

»Mladi za napredek Maribora 2019«

36. srečanje

Figures of Speech and Rhetoric Hold the Power

The Use of Figures of Speech and Rhetoric Devices in Political Speeches Correlates
with the Influence of Speakers on Masses of People

Raziskovalno področje: Tuji jezik

Raziskovalna naloga

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POVZETEK

V najini nalogi sva primerjali govore dveh slavnih politikov, Sir Winstona Churchilla in Adolfa Hitlerja. Raziskali sva retorična in slogovna sredstva v posameznem govoru in njihov vpliv na občinstvo. Najina raziskovalna naloga odgovori na raziskovalno vprašanje: do katere mere uporaba slogovnih in retoričnih sredstev vpliva na večje občinstvo? Raziskovalno vprašanje bo dokazano z metodologijo poslušanja, štetja in primerjanja govorov. Kljub zgodovinskemu ozadju ali vsebini govorov sva prišli do zaključkov naštetih v nadaljevanju naloge. Ne glede na vsebino govorov sta oba politika uspela pritegniti velike množice ljudi in si s tem pridobila moč in avtoriteto.

ABSTRACT

This research paper will focus on the use of language and the impact speeches given by important public figures had on the audience. Our research answers the research question: to what extent does the use of figures of speech and rhetorical devices correlate with the influence of speakers on masses of people? The research question will be proven through the methodology of listing, counting and comparing the political speeches of two influential speakers in history, namely Sir Winston Churchill and Adolf Hitler. Regardless of the historical context or content of the speeches, by solely focusing on the language, the conclusions listed below can be drawn. In their speech Churchill used complex, extravagant words, both speakers used repetition, whereas Hitler, on the other hand, used simple words with a lot of rhetorical questions. Regardless of the content of the speeches, both speakers managed to attract masses of people with their speeches.

ZAHVALA

Zahvaljujeva se mentorici za pomoč pri raziskovalni nalogi.

1. INTRODUCTION

Yehuda Berg once stated that “words are singularly the most powerful force available to humanity. We can choose to use this force constructively with words of encouragement, or destructively using words of despair. Words have energy and power with the ability to help, to heal, to hinder, to hurt, to harm, to humiliate and to humble.” As Zahed (2014) mentions in his article, the power of words in the 21st century is often misused or used for manipulative purposes. Considering the powerful force of spoken words, speeches must be delivered in a way that conveys respect, gentleness and humility.

Public speaking is a powerful skill. Many powerful politicians, company CEOs and other influencers have climbed their way to the top because of the way they speak to the public. But is there more to it than the content they present? To what extent does the use of figures of speech and rhetorical devices enable them to convince millions of people? Which figures of speech and rhetorical devices are the most commonly used. For our research, we decided to find out how people with authority who used well conducted speeches have influenced the public with their speeches and way of speaking.

In our paper, the research questions will be confirmed on the basis of a comparison between two politicians who were perhaps among the most influential people of their time. They were chosen because both of them were important politicians whose influence had immense impact on the course of events during the World War Two in the whole world not just Europe.

The paper will focus on the linguistic aspects of the speeches and will not cover historical factors that might have had an influence on the speakers' performances. As stated, we analysed two speeches by Churchill and Hitler and identified some language devices that they both used in a larger frequency, such as figures of speech and rhetorical figures, Aristotle's pillars of rhetoric and certain argumentation strategies. We focused on political discourse, which studies discourse in political forums.

In the first section, the theoretical background of discourse analysis will be covered, as well as Swain and Canale's theory of competence and Aristotle's pillars of rhetoric. The second section will include an analysis of a speech made by Hitler and a speech made by Churchill. A comparison of the two speeches will follow and finally, the conclusion will be drawn. In our research, our goal was to analyse two great speeches from well-known politicians in order to determine what forms a good and convincing speech. Literature that describes different speeches already exists. Our paper, therefore, focuses on listing, counting and comparing the figures of speech and rhetorical devices used in both speeches. A public survey was conducted to confirm the research questions from a different perspective. Namely, regardless of the content of the speeches or the historical background, the main focus of the survey was for students to recognize the speakers of the two sections based on the figures of speech and the rhetorical devices used.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1.1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

According to the Linguistic Society (2019), discourse analysis is defined as the analysis of language “beyond the sentence” or in social context. Its main concern is the study of grammar and smaller bits of language, such as sounds (phonetics and phonology), parts of words (morphology), meaning (semantics), the order of words in sentences (syntax) and vocabulary (lexis). Discourse analysis studies larger parts of language and connects them as they form a whole in order to understand how it affects the meaning of a sentence.

As Koppa (2010) explained, typical discourse analysis combines the analysis of language use at the micro level and the analysis of situations at the macro level. The method can be beneficial to the government, businesses, or researchers in order to gain a better understanding of conversation and speaking skills. It can also benefit us as individuals because it can help us to read between the lines and recognize fake news. If we are, as individuals, capable of implementing our knowledge of discourse analysis into real-life situations, we can form better speeches and written texts, and have better conversations with others. Nowadays, with discourse analysis, we can analyse texts, media texts, pictures, films, or a combination of these. That is why the popularity of discourse analysis in social media keeps increasing.

As stated by van Dijk (1980), political discourse studies political forums, such as debates, speeches and hearings. Political discourse was essential to understanding and explaining the roles and importance of language and communication in totalitarian regimes and their propaganda after World War Two. It is especially popular in the United States. Most studies of political discourse are about the texts and rhetoric of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members in the government, parliament or other political parties, also the recipients in political

communicative events, such as the public, the people and the citizens. Political discourse can help us with analysing societal problems or discussions.

2.1.2 THE HISTORY OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse analysis is both an old and a new discipline. Its origins can be traced back to the study of language, public speech, and literature more than 2000 years ago. One major historical source is undoubtedly classical rhetoric and the art of good speaking, which we will discuss later on.

Discourse analysis has become popular over the last thirty years; however, the term discourse analysis first came into use in the 1950s in a series of papers by Zellig Harris, who was an American linguist and theorist. His work then progressed over the next 40 years with the help of his colleague.

Nowadays, discourse analysis is an established paradigm in linguistics. It is an independent academic discipline, and currently includes *Critical Discourse Studies*, *The Journal of Language and Politics*, *Discourse and Communication* and *Visual Semiotics*. We can see the development of discourse analysis as a consequence of the development of several social sciences and humanities, like sociology (Wodak, 2008).

2.1.3 DISCOURSE IN SOCIAL MEDIA

Social media has just recently become a part of discourse studies. At the time of the speeches, social media did not have an impact on anyone because it had not yet been developed. Perhaps, if it had been, the world at that time would have been completely different. One of the basic questions we should be asking is how social relations, identity or power differences, language and other factors play out in social media, as it is a rapidly evolving platform (Nordquist, 2018).

2.2 SWAIN AND CANALE'S THEORY OF COMPETENCE

There are multiple different models on the theory of competence. For the purpose of this research, Swain and Canale's model was chosen. Their Theory of Communicative Competence (1980) refers to one's grammatical knowledge of syntax, such as the formation of sentences from combinations of words and phrases, morphology, which is the study of words, and phonology, which is the study of interactions between sounds. According to the theory, there are four components of communicative competence, which can be found below (Linguistic society of America, 2019).

2.2.1 Linguistic competence

Linguistic competence is the knowledge of the grammar, vocabulary and syntax of a language, and knowing what words to use in a sentence and how to use them. This component also includes the knowledge of phonetics (pronunciation, phonology), morphology, syntax and semantics (the way the meaning is presented through language). We based this component on finding figures of speech and rhythm.

2.2.2 Sociolinguistic competence

Sociolinguistic competence is knowing how to use and respond to language properly, according to the public, listeners, surroundings and topic. It is the knowledge of the sociocultural use of language, cultural taboos, the use of politically correct terms and how to express a specific attitude, such as authority or friendliness.

2.2.3 Discourse competence

Discourse competence is knowing how to interpret and combine the larger context and language structures of a text and understanding the text as a coherent whole. Discourse

competence deals with organizing words, phrases and sentences in order to create conversations or speeches, sayings and phrases.

2.2.4. Strategic competence

Strategic competence is knowing how to communicate with someone even if there are gaps in their knowledge. This includes paraphrasing, clarification, using slower speech, taking turns in speaking and hand gestures. This was found in one speech as an example of the use of the three pillars of rhetoric.

2.3 RHETORIC

Rhetoric, as defined by Merriam-Webster, is the art of speaking or writing effectively. According to Aristotle, the three pillars of rhetoric are ethos, pathos and logos. Aristotle himself stated: “The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself.” The pillars have been used as a strategy for effective public speaking from the time of Aristotle up until now. As said by Owlcation (2016), the three pillars are defined here.

2.3.1 ETHOS

Ethos refers to ethics. This includes speakers trying to convince the audience that they are a reliable source, because the listeners believe and listen to people who they think are ethical. The speaker is either already established as a credible source, if they are an expert in a certain topic, or have to convince the audience that he or she is a credible source. Speakers do that by building their reputation by showing confidence and using appropriate language, doing research on experts in a certain topic, building a rapport with the listeners, and showing acts of fairness, such as acknowledging counter-arguments.

2.3.2 PATHOS

Pathos relates to the amount of emotion and sympathy used in a speech. Good speakers often use pathos to target the emotions of the audience, or gain sympathy from them. The audience reacts with emotion, and therefore does not fully consider why they agree with what was told. Pathos is achieved by appealing to people's base and higher emotions, such as lust, greed, fairness and pity, using anecdotes, proper use of vocabulary and figurative language. Ideally, pathos should be used at the end of a speech because the audience is more likely to remember it.

2.3.3 LOGOS

Logos relates to logic and reasoning. It is usually achieved by citing facts, statistics or authorities and making logical analogies. It can be strengthened in a speech by using the research of reliable sources and providing people with logical reasons why they should agree with your beliefs. Logos should be used throughout a speech.

According to John Zimmer (2016), the ideal speech should consist of the right balance of all three pillars of rhetoric; however, a high amount of ethos can be very beneficial. The amount of each pillar used should vary based on what kind of content a speaker is presenting.

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* likely had the biggest impact on today's so-called art of speaking. Aristotle's work influenced not only authors, but also famous Roman teachers and philosophers, such as Cicero. Aristotle believed that everyone needs to know how to use rhetoric properly, for at some point in their life, every individual is faced with an audience that they try to persuade.

3. METHODOLOGY

To research each speakers' rhetoric, we listened and read through one speech from each politician multiple times. Based on previous research, we set down certain figures of speech that we later looked for in the speeches. According to our research, both speeches were made in 1940; however, they were both chosen randomly. Based on the theoretical background and the two theories, namely Swain and Canale's Theory of Communicative Competence (1980) and Owlcation (2016) the three pillars of rhetoric, the seven figures of speech were chosen on the basis of the frequency of appearance in both speeches.

Firstly, the method of listening and reading was used. Concrete examples of figures of speech were listed in the chart, sorted and counted; the full list of figures of speech is presented in the appendix. Lastly, a comparison of the used figures was made. The authors chose seven figures of speech according to the frequency of appearance. The main focus of our research was on the first component of the theory.

3.1.1 LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

As linguistic competence suggests, it is important to know words and how to use them in sentences. Thus, the seven most frequent figures of speech are listed here.

3.1.1.1 Metaphors

Defined by Grammarly (2015) as a figure of speech that describes an object or action in a way that is not literally true, but helps to explain an idea or make a comparison. Metaphors are often used in literature, poetry or in speeches to add some colour to them. They are an effective way of explaining a more complicated concept in an interesting way.

3.1.1.2 Extravagant words

The frequency of extravagant, powerful, unique and complex words in each speech.

3.1.1.3 Rhetorical questions

As defined by the Cambridge Dictionary, they are questions that are asked in order to make a statement, and do not expect an answer. Rhetorical questions can be used in multiple forms, and even as metaphors.

3.1.2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

Sociolinguistic competence suggests the importance of using politically correct terms and how to express a specific attitude in a speech.

3.1.2.1 Sources

We researched what sources of information the speakers used in their speeches. This could be, for example, history or science.

3.1.3 DISCOURSE COMPETENCE

Discourse competence deals with organizing words, phrases and sentences in order to create conversations or speeches.

3.1.3.1 Sayings and phrases

This includes the speaker inventing a phrase, idiom, or memorable sentence that he or his speech will later be remembered by. Some of these sentences later helped in naming some famous speeches, such as Churchill's speech "The Few".

3.1.4 STRATEGIC COMPETENCE

Strategic competence suggests knowing how to make speeches that the audience will understand.

3.1.4.1 Rhythm

According to The Free Dictionary, speech rhythm is the arrangement of spoken words that alternate between stressed and unstressed elements. What builds rhythm is parallelism, that is the similarity of structure in a sentence, between some related words or phrases. Non-parallelism de-creates the rhythm of the sentence.

