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The Reich and the German Minorities.

Mann, Klaus

Tag d. Rede

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Thursday, February 9, 1939.

Speaker : Mr. Klaus Mann

Subject : "THE REICH AND THE GERMAN MINORITIES"

Chairman -- Dr. F. A. Gaby

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THE CHAIRMAN : Gentlemen of The Empire Club : It is my privilege today to introduce to you an outstanding literary man, the son of the famous writer, Thomas Mann. Klaus Mann is equally brilliant in his chosen career, and at an early age published several plays and several novels, among which was "The Symphonie Pathétique", which was published in London in 1937. At the present time he is writing another book and I understand it will be published shortly. which he is calling "The Escape to Life", dealing with the refugees of the various countries in Europe.

When still under twenty Mr. Mann lectured to German students in American Universities on the life and cultural progress of the day. However, his more important contributions are in the field of literature and journalism on the present German situation. In 1933 he took up residence in Amsterdam, a voluntary exile from the Third Reich, and up to this time he has been editing in that city the publication, "Die Sammlung", which voices the culture and art of the German exiles.

Mr. Mann is eminently qualified to deal with the subject of "The Reich and the German Minorities", through

his intimate knowledge, close study and understanding of the political and social problems in Germany, having been born and having lived there the greater part of his life. I understand that in the future he intends to make his home in the United States and we know doubt will hear from him at other times. I have pleasure in introducing to you today Mr. Klaus Mann. (Applause)

MR. KLAUS MANN : Gentlemen, I am not a politician, but an author. Now, one of my most successful author friends happens to be the Der Fuhrer and Chancellor of the Reich, at this moment. His entertaining ^{and} biography, "Mein Kampf" (My Struggle) is much more popular in Germany than ^{the R.S. popular} ~~the cynical~~ war novel. I think its circulation is even wider than that of the Holy Bible. I don't want to go into the question of whether the many millions of Germans who read Mr. Hitler's masterpiece are really voluntary, and whether all of them really enjoy their reading. To read books doesn't mean pleasure always, but to read certain books is important. It means instruction.

I am not inclined to over-rate the literary qualities of Mr. Hitler's book. I think his style is quite poor. As a literary critic, I am forced to say it is quite rotten style and quite repulsive to anybody who knows anything about good German prose, but still the book is terribly important. Everybody who is interested in the future of Europe, which actually means in the future of the world should read it. Its language, although slightly confused is just clear enough. Without any false shame or modesty the author tells us everything about his political beliefs and convictions. More than that, he includes very significant

statements concerning his political or demagogical tactics and, above all, we learn the whole truth and nothing but the truth about his political aims, his hopes, his plans, his ambitions. "Mein Kampf" really contains the Fuehrer's political programme in its entirety. Of course, it is only the complete edition of "My Struggle" you should be interested in. You couldn't get very much out of a version arranged for foreign readers. In the French edition of "Mein Kampf", for instance, the most fanatical outbursts of hatred against France are carefully omitted. That a pity for the French readers who really should know what Hitler is thinking really about them, and what he is preparing against them !

However, one of the main points of Hitler's policy, one of the basic principles, expressed again and again in "Mein Kampf" is the following : "All the countries where Germans are living must belong to Germany." We could ask the question, "Well, who is really German ? What is German ? " Herr Hitler would answer in his brazen and impressive manner, "Everybody is a German who speaks the German language".

If everyone speaking French would be a French person and should belong to France for this very reason, the Government of France would have the moral and political duty to send troops to Belgium, to the French part of Switzerland, or into French-Canada, in order to liberate this unhappy, suffering people.

All the English-speaking people, including the Americans, should belong to one country, should be one nation, and Spain should defend once more its eternal rights in South America and in Mexico.

Herr Hitler doesn't care, however, that

the order of the whole world would be disturbed and ruined if other countries, other leaders would accept his dynamic principles and would imitate his dangerous tactics. What he wanted was the greater Germany. Well, he has got it. He liberated Austria, and the Sudetanland. Is he satisfied with his recent successes? Not at all. He demands the still greater Germany, the greatest Germany, the Reich which would embrace part of Switzerland, Holland, Lithuania, Russia and Denmark. There are German-speaking people in all of these countries. As a matter of fact, there are German people and German-speaking people dispersed all over the world. But Hitler doesn't want merely all of them to return to their Homeland. On the contrary, he prefers to have them abroad as active agents and propagandists for Nazi ideas and Nazi power. He won't allow them, of course, to become loyal citizens of a democratic state. They have to be organized Nazis, permanently watched and controlled by the Nazi officials. I think nobody seriously can believe that Mr. Hitler really loves all his sweet little German minorities like some good old dad would like his many children. He is very able to sacrifice them and to forget all about them, if necessary.

For quite a long time we didn't hear anything about the German brothers suffering in Fascist Italy - I mean the German-speaking population living in South Tyrol, which became Italian after the war. As a matter of fact, they are treated in there in a much worse manner than anybody was ever treated in Czechoslovakia. Herr Hitler doesn't seem to be very interested any longer in the destiny of these suffering brothers, since, for the time being, he is in brilliant relations with Il Duce.

For many years the archenemy of all German Nationalists was Poland, even though there was a lot of noise about the intolerable situation of the German minorities under the Polish Government. Matters changed, however, as Poland almost became an ally of Nazi Germany for the time being. Certainly the destiny of the Germany minority in Poland wasn't interesting any longer to Hitler and his friends. Of course the agitation for these minorities made it convenient to start when the moment seemed fit and favourable to the Nazis. The Nazis can wait. They demand the spontaneous outburst of the popular fury of the German people just when it is convenient to them. They are very patient. That is one fault they have got, but they never forget what they really want.

There can't be any doubt that Hitler wants the Alsace, that he wants Strasbourg. No agreement he may make with France could ever change his determined mind. He has decided to get Strasbourg, sooner or later, but he is patient. He has his agents in Alsace, as he has them everywhere. They are not supposed to make too much noise just now because Mr. Ribbentrop is flirting with Monsieur Bonnet, which does not mean that his agents have stopped their activity. He never will renounce the part of Switzerland or Holland, of Lithuania or Denmark where the population is partly German. His agents are more careful or more impertinent, depending on their instructions and their instructions depend on the political situation of the day, but his aim is always for the good of the greatest Germany.

The whole problem of minorities is nothing really, nothing but a pretext to aid the Nazis to attack other nations. Hitler, for instance, decided to destroy, to ruin Czechoslovakia, the last truly democratic country in the European

East, the last faithful ally of France in the east. The suffering Germans in the Sudetenland were just a wonderful excuse for him to attack Czechoslovakia which seemed to him the last bulwark against the Nazi regime in the European East.

The minority slogan was nothing else but a slogan but it was good enough to plan the shameless military intervention of Germany in Spain. Last summer, when I spent several weeks in Barcelona I interviewed some German pilots who had become prisoners of the Spanish Government. I asked these two fellows, "Well, do you really think it was a fair thing to do to bomb innocent women and children who hadn't done anything to you or to your compatriots?" Their answer was very significant. "Well", the fellows said, "We had to protect the German minorities in Spain against Bolshevism dangers." And they were sincere, they really believed it.

The German minorities. Hitler would be in quite an embarrassing situation without them. He wants to annex a country and he declares that the German minorities are suffering. "I have to liberate them." Napoleon had still to fight when he was eager to get some piece of land. Hitler is liberating minorities which is so much less dangerous and so much more convenient. It is questionable whether or not the German-speaking people in other countries really so very keenly desire to become citizens of the Third Reich. Do they really expect they would be happy in Nazi Germany? Well, if they do they will be bitterly disappointed. As a matter of fact, those who became German citizens during the last year are bitterly disappointed by now. In Vienna almost everybody is now deeply depressed - even

people who used to be ardent Nazis under the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg era. It is now that they begin to realize what Nazism really means. Austria never belonged to the Reich. It was never part of the Reich. It would be more accurate to say that Germany, in a certain historical period was a part of Austria when the Hapsburgs were ruling. The Austrians never liked the Prussians very much. On the contrary, the Austrians always despised the Prussians.

Now, Vienna, the old, proud city, has become something like a little provincial German place. It is understandable that a suicide wave is going through Austria. In the horrible days and weeks following March 11, 1938, the terrible work done in Vienna was much more cool, much more thorough than the work done in the Reich. Five years of experience had shockingly improved the technique of horror, of terror. Moreover, the seizure of power in Austria in 1938 was far better prepared than in Germany in 1933 by the Nazis. There was a selected list of the names and doing of all the people opposed to the Nazi regime, and it must have been horrifyingly complete. Nobody was spared, not even Frau Dollfuss, the widow of the Chancellor, and Sigmund Freud, the most distinguished citizen of Vienna had to go into exile.

I know the liberated people of the Sudetenland are going to have the same dreary experience as the Austrians. Observers who have visited this country after its annexation by Germany confirmed the fact that there isn't a great deal of enthusiasm. It is a strange and utterly significant fact that all those Sudeten Germans who left the Sudeten after annexation by Germany were forced to return, were forced to become German citizens. They would have preferred to have remained Czech

citizens - yes, even to live without any passport, rather than to become subjects of Nazi Germany. It seems the Nazi authorities realize this. That is why the Nazi officials didn't allow them to decide by themselves to which country they wanted to belong. Even the Treaty of Versailles was more human, more liberal. It gave the possibility to everybody to choose his citizenship, at least. The Germans living in the Alsace or in Poland were allowed to return to Germany and to take with them everything they possessed, if they wanted to do so. Many, many thousands of German refugees from the Sudetenland, faithful Catholics, Protestants, Jews, democratic Socialists, have to face now, as German citizens, concentration camps or even death. I wouldn't even be surprised to learn that Mr. Heinlein, the Nazi Fuehrer of the Sudeten is disappointed by now. His real ambition was to become something like a Fuehrer. Well, now he is nothing - just some little German official without any influence or national power. That is not exactly what he expected. Everybody has to be deeply disappointed in the long run who tries to come to good terms with the Nazis, to make friends with the Nazis by making concessions to them.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, for instance, Cardinal Innitzer, hoped to save Catholicism in Austria by making friends with the Nazi regime, while his distinguished friend, the Cardinal Archbishop of Munich condemned Nazidom with stronger expressions than ever at the meeting of the Bishops, and while the relations between the Vatican and Berlin had reached a point which was almost an official break, the Archbishop of Vienna went so far as to give his greeting "Heil Hitler" with outstretched hands. Do you think he was successful with this kind of careful

tactics ? He was insulted and injured by the Nazis. He became a martyr, a victim of Nazi terror, just as was his great and distinguished colleague in Germany, Cardinal Faulhaber, and the Protestant Neimoller.

