



Rudolf Hess – Selected Speeches



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To The Führer



Except from the Opening Speech at the "Congress of Victory", Reich Party Day
1933

My Führer!

You were for us, as the Führer of the party, the guarantor of victory!

When others wavered, you remained upright!

When others advised compromise, you remained unbowed!

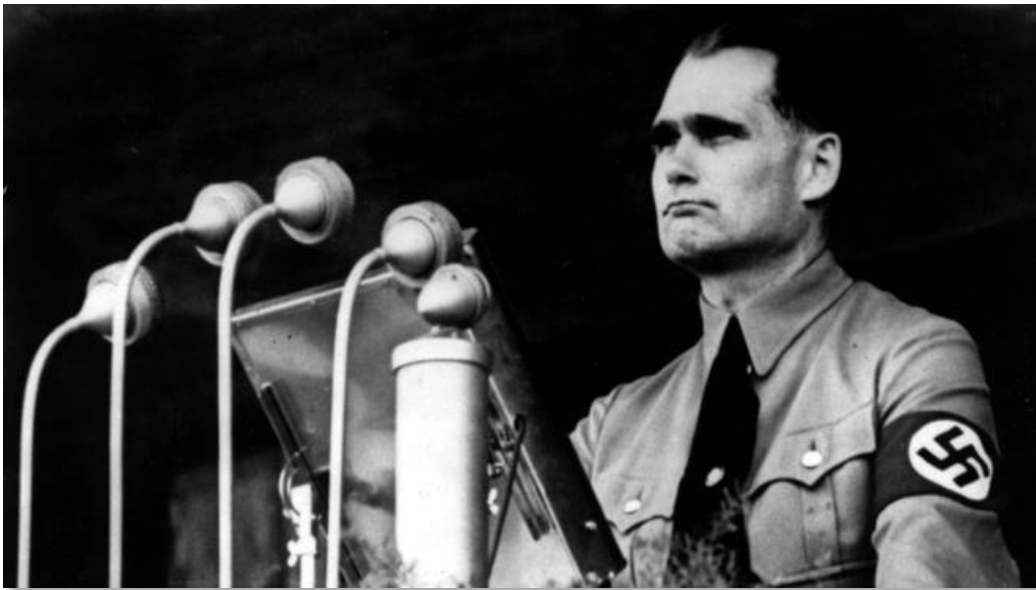
When others lost courage, you instilled new courage!

When others left us, you gripped the flag more firmly than ever - until the flag, as the flag of the state, proclaimed victory.


And you again carry the flag forward!

As the Führer of the nation, you are for us the guarantor of the final victory!

The Oath to Adolf Hitler



Excerpt from a speech on the occasion of the first oath ceremony on the Königlichen Platz [square] in Munich. Over a million political leaders, leaders of the Hitler Youth and the Work Service - who had assembled in all parts of the Reich - jointly took the oath after the speech, which was transmitted to them by radio. The oath ceremony took place on February 25, 1934, the anniversary of the proclamation of the party program, which fell on the same day as the Heroes' Memorial Day.

 German men, German women, German boys, German girls, who have at this hour come together everywhere in all of Germany in a number of far over one million!

You will, on the occasion of the anniversary of the party program proclamation, jointly take the oath of loyalty and obedience to Adolf Hitler and thus formally before the world confirm what was long self-evident to yourselves, and what most of you have for years already expressed through your actions, often unconsciously.

You swear your oath on a day, which simultaneously for the first time is celebrated as Heroes' Memorial Day in Germany. We lower the flags for the consecration of this day and remember, before all others and more than ever before, those who lived as heroes and died as heroes. The flags are tilted before the greats of our history, before the fighters for Germany, before the millions of the World War, before those who died as path-paving sacrifice for the new Reich. I name Horst Wessel, because his name became a symbol to us, and in him I remember all those "shot dead by red front and reaction".

Woe to the folk, which no longer knows an honouring of heroes! It will one day no longer produce any heroes - no longer know them. For the hero, too, emerges from the essence of the folk. A folk without heroes, however, is a folk without leaders, for only the heroic leader is a genuine leader and will stand firm in difficult times. Rise or fall of a folk can be determined by the existence or lack of a hero.

We do not want to forget the mothers, wives, children, who sacrificed their most beloved - often their provider - and bear their fate in silent heroism.

Battle-hard, manly heroism and silent sacrifice of mothers and wives are for us Germans sacred concepts of loyalty. The flags, which we raise again, are the symbols of this loyalty, which for Nordic man are closely bound with heroism.

The hero of Germanic stamp is loyal to the point of self-sacrifice. Be conscious of this, when you swear loyalty on the day of the heroes' remembrance!

Not only loyalty in the deed, also loyalty in way of thinking is demanded from you. Loyalty in way of thinking often demands no less heroic self-discipline than loyalty in the deed. Loyalty in the way of thinking means unbreakable loyalty; loyalty, which knows no ifs, ands or buts, no recantation. Loyalty in the way of thinking means obedience, which does not ask the use of the command, which does not ask the reasons for the command, rather obeys for the sake of obedience. Obedience then becomes an expression of heroic bearing, if the following of the command results in personal disadvantage for the person obeying or if it appears to contradict his own conviction. It is Adolf Hitler's leadership strength that in the political organization he almost always works through the strength of his convincing and only seldom commands. He must, however, know that z/he commands or has a command given, the command will be unconditionally followed all the way down to the block leader.

The striking force and effectiveness potential of an in itself good organization are all the greater, the greater its discipline. The more you practice obedience down to the smallest detail, the more clear you make the Führer's command all around, the more surely you follow the instruction to take little steps or big steps, the more certainly can the Führer create the prerequisites for the realization of the National Socialist program.

Under his command, all of us National Socialists work on the realization of the program, as we once worked to achieve power in the state: we, the fighters for the soul of the peasant, for the soul of the worker, for the soul of the burgher, for the soul of the man, for the soul of the woman, for the soul of the old, for the soul of the young - we, the direct bearers of the main formations of the NSDAP as well as the men in the work service, the lower leaders in the auxiliaries of the party and the National Socialist women in their organizations. In the same the boys and girls strive toward the same goal as the developing generation, which will one day follow us as the shapers of

German fate.

Hitler Youth, who have subordinated yourself to the Führer in that unconditional devotion to Germany, which twenty years ago demand from Germany's youngest battle troop, the volunteers of Langemarck, the great joint heroic death for folk and Reich. You yourselves have made this youth of Langemarck your example. You have the good fortune to live in a Reich, which just hovered as hope and presentiment to the best attackers of 1914 - a Reich forged together for eternity, remaining an inseparable unity, if you do your duty. For you, doing your duty means: following the Führer's commands without a word! In living remembrance you best honour your dead comrades of the first war year, if you keep their discipline awake in your ranks.

For the Hitler Youth leader discipline must all the more be the first command, the more discipline he demands from his boys. Discipline, however, he must demand all the more so from them, the more youth by nature in beautiful drive for freedom yearns for wild unrestraint. All the easier, however, must discipline and subordination - paired with respect for the accomplishment of the leading generation - come to the youth of today, since the leading generation is for the most part the generation of the World War. I know how you have been persecuted, ridiculed, despised and mocked, because of your faith in the Führer. I know of your courage of sacrifice and know the dangers, which threaten you daily. I know how many comrades from your ranks have sacrificed their young life! I know all this!

I also know, however, that all the dangers and suffering to which a Hitler Youth was exposed in the most red areas in the years before the rise to power, are not comparable to the dangers and suffering of a single day of drum-fire, which a member of the front generation experienced! Never forget that, when your Führer, who spared us this drum-fire, demands hard self-discipline from you.

To the political leaders I repeat what I shouted to your comrades in the province of Thuringia at their oath taking last year: Be loyal in Hitler's spirit! Ask in everything, which you do: How would the Führer act, according to the image, which you have of him - and you will not go wrong!

True to Hitler's spirit I call it, to be conscious that a leader has not only rights, rather, above all, duties. True to Hitler's spirit I call it, to always be a good example to the surrounding world. "Being a leader, meaning living a good example", just like Adolf Hitler lives as a good example for you and his folk. True to Hitler's spirit means remaining reserved and independent of externalities. True to Hitler's spirit means remaining a National Socialist through and through in good days and bad. National Socialist through and through means: Always thinking only of the whole, National Socialist, German folk. It means: In whatever uniform to be a servant of Adolf Hitler's total National Socialism, conscious and with all the heart, first and last being the

Führer's follower!

Always be a servant of the whole, in the movement as well, and never forget that only the movement in its entirety, but not a single branch, can preserve victory and bring the conquest of the future.

Always be conscious, wherever who may stand, you stand there thanks to the Führer, because his leadership alone enabled victory. Wherever you may stand, whether high or low, each works for his movement and hence for Germany - just as Adolf Hitler tells you that it makes no difference, whether somebody works as a street cleaner or a professor, if he just works for the entirety and does his duty.

May the reward for your action be the feeling of fulfilled duty for the movement, for Adolf Hitler, for Germany.

The one pride honours all of you - political leaders, S.A., S.S. and youth: being members of Adolf Hitler's NSDAP!

All of you are arms of the movement as proclaimers and protectors of National Socialism. You are such unprecedented and unique manifestations in history as National Socialism itself. You are typically National Socialist.

S.A., S.S., political leaders have their shared tradition, which is embodied in the "old guard". It encompasses all who early on fought, sacrificed, suffered, who risked their lives or gave them for Germany's resurrection in National Socialism. It has the honour to have won our folkish future with its blood and its sacrifices. It is owed the gratitude of all who experience the joy of their life in being allowed to live in a new Reich. In a Reich, which is led by men who have the will for national freedom, socialist community, for peace in dignity and honour.

Political Leaders! Leaders of the Work Service - the guard of work! Women's organization leaders, Hitler Youth leaders! Leaders of the Federation of German Girls! You will now take the oath to Adolf Hitler!

You do not swear to a formality, you do not swear to an unknown. You do not swear to a hope - you swear to a certainty. Fate has made it easy for you to unconditionally and without reservation take the oath to a man. Hardly ever in history has a folk had such complete trust in a leader, who demanded an oath, as the German folk in Adolf Hitler. You have the infinite good fortune to be allowed to take an oath to the one, who is for you the essence of the concept of Führer. You swear to a fighter, who proved his leadership for over a decade, who was always right and always took the right path, even when sometimes the greater portion of his followers might not have understood him any more.

You are allowed to take your oath to the man of whom you know that - in accordance with the will of a law of Providence, which he obeys, independent of all influences of earthly powers - he will rightly lead the German folk and rightly shape German fate. In your oath you bind anew your life to the man through whom - this is our belief - higher forces fatefully work. Do not seek Adolf Hitler with the brain, all of you will find him with the strength of your heart!

Adolf Hitler is Germany and Germany is Adolf Hitler. Whoever swears an oath to Hitler, swears an oath to Germany!

Swear an oath to the great Germany, whose sons and daughters everywhere in the world now send a solemn thought to the homeland through me.

(Those assembled in all of Germany take the oath.)

The greatest oath taking in history has taken place!

We greet the Führer!

From Revolution to Construction

Speech on the Occasion of the Essen Provincial Party Day on June 25, 1934 in Cologne, broadcast over German Radio

National Socialists! German Folk Comrades!

Today I do not speak to you as Reich Minister, rather as a National Socialist. As a National Socialist who like few others knows what most moves the old comrades. I know I can count myself among the earliest party comrades from the beginning of the movement, who joined the Führer in the year 1920 when a few men gathered around him.

I today carry with me the incredibly beautiful memory of the time when I suffered with the Führer for the sake of the idea for which he lived. I carry the memory of the unspeakably difficult struggle of the first fighters for the new idea.

I have stood before the Führer among the first dozen S. A.-men of the movement. In the first meeting hall battle, covered in blood, I collapsed before my Führer. I swore allegiance to Adolf Hitler as one of the first S.A.-leaders. On November 8, 1923, I stormed at the side of my Führer into the Bürgerbräukeller. I served seven and a half months imprisonment with him. I was allowed to help Adolf Hitler to rebuild the movement in an apparently hopeless situation. I was allowed to daily stand at his side in the following years until the rise to power. I was allowed to accompany him into the most dangerous assemblies in the whole German Reich. I could experience with him all the burdens that weighed upon him when almost every force in Germany stood against him. I participated in his suffering and I participated in his hopes and faith and victories.

I must tell all of this to you, my party comrade and my folk comrades, because you will then understand that I probably know the Führer and his innermost thoughts better than anybody else. I must also tell you, so that we will all the better understand, that anybody who has experienced this incredibly difficult struggle from almost the first day of the movement, remained what he was: a National Socialist in the original sense.

And so I speak from the tradition of the political leader and the S.A. leader at the same time.

Here on the Rhine and in the Ruhr, in Germany's worker heart, our struggle was once, in accordance with the population density and the difficulty of work, one of the hardest in the whole Reich. And I know that even today most of these working men still do not have it easy in their work struggle, that they must still earn their bread

under the most difficult circumstances. *That nonetheless the most loyal followers of Adolf Hitler are found precisely among these workers, is the proof that the Führer succeeded to make true what he said, that Germany which be the most rich, when Germany's poorest son is also its most loyal son.* This fact remains the fundament for the construction of the new Reich just as the working person in himself is the fundament of National Socialism. If despite the difficulty of the struggle for existence and although National Socialism has still not been able to give the worker much in the material sense, he inwardly stands with National Socialism, then this proves his healthy view of reality: for what is possible with the construction of the Reich and for the recovery of its economy, which stood on the brink of collapse. It proves that he has understood that the recovery cannot relieve the individual in just one year and a few months, that we must instead be happy, if in such a short time millions of folk comrades again have work and bread, while the Führer has allotted himself four years to eliminate unemployment.

The worker knows that by renouncing higher wages he makes a sacrifice for the benefit of those who stand in the newly created jobs. Precisely those who were unemployed know how hopeless the day passes without work. And we know what it means to again be able to be productive - even if it is only for values that will only later benefit us or our children.

Work is construction - unemployment decay.

The worker also knows today that the political cleansing - the destruction of the organizations to which he once belonged himself - is the prerequisite for the economic recovery.

I can only repeat what I recently shouted to work comrades of a mine on Upper Silesia's border: The Führer who once stood working in your ranks knows your need the best. The Führer is your best comrade! His striving is for you! He alone can and will, together with you, achieve an improvement of your living conditions! That is an essential goal of his life, and he will reach it like his other goals - as he has already achieved the first goal in difficult and apparently hopeless, years long struggle: the rise to power.

With political power in his hands, Adolf Hitler now builds your state. It is the duty of each man to energetically help as best we can. We know that the German folk, in previously unimagined solidarity since the time of the rise to power, has worked along. The practical result of its cooperation is just as impressive as the numerical of the plebiscite in November 1933, which has no equal in history. In comparison, what do the few mean who back then stood apart; what do the few mean who today still stand apart. They are the incorrigible who are still caught up in their old party thinking. Let them separate themselves from the struggle for the future of their folk - but one should tell them one thing: If they try to do damage through silent sabotage,

then God have pity on them!

We sometimes have the feeling that saboteurs are at work here or there. Regardless what front they hide behind, whether in the economy, whether civil service or elsewhere - we will still find them one day! Then they will become acquainted with National Socialism!

Everything will be forgiven, just not the offense against their own folk!

Because National Socialism does not forgive the offense against the folk, it has, with its characteristic determination, taken up the fight against the kind of saboteurs who today think they can inflict damage on the National Socialist constructive work through malicious criticism.

I am not one of those who immediately sees a crime in every criticism. I also know that, here and there, there is a basis for founded criticism. But all the more sharply do I turn against those who use hardly available shortcomings - as naturally accompany such a thorough transformation through a movement of millions - as an excuse to sow distrust, promote unrest and pursue their own political business.

All those who see before themselves the results of human weaknesses and shortcomings, should consider how infinitely much was achieved in such a short time. How insignificant are in comparison the blemishes! And they, too, will be eliminated over the course of time.

We wish to once again remember what was in Germany before and what is today.

Before the rise to power of National Socialism, thirty political parties in Germany confused political life with the result that thirty Germans always opposed each other as political enemies. Certainly, these parties for a long time no longer fought individually for power in Germany, rather they fought 29:1 against the NSDAP. And again 29:1 they lied to the German folk with that hatred, that distrust, that cowardice, which made the Reich powerless externally and made it dependent on the moody stirring of the League of Nations or of a foreign government.

What is today? Not a single party of the old style still rules in Germany, rather the National Socialist movement. As the expression of healthy German common sense it directs all political action.

Unified goals, for which the concentrated energy of the German folk can be used, are achieved at the command of one will.

Germany is externally again in the position of a state that begins to play to role

as is worthy of a great folk. With pride we have seen the difference to previous times at the Führer's meeting with Mussolini in Venice. While in the previous years of the November Republic Germany was represented by representatives of a parliamentary majority that would perhaps be unseated the next day, this time the Führer of the united German nation faced the leader of the Fascist Italy he had created.

We National Socialists have the right to be thankful and proud that Adolf Hitler succeeded to restore honour to the German folk before itself and before the world.

Earlier, even good intentions of a Reich government were made ineffective through the open and silent opposition of the provincial governments. Today the central power of the National Socialist movement is taken for granted - all of Germany obeys its orders.

In no sphere of public life - art, economy, science, in politics of every shade to social politics - did a clear line dominate in the past. Neither for the individual areas nor at all for their harmonious coordination were will and goal present. No creative person in Germany knew what he strove for, what he worked for and into which great line of German fate he could put his goals. Each vegetated intellectually from one day to the next. Each tried to stake his claim on the day, and was small and insignificant compared to the fate known as Germany, because he inwardly sensed the senselessness of his activity.

Only when the first few fighters of National Socialism recognized paths into the future of the German nation, only then did meaning return to German events.

Today the artist again sees the great duties that he has toward his folk. His creativity is again rooted in his folk, and he can form in the joyous conviction that his working is fertile for Germany.

Scientists and economists who have felt a breath of National Socialist essence can again be conscious of what is the meaning of their work. The individual person no longer struggles alone with his private cares. He no longer debates about matters of every day political life: He feels his life cantered on greater goals again.

The Führer has again given purpose to the life of the Germans.

But what would have happened, if National Socialism had not successfully concluded the struggle for power, if fate had not selected the Führer to accomplish the German re-formation to nation and the German resuscitation to folk?

What would have happened, if the attempt by foreign countries to destroy National Socialism through economic boycott had been a success?

If it had become reality, what was envisioned in the plans of the Karl-Liebknecht-House? The best of the folk would have ended their life within whatever prison walls! The government in Germany, insofar as one could be formed at all, would have been formed by agents of foreign powers. Smashed would be the army, smashed would be the economy, the life basis of the German folk. German youth, whose optimistic idealism is our great joy today, would have become the victim of an Asiatic rebellion. Where today German life again awakens from a thousand seeds, would rage the final flame of the destruction of a cultured European land, which would spread beyond the borders in order to destroy the organism of other folks as well. As the visible sign of such decline, foreign armies would fight on German soil for the power claims of other nations.

According to our firm belief, that would have been Germany's fate, if Adolf Hitler had not taken the reins of the Reich on January 30, 1933.

If since this January 30, 1933 only the problem of unemployment been tackled, and if to the present day nothing more had been achieved than the reintegration of millions of German folk comrades into the circle of working Germans, then through that alone National Socialism would have proven that it is called to power.

If only the one, inner battle front in brown of the S.A. and the political leaders, in the black of the SS and in the grey-green of the Work Service had been founded, then through that alone National Socialism would have documented its mission.

And if we had only placed into the hearts of millions of our German boys and girls new faith in themselves and their folk, given them courage to themselves shape their German fate, then through that alone we would have proven how correct in goal our path has been up to January 30.

In the multitude of the successes achieved since the rise to power, the strength of the German folk is revealed, in which we have always believed and will always believe.

The German folk is in the process of building great Autobahns which - like the Roman roads in our days remind one of the time of the Romans - will remind coming generations in centuries of the Hitler period.

The German folk, in years of need, wins new soil from earth and sea. In technology it endeavours to remain just as prominent as in science and art.

Through its striving for preservation of the family, for racial hygiene, for separation of foreign blood and hence foreign spirit from the coming generation, it wants to again become the standard folk of the human type that nature and faith have shown it.

I do not want to continue to relate every detail that shows Germany's transformation through National Socialism. Basically, this transformation documents in everything the beginning of the overcoming of purely materialistic thinking. That we have smashed the Marxist organizations which are breeding grounds of materialistic thinking, is a revolutionary deed, which shows the external power of our movement. But that we have been able to, after the organizations, also deaden the spirit of materialism in those who, as the former bearers of the Marxism organism, still live today, is a proof for the convincing inner strength of the Hitler movement.

How ridiculous is the malcontent compared to all this!

He sees something great, which he does not understand, whose scope he cannot grasp. A past time has taken away the inner greatness, which is the prerequisite for the comprehension of the events in our days.

The malcontent, my party comrades, must be there, for where should all those remain from whose malcontent thirty parties once lived? If back then thirty Germans - each organized in his own party - lived from complaining, what a miracle would have occurred, if today we only had *one* malcontent for every thirty Germans!

The eternal know-it-alls simply cannot keep pace with us. How pitiful is the beer table criticism of the philistine and the reactionary who are eaten by anger, because times did not let them come into their own. There is no purpose in reckoning with them; they are dead. Many of them simply have not yet their own political death pointed out to them by a rough truth fanatic. Toward them, we have carried out the German revolution with an almost jovial tone. We could do it from a position of strength, for we know that these women in men's clothes - who publicly complain, because they cannot speak at home - are unworthy opponents.

We speak a new language, we think new ideas and perform new deeds. Let us be considerate toward those whom fate has damned to stand on the sidelines, to incomprehension, to inability, and direct the thrust of our whole struggle against those who do not want to help due to maliciousness.

From whatever world of ideas and in whatever language the malicious act, this is shown us by the publications that emerge out there in emigration. The sole value of these publications for us lies in that they remind us of the manner in which politics was conducted in pre-National Socialist Germany - we remember what orgies of lies and phrases were celebrated back then. It is a foreign German language in which one there speaks and criticizes: They are concepts that have become meaningless to the folk, and their arguments that make the folk smile. Each time I take such a publication in my hand in order to perhaps nonetheless find a criticism that I could accept, I have the feeling after the lecture that it was really a waste of time: Today we truly have

better things to do than to lend our ear to these often downright hysterical cacklers. Nature has given us the nice gift of forgetting those who from foreign lands practice criticism against the land that they exploited and deceived, that they left, because their bad conscience drove them out.

Although we refuse discussion with that criticism, we are nonetheless open to the kind of objective criticism that corresponds to the essence of National Socialist thought, insofar as it is brought on the appropriate path. The path lies along the nerve lines of the party, the living joint between Führer and folk. Never should this criticism be shouted in the streets and markets into the ears of the unsuited to the joy of all enemies of the new Germany. Each person who publicly or at the beer table practices criticism should be conscious that he thereby abets the opponents of his folk and perhaps often repeats what agents provocateurs maliciously spread among the folk.

All the more so must genuine National Socialist leaders take care that justified criticism gets to where the possibility exists to achieve an improvement. I expect from the leaders of National Socialism that they walk through the sphere entrusted to them with open eyes and open ears and report upward whatever is worthy of criticism and can be changed by criticism, whereby they should not forget sober self-criticism.

All the more so will the person who has long had the honour to stand in the movement of the Führer be generous toward human characteristics and weaknesses among leaders of National Socialism, if they go hand in hand with great accomplishments. And he will - this distinctly differentiates him from the fault-finder - point out the great accomplishments along with the small weaknesses instead of the opposite, stressing the minor weaknesses in order to detract from the accomplishments.

We National Socialists are a big German family - each family also has misbehaved children.

Party comrades and folk comrades, I am far from a perfection point for all National Socialists. An organization with millions and only perfect leaders is unthinkable in this world. Naturally, that also means that criticism of the measures of many subordinate leaders can not only be justified, but also necessary. Nobody who brings justified criticism to the appropriate place, but who otherwise belongs to the movement and has performed his work for the movement, should be penalized in any form.

I know: in any mass organization it sometimes turns out a subordinate leader has round up in the wrong place - naturally, we will then intervene.

But I call to the party comrade who somewhere in Germany really suffers under

such a subordinate leader: Never forget what Germany has become due to National Socialism, What is the burden that a not entirely capable subordinate leader here or there means compared to the burden which the Germany of dishonour and of decline put on you.

With pride we see: One always remains spared from any criticism - that is the Führer. But that is because each feels and knows: He was always right, and he always will be right. In criticism-free loyalty, in the devotion to the Führer that does not ask about the why in individual cases, in the silent execution of his orders, lies anchored all of our National Socialism. We believe that the Führer follows a higher calling for the shaping of German fate! There is no criticism of this faith.

In the political sphere, it must be demanded from critics of great problems that they are in the position to actually suggest something better. Whoever cannot do that, should rather be silent, otherwise he must reckon with being viewed as in the ranks of those who criticize individual manifestations, which they exaggerate and falsify, in order to hide their anger at the great success of the National Socialist movement. That is, namely, the most common motive of the negators and critics: anger at our ability.

For each comrade we first want to always presume that he only wants the best for folk and fatherland, regardless whether or not he is a party comrade. Anybody who honestly wants to help with the construction is welcome to us. But we refuse the criticism of those who were once in positions where they should have been able to prove that they understood how to better solve the problems than we and who failed - who were unable to halt the decline. When we today proceed with the solution of these great problems, it does not come down to criticism, rather to cooperation.

If the NSDAP - although it does not view all the criticizing as especially tragic - has nonetheless decided to take up the fight against fault-finders and malcontents, then it conducts this fight according to National Socialist principle: If you strike, then strike hard! This principle has proven itself a thousandfold in the fourteen year period of oppositional struggle.

And precisely the foreign observer must recognize this fundamental attitude of the NSDAP - to pursue a goal with all means of combat and to utilize the whole strength of the movement for the next goal - if he wants to evaluate our fight against malcontents.

Foreign countries should not surrender themselves to the deceptive hope that the mood in Germany has somehow changed. Today exactly like in November 1933, the National Socialist movement could ask the German folk whether or not Germany stands by National Socialism. And our opponents would today experience at least the same disappointment as after the plebiscite back then, of which they believed they

could forecast a miserable result.

May furthermore the foreign states, who are our opponents, not surrender to any deception: Their hope that National Socialism could still be eliminated, is a dangerous hope, and the realization of their hope would be lethal for them.

A departure of National Socialism from the political stage of the German folk would not bring Germany under a new dependency on the wishes of the respective governments, rather at the end of this development would stand a European chaos.

Bolshevism would come to Germany in forms whose radicalism hardly anybody has previously thought about, and in a new kind of brutality. This brutality would be determined by the then arising lack of leadership of a great folk in a small territory and by the desperation of the hunger of a folk that is geared for a regulated industrial economy. Even the Bolshevik revolution in agrarian Russia would be no comparison for a German Bolshevism.

Let us remember that in Munich during the four weeks of Bolshevik dictatorship men and woman were butchered as hostages - butchered solely because they were held responsible for the distribution of anti-Semitic leaflets! And let us remember the incredible outrages and martyrdom, the mass murders that made the Jewish Soviet rule of Bela Kuhn the terror of the civilized world!

The result of a Bolshevism in Germany would an additional shock to the economic conditions in the world and hence connected to increased susceptibility of especially the industrial states for the chaotic Marxist pestilence of the earth.

Every politician should look at that, who plays with the idea of overcoming National Socialism in Germany! The critical condition of the United States, that also of certain European lands, in which the Bolshevik threat smoulders, should be sufficient warning.

In light of what would immediately fall over Germany like a natural catastrophe, if National Socialism were overthrown, only the eternally ancients can smile, who believe National Socialism could be replaced by a monarchy or the leadership of "proven conservative forces

That neither "proven conservatives" nor "hopeful monarchists" nor communists building on the successes of subversion could gain significance, should be guarded against by our present action against the fault-finders!

To special carefulness I wish to admonish those idealistic naive people along my party comrades, who often in memory of the heroism and the splendid comradeship of the period of

struggle tend to provocations, who try to agitate folk comrades against each other, and who cloak this criminal game with the honourable name of a "second revolution". (This speech was delivered five days before the events of June 30, 1934.)

We know that in long German history foreign powers have again and again fought Germans with Germans. It is a historical fact that the revolt of 1918 was primarily financed by power countries and promoted by their agents. What is more obvious than that the opponents of present Germany try to fight it with the same methods and under the name of a second revolution wish to instigate a revolt against the National Socialist revolution.

They overlook only one thing, that they today face a politically schooled folk. Just the reference to this danger suffices to make the folk immune against it - still more, in order to have it, in previously unknown solidarity, turn against the provocateurs and those whom they misuse as tools.

The genuine leaders of the movement will not tolerate the misuse of those who with passionate devotion cling to the idea of the revolution and who, due to their revolutionary enthusiasm, find the progress of the revolutionary goal not fast enough. Responsible, genuine National Socialists must prevent our folk and the real revolutionaries from suffering the most severe damage. For it must suffer damage, if lunatics with blinders indulge in revolutionary games: revolutions in states with highly complicated, modern economies, on which the life of folks depend, cannot be made according to models from the eighteen centuries or along the pattern of the annual revolutions of small, exotic republics.

Believe me, the Führer could have also carried out a bloody game in this sense without regard for practical reality - who would have wanted to stop him! But the Führer has here, too, as in the period of opposition, always allowed the deepest feeling of responsibility to guide all his action and hence prevent a catastrophe, which revolution players in their frivolity only see when they stand helpless before the ruins they caused themselves.

The Führer has made us, his old followers, ripe for constructive work, to at the right time convert our revolutionary desire into daily construction work - made us ripe for the quiet shaping of the state. What the Führer must and can demand from us old ones, he can also demand from ALL his party comrades; for precisely he knows how difficult it is to keep a passionate heart under control.

Once in the evolutionary period toward the National Socialist revolution there were also enough party comrades who thought they knew better than the Führer. All of them learned better one day. All of them had to recognize that the Führer is the instrument of a higher power, that he unconsciously or consciously took the right path.

And as it was, so it has remained to this day: Only he alone can complete what he started, only he alone can give us what we all yearn for.

Perhaps Adolf Hitler will one day consider it necessary to one day drive ahead the development with revolutionary means. But it must always be a revolution steered by him alone. We stand ready for his order - in trust that he will call his old revolutionaries, if it is necessary, and that he knows, WHEN it is necessary. We stand in unshakeable loyalty to him - regardless whether he calls after months or after years.

The command of the Führer to whom we swore loyalty alone has validity. Woe to him, who breaks this loyalty in the belief to be able to serve the revolution through a revolt! Pitiful are those who believe to be selected to have to revolutionarily help the Führer through agitational action from below. Adolf Hitler is a revolutionary in the greatest style and remains inwardly a revolutionary of the greatest style. He needs no crutches!

Adolf Hitler is the great strategist of the revolution. He knows the limits of what is achievable with the existing means and under the existing circumstances. He acts in accordance with ice cold calculation - often apparently just serving the moment but actually looking far ahead in the pursuit of the distant goals of the revolution.

Woe to him, who abruptly tramples among the fine threads of his strategic plans under the delusion of being able to do it faster! He is an enemy of the revolution - even if he acts in the best faith. Benefactors would only be the opponents of the revolution, be it under the sign of the reaction or under the sign of communism.

Nobody watches more over his revolution than the Führer. How should he do otherwise! Is the revolution not his own child, for whose sake he fought and strove, worried, for whose sake he risked his life, for whose sake he bore his fate behind bars. We who, in his closest proximity, fought and suffered with him and know his always constant intention, we also watch over the course of the revolution. We know what unprecedented things have been accomplished in so many areas in a time span in which we once thought it sheer impossible. But we also know just as well as the Führer himself, that so infinitely much is today still just patchwork, just bears within itself the seed of what is desired and must still have the spirit of National Socialism breathed into it.

I have made it my special duty, in the honourable office that the Führer has given me as his deputy in the leadership of the movement, - beyond the daily necessities and the compromises that hard reality forces on us at the moment - to always keep the revolutionary goals of National Socialism in large and in detail before my eyes. I stake my honour on that, even if I do not constantly speak of revolutionary spirit or act as if I had invented it alone. *Remaining a revolutionary at heart and living according to the principles of the National Socialist revolution, that is what matters!*

In all of our life expressions — that is the demand of us genuine revolutionaries - a new style, adapted to us and to our time, shows itself. We must not try to ape outdated views of a past era. Just as little should we view the new insanity of a hysteric as the product of the National Socialist period. National Socialist spirit has long been a concept, which naturally encompasses the right form within itself.

The one talks revolutionary - but the action of those who in silent work with meagre reward give visible expression to revolutionary National Socialist intention, is much greater. For example, whoever, planning and practically working, participates in the Autobahn emerging for centuries, performs more for the German revolution than the one who believes he must cover up his impotence through bloodthirsty talk.

The National Socialist revolution was not necessary for its own sake; it was necessary for the sake of the deeds which were born from it and will be born in the future!

National Socialism emerged at the front, from the front experience grew our world-view idea which today rules Germany. The blood of the comrades who fell for it has ennobled the movement of the front soldier Adolf Hitler; the faith in him is the faith in victory!

I greet the Führer as the leader of the front generation, the first soldier of the German revolution, the guardian of the Reich!