3.1.4.2 Repetition

According to Lit Charts (2017), repetition is a literary device, in which certain words or phrases are repeated. It promotes clarity and encourages the audience to accept the presented idea. It is widely used in several languages. Repetition is also used in many different forms, such as anaphora and epistrophe.

3.1.4.3 Pillars of rhetoric

The three pillars of rhetoric were also looked for in the speeches.

3.2 SURVEY

The survey was conducted in order to find out if the students recognised the speakers and the message of the speech through the speech style and rhetoric.

The survey was conducted with 100 students aged 16 or 17. The students were given two short sections from speaker A and speaker B. They were asked to match the speaker with the right paragraph. The main purpose of this survey was to discover if the students, who did not know the speeches or the speakers, could on the basis of two short paragraphs from the two speeches, decide who delivered it. Students had to choose between four influential people, Churchill, Hitler, Benito Mussolini and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. If the speech used figures of speech and rhetorical devices, the students would not find out the purpose of the speech. The results were analysed and drawn in a graph.

3.3 METHOD OF COMPARISON

Firstly, the two speeches were studied in detail. The data were gathered in an Excel chart, as seen in appendix 2. Furthermore, the number of different figures of speech and rhetorical devices used in each speech was listed and counted. Lastly, we compared the number of figures of speech used in the two speeches.

4. RESEARCH

In this section, the two chosen speeches will be introduced. Firstly, Churchill's speech which was also called "The Few" and was delivered on August 20, 1940, and secondly, Hitler's speech delivered on December 10, 1940 to the workers of Berlin, the translation of the speech was analysed.

4.1. CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

4.1.1 HISTORY

Churchill was born in Oxfordshire on November 30, 1874. He is widely considered one of the 20th century's most significant figures. He is seen as a victorious war leader for his accomplishments during the first world war and, of course, for leading Britain to victory during the second world war. Churchill is also praised as a writer and historian, and he was even given the Nobel Prize for literature in 1953. His father came from a family that was among the highest levels of British aristocracy and his mother from a very wealthy American family. He did not like school and was always unpunctual, careless and misbehaving. Academically, he did not perform well, but he was always excellent at writing. Since his poor academic achievement did not suggest an academic future, he entered the Royal Military College. Churchill became a cavalry officer in the 4th Queen's Own Hussars, but wanted to go into politics like his father, who at that time, had already passed away. In the years between 1895 and 1900, he was sent to many dangerous places, which he described in newspaper articles and books. It was in these places that he first got a reputation for being a hero. In 1901, Churchill took his seat in the House of Commons, where he increasingly voted with the Liberal opposition against the government. Churchill was the prime minister of Great Britain from 1940-1945 and again from 1951-1955. When he first became prime minister, he replaced Neville Chamberlain after his resignation because he was unable to lead the country during the war. He died six months later from cancer. At the time, the war had already begun, the French had already lost and the United Kingdom was sure to follow if it had not been for Churchill's great leadership (Mcmenamin and Zoller, 2007).

4.1.2 CHURCHILL'S SPEECHES

When he was first voted into the parliament, the king and some members of the Conservative Party would have preferred the foreign secretary, Lord Halifax, but he managed to maintain his position consequentially due to his oratory skills. With his skills, he was able to get the support of the nation and lead them through the war to victory. Churchill prided himself on writing his own speeches and he never hired a single speech writer. He was not a born rhetoric, he had a lisp, he stuttered and a lot of times, he would mumble words and no one could understand him. He went through everything he wrote, word after word and corrected it. When he was younger, he worked with a speech therapist to improve his speaking abilities. Before he gave an important speech, he repeated it again and again until it was perfect. Churchill's writing was unique and, in the beginning, very old-fashioned. Before the war, his words seemed ridiculously inappropriate and overly dramatic, but in time of war, they seemed oddly fitting. What he said was often obscure, but very convincing. Some of the most influential and sophisticated people were very unimpressed by Churchill, but the less sophisticated the people, the greater effect his words had. He was able to move and persuade people with his words without them even knowing it. The nation adored his speeches and comforting positivity. During the war, more than 60% of the population listened to every radio speech. Churchill wrote well over a hundred speeches and was most active from 1909 to 1954, most of those speeches, especially those during World War Two, were broadcast over the radio. Some of the speeches were made without the intent of being recorded, but a lot of people made their own recordings of him speaking (Normdatei, 2012).

4.1.3 ABOUT THE SPEECH

For the purpose of this research, we analysed a war speech he made on August 20, 1940 in the House of Commons, the lower house of the parliament. In the speech, Churchill thanked the Royal Air Force crew for their efforts while fighting in the Battle of Britain. After he gave his speech, the RAF pilots were known as "the few" referencing the phrase

“never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few”. Churchill first used the memorable phrase when exciting a bunker during the Battle of Britain on August 16, 1940. One of Churchill's greatest attributes was his ability to inspire people regardless of the circumstances. In public he always demonstrated enthusiasm, determination and optimism drawn from his own character. He delivered the speech in one of the most dangerous phases of the war, when the parliament had already lost hope and the nation was terrified and lost. He used the speech not only to inspire the pilots, but the nation itself (Normdatei, 2012).

4.2. HITLER'S SPEECH

4.2.1 HISTORY

Hitler, the leader of Germany's Nazi Party, was one of the most powerful and notorious dictators. Hitler capitalized on economic woes, popular discontent and political infighting to take absolute power in Germany. Hitler was born on April 20, 1889 in a small Austrian town, but spent most of his young life in the capital of Upper Austria. He struggled in school and eventually dropped out during his secondary schooling. Instead of wanting to be a civil servant like his father, Hitler pursued a dream of becoming an artist and applied to Vienna's Academy of Fine Arts, but was rejected. After the death of his mother, he moved to Vienna to live as an artist. While there, he became interested in politics and the ideals that would forever change Europe. After World War One broke out, Hitler volunteered in a reserve infantry regiment and even won two medals for his bravery. After the war in 1918, he joined the German Worker's Party. Owing to his skilled oratory and charisma, he retained a high position in the party and, in a great propaganda move, he renamed the party to the National Socialist German Workers (Nazi), and a year later he was already leading it. In 1933, he began serving as Chancellor and later in 1934, as Fuhrer. He led the nation into World War Two, which began when he attacked Poland in 1939. Because of Hitler's relentless anti-semitism and obsessive pursuit of Aryan supremacy, he organised the murder of some 6 million Jews, along with other victims of

the Holocaust. After the war turned against him, he committed suicide in April, 1945 (Curry, 2018).

4.2.2 HITLER'S SPEECHES

Hitler, just like Churchill, wrote all of his speeches on his own without employing a speech writer, as what he said was too important to intrust to anyone. Before giving an important speech, he would read it through and through and could even edit the speech up to five times. Half of his message was presented in this way: he had to paint a picture and add animation to his language to better present his ideas. Before giving a big speech, he would practice his hand gestures and hand movements. Besides his gestures, what made his speeches so memorable and effective was his overwhelmingly powerful voice that was almost hypnotic. Hitler built his success on his extraordinary oratory skills; without violence, he convinced the democracy to openly chose to appoint a dictator using rhetoric. He was a very charismatic speaker and with more than 5000 persuasive speeches, he convinced millions of people to join his cause. Hitler managed to take advantage of a crippling Germany and offered the nation hope with an opportunistic political ideology, which was before his time unimportant and unknown. Hitler delivered most of his speeches from 1919 until his death in 1945; among the most important are the ones given on January 30 on the anniversary of his coming to power. They give a unique insight into the political movement (Rosenbaum, 2015).

4.2.3 ABOUT THE SPEECH

We analysed a war speech he made to the workers of Berlin on December 10, 1940.

5. RESULTS

For our research, we focused on finding similarities and differences between Hitler's and Churchill's speeches. In sections 4.1 and 4.2, the figures of speech will be individually listed in order of frequency for each speaker. Namely, metaphors, rhythm, repetition, rhetorical questions, phrases, extravagant or unique words, sources and the use of the pillars of rhetoric.

5.1. ANALYZING CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

5.1.1 LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

5.1.1.1 THE USE OF METAPHORS

In his speeches, Churchill used a significant amount of metaphors to illustrate his points better and paint a picture for the audience. That had a great effect on the audience because it allowed them to understand what he was saying and helped them to connect his points with their already existing beliefs, thoughts, and knowledge.

Some examples of metaphors:

- Describing war as a wide, dark field.
- Describing the fate of the nation to a fearful game of chess that none of the nations can stop playing.
- Stating that the new government is a cataract of disaster.
- Comparing the nations offensive forces to springs that are slowly being compressed.

5.1.1.2 THE USE OF EXTRAVAGANT WORDS

Churchill was very well educated in literature, and in his speeches, he often used unique, dramatic and extravagant words to describe his thoughts. He knew he was speaking to a

nation where not everyone was as educated as him, so he tried not to use overly complicated and sophisticated words that the people could not understand.

Some examples of extravagant words:

- Masters of our fate... final victory burning unquenchable in our hearts.
- Profound sympathy.
- Blood-curdling threats.
- Liberated Europe.
- Names will be held in honour.

5.1.1.3 THE USE OF RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

In his speeches Sir Winston Churchill did not use a significant amount of rhetorical questions.

5.1.2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

5.1.2.1 THE USE OF DIFFERENT SOURCES

In order to make his speech more believable, the audience more trusting and to better illustrate his points, he drew from areas of his knowledge that the audience could connect and relate to.

Some examples of sources:

- History (From World War One, past victories)
- He mentions meaningful people (His Majesty, King Leopold, Hitler)
- He relies on his own reputation, what he has done in the past, and his past and present victories.

5.1.3 DISCOURSE COMPETENCE

5.1.3.1 THE USE OF SAYINGS AND PHRASES

Churchill's speeches are still remembered today because of his ability to combine all of his thoughts into memorable, poetic sentences. One of his most significant and memorable phrases describes his and the nation's gratitude towards the soldiers fighting in the war. He stated that "never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few". Many of his phrases have become important on their own, proving that Churchill was a master of capturing the essence of what he was trying to say. The audience remembers those kinds of sentences, and with that, the most important message of the entire speech.

Some examples of phrases:

- Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few
- But the day will come, as surely as the sun will rise tomorrow, when their names will be held in honour.
- Hurling masses of steel at one another.
- Masters of our faith.
- Man are shells.

5.1.4 STRATEGIC COMPETENCE

5.1.4.1 THE USE OF RHYTHM

In his speeches, he arranged specific words in order to create a rhythm, making his speeches more attractive to the audience.

Some examples of creating a rhythm:

- Be it long or short, rough or smooth, we mean to reach our journeys end.
- Night after night, day after day, month after month.
- It just keeps rolling around, let it roll, let it roll.

5.1.4.2 THE USE OF REPETITION

What also helped to make the speech more memorable and understandable was the use of repetition.

Some examples of repetition:

- Are turned, as they are being turned.
- It just keeps rolling around, let it roll, let it roll.
- Night after night, day after day, month after month.

5.1.4.3 THE USE OF THE PILLARS OF RHETORIC

Ethos and logos were not as commonly used in his speeches; he emphasized pathos. Reading through the entire speech, Churchill was addressing a terrified nation during what he called the darkest time. It was therefore necessary for him to empower the people. He did that by lifting their confidence in their nation's ability to win the war. He emphasized their wins in the past, the strength of the nation and the advantages that the country had, such as its geographical position. During the entire speech, he stays positive and at the end, he introduces a growing strategic alliance with USA, which can help them win the war.

Some examples of pathos:

- Inspiring confidence throughout the whole speech
- Emphasizing his relentlessness ("I could not stop if I wished.")
- Speaking positively ("Better days will come.")

5.1.5 SUMMARY OF CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

For the purpose of this research eight figures of speech and rhetorical devices were so significant that are mentioned in the results section. From all eight figures of speech metaphors and the use of sources are the most highly represented figures in Churchill's speech. Namely, in his speech metaphors and the use of sources represent 17% of features. To describe the essence of his thoughts 12 % of phrases and saying from were found. He mastered the English language and in his speeches he used very unique and powerful vocabulary. In our speech 14% of extravagant and powerful words were found.

7% of arranged words were found for the purpose of creating the rhythm. For emphasizing important thoughts and attracting the attention of the audience he used repetition of which 7% were found. In the speech we analyzed he did not use a significant amount of rhetorical questions only, namely only 2% were found. In order to justify pathos we had to look into the background situation that people in contemporary England were in. He delivered the speech in what he called the darkest time, so in order to lift the peoples' confidence and comfort the use of pathos was used through the entire speech. The structure of the sentences was more complex.

5.2 ANALYZING HITLER'S SPEECH

5.2.1 LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

5.2.1.1 THE USE OF METAPHORS

In his speeches, we found a lot of metaphors, which he used to more vividly present his thoughts so that the audience could understand him better and remember what he was trying to tell them.

Some examples of metaphors:

- Describing change as an unpleasant feeling and comparing it to being unwrapped.
- Describing the German civilization as theatre.
- Describing sacrifice as blood loss.
- Measuring the importance between capitalism and work - asking who the master is.