The sad case of the Austrian priest should be a serious warning to several European statesmen, who, by the way, had plenty of other warnings of this kind before them. Nobody should forget this one most important, most decisive fact. The Nazis are not fighting against certain political, religious or racial groups. They are and will always remain the deadly enemies of our whole civilization. It is indeed human dignity itself they want to destroy. They despise the great spiritual heritage of Greek and Roman antiquity and of Christianity. In short, they despise these traditions which are really the foundation of the culture of the white race. The Greek conception of human dignity includes the conception of freedom and education. Only free and thinking human beings deserve the name "human beings". Christianity, for its part, has brought us the conception of sympathy and neighbourly love. Christianity teaches "Ye are all equal in the sight of God. Humanity is one family, since all human beings are the children of God, and since the Saviour, Jesus Christ, died for them all." What then are the ideas most hated by the Nazis ? The ideas of freedom and the ideas of sympathy and neighbourly love. The Greek and the Christian idea - the two great European ideas par excellence. The concept of democracy is a heritage of Roman and Greek antiquity and is compatible with Christian ideality. As a matter of fact, democracy is nothing but the logical political manifestation of Christianity. The racially pure state which the Nazis preach, the thought of one chosen and elected race, in this case the so-called

Nordic race, is unChristian and UnEuropean. (Applause)

That this idea should be propagated and believed by the Germans, just as Germans, is funny to moot for the Germans actually belong to a very much mixed race. The Swedes, the Norwegians or the Danes would have had better reason to be proud of their pure blood of their race. If the German Fuehrers would be at all consistent they would say the world should belong to the Scandinavians, since they represent the Nordic race, but none of them has ever given utterance to such an idea. Quite the contrary, they say the Scandinavians too must belong to Germany because they are Nordic, for the ultimate aim of all Nazi ideality is that everything that is Nordic and Germanic should belong to Germany. Everything which is not Nordic or Germanic should be ruled by Germany.

No civilized person, of course, could come to any sort of understanding with people who harbour such ideas. No one can as much as carry on a discussion with them, nor would anything be gained by a discussion. This idea of the Nazis prevents any kind of a profound discussion. Finally, they refuse to give credence to any intellectual argument. The only thing they believe in is brutal force and actual power. There is no possibility to come to terms with them or to convince them. The only possible manner to gain any ground against them is to be neither weak nor fearsome, but strong and fierce, though civilized.

The one German minority which really needs and really deserves the sympathy and the active help of the world is the German minority opposition to Hitler. The Fuehrer does not represent the nation. The other Germany, the better Germany, the Germany of the good, great tradition is still alive. We just called it the German minority, and still we

have certain doubts if this calculation is accurate, if it is fair altogether. However, the minority in question happens to be a highly important one. Maybe it is a minority, maybe it isn't a minority any longer, but has become a majority for quite a while, embracing the most various, the most different elements of the nation, intellectuals and working men, aristocrats and socialists, conservatives and pious Catholics, Jews, and pious Protestants. All of them have to keep silence for the time being. All of them are going through a very hard and cruel school. They begin to understand how precious liberty is after they have lost it. They didn't appreciate, they didn't love their liberty enough as long as they had it.

The Weimar Republic was given to the Germans as a result of the consequences of the military defeat. It never was really popular among the Germans and they never had enough self-confidence. The Republic was weary. It allowed the Nazis to excite, to confuse the minds of the German people with cheap, but very efficient propaganda slogans. The really mighty, influential people in Germany, the men of the heavy industries, and the set around the old General von Hindenburg have backed Hitler from the beginning of his career and this set of people really called him to power. The German people didn't call him. It is often also forgotten that the last really free election in the fall of 1932 was a very embarrassing failure for the Nazis. However, the German people accepted him. They believed his promises. They hoped everything would come better now.

Please don't think that just the Jews are suffering in the Third Reich. Of course the fate of this

minority is a most intolerable one, but still, the Jews didn't expect anything good from Hitler, whereas the people who trusted him, who believed him, who expected the best thing from him are maybe suffering in an even more cruel way, because they are disappointed.

One little story is quite significant. On one of the main streets of Vienna a Jew is walking, crying bitterly. He meets a man he knows slightly, an Austrian citizen, who used to be an ardent Nazi in the Schuschnigg era. This Austrian citizen says to the Jew, "Well, my dear Mr. Cohen, why are you crying? After all, they didn't promise anything to you. It is we who have a right to cry."

Don't forget, Hitler's infernal hatred against the Jewish race - the one real, honest and consistent feeling, maybe that he has got - is highly significant in many respects. As his archenemy our great fighter needed a group of people which were not in a position to defend themselves. He wanted an helpless enemy. Besides, he never meant the Jews exclusively, when he was preaching his anti-Semitic nonsense. What he really hated was their intellect, their clear and critical thinking, represented to him especially by the Jews. Shrewd and intellectual means almost the same thing to the Nazis. Hitler attacks the Jewish religion but he really wants to destroy religious faith altogether. There should be only one god, the Fuehrer, and he has to be worshipped. Conceptions like the Nordic race or the honour of the nation^{have} become idols everybody is supposed to adore. The fanatical anti-Semitism of the

Nazis is nothing but an especially ugly system of their ruthless paganism. Nazidom is directed against Christianity, above all. It really means another outburst of the old Germanic hatred against Christianity, an outburst of an especially cheap and perverted sort.

It is significant that among the most famous victims of the Nazi regime are Catholic and Protestant priests, as well as Jewish socialists or pacifists or democrats. The Germanic pagans persecute every kind of humanitarian tendency, religious or socialistic. It doesn't mean much difference to them.

Certain events, for instance, like the persecution of the religious and racial minorities in Germany concern the entire civilization. They concern the civilized world, even if they happen abroad. Mankind is a unit and our civilization is based on a few very simple principles and ideals, most of them belonging to the spiritual heritage of Christianity. If one nation, one government, neglects and threatens the most important, the most sacred of those principles and ideas, the dignity and safety of mankind is endangered as well. The dignity and safety of mankind are matters which concern, which should concern everybody. Everybody should react most definitely against the aggressor who attacks and threatens these principles. There won't be any peace, no peace in honour, or no peace in our time, as long as organized brutality is ruling in the center of the Continent.

This dreadful march of Fascism could still be stopped. The democracies if they stick together are still much stronger than the totalitarian states, which actually

are much weaker than most people think. They are weak because they are not really loved by their peoples. The minority of thinking people is growing everywhere. People are not really so very eager to live under dictatorship, to become subjects of the totalitarian states.

There are significant, there are interesting cases. For instance, after the fall of Czechoslovakia, most political observers expected that now all the small countries of the Balkans would surrender and would accept the German hegemony without any further resistance. Now, there is much more resistance in the Near East than anybody expected. Roumania makes a very definite anti-Nazi policy. In Jugoslavia, the Fascist Prime Minister had to leave just a few days ago, just after the visit of the Italian Foreign Minister. Poland seems to be likely to change its attitude toward Germany and to make a more pro-French policy again. Then, in Hungary, which used to be an ally of Nazi Germany, more or less during the last years, a sort of resistance against the Nazification is growing and the leader of the Nazi Party is still in prison in Budapest. There is resistance everywhere. Holland the Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, are definitely opposed to Nazification. So is Switzerland. The Swiss people seem to be decided to keep, and if necessary defend, their old independence. It is quite remarkable how energetic they act, if one thinks how much endangered their situation is with the dreadful neighbour they have got.

Just a few months ago I heard a very well known and very popular Swiss author addressing a public meeting in Zurich, uttering the following statement : If the Germans

think we should become citizens of the Reich because of our German language, well, then, we will have to speak French", and everybody applauded.

I think the Nazi slogan and the Nazi propaganda is losing its power. It cannot confuse and impress any longer the people. As a matter of fact, the most impressive slogan the Nazis have got, and it is propaganda that was used with a great deal of skill, was to say, "Of course Naziism has many wonderful qualities but above all we are a defense mechanism against Bolshevism." This slogan was repeated all over the world and still it is nonsense.

Whenever you pronounce the word "Bolshevism", of what are most of you thinking? The complete destruction of our entire civilization and that is exactly what Naziism means. Every dangerous or bad quality you may think Bolshevism may have, Naziism has actually got. Naziism means really the destruction, Naziism means chaos.

Goebbels says "After Hitler falls we will have the chaos in Germany. After Hitler, the chaos." That is another Nazi slogan, repeated millions of times and believed by many foreigners - "After Hitler, the chaos." But why? It is not at all my intention to defend the German people, to excuse the German people altogether. I know they are guilty in many respects, but still isn't it somehow insulting against this nation to think they wouldn't have any more creative forces to make a new order, to construct a new state and a better state, when this wrong state, this bad order finally have vanished?

After Hitler's fall, the new order. The German Republic, not bolshevistic, but truly democratic, in good intimate terms with the minorities abroad, without misusing them as an excuse for imperialistic aggressiveness. The peace in honour, the peace in our time - after Hitler's fall. Yes, the German Reich can once more become a good industrious, reliable member of the family of nations. All decent Germans wish and hope for this. The reconciliation of Germany with the entire world will be possible only when those Germans who are today persecuted by the Nazis, the German friends of peace, freedom and justice, the good German minority will once more be able to live in their own country without fear and without shame.

I thank you.

(Applause-prolonged)

THE CHAIRMAN : Gentlemen, we are very much indebted to Mr. Mann for his very excellent address and for the vivid picture he has painted of the position of the minorities in Europe, and the explanation he has given of the views expressed in "Mein Kampf", the intent of the author and the objectives of Nazism. We, at this distance, have little opportunity under present conditions to obtain the views of both sides of this important subject, but the address that has just been given will enable us to appreciate more clearly the difficulties encountered by the minority in being heard. We will look forward to that new Republic referred to. We are grateful to Mr. Mann for his presentation of the problem of the minorities in Europe today. We thank you, Mr. Mann.

(Applause)

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Thursday, February 9, 1939.

Speaker : Mr. Klaus Mamm

Subject : "THE REICH AND THE GERMAN MINORITIES"

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"Minorities."

The gentleman who happens to be, at the moment, the Chancellor and Führer of the German Reich, is Germany's ^{most} ~~must~~ author, as well. His entertaining autobiography, "Mein Kampf" - "My Struggle" - is much more popular than Remarque's sensational War Novel ever was, and ~~its circulation~~ it has a wider circulation, probably, than even the Holy Bible.

