AN ANALYSIS OF SOME PERSUASIVE METHODS
OF ADOLF HITLER'S RHETORIC

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### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outline of Procedure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of Purpose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brief Summary of Chapter Development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. ADOLF HITLER</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood and School Years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Years in Vienna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. IMAGES OF HITLER</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Common Man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hero of Nazi Youth, the Kind Gentle Hitler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Savior of the People</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. HITLER'S USE OF RHETORIC</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invention</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrangement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delivery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Detailed Analysis of the February 24, 1940 Speech</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The first World War left Germany with little more than her land. Her army was broken and her people had lost all hope for the future. The German dollar had lost most of its buying power and her children were starving in the streets. One revolution followed another until the small amount of strength that her people did have was further reduced.

The German people had been broken in body and mind by the sufferings they had undergone-four years of war; starvation and the blockade; the collapse of their ideals before what they called "a stab in the back"; enemy occupation of their land; 2,000,000 dead and the survivors coming home to face street fighting, humiliation on humiliation; reparations; the loss of their colonies and "10,000,000 Germans torn from the living body of the Reich"; inflation and collapse; and the consequent wanderings of the people along a path without hope and without faith. 1

If Germany was to be saved it was imperative that a strong leader be found. The nation needed a man whose ability could organize and strengthen the national government and unite the people under it.

Bruning, Seldte and Schacht had all tried to lead the nation back to hope and prosperity, but Bruning was too isolated, Seldte too cautious and Schacht too abstract to be a mass leader. It is into such a setting that Adolf Hitler was to be born politically, and then hailed as the savior of Germany.

Then the man given by Heaven to the German Nation, the man heralded by every device of modern propaganda—the man whose virtues were dinned so repeatedly into the people's ears that most accepted his claims.²

Hitler succeeded where those of greater thinking ability had failed because of his more successful use of emotional appeals. Many of those who preceded him seemed to have had greater power of reasoning and yet they had not been able to unite the nation.

His [Hitler's] triumph was that of emotions and instinct over reason; it represented a great upsurge of the subconscious in the German people. He restored hope to the downcast, he gave vision of ultimate expression to the repressed.³

It is necessary to consider Hitler's early speeches in order to trace this emotional quality. A very simple message was directed by him to his people.

You have suffered thus and thus, but as you have suffered so shall you rejoice. And the height of your rejoicing shall be as the depth of your suffering.⁴

²Ibid., p. 38.
³Ibid., p. 37.
⁴Ibid., p. 38.
So expert was he in the art of persuasive speaking that he was able to convince the people that there was pleasure in the suffering which they knew at that time. He was able to exploit their wounds and then turn their minds from the memory of painfulness to hopes of future happiness. "Arise, come with me, and ye shall feel." This was his promise of "heaven" for those who followed him.

The art of leadership consists of consolidating the attentions of the people against a single adversary and taking care that nothing will split up this attention. Hitler's method of leadership was a simple yet very effective one. He directed the attention of his people against one enemy at a time and did not let them forget who or what that enemy was.

Hitler's ability to lead and persuade the masses seems to be directly related and dependent on his rhetorical ability. It is, therefore, the purpose of this thesis to present a composite picture of some of the persuasive rhetorical methods employed by Hitler and to analyse those methods in relation to their effectiveness. This analysis does not seek to prove a hypothesis but merely to point out those persuasive techniques which seem to have been so

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5 Ibid., p. 37.

6 Mein Kampf (English translation by James Murphy, which will be referred to throughout the thesis as Murphy unless otherwise stated) (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1939), p. 47.
effective when used by Hitler in Germany from his first speech in 1919 to those speeches made by him in 1940.

The effectiveness of Hitler's speaking may be attributed to his ability to adopt techniques to the situation. Some of these might be: (1) Hitler used dramatic staging to create a desired emotional response in the audience, (2) he continually used emotional language, style and delivery, (3) he had a definite ability to associate himself with his auditors, (4) the ideas which Hitler presented were reinforced through propaganda and other speeches, (5) hate was the emotion to which most of his oratory was directed, (6) he had the ability to unite the thoughts of a mass audience, (7) he effectively built an empire using speeches as one of the major factors without any knowledge or formal training gained through the known reading of the ancients such as Aristotle, Cicero or Quintilian, (8) the greater strength of Hitler's oratory lay in his delivery, and (9) his mastery analysis of the audience to which he spoke, (10) he had the ability to make the bad things seem less bad and the good things less good, or as Aristotle puts it, an ability to effectively make use of the diminutive, (11) he effectively used many rhetorical devices to gain evil ends, and (12) that the effects of Hitler's oratory were both immediate and long range but not necessarily historically permanent.
Finally, Hitler's oratory will be evaluated in the light of its relationship to four theories: (1) results, (2) truth, (3) ethical, and (4) artistic. It is the writer's intention that through such an evaluation a clearer understanding of true and false rhetoric will evolve, and that the differences between a good speaker, that is one who recognizes his social responsibility and is ethical in his approach to speaking, and an effective speaker or one who speaks only for effect and results disregarding his responsibility to the truth and to society.

In order to accomplish the task set forth this thesis will follow a format consisting of: (1) the introduction, which presents the purposes and procedures to be followed through the thesis, (2) Chapter II which will deal with the life of Adolf Hitler, his family, education and political involvements up to 1933, (3) Chapter III will be a survey of some of the images established by Hitler through dramatic staging, (4) Chapter IV will deal with Hitler's use of some rhetorical devices, for this development the writer will use selections from many of Hitler's speeches as illustrative material, (5) Chapter V will consist of a rhetorical analysis of one of the typical speeches given by Hitler, specifically that one given February 24, 1940. The conclusion of this chapter will be composed of the
evaluation of Hitler's oratory in relation to the four theories described in the above paragraph, (6) the sixth chapter will be a compilation of the conclusions indicated throughout the thesis.
CHAPTER II

ADOLF HITLER

A Russian philosopher named Soloview had predicted the birth of an "Adolf Hitler." His description of the man and his prophecy of his rise to power seems to be an excellent introduction for this short biography.

The Antichrist is no mythical being, no monkish medieval fantasy. . . . It is a type of man who will come to the fore when an epoch is dying. He is a man with a white skin, in everyday clothes, dangerously contemporary, and a mighty demagogue. He will talk with the masses, and at his word the masses will rise up and turn a culture to ashes, a culture which has deserved no better, since it has borne the Antichrist in its own image and for its own destruction. . . . The Antichrist does not look like what he is, and therein precisely lies the danger. He is a young man with a strong personality and seductive power of speech and writing. He will win fame first by a book in which respect of the ancient traditions and symbols stands side by side with a bold and thorough radicalism in social and political problems . . . absolute individualism with an ardent fidelity to the common weal.\(^1\)

To better understand the accomplishments of Adolf Hitler, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the man, and the environment which contributed to his personality development. In the remote section of Waldviertel, a poor country district to the North of the Danube about fifty

\(^1\) Konrad Heiden, Der Fuehrer (London, 1941), pp. 1-2.
miles from Vienna, where family marriages were frequent, we find the ancestry from which a dictator was to rise.

Alois, illegitimate son of Maria Anna Schicklgruber, was the father of Adolf. He kept the name of his mother until he was thirty-five. He then took the name of a man, probably his father, whom his mother married when he was a child. This name, variously spelled Huettler, Hiedler, and Hitler by the half-illiterate family which bore it suggests the peasant origin of the Fuhrer.²

In 1864, at the age of twenty-seven, Alois Schicklgruber married Anna Glasl-Horer, the adopted daughter of a customs official. For the next sixteen years he served as a customs collector in Braunau and other towns of the frontier with Bavaria. His new job as a minor official and his marriage to another official's daughter brought him up the social register. He seemed to have gone back to his native village of Spital during this time and renewed his relationship with relatives, especially one uncle, Johann von Nepomuk Hutler, whom he later received an inheritance. He also took steps to legitimatize himself and to have name changed.

The marriage to Anna did not work out and ended in separation, soon after which Anna, fourteen years his senior, died in 1883. About one month later Alois married

²Alan Bullock, Hitler A Study in Tyranny (New York, 1952), pp. 17-50. (Hereafter referred to as Bullock.)
Franziska Matzelberger, a hotel cook who had already given him a son, Alois, out of wedlock, and who at the time was already pregnant with his daughter Angeia. Adolf's half sister was born three or four months after the wedding. The second marriage ended with the death of Franziska about a year after Angeia was born. Six months later Alois married Klara Polzl, his second cousin by marriage and a girl twenty-three years his junior.

Adolf Hitler was born at half past six p.m. 20 April, 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.

Adolf Hitler was the third child of this third marriage. Gustaw and Ida, both born before him had died in infancy, and only his younger sister Paula, born in 1896, lived to maturity.

A great deal has been written about the childhood of Hitler, and much of it is quite contradictory. Hitler wrote of his childhood in Mein Kampf as a period of loneliness and mistreatment. This is partially true, but not for the reasons given by Hitler and one of his biographers, Philipp Bouhler. Bouhler writes of Hitler as a child left alone in the world, yet he was thirteen when his father died four years before the death of his mother.

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3Ibid.

4Ibid., p. 17.
The unhappy childhood could have stemmed from the terrible conflict between Hitler and his father.

I would not become a civil servant. No amount of persuasion and no amount of grave warnings could break down that opposition. One day it became clear to me that I would be a painter, I mean an Artist. . . . My father was speechless: "A painter? an artist?" he exclaimed. He wondered whether I was in a sound state of mind. He thought that he might not have caught my words rightly, or that he had misunderstood what I said. But when I had explained my ideas to him and he saw how seriously I took them, he opposed them with that full determination which was characteristic of him. . . . At that our struggle became stalemate. My father would not abandon his "Never" and I became all the more consolidated in my "Never-the-less."5

The conflict between Hitler and his father has often been blamed for the boy's failure in school. The attitude which he developed after reaching this impasse with his father was one of complete rebellion. He chose to make no further progress in his school work.

I thought that once it became clear to my father that I was making no progress at the Realschule, he would be forced to allow me to follow the happy career I had dreamed of.6

This struggle with his father and his decision to discontinue his educational efforts may or may not have been exaggerated by Hitler as an effort to explain his failure in the Realschule. Which ever the case may be, it is known

6Ibid., p. 29.
that he was dismissed from the Linz school without a Leaving Certificate. He did attend a school in Steyr for a short time after that, but abandoned school completely in 1905, without taking any final examination and with a report that rarely places his work above satisfactory, describing his command of German as inadequate and the appearance of his written work as displeasing.\(^7\)

In 1905 he persuaded his mother to allow him to attend a private art school in Munich. For some reason there is no mention of this adventure in Mein Kampf.\(^8\) Although he had continued his education for two years after the death of his father, he had not lost his desire to become an artist.

In October, 1907 Hitler left the school in Munich and went to Vienna. During this time he set about preparing himself for entry into the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. While he confined himself to his painting and art studies he was completely supported by his mother and other members of his family.\(^9\)

In 1907, and again in October of 1908, he was refused admittance to the school, because of the poor quality of work submitted.

\(^7\)Bullock, op. cit., p. 24.
\(^8\)Heiden, op. cit., p. 51.
\(^9\)Ibid., p. 52.
Adolf Hitler, Braunau a. Inn, 20 April, 1889. German Catholic. Father, Civil servant, 4 classes in Realschule. Few heads. Test drawing unsatisfactory.  

Hitler went to see the director of the academy after the second failure and was told that perhaps his work would be more suitable in another area. After several days of thinking, Hitler presented himself to the Academy School of Architecture fully convinced that, after all, he was intended to be an architect and not a painter. He found, however, that admittance to the academy was an impossibility since he lacked a School Leaving Certificate.

On December 21, 1908, in Spital, Hitler's mother died of cancer. Her death marked the end of one period of his life and the beginning of another. The following years were to be empty and disheartening.

In Spital, Adolf took leave of his relations. . . . He declared to his aunt . . . that he would not return to Spital or even write until he had made something of himself. This was to require thirty years. A spoiled boy who learned nothing, achieved nothing, and could do nothing was facing the void.

Vienna, at the beginning of 1909, was still an imperial city, capital of an Empire of fifty million souls stretching from the Rhine to the Danube, from Saxony to Montenegro. The aristocratic baroque city of Mozart's time had become a

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10 Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 25.


great commercial and industrial center with a population of two million people. Electric trams ran through its noisy streets. The massive, monumental buildings erected on the Ringstrasse in the last quarter of the nineteenth century reflected the prosperity and self-confidence of the Viennese middle class; the factories and poorer streets of the outer districts and the rise of an industrial working class. To a young man of twenty, without a home, friends or resources, it must have appeared a callous and unfriendly city: Vienna was no place to be without money or a job. The four years he spent there, from 1909 to 1913, Hitler himself says, were the unhappiest of his life. They were also in many ways the most important, the formative years in which his character and opinions were given definite shape.\(^{13}\)

Hitler was unequipped to live in Vienna. He did not have a trade. He seems to have gone from one job to another, doing well at none. There were days when the future fuehrer went without food, and there were nights when he slept in doorways. Reinhold Hanisch, a friend of Hitler, at this time, describes their meeting in the Meldemannstrasse doss-house in this way.

On the very first day there sat next to the bed that had been allotted to me a man who had nothing on except an old torn pair of trousers --Hitler. His clothes were being cleaned of lice, since for days he had been wandering about without a roof and in a terrible neglected condition.\(^ {14}\)

It was in Vienna at this period of his life that Hitler became interested in the political questions of the day. He was influenced by the leaders of the Christian-


\(^{14}\)Ibid., p. 28.
Social Party and the Pan-German Austrians. From Lueger, leader of the Christian Socialist party, he developed his ideas of leadership of the masses and the importance of propaganda as a method of persuasion. It is also believed that it was from Lueger that Hitler developed his intense anti-semitic feelings.  

He made an exhaustive study of Karl Marx and concluded that he must learn the interworkings of Judaism if he was to understand Social Democracy.

As time passed he became more ingrained with his own political ideas and began to give vent to his hatred of the Jews, the priests, the social democrats, and the Hapsburgs. The few people who were his friends became tired of his slanted and unbalanced views and left him. Perhaps the unhappiness which he experienced in Vienna led to his later expressed philosophy of life and struggle.

The idea of struggle is as old as life itself, for life is only preserved because other living things perish through struggle. . . . In this struggle, the stronger, the more able win, while the less able, the weak lose. Struggle is the father of all things. . . . It is not by the principles of humanity that man lives or is able to preserve himself above the animal world, but solely by means of the most brutal struggle. . . . If you do not fight for life, then life will never be won.

15Heiden, op. cit., pp. 62-64.
17Hitler's speech at Kulmbach, February 5, 1928.
18Bullock, op. cit., p. 31.
It is important to realize that it was in such an environment that Hitler acquired his philosophy. This was a philosophy of brutality and force which was to guide his later discussions of government policy. Bullock evaluated his background in this way:

In this struggle any trick or ruse, however unscrupulous; the use of any weapon or opportunity, however treacherous, are permissible. To quote a typical sentence from Hitler's speeches: "Whatever goal man has reached is due to his originality plus his brutality." Astuteness; the ability to lie, twist, cheat and flatter; the elimination of sentimentality or loyalty in favor of ruthlessness, these were the qualities which enabled men to rise above all, strength of will. Such were the principles which Hitler drew from his years in Vienna.19

The idea of strength of will seems to have reached the point of an obsession with Hitler. He felt that by and with this strength he could do anything: "To the end he refused to admit defeat, and still held to the belief that by the power of the will alone he could transform events."20

In the spring of 1913 Hitler left Vienna.