To the Foreign Germans

Address at the conference of the German foreign trade chambers on June 28, 1934 in Berlin

The Führer has assigned me to convey his greetings to you, my German folk comrades, and also to especially welcome the foreign guests among you here.

As most of you probably know, I am myself a foreign German. Even today ties of a personal nature bind me to foreign Germandom, so I can probably feel justified to say. I know the cares of my German folk comrades in foreign countries very well. I know the difficulty and embattled situation in which most of them find themselves out there; but I also know what great German task is placed on all of them. I see it as my duty to, here in the homeland, awaken understanding for foreign Germandom and its peculiarities, and to keep this understanding always awake, not only among the folk comrades, but especially also among the men entrusted in the leadership of party and state, insofar as this is necessary. For essentially, the Führer himself grew up in the struggles of Germandom beyond the border.

You know as I know, that it was a neglect by the former states that the blood bonds that connect Germandom in the homeland and Germandom in foreign countries were not *kept alive and fresh and used politically for a success felt* by both parts of Germandom. To make us catch up for this neglect and to enable a common work, I see as a special duty of the National Socialist state.

The new Germany needs and expects the cooperation, the psychological and material readiness for sacrifice of all its folk comrades in foreign countries. Their positive cooperation should be integrated into the great German folk community.

The Germans in foreign empires must live according to the folk laws of the host nations. It is not always easy to serve Germandom within the framework of those laws. It takes a special political discipline, a special education and a special tact to live in a way that promotes Germany and benefits Germany.

In part you yourselves, in part your ancestors were pioneers for German economy, for German technology and for German culture overall.

Today you are beyond that representatives of the National Socialist Reich in foreign countries. You are viewed as such everywhere in the world. From your action, your life conduct, from your good example foreign countries draw their conclusions about our state and the idea of our Führer. And hence you must also conduct the

defensive battle out there with a sense for your personal honour and for German honour. Always take care that not the slightest word, not the slightest wrong action may come to the help of the agitation against Germany. If, however, over there the tone of certain German newspapers is sometimes presented to you as proof of "German barbarism", you can calmly argue that the men you make these magazines and newspapers have learned their methodology from the organizers of the anti-German campaign of lies during the World War.

Be convinced, my folk comrades, we in the homeland know how difficult the struggle is which you must wage out there in the defence against the attacks against Germany. It is especially hard, because a new target has been added to foreign affairs and economics: Our world-view.

The rest of the world feels that a new world-view has been born, which shakes the fundamentals of the whole existence of our time.

The world feels that this world-view is so strongly rooted in our time, but at the same time is based on laws of nature of such general validity, that the danger of its spreading could well exist. Indeed, in many places movements related to National Socialism or fascism have already emerged. They emerged without the slightest action by Germany or by its National Socialist delegations in foreign countries, on the contrary, as you know, they have the strictest order to keep out of the internal affairs of their host states. All the more so, however, must Germany expect that the surrounding world also avoids any attempt to interfere in Germany's internal affairs or to exert an influence on the development in Germany.

We see such an attempt in the boycott of German products in foreign countries. This attempt stands in coarse violation of the once so loudly proclaimed principles of self-determination and of freedom of nations. For the boycott is intended to exert a pressure so that we regulate our domestic affairs in accordance with the will of foreign countries and against our own desire. Wide circles in foreign countries have more over recognized that a boycott is a two-edged weapon, and that the foreign Jews who enjoy their hospitality can inflict most severe damage of the economy of the host land.

We, National Socialist Germany, has the intention - and have again and again stressed it - of maintaining an active exchange of goods with other folks - not least of all, because this is a path toward mutual understanding and hence peace. We by no means strive for autarky for the sake of autarky. A continuation of the boycott, however, would force us to do everything in order make us as independent as possible from foreign countries. What else is possible for us, if foreign countries take from us the possibility to acquire the means to be able to purchase out there! And foreign countries should know this: If we really decide to make ourselves independent from foreign countries, then we do it with the determination that has always characterized Germany, when it feels the foundations

of its existence threatened!

That this determination under the leadership of an Adolf Hitler has not become any less, should also be known to the world. Just as little will one assume out there that the gift for invention of our scholars and the performance ability of our industry in the area of substitute material acquisition or even the production of artificial raw materials is any less today than once. The opposite is the case! And the world can be ready for surprises in this regard, if the boycott goes on longer. The German folk of today is also able - as long as until these new materials exist - to limit itself in the consumption of these or those foreign products.

In the long-run, the disadvantage for the German folk would be less than for a great number of foreign states, which are largely dependent on the export of raw materials to Germany. And I stress again: We wish for no worsening of the world economic crisis, and just as little for the misery or the hunger in the affected lands that could prepare the ground for Bolshevism.

But the German folk is even less willing to accept the boycott measures of foreign countries without defence or to have extorted from it the renunciation of arranging its own house as 95% of the German folk wishes and considers necessary.

How the German folk arranges its house or is about to arrange its house, you can see for yourself by being here. I will greatly welcome it, if you go out into the rest of the Reich as far as possible and convince yourselves that in all of Germany - regardless whether north or south, east or west - new life blossoms and the will for construction is at work in all strata of the folk.

You no longer see any unemployment. Quite the opposite: new work forces are at work everywhere. Look at the work service camps, which are exemplary for the whole world. Inspect the mighty work on the roads in the whole land or the land acquisition work on the coast. Speak yourself with the folk out there so that you see that a new spirit fills all Germans, that a transformation has taken place deep within our folk. And then go out in order to oppose the lies and defamation in foreign countries with the truth.

Tell the enemies and the friends of the new Germany - the one that he needs to have no malicious pleasure, the other that he needs to have to worry:

Difficulties are the stimulus for action - action is the father of success! Adolf Hitler and his fellow fighters have been schooled by fate in the long years before the rise to power, how one masters difficulties.

You can report out there: *Adolf Hitler 's Germany stands unshakeable!*

Memorial Address for Hindenburg

Broadcast over German radio after Hindenburg's death on July 8, 1934

Hindenburg is dead!

Hindenburg lives in his folk!

He lives on in our hearts as the symbol of glorious German history -

He lives on as the victor of Tannenberg -

He lives on as the General Field-Marshal of the World War-

He lives on as the father of a great folk!

The fighters for Germany's freedom lower the flags before the great German in mourning, reverence and gratitude:

Hindenburg called the Führer - Hindenburg thus introduced new German history.

Hindenburg's living legacy for Germany is the Führer.

Loyalty to Hindenburg - means loyalty to the Führer - means loyalty to Germany!

We stiffen ourselves for the new fight for our folk's future.

To the Front-Fighters of the World

Speech of Königsberg broadcast over radio on the occasion of the Provincial Party Day in East Prussia on July 8, 1934. This speech was understood as an appeal for reconciliation of the front-fighters of all nations. It had an exceptionally strong echo in the world and had an effect even years afterward.

In a few weeks comes the twentieth anniversary of the day that became the beginning of the great heroic struggle of the German soldier. Here in East Prussia is where the great soldier Hindenburg saved your land - the same soldier, who today is a guarantor of peace.

East Prussia is the region that of all German lands suffered the most in the war. East Prussia became acquainted with war in its most brutal reality. Destroyed villages long bore witness here of the Russian invasion. Many among you, my East Prussian comrades, will still remember the misery of these refugees, who in sad columns sought out the rearward homeland in order to protect themselves from the Cossacks.

Therefore, because you have known war on your own soil, I speak from East Prussia the words I have long yearned to speak to Germany and, above all, the rest of the world.

Our folk has the good fortune to be led primarily by front-fighters, by front-fighters who bring the virtues of the front to state leadership.

The men who perform the rebuilding of the Reich do so from the spirit of the front. For it was the spirit of the front that created National Socialism.

At the front, in view of the death threatening all, concepts like class arrogance and class consciousness collapsed. At the front grew, in shared joy and shared suffering, an unprecedented comradeship of folk comrade to folk comrade. At the front the community of fate that stood over each individual fate loomed huge before all eyes.

But something else also emerged in the front-fighters despite all bitterness and all the pitilessness of war: the feeling of a certain inner bond with the front-fighter over there beyond no-mans-land, who bore the same suffering, stood in the same mud and was threatened with the same death.

And this feeling of a bond has remained to this day.

Is it not so: When front-fighters - enemies in the past - meet, the same memories and the same opinions also meet. The subject of their conversation is the World War,

the hope behind their conversations is peace. And hence the front-fighters are called on to build the bridge of understanding and reconciliation from folk to folk, if the politicians do not find the path.

It is no coincidence that the states that are primarily led only by front-fighters, Germany and Italy, make the strongest effort to promote peace in the world. And it is no coincidence that at the meeting of the front-fighters Hitler and Mussolini a hearty, personal relationship quickly emerged.

With our Polish neighbour we have made a treaty serving peace, and there, too, a soldier - Marshal Pilsudski -, directs the politics.

Likewise, in France, too, the strongest resonance to Hitler's efforts to come to an agreement with the western neighbour, was found among the front-fighters of this land.

We front-fighters do not want an incapable diplomacy to again lead us into a catastrophe, whose main sufferers are the front-fighters. We soldiers on all sides feel ourselves free of the responsibility for the last war. We want to fight together to prevent a new catastrophe. We who destroyed each other in the war want to work together for peace.

It is high time that a real reconciliation between the folks finally be achieved. A reconciliation that rests on mutual respect, because it alone can be lasting - on a respect such as distinguishes former front-fighters among themselves.

For one should not doubt: most of the great states have massed more war material than ever. War material, however, that runs the risk of obsolescence, and folks who have not come to rest since the World War and face each other with extreme distrust, are a terrible fuel. A minor incident such once in 1914 the unfortunate shot in Sarajevo - perhaps from the pistol of a fool - can suffice to, against the will of the involved, hurl armies of millions against each other. It can suffice to cause whole stretches of land to be ploughed up by tens of thousands of rounds of every calibre and range, suffocating all life in gas clouds.

Whoever participated in the World War has an idea what today a modern war with its perfected weapons would mean.

And I turn to the comrades of the fronts of the World War here and over there:

Be honest! Certainly, we once stood out there with the proud feeling of being real men - soldiers, warriors, released from the routine of previous life. Perhaps we at times felt joy from an existence that stood in sharp contrast to the softness that modern culture and excess culture brings with it. We felt ourselves to be more worthy men

than the ones far from the front who had nothing to do with the fate of the fronts. We felt ourselves to be the defenders of the life of our nation, as the carriers of its future. Often we also enjoyed happy and gay hours; we tried to doubly live each minute of life given us. None of us wishes to miss the time at the front from our memory.

But be honest! We have felt the horror of death. We have seen death more terrible and concentrated than probably any men before us. We have huddled in dugouts and crouched in anticipation of the crushing impact. In horror we held our breath when our trained ear heard the shells hissing toward us, when the mines plunged down at us. Our hearts almost burst when we looked in vain for cover from the whipping machine-gun bursts. We thought we would suffocate in our gas-masks in the middle of gas clouds. We stumbled through water-filled trenches. We stood watch through freezing nights in the mud of shell craters. We endured for days and weeks the horror of large battles. We froze and starved and were often close to desperation. The screams of the wounded rang in our ears; we saw men suffocating in gas convulse. We encountered dazed blinded men and heard the death rattle of the dying. Amid the corpse mounds of our comrades our last hope for life disappeared. We saw the misery of the refugees behind us. We saw the widows and orphans, the cripples and the suffering; the sickly children and the starving women back home.

Be honest! Did not each one of us sometimes ask: Why all of this? Must it be so? Can humanity not be spared that in the future?

But we held out - here and other there! We held out as men of duty, of discipline, of loyalty, as men who despise cowardice.

But today I take up the question of back then and shout it as an indictment into the world - as front-fighter to front-fighters, as leader of a folk to the leaders of other folks: Must it be so? Can we not, with mutual good will, spare humanity this?

Perhaps one asks me: Why do you raise your voice just today? Why were you silent in the previous years?

I want to give an answer: Because my voice would have been mixed in Germany with the voices of traitors against their own folk - with the voices of those who besmirched the front-fighters and praised the slacker - with the voices of those who surrendered the honour of my folk - with the voices of those who on the German side have the Versailles Treaty on their conscience. I did not wish to share their company.

Today I may speak, because a man of my folk has re-established the honour of this folk before the world. Today I may speak, because this man has silenced the traitors against this folk. Today I may speak, because the world knows that a National Socialist fighter is no coward. Today I may speak, because one of the most courageous,

Adolf Hitler, protects me from being misunderstood and equated with cowards.

Today I must speak, because I thereby support the man who tries to save the world at the last moment from the catastrophe. Today I raise my voice, because I want to simultaneously warn the world against confusing the Germany of today, the Germany of peace, with the Germany of the past, the Germany of pacifism!

For one must know this: Although the terrors of the war stand a thousand-fold before the eyes of us front-fighters, although the young postwar generation wants war as little as we oldsters - our land is not open for a "stroll". As the French folk in the great war defended every inch of ground with all its might and would defend it again any day anew - precisely so would we Germans do it. Especially the French front soldier will understand us, we shout to those who still play with the idea of war - which must naturally be waged at the front by others than the agitators -: One should just dare to attack us! One should dare to march into the new Germany! Then the world will become acquainted with the spirit of the new Germany! It would fight for its freedom as hardly any folk has done!

The French folk knows how one defends one's own soil. Every patch of woods, every hill, every farmyard would have to be conquered with blood! Old and young would dig into the soil of the homeland! With a fanaticism without equal, it would defend itself!

And even if the superiority of modern weapons triumphed, the path through the Reich would be a path of horrible sacrifices for the invader; for never before was a folk so filled with its own right and thus with the duty to defend itself to the last against attacks as our folk is today.

But we do not believe what the well-poisoners of the world want to suggest to us, that any folk wants to again disturb Germany's peace and thus Europe's peace.

We especially do not believe it of the French folk. For we know that this folk has a yearning for peace. We front-fighters remember that France' population behind the lines of the World War always called the war a misfortune for itself and for the whole world: "Malheur pour nos - mal- heur pous vous - malheur pour tout le monde!"

With genuine sympathy one in Germany - especially among Germany's front-fighters - has heard the voices of French front-fighter organizations which demand an honest reconciliation with Germany. This demand doubtlessly springs from the knowledge of the real face of war as well as the respect that France's front-fighters, out of their soldierly feeling, have for the accomplishments of German front-fighters.

France's soldiers know how bravely the Germans fought four and a half years against a mighty superior force. Just as the German front-fighter can never deny to the

French front-fighter his recognition for his courage. This courage finds its expression in the fact that France's army paid the highest price in blood on the Allied side.

The front-fighters want peace.

The folks want peace.

Germany's government wants peace.

And if from time to time words of influential representatives of the French government reach our ears that hardly correspond to the spirit of reconciliation, we do not give up the hope that despite everything France's government also wants peace. If the French folk doubtlessly wants peace, we have the conviction that beyond that even France's government wants no war with Germany. And if influential French representatives do not speak the language of the French folk and its front-fighters, their talk should not be deemed a reflection of the thinking of France's leadership. A Frenchman who knows the folk and politics of his land very well told me: "Have pity with us! We are still governed by parliamentarism." He meant by this that statesmen are often forced to say not what they think, rather what parliamentary majorities wish to hear. Parliamentary majorities, however, as we know, are not the representatives of the views of the folk, rather much more special interest representatives of forces often standing outside the folk.

History will certainly bestow more laurels on the men who in such difficult times bring reconciliation to the folks and hence save culture, than on the men who believe they can win victories through political and military attacks, yes, even if they win real victories.

The folks themselves, for whom they secure peace, will thank them for it, for unemployment with its social misery is above all due to insufficient trade between states, which is always hampered by lack of trust.

There is no doubt that the reconciliation between Germany and France would benefit not only these states in their entirety, rather also each individual within both folks. Spoken concretely that means each Frenchman and each German would eventually receive higher income or higher wages.

Just as little as the war and the continuation of the war by other means under the name "peace" helped the culture and the welfare of the folks, so much must a genuine peace bring advantages for all.

Genuine peace and real trust between folks enable reduction of their armaments, which today claim a large portion of the income of the folks and hence of the individual

folk comrade.

Again and again, Adolf Hitler has stressed that Germany simply wishes for equal rights in all areas, including those of armament. After achievement of such an agreement between Germany and its neighbours, Germany can more easily satisfy itself with the minimum of armaments that are necessary to guarantee its security and thus peace.

A defenceless land poses a threat to peace. Its defencelessness all too easily invites risk free "strolls" by foreign armies. The lack of weapons of a single folk in the middle of heavily armed folks can be an inducement for ambitious governments to distract their own folk through the foreign political adventure of a war.

Precisely the old soldiers among you, my party comrades, will as former soldiers be able to testify that the old front-fighters - to whom I may count myself with pride - wish for peace out of innermost conviction.

The world especially knows that the front-fighter Adolf Hitler presents his real thoughts to it with surprising openness. *The front-fighters in Germany's government honestly want peace and agreement. I appeal to the front-fighters in other states - as well as to the well-meaning people in the governments of these states - to support us in this goal.*

I direct this appeal from holy East Prussian soil to the front-fighters of the world. Here in this German border province once began the great world struggle with its terrible sacrifices - with its sacrifices from which today the combatant nations have not recovered. May the historical battleground from which I here speak heighten the effectiveness of the serious call for peace. On Germany's eastern border, agreeable pacts guarantee the folks of great neighbouring states. May the governments of the folks on the other borders of our Reich also soon see a greater security for their folk comrades in peaceful treaties of understanding, instead of in massed war material - that is our hope. In memory of her dead, of whom many fell in the east, the will for peace will always be strong and powerful in Germany.

The old soldiers of the front and the young fighters for a free, proud and peaceful Reich greet the front-fighter and the Führer Adolf Hitler.

The Election of Adolf Hitler to Führer

Speech after Hindenburg's Death, held on August 14, 1934 in Kiel.

National Socialists! German folk comrades!

Hardly has a speech ever been so difficult for me as this one. For it is difficult to be supposed to justify something that is in itself so self-evident as Adolf Hitler's succession to Hindenburg. When somebody has, like I, for fourteen years harboured the conviction: Nobody other than this man will one day master Germany's fate, and if this conviction becomes more firm each year, and if beyond the original feeling proof has been found in a sheer endless sequence of evidence for Adolf Hitler's superior leadership - then it is difficult to today, after the practical fulfilment of the fourteen year demand, to sit down and collect the individual reasons that are supposed to justify that Adolf Hitler is now the supreme and sole Führer of the German folk.

I had the good fortune - be it coincidence or calling - to one day in the summer of 1920 enter a small room in the Sterneckerbräu in Munich, in which a man previously totally unknown to me, a certain Adolf Hitler, held a lecture to a dozen people. A lecture that so clearly and logically convincingly developed a new political program. This man expressed what had floated before my own eyes, in feeling, after the return from the war, as the prerequisite for the salvation of the nation. He outlined a new Germany as it was according to the heart of the front soldier - a Germany of which I suddenly knew: that it how it must be!

This man combined with his inspirational passion a convincing logic and an amazing technical knowledge. An unprecedented faith flowed from him - I had never before experienced anything like it. It was especially strange that I and the other listeners with healthy human reason did not loudly laugh out, when he with his following of a few men said in all seriousness as if in a vision that the day would come when the flag of the new movement, for whose victory he fought, would fly over the Reichstag, over the Berliner Schloss, yes, over every German house as the triumphant symbol of a new, honourable, nationalist and socialist Germany.

At that moment - back then in the Stemeckerbräu - there were only two possibilities: Either to immediately leave this "fool" or instead - as I did - to share their conviction: this man or nobody rescues Germany!

I expressed the conviction to a friend with these same words and was from this evening on the most ardent admirer and most devote follower of this Führer.

Although back then and for years afterward the rest of the world laughed and

mocked, and although the newspapers poured their poison and their scorn over this "lunatic" - nothing could in the future shake my faith and my readiness to sacrifice everything for this man, nor did the man himself ever error in himself and his mission.

I remember as if it were today how Hitler, when shortly after the first meeting I visited him in his small room, which he sublet in Munich - he was in a sheer rage over a Munich newspaper that had tried to make him and his idea look ridiculous - threw down the newspaper and hurled the words at me: "I will prove to them yet, whether or not I am to be taken seriously!"

But indeed, back then and for a long time afterward they did not take him seriously - his opponents. Fortunately! For that was probably the worst mistake of Hitler's enemies, that they did not realize the danger early enough that he represented for them. They wasted the time in which it would have still been possible to neutralize him and his back then still so tiny following - to trample the weak little plant from which later grew the knotty tree that defied every storm.

But like so many other things in the Führer's life, it was probably predetermined by fate that his surroundings were blind enough to long try to combat him solely with the weapon of making ridiculous and thus lost precious time. Providence, of which the Führer so often piously speaks, has protected him and his movement from destruction and preserved both for its purposes.

I knew this Adolf Hitler when he still walked along Munich's streets at night in a worn field-grey overcoat, often with a hungry stomach, accompanied by a few loyal men, in order to paste up stickers: armed with a thick oak cane, with which he only all too often fought it out in the original manner with opponents, with sympathizers of the USPD, back then and the Spartacus, but often also with whatever bourgeois party, because they did not like the posting of these stickers with primitive truths.

I still remember how he, at the front of his "entire party", which gathered in a small inn, dispersed rallies of Bavarian separatists, whereby he always exposed himself to the most dangers. The most amazing thing, however, was that this man, despite all the minor routine and "detail work", never lost the main line, rather as the superior Führer again and again showed his following the future image he sought.

I saw the man in the later years of ups and downs of his movement. In the moments of gravest setbacks, when his following was near desperation - it was always he who cheered up the downcast, filled them with new fire, gave them new faith. I was together with him in the Landsberg fortress when everything appeared utterly finished, when his movement collapsed in feuding between the lower leaders - when the danger existed that he who could alone rescue it might have to remain behind bars another four to five years, if parole was denied! Back then, like always, he proved

himself a master of adaptability to new situations, in the radical break with paths that he had recognized to be outdated or impassable.

With the certainty of a great leader, he forecast right in the middle of the apparently final collapse of his work that he needed a few years to build up the movement again and that in seven years he would represent the power in Germany that was necessary in order to force his will on the domestic opponents. This was at the turn of 1924/1925. Seven years later it was 1932!

It was the year in which the forces of the past era sought in vain to stop the final victory of National Socialism; it was the year in which all the weapons against Hitler and his movement proved ineffective, yes, all the attacks with the weapon of shameless lies and defamations in the end again and again turned to his advantage.

More than once the Führer said back then: "The others can do what they want: if an idea is right in itself if it is systematically followed, if the movement that fights for it is built constructively logically, if the leadership stubbornly pursues the goal despite all setbacks, then with mathematical certainty victory must one day fall to it! Yes, the longer the opponents try to delay our victory, the mightier it must one day be! The overripe fruit falls into the movement's lap so-to-speak! "

These words from the decisive year 1932 contain the explanation for the, especially in foreign countries, unexplainable suddenness and totality of the rise to power by National Socialism in the year 1933.

Looking back, I am convinced that even the delay of victory - the for us seemingly so long time for the achievement of power - was a necessity of fate. Necessity of fate, as in the Führer's life the once so early death of the parents, which made him acquainted with real need in his early years. The need that compelled him to become a construction worker simultaneously taught him understanding for his fellow men and let him taste the fate of the "proletarian". The struggle for daily bread and for the most primitive cultural means of education in that period have forever left behind in the Führer the strong feeling of bond with his manual-labourer folk comrades.

Necessity of fate were also the years on the front of the World War, because they taught him to defy dangers, because they hardened him, because they brought him together with all strata of the German folk and made him realize how invalid class bias and social status are - because they finally taught him to feel with the folk and to speak the language of the folk.

Necessity of fate for Adolf Hitler was also the revolt of 1918, because despite the criminal leadership it cleared away much from an outdated time which would have later caused difficulties for the National Socialist revolution. At the same time, the

revolt of 1918 was accompanied by symptoms of decay; at the same time the international forces and their annihilating effects in the German folk revealed themselves so nakedly that the psychological prerequisites were created in order to enable the severe health measures of the later National Socialist regiment.

The attempt to seize power in November 1923 was also a necessity of fate as well as the collapse of this attempt: had the Führer not acted back then, the masses of his followers - as he again and again admonished for patience and the coming-to-power was delayed more and more - would have lost faith that he was really a leader. Only the seriousness, documented in blood, of his action of November 1923 produced the proof that he, if necessary, is capable of the last, final decision and thus not cowardice caused him in the years before 1933 to reject use of force. And National Socialism could not have come to power already in 1923, because back then neither the folk was ripe for National Socialism nor was the National Socialist leadership ripe for leadership of the folk. What in 1933 was self-evident to everybody in Germany, would have had to appear presumptuous in 1923. The followers of the parties of back then had not yet sufficiently recognized the incompetence of their leaders.

By the width of a hair, fate prevented the Führer from entering the government already in 1932; with him men would have come to power who were inwardly his enemies and later as members of the government would have been able to inflict severe damage.

And was it not an administering Providence that allowed the ancient Field Marshal and Reich President to lend his name and protecting hand to the young National Socialist movement so long that Adolf Hitler's leadership was finally proven at home and abroad and his name had acquired the reputation that was necessary in order to take over the full leadership of the Reich?

Certainly, Providence has been at work in Adolf Hitler's life. Only so it is comprehensible that this man from the house of a minor official, through hunger and deprivation, without any help, yes, in a struggle against a world full of powerful opponents, against the power of the press, against the power of capital, against the mighty parties at home, against the international forces abroad, rose to become the Führer of one of the major folks of the earth, to Chancellor of the German Reich, to holder of the office of the Reich President. A miracle has happened the likes of which we hardly find in history. *In the greatest need a folk produces a man -whom it needs for salvation. A historical experience, whose laws are un-researched, here finds its confirmation.*

So great the need of our folk, so great is the man who had to come in order to master it.

Providence gave him the talents and energies to turn the favourable and unfavourable circumstances he found and which developed over the course of time for the achievement of his

goal: Germany 's salvation!

Providence acted through him, inscrutable yet visible to all who have the good fortune to follow him in his working in the closest proximity. How often did he say to me: "I know this decision of mine is right; at the moment I cannot say why, but I feel it is right, and developments will prove the correctness." With unerring sureness, it was also shown later that this inexplicable feeling of the Führer had guided him correctly.

A great historian - Treitschke - considers the ability to see things correctly to be the decisive thing for statesmen and to be more important than talent. Hardly has a leader, however, ever had this ability more so than the Führer - we find the proof in his speeches since 1920. Seldom have political conditions and future developments been more correctly seen and foreseen, and beyond that the consequences clearly drawn, thanks to the ability to break down the most difficult and complicated things and questions into great and simple basic lines, and to trace them back to the clear origin.

It is the "simple reason" of the genius, which always sees the essential and obvious.

The ability to see correctly, which the historian considers so essential, yes, for more essential than talent, is joined in the Führer not only with talent, rather with genius. The ability for correct insights, joined with genius, and both joined with the working of Providence, gives us the explanation for the miracle that has taken place before our eyes in the last years, especially since Hitler's taking office.

For is the change that took place in our folk not a miracle! This finding back to itself, to the wellsprings of its strength, this reawakening of its pride and its feeling of honour, of the will to assert itself in the world, this making free from all international poisons, from the manifestations of decay in all spheres of its life! It is not a miracle that a Adolf Hitler managed to, in such short time, win such a massive victory in the employment battle, to harness the dormant energies - to harness them for values of daily need as well as for great cultural goods, which will one day bear witness to coming generations of the Hitler period in the form of the Autobahn, in the form of canals and monumental buildings. Is it not a miracle, if a nation that was divided into bitterly feuding classes and strata, in selfish provincialism, in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and whatever else - now works together in mutual understanding for the great, common tasks and for the preservation of folk and nation?

As I said at the beginning, I do not know how I am supposed to justify that Hitler and only Hitler can be the Führer. Who would want to name another, who would be more worthy and capable to hold the office of the Reich President, of the supreme head of the affairs of the Reich?

Perhaps one could object that it is not good to concentrate all power in one land. He should be told that once even the Romans in troubled times for their folk gave all power to a young and energetic man - and the Romans knew how to lead states! They knew that "men make history". They knew that in times of crisis personalities must stand at the helm, personalities who are bound to the living being of their folk.

Perhaps one could object that it is not good to concentrate all power in one hand: after all, even an Adolf Hitler could run the risk of practicing arbitrariness and disregard in his sole rule!

To him I can only respond: *A greater protection than parliamentary control organs against the misuse of the power of an office is the conscience of a moral personality. And I know from knowledge of the man Adolf Hitler that nobody can feel more responsible to his conscience and on the strength of his conscience to his folk than he.*

I have seen it through years how he struggled with weighty decisions, postponed the decision, in order to again and again question co-workers and experts in the field, until he was certain of having reliable information for his decisions. I know how many sleepless nights the decision alone cost him to declare Germany's resignation from the League of Nations - I know how he, here, too, again and again had the objections presented to him by all who had objections. I know how he did not rest until he had dis-proven all the objections with his clear logic. Only then did he make the final decision and simultaneously take the sole responsibility.

His conscience, the responsibility to his folk and to history, are the Führer's final and highest court.

The correctness of his action along the whole line, however, he checks in that he from time to time turns to the folk itself. It will always confirm his leadership anew.

He knows that his honour and his work are at stake. He cannot hide his responsibility behind the resolutions of irresponsible parliamentary majorities like the statesmen of almost all other folks. On the other hand, his action also is not hindered, necessary decisions are not delayed or watered down by parliamentary delegations or any other division of power. He can, where necessary, intervene with lightning speed and take action. This above all is the reason why in emergency times for states and folks, the unlimited leader - insofar as he possesses the ability for real leadership - can be a necessity for the preservation of the life of state and folk.

Treitschke calls sole rule the best or the worst form of government, according to the personality of the sole ruler. We know that Adolf Hitler is born to be Führer and called on to be Führer, since a moral personality has been revealed in him through his own working. He, as sole ruler, hence gives the German folk the best form of government, and our folk in

its need needs - heaven knows - finally the best form of government!

A leader who only wants to serve his folk is also a better guarantor in terms of the great fateful question of the folk in foreign affairs and in terms of knowledge how to preserve peace than parliamentary majorities, who due to lack of decisiveness at the decisive moment cause their folks to stumble into misfortune, as they according to the words of Lloyd George caused the folks to stumble into the World War. Adolf Hitler has achieved a decisive effect for the peace of European nations not only through speeches, rather through the speed and decisiveness of his statesman's decisions, precisely in the critical last weeks. Although states hostile to us may not want to believe this today, a later writing of history will confirm it.

German folk comrades! Clearly consider the foreign political significance of the plebiscite of August 19 and make it - each in his own circle - clear to your family members, your work comrades, your relatives, indeed to everybody you meet. Remember that the whole world tensely awaits to see whether a unified German folk supports its Führer.

Hundreds of thousands of newspaper reports wait to be able to report to their readers the alleged collapse of National Socialism - to be able to report, if on August 19 even a slightly smaller number of Germans go to vote than on November 12. They hope for the collapse of National Socialism, because they know that this would mean Germany's collapse.

The German folk documents with its vote of loyalty on August 19 to foreign countries: We Germans see in Adolf Hitler the Führer given us by Providence. We Germans affirm what he has done so far domestically and externally and trust his decisions for the future. Germany sees in Adolf Hitler Hindenburg's proper successor, and it is now the whole German folk which gives Adolf Hitler the honorary name that the National Socialist movement has long since given him: the Führer!

The word is much more than a title, it is an affirmation and a certainty: My Führer!

And the German folk further says to foreign countries: Adolf Hitler should be and remain our Führer, because his politics are the politics of the whole German folk. His rule guarantees the stability of power relationships inside Germany. In his name and through his movement Germany's union into a solid Reich has taken place. Because we want to remain a unified and single German Reich, we want to see Adolf Hitler at the head of this Reich. Because we know that under his leadership power struggles of individual personalities or individual interest groups are inconceivable and impossible, we want to see him as Germany's representative at Germany's head.

Through him Providence fulfils its will: to save Germany from the hunger and misery of Bolshevism. And we firmly believe that Europe's rescue from the threat of red annihilation was bound to Germany's rescue from Bolshevism. We Germans consider it our duty to thank Providence through the confirmation of this man as Germany's Führer.

And the German folk further says to foreign countries on August 19: We want what was started in his name to be continued in Hitler's name: combatting unemployment, the satisfaction of conscience, the moral rejuvenation of German youth, the strengthening of the concept of the honour of being a German. We Germans show that Hitler wants what we all want: economic equality with the other folks of the world, who have the same need for political and military peace with the folks of the world, so that prosperity and culture finally bless the folks again after decades of decline and destruction.

We say to our Führer on August 19: We are sworn to you in an indivisible, great unity in the struggle for Germany's future. With you we yearn for the preservation of peace and are ready for action at your order in order to defend our folk's peace.

We are happy and proud to see during our lifetime a great man in history as son of our folk. He already leads us today. The yes, with which we affirm his leadership to the world, is at the same time our thanks to him.

German workers! Especially to you I wish to call out: Be proud that it is a man of the German working people to whom who are supposed to affirm Germany's leadership on August 19; be proud that it is one of you to whom you can symbolically shout on August 19: We want to see you in the position of German Reich Chancellor and of German Reich President, Adolf Hitler, a German worker! There, where far visible in history, as leader of the German folk, stood kings, kaisers and presidents, stands in accordance with our will, in accordance with the will of the German folk, for the first time an exemplary German worker. A worker who knows how hard his fate comrades of once must still struggle for their meagre daily bread, and whose thinking and striving are above all aimed at improving their lot as quickly as possible.