I don't want to decide the question, whether or not the many millions of Germans, who read Mr. Hitler's literary masterpiece, are really "voluntary", and if all of them did enjoy their reading. To read certain books doesn't mean pleasure; but it means instruction. I am not inclined to overrate the literary qualities of Mr. Hitler's style - : as a matter of fact, it is a rotten style, definitely repulsive to everybody, who has got any knowledge or instinct, as far as good German Prose is concerned. Still - the book is terribly important. Everybody who is interested in the future of Europe - which actually means; in the future of the world - should read it. Its language - although slightly confused - is just clear ~~and understood~~ enough. Without any caution, without any kind of false shame or modesty, ^{the author} ~~he~~ tells us not only everything about his political beliefs and convictions; ^{he gives us very significant hints} ~~but~~ about his ~~own~~ political - or demagogical - tactics, as well. And - above all - we learn the whole truth - and nothing but the truth - about his political aims. - "Mein Kampf" contains the Führer's political program, in its entirety.

Hitler attacks the Jewish Religion; but ~~what~~ he really wants to destroy Religious Faith, altogether. There should be only o n e God - the Führer - , and he has to be worshiped. Conceptions, like "The Nordic Race" or "The National Honour" become idols, everybody should adore. The fanatical Antisemitism of the Nazis is nothing but an especially ugly s y m p t o m of their ruthless paganism.

~~Nazidom is, above all, a n i t i -~~

Nazidom is directed against Christianity, above all. It really means ~~the~~ another outburst of the Old Germanic Hatred against Christianity - an outburst of an especially cheap and perverted sort. It is significant, that among the most famous victims of the Nazi Regime are Catholic Priests and Protestant Pastors, as well, as Jews, Socialists or Pacifists. The Germanic pagans persecut every kind of Humanitarian tendency - religious or socialistic; to t h e m it doesn't mean very much of a difference.

The o n e German Minority which really needs and deserves the sympathy and the active help of the world, is the G e r m a n O p p o s i t i o n ^against Hitler. - The "other Germany", the "better Germany", the Germany of the good tradition is still alive. We just called it a "German Minority" - and, still, ~~we have certain doubts,~~ are not quite sure, if this characterisation was correct, if it was f a i r altogether. However, the "minority" in question happens to be a highly important one - : maybe, it isn't a "minority", any longer, but has become a "Majority", for quite a while - embracing the most various, most different elements: of the Nation: Intellectuals and working men, Conservatives and Socialists, pious Catholics and pious Protestants, aristocrats and simple peasants.

There won't be any Peace - no Peace in Honour, no Peace in our time - as long as organized Brutality is ruling in the centre of the European Continent. One c o u l d stop it - the dreadful March of Fascism. ~~which~~ ~~Borgese~~ The Democracies, if they stick together, ~~are~~ still are stronger, than the Totalitarian States - which are actually much weaker than most people would expect. They are weak, because they are not really loved by the people.

The Minority of the Thinking People is growing, everywhere. Who is so very eager to live under the Dictatorship, to become subject and victim of the Totalitarian State? ... Many political observers expected, after the fall of C.S.R., all the small countries of the Balkans wouldn't ~~resist~~ accept the German Hegemony ... There is resistance: Rumania ... Yougoslawia ... even Hungary - even Poland ...

And the Arabs, in the French North Africa? - No enthusiasm for Fascism, whatever ... in spite of Mussolini's intrigues and his propaganda ...

These N Propaganda Tricks of Nazis and Fascists - are they still able to impress, to confuse the world?

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"Minorities"

Herr Adolf Hitler is - as all of you know - not only the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich; but also Germany's most successful author. His entertaining autobiography "Mein Kampf" - "My Struggle" - is even more popular than Remarques famous war novel. I don't want to decide the question whether or not the many millions German readers of Hitlers literary masterpiece ~~we~~ are volontaries, and if all of them really enjoyed their reading. I think, however, that abroad, among the non-German people, this book is not yet quite known enough. Everybody who is interested in the future of Europe - which means: in the future of the world - should read it. I don't say it is a very good book, or a nicely written book, or a sympathetic book; but certainly it is an utterly important book. As a matter of fact, it contains the Führer's whole political programm - which he certainly is going to carry out, if nobody will stop him.

Of course, it is only a complete, uncuted edition of "My Struggle" you should be interested in. You couldn't get very much out of a version which would be arranged for foreign readers - like most of the translations really are - :unfortunately, in this country, also. In the French edition, for instance, the most fanatical outbursts of a deadly hatred against France are carefully omitted. What a pity for the French readers! They should know what Herr Hitler is really thinking about their nation, and what his aims really are, as far as France is concerned. If they knew, they wouldn't allow, maybe, Monsieur Daladier and Monsieur Bonnet to sacrifice the security and dignity of France to the very doubtful friendship of Nazi-Germany...

One of the main-points of Hitler's policy, however, - one of the basic principles, expressed again and again in his book, is this:

All the countries, where Germans are living, ^{must} ~~should~~ belong to Germany. -

II - We could ask the question: Well - w h o is a German? W h a t is a German? - Herr Hitler would answer, in his fast and impressive manner: Everybody is a German who speaks the German language.

If every French speaking person would be a Frenchman, and should belong, for this very reason, to France, the ~~ger~~ government in Paris would have the moral and political duty to send troupes to Belgium, the French part of Switzerland, or even to the French Canadiens, in order to "liberate" ~~these~~ these unhappy, suffering people. The English speaking people, including the Americans, should be o n e nation, and Spain should defend again its "eternal rights" in South America and Mexico.

~~Here~~ Our Führer doesn't care, that the order of the whole world would be disturbed and ruined, if other countries, other leaders would accept his principles, would imitate his horrible tactics. What he wanted, was his "Greater Germany"; he has got it. He "liberated" Austria and the Sudetenland. Is he satisfied with his recent successes? - Not at all. He demands the still Greater Germany, the Greatest Germany - the Reich which would embrace parts of Switz~~land~~eland, France, Poland, Russia, Lithou=ania, Italy and Danemark. There are German-speaking people living in all these countries. - As a matter of fact, there are German speaking people dispersed all over the world - especially in this country, and in certain parts of South America. But Hitler doesn't want them to re=turn to return to their homeland. On the contrary - he prefers to have them abroaod, as active agents for Nazi-ideas and Nazi-power. He wouldn't allow them to become loyal citizens of any Democratic State. They have to be organized Nazis, permanently watched and controled by the local Nazi-authorities...

Nobody seriously ~~could~~ can believe, that Mr. Hitler really loves all his sweet little "German Minorities", like some good Daddy would love his children. He is very able to sacrifice them and to forget them, if

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For a long time, we didn't hear anything about the "German brethren", suffering in Fascist Italy - :I mean, the German-speaking people living in South Tyrol, which became Italian after the world war. As a matter of fact, the Germans are treated there in a much worse manner than anybody was treated in Czechoslovakia. Herr Hitler doesn't seem to be interested, since he is, for the time being, in excellent terms with Signor Mussolini. He is not very excited, either, about the Germans, suffering in Poland. For many years, Poland was the arch-enemy for all German nationalists, and the situation of our compatriots, ~~and~~ tortured by the Polish government, was absolutely intolerable. Matters changed, however, as Poland almost became an ally of Nazi-Germany. Suddenly, the fate of the German minority in Poland wasn't interesting anymore to Hitlers and his friends. Of course, the agitation for these minorities may re-start, when the moment should be favourable... The Nazis can wait. They command the "spontaneous fury" of the German people, when it is convenient to them. They are very patient. But they never forget what they really want.

There can't be any doubt, that Hitler wants the Alsace. ^{to} No agreement, he may make with France, will change his mind. He is decided to get Strassburg - sooner or later. But - he is patient. He has his agents there, as he has them everywhere; they are not supposed to make too much noise in Strassburg, for the time being - :it could disturb Mr. Chamberlains peace-policy. But he never really will renounce the Alsace...

He never really will renounce the parts of Switzerland or Holland, of Lithuania or Denmark, where the population is partly German. His agents are more careful or more impertinent - it depends on their instructions, and these instructions depend on the political situation. But the aim is always and for good: the still-Greater, the Greatest Germany...

XIV The whole problem of the "minorities" is nothing than some very comfortable pretexte for the Nazis - :a pretexte, to attack other nations. If one considers the treatment, certain ~~and~~ racial or religious minorities - for instance, the Jewish one - have to stand within the Reich, this minority-slogan, used by Dr. Göbbels with so much skill, seems to be somehow ridiculous. - Hitler was decided to destroy Czechoslowaquia - the last truly Democratic country in the European East; the most faithful ally of France. The "suffering Germans" in the Sudetenland were a wonderful excuse to ruin this last bastion of Nazi-hegemony in Eastern Europe. - The same excuse was even good enough to explain the shameless ~~intervention~~ military German intervention in the Spanish Civil war.

I interviewed, this summer, in Barcelona, two German aviators who became prisoners of the Spanish loyalists. "Do you think it is a fair thing to do, to bomb innocent Spanish women and children?" - I asked one of the two fellows. He answered: "But we had to protect the German minorities in Spain against the Bolshevistic danger..." I even had the impression he was sincere, when he said this nonsense...

..."The German minorities" - : Hitler would be in a quite embarrassing situation, without them. He wants to annex some country - and he declares: "The German minorities are suffering! I have to liberate them..." Napoléon had ~~to~~ still to fight, when he was eager to get some peace of land. Hitler is "liberating minorities" - which is so much less dangerous; so much more convenient.

It is questionable whether or not all these German-speaking people ~~are~~ really so very keenly desire to ~~be~~ become citizens of the Third Reich. Do they really expect, they would be ~~happy in the Third Reich~~ happy in Nazi-Germany? - They will be bitterly disappointed. As ^a matter of fact: those who became German citizens, are disappointed, already. - In Vienna, almost everybody is now deeply depressed - even people who used to be ardent

V

Nazis and active enemies of the Schuschnigg-Dollfuss-government. It is only now that they begin to understand what Nazism really means... ~~The fact~~ Austria never belonged to the Reich - it would be more correct to say, that Germany, at a certain historical moment, when the Habsburgs were ruling, belonged to Austria. The Austrians never liked the Prussians very much; on the contrary, they ~~dis~~^espised them. Now, Vienna - this old and proud city, with its great and brilliant history - became something like a German provincial town. It is understandable that a "suicide wave" was going through Austria, in the terrible days and weeks, following on March 11 th., 1938. - The terrible work, done in Vienna during the weeks immediately following the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship, was swifter, more thorough, more cruel, than in Germany. Five years experience had shockingly improved the technique of terror. Moreover, the seizure of power in Austria, in 1938, was far better prepared, than in Germany, in 1933. The "black lists" of the names and doings of all the enemies of the Nazi-dictatorship must have been horrifyingly complete. Not one was forgotten... Not even Frau Dollfuss, the widow of the Austrian chancellor - murdered by the Nazis - was spared...