5.2.1.2 THE USE OF EXTRAVAGANT WORDS

In his speeches, Hitler did not use as complicated or interesting words as Churchill. He tried to connect to his audience through his vocabulary and convince the public that he is and always will be one of them, with the use of simple, easily understandable words.

Some examples of simple words:

- When I took over the government.
- One simple question faced me.
- We have no gold.

5.2.1.3 THE USE OF RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

In order to better present his points, he used a large amount of rhetorical questions.

Some examples of rhetorical questions:

- What then are we to say about ourselves?
- How could a narrow-minded capitalist ever agree to my principles?
- How often have I stretched out my hand to them?
- What did I ask of the other world?
- Are we to perish because we have no gold; am I to believe in a phantom which spells our destruction?
- Who enlightens the people, who educates them?

5.2.2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

5.2.2.1 THE USE OF DIFFERENT SOURCES

In order to make his speech more believable, the audience more trusting and to better illustrate his points, he drew from areas of his knowledge that the audience could connect and relate to.

For example:

- History (especially the Great War, their past victories).
- Mentions of meaningful people (Churchill).

- The Bible (Almighty god).

5.2.2.2 THE USE OF DIRECT ADDRESS

One of the main features of the speech is to connect with the audience by using the direct address. Hitler addressed his audience several times with simple words:

Some examples of direct address:

- My fellow-countrymen.
- Workers of Berlin.
- My comrades.

5.2.3 DISCOURSE COMPETENCE

5.2.3.1 THE USE OF SAYINGS AND PHRASES

Hitler was known to express the essence of his speech using memorable phrases.

Some examples of sayings and phrases:

- Because shells are replaceable and bombs are replaceable, but men are not.
- There is no such word as capitulation in your vocabulary or mine.
- You have only created the difference by the external wrappings, underneath these they are all alike.
- What has to happen must happen.
- Claim everything and leave nothing to others.

5.2.4 STRATEGIC COMPETENCE

5.2.4.1 THE USE OF RHYTHM

Hitler did not use a specific arrangement of words to build a rhythm in his speech.

5.2.4.2 THE USE OF REPETITION

Hitler was known to use a lot of repetition. Some examples of repetition:

- This we owe to the German farmer, who has worked from daybreak till nightfall. This we owe to the German worker, who has given us his whole strength.
- We are also building a world here, a world of mutual work, a world of mutual effort, and a world of mutual anxieties and mutual duties.
- If it becomes necessary for me to defend myself, I defend myself with unlimited zeal.
- This is your doing, the result of your workmanship, of your industry, your capacity, your devotion.
- For this Reich of peace, of work, of welfare, of culture.

5.2.4.3 THE USE OF THE PILLARS OF RHETORIC

Hitler especially tried to connect with his followers and the entire nation to gain their support in keeping him in power and make it possible for him to rule and fight for his ideas for Germany. He achieved that by using pathos and connecting with the listeners' emotions.

Some examples of pathos:

- In his speeches he thanked the workers for all the work they do, he makes them the pillars of his reign and responsible for everything he had accomplished. He also expresses his immense gratitude by saying thank you at the end of the speech.
- He makes it as though he is and always was one of them. Through the entire speech he addresses them as his fellow countrymen.
- He uses pathos to raise the moral and confidence of not just the workers, but the entire nation. He specifically addresses how strong the German nation really is, how they were able to overcome and rise above after all the horrors

following World War One and all their natural shortcomings. They achieved that without any help from others, but just from their sheer strength and capability.

5. 2. 5 SUMMARY OF HITLER'S SPEECH

Repetition is the most highly represented figure of speech found in Hitler's speech, in our speech 20% were found. In order to better attract the audiences attention he used rhetorical question of which 13% were found. In Hitler's speech a significant amount of metaphors to be precise 15% were found. Hitler did not use a significant amount of rhythm In his speech, namely only 1% was found. He used simple words to better connect with his audience and simple sentence structure. He addressed the audience with my fellow-countrymen, workers of Berlin and my comrades, in order to refer to workers. In order to justify pathos we had to look into the background situation that people in contemporary Germany were in. By using pathos through the entire speech, he also used the speech to comfort and lift the spirits of his nation, he thanked them for all they do to make his ideas a possibility.

5.3 A COMPARISON OF THE SPEECHES

Both of the speeches were presented to the public in 1940 at a very dangerous and important phase of World War Two. The devastation left behind after World War One was enormous, especially in Germany. By the time the speeches were made, both of the nations had been dying, starving and suffering for decades. Both of the war leaders were able to comfort, thank and encourage their nations by connecting with their emotions and effecting the way they thought. They managed that by mastering pathos.

The main similarity between the two speeches is the significant amount of metaphors found in in both speeches. With the help of metaphors, they were able to describe the essence of their thoughts and attract the audiences' attention. Both of these speeches were also made more memorable with the use of sayings and phrases, which immensely helped in emphasizing the essence of what they were trying to say. What made their

speeches even more memorable and appealing to the audience was the use of repetition, which was widely used by both speakers.

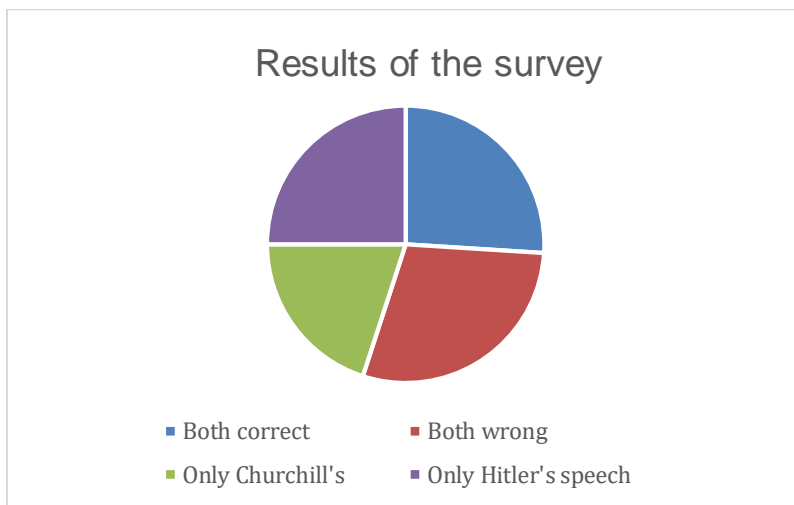
In Churchill's speech, we found extravagant and powerful words used to attract peoples' attention. These words were not found in Hitler's speech because his vocabulary was adapted to his audience, namely, the working class. Therefore, his speech was easily understandable, but at times not as illustrative. Consequently, he used a different rhetorical figure to attract peoples' attention and presented his points more vividly with the use of rhetorical questions, whereas only a few rhetorical questions were found in Churchill's speech.

There are also some areas in which the two speeches are not alike. Churchill put a bigger emphasis on extravagant speech and the creation of rhythm, whereas Hitler's speech is filled with rhetorical questions, which were used to make a stronger statement.

5.4 SURVEY

Based on the results of the survey, it can be concluded that more than half of the students, 68%, could not guess both the speakers based on the given paragraphs. 20% of the students were right about the speech written by Churchill, 25% were right about Hitler's speech and 29% were wrong about both.

Graph 1: A graph of the results of the Survey



Even though the two speeches were made around the same time, it can be said that they were presented to the public with different agendas. Namely, Churchill used his speech for defence, to establish himself as the prime minister and for the common good as well as the Commonwealth. On the other hand, with his speech, Hitler manipulated enormous masses of people to spread his ideals and to achieve his illusion of a perfect world, his Reich.

Based on the fact that out of the 29% of students who guessed both of the speakers wrong, 34% indicated Hitler where it should have been Churchill's paragraph. 48% marked Churchill where it should have been Hitler's paragraph. On the basis of this simple survey, it can be concluded that when comparing the paragraphs from the speeches, the students were unable to determine the intentions behind each speech.

5.5 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

For the purpose of this research, the scope of the investigation was really narrow. The authors were aware of the time limitations for this research, and that only one of Churchill's speeches and one of Hitler's speeches could be analysed. What is more, the main focus was to count the most frequent speech style. Last but not least, this research only focused on the two speakers.

For future research, the following recommendations can be followed. More speeches of the same speakers could be analysed. In this research paper, the main focus was to discover what kinds and how many speech styles are present in the speeches of the two leaders. For the future research, a more in-depth analysis will be needed with possible interpretations and analyses of speech styles. Furthermore, speeches of different contemporary speakers could be examined, analysed and compared.

5.6 SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

According to the Cambridge Online Dictionary (2019), social responsibility is the practice of producing goods and services in a way that is not harmful to society or the environment.

In our context, the practice of delivering good public speeches should be the requirement of every society, especially in the field of politics. In order to prevent the rise of totalitarian systems in the 21st century, political speeches need to be transparent. The younger generations need to be informed about manipulation and the influence of mass media or negative propaganda in their language classes, such as English or German, as well as history classes. By presenting this work and sections of the speeches by Churchill and Hitler, the awareness of the younger generations will be raised.

6. CONCLUSION

“Rhetoric holds the power to change opinion, spark new thoughts, and ultimately change the world.” Michael D.C. Drout (2006). Words are used every day, if we manage to master not just the content of what we are saying but the rhetoric as well, we can be able to not only influence people’s points of view but also their thoughts and most importantly their emotion. Both Churchill and Hitler were masters of persuading masses of people to trust in their causes and offer their support. Churchill as well as Hitler both owe a large amount of their success to their rhetoric abilities.

Churchill’s career as prime minister depended on his oratory abilities, and he would not have been able to obtain his position without his immense knowledge of the English language and rhetorical devices. This was even more true for Hitler, whose career was built on his oratory skills, charm and ability to almost hypnotize enormous masses of people with his speeches.

Churchill was able to rely on his already-established reputation, especially by emphasizing his wins and achievements during World War One; however, he also drew knowledge from other historic events and statistics. In order to promote clarity, emphasize their points and encourage the audience to accept the presented ideas, both of the speakers used repetition. Hitler’s speech contained a significantly greater amount of rhetorical figures than Churchill’s speech. Unlike Hitler, Churchill made his speeches more attractive to the audience by arranging specific extravagant words in an order that created rhythm.

Hitler could not solely depend on his already-obtained reputation and had to start gaining people’s support, respect and trust from the beginning of his career. In order to gain the trust of the people, he addressed their values, for example, their faith; as a source for his speeches, he used the Bible. Furthermore, he also used history as a reliable source and drew a significant number of examples from World War One. This made him establish himself as a soldier for the people like he had during the war. For reliability, he did not

only use events from the past, but also important contemporary people. It is interesting to notice that both speakers used each other in their speeches as an example of the enemy.

Both speakers used a lot of figures of speech, such as metaphors, repetition, sources, sayings and phrases, rhetorical question, rhythm, extravagant speech and pillars of rhetoric as suggested by discourse analysis and splendid rhetorical devices, with the main focus on pathos rather than on logos and ethos. In order to justify the frequent use of pathos in their speeches we had to look at the historical background of the events, namely, the difficult situations that people were in during World War Two at the time when both speeches were delivered.

The survey, which was conducted for the purpose of this research, showed that regardless of the historical facts or the content of the speeches, the 100 students who participated could not differentiate between the four speakers or even guess who wrote which speech. Therefore, it can be concluded that both speakers used the structure, figures of speech and rhetorical devices, which according to the discourse analysis, were really well-written and delivered to the masses of people which may have caused the course of historical events of the entire world in World War Two.

In conclusion, both speakers, Churchill and Hitler were the authors of their own speeches. They used appropriate figures of speech as suggested by discourse analysis, splendid rhetorical devices and kept the main focus on pathos rather than on logos and ethos. Regardless of the content of their speeches, both speakers managed to attract the masses of people who were in difficult life conditions back in those days. All in all, considering the historical circumstances, the speeches were the only inspiration for many people, and therefore, were inspired by the two speakers. Furthermore, it can be concluded that both speakers were excellent orators and charismatic people who knew how to carry out their speeches, which also added to their success in public speaking and influence over people.

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8. APPENDIX

8.1 SPEECHES

8.1.1 CHURHILL'S SPEECH

Almost a year has passed since the war began, and it is natural for us, I think, to pause on our journey at this milestone and survey the dark, wide field. It is also useful to compare the first year of this second war against German aggression with its forerunner a quarter of a century ago. Although this war is in fact only a continuation of the last, very great differences in its character are apparent. In the last war millions of men fought by hurling enormous masses of steel at one another. "Men and shells" was the cry, and prodigious slaughter was the consequence.

In this war nothing of this kind has yet appeared. It is a conflict of strategy, of organisation, of technical apparatus, of science, mechanics, and morale. The British casualties in the first 12 months of the Great War amounted to 365,000. In this war, I am thankful to say, British killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, including civilians, do not exceed 92,000, and of these a large proportion are alive as prisoners of war. Looking more widely around, one may say that throughout all Europe for one man killed or wounded in the first year perhaps five were killed or wounded in 1914-15.

