

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

1918-1945

From the Archives of the
German Foreign Ministry

Series D Volume I

FROM NEURATH TO RIBBENTROP

September 1937 - September 1938



LONDON

HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

In June 1946 the British Foreign Office and the United States Department of State agreed jointly to publish documents from captured archives of the German Foreign Ministry and the Reich Chancellery. Although the main body of the captured archives goes back to the year 1867, it was decided to limit the present publication to papers relating to the years after 1918, since the object of the publication was "to establish the record of German foreign policy preceding and during World War II". The editorial work was to be performed "on the basis of the highest scholarly objectivity". The editors were to have complete freedom in the selection of the documents to be published. Publication was to begin and be concluded as soon as possible. In April 1947 the French Government, having requested the right to participate in the project, accepted the terms of this agreement.

The documents covering the period from July 1936 to the outbreak of War in September 1939 have now been selected jointly by the three Allied Editorial Staffs. They comprise six volumes, and form the first and larger portion of Series D, which will carry the history of German foreign relations to the end of the Second World War.

Volume I, the present volume, deals with Germany's foreign policy from the end of September 1937 to September 1938, covering particularly the seizure of Austria in March 1938.

Volume II, which will appear very shortly, will deal with Germany's relations with Czechoslovakia from October 1937 to the Munich agreement of September 1938.

Volume III, which is in active preparation, will cover the Spanish Civil War from July 1936 to July 1939.

Series A to C are designed to cover the period from 1918 to 1937.

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GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY
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DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY
1918-1945

SERIES D (1937-1945)

VOLUME I

FROM NEURATH TO RIBBENTROP
(September 1937-September 1938)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In June 1946 the British Foreign Office and the United States Department of State agreed jointly to publish documents from captured archives of the German Foreign Ministry and the Reich Chancellery. Although the captured archives go back to the year 1867, it was decided to limit the present publication to papers relating to the years after 1918, since the object of the publication was "to establish the record of German foreign policy preceding and during World War II." The editorial work was to be performed "on the basis of the highest scholarly objectivity." The editors were to have complete independence in the selection and editing of the documents. Publication was to begin and be concluded as soon as possible. Each Government was "free to publish separately any portion of the documents."¹ In April 1947 the French Government, having requested the right to participate in the project, accepted the terms of this agreement.

The three Governments realized the unique nature of the enterprise. Captured enemy documents had been published in the past, and especially by the Germans themselves, but only documents which supported a propaganda thesis. Never had three victorious powers set out to establish the full record of the diplomacy of a vanquished power from captured archives "on the basis of the highest scholarly objectivity."

The editors wish to state at the outset that they have not only been permitted, but enjoined, to make their selection on this basis alone. In the selection of documents for publication, and in the editing of the documents, the editors have had complete freedom. No effort has been made at any time by any of the participating Governments to influence their work. The editors, therefore, accept complete responsibility for the volumes as published.

II

The archives of the German Foreign Ministry came into Anglo-American custody partly as a result of planning, partly by accident, but chiefly through the incomplete execution of orders to destroy the most important portions. During hostilities, the Allied military forces were instructed to keep close watch for enemy archives, and teams of experts were assembled behind the lines so that the examination of

¹ It was in accordance with this provision that the Department of State, in January 1948, published the volume of documents entitled *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941*.

captured documents might begin without delay. In April 1945 units of the United States First Army discovered more than 300 tons of Foreign Ministry papers in various storage places in the Harz Mountains. The Anglo-American experts were immediately summoned. They located other parts of the archives in the Harz Mountains and Thuringia. Their most important discoveries were a box containing memoranda summarizing conversations of Hitler and Ribbentrop with foreign statesmen, and a quantity of German microfilm which, when made into continuous rolls and printed at the Air Ministry in London, was found to record some 10,000 pages of the working files of the Foreign Minister (*Büro RAM*).

Under the supervision of the Anglo-American experts, the captured archives were assembled at Marburg Castle, in the American zone of Germany. Later the collection was moved to Berlin. Finally, in the summer of 1948, the archives were moved to England, where they are to remain until conditions in Germany become more stable. Between 1945 and 1948 the collection was augmented by many tons of Reich Chancellery documents and other smaller collections.

III

When the Foreign Ministry archives were captured in April 1945, the question was considered whether they had been deliberately placed in the path of the Anglo-American armies and spurious documents added to the collection, with the purpose of sowing discord among the enemies of Germany. Documentary evidence and interrogation of surviving German officials have completely dispelled these suspicions. Actually, the German Government made efforts to prevent the capture of the documents, both by moving them from place to place and by ordering the destruction of the files for the Nazi period only a few days before the arrival of the American First Army.

The dispersal of the archives began in 1943, when the air attacks on German cities had become intense. It was then decided to keep only a skeleton staff and the current files of the Foreign Ministry in Berlin; the rest of the staff with their files were moved to less vulnerable parts of Germany. Most went to Krummhübel, a resort in the Riesengebirge, but some branch offices were sent as far away as Lake Constance. The archives were also dispersed to castles in the Harz and south and east of Berlin. In the summer and autumn of 1944 the Soviet advance enforced the transfer of those archives which had been stored south and east of Berlin to the Harz region. Orders were given for the destruction of the nonessential secret documents at Krummhübel and for the removal of the remainder to Thuringia. It is impossible to determine with precision what was destroyed by accident

NOTE : The gap in the files on Anglo-German relations from the spring of 1938 to the spring of 1939, mentioned on p. ix, line 16 from bottom, has now been filled. The State Secretary file on the Halifax visit, November 1937—April 1939, has been identified as the file thought to be missing and is identical with film serial No. 375 (cf. Appendix III, p. 1200) and was used in the preparation of this volume.

or design in the hurried movement which followed. It is known that these transfers were not entirely completed before the arrival of Soviet troops. Only in the early months of 1945, therefore, were the Foreign Ministry archives concentrated in the west.

By spring the German armies were in full retreat. Early in April 1945 the evacuation center at Meisdorf received a list of categories of documents which were to be prepared for destruction. These included all important files for the Nazi period. On April 10 an order was received by telephone to commence immediately the destruction of these categories. When the American troops arrived a few days later, only a small fraction had actually been destroyed.

IV

Including the accessions received since April 1945, the captured documents now in the joint custody of the United States Department of State and the British Foreign Office weigh about 400 tons. The tens of thousands of bundles of papers have been repeatedly packed, moved by train, truck, or plane, and then unpacked and shelved. The packing, the moving, the unpacking and the shelving were done hurriedly, under war conditions. Until the contents of every bundle in the collection have been examined, therefore, it will not be possible to be certain that the selection for publication has been made from all the surviving documents on a particular problem or year.

An analysis of the files in Anglo-American custody is appended to this volume. Summarizing this analysis, the situation is roughly as follows: For the years from 1867 to 1920 the collection seems complete; there are gaps in the files dealing with 1920-1936, but they appear to be relatively unimportant. Thereafter, the gaps become increasingly a problem. For instance, the obviously important files concerned with Anglo-German relations from the spring of 1938 to the spring of 1939 are missing. Fortunately many copies were made of most documents, and it is possible to find enough papers in other files to fill in the significant lines of the picture. This or that document may be lost completely, but other documents give the essential material. That is not always true, but until 1940 it is usually true. After 1940, and until 1943, one is continually reminded of a half-finished picture: the outlines are obvious; some parts are completed with minute detail; other parts are only sketched in; there are blank spaces. From 1943 the materials are fragmentary, but peculiarly valuable because there is so little other evidence on these years.

The most important defect of the captured archives for the period from 1936 is the absence of the registers and journals in which were recorded the departmental file number and the distribution of each paper, with a summary of its contents. The captured Foreign Min-

istry archives are not a single, coherently organized file of the Ministry as a whole. They are the working files of officials, such as the Foreign Minister and the State Secretary; of parts of the Ministry, such as those of the Political Department and the Legal Department. The documents in these captured files are arranged so as to facilitate the work of these individual departments and officials: sometimes the arrangement is alphabetical (by countries, by subjects, or by individuals), sometimes it is chronological, sometimes it is topical. Sometimes secret papers are segregated; sometimes they are not. The captured documents do not, therefore, constitute a central Ministerial file, and there is no uniform filing system. There is no place where, for instance, all the telegrams from the Embassy in London may be found. Ten or twenty copies of one telegram may be found in various files; the only surviving copy of another telegram may be found in the file of another mission abroad to which it was sent for information (bearing the departmental file number, and not the telegram number given in London); occasionally no copy can be found.

Theoretically, the registers and journals could be reconstructed by collating the surviving files, but the resources for this gigantic task are not available. As their work in the Foreign Ministry archives progresses, the editors are learning from experience which departments, individuals, and missions abroad were likely to receive copies of papers, and where the papers were likely to be filed. Beginning with Series D, Volume III, it will be possible to make a clear distinction between papers which are not printed because unimportant, and papers not printed because not found. In Volumes I and II of Series D it is not possible to make this distinction with confidence, so the footnote "Not printed" is used for both categories of omission.

Some of the documents missing from the Foreign Ministry archives are in the possession of the Soviet Government, but the extent of its collection is not known. Beginning in June 1946 the Soviet Government has published several volumes of German Foreign Ministry documents. Usually, but not always, other copies of these documents are in the Foreign Ministry files, together with other much more voluminous material on the same subject.

