

# Text of Salient Parts of Chancellor Hitler's Speech Before Reichstag

BERLIN, Feb. 20.—Following are the chief passages of the speech delivered by Chancellor Hitler before the Reichstag today:

I know you and the German people expected to be called together on the fifth anniversary of the National Socialist State.

The selection of this date is due to two considerations: first, I thought it right to make certain personal changes before-hand and, second, it was necessary to bring about a clarification in one specific sphere of foreign politics, because such a speech of mine not only deals with the past but also with the future.

Despite the really exemplary discipline, strength and restraint which National Socialists preserved in their revolution, we have seen that a certain portion of the foreign press inundated the new Reich with a virtual flood of lies and calumnies. It was a remarkable mixture of arrogance and deplorable ignorance which led them to act as the judges of a people who should be presented as models to these democratic apostles.

The best proof for showing up these lies in success, for if we had acted during these five years like the democratic world citizens of Soviet Russia, that is, like those of the Jewish race, we would not have succeeded in making out of a Germany, which was in the deepest material collapse, a country of material order. For this very reason we claim the right to surround our work with that protection which renders it impossible for criminal elements or for the insane to disturb it.

## Critics Are Called Enemies of People

Whoever disturbs this mission is the enemy of the people, whether he pursues his aim as a bolshevist democrat, a revolutionary terrorist or a reactionary democrat. In such a time of necessity those who act in the name of God are not those who, citing Bible quotations, wander idly about the country and spend the day partly doing nothing and partly criticizing the work of others, but those whose prayers take the highest form of uniting man with his God, that is the form of work.

I had a right to turn against every one who, instead of helping thought in this mission, was to criticize our work. Foreign nations contributed nothing apart from this spirit, for their rejection was tinged by hate or a spirit of knowing better than we know.

It was the A. B. C. of our creed to find help in our own strength. The standard of living of the nation is the outcome of its total production; in other words, the value of every wage and salary corresponds to the volume of goods produced as a result of the work performed. This is a very unpopular doctrine in a time resounding with cries such as "higher wages and less work."

Next to the United States, Germany today has become the greatest steel country in the world. I could give many more examples. They are documentary proof of the work such as our people never before achieved. To these successes will be added in a few years the gigantic results of the Four-Year Plan. Is it not a joke of history when those very countries which themselves have only cries think they can criticize us and give us advice?

We have given the German nation that weapon of steel which presents a wall at our frontiers against the intentions of the malicious international press campaign.

## Foreign Office Not Conquered on Feb. 4

At the conclusion of the next decade the German people will bear in mind the success of their efficiency and will be filled with a supreme pride. One of these achievements is the construction of a national leadership which is far removed from parliamentary democracy as it is from military dictatorship.

National Socialism did not conquer Germany's Foreign Office on Feb. 4 as some small international quill drivers perhaps believed but it has owned the whole of Germany since the day I stepped out of my house onto the Wilhelmplatz as German Chancellor five years ago.

The Reich's protection against the outer world, however, is in the hands of the new National Socialist armed forces. The German army of peace has now a vast air force to protect our homes and a new power on the sea protects our coasts.

There exists in Germany no problem between the National Socialist State and the National Socialist party, no problem between the National Socialist party and the National Socialist armed forces. In this Reich every one who holds a responsible position is a National Socialist.

I had to respect the wish of Blomberg (Field Marshal Werner von Blomberg) to spare his health which had been determined by his first rate work. In this connection I should like to express the thanks of myself and the German people for the faithful and loyal work of this soldier of the new Reich and its armed forces.

The same applies to the activity and surpassing achievements of Fritsch (Col. Gen. Werner von Fritsch) and all those who gave up their places in the most noble spirit for the sake of having younger men in the ranks of our political and military leaders.

If ever international agitation or poisoning of opinion should attempt to rupture the peace of the Reich, then steel and iron would make the German people and German homesteads under their protection. The world would then see, as quick as lightning, to what extent this Reich, people, party and these armed forces are fanatically inspired with one spirit, one will.