The slaughter is only a small fraction, but the consequences to the belligerents have been even more deadly. We have seen great countries with powerful armies dashed out of coherent existence in a few weeks. We have seen the French Republic and the renowned French Army beaten into complete and total submission with less than the casualties which they suffered in any one of half a dozen of the battles of 1914-18.

The entire body – it might almost seem at times the soul – of France has succumbed to physical effects incomparably less terrible than those which were sustained with fortitude and undaunted will power 25 years ago. Although up to the present the loss of life has

been mercifully diminished, the decisions reached in the course of the struggle are even more profound upon the fate of nations than anything that has ever happened since barbaric times. Moves are made upon the scientific and strategic boards, advantages are gained by mechanical means, as a result of which scores of millions of men become incapable of further resistance, or judge themselves incapable of further resistance, and a fearful game of chess proceeds from check to mate by which the unhappy players seem to be inexorably bound.

There is another more obvious difference from 1914. The whole of the warring nations are engaged, not only soldiers, but the entire population, men, women, and children. The fronts are everywhere. The trenches are dug in the towns and streets. Every village is fortified. Every road is barred. The front line runs through the factories. The workmen are soldiers with different weapons but the same courage. These are great and distinctive changes from what many of us saw in the struggle of a quarter of a century ago.

There seems to be every reason to believe that this new kind of war is well suited to the genius and the resources of the British nation and the British Empire and that, once we get properly equipped and properly started, a war of this kind will be more favourable to us than the sombre mass slaughters of the Somme and Passchendaele. If it is a case of the whole nation fighting and suffering together, that ought to suit us, because we are the most united of all the nations, because we entered the war upon the national will and with our eyes open, and because we have been nurtured in freedom and individual responsibility and are the products, not of totalitarian uniformity but of tolerance and variety.

If all these qualities are turned, as they are being turned, to the arts of war, we may be able to show the enemy quite a lot of things that they have not thought of yet. Since the Germans drove the Jews out and lowered their technical standards, our science is definitely ahead of theirs. Our geographical position, the command of the sea, and the friendship of the United States enable us to draw resources from the whole world and to

manufacture weapons of war of every kind, but especially of the superfine kinds, on a scale hitherto practised only by Nazi Germany.

Hitler is now sprawled over Europe. Our offensive springs are being slowly compressed, and we must resolutely and methodically prepare ourselves for the campaigns of 1941 and 1942. Two or three years are not a long time, even in our short, precarious lives. They are nothing in the history of the nation, and when we are doing the finest thing in the world, and have the honour to be the sole champion of the liberties of all Europe, we must not grudge these years of weary as we toil and struggle through them. It does not follow that our energies in future years will be exclusively confined to defending ourselves and our possessions. Many opportunities may lie open to amphibious power, and we must be ready to take advantage of them.

One of the ways to bring this war to a speedy end is to convince the enemy, not by words, but by deeds, that we have both the will and the means, not only to go on indefinitely but to strike heavy and unexpected blows. The road to victory may not be so long as we expect. But we have no right to count upon this. Be it long or short, rough or smooth, we mean to reach our journey's end.

It is our intention to maintain and enforce a strict blockade not only of Germany but of Italy, France, and all the other countries that have fallen into the German power. I read in the papers that Herr Hitler has also proclaimed a strict blockade of the British Islands. No one can complain of that. I remember the Kaiser doing it in the last war. What indeed would be a matter of general complaint would be if we were to prolong the agony of all Europe by allowing food to come in to nourish the Nazis and aid their war effort, or to allow food to go in to the subjugated peoples, which certainly would be pillaged off them by their Nazi conquerors.

There have been many proposals, founded on the highest motives, that food should be allowed to pass the blockade for the relief of these populations. I regret that we must refuse these requests. The Nazis declare that they have created a new unified economy

in Europe. They have repeatedly stated that they possess ample reserves of food and that they can feed their captive peoples.

In a German broadcast of 27th June it was said that while Mr. Hoover's plan for relieving France, Belgium, and Holland deserved commendation, the German forces had already taken the necessary steps. We know that in Norway when the German troops went in, there were food supplies to last for a year. We know that Poland, though not a rich country, usually produces sufficient food for her people. Moreover, the other countries which Herr Hitler has invaded all held considerable stocks when the Germans entered and are themselves, in many cases, very substantial food producers. If all this food is not available now, it can only be because it has been removed to feed the people of Germany and to give them increased rations – for a change – during the last few months.

At this season of the year and for some months to come, there is the least chance of scarcity as the harvest has just been gathered in. The only agencies which can create famine in any part of Europe now and during the coming winter, will be German exactions or German failure to distribute the supplies which they command.

There is another aspect. Many of the most valuable foods are essential to the manufacture of vital war material. Fats are used to make explosives. Potatoes make the alcohol for motor spirit. The plastic materials now so largely used in the construction of aircraft are made of milk. If the Germans use these commodities to help them to bomb our women and children, rather than to feed the populations who produce them, we may be sure that imported foods would go the same way, directly or indirectly, or be employed to relieve the enemy of the responsibilities he has so wantonly assumed.

Let Hitler bear his responsibilities to the full and let the peoples of Europe who groan beneath his yoke aid in every way the coming of the day when that yoke will be broken. Meanwhile, we can and we will arrange in advance for the speedy entry of food into any part of the enslaved area, when this part has been wholly cleared of German forces, and has genuinely regained its freedom. We shall do our best to encourage the building up of

reserves of food all over the world, so that there will always be held up before the eyes of the peoples of Europe, including – I say deliberately – the German and Austrian peoples, the certainty that the shattering of the Nazi power will bring to them all immediate food, freedom and peace.

Rather more than a quarter of a year has passed since the new Government came into power in this country. What a cataract of disaster has poured out upon us since then. The trustful Dutch overwhelmed; their beloved and respected Sovereign driven into exile; the peaceful city of Rotterdam the scene of a massacre as hideous and brutal as anything in the Thirty Years' War. Belgium invaded and beaten down; our own fine Expeditionary Force, which King Leopold called to his rescue, cut off and almost captured, escaping as it seemed only by a miracle and with the loss of all its equipment; our Ally, France, out; Italy in against us; all France in the power of the enemy, all its arsenals and vast masses of military material converted or convertible to the enemy's use; a puppet Government set up at Vichy which may at any moment be forced to become our foe; the whole Western seaboard of Europe from the North Cape to the Spanish frontier in German hands; all the ports, all the air-fields on this immense front, employed against us as potential springboards of invasion. Moreover, the German air power, numerically so far outstripping ours, has been brought so close to our Island that what we used to dread greatly has come to pass and the hostile bombers not only reach our shores in a few minutes and from many directions, but can be escorted by their fighting aircraft.

Why, Sir, if we had been confronted at the beginning of May with such a prospect, it would have seemed incredible that at the end of a period of horror and disaster, or at this point in a period of horror and disaster, we should stand erect, sure of ourselves, masters of our fate and with the conviction of final victory burning unquenchable in our hearts. Few would have believed we could survive; none would have believed that we should to-day not only feel stronger but should actually be stronger than we have ever been before.

Let us see what has happened on the other side of the scales. The British nation and the British Empire finding themselves alone, stood undismayed against disaster. No one

flinched or wavered; nay, some who formerly thought of peace, now think only of war. Our people are united and resolved, as they have never been before. Death and ruin have become small things compared with the shame of defeat or failure in duty.

We cannot tell what lies ahead. It may be that even greater ordeals lie before us. We shall face whatever is coming to us. We are sure of ourselves and of our cause and that is the supreme fact which has emerged in these months of trial.

Meanwhile, we have not only fortified our hearts but our Island. We have rearmed and rebuilt our armies in a degree which would have been deemed impossible a few months ago. We have ferried across the Atlantic, in the month of July, thanks to our friends over there, an immense mass of munitions of all kinds, cannon, rifles, machine-guns, cartridges, and shell, all safely landed without the loss of a gun or a round. The output of our own factories, working as they have never worked before, has poured forth to the troops. The whole British Army is at home. More than 2,000,000 determined men have rifles and bayonets in their hands to-night and three-quarters of them are in regular military formations. We have never had armies like this in our Island in time of war. The whole Island bristles against invaders, from the sea or from the air.

As I explained to the House in the middle of June, the stronger our Army at home, the larger must the invading expedition be, and the larger the invading expedition, the less difficult will be the task of the Navy in detecting its assembly and in intercepting and destroying it on passage; and the greater also would be the difficulty of feeding and supplying the invaders if ever they landed, in the teeth of continuous naval and air attack on their communications. All this is classical and venerable doctrine. As in Nelson's day, the maxim holds, "Our first line of defence is the enemy's ports." Now air reconnaissance and photography have brought to an old principle a new and potent aid.

Our Navy is far stronger than it was at the beginning of the war. The great flow of new construction set on foot at the outbreak is now beginning to come in. We hope our friends across the ocean will send us a timely reinforcement to bridge the gap between the peace

flotillas of 1939 and the war flotillas of 1941. There is no difficulty in sending such aid. The seas and oceans are open. The U-boats are contained. The magnetic mine is, up to the present time, effectively mastered. The merchant tonnage under the British flag, after a year of unlimited U-boat war, after eight months of intensive mining attack, is larger than when we began. We have, in addition, under our control at least 4,000,000 tons of shipping from the captive countries which has taken refuge here or in the harbours of the Empire. Our stocks of food of all kinds are far more abundant than in the days of peace and a large and growing programme of food production is on foot.

Why do I say all this? Not assuredly to boast; not assuredly to give the slightest countenance to complacency. The dangers we face are still enormous, but so are our advantages and resources.

I recount them because the people have a right to know that there are solid grounds for the confidence which we feel, and that we have good reason to believe ourselves capable, as I said in a very dark hour two months ago, of continuing the war "if necessary alone, if necessary for years." I say it also because the fact that the British Empire stands invincible, and that Nazidom is still being resisted, will kindle again the spark of hope in the breasts of hundreds of millions of downtrodden or despairing men and women throughout Europe, and far beyond its bounds, and that from these sparks there will presently come cleansing and devouring flame.

The great air battle which has been in progress over this Island for the last few weeks has recently attained a high intensity. It is too soon to attempt to assign limits either to its scale or to its duration. We must certainly expect that greater efforts will be made by the enemy than any he has so far put forth. Hostile air fields are still being developed in France and the Low Countries, and the movement of squadrons and material for attacking us is still proceeding.

It is quite plain that Herr Hitler could not admit defeat in his air attack on Great Britain without sustaining most serious injury. If, after all his boastings and blood-curdling threats

and lurid accounts trumpeted round the world of the damage he has inflicted, of the vast numbers of our Air Force he has shot down, so he says, with so little loss to himself; if after tales of the panic-stricken British crushed in their holes cursing the plutocratic Parliament which has led them to such a plight; if after all this his whole air onslaught were forced after a while tamely to peter out, the Fuehrer's reputation for veracity of statement might be seriously impugned. We may be sure, therefore, that he will continue as long as he has the strength to do so, and as long as any preoccupations he may have in respect of the Russian Air Force allow him to do so.

On the other hand, the conditions and course of the fighting have so far been favourable to us. I told the House two months ago that whereas in France our fighter aircraft were wont to inflict a loss of two or three to one upon the Germans, and in the fighting at Dunkirk, which was a kind of no-man's-land, a loss of about three or four to one, we expected that in an attack on this Island we should achieve a larger ratio. This has certainly come true. It must also be remembered that all the enemy machines and pilots which are shot down over our Island, or over the seas which surround it, are either destroyed or captured; whereas a considerable proportion of our machines, and also of our pilots, are saved, and soon again in many cases come into action.

A vast and admirable system of salvage, directed by the Ministry of Aircraft Production, ensures the speediest return to the fighting line of damaged machines, and the most provident and speedy use of all the spare parts and material. At the same time the splendid, nay, astounding increase in the output and repair of British aircraft and engines which Lord Beaverbrook has achieved by a genius of organisation and drive, which looks like magic, has given us overflowing reserves of every type of aircraft, and an ever-mounting stream of production both in quantity and quality.

The enemy is, of course, far more numerous than we are. But our new production already, as I am advised, largely exceeds his, and the American production is only just beginning to flow in. It is a fact, as I see from my daily returns, that our bomber and fighter strength now, after all this fighting, are larger than they have ever been. We believe that we shall

be able to continue the air struggle indefinitely and as long as the enemy pleases, and the longer it continues the more rapid will be our approach, first towards that parity, and then into that superiority in the air, upon which in a large measure the decision of the war depends.

The gratitude of every home in our Island, in our Empire, and indeed throughout the world, except in the abodes of the guilty, goes out to the British airmen who, undaunted by odds, unwearied in their constant challenge and mortal danger, are turning the tide of the world war by their prowess and by their devotion. Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.