The "liberated" people of the Sudetenland are going to have the same dreary experience as the Austrians. Observers, who visited this country, after its annexion through Germany, confirm that they find a great deal of honest enthusiasm, among the population. - It is a strange ~~fact~~ and utterly significant fact, that all those Sudeten-people who left their country, when Hitler entered it, are forced now to return and to become German citizens. They would ~~rather~~ prefer to remain Czeque citizens, or even to live without any passport, rather than to become Hitler's subjects. It seems, Nazi-authorities realize this. 4

VI

That is why they don't allow these men and women to decide themselves to which country they want to belong: they simply force them to be Germans... Even the Treaty of Versailles was more human, more liberal. It gave the possibility to everybody to choose his citizenship. Germans, living in the Alsace or in Poland, were allowed to return to Germany and to take with them everything they possessed, if they wanted to do so. Many many thousands of faithful Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Democrats or Socialists have to face now, as German citizens, prison, ^{concentration} camp, or even death...

I wouldn't be surprised to learn, that even Mr. H e n l e i n - the leader of the Nazi-movement in Sudetenland - is disappointed now. His real ambition was, to be a little "Führer", by his own. But he became nothing but as some ~~little~~ German functionary, without very much influence, without any actual power...

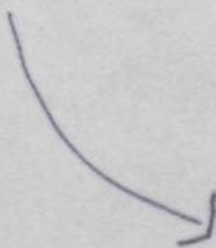
Everybody has to be deeply disappointed, on the long run, who tries to come to good terms with the Nazis, by making concessions to them. The Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, for instance, Mr. I n n i t z e r had to make this experience. He swore most solemnly, first by the bier of the murdered Dollfuss and repeatedly afterwards, that he would be for ever loyal to the idea of Austrian independence and the heritage of the martyr. Hardly had the German troops crossed the frontier, when the Cardinal discovered in his heart a burning love for "Greater Germany, and, especially, an ardent admiration for the "Führer". The Cardinal Archbishop gave his greeting "Heil Hitler", with outstretched arm - yes, he went even so far to say masses for the murderers of his great late friend, Dollfuss. - Do you think he was successful with his treachery? On the contrary. He was insulted, even injured by the Nazis; his palace was almost destroyed; he became a martyr - as was his brave

VII.

and distinguished colleague at Munich, Bishop Faulhaber, who, just now again, became a victim of Nazi-terror. - The sad case of the Austrian priest could be a serious warning to certain European statesmen - who, by the way, had plenty of other warnings before.

Nobody should ever forget the ~~case~~ one most important, most decisive fact:

Nazis are n o t fighting against certain political principles, certain races, or certain personalities. They are, and will always remain, the deadly enemies of our whole civilisation. It is indeed the Human Dignity itself, they want to destroy. - They despise



didn't want by any means. That's why they helped Hitler to keep his power; the inevitable consequence was that he became more and more powerful.

The psychological motives, which forced ~~the German and~~ the British Conservatives to ^{as} ~~act like~~ they did, are rather complex. There is, ^{an odd} ~~in~~ the two cases, the same mixture of fear and sympathy. Of course, the English people hate war and are afraid of it, and so are the British Statesmen. They are ^{honest} ~~sincere~~ pacifists - they ^{or} can't be any doubt about that. The question is whether or not they ^{chose} ~~choosed~~ the ~~right~~ ^{wanted to avoid} mean to preserve peace. If they really ~~war~~ - why did they always protect and encourage the aggressor? That is exactly what they have done in Spain: the whole farce of the so-called "non-intervention" ~~was~~ - and is - efficient only against the Loyalists; only in the favour of General Franco. I was in Spain, I visited these suffering ^{horrific} cities - Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid - ; I saw the dreadful consequences of this "objective", "unpartial" British policy. In the case of Spain it becomes evident: there is sympathy involved - British sympathy for the aggressor; antipathy against the other side, against the Loyalists, ^{the Democrats} whom they call "the reds".]

✓ We spoke about "fear". But this fear which is so strong in certain British minds is not only the fear of war. It is doubtful to me if ~~there was~~ any actual war danger existing ^{ed}, during these tragic weeks, of September 1938. We have many signs and symptoms which almost certainly prove to us that neither ~~the~~ Fascist Italy nor Nazi Germany were at all in the position of risking war. There wasn't any kind of war enthusiasm in the two totalitarian states - ^{on} ~~at~~ the contrary. They German people were scared, and simply hated the idea of fighting, ^{condition was} ~~once more~~ another time, against the whole world. In Italy, ~~it was~~ still worse, as the Italian people already had the bitter experience of two ~~wars~~ recent wars: the one against Abyssinia; the other one against Spain.

matters of
As a fact: Signor Mussolini faced the revolution - and what Herr Hitler faced was not very much better.

It is unlikely that the Foreign Office in London, and that Mr. Chamberlain, should have ignored simple facts which were so very obvious to everybody. Didn't they realize that Mr. Hitler was just bluffing in a tremendous style? - ^{These} ~~They~~ are clever people who say: No - the British statesmen didn't realize this. They really believed that Germany was ready to risk war, in order to get Czechoslovakia, and they felt, Great Britain was not prepared to face such a dreadful possibility; ^{not being} ~~she wasn't~~ armed enough - especially not ⁱⁿ ~~on~~ the air.

But ^{these are} ~~they~~ other observers - not absolutely silly ^{ones} ~~either~~ - who declare: Mr. Chamberlain and his friends knew perfectly well that the Third Reich was unable to fight against Great Britain, France, ^{with Italy as its one, doubtful ally.} Czechoslovakia and Russia. They knew that Hitler was bluffing, and nothing else; but it was a dangerous bluff - : dangerous for him, the Führer. If he lost this daring game, he was lost all together.

The British Conservatives didn't want him to fall. They were afraid of the consequences which Hitler's downfall could have for the social development, ^{in Germany, and} in the other European countries as well. The British Conservatives wanted to save ~~the~~ German Fascism - these observers believe. They didn't want to fight with Russia against Germany. They preferred to sacrifice little Czechoslovakia and to give Germany her way free to the east, rather than fighting side ^{by} ~~on~~ side with the Red Army. - ^{On} ~~At~~ the other hand, they knew that the Public Opinion in their own country, in Britain, would very definitely protest against the great settlement with the Fascist powers they planned; ^{and wished; they} ~~against the~~

~~big sell-out they projected.~~ In order to change the public opinion in

the democratic countries - in order to demonstrate to their own peoples how very necessary it was to sacrifice Czechoslovakia ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ order to avoid war - /, they decided to bluff a little, too; to bluff, together with Hitler; to scare and horrify their own nations to a degree which would make them accept e v e r y t h i n g - even this so-called "peace in honour", this shameful "peace for our time". Our observers say: That is / why France and Great Britain mobilized partly - n o t in order to ~~scare~~ ^{terrify} Hitler - who knew that they didn't mean it so very serious ^{ly}; but in order to ~~scare~~ ^{frighten} their own people, ~~and to make them ready to accept the Munich agreement~~

I don't want to decide which of these two versions is the right one - and I don't think it ~~might~~ ^{would} be possible to decide this ~~already~~ now. Nobody knows exactly whether or not Mr. Chamberlain was quite sincere when he almost sobbed on the radio, delivering his famous message from London. If I am not ~~wrong~~ ^{mis'taken}, he had, at this very moment, Hitler's kind invitation to the Munich meeting already in his pocket - or he ~~knew~~ ^{already}, however, that this ~~kind~~ ^{telegram} friendly ~~would~~ arrive shortly. Maybe, the tears he had in his touching voice were tears of happiness, ~~already~~ ^{even} then.... Duff Cooper, however, was sincere, and certainly didn't play any kind of a comedy / when he really did cry, in the house of Commons. He was suffering, then, from a sort of physical pain: Something was in his throat he couldn't swallow - which ~~always~~ ^{is} pretty unpleasant - : it was the Munich agreement...

The popular enthusiasm about this honorable Munich settlement, about this 'strange "peace ~~for~~ ^{for} our time" seems somehow to ~~diminish~~ diminish. People begin to become sober again - and, indeed, the new reality, ~~which~~ they have to face now, is not exactly of the kind to make anybody drunk with happiness. Only Mr. Chamberlain seems to be still

"I for Berlin"

delighted. In Paris, they used to call him "Jaime-Berlin". - "J'aime-Munich" - I love Munich - doesn't mean anything; it doesn't even mean a ~~nick name~~ nickname. It is nothing but a tragedy.

Men like Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden, Harald Nicholson, ^{Lloyd George} or Duff Cooper, realized this in the meantime. The great speeches they delivered recently against the Chamberlain policy are brilliant; they even could be encouraging - if they ^{didn't} come too late. Did Chamberlain really overrate the power of the totalitarian states? - Some of his most able colleagues ~~did~~ seem to avoid this mistake. Mr. Lloyd George said, the other day: "The totalitarian states would have been crushed like an eggshell..." - At the same time, the British Cabinet ^{starts the} ~~to begin to~~ discuss ^(on about) the restitution of the German Empire in Africa.

And France? - Monsieur Daladier was cheered like a sort of peace angel when he returned to Paris, after Munich. Peace was saved! Peace was saved - with honour, and for our time! Men and women laughed and cried with happiness on the Parisian streets. This was touching, ~~that~~ was overwhelming... But don't these gentle, truly pacifistic people realize what they lost, by winning this kind of peace - which really is the "Pax Germanica", the "German Peace" Hitler dreamed of? They lost much more than the friendship of that brave little nation in the east - which was, by the way, a very well armed little nation and France's most faithful ally in Europe. ^{The} ~~her~~ whole political system ^(of France) went into pieces when Monsieur Daladier signed the agreement, at the Brown House, ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ Munich. They wanted peace, and they got pieces - : this is literally true. - Never was France - our ^{beloved} ~~dear~~, generous, noble France - in such a tragic situation as today. ^{France} ~~she~~ is ~~isolate~~ isolated, ~~she~~

helpless, alone - a third rate power: it is bitter to say. Didn't these French statesmen read Hitler's book, Mein Kampf? Could they forget what his aims are, ^{is} ~~and~~ he certainly ~~is~~ going to carry ~~them~~ out? -

* She is dependent ^{on} ~~from~~ England - : from the Bank of England - to be more precise - the leader of which, Mr. Montagu Norman, is inspiring Mr. Chamberlain's policy.