My German folk comrades! You will give Adolf Hitler your "yes" vote! And if one asks you, why you vote for him, you can answer:

We elected Adolf Hitler:

Because he is the man in whom the front experience developed a world-view that is the foundation for all new German history.

Because strength and courage mark him as the good example in the fifteen year

struggle against a hostile world.

Because at the decisive moment he always acts, putting himself at risk, and hence shows that he is a heroic leader personality.

Because through his deeds and through his life he has proven that he is the embodiment of everything good in German man.

Because he does nothing for himself, rather everything for Germany and everything for the future of his folk.

Because he had given all of us a new faith in Germany.

Because he has given meaning to our life again, in that he has taught us to realize why we Germans are on earth.

Because he is the fulfiller of the will of a higher power.

In short: because he is a real *leader!*

With all of our "yes" votes we Germans will say on August 19:

"To you, Führer, we swear allegiance - Adolf Hitler, we believe in you!"

Rally of the German Leadership

Address of January 3, 1935 in the Berlin State Opera House

The coming Saar plebiscite was used by certain circles of foreigners as an occasion for a slanderous press agitation in order to, with its help, achieve influence over the vote result. They especially spread lies about division within the German leadership. To disprove them, the leadership of the German folk assembled on January 3, 1935 in the Berlin State Opera House for a rally of unity and loyalty to the Führer.

The heads of the party and of the state are assembled in order to in public express their in itself self-evident devotion to you, my Führer - contrary to the lies and rumours spread in foreign lands, which are supposed to, above all, influence the Saar plebiscite.

As the supreme commander of the armed forces, the gratitude and the wishes of the here assembled armed forces was already conveyed to you at the start of the new year. To you as the Führer of the National Socialist movement, I bring you the deeply felt gratitude of your old political fighting troop, the NSDAP, and the enthusiastic wishes of your old political fellow fighters.

May your work energy in the coming year as well work with old the energy for the blessing of young Germany.

Around you, my Führer, are assembled the men, who according to your desire are allowed to help build up the new Germany. Especially the men who, in the movement created by you, won the foundations for this new Germany - men, forged together in long years of hard and difficult struggle for power, bound in infinite loyalty and respect to you, who long before the rise to power had become for us the very essence of the concept of Führer. Full of emotion we see Germany's transformation in the two years of the chancellorship. Who stand by you with the inner bound, which is produced by jointly endured suffering, jointly experienced joy and jointly won successes - and who give you the certainty that your leaders, in unshakeable loyalty in the coming time as well, will make your orders become deeds, for you and your work, which means for the new Germany of honour and greatness.

To your old followers step as just as firm pillars of the state the leaders of the armed forces. The community of our work for Germany and of our love for Germany - once already jointly proven at the front of the World War - unites us all in mutual trust and in loyal fighting solidarity.

And together the heads of the party and of the state - your paladins, your generals and admirals, your ministers - greet you as Germany's Führer with gratitude and admiration.

To the Saarlanders



Speech for the opening of the state ceremony for the official annexation of the Saar region delivered on March 1, 1935 in Saarbrücken

German folk comrades of the Saar!

The German folk today celebrates one of the most beautiful holidays in his history. All of German today unanimously celebrates, thankful and proud, the return of the Saar to the German motherland. The return on the basis of the impressive affirmation of January 13, 1935 documented before the whole world: *the Saar is German - the Saar remains German!*

I am happy to be allowed to celebrate the peaceful German victory here in the Saar region.

I am proud to be able to again relate Germany's thanks to you Saarlanders for the fifteen-year long struggle for your being German, to relate the thanks for the historically exemplarily bearing in which you have carried your burden for the past decade and a half - carried it for your narrower homeland and for all of our homeland, for Germany!

What a transformation since I last saw this land and this city! What a desperate mood back then in the first November days of 1918, in those blackest days of German history!

Folk comrade stood against folk comrade, one news report of shame and dishonour followed the other. Armistice conditions were made know to the world and accepted by Germany's representatives such as were never before expected from a nation: all weapons, guns, planes, a fleet, were surrendered, German land turned over to foreigners. A few hours before the French entered the Saar, I left this city in a one-seater plane from the airport of St. Arnual. Deeply mournful in heart and close to desperation over the misfortune and shame of my land.

I did not suspect the incredible joy within me on the day when I would for the first time again see this German land and this city here.

Today is that day!

You were torn from us in times of Germany's deepest shame! You were torn from us, because the German folk back then seemed to give up on itself. You were torn from us, because Germany renounced being a power, and other folks and their leaders believed they could treat this back then powerless land as they pleased. You were torn from us in violation of the most elemental right of self-determination - of a "self-determination of folks" which was spoken of as a phrase so much back then.

You return to us in a time when Germany has again regained its honour. You return, because the German folk has found itself again. You return, because Germany has again risen to be a power and is respected by the rest of the world!

You return due to the strength of your own desire through an affirmation of Germany that cannot be imaged any more impressive.

Fate wanted it that you return to a homeland which is worthy of you - worthy of your bearing in the fifteen years of suffering that lie behind you, worthy of your love for this homeland, which you have shown to the world in the days of decision.

This homeland lost honour, it surrendered land and property and people, because it lacked the leaders it required in the most difficult days. It found honour

again and it created the prerequisites for a new blossoming again, because a leader came, who truly knew how to lead. This man, who is today Germany, you have affirmed in that you gave your vote to our great, common homeland.

What I said before January 13, I can repeat today: *It is good that the plebiscite took place, for it shows the world how poorly it was informed about a great political problem.*

What had not been written before the plebiscite, yes, during the whole fifteen years, all the lies about the Saar region! And how swiftly has the truth come to light when the folk was asked about the truth! Just as the Treaty of Versailles was built on false premises about the Saar, so is it in other areas as well. And as the world one day learned the truth about the Saar, so will it over the course of time learn the rest of the truth as well.

Not long ago it was claimed the Saar wanted to return to Germany, but not Adolf Hitler's Germany. And we are thus thankful to those you, aside from the question whether the Saar wanted to belong to Germany or France, also tossed up the question in the plebiscite whether the Saar wanted to initially keep the status quo and make a new decision about its fate at a later time point. *For the status quo could be chosen by whomever did not want to belong to France, but also not to the present Germany, and only wanted to vote for Germany, if the National Socialists - as he hoped - had disappeared. And what was the result - despite the possibility of a vote neither for France nor for the new Germany: over 90% have affirmed Adolf Hitler's Germany!*

The world has comprehended the historical significance of this plebiscite - the historical significance not only for Germany, rather also precisely for National Socialism! The world in part remained silent in concern - and in part it could not help but to bow in recognition to the incontestable facts. *For even the last recourse has been taken from it: The recourse, as used with the plebiscites in the rest of the Reich, of claiming "Nazi terror" forced the plebiscite results - yes, falsified them. For this plebiscite took place under the supervision of the world itself, under the supervision of foreign commissars and in the power sphere of foreign troops.*

Or does anybody believe that the foreign troops had been here in order to influence the plebiscite in favour of the National Socialists? No! Quite the contrary, they enabled endless agitation by the enemies of National Socialism and protected the work of the pro status quo propagandists. Rather of Nazi terror, we can speak of a terror by the others, the terror of the status quo men. And nonetheless, the Germans of the Saar, with the same overwhelming majority as in the rest of the Reich, have affirmed Adolf Hitler's Germany.

My folk comrades! It is good that the other side did not accept the Führer's generous and noble offer to carry out the natural return of the Saar to Germany

without plebiscite through a brief act of state. Otherwise the world would not have seen - in such a clear and impressive manner - the real will of the Saar populace and the incontestable fact that the Germans wanted to be National Socialist ruled.

The Führer made his offer due to the desire to try everything which would serve calm and peace in Europe. He wanted to avoid a plebiscite which, according to its nature, would for a while cause unrest and conflict between the involved folks. Since the plebiscite nonetheless had to take place, Germany at least did everything possible to avoid any new mood of hate - did everything not to flame the passions. How easy it would have been and how easy it still is today, simply through a reminder of the suffering and oppression of the Saarlanders in the previous fifteen years, to whip up feelings!

Adolf Hitler and his own men do not think of preaching hatred. But the Saarlanders can also be sure of one thing, that it will never be forgotten, what they have suffered for their Germany.

Through Adolf Hitler's politics that terrible statement, that the Saar is Europe's powder keg, has been turned into the opposite: In that German will became decisive here, in that right prevailed and a folk experienced justice, this powder keg of Europe has become a concept which is directly and inwardly connected to Europe's pacification.

The Saar plebiscite has become of greater significance for peace than could have foreseen by all sides - not only, because the clarity of the plebiscite result leaves no doubt and thus the fate of the Saar had to be decided so swiftly, rather also because through it - this cannot be stressed often enough - the fact previously again and again contested by foreign countries became clear, that the Germans voluntarily and out of conviction are National Socialists and the National Socialist regime stands unshakeable, come what may!

Since the Saar plebiscite the world has no choice than to accept this fact, to deal with it and to draw the practical consequences.

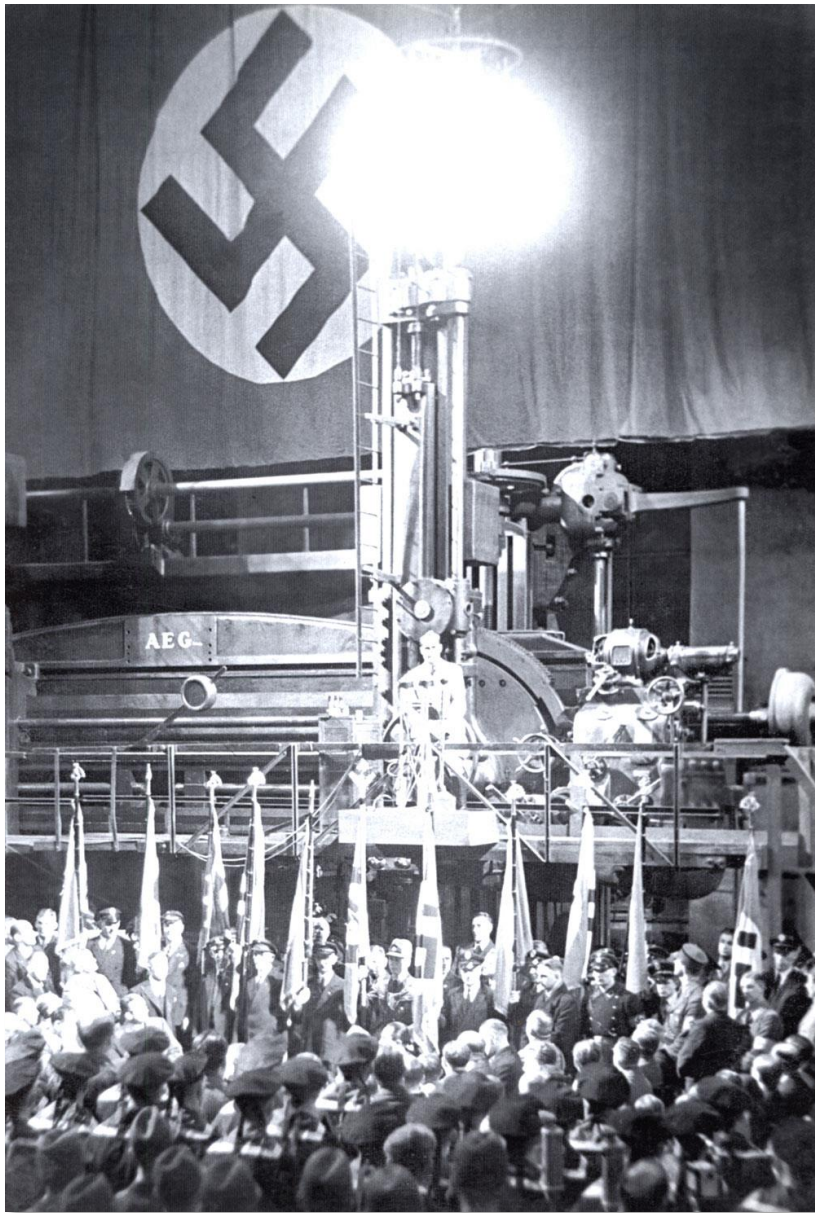
The practical consequences are, however: to find ways in order to establish a relationship of trusting cooperation with this great folk in central Europe, which this folk and its leader desire in the interest of peace. The Führer has shown the other great nations paths toward this goal, and it appears that since the Saar plebiscite their readiness to take such paths has increased, in order to through common effort achieve Europe's pacification. This contribution to general calm, this promotion of the will for reconciliation between folks, that is the great gift which you Saarlanders, through your plebiscite, have made to Germany and a tormented humanity.

My folk comrades! For fifteen years the Saar region has been Germany's problem child. But in these fifteen years it has also become Germany's favourite child. And it is historically symbolic that you Saarlanders have fought the same fifteen years for Germany in which the Führer fought for Germany. And as the Führer triumphed for Germany, so have you triumphed for Germany. And as the German folk thanks the Führer, so does it thank you. It thanks you that the Saar again rests firmly within Germany's borders.

We greet the German Saar!

Join in with me: German Saar region - Sieg Heil!

To the German Worker



Speech after the proclamation of military freedom on the occasion of the trust council election in all German factories. Held on April 2, 1935 in the Reich train restoration works in Munich-Freimann with simultaneous broadcast into the factories for communal reception by the assembled German work force.

German Workers! Today I speak especially to you, who have assembled everywhere throughout the German lands at your work places for the communal reception, whereas in my other addresses I endeavour to speak to all Germans. The external reason for this is the trust council election soon taking place in all of Germany - the internal reason the long hard harboured wish to speak especially to German manual labourers.

To German manual labourers, so many of whom counted among my best comrades in the long years at the front in the World War, who belonged to the most dutiful and brave, with whom all of us, who stood out there, feel bound in shared fate, in shared suffering, in shared joy, one standing up for the other, as self-evident for one German front-fighter to stand up for the other back then. Nobody asked the other what his civilian occupation was, what social class he belonged to, rather there was only one measure: What was he worth as a soldier, can one rely on him when things get tough, he is a real man in combat, is he a good comrade outside combat? And I found these virtues precisely in the German manual labourer to a splendid degree.

Years lie between the time back then and today - years in which a chasm opened between the manual labourer and the other strata of the folk. Years in which agitators on the one side and incapable leaders on the other side widened the chasm more and more. Years in which any mutual understanding seemed impossible for all time. Years in which I can remember only with reluctance, yes, with mourning. Years in which I could become desperate, if a new community similar to the community of the front had not emerged: the community of the National Socialist movement, the S.A. and S.S.. There they stood together again, manual labourers, white collar workers, peasants, as soldiers of a new idea, and formed through all woe the living proof that the community is still possible even after the war. Yes, that mutual trust can perhaps be even greater than before, if there are only leaders who, instead of dividing, lead together and create a common platform. And precisely in the new community have I again become acquainted with so many manual labourers who, when they just once grasped the new idea and the new spirit, devoted themselves to it with incredible readiness for sacrifice. And hence I am especially glad to be able in my address today to turn to the German worker, because I know that meanwhile the feeling for the community and for the inner bond of all German fate-comrades has taken hold in the German work force in its entirety, and that the new spirit also dominates the other social strata in Germany - that the division has hopefully been buried for all time and that over everything the motto stands: shared work for our German folk.

I turn, however, not only to the manual labourers, rather to the great community of all who - supplementing each other in the plant organizations of the economy - produce. I turn to you, white collar workers, and to you, blue collar workers, to you, engineers and machinists, plant managers, physicians, book-keepers, to you diggers in the mines, to you agricultural workers, to all of you productive Germans, whatever honour title of work you might bear.

I hence speak - although to a specific portion of my German folk comrades - by no means to one stratum or class by itself. I turn to the community of productive people in the plants who stand side by side just as they belong together at the places of production.

Today you know that the manual labourer can perform no useful work, if the inventors and engineers do not give him tasks, if the plant managers do not regulate the work, if merchants do not calculate the work, who provide capital and take care of the sale. These, however, have also become more aware than before that all of their mental work, all of their constructing and calculating are in practice senseless, if the manual labourers do not turn ideas and constructions into reality. You are dependent on each other and supplement each other just like the very large work groups of the folk community, peasants, workers, manufacturers etc. supplement each other and are dependent on each other, because in the long-run one part cannot live without the other.

This National Socialist realization should never be forgotten. So-called leaders should never again play the small special interests of classes and strata against each other - alternating between peasants, workers and bourgeoisie - and put them higher than the common interests of the folk.

All of us want to always watch out that new agitators in accordance with old Marxist methods - regardless in whatever clothing - do not emerge. Whoever wants to make this attempt at agitation, must know that the folk itself with its awakened instincts defends itself most resolutely. The more so as it knows that the leaders of today form a community in itself and it is their duty to counter any arising injustice in common working with consideration of the great total interests of the folk - on which the welfare of the state and the welfare of the individual depend.

Although you soon face an election, it is no election in the previous sense. You are not supposed to, like in the past, give your vote for a particular political direction in the plant council elections, you are not supposed to elect representation by whatever class party, rather you are supposed to elect men from your midst who - as the name already says - enjoy all your trust as plant councillors and on the basis of this relationship of trust regulate questions between the individual members of the plant.

Therefore, unlike before, you will not be bombarded by the representatives of the old parties with complaints against other classes, against entrepreneurs, plant managers etc.. You also do not get a splendid flower arrangement of promises, which are then for the greatest part not kept. You are not agitated to fight against each other. Rather, you are supposed to elect men who help lighten the common struggle; for every plant is in a way in a struggle, in the economic struggle. You are supposed to elect men who eliminate or at least reduce all the frictions, which must naturally arise in a plant. And we, who are entrusted with Germany's leadership, we promise you only one thing: That we will continue to strive in honest work, to the best of our ability, to improve the situation for our whole folk and hence for each individual of this folk, that we want to do everything so that at least gradually things get better for the entirety

and for each individual folk comrade¹.

For we know all too well that today many, many precisely among the mass of the workers must still work under unsatisfactory, yes, here and there still even pitiful working conditions. We know that precisely the sacrifices, which are demanded from you, are big ones. But one thing is sure, that at least the sacrifices, unlike in earlier times, are not made in vain, rather that over all things are getting better [applause]. Your renunciation of higher wages is a sacrifice, which you make in favour of those who previous stood completely outside the work process with the crushing feeling of living at the expensive of the other, working folk comrades - whereby the support was too small in order to really live and yet too large to die.

And they are able to bear the sacrifices all the more so as they know the National Socialist state also demands from the employers that they primarily use their profits to hire the previously unemployed. And you know that the National Socialist state, in its striving to reduce the misery of unemployment more and more, to give more and more unemployed people earnings and bread and have them perform work for the whole, had a success such as the rest of the world and probably the greatest portion of our own folk comrades as well never thought possible!

The promise, which Adolf Hitler gave when he took power, to fight against unemployment with all means and full energy, was fulfilled. [Applause]

And yet another promise by National Socialism was fulfilled: the promise to integrate the German worker as an equally worthy folk comrade into the folk community. [Thunderous applause]

Nobody can today dispute any more that the manual labourers feels absolutely equal in worth in the National Socialist state and in the eyes of all of his folk comrades. [Applause] I know that this idealistic side of the National Socialist success is more important to the German worker than the material improvement, as much as he must wish for that as well. And nothing honours the German worker more than the fact that he most of all wants to be recognized as equal in worth. [Thunderous applause]

It was the great guilt of the earlier Marxist worker leaders that they degraded the worker before the other folk comrades through the constant emphasis on the, for us overcome, concept "proletarian". The guilt of the leaders of the bourgeoisie and other strata was that they artificially promoted their class consciousness and class arrogance and - with reference to the emphasized proletariat of the others - for their part widened

¹ In light of the historical significance of the first speech before German workers after the proclamation of military freedom, the applause of the thousands present in Munich-Freimann was added to a recording as the first echo from the German work force to the Führer's historical deed.

the chasm in the folk.

We have bridged over the chasm, we have erased class concepts, and we will be sure that they never again awaken to new life! [Thunderous, protracted applause]

Just as the NSDAP has always consciously designated itself as worker party, whereby its concept of worker encompasses everybody who performs work, so has it since the rise to power done everything to promote among the folk respect for work in every form. On May 1, the "Day of National Work", this respect is demonstrated to everybody and each year everybody is reminded that work is an honour and everybody's work is honoured. The day of opposing, embittered class hatred of once has become the day of the joyous bond of all productive people of our folk.

The understanding for the German worker and the respect for him were born in the shared struggle and shared suffering at the fronts of the World War. It is no coincidence that the first National Socialists were front-fighters and that, above all, the Führer himself stood at the front in the long years of the war as a common man among folk comrades from all strata. Although he had himself as a common labourer at a construction site once become acquainted with the difficult work and the often so hard lot of manual labourers, during the good and bad hours he shared with many a German worker in the trenches, in the bunkers, in quarters, in combat and on rest, he gained full consciousness that he is just as good a German as any other folk comrade. He became conscious that the German worker, if it was necessary, took action for the whole with total self-sacrifice, although there are many among them who owned nothing in the material sense, which was worth defending - and nonetheless, they took action with incredible self-sacrifice. [Applause] It must be emphasized again and again: The German worker did his full duty in the great war. [Thunderous applause]

And likewise, he did his duty and does his duty in the construction of the new Germany.

Many, many have, long before the rise to power, waged the struggle in the ranks of the movement for the National Socialist Reich. A struggle, which was often more difficult for them than for others, because they suffered greatly from the terror from colleagues still standing in the other camp. And when after the rise to power the agitators and liars were eliminated, who had presented such a false picture of National Socialism, the mass of the rest of Germany's work force soon worked for the new state with their characteristic idealism.

I do not state this in order to flatter the German worker, or even to make a special impression on him before the election. I state it out of a feeling of justice toward the folk comrades who in wide circles of the folk had been viewed as less national or even as non-national. [Strong applause]

We are proud that it was members of all circles and strata of the German folk who once in battle at the fronts of the World War and who later in the struggle for the new Germany stood their ground. And in the Saar plebiscite and the other great plebiscites, which the Führer had take place, it was again the German workers who, at the side of the other German folk comrades, did their duty and disproved the foreign claims that they stood aside. [Applause]

Only through the incredible solidarity, with which the German folk put itself behind Adolf Hitler, was it possible for him to lead it so successfully as was the case in the years since the rise to power. And thanks precisely to the fact that especially the German worker followed him, made it possible for him to make Germany free again. [Applause] For his proclamation of the re-introduction of compulsory military service... [thunderous applause and repeated shouts of approval repeatedly interrupt the speech]

The declaration of compulsory military service, of which the world knows that already today a power stands behind it, a corresponding number of soldiers under arms - a declaration, which ignores essential points of the Treaty of Versailles, which has been broken by the others - is synonymous with the proclamation of German freedom and independence. [A storm of applause, which does not want to end]

Since March 16, 1935 we are again a free folk, of which the world knows that its freedom can no longer be infringed without it defending itself passionately. [Renewed storms of applause] Believe me: the world hears your thunderous applause; it definitely knows today that this folk is a different one than in 1918! [Enthusiastic agreement]

The re-building of the German armed forces is not only a moral matter - it is also quite a material matter. For the material goods of the folk and the economy, which produces these goods, also require protection. We have all experienced what the consequences were when, after the collapse of 1918, we could no longer defend ourselves against the extortions by other folks. It was the products of the work of our folk, it was the goods, which the folk itself needed itself all so much, which it was forced to deliver. Nobody will still want to claim today that he did not personally experience damage from this - perhaps because the government apparently replaced the cows and sheep, the locomotives and railcars, the chemicals and machines, the lumber, the gold and the currency and all the other reparations payments. For the replacement came through a tremendous tax burden, which affected *everybody*, and the frivolous printing of banknotes, which one day no longer had any value.

The consequences of the unavoidable collapse of one business after another was the dismissal of a corresponding number of workers, who no longer received wages and thus could no longer become buyers. The elimination of buyers again resulted in

declining demand and this again to the collapse of more businesses - unemployment rose more and more and reached the millions of workless, which the National Socialist state upon the rise to power found as a terrible legacy from the previous system

The German economic catastrophe would have never reached this horrible magnitude, the enemies would have never made their economically insane demands, if they had to reckon with the possibility of a German defence. If a real German military force had existed back then, the whole misfortune that befell Germany and the world, which the economic collapse caused, would have at least been substantially reduced, if not prevented.

But the inflation connected to the reparations payments and the whole bad economy took the last savings of millions of little savers, which they had saved over the course of an industrious life - but it also took part of their wages from honest German workers, because wages could not keep pace with the declining buying power.

The German economy received the final blow when France, for petty reasons, one day occupied Germany's most valuable region of production - the Ruhr region - because Germany also could not defend itself against that.

More convincingly and more terrible in the consequences has probably never before a folk been shown what it means to face the world defenceless, to indeed have the will for peaceful work, to indeed possess the abilities to perform good work, but not to have the possibility to protect this work. All of you remember those times of misery as well as I do.

Aside from the protection, which the resurrected armed forces represent, its rebuilding has large direct and indirect economic consequences. The trust, which the improving German economy enjoys, is namely so much strengthened by the world's conviction that a state cannot arbitrarily invade us again at will and disrupt our economy, that the economic relations with other states is encouraged. This, too, provides the prerequisites for more work in Germany and thus the gradual improvement of the prosperity of the whole and of the individual.

And more than this: the conscription of young men means work for the older ones. The production of weapons for the new army provides a large number of folk comrades with work and bread. Altogether the German economy, like the public economy of all great nations, can again figure with an army and its requirements. The German economy hence again becomes comparable to the economies of other folks. And this can only help the world's economic recovery.

Many of you already work directly or indirectly for the armament of the new folk

army. That its equipment will be good, is also owed to your ability and your conscientiousness.

I knew that you would all be proud of the new folk army! Since this hour I know it better than ever! [Thunderous applause] I know that the old soldiers among you gladly remember your service period [lively agreement] and that you are pleased that your sons are again trained to be men in the ranks of the new army [applause], and the lads are proud to be able to march in the ranks of the new army. [Applause that does not want to end, enthusiastic shouts]. All of you are all the more proud of the new army, because you have the certainty that it will really be a folk army in the best sense. [Applause]. The new German army is permeated with National Socialist spirit and free of everything, which in the old army might have still stood in contradiction to the principle that precisely among soldiers there are no special rights on the basis of money, caste membership or dead school learning. [Applause] The new army no longer has any one-year volunteers, and anybody with the right stuff can become an officer. [Great applause] It is the army of the German folk and the army for the German folk. [Protracted, thunderous applause] It will again protect Germany, its people and its property and not least of all shield the places in which your jobs are located. [Applause] The German folk army has no imperialistic tasks. It serves the peace of the Germans. [Applause] That we want peace and that precisely those people in the government want peace, who have become acquainted with the misery and woe of war face to face and through their own experience, I have stressed often enough. [Applause]

I have furthermore stressed that a powerless, practically unarmed state amid heavily armed states means a threat to peace, because the statesmen of other states could all too easily try to divert attention from existing domestic difficulties in their own land by instigating a military adventure against the unarmed state. Such an action can, however - aside from the misfortune for the affected state - result in additional war entanglements. The resurrected Germany military power has eliminated this threat to the world's peace. [Thunderous applause] Germany is convinced that its armed forces secure its peace - but it is also just as convinced that they help to secure Europe's peace. [Enthusiastic, sustained applause]

Under the protection of our new army we want to continue to work and produce together in loyal fulfilment of duty, each at the post, where fate has put him.

Many a folk comrade, perhaps, is not clear about the great responsibility, which many of you have at your jobs, what it means, for example, if during the processing of a component which must be exact down to a fraction of a millimetre errors are made - how through the smallest error the work of hundredths of previous work hours of other folk comrades can be destroyed. What responsibility does, say, the physician have, who during an operation cuts into living flesh. Many folk comrades do not have

any idea under what work conditions hundreds of thousands must work - what it means, say, to day after day or night after night, squatting underground or lying on the back in the darkness of a shaft, with only the meagre light of a small lantern, in unbearable heat, covered with sweat and coal dust, to perform the daily work, at wages which, heaven knows, stand to no comparison to all that! But understanding for the lot of the worker is spreading thanks to the working of National Socialist enlightenment and National Socialist education. Although oldsters here and there might not have found their way to the other side of the bridge, we know that at least the coming generation, which grows up in the great community of the Hitler Youth, which is further educated in the S.A. and S.S., in the ranks of the NSDAP, in the Work Front, only knows Germans! [Applause] That then one reaches out his hand to the other with the same lack of prejudice and the same respect with which once in the past only the members of the same stratum or the same class shook hands. In the joyous consciousness of creating a better future for our children, we want to stand together in shared pride in the Führer who brought us together, who gave our work a meaning - who in his development symbolically unites the manual labourer and the white collar worker, the subordinate of once and the Führer of the whole folk of today.

Under his leadership we continue to do our work so that our folk and fatherland as well continue to recover and we create for children and grand-children a homeland in which things will go better for them than for many of their fathers and of which they can be very proud. We will continue to work under the leadership of the man who has previously led us so successfully, under the leadership of Germany's first worker: Adolf Hitler! [After a Sieg Heil to the Führer follow minutes of thunderous applause and enthusiasm]



To the Foreigners of Good Will

Lecture at the invitation of the German-Swedish Society on May 14, 1935 in Stockholm

Your Royal Highnesses! Ladies and gentlemen!

Before my lecture I wish to express thanks to those who have enabled me to speak here in Sweden before a select circle - especially the gentlemen of the Presidium of the German-Swedish Association. They have thus enabled me to attempt to awaken understanding in a foreign state for the new Germany and for the ideas that carry it. I believe that this does not only do a service for my land, rather, if my lecture has even a small success in this direction, a service will have been done to the efforts that aim at an agreement of folks among each other.

That this invitation came from Sweden, was a special joy for me. For in Germany and especially among Germany's war generation, it has never been forgotten how Sweden to a high degree - from His Majesty the King and the Swedish government ruled in strict neutrality - practiced justice throughout the whole war toward the Germany fighting for its life. And as the representative of the official Germany of today, I may convey my special thanks for this - not least to the individual personalities who hereby provided such a good example to their folk, for example to the important explorer Sven Hedin and to the noble Elsa Brandström, whose self-sacrificing work saved the lives of tens of thousands of Germans. I wish to also remember your eminent scholar Rudolf Kjellen, who used his great influence from his new science in the world for Germany's benefit, in that he drew the consequences from his realizations. Today again, Sweden in its neutrality serves the idea of the pacification of Europe and of the world, in that it - such as through the hosting of my lecture - promotes the understanding of folks for each other.

It is indisputable that the understanding for the newly arisen National Socialist state - which from the German standpoint and in the interest of cooperation of folks would be desirable - is today still not present in almost all states of the world. This is also only too understandable. In the period before the rise to power of National Socialism, the world was almost exclusively dependent on news coverage of the movement that was influenced by forces that were hostile to the National Socialist movement, not least the former German governments.

Like all things that more or less suddenly emerge in history, that bring something fundamentally new and leave old paths, the picture of the new movement in Germany and its Führer was distorted by the partiality and hatred of the parties. At first, hatred dominated - even in Germany. Despite all predictions, this movement did indeed come to power, and indeed with a suddenness that in turn prevented a shift in the evaluation

of the movement. Those people who dominated media coverage hardly understood the new movement due to their old journalist and diplomatic training. Hence they often could not be fair, even with good will, or if they totally refused to correct the previously spread picture. This was all the more the case as the hope dominated that the new revolutionary state would be very short-lived.

Such hopes were indeed bitterly disappointed.

The National Socialist state has meanwhile lasted more than two years. Even its opponents must today admit that it further consolidates itself month by month. Nobody seriously believes today that National Socialism would fall in the foreseeable future. Even less so can other folks and other states ignore its appearance. In the long-run, they must take a position toward it one way or another, as they one day took a position toward the French Revolution and the regime created by it. Just like the French Revolution had an effect just by its existence, so can the German revolution not remain without effect on the rest of the world. It will be a strictly intellectual effect, without its bearers influencing the inner affairs of other states - that is expressly forbidden to them.

And because the fact of the existence of these ideas, with are practically decisive in a great state, cannot remain without effect on the surroundings, in my view the responsible people of the other lands have an interest in becoming acquainted with these ideas in proper form. They must simultaneously have an interest in receiving an objective picture of the effect of these new ideas in the state that is governed by them - a picture on the basis of which they are in the position to take a position pro or con and to promote or hinder the spread of these ideas. They cannot ignore them in the long-run.

Among the responsible people of other lands, I do not only mean politicians and statesmen, rather responsible people in all spheres of the life of their folks; for the effect of the new ideas does not limit itself in Germany to politics, rather extends to its culture in the most comprehensive sense of this term: to art and literature, to science and economy, to the defence forces of the land as well as the work forces, to the society and to the family. In all its forms, the life of the folk is influenced or transformed through National Socialism.

When I now make the attempt to not just draw a picture of the new Germany for you, rather to show you the intellectual and actual foundations upon which the new Germany grew, I must expand the scope in order to make the development of the new thing psychologically understandable to you.

National Socialism is rooted in the war and must be understood especially in terms of its consequences in Germany. It is rooted in the war insofar as the new ideas

ripened in the tremendous experience of the front-fighter, which are today the essential component of National Socialism: sense of sacrifice, heroic attitude, comradeship without class distinction.

