

## **Verbundkatalog Kalliope**

**C.S.R.**

**Mann, Klaus**

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C.S.R. (Lecture.)

There are many well informed, intelligent political observers, who keep on saying, that the annexation of Czechoslovakia was the decisive mistake and actual turning point in Adolf Hitler's career. I think there is a great deal of truth in this statement - although one should not simplify matters, which <sup>really</sup> <sup>very</sup> are ~~utterly~~ complex and involved. There are varied ways of analysing the development of Hitler's policy, and of explaining, why it was bound to lead to the present catastrophe, sooner or later.

~~For~~ In my opinion, the main reason for the fatal course of German history during the last six years, is the character of the "Führer" himself - a character which <sup>that</sup> I don't want to analyse because I must avoid uttering obscene and shocking words to an audience of gentlemen.

- However, it is impossible to deny, that the violation of C.S.R., the "bloodless conquest" of Prague, means <sup>actual</sup> ~~On~~ <sup>real</sup> crisis and turning point in the history of the Third Reich <sup>and of Europe</sup>. When Hitler <sup>invaded</sup> ~~entered~~ the Republic of Czechoslovakia, he gained quite a lot, for instance - : the Gold in the Bank of Prague; the famous Scoda Works; the fortifications on the Czeck frontiers, which were built with the help of French experts and had been called the "Minor Maginot Line". So the German engineers got knowledge of several details of the French fortifications - details, which the French, of course, would have preferred to keep secretly... Besides, the mere fact, that France, while sacrificing C.S.R., lost her most reliable ally in the European East, and that the last true bullwork of Democracy was destroyed in that part of Europe, meant an important advantage to the Nazi Führer. - On the other hand, even some of those very gains turned out to be pretty dangerous and disturbing, in the long run. Hitler - who had the ambition of unifying and ruling all the Germans - now became the leader, - or, to be more precise: the tyrant - of a foreign people, that was, and still is, almost in its entirety,

definitely, strongly and courageously opposed - not only to the Nazis, but to any kind of a Germanic government. Since C.S.R. has become a part of the Third Reich, Hitler has to face a desperate enemy within his own country; a hostile national community within <sup>the Reich</sup> ~~his own frontiers~~. - We may see later, how alarming the open dissatisfaction, the grief and anger of the Czech people are, already by now - and that probably the hostility of the violated Czech population will <sup>turn out being</sup> ~~become~~ one of the major nightmares of the poor Führer - whose sleep, as we are told, is not so very sound and sweet anyhow...

But the problem of the Czech people as a part of Greater Germany is not the only and even not the decisive unpleasant consequence of the crime, which Herr Hitler committed, when he entered Prague.

Even more important: the radical change of British and French policy.  
The end of Appeasement.

When Hitler, openly and shamelessly, broke the promise ~~that~~ he solemnly had given at Munich - the promise: that he never would attack what remained of C.S.R. after the annexation of the Sudetenland - : then finally even the most ardent and naive friends of appeasement grasped, that there was not any hope any longer for understanding or collaboration with Nazi Germany.

It was the actual and definite end of the Munich spirit; of that dubious "Peace in our time"... Daladier and Chamberlain <sup>became the strong man,</sup> ~~changed their attitude,~~ and Chamberlain's <sup>pacifist</sup> ~~umbrella~~ <sup>is now</sup> ~~became~~ a humorous historical item...

Messieurs Flandin and Bonnet lost their decisive influence in France, and even Lady Astor had to admit, in the House of Commons, that she was "bitterly disappointed" with Germany....

I don't like to go into the details of that so-called "Peace in Honor" of September 1938 - which I still consider to be one of the most shameful events of European past-war - or rather European pre-war

history. This seems to be a very very long time ago, and matters have changed a lot, since that dreary date. Is it really just a year ago, since we have heard the funny story about Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Berchtesgaden? When Hitler told him - : "You have given me so much... <sup>my like it</sup> ~~it~~ do me a last favour! Give me your umbrella!" And he answered: "No - this belongs to me..." .... Historical jokes...