His aim always was - and still is - to isolate France, in order to destroy her - :to d e s t r o y her - he uses very frankly this expression. The same nationalistic French politicians who never trusted the German Republic, who were so very suspicious and distrustful when Stresemann, and men of his kind, were still in power in Germany, suddenly declare: "Peace with the Reich - understanding, collaboration with the Reich must be possible! We have to sacrifice all our other friends, our whole political system for this one aim - :for the friendship with Germany!" - Yes: we agree -: friendship between France and Germany is possible, is even necessary, ~~but not friendship between the powerful Third Reich - the master of which wants to destroy France~~ We - the German pacifists, liberal minded people - preached this for ~~years~~ years, after the war, and until 1933: France and Germany must understand each other! Must find each other, after so much tragic misunderstanding! Must work peacefully together, for their own sake and for the sake of Europe, of the world. Because we wanted and propagated this, we were hated by the German nationalists and insulted by the Nazis. As a matter of fact, our comrades in France, the French intellectuals and politicians who wanted and propagated the same ~~cause~~ cause, ~~didn't~~ *were not treated much better* ~~make much better experiences~~ in their own country. Then, the idea of a true reconciliation was not so very popular in the nationalistic French circles. When the German Republic tried to establish a sort of ~~very modest~~ *and fairly commercial* "Anschluss" with Austria, the reaction in Paris was very strict, very bitter. A few years later, Hitler simply annexed ^x Austria - and there wasn't any reaction at all. Hitler did not ask, did not negotiate: he acted...]

the
There are many ways to explain this astonishing weakness of the French statesmen, toward the Third Reich. The very definite pacifism of the French people and their leaders is only one of the significant

points. Another one might be the bad conscience about the Treaty of Versailles / which becomes stronger and stronger in the Democratic countries. - ~~The~~ ^{qu} It is questionable / whether or not the Germans would have made a better kind of a treaty, in a similar ^{situation} ~~condition~~. As a matter of fact, the conditions they dictated to the Russians, at Brest Litowsk, ⁱⁿ 1917, were even more cruel. But this is not the problem. The problem is / that this "bad conscience" in Paris and London comes up too late. When the German Republic was ^{on} fighting for its existence / it was the right time to make concessions to Germany. The moral value of this famous "bad conscience" becomes somehow doubtful, since Germany happens to have the strongest air fleet on the continent, and isn't ^{no longer} ~~any more~~ a fit object for pity...

I am afraid, those statesmen in Paris and London, who try today everything in order to come ^{to} ~~in~~ good terms with the totalitarian states, are bad Conservatives - / since in a Fascist Europe culture wouldn't be conserved but destroyed / - ; ~~but~~ they are bad pacifists - / because, ^{on} at the long run, it shall be impossible to avoid war, and the war which is going to come then / may be really long, really ~~awful~~ horrible - / ; and they are, finally, bad nationalists, since they ruin the moral prestige and the actual power of their own countries.

Czechoslovakia believed in Democracy. I know this country - of which a still have the honour to be a citizen. I know its great President, Dr. Eduard Benesch. When I saw him, ^{in Prague} ~~more~~ than a year ago, he was still optimistic, still faithful - because he believed in Democracy, he believed in his ally^{ies} and friends, France and Britain.

"Time is working for us, for Democracy", he told me. His people, too, were optimistic and faithful - and they were ready to fight. When ^{at} a cruel disappointment ~~in~~, then, when they had slowly to realize / that there was nobody to help them; that the Democracies

surrendered, didn't keep their treaties. I am afraid there are many young nationalists, who hate ^{2 7} now France and England much more, than they do hate Germany. These disappointed young people may think: 'The whole policy of our leaders - Masaryk and Benesch - was a mistake. It was a dreadful error to trust the Democracies... What a bitterness in these young, disappointed hearts! It is this bitterness, this profound disappointment which make understandable certain horrible things which recently happened in Prague. Czech students destroyed the portrait of Thomas Masaryk, the founder and leader of their ^{Republic} ~~country~~... It is obvious: the grief, the fury confused their minds...

Prague, today, is a city in despair.... But, after all - some important German newspaper wrote the other day - what is the Czech tragedy, what are seven millions Czechs, compared with the future of Europe? Is it worthwhile - that smart Nazi-journalist asked - to make such a lot of noise about the destiny and the feelings of these people? - Well - one could object, that there was quite a lot of noise in the German press about three millions Sudeten Germans - who, by the way, never belonged to the Reich, but were always ruled from Prague; (a simple but significant fact, which many people ignore or forget...)

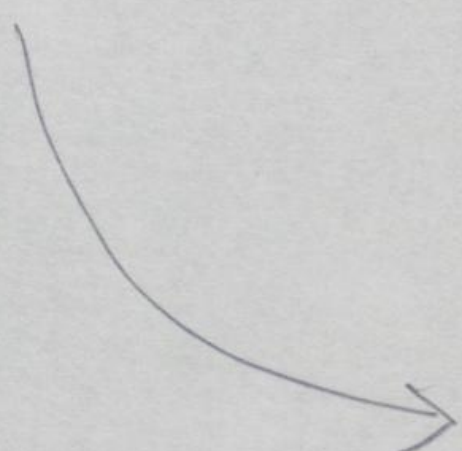
But, still, let us admit, that the future of Europe - the future of the world is more important than seven millions of brave and industrious Czechs. The question is only, if the future of Europe looks more promising, after the ruin of this last true Democracy in the East; after the end of Czechoslovakia. What kind of future are we going to face now? - There are plenty of reasons to be rather pessimistic...

Germany dominant on the European continent; France almost an international cipher; the British fleet paralyzed, at least for the time being, by the German power to blow the British Isles out of the water by airplane bombing; Japan in control of the whole Chinese coast, and

Britain reduced there to impotency; the Totalitarian States, very successfully, active, everywhere in the world; their influence increasing everywhere - in South-America, or among the Arabs - with every new diplomatic or military Nazi-Fascist victory - the prospects, indeed, are not very encouraging...

This dangerous, dynamic principle - "the unity of the race" - , established by Germany - may destroy the European states, existing today.

What shall be the fate of the last German-speaking people, having not yet the doubtful honour to belong to the Third Reich? - The German-Swiss people, for instance, have still the strange habit of liking their old independence - as a matter of fact, they seem to have decided to keep it and to defend it. The other day, I heard, in Zürich, a well known German-Swiss author saying at a big public meeting: "If the Germans think, we have to become *sici* citizens of the Third Reich, because of our German language - we simply have to speak French!" - What will be the future of those



brave men? Who is going to protect them against their terrifying neighbour? Shall France be able or willing to defend Bâle and Zürich, as she refused ^{to defend} her own minor Maginot Line in Czechoslowaquia?

Sinister questions - and I know that French people are troubled by them as I am ~~it~~. I don't forget my little conversation with a French steward, a few weeks ago, on a French boat. We spoke about some dish he offered me, and which was a local spéciality of the French city Nice. I said: "~~well~~ The name of this course sounds somehow Italian..." He laughed, but in a dreary ^{way} ~~manner~~: "Well - maybe we shall have a plebiscite at Nice, shortly, and it may become an Italian city." After a ⁶ pause, he remarked - still laughing in this not very gay manner - : "We could have many plebiscites in France, and could loose many provinces. The Alsasse would become German; La Savoye and the Riviera Italian; Biarritz Spanish.... and so on..." I tried my best to laugh a little, too. But I was thinking: "And Paris?... Paris would be a sort ^{of} a wonderful museum; the Prussian officers would walk on the Champs Elysées and would explain to their wives: This was once the capital of a great country... And Monsieur Flandin, Hitler's ^{Friend} eminent friend, would enjoy his peace in honour..." - -

Ladies and Gentlemen - : we are not yet as far as all that. There are forces, strong enough and brave enough, to resist ~~to~~ the Fascist powers, to stop this dreadful March of Fascism. Those forces are everywhere: most active, ~~maybe~~, in this great country - in the United States of America - ; but they are existing in the European democratic countries, too - / if not in their governments, so among the people - /, and they remain alive in the Totalitarian States themselves.

The German anti-Nazi opposition - ^(among the German minorities) within the Reich or in Exile - is the natural and most important ally of all liberal, democratic, progressive forces in the world. The German opposition was deeply dis-

appointed, too, by the capitulation of the Democratic powers, in the Czechoslovakian crises. But we didn't become hopeless by any means. We are not going to stop our fight.

Nazi propaganda does its utmost to convince the world outside Germany, that all enemies of the Hitler regime, especially all emigrants, are bolshevistic Jews. This is untrue. You will find the most varied types, characters, and even point of view among them. There are pious Catholics among them and pious Protestants; Socialists and Conservatives; zionistic Jews and anti-zionistic Jews; intellectuals, aristocrats and working-men. As a matter of fact: all the better and higher developed elements among the German people are a g a i n s t this regime.

I am sure, when Herr Hitler had his little five-o'clock-tea talks with Mr. Chamberlain, at Berchtesgaden, Godesberg, and other charming places; he kept saying: "My dear friend" - because, after all, he i s his dear friend - , "you could ruin me" - because, after all, he c o u l d ruin him, if he would only like to do it. "But you know what is going to come after me?" All of you are familiar with Mr. Hitler's musical little voice, and you all may imagine, if you please, how he shouted the dramatic answer to his own question: "After me - the chaos..."

"After Hitler - the chaos!" This Göbbels-slogan was repeated a million times - and, astonishing enough: the world believed it.

~~After Hitler the chaos - : but why isn't it somehow insulting against ^{this nation} the German people, to think ^{it} they wouldn't have any constructive forces to create a new state, a better order, when this wrong order, this bad state finally have vanished? - After Hitler's fall - the new order! The German Republic - not Bolshevistic but really Democratic - , after Hitler's fall! The peace in honour, the peace in~~

* It is not at all my intention, to excuse the German people: I know, they are guilty in many respects.

Minorities

As you may know ~~or~~ may not know - ~~I am~~ author, ~~not~~ am not a politician, but an author. Now, one of my ~~most successful~~ fellow writers happens to be the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich, at this moment. His entertaining autobiography "Mein Kampf" seems to be the most successful book ever published in German language, ~~much more popular than Mr. Remarque's famous war-novel.~~ I guess the circulation of "Mein Kampf" is even wider than that of the Holy Bible.