The manifestations of decay that already appeared during the war also prepared the soil for National Socialism. Not without effect on healthy folk feeling could remain the fact that while the best of the folk bled to death out there on the fronts, in the homeland not only huge war profits, but also shameless swindles were made. It could not remain without effect, that while the front-fighter was ready to make the ultimate sacrifice and millions lost their lives out there, at home certain conscienceless elements undermined the folk's strength of resistance - undermined in favour of party interests and class interests.

The subversion in the interior and the pressure from outside had to release itself in a revolutionary manner, since the leadership of the folk did not possess the ability to change the domestic changes or to counter the external pressure through psychological influencing of the folk.

I do not believe that it could become completely clear to you in foreign countries what consequences the so-called "revolution" of 1918 had in Germany. How in the sphere of morality black became white and white become black - consciously transformed by those who after the revolt exercised influence over the folk! How the state-preserving virtues were scorned - cowardice designated as courage, courage as stupidity, heroic attitude as "reactionary". How willingness for sacrifice was made ridiculous, the most crass egoism was presented as the worthy goal of the individual. Even the churches were unable to stop the inner decay.

Under the influence of the propaganda of the rulers the mass of the German folk accepted the signature of treaties with almost lethal effect with a lack of instinct that nobody had to until then considered possible. Under the same influence the folk permitted the total disarmament, yes, some parts even helped carry out the disarmament.

As an excuse I can only mention that this folk believed in the sacredness of international promises, that Wilson's Fourteen Points, on the basis of which the arms had been laid down, in their idealistic formulation, corresponded to the idealism so deeply rooted in the German folk. The mass of the folk could not believe that the sacred promise of the chief of state of one of the most respected lands on earth would later be simply ignored, a promise that after all had essentially been accepted by Germany's opponents back then as the basis for peace negotiations. For that it was ignored, nobody can today dispute any longer, and I do not have to detain you by bringing proof of that point by point. The German folk believed in the Fourteen Points as it believed in the promise in the Versailles Treaty that after Germany's disarmament the

other states in the world would also disarm. How these states actually disarmed, you know yourselves.

Floodlights on the economic demoralization of that period were cast by the huge scandals of Barmats, Kutisker, Sklarek and the rest of them, which were, however, merely the peak performances of the demoralisation. The gradually perceptible consequences of the fulfilment of the peace treat "until being bled white", the connected inflation, the individual's drive of self-preservation becoming awake with impoverishment and misery, the drive to earn at any price, further promoted this demoralization in the economic sphere.

It is an indisputable fact that Jews were found at many important positions in state and economy of Germany after 1918 - in part recently immigrated Jews who hardly mastered the language of the land.

I myself was until then no anti-Semite, rather quite the opposite, on the basis of the usual teaching of history defended Jews against their distractors and persecutors. The facts of 1918 and later, however, were so conspicuous that I had to convert to anti-Semitism despite my inward resistance against having to correct my previous conviction of the innocence of persecuted Jewry.

National Socialist legislature has intervened correctively against alien influence. I say correctively, for that in National Socialist Germany Jewry has not been relentlessly exterminated, is proven by the fact that in Prussia alone there are today 33,500 Jews active in industry and trades and 89,000 in trade and commerce - it is also proven by the fact that Jews as 1% of Germany's population make up 17.5% of the lawyers, and in Berlin, for example, even today almost 50% of the physicians are non-Aryans.

If National Socialism had not put a stop to it at the last moment, the development would have had to end economically in the struggle of all against all, culturally in nihilism, governmentally in anarchy - in short, in a condition we all call Bolshevism.

This condition had to more certainly be reached as ever greater portions of the German folk consciously affirmed the world-view of Bolshevism and, with Moscow's intellectual and material support, organizationally prepared the revolution in accordance with the Russian pattern, in order to hoist the flag of the Bolshevik world revolution in Germany, too.

Germany was closer to Bolshevism than the rest of the world suspects or wants to believe. Here, too, numbers provide the proof of my claims:

It is little known that in Prussia alone no less than 640 policemen were killed in

the battle against the Spartacus and Bolshevism.

The people who at elections voted for the communist-bolshevik world order in 1920 numbered 589,000, which was 2.1% of all voting Germans. Ten years later, 1930, 4.8 million people, that was 13.1% of all voters, affirmed it. At the election of July 1932 the number had again increased by almost a million, namely to 5.4 million or 14.3%, and at the last election before the National Socialist rise to power over half a million more joined in within three months, so we had almost six million communist voters, which is about 17% of the voters.

So many voters hence already affirmed Bolshevism! How great would have been the number of those supporting the Communist Party of Germany, in the event it has been the victor!

The above numbers are supplemented by the material found in secret cellars and passageways in the Karl-Liebknecht-House in Berlin after the rise to power of National Socialism. Propaganda material of the most horrible kind, already translated into several languages, in order to - after establishment of a Bolshevik state in Germany - undertake the intensive preparation of other European states. Next to leaflets were detailed instructions to break the last resistance in Germany through ruthless terror, to bum down anti-Bolshevik villages and starve out resistive cities. Witnesses for what had been massed in the Karl-Liebknecht-House in Berlin for the attack against European culture are the experts of the political police of foreign states who inspected this material and confirm its dangerousness. And if Germany had become the second land of the world revolution - do you believe that Bolshevism could have been stopped at the German borders?

Almost simultaneously with Germany's collapse began the attempts as well to create a countermovement. Freikorps and political federations emerged in great number, mostly recruited from members of the returned front army. Much good will, much decent character, but little political understanding gathered there. In the long-run success could only be achieved by a man who was naturally also a front-fighter, but beyond that an extraordinary political talent, yes, above all possessed political instinct; who from his own view and own experience precisely knew the psyche of those people whose winning and reorienting according to his conviction was the first necessity: the mass of manual labourers. The revolt of 1918 had been carried out above with them; not against them, rather with them again did the transformation for the new and better have to be made possible.

Hitler, back then an unknown soldier, without capital, without press, made the unprecedented daring decision - for anybody who did not know him more a crazy than a daring decision - to create a new, mighty mass movement, in which members of all former positions and classes, all former parties were supposed to be united in

order to one day take power in Germany and direct the state according to his ideas.

I said: for anybody who did not know Hitler, this endeavour seemed crazy. - I, who had the good fortune to already in 1920 hear Hitler speak before a few dozen people who formed his following, I knew at the end of his speech: This man or nobody will save Germany!

This became my firm conviction, thanks to this man's inspirational faith in his mission, thanks to the fire with which he proclaimed this faith, but thanks as well to the iron coolness with which he drew his conclusions from sober realizations with convincing logic.

His first considerations reached their summit in the question: How could it go so far in Germany? He knew that folk, which suddenly seemed to be so bad, was basically not bad. He had gotten to know it in the years of most difficult struggle on the western front. Had he not seen members of all classes and not least German manual labourers fight for their nation, seen them fight with all the nameless willingness to sacrifice, with all the limitless idealism that was necessary in order to endure the hell of battles of attrition against a world of enemies? If these same people could one day seem to become such bad sons of their folk, then only one explanation was possible: that their education and leadership was deficient or bad. They fell under the influence of seducers, because every counter, every enlightenment from real leaders was missing, and because they had lost the instinct that would have protected them from believing lies.

Often precisely the German inclination toward idealism was abused. After the horrors of the war people were only too ready to believe those who promised eternal peace and to erect a state of absolute social justice.

Hitler saw how this folk had after 1918 become more divided into classes than ever before, who only recognized their own special interests, that was simultaneously politically divided into innumerable parties, who in turn were only the interest representatives of classes and economic groups.

Insofar as these parties were based on a world-view, they were anchored outside Germany and hence represented non-German interests.

Hitler opposed them with a world-view whose central point is the own folk. He opposed the materialism of the time with a new idealism. He opposed the egoism of the individual with the single demand: common good before individual good! He opposed the conforming tendency of democracy and Marxism with the faith in the creative strength of the personality. He opposed the "international's" tendency to make all folks the same with the teaching of the unique personality of folks, of the value of race, of the value of nation. While the other side sought to

eradicate all national uniqueness, National Socialism promoted folk practices and folk customs. He opposed denial of God with the concept of the supreme power, the teaching of pacifism with the faith in the martial virtues.

To the supporters of nationalism and socialism, who seemed a world apart, who seemed irreconcilably opposed, Adolf Hitler gave a new, common platform, in that he created the concept "National Socialism".

He taught that nationalism and socialism are supplemental concepts.

Genuine nationalism must promote that every individual folk comrade is healthy in body and spirit, so that he can, if necessary, be ready and able to defend the nation to the last - this is at the same time socialism.

He taught that every member of the folk who performs a work benefiting the whole is a usable member of this folk.

He further taught that manual labourers and white collar workers supplement and are dependent on each other, that *work in every form deserves to be respected.*

He opposed the demand for socialization with the increase of production and hence the quantity of goods distributed through the incentive of private initiative.

To anchor his ideas and for their systematic dissemination in the folk he created the *National Socialist German Workers' Party.*

Its structure already proceeded according to the principles that become the foundation of the present state: alien racial elements were removed. The whole movement was educated for relentless fighting spirit. For the selection of leaders, their personality value was decisive.

It was shown that the principles that would one day be dominant in the state and lead to success were correct; for their anchoring in the party brought success to this small organization organized similar to a state.

In practical work, Hitler used all means which were suited to direct attention to his will and his movement. It was his tactics to above all smash the Marxist parties externally with their own means. He used red posters like they did. He gave his meeting hall guard red armbands, even if with the black swastika in white field. He created like flags, in which the red in any case dominated. He conducted mass assemblies and mass demonstrations like his opponents of the left. These tactics brought him and his movement the reputation of National Bolshevism. Yes, it was said that essentially National Socialism was hardly different from Russian Bolshevism.

One saw the externalities, but not the core.

One had no understanding for it that only totally new methods would make it possible to reach the agitated workers. One should have seen that the methods of the bourgeois parties remained totally ineffective. The workers did not go to their meetings at all, let alone allow themselves to be influenced by the ideas presented there. At best, the influence was a negative one, in that the red press used all such rallies for new agitation against the right and against the "reaction".

The National Socialists, on the other hand, filled one assembly after the other, each larger than the other, with the wide folk masses. They slowly made them familiar with their ideas, which are the extreme opposite of Marxism and Bolshevism. And they gradually convinced the masses of the correctness of these ideas. If that had not been the case, then National Socialism would not have been able in such short time after the rise to power to break down and eradicate Marxism and Bolshevism.

For if the greater portion of the German work force had not already in the years of struggle become intellectually familiar through National Socialism with the extreme opposite of Marxist-Bolshevik doctrine, it would be inconceivable that today precisely this same work force would applaud the indisputably sharply anti-Marxist and anticommunist speeches of the Führer. It would be inconceivable that each plebiscite presents a new affirmation of loyalty of precisely this work force as well to Hitler and his movement.

As with the speech, so is also the action of National Socialism - as it comes to expression in the state's laws - the opposite of Marxism and Bolshevism.

If the first goal of National Socialism was the achievement of power, since the rise to power its goal is the realization of its ideas and ideals by means of power. Its tools are the state and the party.

If the question is raised, how far has it been successful in this, I can state:

The union of the folk beyond all formerly divisive worldviews, classes, social positions, parties and individual states in one Reich has become a fact. National Socialism has created a unified whole, a real folk community. All attempts to use the once famous disunity for the pursuit of foreign interests, to ignite "la querelle allemande", are from a start a hopeless endeavour. Foreign states that until the rise to power still maintained a special delegation in one province of the German Reich have had to withdraw it as pointless.

After all, previously the folk's votes were distributed along 36 political parties and tiny parties, all of which waged a petty and egotistical struggle against each other,

disregarding the great common interests of a folk fighting for its life right. *Today the folk votes in never imaged solidarity for one Führer and one party.*

Today, after the falling away of the parties of egoism, Führer and party - which has nothing in common with the previous parties other than the name - present to the folk more than ever the great life issues of the nation for which it is worthwhile to fight and make sacrifices. *German idealism has been mobilized for Germany.*

Attack points for their subversive activity have been taken away from the opponents. Only one last attack point has not yet been totally eliminated. These are the denominational differences. Accordingly, all opponents have gathered in the waging of the artificially produced church dispute. We have seen that downright atheistic communists and God-denying Marxists who had earlier left the church are now aggressively active in some kind of denominational organization and endeavouring to promote the church dispute. They have only one interest: when all other divisions have disappeared, to at least sharpen the differences between the denominations and to create discord between the state and the various churches.

National Socialism wants - like once under Frederick the Great - "for each to become blessed in his own fashion". The National Socialist state gives to the churches what belongs to the churches and the churches must give to the state what belongs to the state. Aside from that, the National Socialist state is not interested in the internal quarrels of the denominations.

The many systematically distributed false reports in foreign countries about the church dispute in Germany cannot undo this principle - these reports only pursue the one purpose to work against National Socialism in foreign lands, after so many other lies have lost their effect, because the facts speak against them.

For the claim that the National Socialist state is on the verge of collapse can in no way be supported. Quite the opposite: each year old people who could not give up outdated traditions die off and are *replaced by young people who are completely filled with National Socialist spirit*. This youth gets its education in the mighty organization of the Hitler Youth, in whose ranks it learns to value the comrade solely on the basis of character, for whom it is meaningless what social rank the father has, how much money the father possesses or what kind of work he does. It is a youth organization in which the young person is shown the greatness of his folk and the beauty of his homeland, and in which it is taught to keep mind and body healthy and to be a member of the whole. It is educated for respect for the law and for faith in its nation.

Time works for the new state. The laws for education for racial improvement, for prevention of genetically ill offspring and the measures to promote marriage, the tax relief for families with many children must have results.

Agriculture, the wellspring of folkish rejuvenation, from which the metropolitan populace gets new, healthy blood, has again been secured in its existence by the National Socialist state. It is protected by the hereditary farm legislation, debt removal and a new market order. Today peasant families must no longer leave the old farm where they sat for centuries due to bankruptcy as happened so many times before the rise to power of National Socialism.

Through the Work Service, in which every young German performs useful work for his folk, similar to service in the army, the honour of work has been outwardly documented.

May 1st, once the day of class agitation, became through the new state the day of the community of all productive people, the "Day of National Work".

The success of the work battle became the success of National Socialism and its Führer. Out of six and a half million unemployed, which existed as a terrible legacy at the rise to power, about four and a half million were given work again during the last two years. Aside from the economic importance of this fact, the moral importance for those who, without blame of their own, had been dependent on the charity of the employed folk comrades is not to be underestimated.

People familiar with the old Germany notice right away that today no wandering beggars populate the rural roads and the faces of people again have a satisfied expression. The joy in work of the productive person is heightened, his bond to the new state strengthened by the great work of recreation in leisure time, called "Strength through Joy".

It is hardly to be estimated, what values are preserved or newly created for the folk whole through the new work opportunities in every city and town.

What does the restoration of public and private buildings in all of Germany, almost all of which had been neglected, alone mean!

What does the repair of roads, the construction of new bridges, the construction of canals, the winning of new land along the coast and in desolate regions mean.

What centuries-enduring importance do the mighty Autobahn alone have! 1500 km are today under construction, 1500 km are ready for construction, the plans for another 2000 km are finished. Daily one new km is finished. The first stretch, the Autobahn Frankfurt-Darmstadt, will be opened to traffic in the next few days, and the Munich stretch in June. (Meanwhile at the end of 1937, 2000 km are in use.) 93,000 workers today work at construction sites, 150,000 directly in bridgeworks, quarries etc..

In all spheres, the fertile influence of the new ideas makes itself felt. This influence, for example, expresses itself in *the reconciliation of law with healthy folk feeling*, which finds expression in the criminal law in preparation. All Germans today work for their folk.

School and college with corresponding branches of science help with the education of the youth and of the folk overall in the spirit.

A scientist known beyond Germany's borders who used his expertise in the field of geopolitics - his knowledge of the world political facts since 1918 - for the enlightenment of the German folk, and who was also my teacher in these fields, Professor Dr. Karl Haushofer, is to my pleasure among us this evening.

As the crowning of the whole and simultaneously as the prerequisite for the survival of the whole emerged the new folk army.

I do not need to tell you that a nation, especially if it is capable, requires protection. The folk requires protection so that it can pursue its work in peace. Germany believed for years to be able to do without this protection - the result was an ongoing disturbance, if not prevention, of its work from the outside. The most crass expression of this was the occupation of the Ruhr, the region of Germany's most concentrated work.

It is an indisputable fact that in the international life of folks the right of a folk is protected only by its power; it is a fact that your great countryman Rudolf Kjellen, among others, has often expressed. *Germany, however, has a right to undisturbed work, has a right to its peace. It would be criminal negligence by the German government, if Germany did not want to protect its right through the creation of armed forces.* The ideal goal of preservation of peace is for Germany - which wages the mighty struggle against unemployment, the struggle for the rejuvenation of its life - simultaneously an objective necessity.

The Führer is a front-fighter, and I am also a front-fighter, and almost all the other co-workers of the Führer are likewise front-fighters of the most horrible war of all time. We know what war means and hence love peace. We know that the World War cost altogether 15 million lives. But we also know peace is better secured the less adventurous neighbours can have the feeling that the invasion of German land would be military child's play.

The world today knows: The new Germany has done everything in order to make sure any invasion by foreign troops would not be child's play! Hardly ever was a folk so determined to defend itself, if necessary, to the last man, as the German folk today. The severe test of the last decades and the moral education carried out by National

Socialism have created this determination. It would also be a crime of the National Socialist government, if it did not supplement this unconditional defence will of the people with a weaponry that does make people defenceless against the decades long armament of other states. Lloyd George already said before the war, according to the "Daily Chronicle" of January 1, 1914:

"The German army is not only a life prerequisite for the German Reich, but also for the independence and life of the German nation, which is surrounded by folks each of whose armies is almost just as big as the whole German one."

How much more true is this statement today!

If you ask, where Germany gets the money for its armament, I can reply to you, that the largest part of the necessary materials are available in our own land, just like the work forces are also available in large numbers. It is simply a question of the inner organization in order to, by means of the materials and work forces, have the necessary weapons emerge, whereby the supplemental raw materials that must unconditionally be imported from foreign countries do not play a decisive role in comparison.

May the world still not practice full justice toward Germany - I have the conviction that a future writing of history will state: Germany acted correctly! Perhaps this or that history account will also state that, through Germany's ability to defend itself again, a new war in Europe was prevented, because the temptation disappeared, which an unarmed state presents to heavily armed neighbouring states.

I know that here and there in the world the idea is still played with to, at least with economic means, wage war against Germany, just as Germany's boycott practiced for a time by Jews was already a manifestation of economic war. But I can also assure you that all such attempts are in the long-run in vain just like the boycott was finally ineffective. Perhaps such tendencies are furthermore just an of that force, which, by desiring evil, produces good. *The pressure increases the will to defence. The defence, however, consists of measures to make oneself more and more independent from the non-German production area - and the land with highly developed technology, of the best chemistry in the world, finds ways and means for it!* Much has already been achieved, much is in preparation.

I expressly stress, however, that it is not the wish of the German government to totally cut itself off from foreign countries. *Germany desires relationships with other countries, not least of all in the economic area. The exchange of goods brings along the exchange of other relationships, which promote mutual understanding and hence peace.* Germany's government, on the other hand, would act irresponsibly, if it did not promptly counter dangerous boycott tendencies through the preparation of appropriate measures.

The world has before it in the new Germany a solid state with a government, which is conscious of its duties. This new state and its government have been created by the National Socialist movement and have emerged from it.

You might be of the opinion that the National Socialist movement has fulfilled its mission, that it has been replaced by the National Socialist state. This view is wrong. The National Socialist movement has become a part of the National Socialist Reich, in that it has new and even larger tasks to fulfil than before. Deeply rooted in the folk, with branches preserved into the connection between folk and government, it has become a new and better folk representative than the internally divided folk representation of the earlier parliament. *The National Socialist party has become the representative of the folk whole and the representative of the great folk interests in their entirety. It is the necessary supplement of the authoritarian government.* It is the apparatus through which the government checks the effect of its measures in the folk and through which it receives suggestions and wishes from below, which then find their legal expression.

National Socialism dominates the life of the German folk, it fertilizes it - yes, it has saved its life. Germany would have been lost, if the one man had not come, who created National Socialism: Adolf Hitler.

Was it a coincidence that he came? I do not believe that. I believe that Providence at the right time sends to folks which have not deserved to perish, which still have a task in this world, the man who saves them from perishing. However, such a man then also needs authoritarian power.

When it is objected that it is better not to concentrate all power in one hand, because this means the danger of arbitrariness, I can only reply with what I already told my countrymen before Adolf Hitler's election to Führer and chief of state: parliamentary control organs and division of power may be a safeguard against abuse of power, a far greater safeguard is the conscience of a moral personality. I know the man Adolf Hitler and hence know that nobody has more consciousness of responsibility toward his con-

science and, on the strength of his conscience, toward his folk than he.

I know that his conscience, his feeling of responsibility before his God, before his folk and before the history of this folk are the final and highest court for him.

And the folk legitimizes his right to leadership again and again, when he from time to time turns to it directly in a plebiscite. These plebiscites are for him the final test for the correctness of his action.

He has taken from himself the comfort of relieving his responsibility through irresponsible parliamentary majorities. All his action is indivisibly bound to his name

- to his honour.

A later writing of history will confirm what Adolf Hitler has done for the consolidation not only of German, rather also of European conditions through taking such a decisive path of German politics and telling the whole world what is.

As in Germany's domestic politics, he has also made healthy common sense decisive in foreign affairs as well. For Germany, Adolf Hitler has started the health process through the deeds of healthy common sense. I am of the conviction that in foreign affairs as well he will through practice of the same principle create more clear and healthier conditions, which will help to bring the necessary tranquillity to the world.

The healthier conditions will find expression in that the world will finally be convinced that Adolf Hitler's government goes not think of steering toward war, as constantly repeated claims in foreign lands assert.

As the Führer himself stresses, Germany does not need any armed conflict for the sake of its military honour. For it has never lost it. But that a new war would not be able to improve the economic and political conditions that are the result of the previous war, rather must bring final chaos, is for every German politician a self-evident insight. Germany wants no war, Germany wants genuine peace! Not war lifts the emergency state under which all folks suffer, rather the insight that the distrust of nations must be replaced by their cooperation.

May my lecture help to promote these thoughts, may it represent a small contribution toward agreement between folks and through promotion of understanding for the German folk standing at Europe's centre point. Then the purpose I have given my lecture will be achieved.

To the Youth of the World

Address to the Delegations of Foreign Youth and of Hitler Youth at the Consecration of the Burg Altena - as the first German World Youth Hostel - on May 25, 1935

Youth! You have gathered here to attend the consecration of a hostel that is supposed to serve the youth of the whole world. Within the walls of this old castle German and foreign youth, who hike through this land, are supposed to rest in the future. They are supposed to meet there and by being together become acquainted. The youth of many nations will get to know each other here and - I hope - learn respect for each other. The knowledge of the uniqueness, the advantages and also the weaknesses provides the foundation for mutual understanding. Understanding for one another, however, is the prerequisite for agreement among one another.

I do not mean that the youth is supposed to come to an agreement here. I believe that youth that meets in mutual love of hiking, of the nature through which it hikes, in the love of the songs, customs and practices of their folks - every if they are songs in foreign languages and customs and practices of foreign folks - I believe such a youth does not need to "come to an agreement". It needs agreement the less so, the healthier its members are, the freer they feel, the more freely they step toward each other. The hiking youth that is supposed to come together here is - I think - according to its whole nature healthy in body and soul, feels free, because hiking and bond with nature keeps one healthy and free.

No! Healthy youth needs no "agreement"! Agreement is only necessary where man becomes conscious of deep differences. But they do not become conscious in common hiking and happy togetherness in the home of a youth hostel. Even in war there was an understanding between the soldiers and the individual of the civilian populace in the occupied territories - yes, even between the soldiers of hostile armies. And even today it is shown that a bridge of understanding is quickly erected, if individuals of various nations meet, if one man stands in front of another man. Separating borders and people in mass, however, cause differences and even the mutually disruptive self-interest of folks to become conscious. These differences, however, only become political dangers through their one-sided preponderance in public opinion and through misunderstanding the life conditions of the other folk. The better the folks know each other, the more they learn to understand each other, the harder it is for special interests to agitate the folks.

The foundation for better understanding, however, is laid when parts of the youth of the world, who later become parts of the folk, come in contact with one another and really get to know each other better!

Although only a relatively small part of the youth of the world will meet here at the Burg Altena, back home it will tell of what it has seen and heard here and, consciously or unconsciously, exert influence on others at home.

Perhaps one or another youth will pass through this youth hostel who will later be one of the important people of a folk. And perhaps, as a man, he will remember in serious hours, which may threaten the peace between folks, past carefree, happy days of togetherness in this home with young comrades of other nations. Perhaps he will then, thanks to that he here learned to understand and respect the character of these other nations, be able to prevent a great misfortune for the affected lands - yes, for humanity. Then this little castle will have produced an infinite blessing.

May the probability for such a play of fate be tiny, may it serve such a possibility or not, at any rate we give it a chance: Better doing something small that can be done, than to do nothing, because it is initially impossible on a large-scale.

This is a beginning. May with time ever more such homes for the hiking youth of many folks follow, may ever more youth of various nations meet in comradeship! Not in order to try in the manner of the international to level national character and create universal men with universal cultures. If the cultural uniqueness of the nations one day fall away, the world would be poorer in values that give folks their own cultures, it would be poorer in the beauty that is bestowed on it by the colourfulness of life. We would not feel so much joy in this beautiful castle, if buildings of the same kind stood everywhere in the whole world. It is, however, German character turned into stone, that we are proud of, like you, my young friends from foreign countries, are rightly proud of the culture of your land and the unique things it has created. No, the youth should not come together in order to mix people and cultures, rather to better protect the most unique goods of their folks and to save them against culture-destroying catastrophes born from mutual misunderstanding.


As we mutually feel respect for the flags that we hoist as a sign of the consecration of this castle, so do we mutually feel respect for the folks they represent. We also know that intellectually and physically, politically and racially healthy folks get along better together than folks who must seek external successes as compensation for internal weaknesses. For that reason, too, we wish that the coming generation grows up in good health, because a healthy feeling will tell it that precisely in Europe enough has been destroyed, which it is called upon to build.

If the castle as the concept of the home of healthy youth thereby participates in Europe's construction, so that it serves the rejuvenation of people to come, it fulfills its task that I hereby give it.

Raise the flags!

To the German Peasant

Closing speech at the Third Reich Peasant Day in Goslar on November 17, 1935

 German peasants! Last night we celebrated together such rare and beautiful hours for the German peasant. Old and oldest German customs passed before our eyes: dances and songs, deeply rooted in our folk - in part handed down from a time, which hardly recorded its own history - customs and practices in a uniformity of essence such as can only emerge from the uniformity of the race, which is tied to the uniformity of feeling and thought. And the selection of German people from all provinces of our Reich showed a surprising uniformity in their outward appearance - in their racial characteristics. No more visibly can be brought to our attention that in German peasantry the best kind of our folk has remained preserved for us throughout the millennia.

And this peasantry preserved character in folkdom and in personality. Grounds enough for the hatred from everybody whose working is built on peoples' lack of character - built on de-personalized people. Jewry and Bolshevism must be hostile to all who have preserved their race and uniqueness and who by their very nature must stand in the way of their teachings.

Therefore, Jewry's struggle has also always through its press and its Freemason organizations, through Marxism and since the war through Bolshevism, been directed against deeply hated Germany - against Germany in general, against the peasantry and against the army as the living bearer of typically German virtues in particular.

Before the World War, during the World War and after the World War these forces utilized all the means at their disposal against Germany. As a supplement to yesterday's statements by the Reichsführer SS, I wish to point out the substantial direct and indirect involvement of Jews in the preparation and fulfilment of the Treaty of Versailles; especially the roll of the large number of Jewish private secretaries among the leading personalities.

Above all, after the war the attack was directed against the agricultural basis of the German folk. Through the treaty itself, the basis was also reduced in a purely spatial sense. I underline what the Reich Peasant Leader already stated: While before the war there were still 123 people per square kilometre in Germany, after the war the number rose to 139, without, however, even including the so significant loss of the large and sparsely populated colonies.

How much the destruction of Germany peasantry went hand in hand with the chaos as a result of Versailles - promoted from above by letting it happen and conscious action - I need to tell you least of all.

As long as the Weimar system still ruled, the necessarily resulting reduction of foodstuffs according to need - that means if the danger existed that the hunger would turn against their own system - could be compensated for through debts in foreign countries. A possibility, which, as is well-known, was widely used with just as great cooperation from the side of international finance.

The total disruption of the world market, the allowing to grow of an army of unemployed - I do not believe that this tolerance was only inability - produced a constant reduction of the capacity to feed ourselves on our own and hence an ever greater dependency of Germany on foreign countries. *The development went in the direction that one day the international forces would be able, through the denial of credit from foreign countries, to stop the continued importation of foodstuffs to Germany and thus surrender Germany to starvation.*

The hunger of millions, however, who have become alienated from the soil and rootless, and who have in addition been spiritually and organizationally prepared for Bolshevism, means the outbreak of desperation — means Bolshevism.

How terribly close we stood before the rise to power to the outbreak of Bolshevism, most of *you* probably know - but the *world* is not sufficiently aware of it. But I may point out that just the number of Bolsheviks in Germany appearing during elections - for the communist voters were not anything else - rose from election to election.

Whether we call it a twist of fate or the rule of divine will that Adolf Hitler and his counter-organization came to power at the twelfth hour: his ruthless intervention, the smashing of the Bolshevik organizations in Germany, the incarceration of the Bolshevik leaders blocked the plans of the wire-pullers of the world revolution.

Bolshevism rooted in Jewry continued its struggle from outside.

For the Jewish boycott of German products is nothing else. By these means as well, the German basis of nutrition was supposed to be broken. One wanted to choke off export in itself already restricted by the world crisis, so that the import of foodstuffs into Germany would also steadily decrease. One reckoned that the so greatly weakened agriculture in the space reduced through Versailles would not be able to produce enough foodstuffs, that hunger would yet break out in Germany and the Hitler regime would thus finally be replaced by Bolshevism.

Although this calculation, too, failed and it was possible - despite all the difficulties we encountered, despite the reduction of exports and the resultant reduction of currency for imports, despite the over-indebted agriculture with reduced production capacity - to secure the nourishment of the German folk, then this is owed

primarily to the goal-conscious measures of the National Socialist government and the re-awakened strength of German peasantry.

The production battle is essentially a defensive battle against Bolshevism.

We state with pride: This battle, too, in our defensive war against the red flood, was successful.

That in the course of these battles difficulties also arose, can surprise and worry only the person who confuses a battle with a parade march.

And whoever believes he must complain that large organization which became necessary for the conduct of the battle also has a dark side, could by the same right complain that the preparation and conduct of a battle in war in one's territory does not occur without damage to that territory.

Whoever takes new paths, for which there are no maps, must reckon to take a wrong one once. But new paths *had* to be taken.

German peasants! Aside from the so honourable task put to you: securing the material life basis of our folk, the guardianship of another precious property has been put into your hands: best German blood, which is still so plentiful in the German peasantry. And we saw yesterday how you simultaneously safeguard high cultural and moral values in it, yes, how you have again unearthed the beautiful and the noble, which had in part been forgotten and buried - how you have made springs run again and shown the folk, yes, peasantry itself, what values rest within it.

May the peasantry also never forget how close it, along with everything within it, stood to annihilation, and to whom it owes its salvation as well as the salvation of the whole German folk.

Aside from the Führer himself it was all the many who stood loyal to him in the long years of an often sheerly hopeless struggle. It was, above all, the great number of today still unknown fighters, it was the upright S.A. and S. S. men and political leaders, who were often the first ones to hold up the flag in the middle of the most red areas and did not waver or retreat, even though they often appeared to be standing at a lost post, until victory was finally theirs.

The struggle goes on, even if by other means. Main bearers of the struggle remain the upright, loyal fighters at the front, out there in the folk.

We will still have to struggle for a long time with a too narrow life basis in a harsh climate. Life on our poor Nordic soil will always mean a struggle in this sense. From

such a struggle emerges the pugnacious man - the Nordic man. From this struggle emerged the cultural accomplishments of Nordic man - *highest* cultural accomplishment rooted in blood and soil.

Let us take joy in the struggle and in the results of this struggle! Let us approach new struggle with joyous courage!

And we greet the Führer in this struggle from loyal and passionate heart!

To the German Motor-Vehicle Drivers



Speech to the entire leadership of the National Socialist Motor-Vehicle Driver Corps (NSKK) on the occasion of the general roll-call of the Motor Brigade Berlin on January 16, 1936 in the Deutschlandhalle.

NSKK-men! German motor-vehicle drivers!

At the start of the new year you have assembled for rollcall! At the start of a year, which will certainly again bring effort and cares like the previous one. But also - this is our well-founded hope - again new successes.

How happy can we be that Germany, unlike once before the rise to power, does not have to look at the coming year with the conviction that all work and all effort will be in vain, that the downslide continues apparently unstoppable, more and more to the bitter end!

What everyone who loves his folk suffered back then, only we know ourselves.