V

The editors learned only by trial and error the limitations of the available material and the difficulties inherent in exploiting disordered and incomplete archives. The filming of the Foreign Ministry archives, begun in 1945 by American and British experts for intelligence purposes, and continued by historians representing the three Governments participating in the publication of these records, will facilitate scholarly investigation in the future. More than a million

pages of the most important documents for the years from 1914 to 1945 have by now been preserved on microfilm.

At the outset, the selection of documents for publication was made from these microfilms by historians working in London, Paris, and Washington. It was found, however, that this method was too cumbersome, and all except the final selection is now made by an international team of American, British, and French historians working on the original files. In the work of the tripartite team, and in the periodic conferences of the editors-in-chief, the international character of historical scholarship is convincingly demonstrated.

VI

In selecting documents for publication the fundamental test has been their value for an understanding of German foreign policy. Since the German estimate of the policy of other powers was one of the most important factors shaping German policy, these estimates have been included. They should, of course, be viewed with caution. Very often German diplomats wrote what they thought would please Hitler. Even those who wished to convey unpleasant truths used language which would carry conviction to the Nazi Party leaders.

Even so far as German foreign policy is concerned it is necessary to remember the peculiar characteristics of Nazi diplomacy. A large proportion of the officials in the Foreign Ministry and of the German representatives abroad were career diplomats who were kept at their posts only because Hitler found them indispensable. He did not trust them, sometimes with reason, and he often kept them in ignorance of his intentions. The attentive reader will frequently see evidence of this situation and will realize that their reports and instructions do not always reflect the actual policy of the Reich.

Two categories of evidence which bulk large in the archives of the German Foreign Ministry find little place in these volumes: the press summary and the intelligence report. Undoubtedly a minute examination of the material in the press summaries and of the rumor and gossip set down in tens of thousands of reports by confidential agents will some day yield results of significance for an understanding of German policy. But such an examination requires study of all the evidence, and all the evidence would fill hundreds of volumes. This is true also of the analyses produced by the prolific and imaginative members of Ribbentrop's private information service, the *Dienststelle Ribbentrop*. The editors have agreed, therefore, that press summaries, intelligence reports, and the analyses prepared in the *Dienststelle Ribbentrop* will be included only where there is clear evidence that they directly influenced German policy.

Even after excluding all but a few examples from this material, the sheer mass of evidence presents baffling problems. In this age of shorthand and the typewriter, documents grow in number and length. Bismarck's conversations were usually summarized in a few hundred words; the summaries of Hitler's conversations often run to thousands of words. When Embassy reports are dictated, a lengthy report requires less thought and time than a brief report. The editors have often been tempted to summarize, or to print excerpts, but they have decided to do neither. Except in a few cases, which are clearly indicated, every document has been printed without omissions or alterations. In every case, too, significant material such as file numbers and marginal comments have been included. Where there is no important difference between the preliminary draft and the despatch as sent, the latter has been preferred; where there are differences, they have been described. To save space the telegraphic summary has been used if it includes all essential points; otherwise, the detailed report has been used; if the telegraphic summary is not complete, but action was taken before the report was received, both the telegram and the report are printed.

The order in which documents should be presented in a collection such as this has long been a disputed subject among historians. The editors have agreed that documents should be grouped by topics; within each topic they are presented in the chronological order in which they originated. It should be borne in mind that a report from a mission abroad might be received after action had been taken in Berlin, although the report bears an earlier date than the document recording the action. Where the date of receipt in Berlin can be determined, it is given. Each document is preceded by an editorial heading and by reference to the serial number of the film and the frame number on the film.² A list of film serial numbers is appended to each volume, showing the description of the corresponding German Foreign Ministry file; this permits identification of the location in the archives of the copy of the document published. As each volume is published, the pertinent films will be made available for study by scholars so that the specialist may be able to fill in the details of the record.

Because the immediate origins of the Second World War, and the course of the war, are of most immediate interest and of most obvious importance, the editors have decided to begin their work with the fourth series (D). This series will include documents dating from 1936 or 1937, the starting point depending on the topic, and continuing through the war. The three series of volumes to be published subsequently will include the documents for the earlier years.

² For an explanation of these terms, see Appendix III.

VII

After the joint selection of documents to be included in a volume is completed, the task of preparing the editorial notes is entrusted to the editors in one of the three capitals, subject to review by the other editors. Similarly, the task of preparing the English translation is divided by volumes, or sections of a volume. Each volume will contain a statement on responsibility for the preparation of notes and translations. The translations prepared in London are made by a staff recruited by the Foreign Office expressly for this purpose. The translations made in Washington are made by the Division of Language Services of the Department of State. In both capitals the translations are reviewed by the editors.

Translation from the German presents peculiar difficulties, particularly since, under Hitler, there was no one style of diplomatic German, as there had been under Bismarck. Some of the writers use "Nazi-German," which conveys only a foggy impression in German and translates into completely opaque English. The translation is therefore often inelegant, but the editors believe that where the meaning is clear in German the English can be understood. In general, they have preferred to sacrifice grace to precision. Paraphrase has been used only where the German is clear but exact translation resulted in ambiguity.

The parallel series in German, giving the original text of the documents, will enable those interested to check the translation.

In printing the translated version of the documents the editors have not aimed at giving a facsimile reproduction of the German original as regards arrangement and spacing. All important notes and marginalia are, however, included either in the text or as footnotes, the only exception being purely routine notations.

The editorial notes have been kept to the minimum necessary for the factual elucidation of the text. They do not attempt interpretation except where this is necessary to establish the date or identity of a document. No attempt is made to correct German reports by reference to other sources, even when the German reports present a false or one-sided picture. It is as a source-book for the study of history, and not as a finished interpretation of history, that these documents are presented.

PREFACE TO VOLUME I, SERIES D

The responsibility for the selection of the documents printed in this volume rests with the American and British editors acting jointly, although they have had the advice of the French editors in the later stages. The translations were made in the Division of Language Services of the Department of State and reviewed by the American editors. The responsibility for the editorial notes also rests with the American editors. They wish to record their gratitude to the many officers of the Department of State and to the American political and military authorities in Germany who have given assistance at every stage of the work. On questions of policy the American editors have profited from the advice of an Advisory Committee, the members of which are Sidney B. Fay, Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Hajo Holborn, William L. Langer, Conyers Read, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, and Charles Seymour.

The series of which this is the first volume will contain documents important for an understanding of German foreign policy from September 1937. That date is a logical starting point for the study of the immediate origins of World War II. The visit of Mussolini to Berlin ended all doubt of the firmness of the Axis; the visit of Lord Halifax to Germany in November 1937 was the first major step in the Anglo-French policy of appeasement; from the autumn of 1937 those objectives and methods of German diplomacy which had earlier been only sporadically apparent came increasingly to dominate German foreign policy.

To print only documents dating from September 1937 for all problems and for the relations of Germany with all countries would, however, give a misleading impression; very often, events after September 1937 are inextricably linked to earlier events. For each problem, therefore, the presentation of the evidence is begun at the date which marks the beginning of a definite stage in the development of that problem.

The documents in this volume center around two main topics: the relations between Germany and the other Great Powers in 1937-1938, and the annexation of Austria in March 1938. The relations of Germany with the Great Powers are not completely treated here. Where they converge on Czechoslovakia or on the Spanish Civil War, the relevant documents are reserved for printing in Volumes II and III,

respectively. Documents on German relations with the smaller powers in 1937-1938 will form a part of Volume IV. However, documents on German relations with the Holy See are printed in this volume because these relations so obviously affected opinion in other countries. For an understanding of the annexation of Austria there is no suitable starting point later than the agreement of July 11, 1936; subsequent Austro-German negotiations are invariably related to that agreement.

Readers of these documents will soon become aware of one peculiarity of German diplomacy under Hitler: the fact that for a long period of time there might be not one, but several, German policies, and that the adherents of one policy might be in partial or complete ignorance of what the adherents of other policies were doing. On October 19, 1937, for instance, the Foreign Ministry stated that Germany preferred a separate Italo-Japanese agreement rather than the adherence of Italy to the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Agreement. On October 20, however, the Italians were told by one of Ribbentrop's agents that Germany wished Italy to adhere to the German-Japanese Agreement. Again, in the history of German relations with Austria there were, almost to the end, several German policies. These divisions within the German Government were of great importance, particularly because they so often confused and misled other governments. It is necessary, therefore, to bear in mind that, at least until Hitler had spoken, and not always even then, it was not safe to assume that any line of policy or any expression of opinion represented settled German policy.

It should also be borne in mind that German foreign policy was the concern of many individuals, such as Göring, and of many agencies, particularly Party organizations, outside the Foreign Ministry, and that, consequently, the Foreign Ministry archives do not always contain all the evidence needed for an understanding of policy. Usually, however, some indication of these activities finds its way into the Foreign Ministry documents, so that the fact of outside activity can be established, even though it cannot be observed in detail. Even where parts of the Foreign Ministry archives are known to be missing, sufficient evidence has survived to give a substantially complete story of one of the most fateful years in modern history.