My inner aversion to the Hapsburg State was increasing daily. . . . This motley of Czechs, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbs and Croats, and always that bacillus which is the solvent of human society the Jew, here and there and everywhere—the whole spectacle was repugnant to me. . . . The longer I lived in that city the stronger became my hatred for the promiscuous swarm of foreign peoples which had begun to batten on that old nursery ground of German

19Ibid., p. 32.

20Heiden, op. cit., p. 63.
culture. All these considerations intensified my yearnings to depart for that country for which my heart had been secretly longing since the days of my youth.\textsuperscript{21}

There are several schools of thought concerning Hitler's departure from the city at this time. Certainly he disliked the city. A possible evasion of military service offers a broader and more significant discussion. If he wanted to evade military service two considerations must be taken into account. Many might consider such an evasion by Hitler to be an act of cowardice. The anti-semitic prejudice must not be overlooked, however. Possibly Hitler felt that he could not serve in any army wherein he would be forced to fight, eat, and sleep with Jews. Such a reason would clearly foreshadow his later violence toward the Jews.

Hitler wrote a formal request to King Ludwig IV of Bavaria asking that he be allowed to enter the service of the Bavarian army. The request was granted and on October 20, 1914 the records show that he, as a member of the 6th Bavarian Division of the Bavarian Crown Prince Rupprecht's 6th Army, marched to the front and saw his first fighting at the battle of Ypres.\textsuperscript{22}

What sort of soldier was Hitler? As early as December, 1914 he had been awarded the Iron Cross, Second Class, and when Hitler in March 1932, brought a lawsuit against a newspaper which had

\begin{footnotes}
\item[21] \textit{Mein Kampf} (Murphy), \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 114-15.
\item[22] Bullock, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 45-46.
\end{footnotes}
accused him of cowardice, his former commanding
officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Engelhardt, testi-
fied to his bravery in the fighting of November,
1914, when the regiment had first gone into
action.\textsuperscript{23}

Having shown himself to be brave, but not careless,
he was given a job which seems to have been quite danger-
ous. He became a dispatch-runner. During this period he
captured a group of enemy soldiers. His beloved Iron Cross
First Class was awarded to him at this time.

The most marked and improbable accounts have
been given of the action for which he won this.
The date on which he received the award was 4
August, 1918, but dates ranging over a period
from the autumn of 1915 to the summer of 1918
have been suggested for the exploit for which
it was given. According to one witness,
singlehanded he took fifteen prisoners (others
say ten or twelve) Frenchmen; according to
another they were Englishmen. The Official
history of the List Regiment says nothing at
all.\textsuperscript{24}

No matter what the occasion, or the exploit which brought
about the award, it was one of which Hitler was most proud
and one medal which he always wore during his great period
of triumph.

With the war over, Germany faced the task of rebuild-
ing, and as it had been previously shown the people did not
seem up to the job. Central and Eastern Europe was going
through a revolutionary period. This period brought an end

\textsuperscript{23}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 46-47.
\textsuperscript{24}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 47.
to the Romanovs, the Hapsburg, the Hohenzollern and the
Ottoman Empires.

The political and social structure of half
Europe was thrown into the melting pot. It was
a time of widespread unrest, insecurity and fear
in all Europe east of the Rhine.\textsuperscript{25}

In Germany the people were faced with new sacrifices
brought about by the demands of the peace treaty and the
destruction of the war. It is into this time and political
setting that Adolf Hitler was to make his entrance on the
scene.

Hitler had been given a job in the political depart-
ment of the District Army Command. He was a spy. He went
to the meetings of many small political groups which had
formed after the war and then reported on their movements
and political beliefs. This was an attempt on the part of
the command to find the ideal form for the planned political
movement of the Munich Reichswehr.\textsuperscript{26} It should be noted
here that included in his activities for the command, Hitler
was practically a "peace-time espionage agent against the
Communists."\textsuperscript{27}

It was during a routine visit to one of these small
party meetings that Hitler first became acquainted with the

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., p. 52.
\textsuperscript{26}Heiden, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 89.
\textsuperscript{27}Stephen H. Roberts, \textit{The House that Hitler Built}
(New York: 1938), p. 34.
German Workers' Party. This party had as it nucleus a small group of men who claimed to be carrying forward the idea of a group founded in 1915 which had been known as the Free Workers' Committee for a Good Peace.

In the year 1919 when I met the handful of men who held their little meetings under the name of the German Workers' Party, there was neither a business office nor any employee. There was no paper with letterhead; in fact, even rubber stamps were lacking. The entire property of this seven men's club consisted of a briefcase, in which the incoming and outgoing mail were kept, and a cigar box which served as a cash-box. The portable party office in the form of a briefcase traveled under the arms of party comrade Harrer, our president; into every conceivable beer hall and cafe, in which the party committee—which at that time was the party itself—met. 28

Hitler was joined in the party by Rosenberg, who believed in the purity of race, Gottfried Feder, who hated capitalists, Captain Rohm, who said "Be a patriot or be a corpse" and Dietrich Eckart, poet, journalist and friend of Rohm. This group was then joined by General von Epp whose plan it was to form a new middle class party. Four of these men, Hitler, Rohm, Eckart, and Feder undertook the job of building the party membership and of easing Harrer out of control.

In this year of 1919 my first struggle in the Party began. After long negotiations I put through the acquisition of three rubber stamps. I also succeeded in having our little invitations to meetings hectographed. When in addition to all that, I pressed for larger meetings, Harrer

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28Heiden, op. cit., p. 89.
couldn't follow me. He retired, and that gave me a free path.29

The first public meeting of the party was held on February 24, 1920, in the Hofbrauhaus in Munich. This was to be Hitler's first experience with speaking to a large crowd. Some ten minutes after he started his speech he was interrupted by shouts and whistles from members of the audience. These persons were quickly removed from the hall by loyal supporters who carried side arms. Then Hitler shouted at the crowd: "If anyone else dares, let him speak up against the program."30

The National Socialist Movement was then born of violence. Its program was set forward on February 24, 1920. It consisted of twenty-five points which had been written by Hitler, Drexler, Feder and Echart. The program was nationalist and anti-semitic in character, and at the same time it also strongly opposed Capitalism, the large landowners, and the rich industrialists.

All unearned income was to be abolished (point 11); all war profits to be confiscated (12); the State was to take over all trusts and share in the profits of large industries (13-14); the big department stores were to be communalized and rented to small tradespeople, while preference in all public supplies was to be given to the small trader (16). With this went equally drastic proposals for agrarian reform: the expropriation without compensation of land needed for

29Ibid., pp. 90-91.

30Ibid., p. 92.
national purposes, the abolition of ground rents and the prohibiting of land speculation (17).  

Hitler forced his will on the other members of the party by demanding absolute power in the Reich: "The common good before the individual good."  

We demand the creation of a strong central power in the Reich, unconditional authority of the political central parliament over the whole Reich and its general organization; chambers representing the corporations and trades shall be constituted. . . .

To some members of the party such as Drexler and Feder, the program represented a code to which they would always adhere. To Hitler, however, "Any idea may be a source of danger if it be looked upon as an end in itself."  

He therefore considered a program which for him was much simpler: power, power for his party, his nation and above all, power for himself.

To the very end Hitler believed that he and he alone had made the party the strength of Germany.

When I recall how after a year I had won sixty-four members for the movement, I must confess that which has today been created, when a stream of millions is flowing into our movement, represents something unique in German history. Where is the

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31 Bullock, op. cit., pp. 67-68.  
32 Heiden, op. cit., p. 94.  
33 Ibid., p. 94.  
34 Mein Kampf (Murphy), op. cit., p. 184.
organization which in seventy years has achieved what we have achieved in barely twelve? 35

Before the time of complete victory for Hitler and the party there was a day of defeat. On November 9, 1923, there was an attempted putsch. For a while victory seemed certain as the political situation in Bavaria was transformed. Kahr and Hitler shook hands and generals Ludendorff and von Lossow submitted to his leadership, but on the following day as the S.A. (Sturm-Abteilung) detachments marched on Odeonsplatz the putsch was termed a demonstration and, it became evident that Kahr and Lossow had merely been stalling for time. The S.A. was met by an army, and Hitler realized that he was not prepared to fight. The movement failed and Hitler paid for his mistake.

For this attempted putsch Hitler was brought to trial on February 26, 1924. The trial lasted twenty-four days and offered an excellent opportunity for Hitler to reach an audience outside the frontiers of Bavaria as the entire proceedings were attended by a great number of foreign correspondents.

From the very beginning of the trial, Hitler's idea was to regain his political initiative. In order to do this, he planned to put the chief witness for the prosecution in a poor light by assuming full responsibility for

the attempt to overthrow the Republic. He did not try to
curse himself nor did he attempt to minimize the serious-
ness of the crime for which he was on trial.36 Hitler knew
that he was on trial for high treason and he also knew what
the penalty could be if he were to be found guilty. He,
however, did not waver in his convictions: "I feel myself
the best of Germans who wanted the best for the German
people."37

For a while Hitler seemed contented to refrain from
debate, but when the public prosecutor, in his closing
speech referred to Hitler as thoughtless and ambitious of
personal gains this seemed more than he could take and so
he answered the charge:

The man who is born to be a dictator is not
compelled; he wills it. He is not driven for-
ward, but drives himself. There is nothing
immodest about this. Is it immodest for a worker
to drive himself towards heavy labour? Is it
presumptuous to a man with the high forehead of
a thinker to ponder through the nights till he
gives the worker an invention? The man who
feels called upon to govern a people has no
right to say: "if you want me or summon me, I
will cooperate." No, it is his duty to step
forward.38

In so doing he was able to have the last word. He
never denied his part in the putsch as did many of the

36 Bullock, op. cit., p. 104.
37 Ibid., p. 105.
38 Ibid., p. 106.
others, and he never forgot those who did not have the courage to speak out in the face of a penalty for treason. Years later he was to speak of this and remarked:

When the Kapp Putsch was at an end, and those who were responsible for it were brought before the Republican courts, then each held up his hand and swore that he knew nothing, had intended nothing, wished nothing. That was what destroyed the bourgeois world—that they had not the courage to step before the judge and say: "Yes, that was what we wanted to do; we wanted to destroy the State..." It is not decisive whether one won or loses; what is necessary is that one must with heroism and courage make oneself responsible for the consequences.39

Not only did Hitler take full responsibility for the putsch of November 8 and 9, but he built it up in the minds of those who would listen as one of the great propaganda legends of the entire movement. For years he returned to the memorial (which he later built) on the Odeonsplatz to renew the memory of the happenings of that November morning in 1923. Often on such occasions he would repeat some of the ideas which had come from his closing remarks during the trial: "I believe that the hour will come when the masses, who today stand in the streets with our swastika banner, will unite with those who fired upon them"40

He ended the trial with an oration that was not to be forgotten:

The army we have formed is growing from day to day. . . . I nourish the proud hope that one day

40Bullock, op. cit., p. 108.
the hour will come when these rough companies will grow to battalions, the battalions to regiments, the regiments to divisions, that the old cockade will be taken from the mud, that the old flag will wave again, that there will be a reconciliation at the last great divine judgment which we are prepared to face... For it is not you, gentlemen, who pass judgment on us. That judgment is spoken by the eternal court of history. What judgment you will hand down, I know. But that court will not ask us: "Did you commit high treason, or did you not?" That court will judge us, the Quartermaster-General of the old Army (Ludendorff), his officers and soldiers, as Germans who wanted only the good of their own people and Fatherland; who wanted to fight and die. You may pronounce us guilty a thousand times over, but the goddess of the eternal court of history will smile and tear to tatters the brief of the State Prosecutor and sentence of this court. For she acquits us.41

The trial ended and Hitler was given a minimum sentence of five years imprisonment despite the objections raised by the State Prosecutor and the attempts of the police to have him sent out of the country. Nine months later Hitler was released from prison.

Never was Hitler's political ability more clearly shown than in the way he recovered from this set-back. For the man who, on 9 November, 1923, appeared to be broken and finished as a political leader--and had himself believed this--succeeded by April, 1924, in making himself one of the most talked of figures in Germany, and turned his trial for treason into a political triumph.42

41Ibid., p. 108.
42Ibid., p. 103.
There are many means through which Adolf Hitler achieved this political triumph. The means with which this thesis is most concerned, however, is that of rhetoric for selfish and evil ends. How was he able to unite this nation through Speech? It is to this investigation that he next chapters will turn.
CHAPTER III

IMAGES OF HITLER

Success (in oratory) is based upon great fundamental psychological and ethical principles. The structure of the human brain and the mysteries of the human heart are at the bottom of everything. He who understands human nature and how to work upon it, becomes the master in spite of vocal or bodily defects.¹

Adolf Hitler did not know of the many theories expounded by those who wrote books on the principles of oratory and persuasion. He did, however, take advantage of many of the fundamental psychological principles which they supported. But before going into these principles of persuasive oratory it might be better to get an overview of some of the images which Hitler created through speech and staging and to observe some of the situations in which they were employed.²

Let us first observe the common man of the Berlin Labor Force. It was an ordinary working day for those of


²The writer wishes to express appreciation to Mr. G. H. Goodman of the Department of German at The Ohio State University without whose help this chapter would not be possible. The illustrations in this chapter are from his impressions and observations as shared with the writer in personal interviews.
the factory district, ordinary in that the workers would arrive at work at the usual time; however, there was marked excitement in the air. This was the day the workers would end their tasks at noon, although they would be paid for a full day. Hitler had sent to the entire labor force a personal invitation to hear his speech. It should be noted here that that audience was a select one and not simply a group of people. It was a typed audience conducive to the message which Hitler would present, and one of the many purposefully selected audiences whom had heard Hitler's early speeches.

Noon came and with it a marching band to lead the chosen audience through the streets to the auditorium. The band played a stirring marching song, the men sang as they marched to the musical beat, flags waved before them and people came out of their shops and homes to line the streets, waving and cheering as the workers went by. All too soon for the excited participants the destination was reached, and they marched from the sun light street into the dark hall.

The huge room was draped with banners and posters dedicated to the working class. There was no music now, only the excited hum of mass conversations. The hall was almost completely dark except for a large spotlight which swept from one side of the room to the other. A hush fell over the audience as the roll of drums began to join in the anticipation of those who waited in the darkness. The light
continued to flash as the drums became louder and louder, faster and faster. The light picked up speed as it flashed back and forth. Suddenly the drums stopped. The light was fixed on one entrance, and the audience rose to their feet in anticipation of the Fuehrer's arrival. He did not come. Contrary to the crowd's expectations, a brightly dressed honor guard made its entrance. They were followed by a national hero or a person well known to the people there. The audience remained on their feet and cheered wildly as the important personage ascended the steps to the speakers platform. Bright uniforms and shining medals dominated the scene.

The flashing light might stop at another entrance two or three times before Hitler appeared. The drums rolled and the bands played again. A man on the platform stepped to the front of the platform, raised his arms for silence: "Der Fuehrer comes!" The hall was quiet again except for the continued roll of the drums. A spotlight flashed from entrance to entrance, and the people strained to watch each door through which the leader might come. The light stopped and surrounded one door. The crowd was on their feet, wild with anticipation. One man stepped into the light. He was not preceded by an honor guard. He was alone. He was dressed in a plain brown suit on the front of which was one medal, The Iron Cross, this was Adolf Hitler!
The contrast between the other men on the platform and this man was outstanding. He stood among the bright uniforms as a simple man, a man of the people. The stage was set and the image of the common man was almost completed. All that was necessary now was for Hitler to tell his already believing audience what they wanted to hear.

Today, to that audience, his message was a simple one. "I myself was a labouring man for years in the building trade and had to earn my own bread."  