We cannot, therefore, reproach foreigners, if they do not comprehend what has happened with us and continues to happen - if even the well-meaning people get their view blurred by the dust, which the great cleansing process in Germany has stirred up, if they allow themselves to be influenced by the shouting of people who have felt the broom!

We do not reproach them, rather we call to them: If you had gone through, what

we have gone through - if you had to look on as in your land Jewish Bolsheviks dragged through the mud everything, which is sacred to you - if you had to look on as one allowed your nation to be disarmed and it was surrendered to the despotism of your enemies - if you had to experience how the folk's property was sold off by international swindlers, the decent folk comrade dispossessed through inflation, how hunger spread - if you had stood at the graves of those who had committed suicide out of desperation, stood at the coffins of those who were killed by communists, only because they loved their nation and this did not suit the Jewish-Bolshevik agitators: *you would understand us!*

If foreigners claim the individual's freedom has been restricted by us, we can only reply: *By us nobody complains about too little freedom except for those who want to misuse freedom.*

For this is correct: the freedom to betray the land unpunished, deceive the folk unpunished, agitate folk comrade against folk comrade unpunished, preach murder unpunished, drive Germany into the arms of Bolshevism unpunished - this freedom has finally stopped!

Perhaps understanding for this "limitation of freedom" will grow after the illustrated instruction, which Bolshevism has recently given to the world in South America.

But if foreign countries, despite everything, do not want to show us any understanding, we cannot change it: *Foreign countries may become happy in their own way; we take the freedom to be happy in our way!*

That our folk is happier than previously, that the manner to lead it corresponds to the will of the folk, has been proven by the great plebiscites, whose overwhelming results the defenders of the so-called democratic freedoms want so much to be forgotten.

No democracy in the world can support itself on such a unified will of the folk as Adolf Hitler's Reich. And nobody can claim that the results of the plebiscites were achieved by pressure. That, too, we thank to the German Saarlanders, that a year ago they produced the proof to the world that, even under international supervision, a plebiscite ends with the same result as the rest of the plebiscites in Germany. This fact has not failed to make an impression on the decent people in other nations.

We see with you that the agreement between the decent people continues - despite all interests for agitation of the folks. Representatives of the front-fighters of England and France have exchanged visits with those of Germany.

Full of pride we can point out to visitors to our land what mighty achievements our folk has accomplished in three years of the National Socialist regime by its methods! Never would it have been possible under the liberal- democratic or even the Marxist-communist system to in such a short time make our folk free again and independent from the rest of the folks of the world - based on its own strength, based on weapons and on men who are able to use these weapons.

Never would have under the previous system in the same period millions again gained work and bread.

Previously, it would have been unthinkable that our folk could in addition to the greatest work effort in its history: the total armament, complete mighty works of peace, make the Führer's globally unprecedented Autobahnen a reality, construct monumental buildings - huge halls like this Deutschlandhalle, which surrounds us -, and that the greatest sports field in the world would emerge.

Never could have under the old system in the area closest to you - the area of motorized vehicles - in a few years the previously considered impossible rise take place: Germany's motorization in the grand style with simultaneous blossoming of previously heavily depressed industries.

In Germany mighty new factory works are under construction, which are supposed to enable it that as many folk comrades as possible participate in the cultural advances, and that hence likewise National Socialist work again will become effective in the equalization of the material needs of life. And additional new factory works are supposed to make us independent from the extortive attempts by the rest of the world to bring us to our knees through blockage of raw material import and to again deliver Germany to the blessings of overcome systems.

The preparation of these coming things and all previous successes would not have been possible without the joyful assistance of the entire folk and the subordination of the individual to higher interests,

And you, men of the NSKK, have - for a large part already before National Socialism became state principle - voluntarily integrated yourselves into an organization, which from the start only wanted to serve greater common interests and today serves the whole!

You are motor-vehicle drivers, who by your own decision have subordinated yourselves to the compulsion of this organization amid renunciation of much personal freedom. The mass of NSKK-men takes up itself the often not easy service, in addition to its regular work, to always be ready for action to the last, if the interests of the whole demand it, for example help after major accidents.

In addition to the free time, which the NSKK-man sacrifices, he makes a material sacrifice, he wears out his vehicle. It is demanded of him that he be a good example, that he is more sacrificing, more courageous, that he maintains driver discipline better than any other German motor-vehicle driver. From him is expected that he nonetheless is not arrogant in bearing toward others, that he does not demand a privilege for himself at road checks and other occasions, when he comes into contact with state organs - in short, that he is a National Socialist through and through.

As a National Socialist he is even supposed to make a special sacrifice, a sacrifice, which precisely the good motorist senses: I have issued a decree that the motor-vehicle driving party comrade in general should reduce his speed so that tires and material are conserved as long as until we again have them in surplus. You can believe me that the issuance of this decree was not exactly easy for me; for I myself far prefer to drive 120 km/h than 80 to 90! Furthermore, the Führer here as everywhere sets a good example. - It is certain than just a 10% reduction in speed in the overall German motorization means millions in saved currency annually. It is National Socialistic, in realization of this, to make the sacrifice of a pleasure. For speeds over 100 km/h are primarily a pleasure and not so much a time saving, as each old driver among you knows, who has seen how little it affects the total travel time, if one pushes the vehicle to the extreme.

You should be a knighthood of the country road, but not bandit knights! A knighthood, which has exchanged the horse for the motor, but who should love your gas-burner no less than the knight his oats motor - who have an eye for the beautify of a modern mechanical construction like they earlier had an eye for the beauty of a noble animal. You should be grown together with it like the good rider is grown together with his steed.

The good driver proves that not the machine is master of the man, as often claimed, and as it easily has the appearance in the poor driver - rather that the machine is the willing servant of the man. It is the friend of man and, note well, of animal. One should remember just the suffering of man and animal, who in the past in winter had to make their way with a small wagon through frost and snow, for many hours exposed to the bad weather, and then put a motorized vehicle next to them, which covers the same stretch in a few minutes without a living being having to suffer!

No animal protection club has brought such a blessing to the horses as technology and the invention of the automobile.

You, German motor-vehicle drivers, who are united in the corps and in the club and National Socialist led, administer and care for this technological blessing for Germany. You are co-responsible for its development and its effect for the use of all folk comrades.

After me, the Corps Leader - party comrade Hühnlein - will present the special tasks of the NSKK. He will agree with me when I emphasize that the National Socialist motor-vehicle corps joyfully marches in the comradely community of National Socialist formation at the position, where the Führer has commanded it. Likewise the corps stands in close comradeship with the armed forces. The presence of Senior General von Blomberg at this roll-call here expresses on the other side the same attitude of the armed forces to the NSKK as well to all the other branches of the movement. The diverse tasks, which the motorization places on the German motor-vehicle driver on both the military as well as the traffic-technical side, have as their basis and prerequisite the comradeship of the leadership and of the individuals. With joy we can ascertain the successes of the common work on this basis.

In terms of world-view united in National Socialism, the German motor-vehicle drivers stand united in the coming year before tasks, for whose fulfilment I, from this office, wish you strength and energy and the successes resulting from them!

I know, and this fills all of us with proud consciousness, that the National Socialist motor-vehicle drivers, too, together with the Führer's whole following, at the end of the year 1936 will again be able to report to the Führer: Führer! We have done our duty!

To the German Students

Address at the tenth anniversary celebration of the NS-Student Federation and for the consecration of the new provincial student federation flags on January 26, 1936 at Odeon in Munich

My comrades!

Tenth anniversary celebrations of the movement are - like all movement celebrations, which bring back melancholy memories, but simultaneously nonetheless beautiful memories; for they are memories of the time of struggle, as difficult as the struggle was - perhaps so beautiful precisely because it was so difficult.

Today's celebration is for me an especially beautiful memory. A memory of the development of the first seed of the "National Socialist Students Group". It reminds me of the "National Socialist Students Group", which was founded in 1922 on the Munich university, whose godparent I had the honour to be. It was a few men who came together with more courage of affirmation than clarity and knowledge of their desire in detail. And courage of affirmation remained the essential characteristic of the members of the "National Socialist Student Federation" for a long time!

How many, even in themselves decent, nationalist-oriented students looked down over a decade long on their fellow-students who showed up at German universities with the NSDAP pin or even a brown-shirt - and in addition to that this provocative band on their arm! Provocative in its red for a nationalist, all too reminiscent of the red armbands of not yet forgotten times, for the leftist-inclined no less provocation due to the hated swastika.

The university lecturers also faced these new manifestations in their lecture halls, usually painfully touched. In short, the National Socialist students at the universities back then also faced a unified front - a front mixed with hatred, contempt and superior smiling toleration.

All the more did the small National Socialist groups stand together, all the more consciously did they publicly show their opposition, with all the more passion did they do their service in the developing S.A.. At the beginning they formed purely S.A.-student formations in Munich. Later they joined in - drawing the conclusions from National Socialist spirit - between all the other German people in the S.A., the workers, peasants and members of other professions.

Even stronger than the imposed opposition - just like the entire NSDAP, so also the National Socialist students - did the shared love of Germany unite, the pain over

Germany's fate, over its division, over its leadership's lack of honour, over the misery of German people, but the faith in a developing, new and better Germany also united. At least of all, the conviction united that the one man, who already back then was for them Führer, was taking the right path in order to make the new Germany a reality.

Already back then we knew that the students organized in associations with old tradition with the best intentions lived in their old traditions with the motto "For freedom, honour, fatherland!" before their eyes. But we also knew that the new revolutionary path had to be taken in order to make freedom, honour and a worthy fatherland a reality - paths on which the associations, due to their outdated norms, were not able to follow us.

We know that many of these associations once emerged revolutionary as well, that they were once devoted to revolutionary goals and they back then helped greatly to achieve something new and good for the folk. But just as they once helped to overcome the outdated, they must today as now outdated make way for the new. We affirm that they were a good educational school in their time. They were that for people in a folk, which was divided into classes and ranks anyway. They worked back then within the framework of a general "rank and class consciousness", and even a partial indoctrination toward class arrogance fell into the line of that time.

After the overcoming of this era by National Socialism, the outdated forms of student community life must make way for the new ones, which are based on the principles of a new time. In the long-run they will have to make way even if it is attempted to somewhat simulate the new time, because among the folk the memory of the past is too connected to them.

I know that for those who have grown up with the old forms and cling to a memory dear to them, it is difficult to separate oneself from them. But higher than traditions and forms stand ideals, which are supposed to be held high through these forms and these traditions.

The old, eternally valid ideals: freedom, honour, father-land, were, however, lost in the long, difficult years of our history - lost also, because the outdated spirit, which dominated in old associations, contributed to internally dividing the folk.

Regained was the freedom of the nation - regained the honour of the nation - regained was a really German father-land, because a new spirit opposed to that one gripped the folk, carried into the folk by the fighters for this spirit, the fighters of the National Socialist movement.

If these fighters had not come, if they had not preached the new faith, if they had not triumphed: the forms and traditions of the old associations could have perhaps

endured for a while, but “freedom, honour and fatherland” would have been dead. Sooner or later the forms and traditions, too, would have died, because they cannot live without their content, and because they cannot live, if the folk perishes, which produces their bearers. May the new student life form as well still not be final, not yet perfect - what does that mean compared to that, which developed in the spirit of this new thing!

So that the new can come, pains must be endured. Out of the incomplete child of once develops the vital man.

Just as the old forms were supplanted by new forms, so have new symbols taken the place of old symbols. The flag of the student of the new time bears within it the sign of the new Germany - bears within it the sign, which became the symbol of all German people. It thus documents the bond of the student as well with his entire folk.

What the flag of the new Germany lacks in old tradition, is given it by the consecration in struggle, over which it waved in the most difficult years of internal German history, and by the victory which again gave validity to the old student ideals as well.

In the memory of this struggle, I consecrate you, flags!

You, too, will also carry an old tradition! A great and proud tradition! After generations one will still say of you, that you were consecrated just three years after the beginning of the German revolution, were consecrated still under Adolf Hitler, in the time when he created laws and works valid for centuries. One will say of you that you stood around the Führer, when he spoke to German students.

In remembrance of all this, you will be greeted in reverence by coming generations of German students.

Fly at the front of a new student youth!

Fly at the front of a student youth, which in deep bond with its folk absorbs into itself all knowledge in order to in the final analysis thus serve this folk - to employ knowledge and ability for the greatness of this folk!

Fly at the front of a student youth, which schools their body and the manly virtues: nurtures will, courage and readiness for sacrifice, so that body and spirit are always ready for action for the entirety!

Fly at the front of a student youth, which - if fate should demand it - is worthy of the youth of Langemarck!

Flags, you are consecrated to the man, in whom we greet Germany!

After the Re-Occupation of the Left Rhine Zone by German Troops

Speech for the folk plebiscite of March 29, 1936, delivered on March 21, 1936 in Stettin and - in modified form - in a series of other German cities.

My German folk comrades!

My fate as speaker has in the last days taken me to the Rhine, Mosel and Saar - into the region of the formerly de-militarized zone. It was a friendly fate which had me take this trip to beautiful Düsseldorf, to Mannheim, the city of most concentrated work, to thousand-year-old Trier, where even today the mighty building of the Porta Nigra bears witness to how foreigners had once taken possession of our land.

It was a friendly fate, not only because of the beauty of the land, rather above all because of the people among whom the automobile took me. For a heavy weight - which had burdened them for years - was taken from all these people on March 7 by the Führer's action. They more or less had the belief of living in a "given up" region. In a region that would remain undefended, if it suited our western neighbours to one-day march in across the border. For according to the treaty, after all, no soldier was supposed to be there, no gun was to be located there, no ever so defensive works or even just trenches to be erected. The inhabitants of the de-militarized zone, however, saw ever more armoured domes grow up beyond the border, whose guns were aimed at their peaceful cities and villages.

Not only psychologically, rather also materially, the people suffered greatly in this situation. For as a result of the feeling of defencelessness, many entrepreneurs did not dare to found new works or to even put old ones to work - rather one moved such plans into the protected region. Even the construction trade stopped; for people who wanted to build a house or even just a little lodging for themselves, preferred to retreat behind the protection of the homeland beyond the de-militarized zone and put up their buildings there. As a result, unemployment did not decline to the same extent as in the rest of Germany. More obvious than ever before was shown the inner connection between defence of the land - its military strength - and the condition of the economy.

More and more frequently, people asked: Are we really abandoned, given up, has the Führer forgotten us? Until, on March, the Führer's voice rang out to them - over night the soldiers of the young army came and brought along guns, light and heavy, planes and much more. Now the people knew: the Führer has not forgotten us! Now we are again under great Germany's protection - under the protection of Adolf Hitler's Germany!

What a burden was then removed from the soul of the people, can only be judged by whoever experienced their jubilation - can only be measured by whoever drove through their cities and villages, to whom the men, women and children shouted their gratitude with "Heil" to the Führer, whose automobile was covered with flowers intended for the Führer - can only be measured by whoever saw the glow in the eyes of the workers in their blue work aprons, by whoever saw the peasants along the roadside, to whom the mothers held up their small children: Report to the Führer, we have done our duty for the nation! - into whose ear the boys and girls shouted: our greetings to the Führer! - to whom the peasant women brought her finest ham, the smaller landowner his largest cucumber: for the Führer!

Probably never before have people been so united in love for one man and in gratitude to one man.

For every German, the embodiment of the new Germany close to his heart, is Adolf Hitler!

All of them have not come here to participate in an election assembly, rather they have entered into a rally of loyalty to the Führer!

What is happening in these weeks, is no election campaign, rather the nation's passionate affirmation of that which the Führer gave it - the nation's passionate affirmation of its honour!

They have come in order to document their bond with the man who like no other German deserves the honour title "Führer". Whom each of them views as "his Führer", regardless what class or social strata or party he may have previously belonged to. All of them have come in order to show the world: *we are now a unified folk, unified in every need and in every danger! Yes, in need and danger more unified than ever!*

They have come in order to somehow "be there" - to be there in the hours of historical significance for the nation - to be there at the event of such colossal magnitude that its size can only be measured against the extent of the collapse of once, of the dishonour of once, of the need and of the misery of once!

Our folk had never in its history sunken so low as in the terrible times after 1918. But it has also never before experienced such a tremendous rise like now!

People forget all too quickly. When one remembers how low we had once sank as a folk, one can fully measure what a miracle has transpired in the German folk - what a miracle has transpired within three years of the Führer's government. For a miracle *happened* in Germany!

How low had we sunken!

How unfortunate were the results of the collapse of our poor, tormented, starved folk at the end of the war. I do not want to speak in detail of all the dishonours: of the blacks on the Rhine, the kind of disarmament, the levelling of our fortresses, the smashing of our guns and planes, of the surrender of the fleet, of foreign commissions in the country, of the defenceless surrender of the demilitarized region in the west!

Not only that this *happened* was so bad, the worst was how our folk *reacted*. Or better, how it did *not* react - with the indifference it allowed everything to happen, yes, how it helped with the destruction of war material! That there were Germans who on their own plugged gun barrels, smashed range-finders, torched planes, yes, that Germans in terrifyingly large numbers betrayed hidden army supplies for money to foreign commissions: *that* was the most horrible thing!

That the German folk, at the same time as it was branded the pariah of the world, celebrated festivals, danced and thus awakened the impression as if it had really deserved to be dishonoured - for it dishonoured itself -: *that* was the most terrible thing!

That our returning soldiers were insulted and spat on, that their heroism was made ridiculous, that on the other hand traitors, deserters, cowards were designated heroes, *that* was what had to make one despair for our folk!

Hopelessly lost appeared this folk in its quarrelling, this folk of political parties and classes, of the small, egoistic interests, of submission, of dishonour, this folk of slaves of the rest of the world!

Three years of Adolf Hitler 's government have passed, and before us stands a free folk, a single, unified whole that only knows one thing: Germany, Germany and again Germany!

We have become a different folk!

How lacking in instinct was the folk of 1918 toward its most elemental life rights! Had a folk in its great majority ever accepted with greater indifference the signing of a lethal treaty than the German folk the signing of the Treaty of Versailles? Oh, large portions of this folk even passionately worked for the signing of this so destructive treaty - and not just for the signing, rather just as passionately even for its fulfilment.

The majority of Germans simply did not want to believe that this treaty would lead, economically as well, to the abyss where we eventually round up! They simply did not want to believe that - as it was said - "a few capitalists had to pay for the thing", rather finally every individual suffered: every bourgeoisie, every worker, every peasant!

Until finally the terrible proof was brought for the correctness of this primitive truth! But certainly not in order to convince the individual comrades of this folk, where the cause of the need lie: namely in the frivolous signing of a treaty and in the fulfilment of this treaty to being bled white. This folk enjoyed making each other responsible: the peasant the workers, the workers the peasants, so-called bourgeoisie the so-called proletarians, employees the employers, employers the employees - class stood against class, party against party!

Today, after three years of the Führer's government, the folk finally knows where the guilt laid, who were the guilty ones, it no longer blames each other, rather it has made sure that the genuinely guilty people of once can no longer agitate against each other: the so-called leaders of once have been labelled what they really were: as seducers - as traitors!

Today the folk knows that one social stratum suffers, when the other suffers, that things go poorly for the peasant, when the worker has no wages, that the worker must starve, if the peasant collapses, that the ruin of the economy will not be prevented by a mythical international solidarity. Today the folk knows that the economy recovers, if the nation again recovers, that work and bread increase again, if behind them the sword stands as protection.

The German folk has never before had such a fine feeling for what benefits it, what harms it; never before was its instinct so awake for the great questions of its life.

The powers which now consult in London may try to treat us like the folk which signed the Treaty of Versailles - they would be amazed at the answer of the whole German folk!

How close were we once to Bolshevism - even if the world does not want to believe it!

It was carefully planned, the game!

We know today, and the whole folk knows today, that it was intentionally and consciously misled; that it was intentionally and consequently agitated against each other. Intentionally and consciously, the whole agriculture was driven toward ruin; intentionally and consciously nothing serious was done to alleviate unemployment. Intentionally and consciously the folk's race-feeling was numbed in that one paved the way for nigger culture, blacks were taken into the dance halls and on the stages. Intentionally and consciously everything that was holy to the German was rolled in the mud in order to take from it the primal source of its strength, to make it rootless, to make it ripe for organized rootlessness, for organized spiritlessness: Bolshevism, that Jewish invention for the poisoning of the world and of the peace of the folks!

The plan almost succeeded! The masses - who had been robbed of their life foundation, without work, starving, spiritually prepared - were almost driven into the arms of the lurking enemy of mankind!

To six million had risen the number of communist voters at the end. And nobody who knew the mass of the German folk back then will doubt that the majority of the rest of the folk would have gone along with these six million as soon as communism struck - just like people who went along, like the majority during the revolt of 1918 just went along, and who enabled the success!

As this six million waited for - by means of torch and murder - hammer and sickle to raise, waited for the prison gates to be opened and the criminals to again be released on the folk, waited for the churches to sink in soot and ashes - fate put power into the hand of Adolf Hitler!

The threatening power of communism in Germany collapsed. *And Moscow can be certain: even if it now tries to penetrate Germany through France - never again will its power be erected in Germany!*

In 1933 they thought otherwise, the gentlemen. When Adolf Hitler took over the government, the overall condition of the German folk was so hopeless, the disruption of the economy so advanced, that the wire-pullers of Bolshevism were convinced: Hitler and his National Socialists can no longer save anything, this last hope of the decent portion of the German folk must fail! "Let them come to power!", they said, "they *cannot* be successful!" "Let them come to power, then the spook will be over that much faster - and the sooner we will hang them, under the sign of the hammer and sickle, as deceivers of the folk!" The hangmen of the Tscheka would have *raged* in Germany in order to once and for all terrify the other folks from taking a path like the one of the millions of Germans who affirmed a new doctrine of folk community and anti- Semitism - who rebelled against the Third International and its Jewish wire-pullers behind the scenes!

But they erred in their calculations, the gentlemen! Adolf Hitler was successful - successful like nobody before him!

If Adolf Hitler had not been successful: Germany would today be a Soviet Republic. Germany would today be Europe 's red core, ravaged by civil war, finally surrendered to hunger and desperation, the new basis of the world revolution - an even more dangerous basis than Moscow.

Critics of National Socialism, however, who believe they must complain about details instead of seeing the big picture and waiting until small blemishes are eliminated, can be certain: In a Soviet-Germany, which would stand in place of Hitler's

Germany of today, they would no longer criticize and complain - for one does not criticize and complain, if one has been decapitated and lies under the earth. In Russia and now in Spain, proof has been presented that even cloak and collar are no protection against the Bolshevik executioner. To those who are affected, we shout: If Adolf Hitler had not come, you would today no longer stand at your pulpit, and your churches would be heaps of rubble.

The overcoming of Bolshevism succeeded - not only the external through violence, rather also internal, hypothetical overcoming because the Führer gave the folk a new faith. He could give it a faith, because he himself believed in this folk. He had not lost the faith in this folk, he did not doubt in the struggle for this folk, because he had lived amid it for years. He had lived amid it, when it endured its great, historical test of fire, when millions of the best of this folk proven a readiness for sacrifice, a comradeship, a strength in the endurance of suffering and a courage like no people before; he had become acquainted with it in the dugouts, in the fire zones of the front of the World War. And from there he knew that precisely those Germans who owned the least for which it was worthwhile to risk life belonged to the best fighters and defenders of their land: the German workers!

When the Führer embarked on his great work, it was clear to him that without the help of the German worker, everything would be in vain. He dared the work, and he found the strength, to start with the construction, because he had brought home with him from the drum barrage of the World War the faith in the German worker.

The German worker during the last years has in loyalty and devotion fulfilled his difficult daily work.

Here and there, there might still be a folk comrade who does not fully appreciate the worker's performance. I say to him: Go to the places where he performs his work! Go into a foundry, go into a chemical factory, observe the people, how the difficulty of the work has chiselled their faces, how quickly they age! Certainly, this work must be done for the nation - but the performance should also be recognized! Go into a shipyard, into a coppersmith foundry, listen to the nerve-shattering rattling of the jackhammers! Go into the boiler room of a steamer in front of the white heat of the furnace fire! Travel into a coal mine shaft! There you meet the comrade, how he without air, without light of day, covered in coal dust, wins the black treasures of the earth. Kneeling or lying he labours, day in, day out, month for month, year for year, constantly facing the danger of a terrible death. So does he bring up the coal so that the wheels of our factories do not stand still, our trains run, our ships move, so that we have light and warmth in the middle of the Nordic winter. Go there - and you will have more understanding for the German worker!

That the German worker, too, has despite the difficulty of his lot found his way

back to his nation, this fills us with the feeling of joy. *There is nothing more beautiful than to walk through a city district that was once the most communist district and to see how hatred has receded and how a folk comrade again looks freely into the eyes of another folk comrade!*

The worker is satisfied with the small wage, because he knows the profit thereby achieved by the employer is not allowed to be dissipated by him, rather serves, directly or through taxes, to provide the means which are necessary in order to give work and bread to other work comrades who bear the misery of unemployment. We know the result of the sacrifice and devotion on all sides: *Of seven million unemployed since the rise to power until today, four and a half million have again been integrated into the work process.*

Four and a half million who - instead of vegetating in the cheerlessness and hopelessness of their previous fate - are employed in Germany to erect mighty works for the community. Everywhere in Germany, new life stirs, run down houses are fixed up again, cities and towns set their honour in beautifying themselves. New, mighty buildings rise. Swamps become fertile land and new land is won on the coasts. *And the weapons for the new army emerge in a quantity and quantity that finally destroys the desire of others to violate Germany's peace. Never before has the German folk performed such a mighty community work as its armament.*

The Führer's Autobahns have become a reality in a time span which many at home and still more in foreign countries considered impossible at their proclamation. They grinned at the "fantasizing". The grin has left their faces. The excavations, which have been done just on the stretches completely to the present or on the 2000 km under construction, are far greater than the excavations on the previously most significant work in the world, the Panama Canal.

Autobahns which are not supposed to just serve a small circle of the well-heeled, rather serve the entirety. The public economy will be spared millions in fuel and tires through them. Through the Autobahn connections, many products will be able to be brought to market more cheaply than was previously the case, indeed many products will first gain a market.

In the not distant future, the Volkswagen will drive on the Autobahns. In Soviet Russia, the concept of communism is achieved in that today nobody owns an automobile anymore. In Petersburg only the automobiles of the commissars and foreigners still drive. *National Socialism achieves socialism in that it enables the great mass to participate in the cultural progress* — in the area of the automobile in that it opens the way for everybody.

You also know that in the area of travel and recreation, National Socialism has taken the same path - not by taking away this possibility from the well-heeled in the name of equality, rather through the organization "Strength through Joy to enable the

not well off trips on land and on water, by sea and into the mountains, and to show them the beauty of our fatherland and of the world. Indeed, so far five million folk comrades have in this manner already spent a more beautiful vacation than previously. Many of them have had a real vacation for the first time. *Of 19 million workers in Europe who have a claim to a paid vacation, not less than 12 million are in Germany, according to the report of an international work conference.*

The Führer has again put the nourishment of the Germans on a healthy basis, in that he not only rescued agriculture from ruin, rather also improved it so much that our import of food stuffs - for which we had to use up to 4.5 billion Reichsmark in currency annually before 1933 - could be reduced to 0.9 billion Reichsmark in the year 1935. The currency, however, became available for the purposes of creating jobs.

We have all experienced how Adolf Hitler managed to successfully carry out the German revolution. He himself spoke a long time in the great trial of 1924, which followed the first attempt of liberation in November 1923, the words: *"A revolution should only then be viewed as successful, when it serves the folk in its result!" I believe that, viewed so, no revolution has succeeded upon completion like Adolf Hitler's revolution.* It has succeeded in the completion thanks to the Führer. But it would have never come to a revolution, if the army of old fighters, in their loyalty and in their readiness for sacrifice, had not stood behind the Führer. All of the many who, when things seemed to go badly with the movement, stuck to the Führer more loyal than ever, who did not let themselves be bowed, until victory was ours!

I know foreign trade has not yet participated in the general upsurge to the same extent. It is not the fault of the Third Reich that the world economy experiences a serious crisis, that the trade relations between folks decline ever more, that great states of the world have tried to orient the exchange of wares inside their own homeland and its colonies. And if one reproaches us that there is an aversion to National Socialism in many parts of the world, which further restricts trade with Germany, we can only reply: Do you believe that if National Socialist had not come to the helm and instead Bolshevism ruled - for only one of both was possible in the long-run -, do you believe that foreign trade would then be better? Civil war and dis-organization of the complicated economy of our industrial states would have soon made sure that foreign trade would have been ended in the most radical manner, namely in that no wares would be produced anymore with which trade could be conducted.

The new Reich has never had the intention to make Germany an autarkic region, to cut it off from the world - the others forced us into it. We can only point out the paths which must be taken in order to again produce international trade. And the Führer has found the path in the whole, great line. Prerequisite for the exchange of goods of both intellectual-cultural and material kind is mutual trust and peace in the world. With good will, combined with healthy common sense, the organization of the

technique of exchange of goods will not be so difficult, especially if healthy common sense leads to turning over space which others have in surplus to lands whose agricultural and raw material basis is too small. For we *are* a folk in too small a space; in the long-run we cannot feed ourselves from our own ground and soil alone.

The more we manage to - through creation of jobs - also enable those previously undernourished to acquire more groceries, more fat, meat etc., the less is available to the individual on average.

And that explains it, if occasionally, especially in seasons when agriculture declines anyway, temporary shortages appear in one area or another and the inclination to raise prices exists. The National Socialist market organization for agricultural products has managed to prevent it that in such periods the prices rise so much that the rich can indeed buy fat in surplus, but the others get nothing at all.

The fact that quantity of foodstuffs which we can produce on our soil is too small, cannot be changed much internally. It also cannot be changed by an increase of wages and salaries, even if doubled or tripled. The result would just be that, due to the increased demand, the prices for groceries and the other goods of life would automatically double or triple, i.e. that the individual for his doubled or tripled wages still cannot buy more than is available.

The doubling or tripling of price as a result of doubling or tripling of wages, however, would mean a corresponding devaluation of money, would mean nothing other than inflation. And I believe, my folk comrades, one inflation is quite enough for us. Back then the proof was already presented that with the quantity of printed paper the quantity of potatoes, fat or meat by no means increased.

*The most natural way for the people in Germany to produce more foodstuffs is that of expanding our life basis, i. e. to supplement it through colonies. Therefore, the Führer has tied his willingness to re-join the League of Nations to the expectation that the issue of colonies will be examined. The Führer knows that a folk without sufficient space, without a sufficient agricultural foundation, that a starving folk due to the instinct for self-preservation in the long-run must be a herd of discontent, against which even the most brilliant statesman is powerless. For hunger is a natural drive that can be controlled by neither admonishments nor commands. *The desire for colonies for us is thus only the desire for Europe 's pacification seen long-term, and therefore the question of the allotment of colonies to Germany is an element within the Führer's great pacification suggestion.**

Perhaps it will be countered: Why not limit your people instead of claiming more space? Why does the new Reich, on the contrary, promote increased births? To that we answer: for this reason not, *because we do not see that one of the most worthy folks of the*

earth should perish - a folk should perish to whom humanity owes the greatest cultural goods and progress, the most splendid contributions to world literature, to music, to sculpture! Because we do not see that a folk is supposed to perish to whom is owed the most significant discoveries and research results, humanity-saving progress in medicine, revolutionary inventions in the area of technology. Because we do not see why precisely this folk is supposed to voluntarily walk toward folk death, while other folks have eight-times or ten- times as much land without fully using it, yes, in part not using it at all. *A folk that sinks below a certain birth rate, commits suicide.* Especially, if the population of other states increases. Then the moment comes when thus growing states for their part use force to take space at the cost of the neighbouring folk. In such a case our folk would thus become even more squeezed in living space and again face the necessity to again reduce its population until it totally perished. A folk, however, can less prevent the taking away of its own space, the weaker it is. The strength of a folk, however - the strength to defend itself - is primarily dependent on the population size that is available for defence.

You know that the new Germany has done everything so that the population does not decrease. The German woman again places honour in contributing to our folk's future being secured. In the year 1932 - 975 581 children were born and in the year 1935 - 1 265 000.

We are on the path to secure our folk's future.

We secure the future not only through the number of children. We want the sons of our folk to defend their land - we do not want them to become cannon-fodder against heavily armed opponents who one day get the idea to invade our land. Therefore, we have allowed ourselves to somewhat adapt our armaments to the armament of other lands.

We want peace. No statesman can go farther than the Führer in his effort to secure peace for Europe. Again and again, the Führer stretched out his hand to France, again and again he presented concrete proposals for a real pacification. After the rise to power he again and again declared himself ready to limit Germany's army and its weaponry to a minimum, to a fraction of the present strength. France rejected or ignored everything. *The result of all our effort for agreement and peace was: France made an alliance with Soviet Russia against Germany!* French politicians can talk all they want: this alliance is a threat to Germany! What statesman, guided by a real consciousness of responsibility toward his folk, would have seen that and done nothing? At any rate, the Führer did not look on and do nothing. *There is not only France's security, there is Germany's security!* Germany responded to the threat against its security by creating a defence at least within its own sovereign territory. If, however, France tries with all means to negate this most elemental defensive action - then how can we believe in France's peacefulness?

The war-mongers in the world must be told, if instead of peaceful certainly they want trade: we will not capitulate!