Besides, I am feeling today, that we were inclined to simplify the motives, that led Chamberlain and his people to the Munich agreement. We overemphasized <sup>a certain angle -</sup> the class-angle. Probably, there was a somewhat vague idea in the minds of <sup>some</sup> ~~many~~ conservative English and French politicians, that one may use, sooner or later, German Naziism for a crusade against Soviet Russia. There was a fear, ~~in~~ some Left Government ~~it~~ might come to power in Germany, after Hitler's fall, and that, therefore, it was wiser, to give ~~it~~ to the Führer what he wanted to have - in order to prevent his government from collapsing... Those somewhat sinister motives and speculations, however, certainly were not the only ones that influenced final decision... To-day, we are able to see and to understand that British-French attitude in a different and more objective way...: There was a great deal of genuine pacifism; public opinion in France and Britain, not really prepared to face war; and, above all, the actual military preparations were not finished yet, especially in the air...

Some people think it is a bad sign, that the same men, who have signed the Munich-Pact still are ruling their countries... I feel, this <sup>fact</sup> ~~this~~ <sup>as well</sup> has ~~also~~ its good sides. If men like Winston Churchill or Tardieu would have declared the War to Nazi Germany, one could have said: "They have always been anti-German..." While Chamberlain and Daladier are in the position of <sup>appearing</sup> ~~telling~~ their people - and the German people! - : "We have really tried everything to ~~prevent~~ avoid this war! We went as far as possible, and even a little farther... We have believed the Führer."

(12)

We accepted his Word as the Word of a gentleman - which obviously was our most tragic mistake..."

Yes, indeed, the dreary experience of Munich was perhaps necessary, to make it clear to the leaders and to the public opinion in the Democracies - that Hitler was lying. Up to that very date, many people ~~believed~~ were still ready to take his promises seriously... They believed, for instance, that his main interest was, to unify the German people; to liberate the suffering German minorities. This, of course, was a double <sup>as we know today.</sup> lie. For the German Minorities were not suffering, to begin with. And, besides, Hitler was not interested in "liberating" them. He very cleverly used the Minority slogan as an effective weapon against other countries which he wanted to dominate.

...It is very easy to prove both of these statements - that the ~~or~~ Germans in other countries are not suffering; and that Hitler is not seriously interested in their liberation. To begin with the second one: Hitler noticed and emphasized the "sufferings" of his "brothers" only when and if he planned attacking the country, to which they belonged. He deliberately overlooked any "sufferings" of any "German brothers" in the South of Tyrol, where the Germanic population really was pretty badly treated by the Italian Fascist government. Hitler, however, didn't care - as he happened to be in friendly terms with Signor Mussolini. - Some among you, who have a very good memory, still may remember those far-away times, when Poland was regarded by the Nazis as Germany's gallant and most faithful ally. Well - at that period nobody in Berlin mentioned the unbearable martyrdom of the German population in the Polish parts of Upper Silesia and in the Free City of Danzig. I was only, when Hitler had made-up his mind, that now it was Poland's term to be dominated and destroyed, that he discovered, all of a sudden, how tragical the position of the Germanic brethren in that nasty Barbarian country, Poland, really was.

At the same moment he forgot all about the heart-breaking tragedy of the Germans <sup>and</sup> of the Russian Wolga land - who were described to us, by Nazi propaganda, as the starving victims of Bolshevist brutality. <sup>However</sup> Herr von Ribbentrop flew to Moscow, and the brethren didn't starve any more - or the Führer, in any event, was not interested any longer in the problem, whether ~~or not~~ the Germans under Stalin had more ~~butter~~ or still less butter and meat, than the Germans under Hitler...

I could go on that way for quite a while, showing and proving to you that the whole problem of the German Minorities Abroad never has ~~been~~ meant anything to the Führer, but a cheap pretext and an obvious propaganda trick.

Besides, there remains the question, <sup>of</sup> whether or not all the Germans living in other countries are really so very eager to get "liberated" - which actually means: to become citizens of the Third Reich and soldiers of ~~the~~ Greater Germany's mighty army... The German population of Switzerland, for instance, is very proud of its ancient independence and seems willing to defend it, if necessary even with arms... The free citizens of the cities of Zürich, Basel and Bern don't hide their anti-Nazi feelings - although that brave little Democracy, of course, has to be careful and must avoid provoking her dangerous neighbour. Yet, the German Swiss population, in spite of its strictly watched neutrality, ~~has~~ is showing a very strong and un-compromising attitude toward the Nazi Reich - an attitude, indeed, that makes it somewhat difficult for the gentlemen in Berlin to talk about "German brothers <sup>and</sup> in Switzerland who want to be liberated".... I have heard a wellknown Swiss author saying, while he was addressing an important public meeting at Zürich: "If the Nazis think we should become citizens of the Third Reich just because we are speaking the German language - well, then we have to speak French..."