## Criticizes the Methods of International Journalists

Furthermore, it is not my intention to protect the honorable corps of officers from the slander of international journalists. That is not necessary, for, although there are two kinds of journalists—those who prove the truth and those who are miserable swindlers and war agitators—

there is only one kind of German officer.

If Great Britain should suddenly dissolve itself, the English become dependent solely on her own territory, then the people there would, perhaps, have more understanding of the seriousness of the economic tasks which confront us. If a nation which commands no gold reserves, no foreign exchange—not because National Socialism reigns but because a parliamentary democratic State has raw materials and is not willing to live an illusory life through credits, reduces the number of its unemployed in five years to nil and improves its standard of living, then all those should remain silent who, despite great economic advantages, scarcely succeed in solving their own unemployment problems.

The claim for German colonial possessions will not be voiced from year to year with increasing vigor. These possessions, which Germany did not take away from other countries and which today are practically valueless to these powers, are indispensable for our own people.

I should like to refute here the hope that such claims can be averted by granting credits. Above all, we do not wish for naive assurances that we shall be permitted to buy what we need. We reject such statements once and for all.

You will not expect me to discuss in detail the individual international plans which appear to arouse the varied interests of the various governments. They are too uncertain and they lack the clarity necessary for me to be able to express myself on these questions. Above all, however, take note of my deep-seated distrust of all so-called conferences which may provide interesting hours of conversation for those taking part in them, but generally lead to the disappointment of hopeful mankind.

## Peace Treaty Forced Upon Some Nations

I cannot allow our natural claims to be coupled with political business. Recently rumors have been cropping up, rumors that Germany was about to revise her opinion concerning her return to the League of Nations. I should like again to declare that in 1919 the peace treaty was forced upon some countries. This treaty brought in its train far-reaching inroads upon the lives of the peoples involved. The rape of national and economic destinies and of the communal lives of the nations took place under cloud of moralizing phrases which, perhaps, tended to salve the uneasy conscience of those who instituted the affair.

After the revision of the map of the world and of territorial and racial spheres, which was as thorough as it was fundamental, had been effected by means of force, a League of Nations was founded whose task it was to crystallize these crazy unreasonable proceedings and to coordinate its results into an everlasting and unalterable basis of life.

I notice very often that English politicians would like to give back to our colonies if they were not so disturbed by the thought of the wrong and violence which would thus be done to the native inhabitants.

All those colonial empires have not come into being through plebiscites. They are today naturally integral parts of the States in question and form, as such, part of that world order which always has been designated to us, especially by democratic policies, as the "world order of right."

That right the League of Nations now has been ordered to protect. I cannot understand why a nation which itself has been robbed by force should join such illustrious company and I cannot permit the conclusion to be drawn that we should not be prepared to fight for the principles of justice just because we are not in the League of Nations. On the contrary, we do not belong to the League of Nations because we believe that it is not an institution of justice but an institution for defending the interests of Versailles.

## Cites Reasons for Leaving The League of Nations

A number of material considerations must, however, be added.

First, we left the League of Nations because loyal to its origin and obligations it refused us the right to equal armament and just as equal security.

Second, we will never re-enter it because we do not intend to allow ourselves to be used as a wedge in the world by a majority vote of the League of Nations for the defense of an injustice.

Third, we believe we will please all those nations who are misled by misfortune and who do not trust the League of Nations as a factor of genuine help. We should have regarded it as more correct, for instance, in the case of the Ethiopian war, for the League to have shown more understanding for vital Italian needs and less disposition to help the Ethiopians with promises. This would, perhaps, have enabled a more simple and reasonable solution for the whole problem.

Fourth, on no account will we allow the German nation to become entangled in conflicts in which the nation itself is not interested. We are not willing to stand up for the territorial or economic interests of others without the slightest benefits to Germans being visible. Moreover, we ourselves do not expect such support from others. Germany is determined to impose upon herself wise moderation in her interests and demands. But if German interests should be seriously at stake we should not receive support from the League of Nations but we shall assume the right from the beginning to shoulder our task ourselves.