On July 8, 1934 I turned in a speech in Königsberg to the front-fighters of all nations of the World War. For the front-fighters, who know war in all its horror, must be the most passionate fighters for peace. At the same time, however, I warned the world against misunderstanding the German government's wish for peace - this government represented by front-fighters. I turned especially to France with the following words:

"I want to warn the world against confusing the Germany of today, the Germany of peace, with the Germany of once, the Germany of pacifism!

For one must know this: although we front-fighters still have the memory of the terrors of war a thousandfold before our eyes, although the young postwar generation wants war as little as we oldsters - our land is not open for a stroll."

What was true then, is especially true today!

In that speech to the front-fighters I added that we do not believe what the well-poisoners of international relations suggest to us, namely, that any folk wants to disturb Germany's peace and hence Europe's peace, if not the world's. We especially do not believe it of the French folk. May the French folk make sure that this our belief is not shaken by its government and its parliament.

Whoever allies himself with a highwayman, should not be surprised, if one does not view him as a peaceful citizen!

We know how Soviet Russia hates Germany, this National Socialist bulwark against Bolshevism. We know, however, that Germany's defeat would mean the prerequisite for the spread of the world revolution. And we know what the results of a European war must be: chaos, the intensification of the world economic crisis without bounds - of the world economic crisis which is the result of the last great war anyway. We know that everywhere - not only in Germany - the unemployment and hunger of the masses would have to grow to an unimaginable extent. We know that Soviet Russia yearns for that condition, because Bolshevism must finally triumph on that basis. Soviet Russia acts logically, when it tries by all means to encourage a European war. Incomprehensible is only that France, which likes so much to describe itself as the champion of civilization, at the very least does nothing in order to hinder Soviet Russia from destroying civilization. Or are *those* Frenchmen correct, who claim that behind the scenes in France the same forces are at work which in Germany once conducted the business of Bolshevism?

I fear, they are right. I repeat what I recently learned: *On the Rhine, Germany today defends the civilized world against Bolshevism.*

But one tries to prevent us from doing that! In a formal-legalistic interpretation of the Locarno Treaty differing from our own view, one endeavours to support the Franco-Soviet Russian attempt to keep the previously demilitarized zone open as an entry portal into Germany. My dear experts! You were not always so in favour of the treaty being met down to the last letter! Why did you pronounce no judgment, when the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty were simply broken?!

Do these representatives of culture really want to help pave the way for the destruction of culture? To justify their position against Germany, they sing the old tune: "Germany threatens Europe's security!" We Germans already long know this melody. But we had nonetheless hoped that it would this time at least be played in a somewhat better variation.

It is moving: dear little Soviet Russia and poor, brave France have put together the largest armies of the world for themselves, conclude a pact for aggression against Germany, and because Germany is not ready to expose itself without ado, it threatens Europe's security. That is the opinion of the experts.

They sat together in London and brewed up memorandums that triggered tones even in the English press which are refreshingly new for it. We do not need to go further in criticism than an English newspaper which writes this pretty product does not come from concerned statesmen, rather appears to be invented by malicious political satirists.

And for the sake of dear peace we also wish to view it more from the humorous side, like other English newspapers do, if one kindly wants to put an international police force at our disposal. It is a satire that must be preserved for a later writing of history, that even Italy is supposed to contribute to this international police force. Italy, which was once accused by the same League of Nations of treaty violation and then "punished" with sanctions. The same land is now supposed to, on behalf of the same League of Nations, play policeman among us - "defend the morality of folks" -, because we have stationed a few peace garrisons in our own sovereign territory!

We still take the matter humorously... But the Führer has not fought for one and a half decades for the return of the nation's honour, the National Socialist movement has not struggled to again build a proud Germany, so that the world can treat us in the year 1936 like it treated the Germany of 1919! *The world should finally take note: The Germany of Versailles no longer exists! The world should finally take note: Today it has before it Adolf Hitler's Germany!* It has before it a Germany that passionately wants peace, but is just as passionately devoted to the protection of its honour!

We cannot believe that the folks inwardly give their agreement to the enterprises of their representatives to prevent the pacification of the world. These folks want peace just like the German folk wants peace. The German government has born the bill - may the rest of the governments finally bear it as well! Europe cannot endure a long delay.

We know that it was again the front-fighters in the various states who already turned against the Soviet Russian- French play with the fire of war. We know that even French front-fighters saw through the background of the pact between their land and Bolshevism and denounced it. We know that the chief of state of one of the great lands is himself a front-fighter, who really knows war, and we have the conviction that hence this land is a guarantor of peace: *We have the hope that the still healthy forces in all lands will still gain the upper hand and place themselves on Germany's side. Place themselves on Germany's side against the attempt by international peace-disruptors to hurl the torch of war and of world revolution into the centre of our old continent.* In that they place themselves on Germany's side, they place themselves on the side of peace.

In the whole world the same forces work against peace, which once agitated against peace inside Germany. They work with the same means of lie and defamation and accusation, with which they once worked inside Germany.

We have the conviction that just as these forces were once defeated inside Germany, so also will they be defeated in the world. We have the conviction that just as peace came to Germany, so also will peace come to the world.

We *hope* for the return of reason among others - we do not want to *depend* on it. We have forgotten to reckon only with the reason of the world. We know that outside Germany only too many forces are still at work which have an interest in reason not winning. For the victory of reason must be their end. *Thanks to many bitter experiences we have preferred to do everything so that we are not dependent on the reason of the world. We have done everything to protect ourselves against lack of reason!*

Our army and our weapons are in the final analysis the best guarantor of peace.

We have the good fortune, man for man, woman for woman, to be able to throw our vote onto the scale for the victory of reason. Every vote which we give is a vote for peace. The Führer called us, we give an answer, and world history will one day record: in 1936 the 65 million folk of the Germans voted as the first jointly for peace!

Every vote which we give is also the thanks of every German to the Führer. Should be the thanks that he again made a single folk out of us. Should be the thanks that he again gave us bread, that he again gave us work. Should be the thanks that he again gave us honour. Should be the thanks that he again created a Germany on which we can look with pride - a Germany which will again be a genuine homeland for

children and grandchildren. We want to thank the Führer so that we can pass the test before our descendants, so that we can pass the test before the judgment of history.

To the German Youth Leaders

Except from an address to the regiment leaders of the Hitler Youth and the German Young Folk at the first Reich Leader Camp of the Hitler Youth in Braunschweig on May 23, 1936

My young comrades!

Dou, all the leaders of the Hitler Youth and the Young Folk, have assembled here for the first time. Such meetings primarily contribute to gradually creating unity of thought down to the last of the leadership corps of the Hitler Youth. It is clear, of course, that a young organization must first go through a maturation period - for what are the few years since which the Hitler Youth and the German Young Folk exist compared to the duration of history! Precisely in terms of thinking, the youth, and especially the National Socialist youth, must ferment. And through such shared meetings, shared discussions and through the speeches by men who stand firm in the movement, this fermentation process is quickened. Not less important is the mutual becoming acquainted of the leaders of the youth, many of whom first get to really know each other here.

I have looked at the individual heads during the march in review back in the camp and here while walking down the ranks, and I have been able to ascertain with joy that among you, many of whom have already been active in the Hitler Youth for years, no "chalk piles" are to be seen, which would actually have to be the case, if certain theories, which for a while were professed by individual youth groups and by individual youth leaders, were correct. I believe that the youth leaders with the chalk pile theory have recognized their mistake in themselves, for they did not become chalk piles over the course of years. Whoever makes the effort not to become a chalk pile, also does not become one. Whoever was really young once, will remain young, young up to the age of when old in years. We have enough examples of that in history. We know of many great historical personalities who remained young into the latest years of their life. We have before us the best example in the Führer himself - in the Führer, who will soon turn fifty and who is nonetheless, innerly and in spirit, always the youngest among us.

It really does not depend on the counted years of life, whether one is young. And it would be a grave mistake and a great disadvantage for the nation, if one wanted to eliminate the "youngsters" who are richer in years from the work for the movement, for the folk and for the nation. For these men combine with their youthful nature the advantage that they bring along knowledge, experience and clarity of judgment, which have been taught to them by life and which one must not underestimate.

I believe, my young comrades, when you are one day much older, you will

understand this even better than today. But I already tell you all this today in detail, because I want to ask that you convey this knowledge to your boys, so that you do not implant into them contrary ideas, ideas, which would one day have to be corrected.

Educate the youth, which is entrusted to you, for respect for the capable, regardless of age. Educate them to respect the personality. The affirmation of the creative personality, of personality in general, is, as you know, one of the basis theses of the movement. You know that the Führer has again and again emphasized personality in his speeches. You know that during the period of struggle, together with the idea of the value of race and the purity of race, the idea of personality was important for us, just as it is still important today.

In no movement were and are, therefore, so many personalities active as in ours. Not only personalities, which stand visible on the stage of the nation's political and historical life, also National Socialists more in the background: such as our fellow combatant, party comrade Schreck, whom we had to bury a few days ago. He belonged to the personalities who, heaven knows, were ready, if necessary, to fight against death and the devil.

Implant in your boys as well respect for the ancestors. The respect for those who existed before us, without whom we would not exist and without whom we would not be as we are. A legacy of each ancestor is inside us. The more we can have the conviction that we do our part at the post we are placed, the more we must have respect for those to whom we owe it that we can be leaders in the nation's difficult times.

The ideas, which we disseminate, must from time to time be checked by the consequences, which they have in reality. They must be checked in regard to the effects on our folk in its practical living conditions. The ideas and concepts of purely intellectual kind as well must be checked in this regard.

I think thereby on an issue, which has played and still plays a big role in the Hitler Youth: the issue of religion. It would be arrogant and - let us say it straight out - it would be dumb to take the view that nothing else more exists outside of our earthy horizon, if man in all his weakness and all his "humanity" were really the crown of creation. The view that only that exists, which we see and can somehow comprehend and prove at the moment, that is, after all, the view of liberalism - that is materialist view.

We oppose the materialist idea with our view, that not the mechanical, rather the spirit rules the world. We have the conviction that there is still something else above our spirit. Something, which extends beyond everything, which man with his limited reason can comprehend. The faith in the existence of a higher power, an Almighty, we

call religiosity. But religiosity differentiates itself from dogmatism. Quite the opposite, the more religious a person thinks, the less he has to do with confessional externalities.

But a real, deep religiosity has its great importance, especially in times of need. This religiosity, which we mean, plays a decisive role in times of greatest need - such as when guiltless misfortune, illness befall a person, or also when a folk is challenged to the ultimate struggle, the struggle for its existence.

We all hope that we may be spared from again having to sacrifice best blood and property in a war. But that, unfortunately, does not lie solely in our hands. If we are attacked, if there must be a struggle, then it is very essential, whether the soldiers who go out into the incredibly difficult strain of a war, whether the soldiers under drum-fire, during air attacks, if clouds of poisonous gasses swept toward them, if tanks roll at them, when they are in a situation, which by human reckoning is hopeless, whether these soldiers can then cling to something higher, to the beyond.

Fighters of the fronts of the World War know that.

Always make clear to yourselves that the responsibility, which you bear in that you educate our folk's folk, is an incredibly difficult and great one. You are supposed, to after all, convey especially to the youth the ability of our folk and further develop it within them. You work more than other leaders of the movement on the new shaping of the coming folk, on the spiritual as well as the physical, because you more than other leaders have the youth before you, who grow into the future time, into the evolving folk.

You have a difficult office, I know it. You are supposed to always be a good example, supposed to always have more inner bearing than the others. But you have the most beautiful office at the same time. For it is the most beautiful thing to work so intensively on our youth and hence on our future.

To the German Officials

Speech of June 4, 1936 at the great rally of the Main Office for Officials of the NSDAP in the Deutschlandhalle in Berlin

German officials!

The most living contact, which exists between folk and state, is represented by the state official. It is, after all, the contact between people. For in this case, the folk is not an abstract concept, rather a diversity of individual beings - of people. These people continually face the official as an embodiment of the state in human form. The citizen, or Reich citizen, as he is called, is hence most strongly influenced in the image he has of the state by the behaviour of the official, by the way he presents himself.

But there are also times when the image of the state is so clear to the citizen that this concept cannot be changed by the official's behaviour, if it does not match this image.

Applied to present circumstances: Thanks to the so thorough saturation of the whole folk with National Socialist thought and views and the state's assimilation of them, the folk's relationship to the state is so firm, that it cannot be substantially affected by officials whose actions and views are not National Socialist. The folk does not say the state is bad, rather its official is bad.

If this is generalized - which, given the widespread inclination to generalization, is all too easily the case - this harms the reputation of the official in general. A difference is made between the state and its officials, whereby the official is the one who suffers.

The image, which the German has of officials, swings between two extremes:

On the one side, an image of officials has emerged among the folk due to bad officials, in which the official is equated with the bureaucrat. That is the kind of official who starts his day early in the morning in a bad mood, who projects his bad mood onto all who work with him, and to all who must go to him, if they want something from the state or its institutions. He perceives the eternally constant clock of service as the hour hands of a martyrdom. He sees in the public his enemy, who is determined to aggravate and torment especially him in particular. Since the years of the Weimar Republic he also no longer always enjoyed unconditional trust - reliability was no longer an absolute certainty. He had lost his reputation among the folk, which often also treated the official who was blameless for this development accordingly.

On the other side stands the concept of the so-called Prussian official of the type, which developed itself since Friedrich Wilhelm I: The man who, in high office or low, perceives himself as servant and representative of the state, as a good example for his surroundings, as a person, whose backbone in life is consciousness of duty, who performs his duty flawlessly to the end, who feels loyalty to the state to be as self-evidence as the inflexibility of right upon which the state rests and by means of which the state preserves, protects and shapes the life of the folk. It is that kind of official whose life content is not earnings, rather service. The kind of official for whom the compensation for the meagreness of the salary is that he is distinguished to be a visibly elevated servant of the state.

Under the effect of National Socialism the concept of the good official has changed somewhat.

It has changed as the concept of the state has changed, which is no longer an image hovering high over the clouds, to which the "subject" looks up, rather an institution, which serves the folk. To the same degree the good official is no longer the over-strict, feared superior or "school master" in the bad sense of the word, rather a servant of the folk - a servant of the folk in its more abstract entirety -, not a servant of the individual.

Whereby the individual folk comrade rightly expects beyond this, that the official for his part also perceives himself as a folk comrade, acts like a folk comrade, as a person with understanding for him and his concerns, who within his framework is his adviser and helper. For example, the policeman develops more and more into the helper and advocate and assistant of the folk comrade, to whom the folk comrade can turn with trust, without the policeman thereby losing authority. And it is to be hoped that accordingly the citizen feels more and more bound to him and, in case necessary, assists him. So has it long been self-evident in England for passers-by to take the side of the "Bobby", whereas in Germany, leastwise for a long time, it was so that in the majority of cases a policeman who turned against somebody, who erred, had the public against him from the start.

The demand for feeling bound to the folk, for action for the folk, is not only valid for the lower official coming into personal contact with the folk, rather to a far higher degree also for the higher official, who in all his action and inaction, in all his decisions should always ask himself, how much does it help and how much does it harm the cause, which I serve, how much does it help and how much does it harm the folk.

And it harms the cause, which he serves, if he is un-National Socialist in his action - transgresses against the principles of National Socialism. Not only because National Socialist action is synonymous with action in the interest of the folk, rather also because - as I already emphasized earlier - either through the equating of official and

state the state suffers direct damage before the folk, or because a gap emerges between the concept of state and the concept of official, which hurts the authority of the official and hence indirectly the state itself. Damage to the reputation of the state, however, again means damage to the reputation of the institution, which is primarily supposed to be a servant of the folk.

I know that the majority of officials who transgress against National Socialist views or against the party as the bearer of these views, do not do this out of maliciousness, rather because they are not yet familiar with the National Socialist basic attitude and also not with all the principles of the National Socialist movement. But just as the German official feels it is self-evident that a basic attitude is demanded of him, which corresponds to his office as well as a knowledge of the pertinent legal regulations, which are necessary for the area of his tasks, likewise does the German folk demand of him National Socialist attitude and knowledge of the essence and working of the National Socialist German Workers' Party. For it has become the sole political representation of the folk; it determines the political development; the state has been re-shaped from it and will be further influenced in the transmission of the Führer's will, who himself is the first agent of this folk.

I know that, if speak to you about the essence of the NSDAP, about its structure and its tasks, there are many old party comrades among you who are already long familiar with all this. But I also know, on the other side, that the great majority of officials do not belong to the old members of the movement and previously had no opportunity to concern themselves with National Socialism and its embodiment in the party.

I do not reproach these officials for not belonging to the old party members. But we must pay highest respects to the officials who, despite the Republic Protection Law, joined the movement, of which they had won the conviction that it champions ideals, which are their ideals, and that it strives for a state, which is better than the state of inner decay, of impoverishment, of weakness in foreign affairs and of dishonour. We know that many of these officials have suffered for the sake of their conviction, and we want the sacrifice, which they made, to not be forgotten.

Just as little do we want forgotten the sacrifices, which the old party comrades have made for the movement and hence for Germany. We do not want to forget how they, without receiving the slightest compensation for it, sacrificed job and profession, how they often hungered and famished, how they risked health and life, even when at the end almost daily reports of new victims of the tenor reminded them of the danger! They should not be forgotten, for they were soldiers with whom the Führer won the victory!

Their great historical accomplishment, party comrades and German officials, is

called fulfilment of duty. This fulfilment of duty makes - so I believe - the new, firm state makes it easy for the German official, and I also believe that all German officials have reason to be thankful to the National Socialist movement, which after the revolution and after the rise to power in Germany endeavours to create a new type of official. For it has done its part and continues to do it, to improve the in the past attacked reputation of the German official within the folk and to solidify this improved reputation. It does its part on the other side to show to the folk how life essential a good officialdom is for a folk and what right this officialdom has, if it does its duty, to also be affirmed in honour and respected.

Germany's reconstruction has doubtlessly been simplified, because through the years of decline a mighty cadre of decent, good officials was salvaged, which held high the tradition of the old German corps of officials. These were joined again in the short period of the National Socialist revolution by a large number of officials who do their duty in a devote manner. Your accomplishment, your contribution to new Germany's construction and development should be thankfully affirmed.

The German official should in rallies like today likewise express that he himself is proud of his accomplishments and of his officialdom, as he on the other hand makes the affirmation to the folk that he will serve and work for the folk, as National Socialism requires it. Professional officialdom, which holds high its traditional characteristics, has in the period of struggle as well always found the National Socialist movement's recognition - recognition as one of the essential bearers of the genuine state.

My German officials, I no way fail to see that today a greater degree of devotion to duty, readiness of sacrifice for the nation, knowledge of legislation and - not least - psychological skill must be demanded from the individual than previously.

And yet beyond that must be demanded that the official, who in his work area is naturally only responsible to his superior, constantly keeps in touch with the responsible offices of the party, especially if he finds himself in a leading position, so that - based on a confidential cooperation between, for example, bureau chiefs and political leaders - a uniformity of view is represented to the folk in all questions of political significance. The political leaders of the party assigned to bureaus are called upon to be the living link between party and state. They especially also have the task to care for the awakening and nurturing of a genuine National Socialist community spirit among the officials as well as all non-officials who work in the bureau. They should also do their part so that the officials of the various categories learn to more and more feel among themselves like members of a group of work comrades, in which the idea of comradeship conquers separation according to professional level. *They should work as good examples for the principle that a good official is the official who is helpful to the common man and is active as a genuine servant of the folk.*

As you know, before all placements and promotions of officials, insofar as these come from the Führer, the party is asked about its evaluation of the respective officials. Its consent is necessary for the corresponding recommendation to the Führer. The security is supposed to be hereby heightened, that only officials who are irreproachable in the National Socialist sense are hired and promoted. *This evaluation by the party helps not least the good official himself.* It is supposed to hereby be prevented that the evaluation of the official above is just dependent on the evaluation, which the superior within the official channel gives him - superiors, of whom one or the other might be secretly averse to National Socialism and so, perhaps with objective motivation, but actually for world-view reasons, seeks to hinder the professional advancement of the National Socialist inclined official, and to promote non-National Socialist officials who are closer to him in views. The National Socialist Officials' Organization as well as the National Socialist local units in the localities where the officials reside are in the position, totally independent of the government channel, to contribute to the evaluation of officials - if necessary, to work correctively. Yes, just through the knowledge of this independent path of evaluation submission, an inclination to coloured reports to government offices might be prevented.

The organs reporting inside the NSDAP are instructed to use greatest justice and greatest carefulness when writing the evaluation. Beyond that, I personally have the final decision, whether or not an appeal should be filed against an appointment. You can be convinced that I do not let myself be guided by minor points. Through the law for the reestablishment of professional officialdom, real pests have been eliminated. Among the officials in service it does not come down so much to what comment this or that official may have made in the past, rather how he behaves today and what he accomplishes. Decisive is whether he loyally does his duty to the new state, whether he strives to be a National Socialist in his behaviour, whether or not he through his working promotes the necessary unity of party and state in accordance with the Führer's will.

There might still be a hidden official here or there who cannot forget that he would rather see a democratic or monarchist governed Germany, even at the price that this Germany is a Germany of misery and weakness. But you can be certain, even if somebody still actually quietly works on this basis at this or that post against the new state: he resembles somebody who tries to stop a fresh flowing river. The river will sooner or later pull him along or destroy him.

My party comrades! German officials! If the National Socialist state in the long-run naturally only tolerates National Socialist officials, it does not do this from narrow party perspectives, which the NSDAP knows as little as it is a party in the usual sense. *The demand for the National Socialist official is made in the interest of Germany's preservation, which is only possible through National Socialism and in the future will only be possible through National Socialism.* It lies not least of all in the interest of each individual official,

if a purely National Socialist corps of officials is demanded. For only a totally unified corps of officials, standing on the same world-view foundation, is a strong pillar of the state, on which the existence of the state largely depends. The state's existence, however, is the prerequisite for the official's existence. The stronger the state, the greater its reputation, the greater as well is the reputation of its official. The German state can only be strong as a National Socialist state. For Germany can only be National Socialist or Bolshevist. National Socialism could only be replaced by Bolshevism. Being Bolshevist, in the long-run, means for Germany *not* existing. But Germany *should* exist, Germany *should* live - and Germany *will* live!

Party comrades! German officials! May you be an official of the postal system or police, municipality or rail official, tax official, justice official or administration official, somehow you come into contact with the individual folk comrade or your working is important for him. *Be conscious of this: You experience fates, you make decisions of often far-reaching importance to families. You can through advice boost folk comrades, but you can also torment them, if you do not do your duty in a National Socialist sense. It is not important, which office the official holds, whether it is great or small, whether he is a minister or an official of low rank. According to a National Socialist it is not important, what he does, rather it is important, how he does it. The official has his regulations for his serve. But how he does it, how he fills it with life, how he adapts it to the life of his folk, that is up to him! Here it is decided whether an official in the higher sense is good or bad, whether he is really inwardly a National Socialist or in the best case in name only. Here is decided whether he is a worthy servant of the new state, a worthy servant of his folk.*

Millions of people in the new Germany work unconsciously on their own worth, in that they perform work for the benefit of the whole, do their duty in the fulfillment of new ethical ideas.

I know the German official does not want to and will not stand back. He contributes his portion to the construction of our Germany, a Germany of exemplary order and highest justice, which is supposed to give all its own sufficient work and bread, which provides them with protection, a Germany of genuine beauty and genuine dignity.

We will all build together under the firm, goal-conscious leadership of the first official of the Reich: Adolf Hitler.

To the Training Ship "Horst Wessel"

Speech on the occasion of the launch on June 13, 1936 in Hamburg

This ship is supposed to bear the name of the poet and fighter of the front of the German revolution

"Horst Wessel"

just as its sister ship bears the name of the poet and fighter of the front of the war at sea, "Gorch Fock".

Both training ships of our navy thus bear names of fighters and poets of the same idea, of men who gave their life for this idea.

This idea is called "Germany".

The Germany which was envisioned by millions in the fight for Germany in the Great War;

the Germany which was in their mind's eye as the Germany of the future;

the Germany born out of the experience of the shared struggle, shared suffering, shared dying of German people;

the Germany for which it was worth giving up life.

Their hope was that, out of the sacrifice of the individual life, a life of the German community would arise worthy of their sacrifice.

Their hope was a Germany carried by the spirit of the front, was a National Socialist Germany, without them knowing the term "National Socialism".

The front-fighters carried the idea of this Germany with themselves into the homeland. The front-fighter Adolf Hitler elevated this idea to the idea of the homeland - to the idea of the German folk - in fulfilment of the legacy of the front. Out of the idea of this Germany, Adolf Hitler formed the reality of the Third Reich. If Adolf Hitler had not come: The idea of the front-fighter would have died with the front-fighters.

In Adolf Hitler's struggle for the elevation of this idea to Germany's idea, in the struggle for the evolution of the Third Reich, Horst Wessel sacrificed his life in service to the Führer and his idea.

Horst Wessel lived as an example of National Socialism.

So that the faith in National Socialism would spread among manual labourers,

the student Horst Wessel became the manual labourer Horst Wessel - within himself he united the worker of the mind with the worker of the hand - he united the nationalist of the idea with the socialist of the deed,

So that he could give the faith in National Socialism to those whose life is rich in deprivations, he renounced a bourgeois life and chose the life among manual workers - amid the unemployed.

So that he could prove his readiness to sacrifice his life for the ideas, he held the banner high at the front of his storm troop in Berlin's community quarter, even when he knew that the "red front" had decided on his death.

Because Horst Wessel was one of the most successful fighters of National Socialism, Horst Wessel became the symbolic form of the German revolution - he became the relentless admonisher for the German revolutionaries.

In that Horst Wessel's lips fell silent, his song became the song of the German revolution - became the song of the Germany to which the revolution gave birth.

In that Horst Wessel died, "Horst Wessel" became immortal.

Bear, oh ship, the immortal name out across the seas - bear it under the flag under which Horst Wessel fought and fell.

Bear with you always Horst Wessel's spirit.

Transfer Horst Wessel's spirit to the boys who are trained on you to become men.

Transfer to them the spirit of the front.

Transfer to them the spirit which is simultaneously highest nationalism and genuine socialism: the spirit of plain service to the whole.

Transfer to them the spirit of comradeship, free of old class and social concepts, the spirit of standing together, of the action of one for the other, the spirit which accepts deprivations for the sake of an idea -

the spirit which puts being above appearance -

the spirit of the sacrifice of life for Germany.


Transfer to them the spirit which holds the flag high to the last breath - even if the ship sinks!

Transfer to them Horst Wessel's love, transfer to them Horst Wessel's loyalty to the Führer.

To Bread-Winners and Consumers

Speech of October 11, 1936 at the consecration of the Adolf Hitler Hall in Hof

My German folk comrades!

hen your county leader and your senior mayor met with me during my vacation in Fichtelgebirge in order to explain to me that it was absolutely necessary to come to the consecration of the Adolf Hitler Hall in Hof and deliver an address, I at first looked for an answer. But when both were gone, I cursed in a very non-ministerial manner! Namely, I wanted to have peace and quiet during my vacation and not see any mass assembly - let alone speech in a mass assembly!

But when the first anger had dissipated, I reflected about what it really means that such a huge hall has emerged in not that big Hof.

It is certain at any rate that a number of cities, in which such halls were very recently built, could have previously never reckoned with being able to fill such halls, hence the construction would have been far from worthwhile. The small halls were fully adequate for the meetings of whatever tradesmen conference or for the "big rallies" of one of the thirty existing political parties.

Even those who massed the largest crowds, the so-called "representations" of the workers, were divided among many parties and trade unions.

When *one* called, the *others* surely stayed away.

Usually, one was even happy, if no really big hall existed, in which one would have to put his assembly for the sake of appearance. Then the fiasco was not quite so obvious, for example after the call of, say, the "German Folk Party", and one did not have to lie so overtly in the newspaper, when reporting of an "overfilled mass assembly".

And now huge assembly halls have sprung up everywhere in Germany, which offer space for thousands and thousands! And when the call goes out today, even these halls are everywhere still too small!

In present day Germany it is not just tailor federations, red, yellow and other trade unions, rightist or leftist or centrist parties, which are called, rather called - and it comes - is: the German folk!

Because the consecration of such another new hall is downright symbolic for our new Germany, that is why I have come here today.

I am especially glad to come to Hof, because I know that Hof has always been far advanced in the development toward National Socialism - and indeed in the most difficult times of the struggle as well!

I remember how the Führer and all of us in his entourage so often awaited the election results from Hof with special anticipation and each time were not disappointed. We could again and again proudly present to the rest of the world this previously red designated Hof as a National Socialist stronghold.

I know that today as well Hof does honour to its old National Socialist tradition at every opportunity.

I myself am conscious that this whole region here economically still stands behind many other regions in Germany. It is not particularly blessed with natural resources. A large part of the industry here are export industries. Above all, however, it is a border territory, into which many businesses, which emerged elsewhere, cannot be located.

I know that accordingly the wage and income conditions here are often to a large degree still behind those in the rest of the Reich.

I also know, however, that precisely *those* folk comrades whose life is difficult belong to the best and most loyal of the Führer.

They stood with him in the certainty that he also does for *them* whatever a person *can* do. They know that, from early until late, he thinks and works for *everybody* who somehow works himself in Germany. They know that miracles have already been achieved in all areas, which nobody would have thought possible three years ago.

And they have the conviction, which is the conviction of all of us, that things must get better and they will get better!

They will not be disappointed in this conviction!

How tremendous are the achievements of the new Reich in the *economic* area!

What does it mean in January 1933 to take over a state, which stood before collapse, which should have actually long since had to declare bankruptcy, and then within the shortest period by means of this state, by means of this economy to achieve a recovery, to again give millions employment, to build modern armed forces and at

the same time as these mighty exertions to secure bread for our folk!

This securing of the nourishment for the German folk had to happen through the increase of our own production of foodstuffs.

What nonetheless is lacking, must be imported.

Imported must be, however, not only foodstuffs, rather also, as you know, a large number of raw materials, which are necessary to keep our industry working, to secure the work of millions, to complete armament.

We can only import products in trade for products, which we ourselves produce. Prerequisite for this exchange of products is again that foreign countries are also willing to accept these products from us.

Here is where the greatest difficulty has resulted in the last years: Our export opportunities to the rest of the whole world have declined more and more; partly because countries, which previously purchased products, produce them themselves, partly because the world economy has become so mixed up, production and prices are in part based on such divergent foundations and such high tariff barriers have been erected, so that the exchange of products falters.

Certainly we could export many more products than at the moment! For it would be easy to hurl them out with the help of currency experiments - and thus simultaneously hurl out our folk fortune. We only have to reduce the value of our mark to the point where foreign mark holders could again utilize them to buy up Germany. That would be a pretty export! It would be equivalent to an unscrupulous giving away of our national capital, with new impoverishment of our folk by means of inflation. But does anybody perhaps believe that we cannot afford such experiments in a power-political sense? We could export products at such a price. But we want to neither swindle our savers nor fleece our next generation, in that we frivolously squander the national fortune, which we must administer.

We want no experiments, no swindle, rather we want a trade of wares carried out in honest work, on a solid basis and in accordance to good business practices.

For that we naturally also need export markets, of course. But export markets, which we lost in the war, can no longer be re-conquered, because other states now possess them and will no longer give them up. Hence our exports at this time do not suffice in order to import everything we need.

We know that, in addition, in the past years the Jews in the whole world were at work, through boycott and such, to further strangle our exports. For a while they had

partial successes with the help of their racial comrades in the trade centres of the liberal lands. Already today, their effort is in vain; the attempt to force a great, industrious folk to capitulate due to starvation has failed! And the gentlemen out there should be told: all further attempts will also fail! You will not beat us down! *Adolf Hitler's folk knows what is it about! It takes it upon itself if necessary, to meanwhile limit itself somewhat - it will not capitulate!*

And nobody should believe that, if the economic struggle against our folk fails, Germany could perhaps be overwhelmed through armed force, perhaps by putting Soviet- Russian militarism on the march. We have taken precautions!

And we are ready, in the future as well, if necessary, to consume somewhat less fat, somewhat less pork, a few eggs less, because we know that this small sacrifice means a sacrifice on the altar of our folk's freedom. We know that the currency, which we thereby save, helps the armament. Today as well the motto is still valid: "Canons instead of butter!", that means instead of more butter, first more canons, because otherwise one day the last of our butter will be taken from us.

The Führer does not belong to those who do a thing half way. Since a world in weapons has forced us to arm, we arm fully! Every additional gun, every additional tank, every additional plane is an increase of the security for German mothers, so that their children are not murdered in a wretched war - are not tortured by Bolshevik bandits.

We are making sure that the desire to attack us disappears forever!

We also know this: Over the course of the Führer's government, the consumption of foodstuffs has not become less, rather substantially greater. And we must be proud that this consumption became greater, that the demand of the German folk for foodstuffs has risen. For this means that the German folk, and especially the German workers as a whole, can again purchase more, in part better foodstuffs previously done without, than in the past. Millions and millions more are again in the position to acquire more foodstuffs for themselves and their families than previously, and they are even in the position to purchase the kind of foods, which they previously could not afford. There are altogether roughly six and a half million people who can today say that under Adolf Hitler they have not only found jobs, rather that they can on an average expend about 85 marks more each month than before the rise to power, that means when they were unemployed and on relief.

If each month six and a half million people expend 85 marks more, then the demand on the agricultural market is thereby increased by more than 550 million marks per month or over 6.5 billion marks per year!