In Austria, of course, the pro-Nazi element was somewhat stronger than

in Switzerland

although it never had any <sup>major</sup> influence in the city of Vienna, but only in the small city and the country. <sup>But</sup> In places like Graz and Linz - the <sup>a/</sup> ~~dark~~ province of Austria - Nazi propaganda apparently had <sup>a/</sup> certain successes - before Hitler came to power in Austria. We are informed, that now even the most ardent Austrian Nazis are bitterly disappointed...

*Too much was promised; too few promises kept.*  
But even before the ... The little story about the Viennese Jew, who walked in one of the main streets of Vienna, bitterly crying. Another Austrian citizen, who formerly was an ardent Nazi, sees him ....:

....".after all, they did not promise any nice things  
to you..."

However, even in Austria and the Sudetenland the pro-Nazi tendencies of certain parts of the population were not a spontaneous feeling by any means; but, on the contrary, a carefully prepared and lavishly financed political movement... Mr. Heinlein, the leader of the Sudeten & Nazis, simply was, and still is, a minor official of the Nazi Party. He had some naive dreams, perhaps, of becoming a little Führer and tyrant by his own right; but he ~~was~~ too, was bitterly disappointed... By the way, one should not forget, that even the German speaking part of C.S.R. - let alone its purely Czech regions - never have belonged to Germany. Before the war, Bohemia was, as you know, a part of the big, super-national Hapsburg-monarchy; and still before, it had been a part of the Holy German ~~Reich~~ <sup>Roman</sup> Reich of the German Nation - which had nothing to do, whatsoever, with the modern German Reich that Bismarck created. The Holy Roman Reich, which embraced parts of France and Italy and the Netherlands and Scandinavia, was not a National State, in the modern sense of the word, but rather an United Catholic Europe...

.... Besides, the whole problem, of whether or not the Sudeten Germans really wanted to return to the Reich, is not of any decisive significance anymore, since it has become obvious, that the Sudeten question, for Hitler, was just a convenient pretext of attacking and destroying

C.S.R. - which was balking his expansion into the east, his famous "Drang nach dem Osten"...

Besides, I always felt, that Hitler's hysterical hatred of President Benesch and his people had not merely military or political, but also more complicated psychological reasons. - The Führer hated the Republic of C.S.R., because it was a genuine and successful Democracy - indeed, one of the best organized and most consistent Democracies in Europe. He hated Dr. W. Benesch, <sup>because</sup> ~~because~~ the friend and successor of Th. Masaryk, the brave and intelligent leader of the Czech people ~~was~~ is a liberal and cultured man. Do you remember the furious, terrifying ~~expre~~ accents, Hitler's voice had when he attacked Dr. Benesch, just before the September Crisis? To me it is unforgettable... Benesch, the intellectual and liberal, is everything, that ~~is~~ the Führer is NOT, and never could become... That's why he hates him so much...

....I know C.S.R., and I have the honor of knowing President Benesch. He is a fine man, and C.S.R. was a fine country, and ~~it~~ certainly will become a fine and independant country, once more: it ~~is~~ deserves it...

I have lived in Prague - as a matter of fact: I was a citizen of C.S.R., and still am travelling on a Czech passport. So <sup>did</sup> ~~does~~ my father before he immigrated into this country... I don't know, how many ~~of~~ among you gentlemen ever have been in Prague; the ones who have been there, will confirm that it <sup>is</sup> one of the most picturesque and, at the time, most interesting cities of Europe... It combines many characteristics and charms, which seem to exclude each other, and ~~which~~ yet are forming, in their entirety, the original and lovely picture of that <sup>city</sup> ~~town~~... There are eastern and western elements; very ancient and exceedingly modern parts... There is a certain American touch (Bata factories, often compared with Ford?) and a Russian Touch, and a French flavour... Cultural life, very fascinating. Theater, <sup>Musical</sup> ~~litera~~ture: daring experiments. - Besides, agreeable life; good food; the

*Style of old monarchy...*

The automates on the big Wenzelsplatz - sort of cafeterias - offering most exquisit beer and best little saussages...