All hearts go out to the fighter pilots, whose brilliant actions we see with our own eyes day after day; but we must never forget that all the time, night after night, month after month, our bomber squadrons travel far into Germany, find their targets in the darkness by the highest navigational skill, aim their attacks, often under the heaviest fire, often with serious loss, with deliberate careful discrimination, and inflict shattering blows upon the whole of the technical and war-making structure of the Nazi power. On no part of the Royal Air Force does the weight of the war fall more heavily than on the daylight bombers who will play an invaluable part in the case of invasion and whose unflinching zeal it has been necessary in the meanwhile on numerous occasions to restrain.

We are able to verify the results of bombing military targets in Germany, not only by reports which reach us through many sources, but also, of course, by photography. I have no hesitation in saying that this process of bombing the military industries and communications of Germany and the air bases and storage depots from which we are attacked, which process will continue upon an ever-increasing scale until the end of the war, and may in another year attain dimensions hitherto undreamed of, affords one at least of the most certain, if not the shortest of all the roads to victory. Even if the Nazi legions stood triumphant on the Black Sea, or indeed upon the Caspian, even if Hitler was at the gates of India, it would profit him nothing if at the same time the entire economic and scientific apparatus of German war power lay shattered and pulverised at home.

The fact that the invasion of this Island upon a large scale has become a far more difficult operation with every week that has passed since we saved our Army at Dunkirk, and our very great preponderance of sea-power enable us to turn our eyes and to turn our strength increasingly towards the Mediterranean and against that other enemy who, without the slightest provocation, coldly and deliberately, for greed and gain, stabbed France in the back in the moment of her agony, and is now marching against us in Africa.

The defection of France has, of course, been deeply damaging to our position in what is called, somewhat oddly, the Middle East. In the defence of Somaliland, for instance, we had counted upon strong French forces attacking the Italians from Jibuti. We had counted also upon the use of the French naval and air bases in the Mediterranean, and particularly upon the North African shore. We had counted upon the French Fleet. Even though metropolitan France was temporarily overrun, there was no reason why the French Navy, substantial parts of the French Army, the French Air Force and the French Empire overseas should not have continued the struggle at our side.

Shielded by overwhelming sea-power, possessed of invaluable strategic bases and of ample funds, France might have remained one of the great combatants in the struggle. By so doing, France would have preserved the continuity of her life, and the French Empire might have advanced with the British Empire to the rescue of the independence and integrity of the French Motherland.

In our own case, if we had been put in the terrible position of France, a contingency now happily impossible, although, of course, it would have been the duty of all war leaders to fight on here to the end, it would also have been their duty, as I indicated in my speech of 4th June, to provide as far as possible for the Naval security of Canada and our Dominions and to make sure they had the means to carry the struggle from beyond the oceans. Most of the other countries that have been overrun by Germany for the time being have preserved valiantly and faithfully. The Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Belgians are still in the field, sword in hand, recognised by Great Britain and

the United States as the sole representative authorities and lawful Governments of their respective States.

That France alone should lie prostrate at this moment, is the crime, not of a great and noble nation, but of what are called "the men of Vichy." We have profound sympathy with the French people. Our old comradeship with France is not dead. In General de Gaulle and his gallant band, that comradeship takes an effective form. These free Frenchmen have been condemned to death by Vichy, but the day will come, as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow, when their names will be held in honour, and their names will be graven in stone in the streets and villages of a France restored in a liberated Europe to its full freedom and its ancient fame.

But this conviction which I feel of the future cannot affect the immediate problems which confront us in the Mediterranean and in Africa. It had been decided some time before the beginning of the war not to defend the Protectorate of Somaliland. That policy was changed when the French gave in, and when our small forces there, a few battalions, a few guns, were attacked by all the Italian troops, nearly two divisions, which had formerly faced the French at Jibuti, it was right to withdraw our detachments, virtually intact, for action elsewhere. Far larger operations no doubt impend in the Middle East theatre, and I shall certainly not attempt to discuss or prophesy about their probable course. We have large armies and many means of reinforcing them. We have the complete sea command of the Eastern Mediterranean. We intend to do our best to give a good account of ourselves, and to discharge faithfully and resolutely all our obligations and duties in that quarter of the world. More than that I do not think the House would wish me to say at the present time.

A good many people have written to me to ask me to make on this occasion a fuller statement of our war aims, and of the kind of peace we wish to make after the war, than is contained in the very considerable declaration which was made early in the Autumn. Since then we have made common cause with Norway, Holland, and Belgium. We have

recognised the Czech Government of Dr. Benes, and we have told General de Gaulle that our success will carry with it the restoration of France.

I do not think it would be wise at this moment, while the battle rages and the war is still perhaps only in its earlier stage, to embark upon elaborate speculations about the future shape which should be given to Europe or the new securities which must be arranged to spare mankind the miseries of a third World War. The ground is not new, it has been frequently traversed and explored, and many ideas are held about it in common by all good men, and all free men. But before we can undertake the task of rebuilding we have not only to be convinced ourselves, but we have to convince all other countries that the Nazi tyranny is going to be finally broken.

The right to guide the course of world history is the noblest prize of victory. We are still toiling up the hill; we have not yet reached the crest-line of it; we cannot survey the landscape or even imagine what its condition will be when that longed-for morning comes. The task which lies before us immediately is at once more practical, more simple and more stern. I hope – indeed I pray – that we shall not be found unworthy of our victory if after toil and tribulation it is granted to us. For the rest, we have to gain the victory. That is our task.

There is, however, one direction in which we can see a little more clearly ahead. We have to think not only for ourselves but for the lasting security of the cause and principles for which we are fighting and of the long future of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Some months ago we came to the conclusion that the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the naval and air defence of the Western hemisphere against the attack of a Nazi power which might have acquired temporary but lengthy control of a large part of Western Europe and its formidable resources.

We had therefore decided spontaneously, and without being asked or offered any inducement, to inform the Government of the United States that we would be glad to place such defence facilities at their disposal by leasing suitable sites in our Transatlantic possessions for their greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future.

The principle of association of interests for common purposes between Great Britain and the United States had developed even before the war. Various agreements had been reached about certain small islands in the Pacific Ocean which had become important as air fuelling points. In all this line of thought we found ourselves in very close harmony with the Government of Canada.

Presently we learned that anxiety was also felt in the United States about the air and naval defence of their Atlantic seaboard, and President Roosevelt has recently made it clear that he would like to discuss with us, and with the Dominion of Canada and with Newfoundland, the development of American naval and air facilities in Newfoundland and in the West Indies. There is, of course, no question of any transference of sovereignty – that has never been suggested – or of any action being taken, without the consent or against the wishes of the various Colonies concerned, but for our part, His Majesty's Government are entirely willing to accord defence facilities to the United States on a 99 years' leasehold basis, and we feel sure that our interests no less than theirs, and the interests of the Colonies themselves and of Canada and Newfoundland will be served thereby.

These are important steps. Undoubtedly this process means that these two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage.

For my own part, looking out upon the future, I do not view the process with any misgivings. I could not stop it if I wished; no one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just

keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant, to broader lands and better days.

8.1.2 HITLER'S SPEECH

My fellow-countrymen, workers of Germany,

Nowadays I do not speak very often. In the first place I have little time for speaking, and in the second place I believe that this is a time for action rather than speech. We are involved in a conflict in which more than the victory of only one country or the other is at stake; it is rather a war of two opposing worlds. I shall try to give you, as far as possible in the time at my disposal, an insight into the essential reasons underlying this conflict. I shall, however, confine myself to Western Europe only. The peoples who are primarily affected - 85 million Germans, 46 million British, 45 million Italians, and about 37 million Frenchmen - are the cores of the States who were or still are opposed in war. If I make a comparison between the living conditions of these peoples the following facts become evident:

Forty-six million British dominate and govern approximately 16 million square miles of the surface of the earth. Thirty-seven million Frenchmen dominate and govern a combined area of approximately 4 million square miles. Forty-five million Italians possess, taking into consideration only those territories in any way capable of being utilized, an area of scarcely 190,000 square miles. Eighty-five million Germans possess as their living space scarcely 232,000 square miles. That is to say: 85 million Germans own only 232,000 square miles on which they must live their lives and 46 million British possess 16 million square miles.

Now, my fellow-countrymen, this world has not been so divided up by providence or Almighty God. This allocation has been made by man himself. The land was parceled out for the most part during the last 300 years, that is, during the period in which, unfortunately, the German people were helpless and torn by internal dissension. Split up into hundreds of small states in consequence of the Treaty of Muenster at the end of the Thirty Years' War, our people frittered away their entire strength in internal strife.... While during this period the Germans, notwithstanding their particular ability among the people of Western Europe, dissipated their powers in vain internal struggles, the division of the

world proceeded beyond their borders. It was not by treaties or by binding agreements, but exclusively by the use of force that Britain forged her gigantic Empire.

The second people that failed to receive their fair share in this distribution, namely the Italians, experienced and suffered a similar fate. Torn by internal conflicts, devoid of unity, split up into numerous small states, this people also dissipated all their energy in internal strife. Nor was Italy able to obtain even the natural position in the Mediterranean which was her due.

Thus in comparison with others, these two powerful peoples have received much less than their fair share. The objection might be raised: Is this really of decisive importance? My fellow-countrymen, man does not exist on theories and phrases, on declarations or on systems of political philosophy; he lives on what he can gain from the soil by his own labor in the form of food and raw materials. This is what he can eat, this is what he can use for manufacture and production. If a man's own living conditions offer him too little, his life will be wretched. We see that within the countries themselves, fruitful areas afford better living conditions than poor barren lands. In the one case there are flourishing villages; in the other poverty-stricken communities. A man may live in a stony desert or in a fruitful land of plenty. This handicap can never be fully overcome by theories, nor even by the will to work.

We see that the primary cause for the existing tensions lies in the unfair distribution of the riches of the earth. And it is only natural that evolution follows the same rule in the larger framework as it does in the case of individuals. Just as the tension existing between rich and poor within a country must be compensated for either by reason or often if reason fails, by force, so in the life of a nation one cannot claim everything and leave nothing to others....

The great task which I set myself in internal affairs was to bring reason to bear on the problems, to eliminate dangerous tensions by invoking the common sense of all, to bridge the gulf between excessive riches and excessive poverty. I recognized, of course, that such processes cannot be consummated overnight. It is always preferable to bring together widely separated classes gradually and by the exercise of reason, rather than to resort to a solution based on force. . .

Therefore, the right to live is at the same time a just claim to the soil which alone is the source of life. When unreasonableness threatened to choke their development, nations fought for this sacred claim. No other course was open to them and they realized that even bloodshed and sacrifice are better than the gradual extinction of a nation. Thus, at the beginning of our National Socialist Revolution in 1933, we set forth two demands. The first of these was the unification of our people, for without this unification it would not have been possible to mobilize the forces required to formulate and, particularly, to secure Germany's essential claims...

For us, therefore, national unity was one of the essential conditions if we were to coordinate the powers inherent in the German nation properly, to make the German people conscious of their own greatness, realize their strength, recognize and present their vital claims, and seek national unity by an appeal to reason.

I know that I have not been successful everywhere. For nearly fifteen years of my struggle I was the target of two opposing sides. One side reproached me: 'You want to drag us who belong to the intelligentsia and to the upper classes down to the level of the others. That is impossible. We are educated people. In addition to that, we are wealthy and cultured. We cannot accept this.'

These people were incapable of listening to reason; even today there are some who cannot be converted. However, on the whole the number of those who realize that the lack of unity in our national structure would sooner or later lead to the destruction of all classes has become greater and greater.

I also met with opposition from the other side. They said: 'We have our class consciousness.' However, I was obliged to take the stand that in the existing situation we could not afford to make experiments. It certainly would have been simple to eliminate the intelligentsia. Such a process could be carried out at once. But we would have to wait fifty or perhaps a hundred years for the gap to refill - and such a period would mean the destruction of the nation. For how can our people, its 360 per square mile, exist at all if they do not employ every ounce of brain power and physical strength to wrest from their soil what they need? This distinguishes us from the others. In Canada, for example, there are 2.6 persons per square mile; in other countries perhaps 16, 18, 20 or 26 persons.

Well, my fellow-countrymen, no matter how stupidly one managed one's affairs in such a country, a decent living would still be possible.

Here in Germany, however, there are 360 persons per square mile. The others cannot manage with 26 persons per square mile, but we must manage with 360. This is the task we face. That is why I expressed this view in 1933: 'We must solve these problems and, therefore, we shall solve them.' Of course that was not easy; everything could not be done immediately. Human beings are the product of their education, and, unfortunately, this begins practically at birth. Infants are clothed in different ways. After this has been going on for centuries, someone suddenly comes along and says: - 'I want to unwrap the child and remove all its clothing so that I may discover its true nature' - which is, of course, the same in every case. You have only created the difference by the external wrappings; underneath these they are all alike.