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ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER I. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE, SEPTEMBER 30, 1937-MARCH 11, 1938

A. THE SETTING, SEPTEMBER 30-NOVEMBER 10, 1937

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Sept. 30 1	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to All German Diplomatic Missions in Europe and to the Consulate General at Geneva</i> During Mussolini's visit to Germany <i>rapprochement</i> with Britain was discussed; there was recognition of the special interests of Italy in the Mediterranean and particularly in Spain, and of Germany in Austria.	1
Oct. 2 2	<i>Memorandum</i> Enclosing an account of conversations with Mussolini, who expressed his views on exiles, racialism, British foreign policy, the Axis, various diplomats, the Spanish Civil War, and the rights and duties of the masses.	2
Oct. 2 3	<i>Memorandum</i> The French Ambassador complained of the tone of Mussolini's speeches in Germany; Mackensen was reassuring.	7
Oct. 4 5	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> In response to protests against the anti-German statements of Herbert Morrison, the British Foreign Office expressed regret but stated that no action was possible.	9
Oct. 5 8	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano and Mussolini are much pleased by the results of the visit to Germany, and much impressed by Nazi achievements.	10
Oct. 6 13	<i>The German Consul General at Milan (Bene) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> On his official tour he found the South Tyrolese confused by the visit of Mussolini to Germany, but confident that Hitler would not forget them.	11
Oct. 7 15	<i>Memorandum</i> A review of Franco-German relations.	12
Oct. 8 19	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> The French Ambassador reported that opinion in France was much disturbed by Italian policy, particularly in Spain; Neurath blamed France for the situation in Spain; Czechoslovakia was also discussed.	13
Oct. 9 19	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Italy</i> Both Germany and Japan prefer an Italo-Japanese agreement rather than Italian accession to the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Agreement.	15

CHAPTER I. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
SEPTEMBER 30, 1937—MARCH 11, 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Oct. 20 10	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> When told the purpose of Ribbentrop's visit, Ciano reviewed his discussions with Japan; he was puzzled by the sudden proposal that a tripartite agreement be signed, and incredulous when told the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Agreement contained no secret provisions.	16
Oct. 26 11	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A discussion with the British Ambassador on the prospects for an Anglo-Italian agreement.	18
Oct. 27 12	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Italy will not be in a financial position to wage war for 5 to 10 years; the Spanish undertaking is a heavy drain, with only the concealed import of ore as recompense; the Six Year Plan will fail.	19
Oct. 27 13	<i>The German Minister in Belgium (Richthofen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Eden would like to meet with Neurath in Brussels.	20
Oct. 29 14	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Eden had requested a conference with Ciano at Brussels; Ciano had rejected the proposal, and requested that the German Government also decline.	21
Oct. 31 15	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Minister in the Union of South Africa (Leitner)</i> A review of the attitude of South Africa toward German colonial claims, and a request that South Africa be induced to urge the British Government to initiate colonial discussions.	22
Nov. 2 16	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Eden's speech of November 1 contains attacks on Italy and Germany, and shows a desire to be on good terms with Franco.	25
Nov. 6 17	<i>Protocol</i> Accession of Italy to the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Agreement of November 25, 1936; Italy is to be considered an original signatory.	26
Nov. 10 18	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Opinions of various diplomats in Rome on the importance of the Anti-Comintern Agreement.	27
Nov. 10 19	<i>Memorandum</i> The Hossbach Memorandum, summarizing Hitler's views on foreign policy. Since neither autarchy nor increased participation in the world economy provided a solution, the aim was to win space for the German racial community. Conquest of Czechoslovakia and Austria would provide this space. These conquests must be made by 1943-45, and very probably French internal paralysis or an Anglo-French war against Italy would permit their conquest in 1938.	29

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXI

CHAPTER I. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
SEPTEMBER 30, 1937—MARCH 11, 1938—Continued

B. THE VISIT OF LORD HALIFAX, NOVEMBER 1937

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Nov. 10 20	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Tells of a report in the <i>Evening Standard</i> that Lord Halifax was to visit Germany to discuss Anglo-German relations with Hitler.	39
Nov. 10 21	<i>Memorandum</i> An outline by Weizsäcker of a possible agreement between Britain and Germany, based on the assumption that Germany could not for a long time consider fighting a war with Britain as an opponent, and that time was in Britain's favor.	40
Nov. 11 22	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Minister</i> Encloses a memorandum summarizing the report he had made to Hitler on his visit to Paris. From conversations with French statesmen he concludes that, internally and in world politics, France is growing stronger, and that Germany should, therefore, take advantage of the present eagerness of France to effect a lasting settlement with Germany.	41
Nov. 13 23	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to all German Embassies and Legations and to the Consulate General at Geneva</i> In recent speeches by British Ministers, the League is either ignored or called a failure; in conversations, point this out.	45
Nov. 15 24	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Ribbentrop) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Halifax expresses pleasure at the opportunity to discuss Austria, Czechoslovakia, and colonies with Hitler; an Anglo-German conflict would mean the end of civilization.	46
Nov. 15 25	<i>Memorandum</i> The British Chargé d'Affaires expressed alarm at the Nazi press reaction to British press reports on Halifax's visit; Mackensen said the British Government must put pressure on the press.	47
Nov. 16 26	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano did not believe in British good will, and therefore expected nothing from Halifax's visit; Ciano had declined a second invitation to meet Eden in Brussels.	49
Nov. 17 27	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano did not think the adherence of other states to the Anti-Comintern Agreement desirable now; Neurath, in a marginal note, concurs.	49
Nov. 17 28	<i>The German Minister in Ireland (Hempel) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Irish believe that the Anti-Comintern Agreement strikes mainly at Britain; that Britain, realizing her weakened position, is eager for an agreement with Germany, and that Halifax's attitude will be affected by the impression he receives of the religious situation in Germany.	50

CHAPTER I. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
SEPTEMBER 30, 1937—MARCH 11, 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Nov. 18 29	<i>The German Embassy in Great Britain to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Chamberlain's press chief told the D.N.B. representative that the German press was hurting Anglo-German relations by reports of differences between Chamberlain and Eden, and that, while Halifax's visit was an important beginning, a <i>rapprochement</i> could come only slowly.	52
Nov. 19 30	<i>Memorandum</i> Mackensen told the Italian Ambassador that he had no knowledge of an invitation to Neurath to visit London.	54
Nov. 20 31	<i>The German Foreign Minister to the British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson)</i> Enclosing a memorandum summarizing Halifax's conversation with Hitler. The main problems discussed were disarmament, colonies, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, the League of Nations, and the question of whether subsequent negotiations were to be through normal diplomatic channels or by direct contact of leading statesmen. There was much discussion of the influence of parties and the press on foreign policy, and of the relative advantages of a general settlement or of agreement on specific issues by the powers immediately involved.	54
Nov. 22 32	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Ribbentrop) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Has received no information on the Halifax visit.	68
Nov. 22 33	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassies in Italy, Great Britain, France, and the United States</i> Halifax's visit was satisfactory, although there were no concrete results; his conversation with Hitler summarized.	68

C. THE TRAVELS OF M. DELBOS, NOVEMBER—DECEMBER 1937

1937 Nov. 22 34	<i>The Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell)</i> Passes on a report that Italy had been pressing for an agreement with Britain.	71
Nov. 23 35	<i>The Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in Austria (Papen)</i> What, specifically, is France willing and able to do, particularly in eastern Europe, to get a general agreement with Germany?	72
Nov. 23 36	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Poland (Wühlisch) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> While in Warsaw, Bullitt is reported to have championed French policy, and urged Poland to support that policy.	73

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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Nov. 24 37	<i>Telephone Message From London, November 24, 1937, 1 p.m.</i> After inquiry had been made at the British Foreign Office, the German Embassy was told that the British Government had invited Chautemps and Delbos to London; the purpose was to reassure the French concerning the visit of Halifax to Germany.	74
Nov. 24 38	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Italy</i> Gives the text of Neurath's letter to Ciano summarizing the results of Halifax's visit, emphasizing the British desire for a general settlement, with quadripartite discussions as the final goal.	75
Nov. 24 39	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano thinks that Halifax's visit was not very successful; the Anglo-Italian negotiations had not been resumed.	76
Nov. 25 40	<i>Memorandum</i> To end misleading reports, Berlin editors had been told that Germany was through with the League and collectivism; if other countries made a return to Geneva a condition for negotiations, and this was presumably the British position, negotiations were impossible.	77
Nov. 25 41	<i>The German Minister in Czechoslovakia (Eisenlohr) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Conflicting statements about the Halifax visit have created uneasiness in Prague.	78
Nov. 25 42	<i>The German Embassy in Great Britain to the German Foreign Ministry</i> An informant's report on the requests France was supposed to have made to Britain before Halifax's visit.	79
Nov. 26 43	<i>The German Embassy in Great Britain to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Describes British press reports on Halifax's visit.	79
Nov. 27 44	<i>Minute</i> The Italian Ambassador remarked to Weizsäcker that there had been differences between the official and the Party treatment of the Halifax visit.	80
Nov. 27 45	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The first press commentaries on Halifax's visit reflect alarm over the ignoring of the U.S.S.R.	81
Nov. 27 46	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welzeck) to the German Foreign Minister</i> The Halifax visit was regarded from the beginning with uneasiness, which the invitation to the French Ministers only partly removed; the Ministers themselves seem confident of continued Anglo-French solidarity.	81

