to the German people this year with particular emphasis.

Millions of Germans of all callings and all classes, men, women, boys and girls, even to children, took up spade and shovel [Metonymy]. Thousands of Volksturm battalions sprang up and are still coming into existence; division after division has been newly raised. The people's artillery corps, anti-aircraft and assault gun brigades, as well as armored formations, were brought into being overnight; fighter formations were replenished and equipped with new machines.

Above all, German factories, through German workers, men and women, have reached unprecedented achievements. They are more and more being joined--I may say this today [Interjection]--by those thinking people of other nationalities who, as workers in Germany, perceive the essence of our social community [Repetition].

Thus, whatever our enemies smashed was rebuilt with superhuman industry and unparalleled heroism and this will continue until one day our enemy's undertaking comes to an end. The German spirit and German determination will enforce this. This, my Volksgenossen, will one day go down in history as the miracle of the twentieth century.

The nation that reaches such immeasurable achievements on the front [Synecdoche] and at home, that submits to and bears such terror, can therefore never be destroyed. On the contrary it will emerge from the fiery furnace [Metonymy] of trial stronger and firmer than ever before in its history. The power, however, to which we owe all this, the Jewish-international enemy of the world [Epithet], will not only be foiled in its attempt to destroy Europe and exterminate its peoples but will bring about its own destruction [Contrast].

At the end of this year, I wish to thank from my heart, filled to overflowing, uncounted millions of my Volksgenossen, as spokesmen [Simile] of the nation and at this moment also as leader of their fate [Simile], for all they have suffered, submitted to, done and achieved. I wish to thank them all, men and women, right down to our children in the Hitler Youth, in cities and townships, in villages and in [Anaphora] country.

I want to ask them not to falter in the future either, but to have faith in the leaders of the movement and to fight to the end [Metonymy] with extreme fanaticism in this difficult struggle for the future of our people.

What I personally can do to aid our success will be done in the future as it was in the past. I am at present speaking less frequently, not because I do not want to speak or because I cannot speak, but because my work leaves little time for speeches and because I believe

it is my duty today to think and toil every hour in order to increase the strength of resistance of our armies, introduce better weapons, set up new formations and form out of my nation all the forces which can be mobilized. My enemies may already have gathered that I have not been sleeping all this time [Contrast].

For the rest, I want today to assure you again, my Volksgenossen, just as during the long years of our struggle for power [Allusion], that my faith in the future of our people is unshakable [Repetition]. He who has been given such a difficult test by Providence [Repetition] is called to achieve the greatest results. It is therefore my only care to lead my people through this time of peril and thus to open to the people the gates [Metonymy] to that future in which we all believe and for which we fight and work.

I cannot conclude this address without thanking the Almighty [Repetition] for the support which He has given time and again to the leaders and the nation and for the strength which He gave us and which made us stronger than peril and danger. If at the same time I thank Him for my own escape, I am doing it only because I am happy to be able to continue to serve my people with my life. I want, therefore, in this hour [Synecdoche], as spokesman of Greater Germany to promise solemnly to the Almighty that we shall fulfill our duty [Repetition] faithfully and unshakably in the new year too, in the firm belief that the hour [Synecdoche] will strike when victory will ultimately come to him who is most worthy of it, the Greater German Reich [Climax].

APPENDIX II

NAME _____

MAJOR _____

NUMBER OF YEARS TEACHING EXPERIENCE _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please read carefully the following definitions and study the accompanying examples. When you have finished turn the page and read each statement. Identify the figure in the statement by the definitions on pages one and two. In the space provided, before each statement on page two, fill in the letter on pages one and two which best identifies the figure in the statement.

- A. Epithet: a descriptive term often attached to a name and sometimes supplementing it. The classical example is Demosthene's indictment of Aeskiens: "Accursed Scribbler," also Henry Wallace's reference to Hitler, "Satan - inspired Fuehrer."
- B. Litotes or Understatement: a type of understatement, whereby the point is made by denying its opposite. For example: "Five thousand dollars is no small amount of money," or suppose one wishes to say that Winston Churchill is a first-rate orator (an affirmative position) he may indicate this by saying, "Churchill is no second-rate orator," other examples: "She's no dumbbell," "This candy's not bad," "That's no small achievement."
- C. Metaphor: an implied comparison wherein a word or phrase denoting one object or idea is applied to another. "He is a snake in the grass," "America is the melting pot of the world."
- D. Synecdoche: a reference made to something by naming a part for the whole or the whole for the part, to emphasize the desired characteristics. For example, "The factory employed 500 hands." Here we have 'hands' (a part), representing men (the whole). "Montana won the game." Here Montana (a whole) represents the part Montana State University football team.
- E. Simile: an expressed comparison frequently employing like or as. Example: "He was like a caged lion," "She's as good as gold."
- F. Personification: occurs when human or lifelike characteristics are given to inanimate objects or ideas. Example: "The towering mountains spoke of the battles they had witnessed," "Death be not proud."
- G. Interrogation: to question; to examine in direct discourse. The listener must answer the question or the answer is directly supplied by the speaker. Example: "How many people die daily in traffic accidents?" "How much money will the proposed measure cost?"

H. Rhetorical Question: the use, again, of the question but in this case the answer is unmistakably implied in the form of the question. Example: "Do we not prefer life to death?" "Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains or slavery?"

- ___ 1. "The Italian jackal has now made an alliance with the fanatical Fuehrer."
- ___ 2. "Progress? When the richest country in the world doesn't have schools and teachers enough for its children? When it doesn't have hospitals for its sick?"
- ___ 3. "The country is stalled on dead center--stalled in the middle of the road--while the world goes whirling by."
- ___ 4. "Hitler lies in the center and across all the great railway lines in Europe."
- ___ 5. "Germany is like a giant vulture with its talons making festering wounds."
- ___ 6. "The victory to be won in the twentieth century is a citadel guarded by thick walls of ignorance and mistrust."
- ___ 7. "I like to think of soil conservation as democracy at work with technical assistance."
- ___ 8. "Four thousand soldiers is no small force."
- ___ 9. "One thousand ears listened to his speech that day."
- ___ 10. "Today the steel glove of a revolutionary ideology covers the heavy hand of imperialistic expansion."
- ___ 11. "Why were not the stockholders told the truth when the company had no dividends to declare?"
- ___ 12. "Those Nazi gangsters are bloodthirsty guttersnipes."
- ___ 13. "Why don't they tell the housewife that while her food prices have been going up farm prices have been falling?"
- ___ 14. "He was elected president even with these odds and that's no small accomplishment."
- ___ 15. "The truth is that this nation is a house divided."