With such a statement Hitler identifies himself with his audience. He does not speak to them as a member of another social group but as one of them. He was one who understood their problems, he was one who does not appear as a glittering, medal bedecked soldier, but as one who was simply dressed. He was a man who knew the problems of labour and was in complete sympathy with their struggle.

He goes on:

In the future every worker will have his holidays—a few days in each year, which he can arrange as he likes. And everybody will be able to go on a sea-cruise once or twice in his life.  

Such a promise was typical of the Hitler method of persuasion. He would build his selected audience to an emotional peak with pre-speech staging, associate himself

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with those in his audience, promise them anything they wanted, tell them what they wanted to hear. Then he would pick the time for asking for more effort, more production and harder work. He always seemed to soften the request with an emotional line of argument for support:

The contentment of the day's work vibrates into the leisure hours in which fresh strength is gained for the next day, and at the same time, one's pride of nationality and heritage is increased.\(^5\)

The usual climax to such a speaking occasion would be a long standing ovation, with repeated salutes and cheers, the band would play more marching songs as men would march through the aisles waving banners and flags. And so it is that the image of the simple man of the people is created and recreated, enforced and reinforced throughout the membership of the laboring class.

The youth movement of Germany actually began in April, 1933, with the establishment of the Reich Committee of German Youth. It had as its purpose, among other things, the training and indoctrination of those generations which would keep the spirit of the party alive and active for hundreds of years to come. Hitler spoke of this movement in 1933: "in this year we created the basis for a German

rebirth, which will perhaps be realized in a hundred, two
hundred or three hundred years." \(^6\)

One great problem faced Hitler. It was imperative
that he draw the youth of all ages into the circle of the
Hitler Youth Movement. For the most part he had established
unity among those youth groups which were organized pre-
viously. These were the scout groups, the religious clubs,
and the school groups none of which actually had a purpose.
These groups, however, did not come close to the enrollment
that Hitler needed for his plan. To do this, it was neces-
sary for him to gain the support of as many of the parents
as he could. Another image had to be created.

The motorcade moved slowly down the street through a
solid wall of people on either side. Hitler, riding in an
open car with one of his high ranking officers, waved and
smiled as the car made its way slowly down the street.
Police locked arms all along the way to hold back the crowd
that eagerly pushed to the front to be closer to their
Fuehrer. Seemingly without warning a little boy (cued by a
soldier) broke through the police line and rushed toward
the car in which Hitler rode. The child had fair skin,
blond hair, and large excited blue eyes. In his hand he
carried a bouquet of wild flowers somewhat crushed and
wilted by his small hot hand. Before he could be stopped he

\(^6\)Heiden, op. cit., p. 645.
leaped onto the running board of the car and held out the floral offering. The officer riding with Hitler was obviously dismayed by the entire proceedings and tried to push the child away, but Hitler, reached over the officer to the boy, picked him up, and accepted the flowers as though they were the keys to the city. He reached into his pocket and pulled out some object and gave it to the boy. He gave him a hug, kissed him on the cheek affectionately, and resumed his former position in the car.

The masses who observed the incident and the greater masses who would soon hear of it and see pictures of it in all the papers, thrilled to the kindness and humility of such a man. The image conveyed to the mothers of Germany through this and similar incidents was one of a loving father, a father who understood his children and indulged them. Such a man would surely be incapable of bringing harm to the children he asked for.

This father image was reinforced through many speeches.

There is only one German people, and therefore there can be only one German Youth.\(^7\)

The Reich stands and it will build itself up in the future upon its youth.\(^8\)


\(^8\)Ibid., p. 390.
We will see to it that our youth shall be the strong support of Germany's future.9

On the youth of Germany are set all our hopes, our peoples' confidence, and our faith.10

This power of persuasion was effective on most German parents. There were some, however, mostly those of the middle classes, who held back. Hitler's solution to such a problem was:

If there are still folk here and there who think that they cannot change their outlook, then we will take the children away from them and train them up into that which is necessary for the German people.11

To the youth of Germany, Hitler was many things. He was their leader, their teacher, the giver of purpose in a purposeful time. He was the image of strength they hoped to attain, but above and beyond all of these, Hitler was the giver of pride, the donor of that emotional security which comes with a feeling of importance and the realization of being a necessary part of the whole—the whole German Nation.

To hold this image, Hitler's speeches to the youth maintained a pattern which first, flattered their importance, second, pointed out their responsibility and obligation to the nation, and finally directed their attention to the future.

11Ibid., Speech at Erfurt June 18, 1933, pp. 538-9.
Hitler flattered the youth of Germany in the final part of his speeches.

You are the living Germany of the future, not an empty idea, no mere formula: you are blood of our blood, flesh of our flesh, spirit of our spirit, you are our people's future.\textsuperscript{12}

You are Greater Germany! In you is being formed the community of the German people . . . when I see you my faith in the future of Germany has no bounds, nothing can shake it.\textsuperscript{13}

He then made them aware of their responsibilities and obligations to the nation.

Great things are happening at this present time, but all will be in vain if you do not guarantee a lasting German future. You are a link in the chain of German destiny. See to it then that the link is strong, lest this chain break with you and thus bring to an end our people's life.\textsuperscript{14}

We ask of you now, German youth, that you should be consciously idealistic, because we believe that only from this fundamental attitude of idealism can a real community of the people arise. . . .

And secondly we ask of you, German youth, that you should be strong in character! That you should learn to be decent in your thoughts, that you shun what is and always will be harmful . . . because you profess the ideals and the virtues which at all times have been the foundation for great peoples.

And in the third place, further, we ask of you to be hard, German youth, and to make yourselves hard! We cannot use a generation of "mother's boys," of spoiled children.

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 538.

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Ibid.}, Speech of May 1, 1958, p. 551.

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Ibid.}, May Day Speech, 1935, p. 541.
But most of all we ask of you, German youth, that you fashion the German people of the future, and in yourselves be for it the model.\textsuperscript{15}

His speeches usually ended with some statement of hope for the future.

This work through which a German people shall be born—this is also your task for the German future.\textsuperscript{16}

You, my German youth, must be the guarantors for the security of the existence and thus of the future of our German people.\textsuperscript{17}

You are our people's future. You must take a "holy vow" that never again for all time shall the German people tear itself asunder, never again shall its unity be broken up: it shall be in truth a people of brothers which no distress and no danger shall henceforth divide.\textsuperscript{18}

Through speech and with the expert help of Bladur von Schirach (leader of the Hitler Youth) Hitler united the youth of Germany into a well organized, trained, and well disciplined army. An army which followed him without question.\textsuperscript{19} The army of the German Youth sang its allegiance and swore its faith:

We will march for Hitler through night and through danger,
With the flag of youth for freedom and bread,
Forward! Forward! Let the bright trumpets sound,

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Ibid.}, Speech at Berlin, May 1, 1936, p. 547.
\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, May Day Speech to German Youth, 1935, p. 541.
\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 542.
\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Ibid.}, Speech at Parte day in Nuremberg, September, 1933, p. 538.
\textsuperscript{19}Roberts, op. cit., pp. 201-10.
Forward! Forward! Youth knows no peril.
The standard is better than death.  

Another vivid image which Hitler was able to create was that of the savior: "Then came the man given by Heaven to the German Nation." To do this he used such rhetorical devices as flattery, identification of self with the audience, the enthymeme, and the metaphor.

The creation of this image was done in much the same way as those previously described, the only real change was the environment.

The setting was in an outdoor arena at Munich, similar to the baseball stadiums of the United States. The people were seated in the stands, and the speakers' platform was in center field, behind second base.

Hitler was scheduled to arrive at 2:30 in the afternoon. In order to get good seats, most of the people had arrived ahead of time. Around them were hundreds of Nazi flags, and before them was a parade of military strength. The youth of Germany passed in review and chanted a song of praise to the Father Land and to Hitler. The audience joined the singing and chanting and lost their individuality in this united effort. They became united in voice and mind. They were as one person. The drum corp took its place on the field, which was quickly followed by a motor-

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\(^{20}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 204.\)
\(^{21}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 37.\)
cade. The audience leaped to their feet expecting the Fuehrer. He did not come. A national hero rode in the car and was taken to his place on the platform as the bands played and the people cheered. The people waited—one, two, three hours. Each minute was spent in building the emotions.

Finally Hitler's motorcade entered the arena. The people had been primed for that great moment. The car moved slowly around the stadium, the bands played, and the drums rolled as Hitler took his place among those already seated on the stage. So much time had elapsed that the sun was setting and was now directly behind the platform, shining into the eyes of the audience. Hitler moved forward and stood with his arms outstretched in a Christ-like gesture. The sun blinded those who watched. They only saw the figure of a man with arms outstretched, illuminated by the sun's glow. That day his message to the people was one of salvation.

What could one man, who undertook single-handed to take the field against a world of enemies, what could he expect? I made the venture, because I believed that I knew the heart-beat of my people: and I was not deceived. You have all felt this in the past, for to every single one of you at some time has occurred the reflection that it is no subtlety of the intellect, but rather an inner voice that has at some time given its commands to every one of you. Reason must have dissuaded you from coming to me; faith alone gave you the command.\(^{22}\)

At another time Hitler speaks of divine guidance coming from the party.

The spirit comes not down from above, that spirit which is to purify Germany, which with its iron bosom is to purify the great stay of democracy. To do this is the task of our Movement.23

Here Hitler speaks of the miracle which his party had brought to Germany.

This is the miracle which we have wrought. We are the fortunate ones. ... We have been chosen by Fate to live this miracle in our own time.24

Another time he speaks of hope and salvation.

My party is not a Movement of despair but a Movement of hope. ... Our Monroe Doctrine is and will ever be Germany for the Germans.25

During another speech Hitler speaks of his destiny.

Fate, in a moment of caprice or perhaps fulfilling the designs of Providence, cast me into the great mass of the people, amongst common folk.26

And so it is that Hitler builds another image. It should be noted here that there were two ways of creating the Hitler image. One way was for the man to build his own different personalities. The other way was for a variety of people in different stations of life to build the image

23Ibid., Speech in Munich, April 10, 1923, p. 44.
26Bullock, op. cit., p. 50.
for their group. A case in point here might be the writings of Dr. Goebbels in an attempt to defy Hitler:

The National Socialists trying to make their cult [a] religion said he was the instrument of divine providence. The Opportunists praised him for smashing the Jews. Even his deficiencies were lauded as super-natural attributes. His unassuming way of life was liked to the Divine Leader, his avoidance of feminine company was because his heart was given over to the cause of Germany. His eccentric moods were the outward signs of inner communion with spiritual forces. His temperance and asceticism were indicated as proof that his nourishment was of a spiritual kind.27

Dr. Goebbels seems to have been an indispensable cog in the wheel of Hitler's machine, for through his writings and speeches the Hitler image reached those persons of academic standing whose attitudes were of a critical nature in the early formative years of the party.

A second illustration of the image presentation through another individual is that of a Mrs. Scholtz-Kilnck. Although Mrs. Scholtz-Kilnck did not seem to have had any outstanding speaking ability, she was the key personality in bridging the large gap between Hitler and the peasant.

There does not seem to be a clearly defined reason for Hitler's inability to reach the peasant class in the same manner that he worked with the greater middle classes. Two possible reasons might be considered, however. The

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first was influenced by his attitude toward this class. It has been indicated earlier in this chapter that Hitler's rhetorical appeals usually began with association. His mass appeal was founded upon the idea of identifying himself with his audience, the "I am one of You" approach. But Hitler could not bring himself to the point of identity with these people. Rather, he felt it beneath his dignity.

A second reason relates to the attitude of many of the peasants who worked for the large land owners. As indicated earlier, it was Hitler's plan to control all land and business for Germany. It would be logical to assume that the land owners would protest such a plan. Through loyalty to their masters the peasant possibly opposed it also. It is this opposition, therefore, that would provide a logical reason for the gap between Hitler and this low farming class. It would also logically follow that because Mrs. Scholtz-Klinck was able to identify herself with the peasant she was able to change the image of Hitler from that of a land grabber to that of a German Robin Hood.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to give the reader a vicarious experience through which he may derive a better understanding of Hitler's use of "all available means of persuasion." Of primary importance was the dramatic staging, adaptation to the audience, emotional proof, and
amplification of deeds accomplished by the party and the people. Cuttings from his speeches have been used to give the reader an idea of the emotional language used and some idea of the word order arrangement.
CHAPTER IV
HITLER'S USE OF RHETORIC

This chapter deals with Aristotle's five classical canons of rhetoric as exemplified by Adolf Hitler. The canons, invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery are discussed to show the rhetorical quality of Hitler's speeches. Each cannn is treated separately. Quotations excerpted from many of his speeches will be used as illustrative material in the development of each canon.

INVENTION

Invention deals with the speaker's source of ideas. It is perhaps the most important part of his rhetoric. This would be especially true of Hitler for had he not understood his people so well it is doubtful that he would have had such outstanding speaking success. Thonssen and Baird speak of invention and its importance to rhetoric in the following manner:

Invention involves the attempt on the part of the orator, as Cicero says, "to find out what he should say. . . ." It is an investigative undertaking, embracing a survey and forecast of the subject and a search for the arguments suitable to the given rhetorical effort. . . . Thus certain writers--Aristotle among them--give more attention to invention than to the other parts of
rhetoric. This is done of the ground, and perhaps properly, that the content is the most important part of a speech.¹

Perhaps no other time in the history of Germany had there been such unrest and dissatisfaction. The times created Hitler's issues. He realized the needs of the people and simply promised to satisfy those needs.

I live only for my people, and the National Socialist Movement thinks only of this people. I live only for the thought of this people's future; I see before me the countless millions who work so hard and have so few of life's gifts, who so often have to struggle with cares and so seldom have their share of happiness.²

In the preceding quotation Hitler plays on self pity and builds the picture of the poor working masses. He also places a strong emphasis on the idea that he and the Party are living only for the peoples future happiness. He makes excellent use of his knowledge concerning the peoples need for hope, and of the general conditions existing in the situation at the time.

The National Socialist Movement desires only to help these men; it will endeavour to lighten their lot, to bring into it some beauty. To that end, to the service of the maintenance of the people's life, it will devote all its powers, its


work, all its genius and all its skill in organization.\(^3\)

It is most evident here that Hitler understood the needs of a lost, humiliated people. He cares about them, he understands their sorrow and knows their needs; he and the party are the solution, the end to sufferings for the people.

He articulated their thwarted longings and ambitions. He described to them their misery and in vivid words portrayed a vision of a common hope, a common emancipation, a vision of a long-suffering people coming into its own.\(^4\)

Hitler realized that his people had to have hope and faith in someone or something, anything which could offer an end to suffering and give hope for the future. Hitler's choice of words here are quite interesting:

Let us turn our eyes from this world of the past and look to the Germany of the future. It is our wish and will that this State and this Reich shall continue to exist in the coming millennia. But for that end the decisive factor will not be that which we draw from a none too gratifying political past but what we win for the Reich from the future. And we can moreover be happy to know that this future is already ours--completely ours.\(^5\)

Cicero placed proof under invention and for that reason it is here that the writer wishes to develop the Hitler

\(^3\)Ibid.


method of Pathetic Proof or that which is directed to the passions: hate, love, fear, hope, desire, joy, grief, and virtue.\textsuperscript{6}

It has previously been shown how Hitler used love and hope to persuade. His use of desire for better things and hope in the future, as well as his use of joy found in the new Germany, has been shown. His use of grief over the sufferings of the people and the virtue found in his movement for youth is also evident. Hate is treated last because this element of pathetic proof was perhaps the most outstanding part of this canon of false rhetoric. It has been shown that Hitler believed strength of leadership lay in one's ability to direct the hate of people toward one objective and not to let them forget that hate. For this reason blame is predominant in his oratory.