However, it is not so easy to do this. Everyone resists being unwrapped. Everyone wishes to retain the habits he has acquired through his upbringing. But we will carry out our task just the same. We have enormous patience. I know that what has been done for three, four, or five centuries cannot be undone in two, three, or five years. The decisive point is to make a start....

It has been a tremendous task. The establishment of a German community was the first item on the program in 1933. The second item was the elimination of foreign oppression as expressed in the Treaty of Versailles, which also prevented our attaining national unity, forbade large sections of our people to unite, and robbed us of our possessions in the world, our German colonies.

The second item on the program was, therefore, the struggle against Versailles. No one can say that I express this opinion for the first time today. I expressed it, my fellow countrymen, in the days following the Great War when, still a soldier, I made my first appearance in the political arena. My first address was a speech against the collapse, against the Treaty of Versailles, and for the re-establishment of a powerful German Reich. That was the beginning of my work. What I have brought about since then does not represent a new aim but the oldest aim. It is the primary reason for the conflict in which we find ourselves today. The rest of the world did not want our inner unity, because they knew that, once it was achieved, the vital claim of our masses could be realized. They

wanted to maintain the Dictate of Versailles in which they saw a second peace of Westphalia. However, there is still another reason. I have stated that the world was unequally divided. American observers and Englishmen have found a wonderful expression for this fact: They say there are two kinds of peoples - the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.' We, the British, are the 'haves.' It is a fact that we possess sixteen million square miles. And we Americans are also 'haves,' and so are we Frenchmen. The others - they are simply the 'have-nots.' He who has nothing receives nothing. He shall remain what he is. He who has is not willing to share it.

All my life I have been a 'have-not.' At home I was a 'have-not.' I regard myself as belonging to them and have always fought exclusively for them. I defended them and, therefore, I stand before the world as their representative. I shall never recognize the claim of the others to that which they have taken by force. Under no circumstances can I acknowledge this claim with regard to that which has been taken from us. It is interesting to examine the life of these rich people. In this Anglo-French world there exists, as it were, democracy, which means the rule of the people by the people. Now the people must possess some means of giving expression to their thoughts or their wishes. Examining this problem more closely, we see that the people themselves have originally no convictions of their own. Their convictions are formed, of course, just as everywhere else. The decisive question is who enlightens the people, who educates them? In those countries, it is actually capital that rules; that is, nothing more than a clique of a few hundred men who possess untold wealth and, as a consequence of the peculiar structure of their national life, are more or less independent and free. They say: 'Here we have liberty.' By this they mean, above all, an uncontrolled economy, and by an uncontrolled economy, the freedom not only to acquire capital but to make absolutely free use of it. That means freedom from national control or control by the people both in the acquisition of capital and in its employment. This is really what they mean when they speak of liberty. These capitalists create their own press and then speak of the 'freedom of the press.'

In reality, every one of the newspapers has a master, and in every case this master is the capitalist, the owner. This master, not the editor, is the one who directs the policy of the paper. If the editor tries to write other than what suits the master, he is ousted the next day. This press, which is the absolutely submissive and characterless slave of the

owners, molds public opinion. Public opinion thus mobilized by them is, in its turn, split up into political parties. The difference between these parties is as small as it formerly was in Germany. You know them, of course - the old parties. They were always one and the same. In Britain matters are usually so arranged that families are divided up, one member being a conservative, another a liberal, and a third belonging to the labor party. Actually, all three sit together as members of the family, decide upon their common attitude and determine it. A further point is that the 'elected people' actually form a community which operates and controls all these organizations. For this reason, the opposition in England is really always the same, for on all essential matters in which the opposition has to make itself felt, the parties are always in agreement. They have one and the same conviction and through the medium of the press mold public opinion along corresponding lines. One might well believe that in these countries of liberty and riches, the people must possess an unlimited degree of prosperity. But no! On the contrary, it is precisely in these countries that the distress of the masses is greater than anywhere else. Such is the case in 'rich Britain.'

She controls sixteen million square miles. In India, for example, a hundred million colonial workers with a wretched standard of living must labor for her. One might think, perhaps, that at least in England itself every person must have his share of these riches. By no means! In that country class distinction is the crassest imaginable. There is poverty - incredible poverty - on the one side, and equally incredible wealth on the other. They have not solved a single problem. The workmen of that country which possesses more than one-sixth of the globe and of the world's natural resources dwell in misery, and the masses of the people are poorly clad.. In a country which ought to have more than enough bread and every sort of fruit, we find millions of the lower classes who have not even enough to fill their stomachs, and go about hungry. A nation which could provide work for the whole world must acknowledge the fact that it cannot even abolish unemployment at home. For decades this rich Britain has had two and a half million unemployed; rich America, ten to thirteen millions, year after year; France, six, seven, and eight hundred thousand. Well, my fellow-countrymen - what then are we to say about ourselves?

It is self-evident that where this democracy rules, the people as such are not taken into consideration at all. The only thing that matters is the existence of a few hundred gigantic

capitalists who own all the factories and their stock and, through them, control the people. The masses of the people do not interest them in the least. They are interested in them just as were our bourgeois parties in former times - only when elections are being held, when they need votes. Otherwise, the life of the masses is a matter of complete indifference to them.

To this must be added the difference in education. Is it not ludicrous to hear a member of the British Labor Party - who, of course, as a member of the Opposition is officially paid by the government - say: 'When the war is over, we will do something in social respects'? It is the members of Parliament who are the directors of the business concerns - just as used to be the case with us. But we have abolished all that. A member of the Reichstag cannot belong to a Board of Directors, except as a purely honorary member. He is prohibited from accepting any emolument, financial or otherwise. This is not the case in other countries.

They reply: 'That is why our form of government is sacred to us.' I can well believe it, for that form of government certainly pays very well.. But whether it is sacred to the mass of the people as well is another matter.

The people as a whole definitely suffer. I do not consider it possible in the long run for one man to work and toil for a whole year in return for ridiculous wages, while another jumps into an express train once a year and pockets enormous sums. Such conditions are a disgrace. On the other hand, we National Socialists equally oppose the theory that all men are equals. Today, when a man of genius makes some astounding invention and enormously benefits his country by his brains, we pay him his due, for he has really accomplished something and been of use to his country. However, we hope to make it impossible for idle drones to inhabit this country.

I could continue to cite examples indefinitely. The fact remains that two worlds are face to face with one another. Our opponents are quite right when they say: 'Nothing can reconcile us to the National Socialist world.' How could a narrow-minded capitalist ever agree to my principles? It would be easier for the Devil to go to church and cross himself with holy water than for these people to comprehend the ideas which are accepted facts to us today. But we have solved our problems.

To take another instance where we are condemned: They claim to be fighting for the maintenance of the gold standard as the currency basis. That I can well believe, for the gold is in their hands. We, too, once had gold, but it was stolen and extorted from us. When I came to power, it was not malice which made me abandon the gold standard. Germany simply had no gold left. Consequently, quitting the gold standard presented no difficulties, for it is always easy to part with what one does not have. We had no gold. We had no foreign exchange. They had all been stolen and extorted from us during the previous fifteen years. But, my fellow countrymen, I did not regret it, for we have constructed our economic system on a wholly different basis. In our eyes, gold is not of value in itself. It is only an agent by which nations can be suppressed and dominated. When I took over the government, I had only one hope on which to build, namely, the efficiency and ability of the German nation and the German workingman; the intelligence of our inventors, engineers, technicians, chemists, and so forth. I built on the strength which animates our economic system. One simple question faced me: Are we to perish because we have no gold; am I to believe in a phantom which spells our destruction? I championed the opposite opinion: Even though we have no gold, we have capacity for work.

The German capacity for work is our gold and our capital, and with this gold I can compete successfully with any power in the world. We want to live in houses which have to be built. Hence, the workers must build them, and the raw materials required must be procured by work. My whole economic system has been built up on the conception of work. We have solved our problems while, amazingly enough, the capitalist countries and their currencies have suffered bankruptcy.

Sterling can find no market today. Throw it at any one and he will step aside to avoid being hit. But our Reichsmark, which is backed by no gold, has remained stable. Why? It has no gold cover; it is backed by you and by your work. You have helped me to keep the mark stable. German currency, with no gold coverage, is worth more today than gold itself. It signifies unceasing production. This we owe to the German farmer, who has worked from daybreak till nightfall. This we owe to the German worker, who has given us his whole strength. The whole problem has been solved in one instant, as if by magic.

My dear friends, if I had stated publicly eight or nine years ago: 'In seven or eight years the problem of how to provide work for the unemployed will be solved, and the problem then will be where to find workers,' I should have harmed my cause. Every one would have declared: 'The man is mad. It is useless to talk to him, much less to support him. Nobody should vote for him. He is a fantastic creature.' Today, however, all this has come true. Today, the only question for us is where to find workers. That, my fellow countrymen, is the blessing which work brings.

Work alone can create new work; money cannot create work. Work alone can create values, values with which to reward those who work. The work of one man makes it possible for another to live and continue to work. And when we have mobilized the working capacity of our people to its utmost, each individual worker will receive more and more of the world's goods.

We have incorporated seven million unemployed into our economic system; we have transformed another six millions from part-time into full-time workers; we are even working overtime. And all this is paid for in cash in Reichsmarks which maintained their value in peacetime. In wartime we had to ration its purchasing capacity, not in order to devalue it, but simply to earmark a portion of our industry for war production to guide us to victory in the struggle for the future of Germany.

My fellow-countrymen, we are also building a world here, a world of mutual work, a world of mutual effort, and a world of mutual anxieties and mutual duties. It did not surprise me that other countries started rationing only after two, three, five, and seven months, and in some cases only after a year. Believe me, in all these countries, this was not due to chance but to policy. Many a German may have been surprised that food cards appeared on the first morning of the war. Yet, there are, of course, two sides to this food card system. Some people may say: 'Wouldn't it be better to exclude this or that commodity from rationing? What use are a few grams of coffee when nobody gets much anyway? Without rationing, at least a few would get more.' Now that is exactly what we want to avoid. We want to avoid one person having more of the most vital commodities than another. There are other things - a valuable painting, for instance. Not everybody is in a position to buy a Titian, even if he had the money. Because Titian painted only a few pictures, only a few can afford his work. This or that man can buy one if he has enough

money. He spends it, and it circulates through the country. But in the case of food, everybody must be served alike.

The other countries waited to see how things would develop. The question was asked: 'Will meat be rationed?' That was the first sounding of a warning. In other words: 'If you are a capitalist, cover your requirements, buy yourself a refrigerator and hoard up a few sides of bacon.'

'Shall we ration coffee? There are two opinions as to whether it should be rationed or not. It might be possible that in the end those who think that coffee should be rationed might triumph.' They devote four whole weeks to the discussion and everybody who has a spark of egotism - as they have in the democracies - says to himself: 'Aha, so coffee is to be rationed in the near future; let us hoard it.' Then, when the supplies are exhausting themselves, it is at last rationed.

It was just this that we wanted to avoid. That is why in order to ensure equal distribution, we have had to impose certain restrictions from the very start. And we are not well disposed toward those who do not observe regulations.

One thing is certain, my fellow-countrymen: All in all, we have today a state with a different economic and political orientation from that of the Western democracies.

Well, it must now be made possible for the British worker to travel. It is remarkable that they should at last hit upon the idea that traveling should be something not for millionaires alone, but for the people too. In this country, the problem was solved some time ago. In the other countries - as is shown by their whole economic structure - the selfishness of a relatively small stratum rules under the mask of democracy. This stratum is neither checked nor controlled by anyone.

It is therefore understandable if an Englishman says: 'We do not want our world to be subject to any sort of collapse.' Quite so. The English know full well that their Empire is not menaced by us. But they say quite truthfully: 'If the ideas that are popular in Germany are not completely eliminated, they might become popular among our own people, and that is the danger. We do not want this.' It would do no harm if they did become popular there, but these people are just as narrow-minded as many once were in Germany. In this respect they prefer to remain bound to their conservative methods. They do not wish to depart from them, and do not conceal the fact.

They say, 'The German methods do not suit us at all.'

And what are these methods? You know, my comrades, that I have destroyed nothing in Germany. I have always proceeded very carefully, because I believe - as I have already said - that we cannot afford to wreck anything. I am proud that the Revolution of 1933 was brought to pass without breaking a single windowpane. Nevertheless, we have wrought enormous changes.

I wish to put before you a few basic facts: The first is that in the capitalistic democratic world the most important principle of economy is that the people exist for trade and industry, and that these in turn exist for capital. We have reversed this principle by making capital exist for trade and industry, and trade and industry exist for the people. In other words, the people come first. Everything else is but a means to this end. When an economic system is not capable of feeding and clothing a people, then it is bad, regardless of whether a few hundred people say: 'As far as I am concerned it is good, excellent; my dividends are splendid.'

However, the dividends do not interest me at all. Here we have drawn the line. They may then retort: 'Well, look here, that is just what we mean. You jeopardize liberty.'