Always enjoed being there. - Remember my visit at the Haradjin, the ancient Castle. Benesch's working room, with the wonderful view. <sup>roofs... towers... many churches...</sup> His modest and, at the time, impressive personality. His optimism... "Time is working for us..." - Was he mistaken?

I certainly thought he was, when he came to Prague the next time - which was the last time.... Just after Munich. Gloomy athmosphere. Bitterness, not only toward Germany; but also, and above all, toward France, Britain. They had loved France; they felt that they had been betrayed...

I never will forget last meeting with Carel Capek disstinguished Czece author, whom I had known for long time... Personal friend of Massaryk. ("Conversations with M.") - A broken man. "I am through..." Died few weeks later...

At that time <sup>y</sup> met, once more, Dr. Benesch - at Chicago, where he was active for a while as a professor. I went there with my father and my sister Erika. The conversation was most stimulating. We were not yet quite convinced, at that time, of the wisdom of his policy during the recent Crisis... Interviewed him; suggested: "Would it have been better to fight?"

He, very quietly: "No. I had to spare my nation."

Asked him: "Would Russia have helped?"

He: "Yes. But I could not accept Stalin's protection since England and France acted as they did. I would have been in the position of Negrin in Spain... The world would have believed that the cause of the Czece people is the cause of Bolshewism - which is the <sup>Contrary</sup> ~~opposite~~ of the truth..."

Well - the whole question of an Russian Alliance looks somewhat different, in the light of recent events... Perhaps, Benesch was very wise to refuse it - even provided, that it was seriously offered...

The whole Benesch policy is becoming more and more understandable and convincing, in the light of these recent events. - Yes, he had to spare his nation - which still has a chance, and a great one. Prague ~~is~~ would have been destroyed as Warsaw - the capital was saved, with the nation.

- "Time is working for us", he ~~has~~ <sup>in 1938</sup> said. Perhaps he was right... The Czechs have learned patience, in the course of their long and tragic history... They can wait - and they don't forget...

The bitterness of the past-Munich days made their hatred of France and Britain almost as strong as her abhorrence of Nazi-Germany. This has changed. Now, they ~~feel~~ regard the Democracies as their Allies, once more, who are fighting for their cause... As a matter of fact, restoration of independant C.S.R. - one of the few war aims, formulated, already by now by the British Government. Benesch, in London, recognized as legal President of the Republic. - ~~Czech Legion in France~~ Opposition growing in so so-called "protectorate".

Significant: nobody allowed to go there. Forbidden, even to Germans.

This proves: dangerous unrest...

~~As a matter of fact: almost every day, news in papers about acts of sabotage, disorders, young Czechs and Germans clashing in the streets of Prague. Patriotic demonstrations; German police interfering. Gestapo still strong enough to suppress growing unrest... However, the Hapsburg police did not succeed, in the long run. During last war, Czech troops deserted in masses Russian Austrian army; formed Legion, fighting with the army... That is what is happening now...~~

~~The Czechs more experienced in revolutions than the Germans. Might be, that the German revolution will start in Prague...~~

Yes, I think I may visit Dr. Benesch, once more, in the Haradschin...

C.S.R. will be free, and may play a leading role in a coming Federation of the Danube countries... The difficult and inspiring task of building up and organizing a New Europe will make forget both of our nations the years of bitterness and humiliation we went through.

Handwritten notes in left margin:  
Munich Democratic Committee  
on 10/1/38  
C.S.R. - with the German  
for new organization of C.S.R.

Almost every day ~~also~~ we find new in the papers about ~~also~~ varied forms of disorder in the territory of former C.S.R.; about acts of sabotage in factories; Mines, mysteriously exploding on military air fields; young Czechs and Germans clashing in the streets of Prague or some provincial town. We have our informations. We know about all kinds of passive-resistance the Czech population is showing. We know about patriotic demonstration which the Nazi police - Gestapo - has to break up. We also know, that the Gestapo still is strong enough to suppress this growing unrest.... However, even the formidable Habsburg police did not succeed in the long run. The keen and courageous will of the Czechs to gain their national freedom and independence turned out being stronger than one of the most powerful and best ~~of~~ trained police troupes of pre-war Europe... During the last war, Czechs, as you know, deserted in masses the Austrian Army; formed a Legion, fighting with Allies. Well - and exactly the same thing is happening now... You have heard about the Czech Legion which joined the French Army. It is a special troupe of more than 10000 soldiers, already by now - and those Czechs certainly are not bad soldiers...