Hitler shows hate for the Jews in his speaking.

Only when this Jewish bacillus infecting the life of peoples has been removed can one hope to establish a co-operation amongst the nations which shall be built up on a lasting understanding.\textsuperscript{7}

In another speech he speaks against the Bolsheviks.

I regard it as my task before posterity to destroy Marxism, and that is no empty phrase but a solemn oath which I shall perform as long as I live. . . .

\textsuperscript{6}Cicero De Oratore B-2; c 44.

We see in Marxism the enemy of our people which we shall root out and destroy without mercy.\textsuperscript{8}

Though Hitler treated religion with reverence in speeches when it served his purpose he also blamed Christianity for many things when it was necessary to achieve the end desired.

Christianity could not be content to build up its own altar, it must of necessity go on to destroy the pagan altars. Only as a result of this fanatical intolerance could there be formed the apodeictic faith; this intolerance is in fact the essential precondition for faith. Into the far freer atmosphere of the ancient world with the appearance of Christianity there came the first spiritual terrorism. Since then the world has been oppressed and dominated by this compulsion. Compulsion can only be broken by compulsion and terror with terror. Only when this is done can the work of reconstruction be begun, and the new state of affairs created.\textsuperscript{9}

The Versailles Treaty was blamed for most of the unhappiness in Germany, and received attention in most of Hitler's speeches.

The Peace Treaty of Versailles is no Peace Treaty. On the contrary it belongs to the category of those Tribute-Diktats which bear in themselves the seed of later wars.\textsuperscript{10}

These represent but a few of the outstanding hates evident throughout the rhetoric of Hitler. The conditions in Germany certainly gave him many issues from which to draw his messages.

\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., Berlin, Congress of German Work Front, May 10, 1933, p. 667.

\textsuperscript{9}Ibid., p. 338.

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., p. 998.
ARRANGEMENT

The arrangement or distribution of the parts of Hitler's speeches seem to fit more closely into that outlining pattern referred to by A. Craig Baird and Franklin H. Knowler in their book General Speech. This pattern consists of three parts: (1) The first part is the introduction which establishes good will between the speaker and the audience, gives a background to the subject, and makes the theme and purpose clear, (2) the body, the second part of the speech can be developed in chronological, topographical, definitional, classificational, logical or problem-solution order, and (3) the conclusion, the third part, includes such devices as summaries, questions, prophesies, quotations, anecdote and striking statements. ¹¹

In his introductions Hitler always seemed to have employed the device of creating good will, by flattering the audience or by identifying himself with the audience. He made use of the startling statement as it is called by A. H. Monroe in his book Principles and Types of Speech, and the rhetorical question and any other attention getting devices which seemed expedient to his message. The following examples will show these methods more clearly than they can be described.

Hitler used flattery to win his audience's favor.

If anyone should think that he can treat us as slaves he will find that we are the most stubborn people in the world.\textsuperscript{12}

We are no longer defenseless helots, we have become free and self-conscious "Citizens of the World"!\textsuperscript{13}

In all spheres of our national life there has been since four years ago an immense advance. The tempo and the scale of the political advance are unique, and above all the inner consolidation of the German nation is unique in History.\textsuperscript{14}

The German was always a good soldier: the service of arms was never for our people an enforced service but at all periods of our history a service of the highest honour.\textsuperscript{15}

The youth is the stone which is to go to the building of our new Reich! You are greater Germany. In you is being formed the community of the German people.\textsuperscript{16}

Identification, of himself with his audience, was evident on many of Hitler's speeches.

I, too, am a child of this people; I do not trace my line from a castle: I come from a work shop. Neither was I a general: I was simply a soldier, as were millions of others.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{13}ibid., Speech to "Old Fighters" January 30, 1936, p. 649.
\textsuperscript{14}ibid., Opening of the Parteitag, 1936, p. 650.
\textsuperscript{15}ibid., Nuremberg, September, 1935, p. 559.
\textsuperscript{16}ibid., Speech of May 1, 1938, p. 551.
\textsuperscript{17}ibid., Berlin, May 1, 1937, p. 620.
I myself was a labouring man for years in the building trade and had to earn my own bread.\textsuperscript{18}

I am perhaps more capable than anyone else of understanding and realizing the nature and the whole life of the various German castes... I have participated in it, because I stood in the midst of this life.\textsuperscript{19}

I have grown up from amongst yourselves; once I myself was a workman; for four and a half years I served amongst you in the War; I speak now to you to whom I belong, with whom I still feel myself to be united and for whom in the last resort I fight.\textsuperscript{20}

Startling Statements were used by Hitler to get the immediate attention of those in his audience.

Peoples have never yet been successfully led by a majority but always only by a minority.\textsuperscript{21}

In my eyes criticism in itself is not an important function in life. The world can live without critics, it cannot live without workmen.\textsuperscript{22}

Every child that a woman brings into the world is a battle, a battle waged for the existence of her people.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., To First Congress of German Workers, May 10, 1933, p. 862.

\textsuperscript{19}Reoul de Roussy de Sales (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941), Berlin, Speech of May 10, 1933, p. 170.

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., Speech of November 10, 1933, at Siemensstadt, p. 224.

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., Speech of September 10, 1934 at Nuremberg, p. 293.

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., Speech of August 17, 1934 at Nuremberg, p. 282.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., Speech of September 8, 1934, at Nuremberg, p. 287.
German men and women, seven years is a short period. It is a reflection only of the normal lifetime of a man and only a second in the life of a nation.\textsuperscript{24}

I am one of the hardest men Germany has had for decades, perhaps for centuries, equipped with the greatest authority of any German leader.\textsuperscript{25}

The rhetorical question was also used to get attention or to create a desired effect.

Has the good God handed over to Mr. Churchill and Mr. Duff Cooper the key to democracy?\textsuperscript{26}

If one part of England were artificially separated from the rest, who could restrain its inhabitants from wishing to be united to the rest of their country again?\textsuperscript{27}

Do you think it possible to preach peace to a people for ten years on end, and then suddenly to launch them into war.\textsuperscript{28}

The main portion or body of Hitler's speeches was focused with direct attention to taking advantage of the created emotion. Or as Hitler put it: "I know how to preserve the golden mean between reason and rhetoric."\textsuperscript{29}

Therefore, after the emotions of the audience had been

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., Speech of July 13, 1934 at Berlin Reichstag, p. 269.

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., Speech of November 8, 1940 at Munich, p. 871.

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., Speech of November 8, 1938, Munich, p. 554.

\textsuperscript{27}Baynes, Vol. II, p. 1183.

\textsuperscript{28}Ibid., p. 1198.

\textsuperscript{29}Adolf Hitler's Secret Conversations as translated by Norman Cameron and R. H. Stevens (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953), p. 184 (Referred to hereafter as "Conversations.")
stirred, "he hammers away at a few simple ideas adapted to the lowest level of intelligence in the group." Additional strong rhetorical devices shall be discussed under the area of style.

Perhaps to get a clearer understanding of what is meant by "simple ideas" it would be well at this point to look at several of these ideas: taken directly from context.

One of Hitler's speeches berating the Versailles Treaty shows his simplification of a complex problem and also indicates his exceptional use of emotional language:

I myself, as you know, had never played a part in politics before the war, and only, like millions of others, performed such duties as I was called upon to fulfill as a decent citizen and soldier. It was therefore with an absolutely clear conscience that I was able to take up the cause of freedom and the future of my people, both during and after the war.

And I can therefore speak in the name of millions and millions of others equally blameless when I declare that all those who had only fought for their nation in loyal fulfillment of their duty were entitled to a peace of reason and justice, so that mankind might at least set to work to make good by joint effort the losses which all had suffered.

But the millions were cheated of this peace; for not only did the German people or other people fighting on our side suffer through the peace treaties, but these treaties had an annihilation effect on the victor countries.

For the first time appeared the misfortune that politics should be controlled by men who had not fought in the war. The feeling of hatred was unknown to soldiers, but not to those elderly politicians who had carefully preserved their own precious lives from the horror of war and who now

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30 F. W. Lambertson, "Hitler, the Orator," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXVIII, No. 2 (April, 1942), 130.
descended upon humanity in the guise of insane
spirits of revenge.
Hatred, malice and unreason were the intellec-
tual forebears of the Treaty of Versailles. Living
space and States with history going back a thousand
years were arbitrarily broken up and dissolved.
Since time immemorial men who belong together have
been torn asunder; the economic conditions of life
have been ignored, while the peoples themselves
have been concerted into victors and vanquished,
into masters possessing all rights and slaves
possessing none. . . .
One of the most shameful acts of oppression
ever committed is the dismemberment of the German
nation and the political disintegration of her
living space—which has, after all, been hers for
thousands of years—was provided for in the
dictate of Versailles.31
Thus Hitler clearly and simply, through emotional
language tears apart the action imposed by the treaty and
defames those who drafted the agreement.
Speaking of redefined Christianity, Hitler used a
simple method to prove his point.
If positive Christianity means love of one's
neighbour, i.e., the tending of the sick, the
clothing of the poor, the feeding of the hungry,
the giving of drink to those who are thirsty,
then it is we who are the more positive Chris-
tians. For in these spheres the community of the
people of National Socialist Germany has accomplished
a prodigious work.32
The conclusion of a speech can have such parts as sum-
maries, prophesies, quotations, anecdotes and striking
statements which leave a thought or emotion with the audience.

31de Sales, Speech of April 28, 1939, Berlin Reich-
stag, p. 632.

32Baynes, op. cit., Munich February 24, 1939, Speech
to "Old German," p. 402.
The end of a speech to the troops in which he asked them to be worthy of the sacrifices of the past exemplifies Hitler's use of emotional speech.

For you have become men, and our wish is that the whole German youth shall enter this glorious last school and grown to a manhood such as yours. We want to bring up a hard generation, a generation which is strong, reliable, loyal, obedient and decent so that we may not need to be ashamed of our people before the judgment seat of history.33

The conclusion of an address to the German Youth at Parteitag in Nuremberg is another good example of Hitler's concluding statements.

Never in the history of Germany has there been so deep an inner unity in spirit, in the constraint of a single will and in leadership. Many generations that have gone before us have dreamed of such a unity: we are the happy witnesses of the fulfillment of their dream.34

The concluding sentences of the speech given in answer to Churchill warning that the neutral countries could not keep out of the war and should join the allies (January 20, 1940), is another excellent example.

At the beginning of the eighth year of the National Socialist revolution our hearts turn to the German nation and to the future of Germany, which we shall serve, for which we shall fight, and, if necessary, die—but never capitulate. Germany, Sieg Heil!35

34Ibid., To German Youth, Nuremberg, September 11, 1937, p. 551.
Thus far it has been indicated that the message which Hitler presented came from his direct knowledge concerning the needs and hopes of the people as well as his extensive knowledge of the living conditions around him. He gave hope to a lost and humiliated people in two ways: (1) by promising them all that they wanted, and (2) by telling them exactly what they wanted to hear. His use of pathetic proof was directed to the emotions of the audience, especially that emotion involving hate.

Hitler arranged his speeches in a simple introduction, body, conclusion method. With this three part outline he developed his message by using his introduction to get attention through the rhetorical means of establishing good will or identity with the audience. The main body of his speeches proffered a simple message which was aimed at the lowest intelligence of those present. Then this simple message was repeated in order to leave the desired impression. Speaking to this point Dr. Goebbels declared:

"... the rank and file are usually much more primitive than we imagine. Propaganda must therefore always be essentially simple and repetitive. In the long run basic results will be achieved only by the man who is able to reduce problems to the simplest terms and who has the courage to keep forever repeating them in this simplified form, despite the objections of the intellectuals."

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The conclusion of his speeches was directed to the emotion. Great care seems to have been taken to leave the audience with hope for the future as well as a great feeling of pride and love for the party.

STYLE

Style is the next canon of rhetoric deserving attention. It embraces the concept of expression in language, resulting basically, from the choice of words and the arrangement or composition.

Among the ancient rhetoricians, the study of words and composition led to an analysis of the distinguishing marks of the kinds of style. Accordingly, in Cicero's Oratory, to name but one treatise the plain, the moderate, and the grand style are described and analyzed.37

In style Cicero analyzed and described the qualities of correctness, clearness, composition, ornateness. Cicero indicates three divisions of style: the plain, moderate, and the grand. Some modern writers such as Scanlon, however, have added a fourth style type. For all purposes here either is acceptable but both should be mentioned. The four divisions of style which Scanlan recognizes are:

1. One dominated by the intellect, which is capable of great effectiveness through the power of logic and thought.

2. A style ruled by imagination. Here the speaker seeks his effect through the beauty and loftiness of his language.

3. A style ruled by the will and by a strong sense of urgency.

4. The style in which the faculties of reason, imagination, and emotion are equally dominant.  

According to Ross Scanlan, Hitler's speaking is cited as being an example of the fourth style in which the faculties of reason, imagination and emotion are equally dominant. However, it is important to note that Hitler capitalized on other stylistic procedures to great advantage. This shall be indicated later in the treatment of style.

In dealing with style the question of correctness in the use of the language should be commented upon. As shown in Chapter II (page 12), Hitler's "scholarly" achievements came to an end before he received the Leaving Certificate customarily given. A report card issued to him on September 16, 1905, and the last he received show his grades in the German Language to be "inadequate for both terms of the school year." The same report also gives him a grade of "displeasing for both terms in external form of written work." This report does not give us a definite idea of

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39 Ibid.


41 Ibid.
what to expect of Hitler's grammatical proficiency in the spoken and written word. Later in his life, however, it should be considered as an indication of a weakness which appeared in his later work.

... but he cannot write; his book is one long speech. Eight hundred pages of Gothic script, pathetic gestures, inaccurate German, and unlimited self-satisfaction.42

His speaking, however, seems to give a different impression to those who criticize his writing:

... then it comes. Literally, it seems the spirit enters into him. He is possessed. Phrases come to his lips which are artistically perfect.43 (example): If a people desire freedom weapons will grow in their hands.44

Perhaps the reason for such a contrast between the two means of communication can be attributed to Hitler's dislike for the written word. "The written word has never had any appeal for him."45 On the other hand his "knowledge of events has always gained--again verbally--from Goebbels."46

43 Ibid., p. 30.
44 Ibid.
46 Ibid., p. 20.
Through these quotations the writer does not wish to infer that Hitler never read nor that he gained all of his knowledge from Dr. Goebbels, but merely to show that Hitler seems to have preferred the spoken over the written word. With reference to style he seems to have been more adequate with the use of the former medium of communication.

Hitler used several stylistic devices which should be noted here. These devices include his use of the metaphor, deductive syllogism, the enthymeme of opposites, and the use of comparison and emotionally loaded words.

The deductive syllogism is used in the introduction of a speech:

Peoples have never yet been successfully led by a majority but always by a minority.\(^{47}\)

The general enthymeme is also used in an introduction by Hitler.

In my eyes criticism in itself is not an important function in life. The work can live without critics, it cannot live without workmen.\(^{48}\)

Hitler used the metaphor in his speaking.

Every child that a woman brings into the world is a battle, a battle waged for the existence of her people.\(^{49}\)

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\(^{47}\) de Sales, *op. cit.*, Speech of September 10, 1934, Nuremberg, p. 293.


Comparison is used by Hitler to get a desire effect.

German men and women, seven [sic] years is a short period. It is a reflection only of the normal lifetime of a man and only a second in the life of a nation.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, Speech of January 30, 1940, Sportpalast, Berlin, p. 768.}

It should be noticed that though there is no evidence to show that Hitler knew about the canons of rhetoric he used them in such a manner as to strengthen his speeches. Such stylistic devices as the deductive syllogism seem to have come naturally to him. By natural it is meant that Hitler gained his ability to use these methods in some way other than by formal education. There seems to be no evidence that Hitler studied rhetoric or read such material as \textit{The Rhetoric} of Aristotle or Cicero's \textit{De Oratore}. Regardless of the source of his knowledge concerning these devices the important fact remains that Hitler did use these methods to strengthen his arguments.