One can presume on the basis of experience that of this again over three billion marks is used for the purchase of foodstuffs. For the undernourished workless of once and their families require somewhat more meat, more fat etc., a need, which they can satisfy after years of famishing. Image what it means, if for the incredible sum of three billion, that means 30,000 million marks more of foodstuffs are demanded during a year than previously! Is anybody surprised, if there are occasionally minor difficulties in the food market?! I know that our folk gladly accepts it, to from time to time consume a little less fat, meat or the like, in the knowledge that thereby millions of folk comrades can continuously be better fed than previously, when they were unemployed. We can state with pride: a bit too little butter for the individual is the proof for the success of the work battle for the entirety.

The renunciation by the individual means gain for millions!

There would be a very simple and effective means to overcome the occasional shortage of meat, eggs, butter etc: we would just have to let unemployment rise again to seven million. You can be certain: then on no day of the year would there be lines of even a few people anywhere - other than the unemployment office. But not because there would be more wares on the market, would this occur, rather because these seven million would again have no money to buy butter, eggs, meat or milk. Who would seriously want that? Does anybody want to live better at the cost of the impoverishment of others? Quite the opposite, I know that each of us is proud, through sacrifice for Germany, to stand up for his folk comrades and nation.

It is an old economic experience that, if there is less of a product than needed, people are willing to pay more in order to obtain the product in the desired quantity. It is natural that the price for these products then increases.

Thanks to the organization of the Reich Nourishment Council - created by National Socialism - it has been possible to nonetheless prevent the rise of the prices of a large number of foodstuffs, which represent the nourishment of the mass of our folk, even in time periods in which they are in especially short supply. If the prices had been given free reign, then the price of butter, for example, during periods of shortage would rise so much that only the well-heeled folk comrades could buy butter, and indeed in any desired quantity, while the other folk comrades would go empty-handed, because they simply would not be in a position to afford butter at such prices. The Reich Nourishment Council keeps the majority of food prices within firm boundaries and makes sure that, even during a temporary shortage, a just distribution is possible, or if elsewhere a too great shortage arises, a compensation is undertaken.

We know that the prices of a few other foodstuffs have actually risen somewhat as a result of their shortage. If the prices had been rigidly held at the old level, the danger would have existed that they would appear in the market even less than

previously, because the people who produce them and distribute them are also just people and would no longer handle them at the moment when outlay in effort and costs was greater than the price, which they received for them. If one wanted to force peasants, dealers, butchers etc. - despite continually unfavourable price terms - to produce and distribute a product, then one would have to adopt a compulsory system according to the Soviet pattern. The terrible shipwreck this system has suffered in Soviet-Russia, however, has not remained hidden from the world.

We also do not want to forget: *if a few products were not better paid, our agriculture would have collapsed.* For the prices, which we found for some agricultural products, were prices, which Marxism had created for the annihilation of the peasantry, for its proletarianization and Bolshevization.

We would be poor socialists, if we had betrayed the peasant for the sake of our popularity with the worker. For we would have thereby, after all, harmed the entirety and thus the worker himself, yes, surrendered him to annihilation.

It is naturally necessary that the prices of foodstuffs, which were previously stable, also remain stable in the future. National Socialism will use draconic measures, if necessary, against any price increase, which represents an exploitation of a temporary emergency. *National Socialism will make sure that the constant average requirement can also be covered at a constant average price.* And National Socialism will further make sure that the prices of the foodstuffs, which over the course of time have increased somewhat, do not rise continue to rise.

Whoever believes he can practice usury with the vital necessities of life at the cost of the whole, will become acquainted with National Socialism!

But all measures can change as little as market systems, price increases or wage increases that we today still do not have some foodstuffs in the quantity in which we need them.

How happy we would be, if the problem could be solved through wage increases, if the life condition of the broad mass of our folk could be improved! The path of wage increases would be simple for the National Socialist government as well as unscrupulous. It would not be able to improve the individual's situation in the long-run. *For all wage increases cannot change that we possess too little of the daily need in many things or can produce too little.*

One cannot eat the wage itself, rather one can only eat that, which one is able to purchase with this wage. One cannot purchase, however, what does not exist. That high and highest wages without corresponding increase of production, without increase of that, which could be purchased with this wage, does not mean any increase of the real work wage,

that means the real wage, has once already been made all too clear to us.

There was a time when every German worker earned hundreds of thousands of marks per hour, when he became a multi-millionaire each time wages were paid, yes, eventually a billionaire. But nobody can claim that he could buy more with his millions and billions back then than in the past when he only took a few marks home each week. Quite the opposite, he gradually got less, because as a result of the ruined currency, as a result of the impossibility to establish a production price in advance, one business after the other limited itself or closed altogether, so that production and thus that, which could be offered for sale, shrank more and more.

The path of wage increase would be unscrupulous, however, because a hope would be dangled before the wage recipients, of which we know that it cannot be fulfilled. It would also be unscrupulous, because beyond that the result would mean a severe damaging of the entirety, yes, a crime against the entirety. *For a rise of wages without corresponding rise of production would sooner or later have to lead to a new inflation.*

According to the already mentioned law of supply and demand, the prices of products rise, if altogether more wages and salaries seek to purchase while the products have not become more or have even become fewer. Corresponding to the increased prices, the wage and salary recipients would again demand an increase of their income, and an unstoppable game would emerge of alternating and mutual driving upward of incomes and prices, which we know all too well from earlier.

A totally purposeless and senseless game, because one, as said, cannot purchase more than exists, regardless whether one eventually pays fifty pfennig, a thousand marks or a million marks for the egg! I believe nobody in Germany has the desire to check the experiences of inflation with a second inflation.

We can see the race between wages and price at the moment in France. There, too, all forced wage increases bring no improvement, because production does not just stay the same, rather as a result of ongoing strikes, factory occupations etc. even declines. The final result will only be a harming of the entirety and of each individual. And all currency experiments as well - any ever so drastic devaluation - will change nothing; quite the opposite: a devaluation without increase of production can already mean the numerically expressed start of inflation.

It is amazing how little individual folks seem inclined to learn from the bitter experiences, which other folks have had. We, however, have at any rate learned from the experiences of our own folk:

Our folk will not take the path of suffering of inflation again!

The Führer has pointed out the paths, which must be taken, the occasional difficulties to be overcome:

First: *The world gives us the possibility to gain the raw materials, which we previously had to purchase, in our own regions, that means puts at our disposal raw material colonies.* This allotment of colonies lies in its own interest, because we could otherwise be forced to export at any price and thus damage the other export lands.

Second: *Production of the necessary raw materials in our own land,* insofar as this is somehow possible. They know that if German chemists and German technicians start something, the result is not bad! So are factories under construction, which in a short time will make it more independent on fuel import from foreign countries. So are factories under construction, which will produce synthetic rubber of at least equal quality as natural rubber. Other factories are emerging or are being converted.

Millions in currency, which we previously had to utilize for the acquisition of raw materials, will in the course of the fulfilment of the four-year plan be saved and used for the acquisition of larger quantities of raw materials, which we cannot produce ourselves, and used for the purchase of foodstuffs, which we lack at home.

Concentration of more raw materials for the possibility of increased production, that is the motto!

Foreign countries can rest assured of one thing: by means of the raw materials from our own regions and by means of self-produced raw materials, we will not resort to again increasing exports and thereby really entering competition against the other export states. If we do not have to, we utilize our national work force as little as possible to supply whatever savages with all imaginable things, which they previously did not know and did not need. Naturally, we will also trade products with other lands in the future. But if we possess enough raw materials without increase of the previous exports, we will primarily utilize these to produce products not for export, rather for ourselves.

As we have stated that shortage drives up prices, surplus production in the long-run has the opposite result: the buyer gets more for his money.

And I repeat here, too, what I already said: It does not come down to how many marks somebody receives, rather how much he can purchase for these marks - for his wages. And it is our goal to achieve that the German worker will one day be the best paid worker in the world, according to his performance - for the German worker is also the best worker in the world.

That the increase of production through increase of the creation of our own raw

materials will be achieved, we know with certainty since the proclamation of the new four-year plan by the Führer in Nuremberg. We know that this four-year plan will just as surely find its fulfilment as the first four year plan found its fulfilment.

The economists do not have to worry how all the new machines could be paid for. We have the work forces, and we have the necessary raw materials for the most part in the land: it is certainly not more difficult than producing a large number of weapons of war for the defence against whatever attacker, to produce the weapons of peace for the defence against our folk's hunger.

The conversion of our national work to the self-production of raw materials to the greatest extent and to the utilization of the thus manufactured products in our own land, is certainly no more difficult than the creation of employment at all for millions and millions more during the first four-year plan;

is not more difficult than the rescue of our peasantry from annihilation;

is not more difficult than the re-introduction of the once forbidden universal compulsory military service carried out by us.

This conversion of our production is not more difficult than the military occupation of our territories on the Rhine, than the restoration of our honour before the world!

How small is the risk of the gradual and systematic conversion of our economy compared to the risks, which the Führer took in the previous four years!

Through his determined foreign policy action, the Führer of the nation won political freedom. Through his determined economic policy action the Führer of the nation will win economic freedom.

My folk comrades!

I know what I told you there were in part sober truths. But they are truths, which determine the life of our folk and of each individual of our folk. They are truths, which must be spoken, precisely in a region like this one, so that the folk comrades whose life is still poor, whose often so difficult work is still not yet rewarded with the earnings, which correspond to this work - so that these folk comrades may recognize what relationships determine fate, and how difficult it is, even with such good will, to change this fate. They should, however, also know that those who lead recognize these relationships and do everything in their power in order to gradually win ever better living conditions. And that should be your comfort in your often still so difficult existence, that your fate is not inalterable, rather that the Führer works on the prerequisites to over time improve your very own situation and to have you

participate more and more materially as well in the great upsurge, which our folk as a whole experiences.

The upsurge is so great, and the rescue took place in such a short time, as nobody would have considered possible. And nobody would have believed that during the recovery of the totally ruined economy the difficulties would be mastered so splendidly.

Many were of the firm conviction, before the recovery, that our folk could not be spared starvation death for hundreds of thousands, yes, perhaps millions. What does it mean in comparison to the terrible fate, which still threatened us up to a few years ago, if today occasionally somewhat too little fat, somewhat too little meat or the like is available! What does it mean if we know in addition: This shortage is a manifestation of recovery crisis - if we know that an occasional shortage is the sign that millions got work and bread and can hence purchase more such foodstuffs.

Let us be happy about these signs of success. And let us take pride in, if necessary, making due with other foodstuffs. Let us take pride in precisely following the instructions of the Reich Nourishment Council for the conservation of foodstuffs, for the fight against spoilage.

Quite especially, I wish to appeal to you German housewives. You do not only influence - we do not want to pretend anything here - the moods of your own husband! The morale of the German folk is largely dependent on you and the morale you project!

Every good housewife knows how to keep her family in a good mood. And especially those who once - independent from the overall situation - have personally had to go through economically hard times, know how to, with simple means, through the art of the housewife - for that is also an art - even then prepare good food, when it again contains either no meat or no eggs or no butter. And the capable German housewives know what they have to do in order to work in the service of this great German family, this family of the German folk, if it must temporarily overcome minor emergencies. They simply purchase in the interest of this great German family! They do not unconditionally try to purchase precisely what is less plentiful, rather they purchase from the many things that are plentiful. No good housewife mourns the pound of pork, which she does not get for once.

Every good housewife is for her part a mother of the German folk. In many cases she has the same and higher duties to fulfil than the men of this folk, who respect and honour her bearing. German women, show what you can do!

My folk comrades! If Germany's leadership and following discuss an occasional bad situation and become clear how it is best solved, then certain people in foreign

countries like to conclude: "Thank God, the German economy starts to decline under the Hitlerian leadership and the Germans will soon start to starve!" They can rest assured out there: we do not do them the favour!

But: We Germans have nothing to hide from each other. It would be silly, if German leadership unloaded every care onto the German folk, it would be silly, not to tell the German folk the situation it is in, and what is to be done for the general benefit. We are an honourable community of fate: Those who lead and those who are led. And we will always, today and in all the future, regardless what the other outside believes or says, as leaders or as followers of this community fate, stand openly before each other. What is then, after all, the motive of those outside, who hope so much for hunger among us? It is just the last little straw they clutch in their yearning that finally in the great conflict: here Jewish Bolshevism, there German National Socialism, for once National Socialism will lose a position or a battle, so one can hope that Jews and Bolsheviks will finally become victorious in Germany! To these people out there we can say: you hope in vain!

We, however, want to be happy, if the worst thing happening to us is that a few days a year the butter for the bread is lacking and not the bread itself for months like in the praised land of the joy and the prosperity of the masses, in Soviet-Russia.

For it can no longer be kept secret from the world that during the so-called construction of the communist order millions actually starved and today again - eighteen years after the rise to power of communism in Russia - millions face death by starvation - face death by starvation in the middle of an *agrarian* land.

The world as well as each of us knows who has been able to cast a look into other lands, that the social conditions in Germany are the best, that Germany is the most social land on earth. And every "Strength through Joy" traveller - who has once seen the misery of unemployment in many states, where his ship landed, saw the huts in which these workers dwell - will agree with me when I say that he again stepped into the homeland with the feeling: "Thank God, I am again in Germany, in the Germany of genuine socialist spirit!"

Always, when we must practice a minor renunciation, we want to be thankful that we were saved from Soviet- Russia 's fate - that we were saved from Spain 's fate;

we want to be thankful, that by us a so-called proletariat does not stand opposed to a so-called bourgeoisie in bloody civil war;

that people do not butcher each other in nameless hatred;

we want to be thankful that Bolshevik commissars do not commit indescribable outrages in Germany, crucify German children, burn alive German people;

we want to be thankful that our cities and villages do not sink into ruins, our homes go up in flames with all our belongings;

that our workplaces are not destroyed, that we do not suffocate in need and misery.

Does one person want to stand up and reply: Yes, but today I got a quarter pound butter too little?

We all want to thank the Führer and want to thank the Higher One, who sent us the Führer. We want to say thanks that we have our daily bread; we want to say thanks that we have become a single folk, in which all stand together in every need and every danger: equally worthy comrades, who can work together in peace and tranquillity for themselves and their folk.

We also want to thank him for the creation of the great Winter Relief Work, the mightiest social relief work, which the world knows. In the sacrifice of the individual for this work lies a thanks to the Führer, and I know that the German folk will in this winter as well do its duty toward those who need its help.

The German folk will hereby thank the Führer that his works emerge through the work of our hands, which we can look at with pride, at which children and grandchildren will look with pride: the mighty Autobahns, roads and canals, glorious buildings of the community, soon also countless buildings, which provide the individual a better home, crop fields out of swamps, new crop fields along the coast.

We want to thank the Führer that he has had a new youth emerge, that he created a work service, a community of one spirit, so that one's heart overflows.

We want to thank the Führer that he created a strong army - a mighty folk army, equipped with the best weapons, that plane squadrons protect us against attack from the sky, that combat-strong ships are able to take over the protection of our folk comrades in the world, that we are again safe against all those who wish to bring the terrors of war into the German land.

We want to thank the Führer that we again stand, equally worthy, among the other folks of the world, as a nation of honour.

United and solid, we want to continue to work together on German fate, under the Führer who rose from the ranks of the working people and who - on the strength of his ability and on the strength of his love for the German folk - became the Führer.


With him we fight - with him we march into the German future - then we can one

day say:

We have lived for Germany!

Memories of the Beginning of the Party

Speech to the Provincial Office Leaders at the Burg Vogelsang on November 17, 1936

hen I see you in front of me, eight hundred provincial office leaders, and when I reflect that out there throughout the country there are hundreds of thousands of political leaders, then I cannot help but to think back on the time when the first office leader of the movement emerged.

It was in the year 1920. Corporal Adolf Hitler had just become party comrade Adolf Hitler and already dared to employ a man to perform certain tasks in the small office. This quite horrified the whole rest of the party numbering a few dozen, for one was convinced that he was either more or less crazy or an agent of the freemasons or other dark forces with the task to drive the small party to ruin and utterly destroy it. However, he did not employ him full-time, even an Adolf Hitler was not that careless back then. But the man had to come to the office every few days for a few hours in order to there single-handedly take care of everything that you now do in the province, spread among however many individual posts. Above all, naturally, he had the post of treasurer and had to keep the books in order. He did not have a safe at his disposal, instead a cigar box. He had to make sure all the party members were duly registered - not in a card-index, rather in a school notebook - for sometimes several party comrades joined in one week. Above all, he had one advantage: he owned a typewriter, and I believe one was generally convinced that the image of the party vastly improved when letters went out that were not written by hand, rather with a proper typewriter.

The office was located in a very small, modest little room in the Sternecker; perhaps one or the other of you still remembers this little room. The walls looked rather strange. The innkeeper had removed the panelling before he took the risk of renting us the office, because one could not know whether this association, in accordance with old soldier manners, might not use the precious panelling as firewood.

It was there in the Sternecker, too, where I saw the Führer for the first time in my life. In a small room next to the office was where the party discussion evening took place and he made the first speech there that I heard from him in my life. An unfortunate fellow had made the proposal that a committee should be established to oversee the party's leadership. That was a welcomed subject for the Führer, and I can assure you that this proposal was never made again!

In the same Sternecker almost the whole party in Germany also gathered daily - not in the large hall, rather in a small room, and they completely filled it - in order to eat lunch together. Those were not exactly days of feasting. Each first minutely

inspected the menu to see how much everything cost. Generally, the investigation ended with the selection for so-called "Tyrol Roast"; here it is called, I believe, scrambled eggs. But that also only lasted part of the month; near the end of the month our ranks thinned and re-assembled in the public soup kitchen in order to eat there for 10 or 20 pfennig. And the Führer was there, too.

Evenings the whole party, under the direction of party comrade Adolf Hitler, went into the streets and Munich's dark quarters in order to there conduct leaflet distributions and put up small posters. One fellow carried the glue bucket and the others stood watch at the ends of the road. When a suspicious person appeared - and in general, everybody was suspicious, if they did not belong to our party - and above all if a representative of higher state authority popped up, one endeavoured to put on the most harmless face possible; most of the time it was successful, too. The only bothersome and embarrassing thing was the glue bucket. It was very difficult to explain to the representative of the state why one was carrying a glue bucket, especially when freshly pasted posters smelling of glue were anywhere nearby. Although we insisted that every citizen certainly has the right to carry a glue bucket whenever and whoever he pleases, unfortunately the pockets of our military coats were suspiciously stuffed full. A closer inspection revealed the leaflets - in part bloodthirsty, in part reservedly bourgeois in nature. But not of the NSDAP - back then we did not have money in order to print our own leaflets - rather those of the Schutz- und Trutzbund or of a small, anti-Semitic weekly newspaper named the "Völkischer Beobachter" published by God knows whom. Only in time did we manage to find a man in Munich who like us was not in complete agreement with the German government and who differed from us in just one point, namely that he had more money than we; to our amazement he actually put money at our disposal for the printing of our own leaflets.

That was then done generously. The Führer designed the leaflets; they were of the same kind as he designed throughout the whole period of struggle. We invented completely new methods for the distribution of these leaflets. For example, we would individually go on the street car with a packet of leaflets in our pocket and let them fly out as it travelled. This method was based on the well- founded conviction that the police would not catch us, because we disappeared into the crowd at the next stop. A very clever fellow came up with the idea to distribute his leaflets at the Oktober Fest, on the so-called "grounds", by seating himself on a carousel; it was not clear to him that, although the horses moved, the carousel did not, and that the horses would eventually stop. Over time we became acquainted with all of Munich's patrolmen. But that was not the worst thing. Much worse was that Munich's patrolmen became acquainted with us and that gradually for the police each of us publicly displayed his identification papers in the form of his face. - That was even less pleasant than it is today often unpleasant to publicly display one's identification papers in the form of one's face, whereby the consequences are today of the opposite kind. - This intensive

leaflet distribution had another special result. When the Führer was once on the way to the office, he was suddenly personally arrested. The rest of the party gathered and agreed the moment had arrived to launch a Putsch with our twelve or fourteen activists and overthrow the government. At the very least, one wanted to storm the Police Presidium and rescue Adolf Hitler from there. But in the end, it did not come to this Putsch, since the Führer soon returned, thanks to a certain Pöhner and Frick, who back then sat in the police directorship. I believe that it would also have been disadvantageous to the "giant parties" back then, if we had undertaken the Putsch.

From time to time I like to reflect on these memories and I also portray them to you; for I believe that only when one remembers that time, can one fully measure what it means that Adolf Hitler - back then the Führer of an insignificant, persecuted little troop of a few men - is today the chief of state...

Of the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Treaty

From a speech at the Reich Peasant's Day in Goslar on November 29, 1936

We know that Bolshevism hates nothing more than the new Germany! That it looks with downright Old Testament hatred at the land which once appeared to it as so ripe a booty and which under Adolf Hitler's leadership became totally immune against its poison. That it looks at the land which became the centre point of the anti-Bolshevik movement of the world. The Comintern knows that if Adolf Hitler had not come with his National Socialism, if his new Germany had not arisen: its power would now stretch from Wladiwostik to the Atlantic and Mediterranean! All the stronger, however, is our conviction that all the thinking and striving of the Comintern and the power standing behind it goes in the direction of one day beating down this German bulwark and making it a region of Bolshevik terror.

We cannot be thankful enough to the Führer that he has reduced this great, constant threat against our nation through an act of world-political significance - has reduced it through the anti-Comintern alliance, which he concluded a few days ago with the great power in the east, with Japan. Japan, too, has recognized the folk-decaying working of the Comintern in its full significance. *Two nations have joined together in common interest: in the defence against the danger which threatens both.*

The Spanish events have shown the world what dangers the working of the Comintern poses as a result not only for the initially affected states, rather for the calm and hence the peace between nations. Therefore, the conclusion of a treaty for common and effective defence against the activity of the Comintern is an important contribution for the securing of peace.

In foreign countries, one accuses Germany of striving for a "separation of folks according to competing forms of government". We want no separation of the folks, rather an alliance of folks beyond all forms of government.

We want an alliance of folks for the defence against those who have only all too often proclaimed their intend to, with fire and sword, carry the torch of civil war to the other folks, and who have so often already produced proof on the living object how serious this intention is.

We want an alliance of folks against the criminals who consciously and intentionally bring poison bacillus into the folks. I say criminals, for in Soviet Russia it is also not the folk, which is Bolshevik, rather a Jewish clique, which has through terror forced the straight jacket of Bolshevism onto the folk. And hence we regret it the most, that our defence must simultaneously be directed against a folk which the criminals have made so totally serviceable to it in its dark goals.

We do not ask about the forms of governments of the folks which stand together for preservation against the world pest; we do not ask whether they are authoritarian or democratic.

We do not think of even just recommending our form of government to other folks, let alone of trying to create an opening among them for our form of government.

We know, however, that it is the intention of the Comintern to by means of violence force upon other folks the form of government in which it is rooted. *And we wish these folks to stand together against these attempts to meddle in their internal affairs - against these attempts for the rape of their self-determination.*

Does one want to call this wish for unified and joint resistance "intolerance"? With the same justification, one could designate as "intolerance" the standing together of citizens of a state against the people in their ranks who have organized themselves in order to commit break-ins against their fellow citizens, to commit arson, to rob and murder, to violate women, to massacre children - with the same justification, one could designate as "intolerance" the defence against this as well as the laws for the protection of society and the police measures!

One holds against us here and there in the rest of the world that a unity has been achieved among the states which have recognized the danger of the Comintern and the means of power standing at its disposal. But should we - simply because other states, despite the Spanish beacon, have not yet recognized this danger and are apparently unwilling to take the hand offered again and again - refuse to form a defensive community? Does one expect from us that we with open eyes allow destruction to descend over us, because others have no eyes with which to see?

Lord Kitchener commented to a German officer - who is presently a professor of geopolitics - a few years before the World War that he saw the coming catastrophe of a world war approaching, but considered it unavoidable, because on all sides the statesmen were lacking who were far-sighted and energetic enough to avoid it.

In the present world there are a few statesmen who are far-sighted and energetic enough to do everything in order to avert the visibly rising danger to their folks - the danger of sinking into the chaos of world Bolshevism. They do not let their folks "stumble" into a catastrophe like the statesmen of 1914. May the world today still be suspicious of those statesmen - we are of the conviction that the time is coming when they will thank them. We Germans thank them already today. We Germans thank, above all, our Führer that his cares and actions have given us the feeling of security in our Germany.

Essence and Working of the NSDAP

Speech to Officers of the National Political Course of the Armed Forces delivered on January 16, 1937 in Berlin

Officers of the German Armed Forces!

When earlier a politician spoke to soldiers or the other way around a soldier to politicians, then the speaker could generally figure in advance that the audience would be somewhat reversed, if not downright distrustful.

This was especially so in the period of the in-between-Reich, of that most unsoldierly time in German history. For the politician in general everything that even smelled of soldierly views, discipline, obedience, responsible, in short everything soldierly, was as painful and repulsive as holy water to the devil. On the other side, for the opposite reasons, for the healthy soldier the politician - because the politician back then in his whole thinking and action revered what the soldier despised - was a highly unpleasant manifestation, if not a torment. It must have often seemed a provocation, if soldiers spoke before politicians or politicians before soldiers, and I am imagine that it often took a lot of courage - or audacity as well!

My officers! I stand before you, however, without having the feeling of the one or the other. However, I also have the conviction of being no politician of the kind before 1933. Therefore, I speak before you, too, with real joy, as I also know, that it also, for example, brings joy to the General Field Marshal of the Armed Forces, to speak before an auditorium of so-called politicians and political leaders. Certainly, these politicians and political leaders of today are in the majority soldierly people, men with soldierly thinking, feeling and action. Just as I myself am again and again proud to be able to say that I was a soldier throughout the whole time of the Great War, that I experienced the most concentrated soldierdom as a front-fighter in the most fierce battles of the west and absorbed it into me.

The purpose of my speech before you is to deepen the understanding for the great organization through which the political desire in the new Reich is conveyed to the folk - to deepen the understanding for the NSDAP, which has become the bearer of the political strength of the masses, just like the armed forces are the bearer of the military might of these masses. Both prevent chaos in their area, both manifest themselves creating order, giving direction and making conform. This understanding of the political organization, this knowledge of its working, its structure, the integration of its branches, is all the more important for the soldier - but also for anybody who otherwise leads in an area - since this organization indeed bears the name party, but is so infinitely more than a party of once, because it manifests itself in and encompasses

all conceivable areas and touches the bearers of the rest of the nation's life.

I have hence selected the title: "Essence and Working of the NSDAP".

Task of all political action is the preservation and strengthening of the nation. Precisely also the strengthening, since - as everywhere, here especially - standing still means decline; above all, the more so as the neighbouring nations for their part increase in strength.

The most essential means for the preservation and strengthening of the nation is power. Strengthening of power is accordingly strengthening of the nation. Conversely, however, strengthening of the nation is also strengthening of power; for power is rooted in the nation.

The foundations of power are:

First, the size of the space, which a state calls its own - its soil together with what it contains and what is able to thrive on it.

Second, the geographical location of the space: Power and importance of the surrounding nations, strength or weakness of the natural borders. The climatic conditions are also decisive for advantages and disadvantages of the location, especially in economic regard.

Third, the folk in its total worth, which is determined by the number and the quality in average, supplemented by the value of the single personalities who rise above the norm of the average.

The foundations of power are furthermore:

Fourth, the weapons, which a nation acquires for itself, according to the quantity as well as the quality. Among weapons I also include the spiritual weapons.

Fifth, imponderables, such as the respect which a nation has acquired in the world through its overall bearing, the bearing of its leaders, of its soldiers, of its children in foreign lands; the manner of preserving the reputation of the nation - of a reputation that, for example, its even ever so lonely flying flag enjoys, because one knows that in an emergency the whole strength of the nation protects it and stands behind it. There is a poem by Freiligrath: "Fire, but don't hurt the flag", in which an English consul on a distant island protects an English sailor against foreign pursuers simply by wrapping a Union Jack around him and laconically shouting to the others: "Fire, but don't hurt the flag!" Nobody dares it, and Freiligrath concludes: "When does the great day come for us, too?!" I believe, the day is no longer far off.

Allow me to refer to another example of imponderable power foundations.

A high-ranking foreign officer once told me that according to his observation the worst after-effect of the Marne Battle of 1914 was the sudden disappearance of the previously firmly entrenched conviction among the opponents - especially among the French: German assault is unstoppable - German armies with the will to triumph cannot be stopped. The "Furor teutonicus" swept over France in 1870/1871; it also swept over France in 1914: give up all hope! The fact, however, that the German armies suddenly halted, meant the collapse of the myth that nothing is equal to German strength - meant a loss of prestige which could not be fully regained by anything.

Individually, the myth continued to exist: most of you will know from your own experience that, especially in eastern theatres, the unexpected arrival of German formations instead of others which had previously been there had a paralysing effect and often produced the feeling of being lost, even if the actual strength comparisons did not even remotely justify this. The German soldier has rescued part of this mythical effect past the collapse - because even the period of shame was not able to erase the memory in the world of the heroism of the field-grey German.

I have listed for you the foundations of power.

Space we do not want to increase - at any rate, not with force. We also cannot change the geographical location. It is due to the too narrow space and the unfavourable geographical location, that we are unable to produce in our own territory all the raw materials and foodstuffs needed to satisfy our own requirements. This does not only mean an economic-political weakness, rather dependency on the surrounding world. So we must suffer from a world economic crisis, which arose without our fault. The dependency on the surrounding world means in any case a restriction of our self-determination. Hence self-determination - real freedom - is only possible hand in hand with self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency can be ensured through a colonial territory, which encompasses everything conceivably necessary. Certainly, the prerequisite is that the means of power are of the kind that they suffice to protect the transport routes of the colonies against every conceivable, strong coalition of opponents in an emergency. Herein lies deeply rooted the significance of English sea power. The global English empire, in its entirety, is autarkic and the freedom of the English folk is secured as long as England rules the connection between the motherland and its colonies.

As long as Germany for its part does not possess an autarkic economic territory, its freedom is not unconditionally secured; it is not unconditionally secured as long as its economy can only be kept working through the importation of indispensable raw materials along routes which hostilely inclined forces can block at any time. The economic four-year plan will bring Germany closer to self-sufficiency. The effect of this new plan is synonymous with the expansion of its space and an improvement of

its geographic location. The world should affirm that we do not secure life and freedom with force, rather through the use of our intellect and our organizational strength. If a few eternal pessimists do not believe it is possible to modify the economy of our folk to the extent the four-year plan does, if they doubt that the capital can be raised which must be invested in the tremendous new factories and machine plants, I can only reply to them: More difficult than again giving work and bread to six million people in a state facing economic ruin, it is not, to give these already employed people different work directions! More difficult than equipping an army of millions with the most modern weapons, it is not, to produce new factories and new machines for productive purposes. Germany will secure its freedom economically-politically just like it has secured its freedom militarily.

Prewar Germany nurtured and strengthened in old tradition the real foundations of power, above all, military power - insofar as it was not hindered in that by the parliament. For if the weapons in 1914 were not present in the number and not completely in the quality as perhaps possible - if at the decisive moment on the Marne the three Army corps - which the Great General Staff had demanded and which could have brought the decision - were missing, then the Reichstag was at fault.

You know: National Socialism has made sure that the nation's life necessities are not talked to death by a Reichstag and cannot be made a bartering chip of the political parties. You have seen that in the new Germany decisions of historical scope are made within hours by the Führer and his cabinet - decisions which in other lands must be proceeded by days and weeks of debates in parliament.

What the new Reich has done in regard to the nation's military fitness and the arming of the soldiers, I do not need to portray to you - the officers of our armed forces. *The Führer has taken it upon himself to ensure that, if somebody really attacks, precious blood must not be sacrificed, because money had been spared earlier.*

Sparing in weaponry is sparing in the wrong place. This thrift can even mean the highest extravagance. The sparing of a few hundred million marks here can mean the waste of billions of material assets through loss of a war - totally aside from the loss of much more precious assets, namely of millions of the best of our folk. If Germany had at the start of the war in 1914, through expenditure of perhaps a billion, possessed the mentioned three army corps and a much better supply of machineguns and heavy artillery, the war would have been decided in 1914 in Germany's favour: the German folk and not least of all its economy would have saved over 100 billion, which in the course of the war were expended and after the loss of the war had to be turned over to the enemy - to say nothing of our dead!

A very high degree of armament, however, can mean such a high risk for an attacker that a war with its huge loss of the blood and property of a nation is avoided

from the start. Conversely, a weak armament downright provokes an attack. Especially then it can provoke a foreign attack, if a foreign state has domestic problems, does not master unemployment, the folk is more and more divided politically, and it succumbs to the temptation to distract from the inner difficulties through too easily won military successes.

As essential as weapons are - more essential are the people who use them, according to their number, their physical and, above all, their psychological condition - more essential are the people who as a folk stand behind the armed power.

Prewar Germany had perhaps tried to effect an increase of population; it neglected to preserve or even improve the quality of the folk. The in-between-Reich partially worked to make the population to decrease more and more and to worsen the racial composition. Press, film, theatre were used - often in a barely noticeable way, but in the long-run all the more effectively - to overcome the natural racial instinct of the folk, its aversion against Jews and Jewish nature, its aversion against Negroes etc...

How decisively the New Reich has employed the countermeasures, how strongly it does everything to again increase the birth surplus, how it again raises the racial quality through law and education, I again do not need to present to you in detail.