Fifth, we do not intend to allow our attitude to be determined in the future by any international institution which, while excluding official recognition of indisputable facts, resembles less the acts of a man of considered judgment than the habits of a certain type of large bird (evidently the ostrich). The interests of nations in so far as their existence or non-existence are ultimately concerned are simpler than formalistic considerations. For in the year 2038 it is possible that new States may have arisen or others disappeared without this new

## Points in Hitler's Speech

Following are the highlights from the address delivered by Chancellor Hitler to the Reichstag yesterday:

National Socialism did not conquer Germany's Foreign Office on Feb. 4 . . . it has owned the whole of Germany since the day I stepped from my house onto the Wilhelmplatz as German Chancellor.

There exists in Germany no problem between the National Socialist State and National Socialist armed forces. In this Reich every one who holds a responsible position is a National Socialist.

If ever international agitation or poisoning attempt to rupture the peace of the Reich . . . the world would then see, as quick as lightning, to what extent this Reich, people, party and armed forces, are fanatically inspired with one spirit, one will.

The claim for German colonial possessions will be voiced from year to year with increasing vigor . . . I should like to refute here the hope that such claims can be averted by granting credits.

We will never re-enter it (the League of Nations) because we do not intend to allow ourselves to be used anywhere in the world . . . for the defense of an injustice.

We are not willing to stand up for the territorial or economic interests of others without the slightest benefits to Germans being visible.

Germany will recognize Manchukuo.

With one country alone have we scorned to enter into relations. That State is Soviet Russia.

I believe a Japanese defeat in the Far East . . . would exclusively benefit bolshevist Soviet Russia.

Germany has no territorial interest in East Asia.

The German people is no warlike nation. It loves peace, but it also loves its honor and freedom.

There are more than 10,000,000 Germans in States adjoining Germany . . . Against their own free will they were prevented by peace treaties from uniting with the Reich.

Now I turn to Austria. It is not only the same people but, above all, a long communal history and culture which bind together the Reich and Austria.

## State of Affairs Having Been Registered at Geneva

I have decided on this step in order to draw the line of finality between the policy of fantastic lack of understanding and the policy of sober respect for the facts of reality. To sum up, I want to explain that Germany no longer thinks of returning to this institution and certainly not since Italy's departure from it.

That does not mean the refusal to collaborate with other nations. On the contrary, it only means the rejection of obligations which in most cases are impossible of fulfillment.

With one country alone have we scorned to enter into relations. That State is Soviet Russia. We see in bolshevism more now than before the incarnation of human destructive forces. We do not blame the Russian people as such for this gruesome deed. We only regret that we know it is a small Jewish intellectual group which led a great nation into this position of madness. If this doctrine would confine itself territorially to Russia, it would be put up with it. Alas, Jewish international bolshevism attempts to hollow out the nations of the world from its Soviet center.

## Differs with Eden On Bolshevist Issue

Any introduction of bolshevism into a European State means a changing of conditions. For those territories under Bolshevist leadership are no longer sovereign nations having a national life but sections of the revolutionary army of Moscow.

I know Eden (British Foreign Secretary) does not share this view. Stalin shares it and admits it openly, and in my opinion Stalin himself is a more trustworthy expert on the matter of Bolshevist views and intentions than the British Minister. We, therefore, oppose any attempt at spreading bolshevism, wherever it may take place, with disdain and wherever it threatens us with hostility.

From this arises our relationship with Japan. I cannot agree with those politicians who believe they are rendering the European world a service by harming Japan. I believe a Japanese defeat in the Far East would never be any good to Europe or America, but would exclusively benefit bolshevist Soviet Russia.

I do not need to emphasize mentally or materially strong enough to resist any Bolshevist attack on it, but I believe even the greatest victory for Japan would be infinitely less dangerous to the culture and general peace of the world than a Bolshevist victory would be. Germany has a treaty with Japan to combat Comintern aspirations. It has always been on friendly terms with China and I believe we should be considered most genuinely as neutral observers of this drama.

I do not need to emphasize that I wish and still wish that relations between those two great Eastern nations were again calm and become peaceful. We believe that there might have been a peaceful solution in the Far East long ago if certain powers had not, as in the case of Ethiopia, insisted on one scales their advice and, perhaps, promise their moral support.