An outstanding example of his use of the deductive syllogism in refutation of the claims that his party was undemocratic:

\begin{quote}
Democracy in our eyes is a regime that is supported by the will of the people.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, Speech November 8, 1938, Munich, p. 554.}
\end{quote}

The syllogism coming from this is clearly deductive reasoning:

\begin{quote}
All regimes supported by the will of the people are democracies,
\end{quote}
This regime is supported by the will of the people,
Therefore:
This regime is a democracy.

Another important stylistic device used by Hitler to add clarity to his message was that of the metaphor. Aristotle wrote on the importance of the metaphor: "It is metaphor above all else that gives clearness, charm and distinction to the style."\(^{52}\)

To more clearly understand Hitler's use of the metaphor it is best to look at some examples of them taken from his speaking:

Every child that a woman brings into the world is a battle, a battle waged for the existence of her people.\(^{53}\)

You are the living Germany of the future, not an empty idea, no mere formula: you are blood of our blood, flesh of our flesh, spirit of our spirit, you are our peoples' future.\(^{54}\)

The third device used by Hitler to be treated here is that of enthymeme, specifically that enthymeme making use of the opposites:

People have never yet been successfully led by a majority but always only by a minority.\(^{55}\)


\(^{53}\)de Sales, September 8, 1934, Nuremberg, p. 287.

\(^{54}\)Baynes, op. cit., The German Youth, Nuremberg, September, 1933, p. 538.

\(^{55}\)de Sales, op. cit., September 10, 1934, Nuremberg, p. 294.
In my eyes criticism in itself is not an important function in life. The world can live without critics, it cannot live without workmen. 56

From these examples it can readily be seen that Hitler mastered and practiced some definite stylistic devices considered necessary to a message by classical rhetorician, especially the enthymeme which Aristotle considers to be the "very body and substance of persuasion." 57

Aristotle, writing on persuasion, indicates the importance of emotion in speaking. He speaks of the importance of knowing that emotion to which the audience is most susceptible, prejudice, pity, anger, hate, and love, and adapting the message in such a way as to take advantage of that emotion to strengthen the persuasibility of the presented message. 58 Certainly Hitler's use of Pathetic Proof indicates his awareness of the importance of emotion in rhetoric. Hitler also seemed to have a keen awareness of the importance of adapting his projected emotion to that of the audience. This adaptability will be more fully discussed under delivery. Under style, classical rhetoric calls for adaptation to the immediate situation when emotional appeals are used to persuade, so that the speaker may appear to be experiencing the same emotion as the audience.

56 Ibid., August 17, 1934, Hamburg, p. 282.
58 Ibid., pp. 91-136.
It has been indicated under the discussion of arrangement that Hitler used Pathetic Proof to advance and support his arguments. He used another type of proof which will be considered under style because it relates directly to persuasion. This second type of proof used by Hitler is Ethical Proof or Ethos. Ethos is important to the speaker because it conveys the character or reputation of the speaker to the audience. Ethos could be described as what the speaker is in the eyes of the audience. Or as Aristotle put it:

Now Rhetoric finds its end in judgment--for the audience (of a deliberative speech) judges the counsels that are given, and (in forensic speaking) the decision (of the jury) is a judgment; and hence the speaker must not merely see to it that his speech (as an argument) shall be convincing and persuasive, but he must (in and by the speech) give the right impression of himself, and get his judge (audience) into the right state of mine. 59

It has been shown in Chapter III that Hitler spent a great deal of his time establishing his right to speak to audiences. He developed his ethical proof as he created the Hitler Images: the kind and loving father reaching out for a bouquet of flowers from a child; the man who had worked all of his life and therefore understood the working man and his problems; the man who lived only for the good of his people, the savior who put all of his life's energies into his country; a man who established the character which best

59 Ibid., p. 91.
suited his immediate purpose and a man who was able to identify himself with his audience through speech (see pages 49 and 50).

Perhaps Hitler did not think of ethos, in the classical sense, but he used ethical proof to its fullest advantage. He did not just speak, to establish his character as he wanted it nor did he always stage the creation of an image when a new idea was to be presented concerning his goodness or his right to speak. He used the power of pictures to suggest his character. Mr. G. H. Goodman expresses the opinion that pictures of Hitler appearing on stamps, post cards, billboards, posters, in buses, on the street and in the homes and classrooms successively helped Hitler establish the image he desired to convey to the people of Germany and other countries.

These propagandistic posters reinforced his ethical appeal. They pictured him in various situations conducive to the establishment of certain character traits. He was pictured petting dogs, talking in the fields with farmers, standing on the assembly line with the worker, shaking hands with a priest, feeding birds, giving candy to children, sitting with the common soldier, talking with students, and sitting quietly at home reading a good book. He was able to go as far as to have his picture, wearing the armor of Frederick Barbarosa, appear on a post card. This image alone would indicate the extent to which his use of ethical
proof was successful. (Note: In Germany there is a legend that Frederick Barbarosa would come down from a mountain from which he watched over the country and save her in her time of need.) To some, Hitler was Frederick reincarnate.

In summary it can be said that this treatment of Hitler's style has shown that: Hitler's spoken word was superior to the written both in style and correctness; that he used such rhetorical devices as the enthymeme, metaphor and syllogism to good advantage; that he used deductive reasoning in argument; and ethical proof to establish his character and the right to address the people of his audiences. He used emotion to persuade assigning himself whatever emotion he deemed most expedient for each audience. And finally, he circulated propagandistic posters as aids in the establishment of certain traits of character.

MEMORY

Memory is the next canon of rhetoric to be treated, but it should be stated that very little is known in this area concerning Hitler. Only those ideas which can be established, however, will be treated, starting with an evaluation of the mind of Hitler.

Interesting minds are minds that are sensitive, lucid, rich versatile, humane. The minds of many despotic statesmen and formidable doctrinaires, with whose aims we may have little sympathy, are nevertheless rendered interesting, perhaps even sympathetic, to us by these qualities: as the mind of Richelieu attracts us by its lucidity, that of St. Augustine by its richness, that of Cromwell by
its lumbering humanity. But Hitler's mind had no such engaging character. It was coarse, turbid, narrow, rigid, cruel. It had nothing to recommend it but its power; and mental power, though important is not by itself attractive.  

Although the mind of Hitler is described as powerful, no explanation is offered to indicate the nature of this power. Some authors indicate that Hitler seemed to have an unusual ability for recalling isolated facts on many subjects which he had read or heard. This information is insufficient to draw a general conclusion concerning Hitler's powers of memory as related to speech.

He has been spoken as a "simplist": that is, one who could not "understand the complexities of most problems." He seemed to simplify all problems, even those of vital importance and to apply a "general principle of an intuitive solution to a question complicated by centuries of history and arrive at some delusively simple outcome." 

He makes no attempt to prove his assertions. He is strongest when he speaks of abstractions such as honor, country, nation, family, loyalty; his effectiveness on such matters is astonishing.

Hitler's effectiveness through the use of emotion and abstraction has been indicated earlier, however, it might be

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60 Conversations, op. cit., p. viii.
61 House, op. cit., p. 12.
62 Ibid.
63 Otto Strasser, Hitler and I (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), p. 64.
well to consider another facet of this mental ability, in particular reference to his ability to follow an argument and to keep his thoughts organized.

When listening to many of Hitler's speeches the auditor becomes aware of an excessive amount of pauses, not only those used for dramatic effect, which he distributes well, but the long awkward pause which usually indicates an interruption in or a loss of the train of thought. If such pauses were an indication of Hitler's inability to maintain the idea being presented then the reason for his unexpected and abrupt endings to some speeches is more easily understood. This idea also more clearly explains the anticlimaxes which appear in his speeches as well as the abrupt endings in the middle of an argument.

Stephen H. Roberts suggests that the reason for such atypical speech behavior lies in the fact that Hitler "can do nothing without some awakening hint."\(^{64}\)

He always needs a stimulus. That is why he can never keep his thread in a speech; everything suggests something else to him. . . . Finally the stage comes when his last words bring no association to his mind. This is why he so often ends in an anticlimax. He sometimes breaks off in the middle of an argument, and nine out of ten times, his ending is abrupt and unexpected.

He is pathetic when he loses the thread of an argument. As long as he is rushing along like a torrent, all is well with him, but ugly pauses occur in most of his speeches.\(^{65}\)

\(^{64}\) House, op. cit., p. 14.

\(^{65}\) Ibid., p. 15.
Yet another variation of Hitler's mental powers should be considered. Perhaps he was a "simplist" who could not understand the complexities of a problem and perhaps he could not keep his mind clearly on one argument at a time until it reached a conclusion. But were his powers of memory sufficient to serve his purpose? The writer believes the answer definitely must be yes. Hitler seems to have been a man of "concentrated will-power and intelligence."\(^\text{66}\)

\[\cdots\] the leader in complete command of the situation and with the knowledge of the facts which dazzled the generals or ministers summoned to receive his orders. To sustain this part he drew on his remarkable memory, which enabled him to reel off complicated orders of battle, technical specifications and long lists of names and dates without a moment's hesitation. Hitler cultivated this gift of memory assiduously. The facts that subsequently the details and figures which he cited were often found to contain inaccuracies did not matter: it was the immediate effect at which he aimed.\(^\text{67}\)

Of course, evidenced ability in memory during short periods of time in conversation cannot necessarily be taken as an indication that this same ability transfer into those situations wherein long periods of memory were necessary as in a public speaking situation.

While speaking, Hitler had a manuscript before him, however, very seldom did he appear to refer to it. Three explanations of this observation are hypothesized: first, 

\(^{66}\text{Bullock, op. cit., p. 345.}\)

\(^{67}\text{Ibid.}\)
that Hitler had his speech completely memorized and did not need the script except as a crutch; second, that he had a speech before him which was not delivered, but rather he departed from the subject entirely and extemporized on that or another related topic, or perhaps on another unrelated subject recalled on the spur of the moment, and finally that Hitler may have started out on the prepared topic and had been diverted from it. This third possibility seems to be the most logical explanation for his use of the manuscript.

In conclusion, it might be said of Hitler's memory, that he did acquire certain abilities to recall facts and figures and was able to use them effectively; however, it cannot be concluded that this ability was pronounced in his speaking. He seemed to lose his train of thought frequently in the public speaking situation. This lapse of memory is evidenced by the long pause, the anticlimatical conclusion of a speech and in the leaving of an incompletely argument. His speaking and ability to remember ideas seem to have been based on a type of chain reaction through association.

Thus far four of the classical canons of rhetoric have been discussed. An attempt has been made to analyze the speaking of Adolf Hitler in relation to the means of effecting persuasion used by him, the style used in his speaking, the arrangement and division of the several parts of his speeches and an evaluation of his mental abilities as
related to his speaking. The fifth and final canon to be
treated here is that of delivery.

DELIVERY

The art of delivery has been described by Aristotle
as:

The art of delivery has to do with the voice: with
the right management of it to express each several
emotion—as when to use a loud voice, when a soft
and when the intermediate; and with the rhythms to
be used in each particular case. 68

Delivery is of great importance to the general effec-
tiveness of a speech. This was especially true in regard to
the rhetoric of Adolf Hitler. It will be indicated in the
treatment of delivery that Hitler used devices of delivery
generally looked down upon by those schooled in the area of
conventional public address, but he was able to use them to
the optimum point of effectiveness, one of these is emo-
tional envolvement.

Emotional envolvement is necessary if the speaker
wishes his audience to receive the full impact of his message
and if he desires a similar emotional response from his
hearers, however, when the speaker becomes too involved and
is himself carried away by the emotion the reverse of the
desired effect is evidenced. "The platform weeper is many

68 Aristotle, op. cit., p. 183.
times ridiculed, and usually deserves it. Speakers are advised to "retain an impression of reserve strength..."°

What of Adolf Hitler and his emotional involvement, was he able to use cortical control or was he given to emotional display—Stephen H. Roberts says: "No display of emotionalism is too crude for him. He frequently weeps."°

Was he able to restrain his emotions or was he seemingly controlled by them? Roberts answers the question quite clearly:

Start Adolf on two sentences about religion, and he will make a heathen gathering like a revivalist meeting... His emotion drags him along behind his surging words and he can neither stop nor restrain his impetuous belief in what he is saying.°

The experienced debater has learned that to be effective the opposition is not shouted down, but is presented with facts concerning the question in a manner largely devoid of emotion. The experienced debater also knows that usually any outburst of emotion will shatter the strength of his argument. Aristotle speaks to this point concerning the deliberative speaker, "I, mean that, save for the best type, they are all ruined by getting unstrung and by over-tension."°


°House, op. cit., p. 17.

°ibid., p. 13.

°Aristotle, op. cit., p. 23.
Hitler seemed to distrust argument and criticism as he was unable to argue coolly himself:

... since his early days in Vienna his one resort had been to shout his opponent down. The questioning of his assumptions or of his facts rattled him and threw him out of his stride.\textsuperscript{73}

The second and final example of Hitler's atypical speech delivery concerns the use of variety to maintain audience interest. More specifically this concerns variety in both content and delivery. To achieve variety Schleiniger says: "The choice of words and phrases should be varied and the gestures used should not be confined to a studied few but should be varied and spontaneous."\textsuperscript{74} Other rhetoricians agree that variety in both content and delivery is essential to effective speaking. But did Hitler have variety in these areas? The answer is no. Hear what Stephen H. Roberts has to say about Hitler's delivery:

He always used the same methods, the same tricks of oratory, the same half-dozen gestures (especially the outpointed finger and the curious corkscrew movement of his hand), the same appeal to the crudest emotions, the same exploitation of the common hatreds, even the same words.\textsuperscript{75}

Though Hitler was often known to pace frantically before his audience and to pound his fist violently on the

\textsuperscript{73}Bullock, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 34.


\textsuperscript{75}House, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 16.
lectern, sometimes, so violently that he bruised himself, he seems to have gotten results. Most often Hitler would put so much into the delivery of a speech that "he leaves the hall, exhausted by his own emotions and by sheer physical exertion."\textsuperscript{76}

Since the majority of his speeches do not make for good or interesting reading, and since his strength is not in the written word, it can be assumed that Hitler's strength manifested itself in the spoken word. However, the mere reading aloud of Hitler's speeches does not add a great deal to their palatability. Therefore there is a strong indication that the strength of the Hitler oratory lay in his delivery.

His collected speeches do not make good reading and it becomes clear from perusing them that their appeal comes entirely from the way in which they are delivered and the circumstances under which they are given.\textsuperscript{77}

Hitler made expert use of the effective pause for emphasizing those points which he deemed important. Though he spoke with a "harsh and frequently breaking voice"\textsuperscript{78} he made excellent use of change in tone, pitch and rate. In this way he seems to have always kept his audience interested. Therefore, it would not seem to matter strongly what

\begin{footnotes}
\item[76] Thompson, \textit{I Saw Hitler}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 58.
\item[77] House, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 16.
\item[78] Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
he said, but the way in which it was said, that whipped his audience into emotional states of enthusiasm. Perhaps it was to this point that Hitler was speaking when he said: "I know how to preserve the golden mean between reason and rhetoric."79 His statement could also indicate that his conception of rhetoric was a means of persuasion through emotion.