Totally lacking in the old Reich was a real, deep-going, psychological influencing of the folk with the goal to shape it inwardly into the supporting factor of the state, to make it hard for difficult tests which fate puts it to. The tendency of the in-between-Reich leaned naturally in the opposite direction.

Only the National Socialist Germany has employed the whole influence which it has achieved over the folk to make it psychologically strong, to educate it to be a state folk, to orient its thought and action toward the great demands of the nation.

This education of the folk, its spiritual leadership, is the task of the NSDAP.

How much the new Reich is concerned with strengthening the imponderable foundations of power, you have been able to follow during Hitler's government. *The Führer watches over nothing as jealously as the honour of the nation.*

Already in the time during the rise to power, National Socialism had spread the imponderabilities of power - pride and spirit of resistance - within the folk in such a manner that the rulers of the republic of 1918 fell because of it, because they themselves embodied the opposite of these virtues. Among them it was pure survival instinct, when they did everything, consciously did everything, in order to suppress pride and spirit of resistance in the folk. They had to fail, because our folk was more attracted to the spirit of honour than to the spirit of dishonour.

More essential than still in peace is the psychological influencing of the totality of the folk and especially of the soldiers - beyond the purely military virtues - during war. And here the governments of 1914 to 1918 totally failed.

Our weapons were not decisively weaker than those of the enemy in 1918. Certainly there were many sectors in the course of the war when they were much weaker than in 1918, periods in which, for example, our ammunition had to be so spared that the heaviest bombardments could hardly be answered with a few shells. And nonetheless, our troops held firm then.

The spirit of the people enabled resistance even with a ridiculous numerical relationship and lack of weapons. Determined nests of resistance often stopped entire divisions. Substantially inferior forces won victories, which are recorded in world history for all time. Only when the people changed, did the combat results change. In 1918 we had a surplus of ammunition, and indeed so much so that production had to be reduced: but the fronts collapsed, because the people became tired. The people had changed - above all, changed psychologically.

The failure of the people toward the end of the war was partly the result of numerical inferiority, which required an exertion of the individual which corresponded to several times the exertion of the enemy. The enemy relieved his troops for a real rest. He had the trench work done by work troops specially organized for this task, which often consisted of foreign ethnic groups. We, on the other hand, were almost continually in filth and mud, we had to be lead into fire again and again, in the so-called rest periods we dug and dragged material, we were often forced to do without even the most necessary sleep. Malnutrition did its part - not least of all in the homeland, whose mood was transmitted back to the front.

The essential thing, however, was that any counterweight lacked: a corresponding influence over the psychological condition of front and homeland. Yes, one even surrendered the folk to the propaganda work of the opposing side - to the working of the Allied powers and the Marxists. A government, to which the psyche of the folk was alien, showed itself to be totally helpless. It made itself fatefully noticeable that prewar Germany had not understood at the right time to put the right men in the right positions. In the decisive positions of the state stood leaders - insofar as one can here speak of leaders - who lacked the slightest connection to the folk, who did not know its feeling, did not understand its language, let alone who would have been able to speak to this folk in the language of the folk. Across from the folk man Lloyd George with his for the folk convincing and inspirational speeches, across from the unbounded hot-head Clemenceau who came from the folk, stood on the German side a bloodless philosopher: Bethmann Hollweg.

In Germany, the capable, close-to-the-folk, real leader could not reach the

decisive post. What would it have meant back then, if an Adolf Hitler - instead of performing a service which at least hundreds of thousands of others could have also done - had been charged with the psychological influencing of the folk on the basis of the knowledge of the psyche of this folk! Perhaps the slackening of the people in Germany would not have come "five minutes too early", perhaps the war would have still been won. Lloyd George said he thought with horror what could have happened, if the Germans had held out until the next spring. And I think of the evaluation of an American admiral who heard England's desperate cries for help, because the U-boat was infinitely more successful than admitted, and threatened England's life nerve. Furthermore, in the conduct of the U-boat war as well, the unfortunate fact the right men did not stand at the right posts, was also at work: how great could the success of the U-boat war have been, and indeed already at an earlier point in time, if it had not been - at the urging of the political leadership - practically broken off and only resumed when England had organized an effective defence based on earlier experience.

I summarize: Next to the failure of the parliament, which bears the blame for insufficient weaponry and insufficient assembly of formations - and the people would have been available -, next to the failure of diplomacy, which allowed us to enter into the World War under the most unfavourable power relationships and enabled the hunger blockade, next to the over-exertion as a result of the numerical inferiority and malnutrition, the lacking psychological influencing of the front and of the homeland was to blame that the Germans broke off the end struggle, perhaps shortly before the opponent's collapse - but at least shortly before he was so tired as to become ready for peace under bearable terms.

The lacking or practically non-existent psychological influencing is explained by the lack of a real connection between the folk and the state leadership - it is explained by the lack of leaders close to the folk in decisive posts and the lack of an organizational bridge between folk and leaders, of an apparatus such as stands at the disposal of a great party. The parties with corresponding apparatus did indeed exist, but the parties of back then were primarily parties of social strata and classes. The one had no touch with the broad mass of the folk while the others were indeed rooted in the mass, but their leadership had no interest in establishing a connection between folk and state leadership and influencing the masses for the purpose of the nation. They used the masses in order to, with their help, pave their way to power, consciously ignoring the life interests of the nation. The parties could have been, in accordance with their original character, the interrelation between state leader and folk - but they were not at all!

After the revolt of 1918 - in the in-between-Reich - some parties, that means the parties rooted in the folk, did indeed represent a connection between folk and government, but these parties as well as the government were anti-national. They misused this connection more than ever in the sense of international, pacifist

ideologies. By means of the propaganda organizations of the parties, by means of folk assemblies, by means of press they worked more and more against Germany's real interests. The nationalist-oriented parties were powerless against this, because they lacked the technical means of propaganda as well as knowledge of the psyche of the folk as the prerequisite for this propaganda.

This is where the National Socialist German Workers' Party jumped in. Adolf Hitler, after the return from the field, clearly recognized the situation. Just as clearly, he drew the conclusions and used his own characteristic energy to build up a new party which was supposed to work in the masses and with the means which would be successive in the folk - a party which, however, according to its ideas stood in sharp contrast to the other parties of the masses and which put the nation's interest first. As a man who came from the folk, who had lived among workers and soldiers, he knew how to approach the masses. But he also knew what prevented these masses, whose healthy core he recognized, from going to the nationalist parties: aside from the distance to the folk, the lacking social understanding - the spirit of social strata, which in its arrogance repelled no less than "class consciousness". As a front-fighter he knew that mutual trust between members of the individual strata, yes, a standing together, was possible, if they were simply brought together and externalities cast off. He knew how deeply they could get the feeling of being dependent on each other and of having very great, mutual interests, in comparison to which personal interests receded.

Adolf Hitler hence appealed to genuine socialism, which demands common good before individual good, which puts the common, great interests higher than individual interests, which sees in the folk comrade, insofar as he performs any somehow useful work, a respectable member of his folk. Even more so respectable, as the experience of the World War showed that even the folk comrade who called hardly anything his own which was worth defending, stood by his folk with the same devoted readiness to sacrifice in the critical hour.

Adolf Hitler appealed at the same time, however, to genuine nationalism, which puts its folk and its nation above all else, which knows that only action to the last for this nation in the long-run enables its preservation and hence the preservation of the individual. It knows that the genuine nationalist must therefore simultaneously be a socialist, because it can only expect this success, if each individual of its folk has it as good as is possible under the existing circumstances, and it knows that this effort only has prospects of success, if the individual fighter is healthy in body and soul and remains healthy.

Every front-fighter had unconsciously become a National Socialist. How strong the front spirit was related to what we now understand under National Socialism in the best sense, those among you know, who were yourselves at the front. The interdependency in danger welds leader and enlisted man together, the living together in small space gives mutual understanding, yes, creates comradeship outside service,

without discipline in service suffering in the least by this. Even a higher kind of discipline emerged, a discipline out of loyalty of following and out of the conviction of necessity.

All of this is - carried over to the whole folk community - an essential part of National Socialism. *In that Adolf Hitler preached National Socialism, he simply expressed and spread through his teachings what the front-fighter had long felt and according to which had long lived.* It was thus no coincidence that the struggle for the new idea began with the help of other front-fighters.

He intentionally made extensive use of the means of the opponents: red posters, armbands and flags, in which the red dominated, and with the strengthening of the movement, marches and mass meetings after mass meetings.

Infinitely many on the nationalist side, on the bourgeois side, did not understand this and accused him of "nationalist-embellished Marxism" or "National-Bolshevism". The left side designated him a "socialist-embellished nationalist" or "reactionary". He did not worry about either - but stubbornly followed his path.

It was a difficult path! Without name, without money, without newspaper against the power of capital, against the power of the press, against the power of the state. The difficulties were endless. Every new resistance arose. Ever again new paths had to be found, if the ones taken before were no longer passable. The opponents fought, first through silent treatment, then with defamation and lies, with terror and murder; fines and prison sentences alternated with bans. Only tenacity and faith enabled holding out.

I do not have to tell you how the movement nonetheless slowly, slowly expanded, how it seemed finally finished on November 9, 1923, but nonetheless still triumphed - triumphed thanks to the boundless energy and at the same time to the vision of the leader at its head.

The rebuilding in 1925 was no less difficult, but: the few men of the beginning had become thousands. The thousands became tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions.

The spirit triumphed. The ideas have triumphed!

That the proclamation of the ideas could not be prevented in the long-run, that the proclaimers could not be constantly shouted down and beaten down, is thanks to the S.A. and the S.S. The Führer created them from the realization that it is not enough to fight ideas with ideas, rather that, if the opponent used naked violence against ideas, naked violence had to be the response. The best skull with the best ideas is useless, if

a brutal fist crushes into the skull.

Equally standing in the fight with S.A. and S.S., exposed to danger and self-sacrificing, were the speakers and the *political leaders*. Out of nothing they built up the political organization, often sacrificing their last pennies. The gradual growth of a gigantic organization - which was organized down into the last villages and came together at the head in the Führer - was just as essential for the final success as the real power of the S.A. and S.S. The apparatus of this organization enabled the Führer to take his ideas again and again with the greatest possible unity to the folk, down to the last street cell. From there, conversely, from the tiniest branches, which were finally distributed by the hundreds of thousands throughout the Reich, came to the Führer the reports about the mood in the folk, about the effect of his actions, of his speeches, of his leaflets, of his posters and press releases. Through this apparatus passed a continuous pulse between leadership and followers. Finally, the entire folk was somehow influenced - some more, some less - by the ideas of National Socialism. The more the rise to power was delayed, the more did the government have to fall to Adolf Hitler like a ripe fruit. *The folk, permeated with National Socialism, finally found its fulfilment in the National Socialist state; it felt Hitler's entry into the government to be self-evident.* The Führer, however, simply had to legalize the already long practically active leadership of the folk. The folk leadership was supplemented with the leadership of the state and its means of power. His apparatus for the maintenance of the bond between himself and the folk, the party, was, however, more important than ever and hence further expanded. More than before, the Führer needs the organization which enables him to check the effect of his measures in the folk, in that it relates to him the resonance. But he also needs it to work on the folk as before, to prepare measures and make them understandable.

Many times it does not even require his direct working, since most of his co-workers are synchronized, familiar with his ideas, have such a fine feel for the background reasons for his actions, that his party reacts correctly in accordance to the great line. Simply a check by the next higher leaders is required, whether everything happens in Adolf Hitler's sense; where necessary, corrections are made. The action of the Führer is so uniform in the line of what he prepared in the long years before the rise to power, everything is so much of the spirit of National Socialism, that in general no more justification would be necessary. The main work was already done in the time before the rise to power. Without transformation of the whole thinking of the folk in the years of working of the National Socialist movement, all of the actions of the National Socialist government reaching so deeply into the life of the folk, which were necessary for the recovery, would not have been possible - the result of the first plebiscites would have been a disaster. What government of a democratic land enjoys such an uniform agreement of the folk with its deeds?

The somewhat technical path of mutual fertilization of government and folk today passes

through the local group leader conventions, county leader conventions, province leader conventions and cabinet meetings. In the province leader conventions the results of the conventions of the lower branches of the individual provinces are presented in summarized form and processed in mutual exchange of opinions. The Party Minister is then able, on the basis of what is conveyed to him about the situation, to make the reports from the "front" fertile with the Führer and in the cabinet meetings. Conversely, what the Führer wants conveyed to the folk, what is supposed to pass from the cabinet meetings - that means from the work of the government - to the folk, follows the reverse path, the path through the province leader conventions, the county leader conventions and the local group leader conventions.

In place of the multitude of parties with opposing interests and basic ideas, of parties that were supposed to serve the folk, a single, uniform, internally unified, real folk representative infused with one spirit and one idea - in the form of the National Socialist German Workers' Party. One party, led by one leader, who is at the same time the leader of the nation. A party in which all the smaller interests coming together within it are subordinated to the great interest, Germany's interest.

The party has accomplished what seemed impossible. *The international-oriented worker of once has become the German worker of today.* Whoever remembers just the constant wage disputes in the past years before the rise to power, can measure, what it alone means to have brought the worker to the point where he is content with wages which that are certainly not too high. The workers practice renunciation, because they are convinced of the necessity of making a sacrifice for the whole, because they obtained the feeling that everybody is made to renounce, that the employer as well must be content with smaller profits, since the greater portion of them is taxed away and used to create more jobs. The workers obtained the feeling of bond in the common work. They saw their accomplishment honoured on the Day of National Work, on May 1, which national German twisted from the hand of the international. They saw how, in the formations of the National Socialist movement, all class differences and any class arrogance had disappeared, how the folk community became a reality. Just as in the S.A. and S.S. nobody is asked: Where do you come from, what does your father do, what kind of clothing do you wear, what school did you go to", rather how only one question is asked: "Do you want to fight for Hitler and for Germany?" The workers saw how here only one thing mattered: the man, the character, the leaning. They saw how the same spirit prevailed in the Hitler Youth, how the youth of the folk is already educated in this spirit and how here, too, the child of the worker marches next to the child of the officer in the shared faith in Germany and its greatness. They saw how everybody voluntarily subordinates himself, when one was designated the leader.

I ask you to remember the days of the collapse of 1918, the mutinies in their whole terribleness, the behaviour of the workers back then and in the following time, the "worker councils" and the "soldier councils". The idea of discipline or even

subordination, the concept of soldierdom, officer, superior, had the effect of a red cloth. A call to assemble, to march, meant "provocation of the proletariat". Whoever spoke a word in favour of the army, was given the title "militaristic blood hound" and other such niceties. And today many, many of these same workers of once march voluntarily in the new armed forces - march voluntarily in the eight week courses!

When I after March 16, 1935 spoke about military service in Munich's previously most red factory, in the Neufreimanner rail works, to thousands upon thousands of the same workers who just a few years ago still sang the Marseillaise, I was again and again interrupted by a storm of applause and jubilation such as I would have never before thought possible. It was the most beautiful and at the same time moving rally of my life. But be aware: this radical change in Germany's work force, this transformation of their thinking, would have never occurred without the working of the NSDAP and its leaders down to the smallest cell leaders. Had they not worked - with the sacrifice and devotion of which only the German is capable - in the masses, again and again and again, although they were all too often struck back with scorn and brutal fist, if they had not been able to finally still convey the faith in the purity of Adolf Hitler's intention, we would have had to try to build up the new Reich *against* the mass of millions of German workers! Do you believe that your guns, your planes, your tanks would exist today in such number and quality, if the worker had practiced silent sabotage? Do you believe that you, my officers, would have troops under you on which you could count in an emergency, if the great number of workers only serviced under compulsion? Do you believe that Adolf Hitler could have even thought about introducing compulsory military service or occupying the left Rhine shore? No! *Germany today is only so great and strong, because its poorest sons belong to its most loyal!*

In many basic ways, the German army was in the old Reich already socialistic in the best sense, it was National Socialist without knowing it. For what else was it, if, for example, a recruit from even the highest noble family had to subordinate himself and stand at attention before a superior, who might have come from a small craftsman family? In this institution did not ability mean more and not background? Among the incredible demands which were placed during the training of a young general staff officer, was not solely decisive, how he met them? Could not Mackensen, who came from a small peasant family, become a General Field Marshal, Tirpitz, the son of a paymaster, Grand Admiral; could not Hipper, whose family owned a small iron trade, not command battle cruisers?

National Socialism has elevated the "marshal's baton in the backpack" to a principle. For in the old army, a certain barrier still existed, which could only be overcome in very rare exceptional cases: a barrier of school knowledge. It has also set this one aside - in the correct realization that it is not decisive for the suitability of the socialist leader, if one can solve the Pythagoras or conjugate foreign verbs. The abilities of the born leader are found in all strata and educational levels of our folk. A leader nature can always

later learn a certain ABC from the child's classroom as condition for the officer. What cannot be learned, however, are the prerequisites for the real leader - regardless how well raised or how great the school knowledge!

To the great socialist features of the armed forces, National Socialism as added more - primarily those which manifest themselves in small and smallest things: of what psychological effect is alone the way a superior returns a salute! They are details which do not harm discipline or diminish the distance between officer and enlisted man, as is necessary in the service - and they are nonetheless so essential!

Not least of all, the German worker comes to the armed forces with the conviction that these new armed forces are also filled with the spirit of the new Reich. He comes from the folk community into the armed forces, which are for him the product of this folk community. More than among others, the National Socialist folk community is today at the centre of his thinking, and it is a great joy for me to again and again be able to ascertain how very much this fact is given its due in the armed forces from top to bottom: our General Field Marshal feels and acts as a National Socialist through and through.

As the party has achieved the folk community, it now fulfils its tasks for this folk community: The organizations of the NSDAP are utilized for the enlightenment of the folk about race and health issues with the goal of the improvement of folk health and race and the increase of the population. Previously unthinkable measures like sterilization for the prevention of genetically ill offspring are, thanks to the work of the movement, felt to be self-evident.

In the context of the S.A. and S.S., the Hitler Youth and Federation of German Girls, voluntarily integrated people receive *physical education* and *spiritual education* in the National Socialist sense. Old and young, who previously wasted most of their time on the streets or in taverns, are led out for group exercises and hikes; fresh air, contact with nature, body movement, the effect of the National Socialist community are here more important than the exercising and shooting.

Through a large number of special organizations the new spirit is brought into all the individual manifestations of the life of the nation. I name: *Physicians Federations, Teachers Federation, Jurists Federation, National Socialist Federation of Technology, NS-Culture Community, NS-Women's Organization* and, above all, as an affiliated association, the mighty organization of the *German Work Front*.

Leaders of a special organization - who are knowledgeable of a certain material - are collected through me and utilized to help with the laws of the new state, which touch their area, whereby they must, above all, take care that the technical aspects are harmonized with National Socialist principles.

In the branches of the movement as in the special organizations, the possibility exists to further educate the gifted in the practical work of those special areas, to train young people to be leaders. Here the capable people have the chance to prove themselves; from here, their path toward further advance can be opened.

This is especially true as well for the members of the foreign organization. In the central in Berlin as well as in the units in foreign countries, leaders are made familiar with the foreign work in practical service. A number of gifted people, who in the previous years were for a large part taken into the work of our official foreign delegations and hence familiarized with official procedure, would already today be in the position to work in the foreign service. As in the homeland, in foreign countries as well, the Germans are influenced in the National Socialist sense by the National Socialist provincial units and local units. They are again educated for proud consciousness of their Germandom, to unity among themselves, to respect for each other - are educated to always put Germans over members of a foreign nation, without consideration of social strata or background. On this basis, it has succeeded in encompassing the much splintered foreign Germans. The NS chapters out there as well represent the living bond between the German colonies and official Germany. This fact found its expression in the naming of the provincial head of the foreign organization to Chief of the Foreign Organization in the Foreign Office. The personnel union secures here, too, the agreement between the working of the state and of the party.

Much of what became new has already taken new tracks, much has taken a more contemporary form.

With the psychological transformation which the folk has experienced, with the changed perspectives from which everything is viewed which has any relationship to it and to its state, it was unavoidable that also the external forms in which church life occurs were critically observed and friction arose between the bearers of these forms and living faith of the folk. The faith of the folk remained untouched by such conflicts. Nobody in the leadership of the Reich or the leadership of the party thinks about taking their faith from the Germans. No one other than the old front-fighter of the NSDAP knows better what strength faith in a God can bestow on a person in the most difficult hour. No one among the top leaders of the NSDAP thinks about robbing the folk of soldiers of this faith, no one is at all so stupid to deny the All-Powerful. And precisely for this reason, we do not want the faith in the higher to be chained to forms which mean nothing to most of us, to statements which are no longer compatible with advanced knowledge. *For the sake of the preservation of the deep, inner faith in God, we do not want this to be equated to the bearers of external cult.* We do not want the faith in God to waver, when in the rest of the world priests are murdered, altars desecrated, churches burned down, without God appearing as avenger. We have the conviction that our belief in God and our Christianity better defies difficult hours than the belief

in God and the Christianity of those who all too often cling to the external.

We National Socialists of charity, of the NSV, of the Winter Aid Work, of the Christmas gifts for the millions of poor, of the great, all-bridging folk community, we consider ourselves better Christians than those who all too often speak the word Christ. And we do not think of founding new - say National Socialist - churches. We give to the churches what belongs to the church, but we demand for our state what belongs to our state.

A new, previously unknown leader corps is in the process of development and inner consolidation. The larger portion of its members developed itself during the period of struggle. Decisive for the selection and utilization can only be: in how far is the leader - who often comes to the fighting troop in a critical situation or who takes leadership during the battle - the really suited man for the struggle which is being waged. The leaders are taken who best know how to fight against the opponent who must be faced.

And they have almost without example proven themselves a hundredfold. They have stood their ground in the long and difficult years of struggle for the folk, without gaining a personal advantage; on the contrary: what these fighters for a different Germany have suffered - mentally, psychologically and materially - has hardly become known to the public. What did it mean, for example, in Neukölln for the individual - and until the rise to power there were just individuals in these areas - to affirm the "Nazis" in front of the [red] "comrades", to put on the brown shirt and to thereby provoke, as the opponents called it! The nightly path home from an assembly or march was often a race against death - and all too many lost that race. At dark corners, in dark alleys which had to be passed, lurked assassination, or the troops of the red front quite openly attacked the lone and defenceless man. In any case, at the very least everything was done to ruin him materially; be it through a boycott of his small business, be it through his colleagues in the factory forcing his loss of employment.

One must have seen the hungry misery of such men, one must have experienced the desperation of wives and mothers at the grave of murdered fighters, in order to be able to fully measure what it meant to be a National Socialist in the years of struggle for power and to remain a National Socialist despite everything!

And today as well, in their overwhelming majority, they perform their not always easy work in a flawless manner, perhaps they perform something extraordinary, even if one or the other has still not understood how to reorient himself for "peace time" and his speech is still often warlike rough and often undiplomatic. 97% of these leaders - I wish to stress this - perform unpaid service. They are today still servants for the sake of service to the cause and to the idea for which they once assembled.

The NSDAP, in which so many old soldiers are active in leadership positions, has the highest respect for the armed forces; the more so as they know what an incredible accomplishment these armed forces, the greatest portion of their officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, have achieved through armament in such a short time. I know that the armed forces in their entirety have the same respect for the accomplishment of the NSDAP. Therefore, the relationship between both institutions, to my joy, has also become a good one everywhere, insofar as the relationship was not from the start a good one.

What else would be thinkable? After all, the armed forces as the organization of soldierly might are dependent on the party as the organization of the political might and visa versa. *The party turns over to the armed forces people physically and spiritually educated for valour; the armed forces again return disciplined, soldierly thinking people to the care of the party.* The historically unique accomplishment which the Führer achieved in Germany's release from the Treaty of Versailles - without it coming to an armed conflict - would not have been possible, if he had not been able to support himself on the one side by the folk spiritually educated by the party and on the other side by the armed forces which he had already developed into such an instrument of power. Germany, the land where ideas have always caused the deepest conflicts - in a time which drifted ever more toward conflicts between worldviews - would not have been able to survive, if the party had not guaranteed internal unity. It guaranteed the unity in that it directed everything according to one idea and through this idea mobilized the folk energy as the executive organ of this idea.

I have attempted to give you in broad lines a picture of the working, of the essence and of the tasks of the NSDAP.

Many of you may have been of the opinion that today, after the previous parties have disappeared, the NSDAP no longer has a justification to exist. The NSDAP not only has a justification to exist, it is a necessity, precisely also from the standpoint of your area of interest. An even greater necessity, the more today politics and the continuation of politics by other means: war - base themselves upon the whole folk - the more the spirit of the folk is decisive for the success of both. Just as the army organism is the technical means to organize and lead the real strength of the folk, the material-military strength, so is the party organism the technical means to organize and lead the spiritual-political strength of the folk on the attack and in defence. Both organisms hereby simultaneously and mutually supplement and influence each other.

The NSDAP is a necessity precisely in authoritarian Germany. The more authoritarian a state, the more a corrector in the form of a real folk representation is needed. It must prevent that the government, with the comfortable possibility to continuously act completely independent, gradually distances itself from the folk and takes theoretical measures which are neither influenced by healthy folk feeling nor checked for their

effect in the folk, so that the blessing of the authoritarian form of government becomes a curse and the trust of the folk disappears.

You know that the Führer does not only keep in constant touch with the top of his "folk representative", the party, rather in longer intervals turns directly to the folk in plebiscites, in order to have it vote itself about very great decisions in the life of the nation. He thus gains ever anew authorization of his leadership. *The plebiscite is the path of direct test, whether a leadership has not lost the bond with the folk. At the same time, the folk is given the feeling that it still possesses a connect with its leadership.*

Many may view it as a fortunate coincidence that Adolf Hitler was given to the German folk at the right time. *I am of the conviction that not coincidence, rather fate produces for folks - which are close to death and are worthy not to perish - the man who saves them from death and pulls them up to new greatness.*

I do not believe that it is a coincidence, if in a time when the possibility to lead a folk is so greatly dependent on the position of the masses toward this leadership, a man rises to the absolute top of the Reich, who himself belonged to this mass and as a result from the start possesses more trust and more effectiveness in this mass than one who comes from above. I do not believe that it is a coincidence, if this same man nonetheless possesses such an extraordinary capability and such a broad knowledge, that even the upper leadership stratum of this folk also happily subordinates itself to his will. It is perhaps also no coincidence that fate forced him to serve from the bottom up in the political area, just as a clever institution of the armed forces demands that even the later army commander starts standing in rank and column and drilling in the field. That the Führer once personally distributed self-composed fliers against the Treaty of Versailles in Munich or personally disrupted theatre performances in which the front soldier was insulted, helps him today. Although he once also sat in prison for disrupting a separatist assembly in which Prussia was scolded, he also knows the "front" in the domestic area. And his manner of crossing rhetorical swords before the world with his opponents in the area of foreign affairs, is not uninfluenced by the school he went to in the area of dialectics, when he once debated against communists and other well-versed people in small meeting halls.

Perhaps it was also a historical necessity that the terrible material and psychological collapse of 1918 came, that through it institutions were swept away which could have otherwise stood in the way as a hindrance. For under those the unification of the Reich beyond traditional borders, the elimination of parliament and parties, would hardly have been possible, a young, ruthless folk movement would not have been put in a position to purge the Jewish poison in all areas. So even the revolt of 1918 was part of the force which wanted bad and created good. It enabled the coming leader a new start from the bottom up.

I also believe that much of which was placed on the new state in the past years

as difficulties and dangers in the final analysis proved a blessing to us. I believe that the continuing hope for a coming collapse as a result of these difficulties again and again caused foreign states to hesitate to attack us as we gradually released ourselves from the Treaty of Versailles, until they missed the point in time when they could have done so without a major risk of their own.

The final hope was probably that the new Reich would in the economic area - all the sooner, perhaps, must fail as its armament proceeded at a pace and at a tempo as never before an armament in history, and such as nobody had once considered possible. So-called experts in foreign lands - who knew only numbers, only quantities, only materials, only work forces - again failed to take into account how great the elasticity of the German economy is, and even more so the elasticity of German man. But they especially failed to take into account - because it lies outside their concept of calculation - how great the psychological energy of our folk is, how great its ability to limit itself, yes, to make most difficult sacrifices, if it knows why it limits itself and for what it makes these sacrifices. Above all, they failed to take into account what this folk is able to accomplish, if it has a leadership it trusts.

Our folk has trust in its present leadership, because at the top of the leadership stands a leader who, in countless cases, has proven that he really is a leader. A leader who again and again found the right path and the right solution. A leader who uses his energy to solve the apparently impossible. A leader who - out of a totally collapsed folk, in whose resurrection nobody in the world seemed to believe, in whose resurrection this folk itself believed least of all, a leader, who from this same folk of hopelessness, of self-mutilation, of self dishonour - made a folk which stands among the other folks stronger and prouder than ever! Worthy of this rejuvenated folk stand the new armed forces - worthy of this rejuvenated folk stands the party. Together they work on the most beautiful and highest task which is placed on people, together they work for their nation, they work for Germany and its future.

To America's Women

Filmed address at American invitation to America's women, whose leaders had appeared as delegates of the women's organizations of the United States and Canada at the Fourth Women's Congress in Chicago in March 1937.

Ladies!

I gladly accept the friendly American invitation to speak as a German to the women of the United States and the women from Canada, who participate in the Fourth Women's Congress in Chicago.

I am especially happy to accept the invitation, since I am of the conviction that it serves the agreement between folks, if they have an opportunity to see and hear speak leading personalities of foreign states - even if only on film.

You have taken up serious problems.

One theme proclaims: "America faces a changing world". Allow me as member of this world say that, conversely, the world also faces a changing America.

No person can stop the world from changing. For the changes are the natural results of deep shocks to which this world was subjected since the start of the great war. But smart and energetic leaders of the folks in various lands view it as their task to make sure that the changes do not lead to chaos - as is the case in many parts of the world. They view it as their task to guide the changes into responsible channels, so they turn out to be blessings for people. In some lands these attempts can already today be viewed as successful. In other lands, one may, in the interest of the folks, hope for success.

Unfortunately, through the great disorder that came into the world, the relations between folks were disturbed. The decline of international trade has intensified the economic crisis everywhere. Germany, as a result of the world economic crisis and as a result of the loss of its export markets, was forced to become economically more and more self-reliant. Germany welcomes it, if ways are found to again strengthen the economic relations between folks. It is ready to support all efforts that serve this goal.

It is especially ready for this, because it is of the conviction that simultaneously with the exchange of goods between folks the cultural relations between folks increase and understanding for each other grows. The more this understanding grows, however, the greater is the hope that a world catastrophe like the last great war can be prevented in the future. And it is my most earnest wish that the question you have also brought up at this congress - namely, what position America will take in the event

of another World War - proves superfluous.

In many European states, former front-fighters are already in the government. Germany's leadership for the far greatest part consists of former front-fighters. The Führer Adolf Hitler himself is an old front-fighter; I have also stood at the front four years.

Believe me: We front-fighters have become acquainted with the whole misery of the war through our own experience.

Believe me: We front-fighters want no new war. We front-fighters have only one wish, to in the future spare humanity from such a misfortune.

And for the sake of the preservation of peace the front-fighters in the German government have drawn the consequences from the old wisdom, which an English statesman has recently put into words: "A great empire and at the same time a weak empire is a threat to the stability of the world and a temptation for an attacker."

Germany, however, does not wish to threaten the stability of the world and to be a temptation for an attacker. Germany, too, "throws its weight onto the scale of peace".

We German front-fighters want not least to save the women and mothers of our folk above all from the great suffering, from the need and deprivation, that burdened them in the last war. Germany's women are good comrades of the men and stand especially close to them, when it comes down to fighting for peace.

I believe to correctly assess the women of the American continent, if I have the conviction that they, too, will use their influence in order to spare the tormented people of the earth a new war. Especially in this sense, I send you the greetings of the German folk and wish your congress success.

We Share Our Fate

Excerpt from an address to German Germans and seamen on August 28, 1937
in Stuttgart.

My foreign German folk comrades and seamen!

The old homeland which has become the new Germany has received you with open arms, with open hearts. It welcomes you as members not only of the German folk community, rather of the great community of fate. For we *share* the same fate: With Germany's decline *your* star sank as well. Since Germany became despised in the world, *your* reputation also declined. But now, when the new Germany stands before the world proud and strong, you can also hold your head high, when you affirm Germany. Germany's honour is your honour!

I know how you out there yearn to again step on the soil of the homeland. And I know that everyone who is now here in the new Germany is inwardly filled with pride in everything new and great he sees, that all of his expectations have been surpassed. I know that most of you would prefer to remain here, because you become conscious that no other land on earth is as beautiful as our Germany!

You will experience the Reich Party Day as the rally of the most pure and most concentrated National Socialism; you will see them march, the S.A.-men and S.S.-men, the political leaders, the youth, the work service men; you get an idea of the proud new armed forces! And if luck is with you, you will see the man who pulled Germany up when the world believed that Germany was lost. You will see the man who saved Germany. You will see the man who created the Führer concept and himself as the first Führer with this concept placed the strongest clasp around Germany and all the Germans of the world. You will see face to face the man who will go down into German history as one of the very greats.

When you, my foreign German folk comrades and seamen, then go to your work again, when you again return to foreign lands on your ships, then tell those out there that you have seen the land of your fathers, and that it is greater and prouder than you had dreamed. Go out and report:

*Germany will live,
because an Adolf Hitler lives,
and because a God lives in heaven,
who is with Germany!*