Yes, certainly, we jeopardize the liberty to profiteer at the expense of the community, and, if necessary, we even abolish it. British capitalists, to mention only one instance, can pocket dividends of 76, 80, 95, 140, and even 160 per cent from their armament industry. Naturally they say: 'If the German methods grow apace and should prove victorious, this sort of thing will stop.'

They are perfectly right. I should never tolerate such a state of affairs. In my eyes, a 6 per cent dividend is sufficient. Even from this 6 per cent we deduct one-half and, as for the rest, we must have definite proof that it is invested in the interest of the country as a whole. In other words, no individual has the right to dispose arbitrarily of money which ought to be invested for the good of the country. If he disposes of it sensibly, well and good; if not, the National Socialist state will intervene.

To take another instance, besides dividends there are the so-called directors' fees. You probably have no idea how appallingly active a board of directors is. Once a year its members have to make a journey. They have to go to the station, get into a first-class compartment and travel to some place or other. They arrive at an appointed office at

about 10 or 11 A.M. There they must listen to a report. When the report has been read, they must listen to a few comments on it. They may be kept in their seats until 1 P.M. or even 2. Shortly after 2 o'clock they rise from their chairs and set out on their homeward journey, again, of course, traveling first class. It is hardly surprising that they claim 3,000, 4,000, or even 5,000 as compensation for this: Our directors formerly did the same - for what a lot of time it costs them! Such effort had to be made worth while! Of course, we have got rid of all this nonsense, which was merely veiled profiteering and even bribery. In Germany, the people, without any doubt, decide their existence. They determine the principles of their government. In fact it has been possible in this country to incorporate many of the broad masses into the National Socialist party, that gigantic organization embracing millions and having millions of officials drawn from the people themselves. This principle is extended to the highest ranks.

For the first time in German history, we have a state which has absolutely abolished all social prejudices in regard to political appointments as well as in private life. I myself am the best proof of this. Just imagine: I am not even a lawyer, and yet I am your Leader!

It is not only in ordinary life that we have succeeded in appointing the best among the people for every position. We have Reichsstatthalters who were formerly agricultural laborers or locksmiths. Yes, we have even succeeded in breaking down prejudice in a place where it was most deep-seated -in the fighting forces. Thousands of officers are being promoted from the ranks today. We have done away with prejudice. We have generals who were ordinary soldiers and noncommissioned officers twenty-two and twenty-three years ago. In this instance, too, we have overcome all social obstacles. Thus, we are building up our life for the future.

As you know we have countless schools, national political educational establishments, Adolf Hitler schools, and so on. To these schools we send gifted children of the broad masses, children of working men, farmers' sons whose parents could never have afforded a higher education for their children. We take them in gradually. They are educated here, sent to the Ordensburgen, to the Party, later to take their place in the State where they will some day fill the highest posts....

Opposed to this there stands a completely different world. In the world the highest ideal is the struggle for wealth, for capital, for family possessions, for personal egoism;

everything else is merely a means to such ends. Two worlds confront each other today. We know perfectly well that if we are defeated in this war it would not only be the end of our National Socialist work of reconstruction, but the end of the German people as a whole. For without its powers of coordination, the German people would starve. Today the masses dependent on us number 120 or 130 millions, of which 85 millions alone are our own people. We remain ever aware of this fact.

On the other hand, that other world says: 'If we lose, our world-wide capitalistic system will collapse. For it is we who save hoarded gold. It is lying in our cellars and will lose its value. If the idea that work is the decisive factor spreads abroad, what will happen to us? We shall have bought our gold in vain. Our whole claim to world dominion can then no longer be maintained. The people will do away with their dynasties of high finance. They will present their social claims, and the whole world system will be overthrown.'

I can well understand that they declare: 'Let us prevent this at all costs; it must be prevented.' They can see exactly how our nation has been reconstructed. You see it clearly. For instance, there we see a state ruled by a numerically small upper class. They send their sons to their own schools, to Eton. We have Adolf Hitler schools or national political educational establishments. On the one hand, the sons of plutocrats, financial magnates; on the other, the children of the people. Etonians and Harrovians exclusively in leading positions over there; in this country, men of the people in charge of the State. These are the two worlds. I grant that one of the two must succumb. Yes, one or the other. But if we were to succumb, the German people would succumb with us. If the other were to succumb, I am convinced that the nations will become free for the first time. We are not fighting individual Englishmen or Frenchmen. We have nothing against them. For years I proclaimed this as the aim of my foreign policy. We demanded nothing of them, nothing at all. When they started the war they could not say: 'We are doing so because the Germans asked this or that of us.' They said, on the contrary: 'We are declaring war on you because the German system of Government does not suit us; because we fear it might spread to our own people.' For that reason they are carrying on this war. They wanted to blast the German nation back to the time of Versailles, to the indescribable misery of those days. But they have made a great mistake.

If in this war everything points to the fact that gold is fighting against work, capitalism against peoples, and reaction against the progress of humanity, then work, the peoples, and progress will be victorious. Even the support of the Jewish race will not avail the others.

I have seen all this coming for years. What did I ask of the other world? Nothing but the right for Germans to reunite and the restoration of all that had been taken from them - nothing which would have meant a loss to the other nations. How often have I stretched out my hand to them? Ever since I came into power. I had not the slightest wish to rearm. For what do armaments mean? They absorb so much labor. It was I who regarded work as being of decisive importance, who wished to employ the working capacity of Germany for other plans. I think the news is already out that, after all, I have some fairly important plans in my mind, vast and splendid plans for my people. It is my ambition to make the German people rich and to make the German homeland beautiful. I want the standard of living of the individual raised. I want us to have the most beautiful and the finest civilization. I should like the theater - in fact, the whole of German civilization - to benefit all the people and not to exist only for the upper ten thousand, as is the case in England. The plans which we had in mind were tremendous, and I needed workers in order to realize them. Armament only deprives me of workers. I made proposals to limit armaments. I was ridiculed. The only answer I received was 'No.' I proposed the limitation of certain types of armament. That was refused. I proposed that airplanes should be altogether eliminated from warfare. That also was refused. I suggested that bombers should be limited. That was refused. They said: 'That is just how we wish to force our regime upon you.'

I am not a man who does things by halves. If it becomes necessary for me to defend myself, I defend myself with unlimited zeal. When I saw that the same old warmongers of the World War in Britain were mobilizing once more against the great new German revival, I realized that this struggle would have to be fought once more, that the other side did not want peace.

It was quite obvious: Who was I before the Great War? An unknown, nameless individual. What was I during the war? A quite inconspicuous, ordinary soldier. I was in no way responsible for the Great War. However, who are the rulers of Britain today? They are the

same people who were warmongering before the Great War, the same Churchill who was the vilest agitator among them during the Great War; Chamberlain, who recently died and who at that time agitated in exactly the same way. It was the whole gang, members of the same group, who believe that they can annihilate nations with the blast of the trumpets of Jericho.

The old spirits have once more come to life, and it is against them that I have armed the German people. I, too, had convictions: I myself served as a soldier during the Great War and know what it means to be fired at by others without being able to shoot back. I know what it means not to have any ammunition or to have too little, what it means always to be beaten by the other side. I gained my wholehearted faith in the German people and in the future. During those years, from my knowledge of the German soldier, of the ordinary man in the trenches. He was the great hero in my opinion. Of course, the other classes also did everything they could. But there was a difference.

The Germany of that time certainly seemed quite a tolerable country to anybody living at home amid wealth and luxury. One could have his share of everything, of culture, of the pleasures of life, and so on. He could enjoy German art and many other things; he could travel through the German countryside; he could visit German towns and so forth. What more could he wish for? Naturally, he defended it all.

On the other hand, however, there was the ordinary common soldier. This unimportant proletarian, who scarcely had sufficient to eat, who always had to slave for his existence, nevertheless fought at the front like a hero for four long years. It was in him that I placed my trust, and it is with his help that I won back confidence in myself. When the others had lost their faith in Germany, I regained mine, never losing sight of the ordinary man in the street. I knew that Germany could not perish.

Germany will not perish so long as she possesses such men. I have also seen how these combatants, these soldiers again and again faced an enemy who could annihilate them simply by his superior material. I was not of the opinion at that time that the British were personally superior to us. Only a madman can say that I have ever had any inferiority complex with respect to the British. I have never had any such feeling of inferiority.

The problem of the individual German against the individual Englishman did not present itself at all at that time. Even at that time they went whining round the whole world until

they found support. This time I was determined to make preparations throughout the world to extend our position, and secondly, to arm at home in such a manner that the German soldier would no longer be obliged to stand alone at the front, exposed to superior forces. The trouble has come. I did everything humanly possible - going almost to the point of self-abasement - to avoid it. I repeatedly made offers to the British. I had discussions with their diplomats here and entreated them to be sensible. But it was all in vain. They wanted war, and they made no secret of it. For seven years Churchill had been saying: 'I want war.' Now he has got it.

It was regrettable to me that nations whom I wished to bring together and who, in my opinion, could have cooperated to such good purpose, should now be at war with one another. But these gentlemen are aiming at destroying the National Socialist State, at disrupting the German people and dividing them again into their component parts. Such were the war aims they proclaimed in the past and such are their war aims today. However, this time they will be surprised, and I believe that they have already had a foretaste of it.

There are among you, my fellow-countrymen, many old soldiers who went through the Great War and who know perfectly well what space and time mean. Many of you fought in the East during that war, and all the names which you read about in 1939 were still quite familiar to you. Perhaps many of you marched in bad weather or under the burning sun at that time. The roads were endless. And how desperate was the struggle for every inch of ground. How much blood it cost merely to advance slowly, mile by mile. Think of the pace at which we covered these distances this time. Eighteen days, and the state which wished to cut us to pieces at the gates of Berlin was crushed.

Then came the British attack on Norway. As a matter of fact, I was told by those Englishmen who always know everything that we had slept through the winter. One great statesman even assured me that I had missed the bus. Yet we arrived just in time to get into it before the British. We had suddenly reawakened. In a few days we made sure of this. We took Norwegian positions as far north as Kirkenes, and I need not tell you that no one will take the soil on which a German soldier stands.

And then they wanted to be cleverer and speedier in the West - in Holland and Belgium. It led to an offensive that many, especially among our older men, envisaged with fear and

anxiety. I am perfectly well aware of what many were thinking at that time. They had experienced the Great War on the Western Front, all the battles in Flanders, in Artois, and around Verdun. They all imagined: 'Today the Maginot line is there. How can it be taken? Above all, how much blood will it cost; what sacrifices will it call for; how long will it take?' Within six weeks this campaign too, had been concluded.

Belgium, Holland, and France were vanquished; the Channel Coast was occupied; our batteries were brought into position there and our bases established. Of these positions, too, do I say: 'No power in the world can drive us out of this region against our will.'

'And now my fellow-countrymen, let us think of the sacrifices. For the individual, they are very great. The woman who has lost her husband has lost her all, and the same is true of the child that has lost its father. The mother who has sacrificed her child, and the betrothed or the sweetheart who have been parted from loved ones never to see them again have all made great sacrifices. However, if we add all these losses together and compare them with the sacrifices of the Great War, then - however great they may be for the individual - they are incomparably small. Consider that we have not nearly so many dead as Germany had in 1870-71 in the struggle against France. We have broken the ring encircling Germany by these sacrifices. The number of wounded is also extremely small, merely a fraction of what was expected.

For all this, our thanks are due to our magnificent army, inspired by a new spirit and into which the spirit of our national community has also penetrated. The army now really knows for what it is fighting. We owe thanks to our soldiers for their tremendous achievements. But the German soldier gives thanks to you, the munitions workers, for forging the weapons for his use. For this is the first time that he has gone into battle without feeling that he was inferior to the enemy in numbers or that his weapons were of poorer quality. Our weapons were better in every respect.

That is your doing; the result of your workmanship, of your industry, your capacity, your devotion. Millions of German families still have their breadwinners today and will have them in the future, innumerable fathers and mothers still have their sons - and their thanks are due to you, my munitions workers. You have forged for them the weapons with which they were able to go forward to victory, weapons which today give them so much confidence that everyone knows we are not only the best soldiers in the world but that we

also have the best weapons in the world. Not only is this true today; it will be more so in the future.

That is the difference between today and the Great War. But not only that. Above all, this time the German soldier is not short of ammunition. I do not know, my fellow countrymen, but it may be that when exact calculations are made after the war, people will perhaps say: 'Sir, you were a spendthrift. You had ammunition made which was never used. It is still lying about.' Yes, my fellow-countrymen, I have had ammunition made because I went through the Great War, because I wished to avoid what happened then and because shells are replaceable and bombs are replaceable but men are not.

And thus the problem of ammunition in this struggle was no problem at all; perhaps only a supply problem. When the struggle was over we had scarcely used a month's production. Today we are armed for any eventuality, whatever Britain may do. Every week that passes Britain will be dealt heavier blows, and if she wishes to set foot anywhere on the Continent she will find us ready once more. I know that we are not out of practice. I hope that the British have also forgotten nothing.