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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Nov. 30 47	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Ribbentrop) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The visit of the French Ministers is encouraging in that Britain and France state that Halifax's visit produced a more favorable atmosphere and that the colonial question will be examined; however, the insistence on a general settlement continues.	84
Dec. 1 48	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Ribbentrop) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> In confidential statements to the British press, Eden said that the conversations with the French had covered all problems, and that there had been agreement on all; the colonial question could be solved only as part of a general settlement in which all interested powers must participate.	86
Dec. 2 49	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Weizsäcker) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The French press and Government are satisfied with the conversations in London, and feel that Delbos starts on his eastern visits backed by Britain in his desire to secure mutual assistance pacts.	87
Dec. 2 50	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Ribbentrop) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Eden tells of the positions taken by the British in the talks with the French Ministers: examination of the colonial question in connection with a security agreement; solution for Austrian and Czech difficulties with Germany, without resort to force; initiation of negotiations with Italy. On all points France was in agreement.	88
Dec. 2 51	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Ribbentrop) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Suggests that the press constantly refer to Germany's claim to all her former colonies, stressing that this claim is not a bargaining point and therefore is not connected with political questions.	91
Dec. 2 52	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Legation in Portugal</i> Deny rumors that Germany, during the Halifax visit, suggested that the Belgian Congo and Angola be placed under German control.	92
Dec. 2 53	<i>Minute</i> The Polish Chargé d'Affaires insistently stated to Weizsäcker that Beck wished to know the purport of the Halifax conversations before talking with Delbos.	92
Dec. 2 54	<i>Memorandum</i> With certain omissions and changes of emphasis, the Polish Chargé d'Affaires was given an account of the Halifax conversations by Weizsäcker.	93

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CHAPTER I. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Dec. 3 55	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> In conversation with Neurath, Delbos gave assurances that in his London visit there was no talk of blocking German development, and that there was no such purpose in his trip to Central Europe; Neurath complained that the communiqué on the London visit suggested an attempt to dictate to Germany, and that the western press was filled with malicious lies.	94
Dec. 4 56	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Poland and the German Legations in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia</i> Since it was to be expected that Delbos would repeat the French complaints that the offer of an understanding, made to Schacht, had been ignored, a review of this episode is given to demonstrate that France was responsible for the failure.	95
Dec. 4 57	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions</i> Summarizes reports on the Anglo-French talks in London so far as they concerned Central Europe. Asks for reports on Delbos' activities, particularly as they concern a general mutual assistance pact.	97
Dec. 4 58	<i>Memorandum</i> In response to an inquiry, Weizsäcker told the Italian Ambassador most of what Ribbentrop had reported on the Anglo-French talks.	98
Dec. 4 59	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Ribbentrop) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Details the ways in which the account of the Anglo-French talks given by Eden to Grandi differed from that given to Ribbentrop.	99
Dec. 4 60	<i>The German Embassy in Great Britain to the German Foreign Ministry</i> On a report that Halifax said he had discussed Belgium and Angola with some important person in Berlin.	100
Dec. 4 61	<i>The German Minister in Portugal (Huene) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> On the rumor that Schacht had discussed Angola with Halifax.	100
Dec. 4 62	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> After describing Grandi's conversation with Eden, Ciano said the British would be told that Italy was ready to negotiate at any time if the question of recognition of the Empire was included; there was no reason for conversations with France.	101
Dec. 4 63	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> Had received the impression that France was very ready for a settlement, not only of the colonial question, but of Central European questions, on the basis of an evolutionary extension of German influence.	102

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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Dec. 7 64	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Poland (Wühlisch) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Delbos' visit took place in a cordial atmosphere, but was without concrete results.	104
Dec. 7 65	<i>The German Minister in Rumania (Fabricius) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Doubts if Delbos will bring up the question of a mutual assistance pact, and is certain Rumania would refuse to conclude such a pact.	107
Dec. 10 66	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welczeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The French regard the conversation between Delbos and Neurath as a good beginning for a <i>détente</i> .	109
Dec. 11 67	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said in confidence that tonight the Fascist Grand Council would decide to withdraw from the League.	109
Dec. 11 68	<i>The German Ambassador in Poland (Moltke) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Beck optimistically reviewed the international situation, emphasizing the similarity of German and Polish interests; he said Delbos had not proposed any new groupings for Eastern Europe.	110
Dec. 13 69	<i>The German Minister in Rumania (Fabricius) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> In his conversations, Delbos expressed optimism about the prospects for a Franco-German agreement; his visit confirmed Franco-Rumanian friendship, although no political agreement was signed.	113

D. THE BASES FOR A SETTLEMENT WITH FRANCE, DECEMBER 1937

1937 Dec. 13 70	<i>Memorandum</i> François-Poncet complained that, after Schacht's visit in the spring of 1936, Berlin had not responded to the suggestion for an agreement; instead of talking with Britain and France, Germany had gone over to bloc politics; the results would be disastrous for Germany, as the United States would side with France and Britain. Rintelen made no detailed reply.	117
Dec. 13 71	<i>Memorandum</i> François-Poncet's remarks are evidently explained by the fact that Blum had proposed negotiation to Schacht; Schacht's memorandum only recently came to Weizsäcker's attention.	118
May 25-29 72	<i>Memorandum</i> Schacht's detailed account of his visit to Paris in May 1937; Blum said, as an official communication, that France was ready for negotiations on a general settlement with Germany and that he awaited a German reply.	119

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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Dec. 14 73	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The failure of Delbos to visit Moscow created in authoritative Soviet circles the uneasy feeling of being ignored, and every effort is being made to make the French believe that the U.S.S.R. is a more reliable ally than Poland.	122
Dec. 14 74	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Ribbentrop) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Eden said that a considerable delay seemed inevitable before Britain and France would be ready to begin negotiations with Germany.	124
Dec. 14 75	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Ribbentrop) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Despite Ribbentrop's objections, Halifax insisted that Britain must receive something in return for concessions in the colonial field; Halifax seems at least skeptical about the outcome of the negotiations.	124
Dec. 14 76	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in France</i> Expressing approval of Italy's withdrawal from the League.	125
Dec. 14 77	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Legation in the Union of South Africa</i> A note for the South African Government, stating that Germany never assented to the idea that the future of Southwest Africa lay with the Union.	126
Dec. 15 78	<i>Minute</i> Prentiss Gilbert believes that the British Cabinet is divided on the best method to conduct the Anglo-German negotiations, with Eden leading one group and Hoare the other; Gilbert believes Germany must handle British opinion carefully.	127
Dec. 16 79	<i>The German Minister in the Union of South Africa (Leitner) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The desire for a quick colonial settlement with Germany is decreasing, and confidence that Southwest Africa can be retained is rising; a public declaration of Germany's colonial demands is needed to offset these tendencies.	128
Dec. 16 80	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> Reviews his conversations in Berlin with Hitler and with François-Poncet; the latter urged that if colonies were to be ceded, in return European peace must be strengthened.	129

CHAPTER I. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Dec. 17 81	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Ribbentrop) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Chamberlain said sentiment in Parliament favored a settlement with Germany, but the colonial question would not be ready for discussion before February or March; limitation of armaments, Austria, and Czechoslovakia were discussed, and Ribbentrop refused to link these with colonies; Ribbentrop suggested that the repeated rebuffs Hitler had suffered in his efforts for an Anglo-German understanding showed a lack of desire for understanding; this Chamberlain vehemently denied.	131
Dec. 17 82	<i>Memorandum by the Chief of the Presidential Chancellery (Meissner)</i> In conversation with the chairman of the <i>Comité Franco-Allemand</i> , Hitler said there was nothing which could come between Germany and France; the League should be dissolved and a new organization attempted.	134
Dec. 17 83	<i>Memorandum</i> François-Poncet brought Blum's summary of his conversation with Schacht in May and expressed regret that Germany had shown no willingness to negotiate. In the summary Blum says that neither Britain nor France, but Germany, was responsible for the failure of the earlier discussions; Blum reiterates his desire for a settlement with Germany, but such a settlement should not begin with colonies nor end by making it impossible for France to honor her existing treaty obligations.	135
Dec. 18 84	<i>Second Secret Protocol</i> Lists the products to be exchanged between Germany and Italy for stockpiling, and examines the limitations which transport facilities will impose on this trade in "abnormal" times.	141
Dec. 19 85	<i>The German Minister in Yugoslavia (Heeren) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Stoyadinovich says that he evaded discussion of a mutual assistance pact during Delbos' visit.	147
Dec. 20 86	<i>Memorandum</i> Weizsäcker supports the conclusion of an enclosed memorandum by Rintelen, urging that negotiations with Britain for the peaceful alteration of the <i>status quo</i> are to the advantage of Germany even if they fail, while a refusal to negotiate would force Britain to support completely the French policy of alliances in eastern Europe.	147
Dec. 21 87	<i>The Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in France (Welzcek)</i> Summarizes the conversations of Flandin with Neurath, Goebbels, and Göring; evidently Flandin went away with the conviction that there was little in common between German and French views.	152

CHAPTER I. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Dec. 21 88	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in France</i> France is seeking to place on Germany the responsibility for failure to reach an understanding; Germany has repulsed, and will continue to oppose, efforts to restrict German freedom of action in Central and Eastern Europe; Germany continues to desire a settlement, but not at the expense of freedom in the east.	154
Dec. 22 89	<i>The German Embassy in Great Britain to the German Foreign Ministry</i> At the second annual dinner of the Anglo-German Fellowship, the fundamental theme was the necessity to promote an understanding.	157
Dec. 23 90	<i>The Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in France (Welzcek)</i> Believes the French are beginning to realize that they have taken the wrong path in their relations with Germany.	157
Dec. 24 91	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in France</i> The suggestions for a settlement made by Blum to Schacht would have stabilized the French alliance system and paralyzed German freedom of action; the French apparently now realize the necessity for a new approach; Germany will await the Anglo-French proposals.	158
Dec. 31 92	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Encloses a report from a usually well-informed source, stating that Mussolini is alarmed by the attempts to reach an understanding between Germany and France and England. To the Italians, Germany seems wavering between faith in traditional diplomacy and the new dynamism of the Axis.	161