But a drowning man clutches at any straw. It would have been better to have called China's attention to the fact, seriousness of her position instead, as usual, of quoting the League of Nations as a sure guarantee of peace.

No matter when and how events in the Far East find their final solution, Germany will consider the attitude of Japan as an element of security in its stand against communism and in its assurance of human culture.

Germany has no territorial interest in East Asia. She has no desirable desire for trade and business. This does not bind us to take sides for one party or the other. It does, however, bind us to the recognition that victory for bolshevism would destroy the peace in this sphere.

Moreover, Germany once had possessions herself in East Asia. This did not prevent certain nations from combining with yellow races to drive out the Germans. We no longer want an invitation to return there.

Nor have we any territorial interests connected in any way with the terrible civil war now being waged in Spain. The situation there is similar to one Germany once experienced. An attack on an independent national State carried

## that I could in the future speak from gramophone records.

In a recent speech, Eden referred warmly to various forms of freedom in his country. There was one very special freedom which had been forgotten, namely, that of allowing journalists to insult other countries, their institutions, their public men and their government. All this is too stupid to be taken seriously. But in the long run this will prove to be a serious strain on international relations. I gladly state that a section of the foreign press has not taken part in these infamous attacks against the honor of other nations.

Nevertheless, the damage wrought by such a press campaign is so great that henceforth we will no longer be willing to tolerate it without stern objections. This crime becomes especially evil when it obviously pursues the goal of driving nations into war.

I need only to point to a few facts. I remind you of how in the past year the lie was suddenly spread that Germany had landed 20,000 men on the Spanish Moroccan coast. It was fortunate that this most infamous falsification could be put right immediately. What, however, would happen if such a rectification could not be brought about in the necessarily short space of time?

To the series of these felonies belongs also the assertion that Germany and Italy had come to an agreement to divide Spain between themselves, or the very recent infamous falsehood that Germany and Japan had arrived at an agreement to acquire jointly the Dutch colonial possessions.

The British Government desires the limitation of armaments or the prohibition of bombing. I myself proposed this some time ago. However, I also suggested at the time that the most important thing was to prevent the poisoning of the world's public opinion by infamous press articles. This which strengthened our sympathy with Italy if it were possible, is the fact that in that country State policy and press policy tread the same road.

## Cites Dangers to Relations Between Two Countries

To this chapter of disturbance of international relations belongs the arrogance of writing letters to the head of a foreign State with the request for information about court judgments. I recommend that the British House of Commons worry themselves about the verdicts of the British court-martial in Jerusalem and not about the verdicts of the German people's court.

Interest in German cases we can, perhaps, understand. But it certainly does not contribute to the improvement of relations between Great Britain and Germany. Moreover, let nobody imagine he can exert any influence by such tactless interferences in German courts or on the execution of German verdicts. I should never allow members of the German Reichstag to interfere in matters of English justice.

The interests of the British Empire certainly are very great and they are recognized by us. Concerning the interests of the German people the German Reichstag decides and as its delegate it is I who decide and not a delegation of British letter writers.

I think it would not only be useful work to prevent the international dropping of poison, incendiary and explosive bombs upon populations but above all to abolish the selling of newspapers which have a worse effect upon populations than bombs could ever have.

Since this press campaign must be considered as an element of danger to the peace of the people I have decided to carry through that strengthening of the German Army which will give us the assurance that these threats of war against Germany will not one day be translated into bloody force.

These measures have been under way since Feb. 4 and will be carried out rapidly and with determination.

Under these circumstances it cannot be seen what use there is in conferences and meetings as long as governments in general are not in a position to take decisive steps irrespective of public opinion.

## Ten Million Germans In Reich Border States

I believe, therefore, that for the present the procedure of diplomatic exchanges of notes is the only one that can be adopted in order to remove the possibility of excessive misinterpretation on the part of the international press.

There are more than 10,000,000 Germans in States adjoining Germany which before 1866 were joined to the bulk of the German nation by a national link. Until 1918 they fought in the great war as a matter of course with the German soldiers of the Reich. Against their own free will they were prevented by peace treaties from uniting with the Reich.