I don't want to go into the question of whether the many millions of Germans who read Hitler's masterpiece are really voluntary, and if really all of them enjoyed their reading. To read books doesn't mean pleasure always; but to read certain books is important. It means instruction.

I am not inclined to over-rate the literary qualities of Mr. H.'s book. To tell the awful truth - I think his style is very poor. I am forced to say that it is a quite rotten style, most repulsive to anyone who knows anything about good German prose. But still the book is terribly important.

~~Of course, it is only the complete edition of "Mein Kampf" you should be interested in. In the French edition, for instance, the most fanatical outburst of hatred against France are carefully omitted. What a pity for the French readers, who really should know what Hitler is thinking about them, and what he is preparing against them.~~

However, one of the main points of H.'s policy, one of the basic principles expressed again and again in "M.K." is the following:

"All the countries where Germans are living must belong to Germany."

We may ask the simple question: "Well, who is really a German? What is a German?" - Herr H. would ~~ask in~~ answer in his fast and impressive manner: "Everybody who speaks the Ger. language is a German..."

If everyone speaking French would be a French person and should belong to

II
France for this very reason, the government of Fr. would have the moral and political duty to send troops to Belgium, the French Switzerland or into French Canada, in order to "liberate" these unhappy, suffering people...

All the English speaking people, incl. Americans, should belong to one country, and Spain should defend once more its "eternal rights" in South Am. and Mex. Herr H. does not care, however, that the order of the whole world would be disturbed and ruined if other countries, other leaders would accept his dynamic principles and would imitate his dangerous tactics.

What he wanted was The Greater Germany. Well, he has got it. He liberated Austria, and the Sudetenland, and Memel. Is he satisfied with his recent successes? Not at all. He demands the still greater Germany which would embrace parts of Switzerland, Holland, Lithuania, France, Russia and Denmark. There are German speaking people in all of those countries...

The "German minorities" - most convenient pretext for Hitler... Napoleon had to fight and to when war... if he was eager to conquer land... Hitler is "liberating minorities".... Slogan impressed the world for a long time. Only when he occupied ^{million of Slavic people...} C.S.R. people realized it was a trick...

We knew it before. It was obvious.

He was very well able to forget all about "suffering minorities" - when he wanted to do so. Examples:

Good relations to France: silence about the Alsace. Bad relations: noise about Strasburg; sentimental talk about German Cathedral, ect.

Noise about South Tyrol. Good relations to Duce. Forgotten.

Excitement about Ger. minorities in Poland. Good relations. One didn't hear anything... Polish-British agreement - : propaganda re-starts... Not spontaneous whatever. Cold calculation.

Used convenient trick in the example
intervention in Spain.
The pilots were interviewed in
Barcelona. "We had to protect
minorities..."

III. Do they want to be "liberated"?
.... Disappointed in Austria and
Swedenland.

~~From Finland a distance in Switzerland~~

From a distance in Scandinavia;
Holland; (honest and simple

answer to ridiculous question:

Yes, we are afraid.)

Belgium (Po - Nary - Pary
lost ...)

Switzerland — last German
speaking country not yet liberated.

The famous Swiss writer.

Friends answering confirm:

" Every body would defend
independence ... "

Militant spirit
Swiss people — pacifist tradition.
But they would fight.

.... Who wants war? Nobody.

✓ which doesn't mean:
spirit of aggression.
Didn't go to defend
independence and life

We are opposed to
Naziism, because we
hate war.

a/
P e a c e

Yes, we love Peace, we want Peace, we need Peace.

/We hate war; we feel war would mean a catastrophe to mankind. We think Signor Mussolini was mistaken when he uttered, the other day, that mankind needs a war, from time to time. We think Signor Mussolini junior, the pilot, ^{also} ~~was~~ ^{and amusing} mistaken ~~when~~, when he declared war to be the most stimulating kind of sport.

We are opposed to hysterical, brutal nationalism. We are for international peaceful collaboration.

Yes, we call ourselves pacifists with pride and deep conviction.

We positively believe that the idea of Universal, Indivisible Peace will emerge victorious ^{by} ~~but~~ only after the fall of the dictators who are threatening the world and humiliating their own peoples.

The beautiful word "PEACE" sounds like a mockery or a dirty trick, when certain personalities dare to pronounce it.

A certain gentleman who is celebrating ^{his} his fiftieth birthday today, likes to emphasize his ardent love for peace - if he thinks it useful to do so. - His fiftieth birthday, however, would be a fine opportunity ^{for him} to prove his pacifist feelings - for instance, by releasing the true pacifists from concentration camps, where they are suffering for so many years. But ^{he feels} such a noble gesture would spoil him ~~the~~ happy day.

The gentleman, who likes to call himself a pacifist, ~~likes it much better~~ ^{prefers} to look at a huge military parade, thousands and thousands of soldiers, goosestepping to honor the peace-loving Führer... The peace-loving Führer, by the way, ~~did~~ ^{at} not seem thoroughly satisfied, in spite of this most brilliant, most terrifying parade. He had expected another ^a just little birthday gift - ~~some~~ ^a Free City by the name of Danzig ~~which he wanted to occupy~~ ^{and} ~~some~~ ^a ~~both~~ so-called "Corridore" both of which he wanted to occupy. This did not work out; ~~our~~ consequently, our peace-loving birthday-child looks ~~somewhat~~ disappointed.

(S. J. H.)

h
To tell the truth: he does not love Peace, he does not love Germany,
he does not love mankind; he does not love anything on earth - but
himself. Hatred - a deep, ^{and} bitter, ~~all-embracing~~ hatred - is the one
sincere, and ever-lasting feeling he has.

There cannot be Peace - no Peace in Honour, no Peace in our time - , as
long as organized brutality is ruling in the center of Europe.

... Hitler has no more

Somebody said: "He is like a
bicycle. He would fall if he
would have no stand ..."

↓
Peace with H. — impossible.

He has no attack. H-a,
no more.

17
"Minorities."

I mean in a colloquial way
The gentleman who happens to be, at the moment, the Chancellor and Führer of the German Reich, *beginning to be successful* is Germany's most ~~author~~ *author*, as well. His entertaining autobiography, "Mein Kampf" - "My Struggle" - is much more popular than Remarque's sensational War Novel ever was, and ~~its circulation~~ it has a wider circulation, probably, than even the Holy Bible.

I don't want to decide the question, whether or not the many millions of Germans, who read Mr. Hitler's literary masterpiece, are really "voluntary", and if all of them did enjoy their reading. To read certain books doesn't mean pleasure; but it means instruction. I am not inclined to overrate the literary qualities of Mr. Hitler's style - as a

matter of fact, it is a rotten style, definitely repulsive to everybody,

knows something about good German Prose.
~~who has got any knowledge or instinct, as far as good German Prose is~~

~~concerned.~~ Still - the book is terribly important. Everybody who is interested in the future of Europe - which actually means: in the future of the world - should read it. Its language - although slightly confused - is just clear ~~and understand~~ enough, ~~without any caution,~~

the author
~~without any kind of false shame or modesty, he tells us not only every-~~
he makes the most significant and honest
~~thing about his political believes and convictions; but about his~~ *state-*
ments

political - or demagogical - tactics, as well. And - above all - we learn the whole truth - and nothing but the truth - about his political aims. - "Mein Kampf" contains the Führer's political program, in its entirety.

Without any caution, without any kind of false shame or modesty, the author tells us everything about his political believes and convictions. More than that: he includes the most significant and honest statements, concerning his political - or demagogical - tactics. And - above all - we learn the whole truth - and nothing but the truth - about his political aims - his hopes, his plans, his ambitions. - "Mein Kampf" contains the Führer's political Program, in its entirety.

Herr Adolf Hitler is - as all of you know - not only the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich; but also Germany's most successful author.

His entertaining autobiography "Mein Kampf" - "My Struggle" - is ^{much} ~~every~~ ^{more} popular than Remarque's ^{war} ~~novel~~ ^{novel}. I don't want to decide ^{whether} ~~if~~ ^{it is} ~~more~~ ^{popular} than the Holy Bible.

the question whether or not the many millions German readers of Hitler's literary masterpiece ~~are~~ ^{are} "voluntary", and if all of them really enjoyed their reading. I think, however, that abroad, among the non-German people, this book is not yet quite known enough. Everybody who is interested in the future of Europe - which means: in the future of the world - should read it. I don't say it is a very good book, or a nicely written book, or a sympathetic book; but certainly it is an utterly important book. As a matter of fact, it contains the Führer's whole political program - which he certainly is going to carry out, if nobody will stop him.

Of course, it is only a complete, uncut edition of "My Struggle" you should be interested in. You couldn't get ^{out} ~~very much~~ ^{of} a version which would be arranged for foreign readers. ~~as~~ ^{as} most of the translations really are - unfortunately, in this country, also. In the French edition, for instance, the most fanatical outbursts of a deadly hatred against France are carefully omitted. What a pity for the French readers! They should know what Herr Hitler is really thinking about their nation, and what his aims really are, as far as France is concerned. If they knew, they wouldn't allow ~~maybe~~ ^{maybe} Monsieur Daladier and Monsieur Bonnet to sacrifice the security and dignity of France to the very doubtful friendship of Nazi-Germany...

One of the main-points of Hitler's policy, however, - one of the basic principles, expressed again and again in his book, is this:

All the countries, where Germans are living, ^{must} ~~should~~ belong to Germany. -

3

BT - We could ask the question: Well - w h o is a German? W h a t is a German? - Herr Hitler would answer, in his fast and impressive manner: Everybody is a German who speaks the German language.

If every French speaking person would be a Frenchman, and should belong, for this very reason, to France, the ~~gov~~ government in Paris would have the moral and political duty to send troupes to Belgium, ^{to} the French part of Switzerland, or even to the French Canadiens, in order to "liberate" ~~the~~ ^{all} these unhappy, suffering people. ^{the} English speaking people, including the Americans, should be o n e nation, and Spain should defend, ^{once more} ~~again~~, its "eternal rights" in South America and Mexico.

~~He~~ Our Führer doesn't care, that the order of the whole world would be disturbed and ruined, if other countries, other leaders would accept his principles, ^{and if they} would imitate his horrible tactics. What he wanted, was his "Greater Germany"; he has got it. He "liberated" Austria and the Sudetenland. Is he satisfied with his recent successes? - Not at all. He demands the still Greater Germany, the Greatest Germany - the Reich which would embrace parts of Switzerland, France, Poland, Russia, Lithuania, ^{Holland}, Italy and Denmark. There are German-speaking people living in all these countries. - As a matter of fact, there are German speaking people dispersed all over the world, ^{really} especially in this country, and in certain parts of South America. But Hitler doesn't ^{really} want ^{all of them} them to return ~~to return~~ to their homeland. On the contrary - he prefers to have them abroad, as active agents for Nazi-ideas and Nazi-power. He wouldn't allow them to become loyal citizens of any Democratic State. They have to be organized Nazis, permanently watched and controled by the local Nazi-authorities...