E. THE POSSIBILITIES OF AGREEMENT WITH GREAT BRITAIN, JANUARY 1938

1938 Jan. 2 93	<i>Memorandum for the Führer</i> Ribbentrop argues that if Germany advances eastward, France will fight and automatically bring Britain in on her side. The neutrality of France and Britain is probable only if Germany wins quickly and if war would jeopardize the existence of the British Empire. Therefore, while continuing to discuss an Anglo-German settlement, Germany should recognize that Britain is her most dangerous enemy, and should bend every effort to solidify the alliance with Italy and Japan so that Britain will face the prospect of war in the Mediterranean and Asia as well as in Europe; only then will Britain restrain France and seek a settlement with Germany. An understanding is impossible now.	162
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CHAPTER I. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Jan. 5 94	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini was worried by the tension and the lack of understanding in high places; he did not anticipate much good in 1938.	168
Jan. 5 95	<i>The German Embassy in Great Britain to the German Foreign Ministry</i> It could not be said yet whether the appointment of Vansittart as Chief Diplomatic Adviser was a promotion or a demotion, but it was not likely that one of the outstanding British diplomats had lost his influence.	169
Jan. 10 96	<i>The Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in Austria (Papen)</i> Until recently, France hoped to induce Germany to give up her freedom in the east in exchange for colonies; there are now signs that France and England realize that Germany cannot simply be blocked; this encourages hopes of a peaceful settlement.	171
Jan. 12 97	<i>The German Minister in Hungary (Erdmannsdorff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said only great powers should be signatories of the Anti-Comintern Agreement; he would welcome the accession of Poland, Spain, and Brazil.	173
Jan. 13 98	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Henderson asked for patience, particularly in the press, on the colonial question while Chamberlain worked out a proposal; Neurath replied that Germany was patient.	173
Jan. 13 99	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> In an <i>aide-memoire</i> , the British Government asked if Hitler's remarks during his conversation with Halifax meant that Hitler would not be averse to the abolition of bombing airplanes. Neurath replied the first stage would be the prohibition of bombing outside a certain combat zone.	174
Jan. 13 100	<i>Memorandum</i> Weizsäcker argues that limitation of armaments should not be treated negatively in conversations with the British since Germany can make concessions in that field.	175
Jan. 14 101	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> While opinions still differ, it would seem that Vansittart's removal from the Foreign Office resulted from the fact that he was considered too pro-French; a definite change in British foreign policy is unlikely since Cadogan's views seem largely to coincide with Eden's.	176
Jan. 15 102	<i>Memorandum</i> An outline of past attempts to limit armaments; concludes that the most to be hoped for is some limitation of particular weapons of attack and possibly an air pact with the Western Powers.	177

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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Jan. 17 103	<i>Minute</i> Weizsäcker suggests that, since Germany can make concessions to Britain in no other field, possible limitations of armament should be discussed with the War Ministry.	182
Jan. 19 104	<i>Memorandum</i> Enclosing a copy of a letter of December 6, 1937, from Lord Londonderry to Mr. Gall arguing that Germany is striving for hegemony and that, unless definite limits are set to German ambitions, further appeasement would lead to war in 1939.	183
Jan. 20 105	<i>Minute</i> Contact is to be established with the War Ministry on possible limitation of armaments. Weizsäcker says Neurath wishes no reply to be made to the British inquiry concerning the abolition of bombing planes.	185
Jan. 25 106	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Italian Embassy reports that in the conversation of Grandi with Eden on January 19 the possibility of opening Anglo-Italian discussions was explored but with no more result than earlier.	185
Jan. 26 107	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions</i> A review of the conference of the Rome Protocol states, Italy Hungary, and Austria. The communiqué is compared with information received from the participants. The conference meant a further coordination of the Rome Protocols and the Axis.	186
Jan. 26 108	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Henderson, before leaving for London for consultation, receives from Neurath the German position on colonies, limitation of bombing, the League of Nations, Czechoslovakia, and Austria; Neurath steadily insists that Germany will not make concessions on other questions in order to obtain colonies.	190
Jan. 26 109	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> Cadogan said that it would be some time before Britain would be ready to take up the subjects discussed by Halifax and Hitler.	191
Jan. 29 110	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welzcek) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A review of Communist activity in France, and the results of this activity for the Popular Front.	192

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F. ANGLO-ITALIAN CONVERSATIONS BEGUN, FEBRUARY 1938

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1938 Feb. 10 111	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> In conversation with Ribbentrop, the Italian Ambassador reviewed the recent Anglo-Italian conversation and said that, since Britain was now prepared to discuss the recognition of the Roman Empire, negotiations could begin, although the prospects for success were poor.	195
Feb. 11 112	<i>Memorandum</i> Strempel and Welzsücker tell of reports that Henderson has returned from England with the offer of a "generous" colonial settlement; in return, Germany was to make a contribution to safeguard peace.	197
Feb. 11 113	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A discussion with Grandi of the differences of opinion within the British Government on the subject of appeasement of the Axis.	198
Feb. 11 114	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welzcek) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The British and French Navies, like the Air Forces, work together, although probably no written agreement exists.	199
Feb. 12 115	<i>Memorandum</i> Mackensen reviews the subjects likely to be taken up by the French Ambassador in his first conversation with Ribbentrop.	200
Undated 116	<i>The German Embassy in Italy to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Italy will not decline negotiations with Britain, but will not initiate or hasten them; Eden has made it clear that recognition of the Roman Empire is to be used to get Italy out of Spain.	202
Feb. 17 117	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The British Government is glad that Henderson will see Hitler before February 20.	205
Feb. 17 118	<i>Minute</i> Magistrati complained to Welzsücker of German activities in South Tyrol, giving specific examples.	205
Feb. 18 119	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Grandi reported a long but inconclusive conversation with Chamberlain and Eden on the possibility of an Anglo-Italian agreement.	207
Feb. 21 120	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The immediate cause of Eden's resignation was divergence over conversations with Italy, but the more profound divergence was over Germany; for the present, Chamberlain is stronger, but one must continue to reckon with Eden.	208

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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Feb. 21 121	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> According to Chamberlain's speech, the Italians asked for conversations, and since they accepted the British proposals, conversations would begin in Rome after the British Ambassador had received instructions.	210
Feb. 22 122	<i>Memorandum</i> The Italian Counselor of Embassy said the initiative for Anglo-Italian conversations had been taken by the British.	210
Feb. 23 123	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Italy gives assurance that the negotiations with Britain, which will include all pending problems, will not impair the Axis.	212
Feb. 23 124	<i>Memorandum</i> François-Poncet complained that Germany was increasingly aggressive in Czechoslovakia and Austria, while Chamberlain was turning to Germany and Italy without regard for French interests; Neurath said France should recall the fate of Napoleon III.	212
Feb. 24 125	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welczeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The French feel that recent events, particularly the fall of Eden, strike at the foundations of French foreign policy; attacked from the right and the left, the Government is waiting to see the results of Chamberlain's conciliation of the Axis.	214
Feb. 25 126	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassies in France, Poland, and Italy</i> Woermann and Grandi agree that Chamberlain will stress the cooperation of the Anglo-French and Italo-German groups, excluding the Soviet Union; if Chamberlain fails, a new government headed by Eden and including Churchill is possible.	217
Feb. 25 127	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A review of the relations between Eden and Chamberlain. The central differences, which existed from the outset, were over the League and over relations with Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union.	218
Feb. 25 128	<i>Memorandum</i> Butler said the Eden crisis meant the decline of the old pro-French foreign service and the ascendancy of the new generation of men like Neville Henderson. Butler is sympathetic toward Germany; Sir Horace Wilson, Chamberlain's closest adviser, is decidedly pro-German.	223
Feb. 25 129	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Encloses an agent's report stating that the drift of German policy, particularly in Austria, has awakened fear in Italy that Germany may weaken the Axis and end the possibility of agreement between the Axis and the Western Powers.	225

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1938 Feb. 28 130	<i>Memorandum</i> Chamberlain had told Grandi that he and Halifax thought the Axis was a pillar of peace; Chamberlain wished to negotiate with Berlin also.	227

G. CONVERSATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN BEGUN, AND INTERRUPTED, MARCH 1938

1938 Mar. 1 131	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> The British Ambassador asked for an audience with Hitler to make a positive proposal concerning the colonial question; in return, something in the way of security must be offered the British people.	228
Mar. 1 132	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welzcek) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Flandin, who has been trying to be the spokesman for a policy of understanding with Germany, proposed solutions of the Austrian and Czech questions and warned that, by pushing the armaments race, Germany and Italy were driving an impoverished Europe to Bolshevism.	228
Mar. 1 133	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welzcek) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Reviews the recent parliamentary debates on French foreign policy, concluding that the resoluteness of French policy is crippled by the domestic situation and that, despite many words about unity in face of danger, there is doubt whether the country can concentrate its forces.	231
Mar. 2 134	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Has learned that the French Ambassador had protested against Stalin's assertion that it was the duty of the working classes in other countries to organize to aid the Soviet Union in war.	235
Mar. 3 135	<i>The British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson) to the German Foreign Minister</i> The British Government feel that the press must be told of Hitler's interview with Henderson.	235
Mar. 3 136	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Ribbentrop gave Magistrati a communication of the British Government to the French Government stating that Britain desires to learn German views on colonies, and what contribution Germany is prepared to make regarding Southeastern Europe and disarmament. Ribbentrop then gave a summary of the conversation between Hitler and Henderson. Magistrati gave a copy of Chamberlain's statement to Grandi on British recognition of the Axis and desire for a treaty with Germany as well as Italy.	236