When considering the effect of Hitler's speaking on the physical and emotional state of an audience it is necessary to examine both units. Hitler said, concerning his own physical involvement during a speech: "Whenever I have to make a speech of great importance I am always soaking wet at the end and I find I have lost four or six pounds in weight."80

As in most situations involving an audience and a speaker, the audience can be caught in the emotion transmitted to it by the speaker. If he is greatly involved then it usually follows that the audience will also become involved. Schleiniger speaks to this point:

Every nature is responsive to a distinct set of emotions. One orator feels himself more easily attracted to tender, touching emotions, another to the vehement kind. If an orator wishes to impress his hearers, let him in this matter follow his own impulses, and allow his own nature to speak and act.81

79Conversations, op. cit., p. 184.
80Ibid., p. 464.
81Schleiniger, op. cit., p. 70.
Hitler's delivery seemed to have a strange effect on the minds and emotions of his audience:

His eyes assume a fanatic stare and his voice ranges from the low familiar dark, deep tones to the high falsetto until it breaks. Hitler is then the incarnation of an idea, terrifying to dissenters contemplating his power but exerting a strange magnetism on the susceptible which compels obedience and inspires a fanatical following.82

In conclusion, it can be said of Hitler's delivery, that he found his rhetorical strength in several areas, but his main forte was in delivery, in his ability to convert a vast audience of individuals into a single minded mass. His delivery was marked by his complete physical envolvement to the extent of causing exhaustion and loss of weight. He used a few effective gestures repeatedly and seemed to stay away from the spontaneous use of others. He was not, however, stilted or restrained on the platform, he walked from one side of the platform to the other, some times to the point of pacing. He made effective use of the dramatic pause for emphasis, and exhibited great control of vocal tones and pitch. Finally, Hitler seemed to have had a great sensitivity toward the feelings of the audience and was able to accurately gauge, for the most part, when a shout or a whisper would be most effective.

82F. W. Lambertson, "Hitler, the Orator," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXVIII, No. 2, April, 1942, 126.
CHAPTER V

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

In the previous chapters of this thesis it has been shown through selected speech passages, that Hitler used such rhetorical devices as the deductive syllogism, the enthymeme, and the metaphor. His use of pathetic or emotional proof was illustrated along with his ability to establish a desired character role through ethical appeal. Hitler's delivery has been evaluated along with other aspects of his speaking which fall into the classification of the five rhetorical canons. However, to get a broader understanding of his rhetorical ability it is necessary to make a detailed analysis of one of his typical speeches. In so doing one can get a clearer insight into the workings and development of the rhetoric which swayed the thinking of thousands of people. Kenneth Burke justifies such a study by writing:

Here is the testament of a man who swung a great people into his wake. Let us watch it carefully; and let us watch it, not merely to discover some grounds for prophesying what political move is to follow Munich, and what move to follow that move, etc.; let us try also to discover what kind of "medicine" this medicine-man has concocted, that we may know, with great accuracy, exactly what to guard against, if we
are to forestall the concocting of similar medicine in America.¹

Burke speaks of the "Medicine-man" and of the importance of knowing just what kind of medicine he has developed in order to find the antidote. For this reason, though Burke was speaking specifically about his analysis of Hitler's book Mein Kempf, it is also necessary to look closely at the spoken words of the medicine-man and to carefully analyze them so that a free world cannot be poisoned again.

This rhetorical analysis will follow the speech analysis format which calls for (1) a biography of the speaker (Chapter II), (2) an evaluation of the time in which the speaker lived and spoke (Chapter II), (3) an overview of his speaking which includes: type of speaking, principal issues on which he spoke, personality traits which influenced his speaking, and an evaluation of his intelligence (Chapter III), and (4) an evaluation of his effectiveness as a speaker both immediately and ultimately (Chapter V).

The analysis of the specific speech done in this chapter will be developed in the following manner. (1) The type of speech used by Hitler, (2) an analysis of the specific audience to which this speech was given with particular emphasis on their attitude toward the speaker and his topic, (3) a short summary concerning the occasion

¹Kenneth Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form (Louisiana State University Press, 1941), p. 191.
for which the speech was given, with special emphasis on the
effect of the physical situation upon the reception of the
speech, and (4) a study of the speech text itself. The study
of the speech will place special emphasis on the (a) motives
to which the speaker appealed, (b) the specific rhetorical
devices he used to amplify his appeal, (c) his use of emo-
tional proof, (d) his choice of material, (e) the type of
style used along with the stylistic devices evidenced, and
finally (f) the effect of this speech of this audience.

The type of oratory used by Hitler can best be de-
scribed as that which was a combination of the argumentative
and the pathetic. This combination, of the two types, is
given the name of vehemence by Campbell, who wrote, concern-
ing this type of oratory:

... the most complex of all, which is calcu-
lated to influence the will, and persuade to a
certain conduct, as it is in reality an artful
mixture of that which proposes to convince the
judgment, and that which interests the passions,
its distinguishing excellency results from these
two, the argumentative and the pathetic incor-
porated together. These acting with united force,
and, if I may express myself, in concert, consti-
tute the passionate eviction, that vehemence of
contention, which is admirably fitted for persua-
sion, and hath always been regarded as the supreme
qualification in an orator.²

This type of oratory, which is directed to the emo-
tions, is quite evident in the speech being analyzed later
in the chapter, and is typical of most of Hitler's speeches.

²George Campbell, The Philosophy of Rhetoric (2 vols.;
A further indication that this speech is representative of the Hitler oratory is found in a commentary by the London Times, February 26, 1940.

Except of the accident that it was delivered on the same day (as a Chamberlain speech) there would be no reason whatever to take any notice of Hitler's latest speech . . . a feeble rehash of the speech he has already delivered fifty times. . . .

The "rehash" for which Hitler seemed to be criticized most often was quite intentional. Hitler believed that the masses were simple and therefore had to be won by simple means. He knew the people to whom he spoke and he spoke for them. He felt that the orator was judged by only one standard and that was his effectiveness. Considering effectiveness as the only criterion by which an orator should be judged obviously leaves out the very important one concerning ethics. Therefore Hitler's rhetoric should be called a false rhetoric, because he was not concerned with what was truth or with what was morally best for the people. And by using false rhetoric the orator disregarded his social responsibility. He further believed that the way to be effective was to repeat the simple idea and reinforce it with an even simpler image. The great error of the bourgeois, he felt, was that they spoke to the masses in the same language of the intellectual. This was a mistake.

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according to Hitler, for he believed that the true orator had to know the difference between different audiences and adjust accordingly. 4

It should, therefore, be evident that this typical speech, given in Hitler's typical style was to him serving a very definite purpose. And should be considered as an example of what was to Hitler a very effective rhetorical style.

A broader insight into the Hitler style of oratory will be facilitated by a clear understanding of the audience to which this particular speech was given, with particular emphasis on the attitude of the audience at the time in relationship to the political situation around them.

Hitler's strength was growing and the German people knew it, in fact this idea was impressed upon them every day through all available media of propaganda. Hitler was gaining a tremendous advantage over his opponents by pursuing the dual strategy of terror and confusion illustrated by the speeches of this period between October 6, 1939 and Germany's march on Denmark and Norway on April 9, 1940.

Though never a modest man, Hitler's speeches to his people during this period illustrate a stronger assertion of power, and conviction in the belief that he was a man of

destiny, more than ever before. And as he expressed more confidence in his power the people of Germany began to feel ever more certain of their unequaled strength.

The audiences attitude toward Hitler at this time can be summed up quite easy. Hitler had become quite frank concerning the problems of what was just or wrong.

What is just had long ceased to be an intellectual problem in Nazi Germany. Justice is what is good for Germany, and what is good for Germany is determined by Hitler.  

This audience then was not much different from most others in Germany at this time. Specifically this audience was made up of the general population of Munich, Germany (by general population it is meant both sexes and all ages). The date is February 24, 1940, just fourteen days after Roosevelt announcement that he was sending Under-Secretary of State Wells, to confer with the heads of state in Italy, Germany, England and France for the purposes of gathering information which might help preserve the peace. And shortly after, Cordell Hull announced that steps had been taken by several neutral countries to study possible conditions for future peace.

To the German people these were overtures being made by frightened nations cowering in the shadow of the Nazi flag. The seed of personal power which Hitler had planted  

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in the mind of each of his disciples had grown and was now ready to bloom. The Hitler audience was ready to accept anything he wished to tell them, an acceptance which he gained through the masterly use of Ethical and Pathetic Proof. Hitler was sure of himself. He felt that his prestige had grown so great that he could speak to the world as its master, and, as will be evidenced in the speech analysis, he felt that he could now establish that he had to answer to no one save destiny itself.

In the first paragraph of the Munich speech Hitler opens with the words: "My German Comrades." This is representative of his introduction in most speeches. He starts by identifying himself with his audience. He goes on: "Twenty years ago I appeared for the first time before the German public. That was the hardest and most dramatic decision of my life." In this passage Hitler makes reference to the decision he made in 1923 concerning the leadership of the party. He uses the adjective "Dramatic" to help his auditors recall the facts surrounding the decision. He used almost the same words during his trial for treason in November of 1923. This speech had since become well known to the people of Germany because it was here that Hitler had denounced those who had gone back on their word to the people to save their own lives. He had further stated in that speech that a man does not choose to lead a people he is chosen by some unknown power and then must decide how he
will lead. This is a direct appeal to the emotions and also to reinforce Hitler's right to speak to the people.

In paragraph two, Hitler opens with the phrase: "Now again I stand among you." Notice that he does not say before, but among you, again identifying himself directly with his audience. Next he says: "When I appeared before at that time (twenty years ago) I was not a pacifist: I am still a soldier." These two sentences might not mean much but to the Germans they were meaningful and quite significant. For again Hitler is relying on recall. The word "pacifist" is used a great deal in Mein Kampf, a book read by almost every German citizen. In this book Hitler states: "The pacifist humane ideal might be a very good one if first one man had made himself master of the world." With this statement in mind the ideas encompassed by "I was not a pacifist: I am still a soldier," becomes much more meaningful.

Through paragraphs three-four-five, Hitler starts a chronological development of the evils of the Versailles Treaty. He speaks of the world of equality which the people were promised: "A world in which no arms would be needed and in which, therefore, eternal peace would rule." He is building toward his usual condemnation of the Treaty.

Following this Hitler begins: "Germany laid down her arms because of the fourteen points. The German people at that time were deceived in their hope for a new organization
of the world." Hitler is effectively building emotional response in his audience through sympathy and recall, for many in his audience remember the times about which he speaks.

Germany was without rights because she was defenseless. Germany at that time was a paradise but not for the German people, but for the Jews, the speculators, the exploiters, for the gangsters.

The parallel construction of the first two sentences of the paragraph are further indications of Hitler's ability to effectively use rhetorical devices. The last sentence is Hitler's way of introducing one of his uses of identification through association. Here he reinforces the image of the Jew, an image which he has spent considerable time building. To the German audience the word Jew had by this time become almost synonymous with that of speculator, exploiter and gangster. But again Hitler skillfully puts them together for association.

Identification with his audience is further accomplished in paragraphs eight and nine with the use of the word "we" being repeated throughout. It is significant to notice here that a strong plea for establishing his right to speak to the people is being made. The reason for this becomes quite apparent in the next paragraphs:

As far as I was concerned, at that time, I was of a strictly different opinion. I was of the opinion that things could not continue in that fashion. I decided that our political arena was nothing but the fighting arena for the various
political factions. I realized that our government structure at that time was absolutely untenable, and that it could not be maintained.

Here it becomes evident that a new attitude is being established through the repeated use of "I" which continues through paragraph 16. Hitler has already identified himself with his audience, but now he moves on to establish the fact that he was responsible for the change brought about in Germany. That he realized all of the problems and also realized the steps that had to be taken to solve them. In doing this he is reminding the people that they could not have accomplished their goals without him and that power and prosperity can only continue under his leadership.

He strengthens this attitude by continuing a survey of the problems which faced him during his rise to power:

I realized above all, that bourgeois nationalist ideals were confronted and opposed by socialist principles, I realized that compromise in itself was impossible. I realized that only the victory of one side or the other could bring about a solution. . . . I realized that there was one thing which was indestructible. . . . I realized that out of all these political parties there had to arise the one, United German Reich, the one Reich of one unified will. . . .

After reminding the people of the problems which he faced, he makes a direct appeal to his audience for approval (paragraph 15):

You all know that I had to face these battles in a fighting spirit. I was always willing to accomplish our ends through peaceful means, but force was essential whenever force was the only means by which our aims could have been accomplished.
It should be noted that here also Hitler is justifying the force used by his party, against the Jews, the communists and other minority groups, for which he had been criticized by other nations. It is interesting to see his reference to his willingness to accomplish his ends through "peaceful means" since it is now known that plans for the invasion of Norway and Denmark had already been made and were carried out as planned on April 9, of that year. Such evidence also gives insight into Hitler's attitude that any lie, so long as it serves the purpose is not only necessary but does not violate ethical principle. Paragraph 15 sentence one Hitler introduces the use of the statement designed to start a "yes" response in the mind of his auditors. "You all know that I had to face these battles in a fighting spirit." The principle of persuasion involved in such stylistic design is quite evident as he continues to build this response:

You all remember how we proceeded, step by step, starting here in this place (Munich), spreading over Bavaria, and from then on gradually extending over the nation as a whole. It was a fight which took us roughly thirteen years—thirteen years of struggle, crowned by ultimate success (Paragraph 16).

Here sentence one is designed almost like a rhetorical question intended to draw an affirmative response from the audience. Following sentence one Hitler reminds his audience once again that it was not an easy fight brought them their ultimate success, but one which took years of struggle. He does so to prepare them for the introduction
and survey of the problems which still face them. With this statement of success the introduction of Hitler's speech is concluded.

Before moving into the analysis of the body of the speech it might be wise to briefly summarize what has thus far been established concerning this speech delivered by Hitler, February 24, 1940 at Munich.

Concerning the audience it has been established that (a) the peoples attitude toward Hitler at the time of the speech was favorable, (b) that the audience was composed of both men and women of all ages, (c) that the auditors felt a sense of personal power, and (d) that their attitude toward the nations working for peace was one of contempt, (e) the people had been influenced by propaganda to such an extent that they were willing to accept as the truth anything that Hitler told them, (f) that this was a audience so influenced and educated by common experiences that they could be stimulated through association and recall, and finally (g) Hitler had been highly successful in accomplishing his goals up to this point, therefore the people were confident in future success.

It has been established concerning Hitler's speech that (a) he used the vehement style as defined by Campbell, (b) he spent a great deal of time identifying himself with his audience, (c) he relied on past experience for the material presented in the speech, (d) and developed this
material in chronological order, (e) he made excellent use of ethical proof while re-establishing his right to speak to the people, (f) he effectively used pathetic proof, (g) he used identification through association, and (h) that he started a "yes" response in the minds of his auditors to prepare them for his presentation of a problem.

Moving into the main body of the speech starting with paragraph 17, it is evident that Hitler's arrangement is continuing in chronological order, but at the same time he is introducing a problem-solution arrangement. He had carefully ended paragraph 16 with the metaphorical expression "crowned by ultimate success" to emphasize once again that sacrifice is necessary, but that under his direction struggle and sacrifice is followed ultimately by success. In so doing he has preconditioned his audience for acceptance of his next idea. Paragraph 17 starts with a statement so constructed as to get a "yes" response from the auditor. With a brief statement concerning the problem of "translating our initial success into wider results," this is immediately followed by what could be termed a simulated rhetorical question designed for the express purpose of getting an affirmative response from the auditors. The statement is begun in a manner quite typical of Hitler's oratory. "You all know the things we accomplished in the fields of rebuilding the national character, in rebuilding our cities, in rehabilitation of our unemployed." A
further point should be made concerning the implications of this statement. The use of such terms as "rebuilding and rehabilitation" is a direct effort to again remind the people that Germany had to be rebuilt, not simply improved. Hitler does not say that the national character had to be restored, but rebuilt, in this way he further impresses his auditors with the reminder that they were nothing and had nothing until he and his party took the nation in hand. He then states: "But then our democratic enemies began to tell us what to do." In other words Hitler is saying that everything was going along beautiful until the "democratic enemies" began to take part in the national rehabilitation program. It is important to note here that Hitler does not indicate a specific enemy other than a democratic one thus making the words democratic and enemies synonymous. This again is an example of Hitler's use of identification through association.