Nobody seriously ~~could~~ can believe, that Mr. Hitler really loves all his sweet little "German Minorities", like some good Daddy would love his children. He is very able to sacrifice them and to forget ^{all about} them, if

^{many}

^{necessary.}

Will the Berlin-Rom Axis rule Europe?

This question which I am supposed to answer is as important as it is simple. Is it possible to cover it with one striking word: "Yes" - or "No" -; "Yes, the Axis will rule Europe", - , or: "No, the Axis will not have the hegemony?" - ~~only an authentic prophet or a very naive person could simplify matters like that.~~ In reality, things are always more complicated and more complex, more doubtful and more involved; in reality, there are ^{various} possibilities, chances, fears, hopes and likelihoods; ~~in reality~~ ^{and} there is not very much ^{of} security. Most unfortunately, I am not a specialist ~~in~~ the mysterious art of reading the future in the stars. We are told that Mr. Hitler ~~who has certain prejudices against sound reason and intellect~~ has his "interior voices", and various other magic means to find out ~~out~~ ^{How can} what is going to happen... more ordinary ~~human beings, however - vulgar~~ ^{you and I} people like us - have to use ~~their~~ ^{our} brains. We have to examine the possibilities and the chances...

The European matters are pretty complicated; six weeks ago, however, they were still more confused and definitely more dreary. ^{than they are today}

..... Fascism and Nazism ^{seemed} ~~were~~ victorious everywhere - not because of their actual strength, but because nobody seemed prepared or willing to resist them. - The question of why the British-French policy was so weak and weary, at that time, is not very timely, although of high importance.... Many elements and circumstances had to come together, to create an European situation, the historical climax of which was the Munich-agreement.... Today, even the most conservative politicians in France admit that Munich was a terrible mistake; the conservative French journaliste Kérellis calls it "one of the most fatal, most tragic mistakes in French history...."

I happened to be in Paris, during the crisis of last September. At that hardly anybody realized what was going on, and what France really

time

almost nobody understood

Fear of accepting the help of Sovjet-Russia. - Fear that a war which inevitably would become an anti-fascist war, might change social structure....; that Hitler's fall could reacte revolutionary spirit in Germany...

Other observers say: England-France were not prepared...therefore, eager to win time.....Other theories: pure pacifism. Wanted to avoid war at any price...

The mystery...
Other important details: Soviet-Russia. Not only that one was somewhat reluctant to accept her assistance...Doubts whether this assistance would be strong and efficient...The bad impression of the the Moscow trials, all over the world. *Handwritten: Hundreds of people showed* How is the Red Army?...Was Stalin really willing to march to defend C.S.R. - ~~Was he~~ Was he able to march? Would his people - would his generals follow him?... *it of a*

and the Army
~~All that was not very clear~~

...Benesh's statements make situation much clearer. - Few days ago he said to my parents and to my sister E. in Chiago: "Russians were ready to send planes, munitions and troupes. - They asked him: "How was the state of Red Army?" - He answered: "Made investigations... Sent specialists to Moscow. Army in excellent state." - I have the right to repeat this, since he gave formal permission to E. to use statement publicly as she pleased...

since
Why he didn't he resist Nazi-invasion, if Russia was willing and able to help?

He declared: "It would have been suicide. - He positively knew - England-France ~~was~~ would have treated him like the Spanish Republic.

turned against him
With Russia as his only ally, the entire capitalistic world would have taken him for a Bolshevist - which he is not. - "I had to spare my people..."

He basical conception always been a Collaboration with the Western Powers. He is Democrat.

at that time.

The speculation in Paris and London then was:

Giving Hitler his way free to the East would turn off his aggressiveness from the West. Chamberlain probably hoped Hitler would risk the adventure of a war against Russia which would weaken or ruin ~~the~~ both of the dangerous Dictatorships - ~~the~~ and would not threaten directly the British Empire...Hasn't he read "Mein Kampf"? H.'s program: what he's going... if really
 First of all France has to be beaten / France the real arch-enemy - the old conception of Ger. nationalism, still alive...

Ch-'s other illusion: it would be possible to "buy" the General France after his final victory - which he owed entirely to the Axis powers, and only indirectly to England.....Conservatives in France ~~nourished~~ the same strange hope...It could not turn out that way...Today:

Italy
 Franco-Spain - not a Fascist ~~country~~, but a colony of Italy-Ger.

Anti-Communist Dict. Axis
 Gestapo ruling in Madrid, Barce.

[Chand: H's young relative - i his much i anti-loyalist... them: "Plucky fellow"]

Yes, it looked pretty bad, after Munich and while the defeat of Spain.

Loyalists became more and more obvious...

Totalitarian States - successfully active, everywhere...South America, Palestine; among the Arabs...C.S.R. destroyed...Spanish Republic: destroyed
 ...Pessimists said: Balkan - too weak to resist without indication of demerit

Apathy in England and France...Resignation...

Correspondents liked to draw gloomy pictures of France.

Big newspapers, paid by Ger. or It. - Corruption....The doubtful "pacifism" of the Flandin-type, which really means: secret sympathy with fascism...

I didn't believe it...Know France; love French people...I know there are better elements in France....During the Spanish civil war: French leading Catholics - Mauriac, M.D.L.A., Bernanos ect. - pronounced the

Mavilain

✓ A. Gibraltar was threatened...

Comm. disaff.

strongest, most moving ^{indictment} ~~pronouncement~~ against Franco... And I knew:
in the liberal spirit of Frenchmen - the tradition of French Rev.,
which is progressive ^{nationalistic} ~~and national~~ spirit, still alive... And we recognized
this spirit in Daladier's reply to Mussolini... which had the good
old French style... <sup>And as far as Bd. concerned...
they would at that point notice him</sup>
Still, there was reason enough to be pessimistic, during the months fol-
lowing Munich... The only good news came from ~~Germany~~, from the Third
Reich - which sounds paradoxical... ^{Daladier - Chamberlain's friend: He was "spontaneous"}
No war enthusiasm during crisis. - No enthusiasm after annexation of
Austria; not enthusiasm after annex. of Sudetenland.

The programs - a failure. - Bad spirit of people. - ~~Everybody~~ confirmed:
Hitler - after triumphs - , losing popularity... The same kind of news
from Italy.

That's why they had to move... ^(Somebody said: "Like a bicycle"....)
.... Dictators made mistakes. -

Without any doubt: annexation of C.S.R. was the first great mistake.

- Advantages from the economical point: often over-rated. (No raw-
material, important metals or iron.) - Military - more advantages,
above all: Scoda works..... But that he had in any case, after the de-
struction of Republic? after Munich. - Now, he has enemy within the Reich.

- Cold reception in Prague... Violation of brave little nation. They
are patient. Have the habit of waiting. Under the Habsburgs... Benesh
was unable to be active, as long as there was a Czech government, as long
as his country officially was independant... Now, he has possibility
and duty to be active again... He is right to be optimistic. We will see
him, once more, at the Haradschin - I dare foretell...

The more important consequence: Conservatives in London wake up.

after Memel

Realized: Impossible to live in peace with H. - Impossible to collaborate... His aggressiveness boundless.

Last-minute-change. - Stop Hitler-movement.

...Realized: challenge not to certain groups... minorities... countries... Threatening not only the Jews, or Soviet Russia... His ambition: to dominate the world.

✓ Nazi-aggressiveness, combined with Italian attacks to France... French empire endangered... The entire Balkan endangered. Albania. (Other mistake, as annexation made Mohammedans angry...; lost sympathy among Arabs.)

.... ~~Britain and France's new diplomatic activity: successful.~~

.... One of Hitler's propaganda-slogans had impressed and confused the world.... People believed him that his really was -: to unify all the Germans in one Great Reich. - Democracies allowed him to get Austria, the Sudetenland and Memel, because ~~at all of those places~~ the population was German. ^{they}.... Napoléon... had to fight.... H. was "liberating" minorities.... more convenient...

The whole minority-Problem ^{hand out} just a cheap pretext - it was obvious. The way he treated the minorities in the Reich. - The way he forgot all about suffering brothers when it was useful to forget about them.

Examples: South Tyrol. - Poland. (Noise. - Silence. - Noise again.).... When he occupied C.S.R. he took millions of non-German Slavish people... Consequently, the minority-slogan was not efficient any longer - especially not since the last German-speaking people, not yet "liberated", don't want at all to belong to the Reich...

Switzerland. Decided to defend independence. - Writer anecdote. -

Friends, coming from Zürich. Firm attitude. Want to decide their liberties, with their independence -: if necessary with arms.

They know by now: France-England would help to defend Swiss independence.
Would not treat Switzerland like they treated C.S.R.

Paradoxical: half-Fascist Poland got pledges which were refused to Democratic C.S.R. - Great Democracies understood: Hitler is attacking them when he attacks small countries...

British feel Empire is in danger. Remember story: "Ribbentrop in Munich..."

'Look, he is signing end of Empire...' He was too optimistic...

Young English radicals say: "We don't want to day dy for British Imperialism. We are not interested in Empire..." Aldous Huxley told me: "I would not mind if London would become provincial city like Copenhagen..."

This is not the point. *Not even to make world of safe Ros Democracy, To get rid of that nightmare,*
asked which?
Fascism - stopping and disturbing development of civilisation altogether
Far - no. not certain. But one with civilisation
Mankind has to get rid of Fascism. Then new problems may come up. Hitlers fall may be only beginning... *And Christianity. Deadly enemy, for war...*

English Tories realize danger. Ready now to collaborate with Sov. Russia.

- Still somewhat reluctant. Illusions not yet entirely dead. - Last illusion: to separate Italy from Germany. To break the Axis. Too late now. - Of course, Duce-Führer don't like it other. Cannot really depend upon each other. But they know that if one of them falls, the other one ~~is~~ would be lost as well. Their fates are bound together.

.... Situation still dangerous and not thoroughly clear. - Sovjet Russia, now reluctant. (Insulted in September...) - Poland and Russia, wavering

whether they should allow Russian troupes to enter their territories...