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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Undated 137	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>A draft statement of the German position on the colonial question: Germany demands as a right the return of her former colonies; until concrete proposals are made, Germany can take no stand on a possible exchange of German colonies for other territories.</p>	239
Mar. 4 138	<p><i>The German Foreign Minister to the British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson)</i></p> <p>Enclosing a memorandum summarizing the conversation between Henderson and Hitler on March 3. Henderson outlined a possible colonial settlement, stressed British interest in the limitation of armaments, and stated that apprehension over German intentions in Austria and Czechoslovakia made a general settlement more difficult. Hitler denounced the British press, said that if necessary Germany would fight to protect Germans from injustice, intimated that the U.S.S.R. made arms limitation impossible, and refused to discuss the colonial proposal.</p>	240
Mar. 4 139	<p><i>The British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson) to the German Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Henderson denies that, in his conversation with Hitler, he said he had spoken in favor of the <i>Anschluss</i>, and requests that this paragraph be omitted.</p>	249
Mar. 4 140	<p><i>The British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson) to the German Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>To rectify a misapprehension in Hitler's mind, describes the composition and functions of the new committee for coordination of British publicity abroad.</p>	250
Mar. 5 141	<p><i>Draft Letter From the Foreign Minister to the British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson)</i></p> <p>The passage to which Henderson objected has been eliminated from the summary of his conversation with Hitler; Ribbentrop requests the insertion of an additional paragraph on German colonial claims.</p>	251
Mar. 5 142	<p><i>The British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson) to the German Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Accepts the additional paragraph, with the omission of one word.</p>	251
Mar. 6 143	<p><i>The German Foreign Minister to the British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson)</i></p> <p>Will transmit to Hitler Henderson's letter on the committee on publicity.</p>	252
Mar. 8 144	<p><i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Ribbentrop told Magistrati Italy would be informed of the German reply to the very vague British proposals.</p>	252

CHAPTER I. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE.
SEPTEMBER 30, 1937—MARCH 11, 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Mar. 10 145	<p><i>Memorandum</i> A summary by Halifax, to which additional material from a German summary has been added, of his conversation with Ribbentrop. The topics discussed were colonies, limitation of armaments, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. Halifax stressed the desire of the British for a general settlement, his disappointment with the Hitler-Henderson conversation, and his fear that German action in Austria might precipitate a general war. Ribbentrop praised Chamberlain's realistic policy, and repeated the arguments Hitler had used when talking with Henderson.</p>	253
Mar. 10 146	<p><i>The German Foreign Minister to the Führer and Chancellor</i> On the basis of his conversations, concludes that Chamberlain wishes an agreement and that, since his policy is based on peace, his continuance in office serves German interests; if Germany acts quickly in Austria, the other powers will not intervene.</p>	262
Mar. 10 147	<p><i>Memorandum</i> A German summary of the first part of the Halifax-Ribbentrop conversation; the objectives of German policy are emphasized.</p>	264
Mar. 10 148	<p><i>Memorandum</i> In conversation with Erich Kordt, Sir Horace Wilson urges that Germany recognize the British desire for an understanding, and the advantages of such an understanding.</p>	269
Mar. 11 149	<p><i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Inskip, in conversation with Ribbentrop, said England would not interfere in Austria unless Germany used force; if there was a conflict, England could become involved.</p>	272
Mar. 11 150	<p><i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> While Ribbentrop was talking with Chamberlain and Halifax, telegrams were brought in saying that Schuschnigg had been forced to cancel the plebiscite in Austria and that Schuschnigg's resignation had been demanded. The reaction of Chamberlain was much less violent than that of Halifax.</p>	273
Mar. 13 151	<p><i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Chamberlain asked Ribbentrop to tell Hitler that it was Chamberlain's firm determination to clear up Anglo-German relations.</p>	276

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936—JULY 1938

A. THE AGREEMENT OF JULY 11, 1936, AND ITS EXECUTION, JULY—OCTOBER 1936

1936 July 11 152	<p><i>The German-Austrian Agreement of July 11, 1936</i> The secret Gentlemen's Agreement to relax discriminatory restrictions, particularly in the field of cultural activity, to seek a solution of the Austrian <i>émigré</i> problem, to associate members of the "National Opposition" with the Austrian Government, and to pursue a common foreign policy.</p>	278
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CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1936 July 11 153	<i>Text of the German-Austrian Communiqué</i> A summary of some provisions of the Gentlemen's Agreement.	281
July 11 154	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions</i> The Austro-German Agreement is to be described as a milestone in Hitler's work for peace.	282
July 11 155	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini, in a conference with Hassell, welcomed the Austro-German Agreement because Austria would no longer be a football of foreign interests, and because it removed the last mortgage on Italo-German relations; other subjects discussed were the Locarno Treaties, Abyssinia, the Franco-Russian treaty, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, and Danzig.	283
July 13 156	<i>Memorandum</i> The Austrian Minister expressed skepticism concerning the attitude of the Nazi Party toward the Austro-German Agreement; Dieckhoff advised patience.	286
July 14 157	<i>Memorandum</i> Neurath asks that Schuschnigg be requested to avoid discussion of the question of the restoration of the Hapsburgs.	286
July 21 158	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A conversation with Schuschnigg on the specific measures necessary to implement the general provisions of the Austro-German Agreement.	287
July 22 159	<i>The Foreign Minister to Ministerial Director Dieckhoff</i> Hitler approves Papen's proposed procedure in the Austrian question.	289
July 23 160	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The provisions of the Austrian amnesty; its far-reaching character.	289
July 28 161	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> After initial confusion, Austrian Nazis are coming to welcome the Austro-German Agreement; the monarchists are disheartened and the clericals are divided; Papen is convinced that real union of Austria with Germany will be possible only after the ending of the conflict between the Church and Germany.	290
Aug. 17 162	<i>Memorandum</i> Efforts of the Foreign Ministry to exclude "radical influences" in Germany from questions growing out of the Austro-German Agreement described by Altenburg.	293
Aug. 29 163	<i>Dr. Karl Megerle to the Foreign Minister</i> Megerle met with an enthusiastic popular reception on a motor trip through Austria; he advises that Guido Schmidt be invited to Berlin because Schmidt had Schuschnigg's confidence and was eager to work with Germany.	294

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1936 Sept. 10 164	<i>Professor Franz Wehofsich to Dr. Altenburg of the German Foreign Ministry</i> Enclosing a bulletin of the Austrian Nazi Party, and directing attention to the prohibition contained therein against communication with Party offices in Germany.	298
Sept. 22 165	<i>Memorandum</i> Altenburg describes the dissension in the Austrian Nazi Party, centering around Leopold. Leopold was in Munich, and Reich Party officials would impress on him the need for compromise.	299
Oct. 1 166	<i>Memorandum</i> The German Military Attaché in Vienna gave a most pessimistic account of the opposition in Austria to the Austro-German Agreement.	300
Oct. 7 167	<i>Memorandum</i> The <i>Auslandsorganisation</i> plans to rebuild the N.S.D.A.P. in Austria; Papen, assisted by an experienced jurist, is to secure an agreement with the Austrian Government.	301
Oct. 12 168	<i>The Reich and Prussian Minister of the Interior (Frick) to the State Secretary and Chief of the Reich Chancellery (Lammers)</i> A request that the questions of German financial support for Austrian <i>émigrés</i> , and of the maintenance of these <i>émigrés</i> in camps in Germany, be reexamined in the light of the Austro-German Agreement. Details of this financial support and of the numbers in camps are given.	302
Oct. 13 169	<i>Memorandum Concerning the Meeting Between the Prussian Minister President, Colonel General Göring, and Austrian Federal Chancellor Schuschnigg</i> Göring was favorably impressed with Schuschnigg and thought it would be possible to work with him. Cooperation on economic and military problems was discussed.	306
Undated 170	<i>Memorandum of the Discussions Concerning the 1936 Budget for the Austrian Hilfswerk, Held on October 13 and 14, 1936, in the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior</i> A detailed analysis of the budget, detailing the operations of the <i>Hilfswerk</i> , with discussion of the probable effects of the Austro-German Agreement on the problem of refugee relief.	309

B. GUIDO SCHMIDT IN GERMANY, NOVEMBER 1936

1936 Nov. 4 171	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> The new Austrian Cabinet represents a distinct success for those who support the Austro-German Agreement. The evolution of Austrian politics in a "National" direction has now begun.	314
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CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936—JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1936 Nov. 5 172	<p><i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Legation in Austria</i></p> <p>Economic negotiations are to be opened with Austria but, since an economic agreement is desired by Germany only as a means of securing more satisfactory political conditions, the outcome of the negotiations would be dependent on political developments.</p>	317
Nov. 6 173	<p><i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Legation in Austria</i></p> <p>Tell Schmidt that, during his visit, the German Government wishes to clarify certain parts of the Agreement of July 1936; if he approves this discussion in principle, specific proposals will be made.</p>	319
Nov. 9 174	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>Altenburg lists the German complaints against Austrian execution of the Agreement of July 1936; the complaints are to be brought to Schmidt's attention.</p>	320
Nov. 10 175	<p><i>The Finance Minister (Schwerin-Krosigk) to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Protests on financial grounds against the continuance of assistance to Austrian refugees, giving the amounts expended.</p>	321
Nov. 11 176	<p><i>The German Foreign Ministry to the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior, etc.</i></p> <p>Negotiations with Austria have resulted in an agreement for the re-establishment of the N.S.D.A.P. in Austria, and in an understanding that 500 <i>émigrés</i> are to be re-admitted in advance of the amnesty.</p>	322
Nov. 12 177	<p><i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Legation in Austria</i></p> <p>Enclosing the text of a protocol to be signed while Schmidt is in Berlin. The protocol establishes a common policy on Communism and on collaboration with Danubian states, and clarifies numerous provisions of the Agreement of July 11.</p>	325
Nov. 13 178	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>Papen reports Schmidt's comments on the proposed protocol.</p>	328
Undated 179	<p><i>Protocol</i></p> <p>The revised German draft protocol, and the Austrian counterproposal, with longhand revisions by Neurath.</p>	329
Nov. 15 180	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Suggestions for an exchange of compliments during Schmidt's visit; Papen's estimate of the Austrian counterproposal for the protocol.</p>	337
Nov. 20 181	<p><i>The Chief of the Presidential Chancellery (Meissner) to the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Encloses a memorandum summarizing Hitler's conversation with Schmidt. Hitler said that Bolshevism was the determining factor in his policy; he argued against the claims of Hungary to territorial revision; he urged that all authoritarian states leave the League of Nations; he boasted that German rearmament had induced Britain to treat Germany as an equal.</p>	338