This was painful enough, but there must be no doubt about one thing: Political separation from the Reich may not lead to deprivation of rights, that is the general rights of racial self-determination which were solemnly promised to us in Wilson's fourteen points as a condition for the armistice. We cannot disregard it just because this is a case concerning Germans.

In the long run it is unbearable for a world power, conscious of herself, to know there are citizens at her side who are constantly being inflicted with the severest sufferings for their sympathy or unity with the total nation, its faith and philosophy.

We well know there can scarcely be a frontier line in Europe which satisfies all. It should be all the more important to avoid the torture of national minorities in order not to add to the suffering of political separation, the suffering of persecution on account of their belonging to a certain people.

That it is possible to find ways leading to the lessening of tension has been proved. But he who tries to prevent by force such lessening of tension through creating an equilibrium in Europe will some day inevitably conjure up force among the nations themselves. It cannot be denied that Germany herself, as long as she was powerless and defenseless, was compelled to tolerate many of these continual persecutions of the German people on our frontier.

But just as England stands up for her interests all over the globe,

## present-day Germany will know how to guard its more restricted interests.

To these interests of the German Reich belong also the protection of those German people who are not in a position to secure alone our frontiers their political and philosophical freedom by their own efforts.

## League Abandoned Efforts in Danzig

I may say that since the League of Nations has abandoned its continuous attempts at disturbance in Danzig since the advent of the new commissioner this most dangerous place for European peace has entirely lost its menace.

Poland respects the national conditions in the Free City of Danzig and Germany respects Polish rights.

Now I turn to Austria. It is not only the same people but above all a long communal history and culture which bind together the Reich and Austria.

Difficulties which emerged in the carrying out of the agreement of July 11, 1936, made essential an attempt to remove misunderstandings and obstacles to final reconciliation. It is clear that whether we wished it or not an intolerable position might have developed that would have contained the seeds of catastrophe. It does not lie in the power of man to stop the rolling stone of fate which through neglect or lack of wisdom has been set moving.

I am happy to say that these ideas correspond with the viewpoint of the Austrian Chancellor, whom I invited to visit me. The underlying intention was to bring about a détente in our relations which would guarantee to National Socialist sympathizers in Austria within the limits of the law the same rights enjoyed by other citizens.

In connection with it there was to be an act of conciliation in the form of a general amnesty and better understanding between the two States through closer and friendlier relations in the various spheres of cultural, political and economic cooperation. All this is a development within the framework of the treaty of July 11.

I wish to pay tribute to the Austrian Chancellor for his efforts to find together with me a way which is just as much in the interests of both countries as in that of the entire German people whose sons we all are regardless of where we came from. I believe we have thus made a contribution to European peace.

Our satisfactory relations with other countries are known to all. Above all it is to be mentioned our cooperation with those two great powers which, like Germany, have recognized bolshevism as a world danger and are therefore determined to resist the Comintern with a common defense. It is my earnest wish to see this cooperation with Italy and Japan more and more extended.

## Hopes for Improvement in the General Situation

We welcome any détente which may arise in the general situation. For however great the

## achievements of our people may be we do not doubt that all would benefit by an improvement in international cooperation.

The German people is no warlike nation. It is a soberly one which means it does not want a war but does not fear it. It loves peace but it also loves its honor and freedom.

The new Reich shall belong to no class, no profession but to the German people. It shall help the people find an easier road in this world. It shall help them in making their lot a happier one. Party, State, armed forces, economic institutions and functions which can only be estimated as a means toward an end. They will be judged by history according to the services they render toward this goal. Their purpose, however, is to serve the people.

To serve you with all my heart was and is the happiness of my life. It is my happy duty to thank my numerous eminent colleagues without whom this work could not have been performed.

I now pray to God that He will bless in the years to come our work, our deeds, our foresight, our resolve; that the Almighty may protect us and our people, that He may help us find the right way which He has laid down for the German people and that He may always give us courage and the right thing and never to falter or weaken before any power or any danger.

Long live Germany and the German people.

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