As far as the war in the air is concerned, this too, I hoped to avert. We accepted it. We shall fight it to the finish. I did not want it. I always struggled against it. We did not wage such a war during the whole of the Polish campaign. I did not allow any night attacks to be carried out. In London they said: 'Yes, because you couldn't fly by night.'

In the meantime, they have noticed whether we can fly by night or not. Naturally, it is not possible to aim so well at night and I wanted to attack military objects only, to attack at the front only, to fight against soldiers, not against women and children. That is why we refrained from night attacks. We did not use this method in France. We carried out no night attacks from the air. When we attacked Paris, only the munitions factories were our objectives. Our airmen aimed with wonderful precision. Anybody who saw it could convince himself of that.

Then it occurred to that great strategist, Churchill, to commence unrestricted war from the air by night. He began it in Freiburg im Breisgau and has continued it. Not one munitions plant has been demolished. Yet according to British news reports, the one in which we are at present assembled is nothing but a mass of craters. They have not even caused a single munitions factory to cease production. On the other hand, they have unfortunately

hit many families, helpless women and children. Hospitals have been one of their favorite objectives. Why? It is unexplainable. You yourselves, here in Berlin, know how often they have bombed our hospitals.

Very well, I waited for a month, because I thought that after the conclusion of the campaign in France the British would give up this method of warfare. I was mistaken. I waited for a second month and a third month. If bombs were to be dropped I could not assume the responsibility before the German people of allowing my own countrymen to be destroyed while sparing foreigners. Now, this war, too, had to be fought to its end. And it is being fought; fought with all the determination, with all the materials, with all the means and all the courage at our disposal. The time for the decisive conflict will arrive. You may be sure it will take place. However, I should like to tell these gentlemen one thing: It is we who shall determine the time for it. And on this point I am cautious. We might perhaps have been able to attack in the West during the autumn of last year, but I wanted to wait for good weather. And I think it was worth while waiting.

We ourselves are so convinced that our weapons will be successful that we can allow ourselves time. The German people will certainly hold out. I believe that they will be grateful to me if I bide my time and thus save them untold sacrifices.

It is one of the characteristics of the National Socialist State that even in warfare, at times when it is not absolutely necessary, it is sparing of human life. After all, the lives of our fellow-citizens are at stake.

In the campaign in Poland we forbade many attacks or rapid advances, because we were convinced that a week or a fortnight later the problem would solve itself.

We have gained many great successes without sacrificing a single man. That was also the case in the West. It must remain so in the future. We have no desire to gain any successes or to make any attacks for the sake of prestige. We never wish to act except in accordance with sober military principles. What has to happen must happen. We wish to avoid everything else. As for the rest, all of us hope that reason will again be victorious and peace will return. The world must realize one thing, however: Neither military force, economic pressure, nor the time factor will ever force Germany to surrender. Whatever else may happen, Germany will be the victor in this struggle.

I am not the man to give up, to my own disadvantage, a struggle already begun. I have proved this by my life in the past and I shall prove to those gentlemen - whose knowledge of my life until now has been gathered from the emigre' press - that I have remained unchanged in this respect.

When I began my political career, I declared to my supporters - they were then only a small number of soldiers and workers - 'There is no such word as capitulation in your vocabulary or mine.'

I do not desire war, but when it is forced upon me I shall wage it as long as I have breath in my body. And I can wage it today, because I know that the whole German nation is behind me. I am the guardian of its future and I act accordingly.

I could have made my own life much more easy. I have been fighting for twenty years, and I have assumed the burden of all these anxieties and of this never-ceasing work, convinced that it must be done for the German people. My own life and my own health are of no importance. I know that, above all, the German Army, every man and every officer of it, supports me in the same spirit. All those fools who imagined that there could ever be any disruption here have forgotten that the Third Reich is not the same as the Second. The German people stand behind me to a man. And at this point I thank, above all, the German workman and the German peasant. They made it possible for me to prepare for this struggle and to create, as far as armaments were concerned, the necessary conditions for resistance. They also provide me with the possibility of continuing the war, however long it may last.

I also give special thanks to the women of Germany-to those numberless women, who must now perform part of the heavy work of men, who have adapted themselves to their war duties with devotion and fanaticism and who are replacing men in so many positions. I thank you all - you who are making this personal sacrifice, who are bearing the many restrictions that are necessary. I thank you in the name of all those who represent the German people today and who will be the German people of the future.

This struggle is not a struggle for the present but primarily a struggle for the future. I stated on September 3, 1939, that time would not conquer us, that no economic difficulties would bring us to our knees, and that we could still less be defeated by force of arms. The morale of the German people guarantees this.

The German people will be richly rewarded in the future for all that they are doing. When we have won this war it will not have been won by a few industrialists or millionaires, or by a few capitalists or aristocrats, or by a few bourgeois, or by anyone else.

Workers, you must look upon me as your guarantor. I was born a son of the people; I have spent all my life struggling for the German people, and when this hardest struggle of my life is over there will be new tasks for the German people.

We have already projected great plans. All of our plans have but one aim: to develop still further the great German State, to make that great German nation more and more conscious of its existence and, at the same time, to give it everything which makes life worth living.

We have decided to break down to an ever-increasing degree the barriers preventing individuals from developing their faculties and from attaining their just due. We are firmly determined to build up a social state which must and shall be a model of perfection in every sphere of life....

When this war is ended, Germany will set to work in earnest. A great 'Awake!' will sound throughout the country. Then the German nation will stop manufacturing cannon and will embark on peaceful occupations and the new work of reconstruction for the millions. Then we shall show the world for the first time who is the real master, capitalism or work. Out of this work will grow the great German Reich of which great poets have dreamed. It will be the Germany to which every one of her sons will cling with fanatical devotion, because she will provide a home even for the poorest. She will teach everyone the meaning of life. Should anyone say to me: 'These are mere fantastic dreams, mere visions,' I can only reply that when I set out on my course in 1919 as an unknown, nameless soldier I built my hopes of the future upon a most vivid imagination. Yet all has come true.

What I am planning or aiming at today is nothing compared to what I have already accomplished and achieved. It will be achieved sooner and more definitely than everything already achieved. The road from an unknown and nameless person to Fuehrer of the German nation was harder than will be the way from Fuehrer of the German nation to creator of the coming peace.

Once I had to fight and struggle for your confidence for a decade and a half.

Today I can fight and struggle for Germany thanks to this confidence.

And one day there will come a time when all of us will join the fight for this Reich with confidence, for this Reich of peace, of work, of welfare, of culture, which we want to erect and which we will erect.

I thank you!

8.2 CHARTS WITH FIGURES OF SPEECH

8.2.1 CHURCHILL'S CHART WITH FIGURES OF SPEECH

Argument strategy	The use of pathos	Connecting to the peopels' values	Illustrating the essence of his words with exampels				
Use of methaphors	Describing war as a wide, dark field	Comparing the fate of the nation to a fearful game of chess, that none of the nations can stop playing	Comparing the nations offensive forces too springs that are slowly being compressed.	Stating that the new governme nt is a cataract of disaster	Saying that France is German's puppet	Stating that the defeat of the nazis is a cleansin g and devouring flame	Comparing men to shells.
Sources	The nations victories and other history	WW1	Mr.Hoover	King Leopold	His Majesty-the king of England	Hitler	His own reputation
Phrases and sayings	never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few	But the day will come, as surely as the sun will rise tomorrow, when their names will be held in honor..	hurling masses of steel at one another	Masters of our fate and with the conviction of final victory burning unquench able in our hearts.	Men are shells		
Topic choice	the selection of examples that everybody can connect with ("not only soldiers, but the entire population, men, women, children						
Generalization - everybody is on the same level	oporaba besede we- as in we are the same-in this together						

Analogy	the dominance of larger organizations - dominates over France			
Extravaganza of speech	masters of our fate... final victory burning unquenchable in our hearts	profound sympathy		
Rhythm	Be it long or short, rough or smooth, we mean to reach our journeys end	Night after night, day after day, month after month	It just keeps rolling around, let it roll, let it roll	
Personification	France has a body and soul			
Rhetoric question	Why do i say all this?			
Pathos	Inspiring the audience	Emphasising his relentlessness (I could not stop if i wished)	Speaking positively (Better days will come)	
Vocabulary	emotionally, strong words(slaughter, disaster, horror..)	blood-curdling threats	names will be held in honour	Liberated Europe, freedom
Repetition	Are turned, as they are being turned.	It just keeps rolling around, let it roll, let it roll.	Night after night, day after day, month after month.	

8.2.2 HITLER'S CHART WITH FIGURES OF SPEECH

Argument strategy	The use of pathos	Connecting to the peoples' values, he is one of them	Illustrating the essence of his words with examples				
Use of metaphors	Describing change as unpleasant feeling and comparing it to being unwrapped	Comparing the British government to a family		Comparing the German civilization to theater	rules under the mask of democracy	Comparing sacrifice to blood loss	Comparing the people from WW1 to old spirits
Sources	From the bible-religion (he shares the same values)	Churchill	History, especially the Great war				
Repetition	My fellow-countryman	Rich Britain	We are also building a world here, a world of mutual work, a world of mutual effort, and a world of mutual anxieties and mutual duties.	This we owe to the German farmer, who has worked from daybreak till nightfall. This we owe to the German worker, who has given us his whole strength.	Work alone can create new work; money cannot create work. Work alone can create values, values with which to reward those who work.	For this Reich of peace, of work, of welfare, of culture	German
Phrases and sayings	War of two opposing worlds	You have only crated the difference by the external wrappings, underneath these they are all alike	Because shells are replaceable and bombs are replaceable but men are not	What has to happen must happen	There is no such word as capitulation in your vocabulary or mine	I was born a man of the people	Claim everything and leave nothing to others
Topic choice	He wants everyone to be the same-fair to everyone	people come first-they are most important	Churchill-something they know, but don't like				
Generalization - everybody is on the same level	he was a soldier- he is not different from them	the use of word we-all in this together	my own countrymen				
Extravaganza of speech	destruction of a nation						
Rhythm	Of peace, of work, of welfare, of culture						
Irony	Or what a lot of time it costs them! Such effort had to be made worth while!				brezvezje-of peace, of work, of welfare, of culture		
Addressing the people	My fellow-countryman	My comrades	My people	My own countrymen	My dear friends		
Personification	Of Germany (She will provide the home for the poorest and teach everyone the mining of life)	Of worlds (two worlds are face to face with one another)					
Decorative epithet	Rich Britain						
Pathos	Connecting with the nation-addressing them	He thanks them, nothing would be possible without them.	Inspiring confidence, ephasising their strnght and ability				
Rhetorical question	Is it really of decisive importance?	What then are we to say about ourselves?	How could a narrow-minded capitalist ever agree to my principles?	Are we to perish because we have no gold; am I to believe in a phantom which spells our destruction?	What did I ask of the other world?	How often have I stretched out my hand to them?	Or what do armaments mean?
Simple words	My fellow-countrymen	When I took over the government...	We have no gold.	One simple question faced me.			
Simile	It would be easier for the Devil to go to church and cross himself with holy water than for this people to comprehend the ideas which are acceted facts to us today						

Argument strategy								
Use of metaphors	Measuring the importance between capitalism and work - asking who is the master	as long as I have breath in my body- as long as i'm alive	Who is the real master, capitalism or work-what is really more important	Claiming that soil is the source of life.				
Sources								
Repetition	This is your doing, the result of your workmanship, of your industry, your capacity, your devotion.	What has to happen must happen	These are mere fantastic dreams, mere visions	When we have won the war it will not have been won by a few industrialist or millionares, or by a few capitalists of aristocrats or by a few bourgeoies. or by anyone else	This struggle is not a struggle for the present but primarily a struggle for the future	The destruction of all classes has become greater and greater	We demanded nothing of them, nothing at all.	If it becomes necessary for me to defend myself, I defend myself with unlimited zeal.
Phrases and sayings								
Topic choice								
Generalization - everybody is on the same level								
Extravaganza of speech								
Rhythm								
Irony								
Addressing the people								
Personification								
Decorative epithet								
Pathos								
Rhetorical question	Who was I before the Great War?	How can it be taken?	Who enlightens the people, who educates them?					
Simple words								
Simile								

8.3 SURVEY

Who said the following? Circle only one option:

Section A

For my own part, looking out upon the future, I do not view the process with any misgivings. I could not stop it if I wished; no one can stop it. Like the river, it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant, to broader lands and better days.

- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- Adolf Hitler
- Winston Churchill
- Benito Mussolini

Section B

All my life I have been a 'have-not.' At home I was a 'have-not.' I regard myself as belonging to them and have always fought exclusively for them. I defended them and, therefore, I stand before the world as their representative. I shall never recognize the claim of the others to that which they have taken by force. Under no circumstances can I acknowledge this claim with regard to that which has been taken from us.

- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- Adolf Hitler
- Winston Churchill
- Benito Mussolini