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1936 Nov. 21 182	<i>Protocol</i> The text as signed by Neurath and Schmidt. In addition to the promise of a common policy toward Communism and toward coalitions of Danubian states, detailed provision was made for the execution of the Agreement of July 11, 1936.	342
Nov. 21 183	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions</i> Information on Schmidt's visit for guidance in conversation.	346
Nov. 21 184	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> In conversation with Schmidt, Neurath emphasized the necessity for more favorable treatment of the National and National Socialist elements in Austria; otherwise the Agreement of July 11, 1936, would be repudiated by German opinion. Schmidt promised to work in this direction.	347
Nov. 24 185	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Schmidt in particular, but also the other members of the Austrian Government, are much pleased by the cordial reception given him; Papen fears that the Austrians, misinterpreting this cordiality, no longer appreciate the necessity for concessions.	348

C. GERMAN DISILLUSIONMENT WITH SCHUSCHNIGG AND PRESSURE ON ITALY,
NOVEMBER 1936-JANUARY 1937

1936 Nov. 27 186	<i>The German Legation in Austria to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A summary of the speech at Klagenfurt in which Schuschnigg described Austrian Nazism as an enemy of the Government, and denied that the Austro-German Agreement of July 11 had effects on domestic policy.	350
Nov. 28 187	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Legation in Austria</i> Papen is to express Neurath's astonishment at Schuschnigg's Klagenfurt speech.	351
Nov. 28 188	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions and to the Consulate General at Geneva</i> For information only, a full description is given of the subjects discussed with Guido Schmidt: Austro-German relations, the Hapsburg question, Austria's relations with Italy and Czechoslovakia, and Germany's relations with Italy and Yugoslavia.	352
Nov. 28 189	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the Deputy of the Führer (Hess), etc.</i> A summary of the negotiations with Guido Schmidt on press matters and Austrian exiles.	355

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1936 Nov. 30 190	<i>Memorandum by the Counselor of the German Legation in Austria (Stein)</i> Schuschnigg tried to justify his Klagenfurt speech; an extended discussion followed on the possibility of drawing the National Socialists into the Government, on the extent of the Communist danger, on the possibility of restoring the Hapsburgs, on Catholicism in Germany and Austria, and on Czechoslovakia.	356
Dec. 2 191	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> In reply to Papen's energetic protest against the Klagenfurt address, Schuschnigg asserted his loyalty to the Agreement of July 11 and his desire to effect a reconciliation with Germany. Papen reports discontent with Leopold among the Austrian Nazis.	360
Dec. 18 192	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Warns against official Reich interference in Austrian internal affairs through credit-aid to Austrian supporters of National Socialism.	362
Dec. 18 193	<i>The Austrian Section of the Auslandsorganisation of the N.S.D.A.P. to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Intercepted Austrian instructions order harsher treatment for National Socialists than for Communists.	363
1937 Jan. 9 194	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Neustädter-Stürmer's proposals for the pacification of the National Opposition will be tested by a request to the Austrian Government for approval of a new organization to promote the German national idea.	364
Jan. 9 195	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> The Legitimist movement is gaining ground, aided by the Austrian Government.	365
Jan. 12 196	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> A review of developments in Austria during 1936: the fall of Starhemberg; the antecedents and consequences of the Agreement of July 11; the policy of the other powers toward Austria; the Legitimists and Clericals as enemies of Germany; Papen's view of the future.	366
Jan. 13 197	<i>The State Secretary and Chief of the Presidential Chancellery (Meissner) to the Foreign Minister</i> Hitler requests that Papen be instructed to remind Schuschnigg that Austrian Nazis are still in the concentration camp at Wöllersdorf.	374
Jan. 14 198	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Schuschnigg defends Austrian execution of the Agreement of July 11, 1936, by citing the large number of Nazis freed and the small number still in prison.	375

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936—JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Jan. 16 199	<i>Memorandum by the German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell)</i> Hassell had unsuccessfully tried to dissuade Göring from telling Mussolini that Italy must recognize German claims to Austria; Göring's remarks received, apparently, a cool reception from Mussolini.	376
Jan. 16 200	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Since July 11, 1936, a total of 18,684 National Socialists have been amnestied; but it is estimated that 4,000 have been arrested.	378
Jan. 18 201	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> It is reported that the National Socialists in Wöllersdorf will leave this month.	379
Jan. 19 202	<i>Memorandum</i> Papen stated that, in his report of December 18, 1936, he had merely dissociated himself officially from the credit-aid program in Austria; personally, he felt the program should continue, but without involving the Legation.	379
Jan. 21 203	<i>Memorandum by the Counselor of the German Embassy in Italy (Plessen)</i> The Austrian Minister requests that inaccurate statements made by Göring in Rome be corrected.	380
Jan. 23 204	<i>Memorandum by the Counselor of the German Embassy in Italy (Plessen)</i> Göring had instructed him to express to the Austrian Minister in Rome Göring's dissatisfaction with the trend in Austria; restoration of the Hapsburgs would mean the end of Austria.	381
Jan. 27 205	<i>Memorandum by the Counselor of the German Embassy in Italy (Plessen)</i> Plessen spoke to the Austrian Minister somewhat as instructed by Göring.	382
Jan. 27 206	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Ambassador in Austria (Papen)</i> Papen is to tell Schuschnigg that, by continuing the persecution and imprisonment of Austrian National Socialists, Austria is violating the letter and spirit of the Agreement of July 11, 1936.	383
Jan. 30 207	<i>Memorandum by the German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell)</i> Hassell summarizes the discussions between Göring and Mussolini concerning Austria; Mussolini had obviously been upset by the suggestion that Germany might annex Austria, but Göring was certain that Italy was too dependent on Germany to offer effective resistance.	384

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Undated 208	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Enclosing a letter to Göring describing Ciano's reaction to Göring's statements on Austria. Ciano emphasized that the Austro-German Agreement of July 11, 1936, was one of the pillars of Italo-German friendship, and expressed pleasure that Göring had promised to consult Italy before taking any action regarding Austria.</p>	386

D. SCHUSCHNIGG EVADES GERMAN DEMANDS, FEBRUARY-MAY 1937

1937 Feb. 13 209	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i></p> <p>Suggests means of countering the growing agitation for the restoration of the Hapsburgs.</p>	388
Feb. 13 210	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i></p> <p>Summarizes negotiations between a "National" committee and Schuschnigg in which the latter promised great concessions; encloses a letter from the committee to Schuschnigg.</p>	389
Feb. 18 211	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Schuschnigg's speech to the Fatherland Front shows that he hopes to control both the Legitimists and the National Opposition.</p>	394
Feb. 25 212	<p><i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Summarizes his conversation in Vienna with Schmidt, on the position of Reich-Germans in Austria, on cultural relations, on the amnesty and refugee questions, and on the <i>Auslandsorganisation</i> in Austria.</p>	396
Feb. 27 213	<p><i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>In conversations with Schmidt and Schuschnigg in Vienna, Neurath warned against a restoration of the Hapsburgs; Schuschnigg replied that the question was not acute.</p>	399
Mar. 3 214	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i></p> <p>The visit of Neurath favorably influenced the Austrian Government and demonstrated the power of Austrian National Socialism.</p>	401
Mar. 8 215	<p><i>Memorandum Regarding the Negotiations of the German-Austrian Cultural Committee From February 26 to March 2, 1937</i></p> <p>Discussion of censorship and cultural relations has made little progress, Twardowski reports.</p>	404