"These people who tell us what to do are those who possess half the world, and they cannot even solve their own problems." This is the Hitler way of easing into a condemnation of the English people. He is also reinforcing the propaganda which was being used in the country to exaggerate the internal strife and problems created by a democracy. He then uses comparison to illustrate the superior qualities of his party. "Our reconstruction, on the other hand, has been accomplished entirely with our small resources,
and we shall eventually and completely succeed without their help." Here it is important to note Hitler's use of contrasting ideas. On one hand he has described "those who possess half the world" on the other "our small resources." Thus skillfully bring his audience to the desired implied conclusion concerning the superior quality of the German nation.

It seems that these people, who rule half the world, believe that they are called upon by God to continue this rule, and as soon as anybody else lays claim to what they are honestly entitled they raise the cry that tyranny is the issue. God Almighty has not created the world for the English to dominate.

In the above paragraph 19, Hitler develops a chain of reasoning intended to reach the conclusion that the English are wrong. In so doing he introduces another technique to gain an emotional response. That technique is the use of the word "God." Hitler relied heavily on this technique in many of his speeches when a reference to the divine effectively serves his purpose.

Through paragraphs 20 to 24 Hitler continues this type of chain reasoning giving examples and illustrated support for his contention that the English are wrong and the Germans right. He strengthens his emotional appeal in these paragraphs with the continual use of loaded diction as illustrated by the use of such terms as: 'capitalistic' and 'warmongers.' In this way he is conditioning his audience
to a specific conclusion raised on emotion rather than logic and truth.

Hitler builds national pride and confidence in his development of paragraph 25. His statement that "Today we have nothing but leaders of the German people up to the very top," is directly related to similar statements made in many of his speeches. Such statements are excellent examples of attempt on the part of Hitler to enforce his idea of a super race. Through continual reinforcement and flattery he actually induced such a belief in many of the people.

Paragraphs 26 through 29 illustrate Hitler's knowledge of the leadership role in relation to the beliefs of the auditor. As the leader of the people he must be of the same beliefs and opinions, and one way to strengthen his position as leader is to come out strongly against those persons and ideas which are opposed by the audience. Hitler does this stating: "If Eden or Chamberlain does not trust me, then I am proud of that fact, because to be respected and honored by them would mean that I am a traitor to the German nation."

It is the leadership of the German nation that counts. It is the leadership which must display the same courage as is expected to be displayed by the common soldier. And I am happy to say that thank God, today we do have just such leadership.

In this paragraph (30) Hitler begins to speak of the character of leadership, but it should be noted that he is only speaking in terms of those qualities which he is noted
for. In this manner he can reaffirm his right to leadership in the minds of the people.

We are able to say at this time, with the utmost assurance, that militarily and economically, Germany today is invincible. As far as I am concerned, I am nothing but the flint that strikes the spark out of the German nation.

The second sentence of paragraph 30 is an interesting example of Hitler's ability to use metaphorical expressions to re-establish a self-image previously established in speeches involving similar expressions. Hitler's use of the metaphor added clarity, charm and distinction to his style, and the fact that he repeats the same expressions in many speeches indicates that he realized the value of a device which enabled his auditors to remember his messages more easily and one which would strengthen the chances of recall through association.

The 32 paragraph exemplifies once again Hitler's use of recall. Here he is counting on the audiences ability to remember a previously established concept of leadership. "We are a nation that is led by innumerable men, by innumerable leaders who, individually, do all in their power to maintain the Reich at the level of the might it displays today." First, this statement is giving the auditor a feeling of pride in the leadership quality of their race, thus they have not one capable leader but "innumerable leaders." Second, Hitler's statement gives the audience a
feeling of safety in the power of the Reich and finally and perhaps most important, this is an effort to condition the German people to be even more submissive and to put all authority into the hands of their leaders. As indicated earlier concerning this point, recall plays a great part here. Notice the exact phrasing of the last part of the statement "individually, do all in their power to maintain the Reich at the level of the might it displays today." The German audience had for the most part been so conditioned, through propaganda and other speeches that with the introduction of such a statement an immediate association is made with a well-known slogan. This slogan states: "The greater the task with which we are faced, the greater must be the authority of those who must accomplish these tasks." This statement was first introduced by Hitler in a speech at the Nuremberg Festhalle of the Luitpoldhain on September 1, 1933, and as did many of his sayings, it caught on and was repeated so often that it had become, by 1940, a household term, if not verbatim then by association. Therefore, it becomes clear that Hitler actually meant more than he directly stated.

Paragraph 33 is an interesting combination of Hitler's use of loaded diction and metaphorical expression. The most distinctive characteristic in this paragraph, however, is the rare appearance of the Hitler type humor. "When these English propaganda voices are taking to the air
their German accent sounds as peculiar as perhaps their own English sound." The metaphorical expressions in both sentence one and two of this paragraph illustrate the Hitler use of loaded terms to establish a specific emotional attitude, in this case he is reinforcing the daily charges made against English propaganda in an effort to nullify any effect it might have on the people. "How sorrowful is the spectacle of the English propaganda, trying to bring about the downfall of the German nation through sowing the seed of distrust."

Hitler's ability to shift blame by attributing motives through faulty reasoning is evident in the 34 paragraph of this speech. "They have got their war because they wanted it." Hitler clearly places all of the blame for the war on the English. He then attributes their motive for starting the war to "these plutocratic warmongers (who), are the ones who believe that perhaps every twenty years they should be in a position to tell others how far they can develop." By using such loaded terms as "plutocratic warmongers," Hitler does not have to identify his subject specifically because the words English and warmonger are synonymous just as plutocratic warmonger is synonymous with Churchill to his audience. Thus Hitler's use of recall and association is also exemplified in this paragraph.

Furthermore, these people forget that during the World War they faced us in outspoke numerical superiority. But today everything is
vastly changed. We are at the peak of our efficiency.

In this paragraph Hitler justifies Germany's loss of the war and then gives assurance to his audience that Germany will not lose this one. He concludes this paragraph with a statement of contrast intended to give added strength to his conclusion that Germany cannot be defeated: "But today everything is vastly changed. We are at the peak of our efficiency." In this manner he gives his confidence in ultimate victory. This paragraph ends the main body of the speech.

In summary, concerning the main body of this speech, it has been shown (a) that Hitler continued the chronological order begun in the introduction, (b) introduced a problem-solution arrangement, (c) he also used statements designed to get an affirmative response, (d) he relied on his audience's ability to recall the past, (e) he depended on loaded diction to develop emotional response, (f) he used contrast for effect, (g) he developed a chain of reasoning designed to reach a false conclusion, (h) he paid much attention to the development of his audience's pride and confidence, (i) this speech shows his ability to shift the blame and attribute motives in the desired direction which best serves his ideas, (j) he developed a technique which might well be called justification through rationalization, (k) he continued to rely on identification
through association, and (1) he introduced the Deity into his speech when the emotional response to the word and the thought being it gave strength to his position.

The conclusion of Hitler's speech seems to have as its main purpose the re-establishment of the image concerning Hitler, the good man. To do this Hitler once more called upon emotional term directly related to God, providence and divine justice.

But there is something else I believe, and that is that there is a God. This God has given the same right to all nations. And this God again has blessed our efforts during the past thirteen years.

The most significant statement in this paragraph seems to be Hitler's reference to 'a God.' Notice that he makes no reference to 'the God' or 'Almighty God' as he has done previously. He continues with "This God has given the same right to all nations," and further" . . . this God again has blessed our efforts . . ." By using such terminology he is conditioning his audience to accept the roll he is building for himself through inference.

In paragraph thirty-seven he speaks of other people and to what they might attribute the German development and progress, he mentions luck, Providence and coincidence still building toward his concept of the situation.

It is important not to overlook the skillful way in which Hitler handles his next statements. First his discounts of the beliefs of others on the subject and sets
himself up as the one with the truth. "I, however, believe that we are here dealing with divine justice." Following this his second task is to reinforce the idea already set in the minds of the people concerning the righteousness of their cause. These people in many cases actually believed that Hitler was chosen to lead them by a god who belonged exclusively to the German people. Knowing this belief Hitler played upon it and carefully expanded it.

"If you deal with people who have given everything they have, who have worked in the belief that they are right, then it cannot be but that Providence, our God, as I prefer to say, will not abandon such a nation." Again Hitler uses the term 'our God' and not just 'God.' Thus Hitler is justifying what has been done on moral grounds as though the directive had come from Germany's own special god. A god, as he intimates through association, that chose him to lead the people. This, of course, is again the use of recall and reinforcement of the idea that Hitler was sent to Germany by God, and that the Reich and Hitler will be forever.

The final paragraph is an outstanding example of Hitler's use of the emotional conclusion including justification of everything through divine guidance, he builds great hope for the future reflecting the idea that if God be for us who can be against us. It is particular interesting to notice his careful selection of emotional loaded
words, and the use of a metaphor to add impact and distinction to the conclusion.

This God of whom I speak will not abandon us. He will guide us further along the path we have set our foot upon, and in this feeling of righteousness and justice we shall continue our efforts as we have begun them, certain that victory will be ours, because it is so ordained.

The last five words of this paragraph carry a very significant connotation in themselves: 'because it is so ordained.' This is a direct effort on the part of Hitler to once again establish his divine right to leadership through association and recall.

Concerning the conclusion of this speech it can be said that Hitler (a) directed his appeal to a spiritual emotional response, (b) that he carefully used terms connotating the divine, (c) used a chain of reasoning which had as its obvious conclusion Hitler's divine right to rule, and (d) that he used such devices as recall and identification through association to get a desired response for the auditor.

In looking at the speech just analyzed many of the devices used by Hitler are fairly obvious; first, because they are being looked for specifically, and second, because of the poor opinion now held about Hitler as a person. It is, however, well to remember that the audiences to which Hitler spoke were composed of persons who hailed him as their savior and who were ready to believe all that he had
to say and follow him to the ends of the earth. It is for these reasons that Hitler's psychological development of a speech rather than a logical development was most successful, and for these reasons that such emotional presentation was not objected to. By psychological development writer simply wishes to point out that Hitler's oratory seems to have been based on several factors which are more closely related to psychology than to logic: (1) Hitler, in his introduction always identified himself with his audience and got their attention in this way, (2) he then made them conscious of their needs and more conscious of who or what had satisfied that need, specifically either himself or the party or both depending on which he was building at the moment, (3) Hitler helped the people visualize the future under his leadership, and (4) pointed out what course had to be taken to accomplish what was in the future for them.

Adolf Hitler's speaking effectiveness was for the most part due to his clear understanding of the people to whom he spoke, and second, because of this understanding he was in a better position to know what they needed to hear and what approach would best persuade them toward the desired direction. Along with this same idea it is important not to underestimate Hitler's ability to use the diminutive in his oratory. Perhaps in one sense of the word we could call Hitler's rhetoric 'Diminutive Oratory' or call Hitler the 'diminutive Orator,' simply because of his
masterly ability to make bad things seem less bad, and
good things seem not only less good but almost bad.

While we must recognize in one sense that Hitler was
an effective speaker it is also imperative that we recog-
nize him for the evil he represented and that it be
specifically pointed out that he used rhetoric for evil
gains. Naturally one cannot blame rhetoric for the deeds
done through it by this man. Rhetoric in itself is per-
suasive speech, but is intended for the use of those per-
sons who are noble and just and who seek a way to bring
good to the people.

Then what can we say about Hitler's rhetoric? Was
it good or evil and what of this man that Burke refers to
as the medicine man, was he that or a witch doctor?

In the introductory chapter four theories were set
forth to be discussed in relation to Hitler's rhetoric.
These are (1) results, (2) truth, (3) ethical, and (4)
artistic. For this evaluation these theories will be
defined in the same manner as they are in McBurney and
Wragge's text Guide to Good Speech (1) according to the
results theory 'a speech is good if it gets results and poor
if it fails' (2) truth- 'if a person tells the truth', (3)
ethical theory depends on 'the speaker's motives and inten-
tions, if they were honest and upright the speaker was
ethical,' and (4) artistic theory judges a speech and the
speaker on the basis of a set of principles and methods.
According to each of these theories and their definitions what can be said of Hitler's rhetoric?

A. To evaluate Hitler's rhetoric in relation to the results theory it is necessary to briefly survey some of the major results which he hoped to accomplish through speech: (1) Hitler wanted to rule Germany and ultimately the world, (2) he wanted to destroy the Versailles Treaty, (3) he wished to unite the German people under one government, (4) Hitler wanted to rebuild the German economy, (5) he wanted to build a master race, destroy the entire Jewish faith, and (6) to establish himself as the supreme head of a supreme government.

With these general purposes in mind we can say that (a) Hitler did become the ruler of Germany but not of the world, (b) he did destroy the points of the Versailles Treaty, (c) he did unite the German people under one government, (d) he also rebuilt the German economy, and (e) started to build a master race, (f) he almost completely destroyed the peoples belonging to the Jewish faith, and (g) Hitler did become the supreme leader of the one government in Germany but he did not become the supreme leader of a supreme government. Therefore according to these results as evaluated by the criteria of the results theory—Adolf Hitler was a good speaker.

B. The theory of truth in relation to the speaker is evaluated according to the speaker's truthfulness. On the
basis of this single standard of evaluation Hitler must be considered a poor speaker for as indicated in chapters two and three he was not a truthful man unless the truth served his specific purpose.

C. A speaker is evaluated by the theory of ethics according to his motives and intentions. If these motives and intentions are honest and upright, according to McBurney and Wragge, then the speaker is good.

Two points need consideration when evaluating Hitler's rhetoric according to this theory: (1) did Hitler believe that what he was doing for the people was best? and (2) would society go along with his idea that the end justifies the means used to accomplish the purpose? (1) Concerning Hitler's intentions, he felt that what he was doing was for the best and that his methods of building Germany were justified by the end result of supreme German power. This, however, (2) is not an acceptable ideal as far as society is concerned, therefore, according to the theory of ethics as related to Hitler's rhetoric, motives and intentions, Adolf Hitler was not a good speaker.

D. The artistic theory judges a speaker and the speech according to a set of principles and methods. If one is judging Hitler's speeches according to literary principles and methods then one of the major factors to be considered is: Do the collected speeches of Hitler make a good reading? The answer is no! as indicated in Chapter II, p. 72.
However, if Hitler is to be judged according to his ability to use such rhetorical devices as the enthymeme and the metaphor then as indicated in Chapter III he was a good speaker.

It is the writer's opinion that one major factor which needs to be considered has been left out during the consideration of Hitler as evaluated by the four theories and that is his moral responsibility to his nation and the other nations of the world. Adolf Hitler sought to enslave the peoples of the world who would not voluntarily serve him, he further sought to destroy freedom as it is thought of today. He felt that any means justified the end result of world domination which he hoped to attain. Therefore, it must be concluded that Adolf Hitler effectively used rhetoric to destroy rather than to build for the good of the majority and therefore must be judged as a poor speaker according to responsibility to basic rhetoric principle---He was effective but not a good man speaking.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The Audience

1. The German audience was conditioned through educational propaganda to accept the ideas presented by Hitler.

2. Hitler spoke to a great many selected homogeneous audiences, in this way he adapted his audience to the speech rather than adapting his speech to the audience.