Yugoslavia-Hungary, probably to join Axis... *Chamberlain may try again appeasement policy*
And still: *(Permit me observe) - his picture moving back*
New Munich. *ambassador from...*

decisive change, most important progress.
Discussion of adoption of national...
Small nations feel: they are not isolated any longer. The tragedy of the

Czechs is not to be repeated. - Hitler does not dare to move. Did not get Danzig as a birthday gift. Such a thing never happened before... *Answer*

But he has to move. (Bycicle....) - What and so has Mussolini. (Tunis. *Not the Rom. war?*
Nice, Corsica.) - "Dynamic principle." - What is going to happen? War? *Who wants war?*

Catastrophe.
Final end of
dark -
explosion -
blow
Greece
Holland
Switzerland
Rome's
behaviour

Another war would be distrious for civilisation - all of us knew this.
....We call ourselves pacifists, with pride and deep conviction...We positively believe that the idea of universal, indivisible peace will emerge victorious - but only after the fall of the dictators who are threatening the world and humiliating their own people. The beautiful word PEACE sounds like a mockery or like dirty trick, when certain personalities dare to pronounce it...

A certain gentleman who just has celebrated his 50. birthday, likes to call himself a "pacifist" - if he thinks useful to do so. The celebration of birthday, however, would have been a fine opportunity to prove his pacifist feelings - for instance, by releasing thousands of true pacifists from C.C.'s, where they are suffering for years... The pacifist preferred to watch huge parade... and he gave freedom ^{which he is international} only to a big eagle - which was given to him as gift and sent back to the Bavarian Alps, in a special plane...

There cannot be Peace - not P. in honor, no P. in our time - , as long as organized brutality is ruling in the center of Europe.

...The Third Reich seems to be terribly strong. But it is not as powerful as all that, because it is not really loved by its own people. The majority of the German people is not behind Hitler any longer - I know what I am talking about, when I am telling you this. I have informations which certainly are reliable... Underground-movement... getting more active and daring... Many people in Germany say: "When we get arms, we certainly would use them. The question is only - against whom..." Not to speak about C.S.R., who obviously is a hostile country... Hitler would need an army to keep it quiet...

Italian friends assure that conditions in Fascist Italy are still worse. Italian people had experience of two Imperialistic wars: Abyssinia. Spain.

And Spain? Who did win there?... I was in Spain - Barcelona; Madrid.

I saw sufferings, watched heroism. Those people never will be realiable allies of Fascism; they have suffered too much. - Franco, of course, ~~will~~ will be forced - and willing - to march with Axis-powers. Will his people follow him?

...At this moment: 600 000 political prisoners in Spain. Impossible to make war like that...

And in the Third Reich? How many? *Never before any country has entered into war with so many political prisoners. not to speak about Hitler's Empire. But even in Czarist Russia political terrorism was less dangerous...*

~~tried~~ to make friends with Hitler, by making concessions to them. The Nazi-régime committed crime after crime, within the Reich and abroad. And still some good Democrats kept on thinking and saying: He is not so bad. We have to come to good terms with him.

~~Finally, this has changed.~~ After the abominable annexation of Czechoslovakia, even the British ^{Tories} ~~waked~~ ^{wake} up. They began to realize: "He is going too far! It is senseless to make any concessions to him, since he wants everything. His aggressivniss is boundless. ~~We have to stop him.~~" -

A world which had lost so much precious time with illusions, suddenly understood: ~~"All of us are endangered."~~ "We have to stop Hitler!"

It is more difficult to stop him, by now, than it would have been three years ago. However, it still is possible, if the great Democracies are firm.

The Third Reich seems to be terribly strong. But it is not as powerful as all that, because it is not really loved by its own people. The majority of the Germans is not behind Hitler any longer - : I know what I am ^{talking} ~~speaking~~ about, ^{when I am} telling you this. The majority of the Germans is opposed to war. ~~There wasn't any war-enthusiasm in Germany, during the so-called September-Crisis, in 1938. There isn't any war enthusiasm at this moment.~~ We have informations which certainly are reliable.

Doctor Göbbels may fool and confuse the less intelligent part of the German population, for a certain while, by his ~~new slogan~~ "encirclement"-slogan. ~~which really is a very old one. The less intelligent~~ Ignorant people in Germany may believe - but only for a while! - , that Britain is jealous, once more, and is ^{going to} attack powerful, peaceful, innocent Germany. ~~Some people even may give their greeting: "Gott strafe England!"~~ ~~"May God punish Britain!"~~ - , as they used to do during the world war. ~~Göbbels' propaganda is clever; but not quite clever enough.~~

The majority of the German people did not like the annexation of

Eisenstein shocked by violation of that
base little nation. Monopoli circles would
by bad relations to England and anti-British drive
Czechoslovakia.
attack, ... then

They know perfectly well, that England, France and Russia are not attacking the Reich; but that Hitler is attacking the world.

The reaction of the people to R.'s message: significant. Forced Hitler to answer. At this moment, some people in Germany may think that President Roosevelt

is a "war monger", Monsieur Daladier a blood-thirsty monster, and they may shout: "Gott strafe England!" - "May God punish Britain!" - Within a short while, however, even the most ignorant fellows on the streets of Berlin will ^{understand} ~~realize~~ ^{really} who the "war-monger" is, and then they will give their greetings: "May God punish Hitler!"

For Hitler does not represent the German Nation. Millions of Germans are opposed to him. They have to keep silence, oppressed by the ruthless Dictatorship - and not encouraged, ^{during} ~~for~~ all these years, by the Democratic powers. How could the German ~~an~~ anti-Nazi opposition hope to be successful, since the British Empire and the French Republic seemed to be ready to surrender to Hitler? - The decisive last-minute-change of the Western Powers ~~is changing~~ ^{is really a definite and lasting change} the situation of the opposition within the Reich as well.

If ~~the~~ Britain and France - backed by the Sovjet Union and morally backed by the United States of America - will ~~ne~~ keep their firm attitude, the German opposition will win in the near future, as Hitler is neither in the position to face war, nor able to face Peace - the real peace which would not be any longer the "Pax Germanica", the peace as the result of black-mailing and dictated by the Axis powers.

The Democracies have to understand, that the anti-Nazi Germans are the best and most important ally for everybody ^{who} ~~to~~ seriously wants to stop Hitler. The statesmen in Paris and London should forget all about diplomatic routine and politeness, and should talk to the German people, directly and openly.

"We don't want to ruin the German nation! We don't intend to 'encircle' ^{Germany} ~~you~~. But Hitler, who is threatening and disturbing the world for six years, has to fall! Stop Hitler!!! Get rid of Hitler!"

(19)

Such a message would impress and encourage the German people, who would hear it, in spite of Secret Police and the Controlled Press. ~~The German people would listen it, and they would think about it, and finally they would act.~~

th. different anti-Nazi groups within the R.
The fear of war has to unify the Socialists and the Conservatives, the Liberals and the Catholics ~~within the Reich~~, *th. loss for peace* and it has to unify the people and the leaders ⁱⁿ of the Democratic countries with the anti-Nazi Germans. ~~The fear of war has to unify the world against Hitler and his allies, Mussolini and Franco. The nightmare of a permanent crisis which is torturing us, finally will vanish.~~

~~Hitler could become strong, because he never the opponents, he met up to now, were weak and weary. But he is not yet powerful enough to face brave and serious resistance.~~

If the other countries will make it clear, that they are decided to defend their own interests, their life and their honour against the aggressor, the German people will realize that their Führer is going to lead them to a catastrophe. I still hope and believe, it won't be necessary for the Democracies to win another dreadful war against Germany, as the Germans themselves, misled and confused for such a long time, ^{finally} will wake up. They will stop Hitler!

(must)

The

New York,

April 14., 1939.

World keeps asking:

After Hitler - what?

Nazi propaganda does its utmost to convince people:

After Hitler - the chaos.

But - why? Not at all my intention to excuse German people....guilty.. but isn't it somewhat insulting.....

After Hitler's fall - the new order in Germany - and in Europe. *which may be beginning for new order*
peaceful collaboration. - The aim should not be - to destroy Germany;

the aim is to make Germany, once more, a reliable member of the family of nations. - The aim is - the Federation of the European countries.

Not tomorrow, not the day-after-tomorrow - but one day:

One day we must have
The untited Stets States of Europe.

....The problem is not:

Which "Axis" is stronger and has more chance to win the war? -:

The London-Paris-Moscow Axis - or the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis.

I think that the latter is definitely weaker - but that is not the question... *not enough emphasized*

The main problem is: Could the leaders of the ~~the~~ totalitarian States trust their own people in the case of war? - My answer is: *They cannot trust* N O. 7

- I draw the conclusion: The Berlin-Rom-Axis will not rule Europe, because Hitler and Mussolini, ~~will not rule their own countries very~~

~~much longer.~~ *As they could not do so without war. And a general war they would lose — as our dad. That their own people would allow to slack it.*

already had

When Hitler came to power, more than six years ago, we realized what Nazism means. (I say "we", and I mean the anti-Nazi Germans.) We knew then, as we know today, that Nazism is not only threatening certain political or religious groups, not only certain countries or races; but that Nazism is the deadly enemy of our entire civilisation. *the preservation of ... a ...*

There were two tremendous fires in the beginning of the Nazi régime: the fire of the Reichstags-building in Berlin, and the fire in which the finest German books were burned on the streets and squares of German cities.

"Culture in Flames!" This is not an exaggeration or a poetical image.

"Culture in Flames" - we have seen with our eyes what it looks like.

~~"Culture in Flames" - it has happened in Germany, and in various other countries. It can happen everywhere.~~

We left our homeland, our hearts filled with shame and horror and profound indignation. But we did not allow ourselves to be hopeless and

weary. We have an important task - we felt - ~~for two important tasks,~~ to be more precise. Our first task is: to warn people in other

countries; to tell them, again and again: Be aware! Don't under-rate the danger! Don't be too optimistic! Don't take a chance! Don't trust: "it

can't happen here!" The challenge of Fascism concerns everybody! It endangers and attacks all the values and institutions we like and we stand for!

Many people in the still-Democratic countries did not believe us.

They thought: These refugees are embittered and a bit hysterical. They are angry, of course, because they lost their homes and everything they had. ~~That is just too bad!~~ We feel sorry for them. However, a disagreeable

régime in Germany does not mean the end of the world. Let's mind our own business! Besides, Hitler is better, in any case, than the Bolsheviks.

~~Our warnings and sinister prophecies were not taken seriously by~~

Many people who call themselves "Democrats", these people, for years,

H. M.

Politician - Antifascist

(Tried)

Lived in many countries
Differently
Europe
Russia
U.S.A.
Europe
Whole
and then
Not
Great
Great
Great
Burning
Europe