The Czechs are more experienced, and probably much more gifted than the Germans, if it comes to preparing a revolution. It might be, that the German Revolution will start at Prague... There are contacts between the dissatisfied Czechs, the disappointed Austrians and the anti-Nazi Germans, the underground-movement. The German political and religious anti-Hitler Opposition and the Czech Patriots are natural Allies. They have the same interests and the same hopes...

Yes, I am almost certain: I will visit Dr. Benesch, once more, in that beautiful castle, called the Haradschin. The day of C.S.R.'s final liberation will be the day of Hitler's fall - which means: the ~~and~~ it also will be the ~~and~~ day of Germany's liberation... Liberated C.S.R. will play a leading rôle in a coming Federation of the Danube Countries. And the ambition of the Germans won't be any longer to rule and to

suppress other nation;but rather!to collaborate with them in peace.  
The difficult and inspiring task,of building up and organizing a new  
and better Europe, will make forget both of our nations - the Czech and  
the German - all those years of bitterness and senseless struggle,we  
are going through.

# C. S. R. (Spend.)

Was Aristoteles gekannt: die  
absolute Substanz - Bestimmungslosigkeit  
des Nagel ... Tasso auch der andere  
im Dienst bestimmte Tasso; (Politik  
mit Inquisition) Bei Nagel;  
Dynamik als Schwächen; Zwickung;  
M. ... Nach ... Resolution  
des ... " Allen demagogischen Töck;  
Anti-Molken ... Länge ... (2000  
Rath ... (2000 ... 2000  
Anti ... )

" Der ... Volk ... Minowit ...  
Töck. (Komitee ... Prok ...  
Doppelte Länge: 1) Wollen ...  
Beide ... Reich ... (S ...  
Österreich) 2) Nicht ...  
sondern ...  
Vor ...  
C.S.R. ...

Beide ... Demokratie ...  
[Oil - Welt] - ...  
... in Chicago ...

( "Warum haben Sie mich nicht  
kämpfen?" ) Wirklich in der "Allergerade"

Zurück für meine Kinder ...

Österreichische Arbeiter: Glauben - statt  
C.S.R. - Frankreich (Angebot für Frankreich,  
Inländer)

Angebot der Häftlinge in  
Prag.

Widerstand ... Unbekanntes Gebiet ...

Prag. Flugplatz ...  
Sabotage ... Antwort of Munich. People wearing  
black. Silence. Gloom. Many imprisoned.

Brennt in London. "Kriegsgefangene"

Wird im Winter mit Haddochin

beendet ...

Disappointment about England - France, forgotten.

Solidarity. Even with Poland ... Polish and  
Czech Legion in Paris.

German Revolution may start in Prague.

C.S.R.  
(Lecture.)

There are very intelligent and well informed political observers, who think, that the annexation of C.S.R. was the decisive mistake and actual turning point in Adolf Hitler's career was .

There are several ways ~~to explain~~ of ~~explaining~~ the ~~and~~ analysing the development of Hitler's policy, and of explaining, why ~~it~~ it was bound to lead to the catastrophe, now or later.

In my opinion, the main reason for ~~to~~ ~~bring a~~ the fatal

On the other hand, were some of those very gains turned out to be pretty dangerous, and disturbing, in the long run.

H., who had the ambition to unify and to rule all the Germans, now ~~had made~~ become the

~~We may see later~~, that this fact — that

a whole Since C.S.R. has become a part of the Third Reich, it has to face an enemy within his own country, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> national block, within the organisation of the T.R., it is, entirely so

recently, ~~that this~~ <sup>how alarming</sup> that the open dissatisfaction, the gap and anger of the G.D. people

already are by now, and that this hostility of the isolated G.D. population is likely to become one of the

major nightmares for the poor Führer — whose ship

last - 1000 with last, what



95/72