3. When Hitler spoke to a heterogeneous group he insured success by placing soldiers throughout the hall. These soldiers acted as claquers, however, their major job was to expel anyone objecting to the speech. In this way Hitler insured the proper response from his auditors.

4. Hitler relied heavily on terms which were familiar to his audience and was thus able to facilitate recall of past experiences more easily.

5. Hitler's speaking success was partly due to his ability to direct the emotions of his audience to a pre-conceived concept.

6. Hitler used stage setting to build the emotions of his audience and to assure their mental receptivity. This is indicated by his extensive use of music, flags, lighting and timing.
Speech

1. All of the major speeches given by Adolf Hitler were divided into three main sections: Introduction, body and conclusion.

2. In the introduction Hitler used such attention getting methods as: flattery, identification of himself with the audience, the startling statement as an attention getting device and the rhetorical question.

3. The body of Hitler's speeches contained a direct appeal to the basic emotions of the audience usually presenting one simple idea which was repeated often throughout the speech.

4. Hitler concluded his speeches with a striking statement or an emotional appeal, both of which were worded to give the listener hope for the future.

5. Hitler effectively used such stylistic devices as the deductive syllogism, the enthymeme, metaphor and comparisons and contrast.

6. Two types of rhetorical proofs are evident in Hitler's speaking, (a) pathetic or emotional proof, and (b) ethical proof.

7. The evidence implies that the actual power and effectiveness of Hitler's speech is in the manner in which the speeches were delivered.

8. He used the same words and phrases in many speeches thus facilitating learning through repetition.
9. Hitler's speeches are characterized by his consistent use of the emotion of hate, he directed the hatred of the people toward one enemy at a time.

10. Hitler sought to improve the audience's image of him by using Biblical quotations, and words from well known hymns.

11. The speeches of Hitler follow a psychological rather than a logical order, however, there is a consistent sequence of rationalizations which led to one emotion.

12. Hitler's speeches represent an effective use of rhetoric to gain results which could not be considered good in relation to a total society.

13. Hitler's rhetoric serves as an excellent example of the use of loaded language.

14. Hitler's speeches give evidence of his ability to promote identification through association.

15. The material used by Hitler for speech topics came directly from his knowledge and understanding of the people, and the realization of how the material should be used for getting the desired results.

The Speaker

1. Hitler had a talent for remembering isolated facts and being able to recall them at will, however, there is evidence in his speaking that he experienced loss of memory in the speaking situation (see Chapter V).
2. There is evidence to indicate that Hitler's thinking while speaking depended greatly upon association. This characteristic could well account for the fact he often wandered off of the main topic while speaking.

3. Hitler consistently avoided complex problems by oversimplifying major ideas.

4. Hitler became so emotionally involved while speaking that at times he was known to weep or to pound his fist so violently as to cause bruises.

5. Hitler's speeches were characterized by a few gestures which were repeated.

6. Hitler's voice had a harsh quality, but he had effective use of change in pitch, tone and rate.

7. Hitler made effective use of the dramatic pause for emphasis.

8. Hitler made effective use of the dramatic stage setting which assisted in creating the desired ethical appeal.

9. Hitler's creation of images was a major factor concerning the effectiveness of his speaking and was also a strong aid to his ethical appeal.

10. Hitler continually reinforced his ideas by having his name and picture before the public.

11. Hitler's ability to adapt his message to the concepts and interests of each audience is a strong characteristic leading great strength to his over-all effectiveness.
12. Hitler's effectiveness in speaking to the masses was partly due to his ability to reduce the thinking process of individuals in a large audience to a single, unified thinking process. Thus creating a polarizing effect causing all auditors to think as one.

13. Hitler showed a masterly ability to identify himself with his audience.
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Strasser, Otto. Hitler and I. London: Cape, 1940.


**Speeches**

The following represents the speeches which, in the opinion of the writer, would be most beneficial for those wishing to do a brief analysis of the Hitler Oratory.

Baynes, Norman H. *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler.*

February 5, 1928, Kulmbach, Germany.
January 27, 1932, Dusseldorf.
May 1, 1937, Berlin.
September 1933, Danzietag.
June 18, 1933, Erfurt.
November 9, 1936, Munich.
May 1, 1936, Berlin.
September 12, 1938, Nuremberg.
September 10, 1935, Nuremberg.
April 10, 1933, Munich.
November 8, 1935, Munich.
May 10, 1933, Berlin.
March 28, 1936, Cologne.
November 3, 1933, Breslau.
November 5, 1933, Elbing.
February 24, 1938, Munich.
March 12, 1938, Linz.
March 15, 1938, Vienna.
October 5, 1938, Berlin.
January 5, 1938, Berlin.
January 5, 1939, Berchtesgaden.
February 14, 1939, Hamburg.
April 28, 1939, before the Reichstag.
November 3, 1933, Breslau.
January 30, 1934, before the Reichstag.
October 26, 1938, Znaim in Southern Moravia.
October 27, 1938, Nikolsburg in Southern Moravia.
November 6, 1938, Weimar.
March 13, 1936, Karel'sruhe.
September, 1934, Nuremberg.
January 30, 1936, "OK Fighters."
1936, Opening of the Parteitag.
September, 1935, Nuremberg.
May 1, 1938, Berlin.
May 1, 1937, Berlin.
May 10, 1933, Berlin.
February 24, 1939, Munich.
September, 1935, Nuremberg.
September 11, 1937, Nuremberg.
September 10, 1934, Nuremberg.
August 17, 1934, Hamburg.
September 8, 1934, Nuremberg.
January 30, 1940, Sportpalast, Berlin.
November 8, 1938, Munich.
April 6, 1938, Salzburg.
April 7, 1938, Linz.
April 9, 1938, Vienna.

Prang, Gordon W. *Hitler's Words.*
April 21, 1922, Munich.
April 20, 1923, Munich.
June 10, 1923, Munich.
March 6, 1929, Munich.
October 20, 1923, Sommerfield.
October 26, 1933, Cologne.
November 11, 1933, Berlin.
April 4, 1938, Klangenfurt.
April 28, 1939, Berlin.
March 24, 1940, Munich.

De Sales, Raoul de Roussy. *Adolf Hitler — My New Order.*
April 12, 1922, Munich.
July 28, 1922, Munich.
April 10, 1923, Munich.
September 19, 1922, Munich.
April 24, 1923, Munich.
April 27, 1923, Munich.
August 1, 1923, Munich.
February 26, 1923, Munich.
September 12, 1923, Munich.
March 28, 1924, Before the Munich Court.
November 23, 1926, Essex, Pentz Convention.
September 16, 1930, Munich.
January 27, 1932, Duesseldorf, Industry Club.
February 1, 1933. Berlin--Proclamation to the German Nation.

February 15, 1933, Stuttgart.
March 23, 1933, Berlin, Reichstag.
April 8, 1933, Berlin, Sportpalast.
May 10, 1933, Berlin, Congress of the German Work Front.
May 17, 1933, Berlin, Reichstag.
July 22, 1933, Bayreut, Radio broadcast.
August 27, 1933, Tannenberg.
September 1, 1933, Nuremberg, Festhelle of the Luitpoldhain.

March 7, 1936, Berlin Reichstag.
March 20, 1936, Hamburg.
September 9, 1936, Nuremberg.
September 12, 1936, Nuremberg.
September 14, 1936, Nuremberg.
May 1, 1937, Berlin.
September 13, 1937, Nuremberg.
February 20, 1938, Berlin, Reichstag.
March 12, 1938, Linz (Austria).
March 25, 1938, Konigsberg.
September 6, 1938, Nuremberg, Proclamation.
September 6, 1938, Nuremberg (Kultur-Sagung).
September 12, 1938, Nuremberg.
September 26, 1938, Berlin.
October 4, 1938, Carlsbad, Cechoslovakia.
October 9, 1938, Saarbruecken.
November 6, 1938, Weimar.
April, 1939, Wilhelmshaven.
April 28, 1939, Berlin, Reichstag.
September 19, 1939, Danzig.
October 6, 1939, Berlin, Reichstag.
November 8, 1939, Munich.
January 30, 1940, Berlin.
February 24, 1940, Munich.
July 19, 1940, Berling, Reichstag.
September 4, 1940, Berlin, Sportpalast.
December 10, 1940, Berlin, Reinmetall - Borsig works.
January 30, 1941, Berlin, Sportpalast.
February 24, 1941, Munich.
March 16, 1941, Berlin Zeughaus.
May 4, 1941, Berlin Reichstag.
June 22, 1941, Proclamation to Nation.


APPENDIX

SPEECH OF FEBRUARY 24, 1940

MUNICH

-1-

My German Comrades: Twenty years ago I appeared for the first time before the German public. That was the hardest and most dramatic decision of my life.

-2-

Now again I stand among you. That in itself is remarkable. When I appeared before at that time I was not a pacifist; I am still a soldier.

-3-

Our nation at that time had collapsed, which was unexampled in history. We were the victims of an enormous world deception, but we were not alone; the others were also deceived.

-4-

They cheated the Arabs, but, incidentally, they also cheated the Jews. In their own States the victorious nations did not get what they expected.

-5-

To be sure, most of all, our own German people were deceived. A world of equality, a world in which no arms would be needed and in which, therefore, eternal peace would rule.

-6-

Germany laid down her arms because of the fourteen points. The German people at that time were deceived in their hope for a new organization of the world.
Germany was without rights because she was defenseless. Germany at that time was a paradise but not for the German people, but for the Jews, the speculators, the exploiters, for the gangsters.

We had at that time the rule of the victors as opposed to the vanquished. We were, of course, not in a position to ask what we thought was due us. We had a democratic regime at that time, but this regime of ours was treated, perhaps as it should have been treated, because it did not have the means to back up its words.

We had approximately forty-six political parties, all trying to do their best to work in the interest of the German nation. Financial burdens were assumed by the regime for the purpose of rebuilding our nation; but these financial obligations were slowly turning into economic obligations.

As far as I was concerned, at that time, I was of a strictly different opinion. I was of the opinion that things could not continue in that fashion. I decided that our political arena was nothing but the fighting arena for the various political factions. I realized that our government structure at that time was absolutely untenable, and that it could not be maintained.

I realized above all, that bourgeois nationalist ideals were confronted and opposed by socialist principles. I realized that compromise in itself was impossible. I realized that only the victory of one side or the other could bring about a solution.

But in all these internal upheavals of that period, in all the readjustments we were facing, I realized that there was one thing which was indestructible. And that one thing was the individual German, in other words, the German character.
The German nation and the German character had proved their mettle during the four years of the World War. Proceeding from this point, I realized that out of all these political parties there had to arise the one, united German Reich, the one Reich of one unified will. It was necessary to call forth the best that is, and has always been, in the German nation.

And that force, that strength inherent in the German people, was called forth at the memorable occasion twenty years ago. A great many things had to be brought about in order to assert this power. At that time, of course, it was principally a question of fighting our internal enemies.

You all know that I had to face these battles in a fighting spirit. I was always willing to accomplish our ends through peaceful means, but force was essential whenever force was the only means by which our aims could have been accomplished.

You all remember how we proceeded, step by step, starting here in this place, spreading over Bavaria, and from then on gradually extending over the nation as a whole. It was a fight which took us roughly thirteen years—thirteen years of struggle, crowned by ultimate success.

After that time we were faced with the necessity of translating our initial success into wider results. You all know the things we accomplished in the fields of rebuilding the national character, in rebuilding our cities, in rehabilitating our unemployed. But then our democratic enemies began to tell us what to do.

These people who tell us what to do are those who possess half the world, and they cannot even solve their own problems. Our reconstruction, on the other hand, has been accomplished entirely with our small resources, and we shall eventually and completely succeed without their help.
It seems that these people, who rule half the world, believe that they are called upon by God to continue this rule, and as soon as anybody else lays claim to what they are honestly entitled they raise the cry that tyranny is the issue. God Almighty has not created the world for the English to dominate.

We Germans lay no claim to world domination. We only ask to be left alone in our own living space. But, as far as this living space is concerned, we permit no interference. Of course, we also insist on our just share of our own colonies.

At the time when the Arabs are protesting, Chamberlain steps up and says Germany is fighting for the supremacy of the world. This capitalistic, plutocratic conception, that there are only two kinds of people, the have-nots, will also be destroyed.

The influence of England has not been perceptible in Central Europe. Central Europe has been built up by Germany and we won't suffer any threats in this Lebensraum of ours.

Already during the Great War Churchill was one of the great warmongers, and at that time I was a very small man without political influence. We have therefore come from entirely different worlds.

After the war these people carried on their business and made enormous profits through rearmament. Now these people have begun again with their warmongering. They again have the hopes that other people will fight for them and these hopes are in part well founded. So they have prepared this war in their own peculiar manner.
-25-

One thing we know: Neither in a military nor in an economic way can Germany be defeated. Today we have nothing but leaders of the German people up to the very top. Today Germans achieve their standing through energy and not through birth. The German nation has regained confidence in itself. . . .

-26-

Is it not natural that they should hate me? If Eden or Chamberlain does not trust me, then I am proud of that fact, because to be respected and honored by them would mean that I am a traitor to the German nation.

-27-

The hatred of my enemies does not concern me in the least. As I have fought inside Germany for a period of thirteen years in order to achieve harmony, so will I now fight our external enemies. Of course, they think that the affair of 1918 can be repeated. But little do they know what the present-day Germany is like.

-28-

We are traveling along parallel lines with Italy because our interests are mutual. Likewise do we have a complete understanding with Russia. Of course, it is only natural that the English should feel horrible at not having been able to accomplish what we have done.

-29-

But even Japan is today not on the side of our enemies. We can definitely say that, at least, they are friendly neutrals. . . .

-30-

It is the leadership of the German nation that counts. It is the leadership which must display the same courage as is expected to be displayed by the common soldier. And I am happy to say that, thank God, today we do have just such leadership.

-31-

We are able to say at this time, with the utmost assurance, that militarily and economically, Germany today
is invincible. As far as I am concerned, I am nothing but the flint that strikes the spark out of the German nation.

-32-

Let us not forget that in our national effort, as we have exerted it in all these years, we have mobilized every ounce of energy there is within the total capacity of the Reich. We are a nation that is led by innumerable men, by innumerable leaders who, individually, do all in their power to maintain the Reich at the level of the might it displays today.

-33-

The German nation has traversed a strenuous school of political education and it has emerged strong and purified. How sorrowful is the spectacle of English propaganda, trying to bring about the downfall of the German nation through sowing the seed of distrust. When these English propaganda voices are taking to the air their German accent sounds as peculiar as perhaps their own English sound.

-34-

The have got their war because they wanted it. Think of it, these people, these plutocratic warmongers, are the ones who believe that perhaps every twenty years they should be in a position to tell others how far they can develop. But now things are different this time; we are prepared to wage this war as long as it may last, to the bitter end.

-35-

Furthermore, these people forget that during the World War they faced us in outspoken numerical superiority. But today everything is vastly changed. We are at the peak of our efficiency.

-36-

But there is something else I believe, and that is that there is a God. This God has given the same right to all nations. And this God again has blessed our efforts during the past thirteen years.

-37-

Some people, of course, call it luck; others, Providence. And others again speak of it as coincidence.
I, however, believe that we are here dealing with divine justice. If you deal with people who have given everything they have, who have worked in the belief that they are right, then it cannot be put that Providence, our God, as I prefer to say, will not abandon such a nation.

This God of whom I speak will not abandon us. He will guide us further along the path we have set our foot upon, and in this feeling of righteousness and justice we shall continue our efforts as we have begun them, certain that victory will be ours, because it is so ordained.