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Mar. 13 218	<i>The German Ambassador to Austria (Papen), Temporarily in Berlin, to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Papen had reported to Hitler that Britain was working for the fall of Schuschnigg because of his conciliatory policy toward Germany; Italy was, he said, also working against Germany; Germany should therefore try to strengthen Schuschnigg's position.	407
Mar. 20 217	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The negotiations between the National Opposition and Schuschnigg are moving well; whether Schuschnigg will, or can, fulfill his promises is not yet certain.	409
Mar. 21 218	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Glaise had decided to remain in office because of the concessions to be offered to the National Opposition.	411
Apr. 3 219	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Glaise reported to Stein that Schuschnigg, while rebuffing efforts to draw Austria away from Germany, was forced by fear of the Clericals to conceal his concessions to Germany.	412
Apr. 17 220	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Encloses two intercepted Austrian despatches, and concludes from these and from other information that Schuschnigg is desperately trying to escape dependence on Germany by appeals for the support of Britain and Italy.	413
Apr. 19 221	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Austrian security police have prepared a chart showing illegal SA and SS formations in Styria; probably Schuschnigg will take the chart when he visits Italy.	418
May 8 222	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in France and the German Legations in Austria and Czechoslovakia</i> In Rome, Neurath stated that Austria was not fulfilling her obligations and that Germany would not tolerate a restoration of the Hapsburgs. Mussolini said he had warned Schuschnigg against a restoration and against overtures to France or Czechoslovakia.	419
May 12 223	<i>The German Ambassador to Austria (Papen), Temporarily in Berlin, to the Führer and Chancellor</i> In a police raid on the Austrian Nazi Party office in Vienna, most incriminating evidence had been seized.	420
May 14 224	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano's speech emphasized that Austro-Italian friendship was compatible with Italo-German friendship.	421

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936—JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 May 26 225	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> To Schmidt, who had returned much encouraged from London and Paris, Papen gave warning that Austrian policy must be changed at once and that Germany would not tolerate British interference in Central Europe.	422
May 26 226	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Papen had urged the Italian Minister to impress on Schuschnigg the necessity of taking the National Opposition into the government.	424
May 26 227	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Papen told Schuschnigg that sabotage of the July Agreement had created an intolerable situation. Schuschnigg promised renewed efforts at pacification but evaded Papen's suggestion that leaders of the National Opposition be taken into his Cabinet.	425

E. SCHUSCHNIGG ISOLATED, JUNE—OCTOBER 1937

1937 June 1 228	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> In conversation with Papen, the new British Ambassador to Germany, Sir Nevile Henderson, had said that all other viewpoints should be subordinated to the menace of Bolshevism, and that the British Government would, given time, accept the Reich-German solution of the Austrian problem.	427
June 5 229	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Enclosing a memorandum in which Papen orders the Legation staff to break off all relations with the Austrian Nazi Party.	428
June 5 230	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Certain German Diplomatic Missions</i> Warns that the Austrian Government has sought a guarantee of the <i>status quo</i> in the Danube countries from Britain and France.	430
June 8 231	<i>Herr In der Maur to the German Ambassador in Austria (Papen)</i> Austrian Nazis have been forbidden to have any contact with the Legation.	430
June 8 232	<i>From a Letter From Party Member In der Maur to a National Socialist Party Member in the Reich</i> A detailed denunciation of Papen's activities in Austria.	431
	<i>Editors' Note:</i> On the "Directive for the Uniform Preparation of the Wehrmacht for War," dated June 24, 1937.	433

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 July 1 233	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i></p> <p>Analyzes events since the conclusion of the Agreement of July 11, 1936, and concludes that the agreement had accomplished all Germany had anticipated, that the continuance of the agreement is essential for the success of German foreign policy, and that, to insure that continuance, Austrian fears of annexation by Germany must be removed.</p>	434
July 7 234	<p><i>Minute</i></p> <p>In conversation with Weizsäcker in Vienna, Schmidt showed eagerness for closer Austro-German cooperation and for public recognition of his services.</p>	438
Undated 235	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>A frank discussion by German and Austrian representatives of the importance of the Agreement of July 11, 1936, and of means to strengthen Austro-German relations.</p>	439
July 9 236	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>Hornbostel had brought up various examples of interference in Austrian domestic affairs by the Party in Germany. Altenburg expresses relief that the Austrians apparently have so little evidence.</p>	440
July 10 237	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>In a conference of German and Austrian officials, Schuschnigg emphasized both Austrian desire to cooperate with Germany, and Austrian insistence on independence; the Germans pressed for more rapid and greater concessions to the National Opposition. A summary of Austrian Nazis amnestied is appended.</p>	441
July 12 238	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>In conversation with Schmidt, Weizsäcker had raised the question of joint efforts to combat Communism; the discussion was brief and vague.</p>	448
July 12 239	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>Schmidt is most anxious to be invited to Germany this month; he needs German recognition of his activities.</p>	444
July 12 240	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>The Austro-German discussion of July 6-10 summarized.</p>	445
July 13 241	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>Hitler has put Keppler in charge of Austrian affairs as they affect the German Nazi Party.</p>	448
July 14 242	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i></p> <p>Seyss-Inquart reports that his conversations with Schuschnigg have gone very well; it is imperative that the Austrian Nazis cooperate with Seyss-Inquart and that there be no evidence of instructions from German Nazis to Austrian Nazis.</p>	448
July 17 243	<p><i>Circular Letter From the Chief of Staff of the Deputy of the Führer (Bormann)</i></p> <p>Party offices are reminded that political connections with Austria are forbidden.</p>	449

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936—JULY 1938—Continued

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1937 July 19 244	<i>Memorandum</i> Göring will not hurry his invitation to Schmidt.	450
July 21 245	<i>Minute</i> Keppler, after talking with Seyss-Inquart, is most optimistic about political trends in Austria.	450
Aug. 10 246	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Enclosing a memorandum of his conversation with Schmidt; the conversation was fruitless.	451
Aug. 10 247	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> He had told Schmidt of his complete dissatisfaction with Austrian political developments; Schmidt evaded his suggestion that a customs union with Germany would end the economic misery in Austria. As a result of the conversation, Neurath is skeptical of the value of the Agreement of July 11, 1936.	451
Aug. 18 248	<i>Dr. Seyss-Inquart to the Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Problems (Keppler)</i> Complains of the abuse Leopold had heaped on him and his associates.	452
Aug. 20 249	<i>The Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Problems (Keppler) to Dr. Seyss-Inquart</i> Advises patience and tolerance regarding the factional quarrels within the Austrian Nazi Party.	453
Aug. 21 250	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Foreign Minister</i> Papen agrees that Schmidt's usefulness for Germany is exhausted, and that, temporarily at least, the opponents of the July 11, 1936, Agreement are in the ascendant in Austria.	454
Sept. 1 251	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Foreign Minister</i> In a long conversation Schuschnigg emphasized his determination to maintain Austrian independence. Papen is now convinced that Germany, while avoiding a violent solution, should bring about a change of chancellors.	456
Sept. 20 252	<i>Memorandum</i> At a conference between Neurath, Mackensen, and Papen, it was agreed that, while Mussolini is in Berlin, Italian noninterference in Austria is to be secured; a façade of Austrian independence is to be maintained.	458
Sept. 30 253	<i>Memorandum</i> Weizsäcker told the Austrian Minister that there were no differences of opinion between Germany and Italy with respect to Austria.	459
Sept. 30 254	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Schmidt denied that the meeting of Schuschnigg and Hodza had political importance. Schmidt complained that his efforts to promote good Austro-German relations had met with little response in Germany. Stein doubts Schmidt's sincerity.	460

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CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938--Continued

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1937 Oct. 1 255	<i>Memorandum of a Conversation With Reichsleiter Bormann on September 30, 1937</i> Bormann agreed that Leopold must be held to strict discipline or dismissed; the provision of funds for work in Austria, and for Austrian refugees, was discussed.	462
Oct. 1 256	<i>Memorandum of a Conversation With Foreign Minister Baron von Neurath on October 1, 1937</i> Neurath reported that Mussolini had agreed to support the German policy in Austria, i.e., an evolutionary solution, unless the problem was exploded by a third party, in which case Germany would intervene.	463

F. DIVIDED NAZI COUNSELS, OCTOBER 1937-JANUARY 1938

1937 Oct. 4 257	<i>Memorandum</i> Details of Leopold's attacks on Seyss-Inquart and Keppler.	464
Oct. 7 258	<i>Minute</i> Altenburg gives details of Leopold's conduct and requests that Leopold not be received by Göring.	466
Oct. 7 259	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Has received reports of efforts by Schuschnigg to improve the relations of Austria and Hungary with the Little Entente; loyal cooperation with Germany cannot be expected from Schuschnigg, but the people of Austria remain faithful to their German mission.	467
Oct. 8 260	<i>Memorandum of Call on Minister President Göring in the Company of Landesleiter Leopold on October 8, 1937</i> Göring orders Leopold to work in the closest cooperation with Seyss-Inquart.	469
Oct. 13 261	<i>Memorandum of the Report to Reichsführer-SS Himmler of October 12, 1937</i> Hitler sets the size and composition of the SA-Hilfswerk Nordwest.	470
Oct. 13 262	<i>Memorandum of the Visit to the Reichsschatzmeisterei in Munich on October 13, 1937</i> Agreement reached on the legal and illegal Austrian activity of the German Nazi Party.	471
Oct. 14 263	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A description of the ways in which Schuschnigg oppresses Nazism and favors Legitimism.	472
Oct. 22 264	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Glaise-Horstenau reports that Schuschnigg, disillusioned by the results of the Agreement of July 11, 1936, intends to work for closer relations with the other Succession States and Poland.	474

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Oct. 22 265	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Glaise reports that Göring may be invited to visit Austria.	475
Oct. 23 268	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Seyss-Inquart reports that Schuschnigg hopes to maintain the <i>status quo</i> in Austria until German policy becomes more moderate; then closer Austro-German relations would be possible.	476
Nov. 2 267	<i>Memorandum of Conversation With Reichsleiter Bormann on November 2, 1937, at 11 a.m.</i> Keppler reports on his activities; Bormann agrees that, in accordance with Hitler's wishes, the Austrian Nazis must accept an evolutionary course.	477
Nov. 5 268	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Reports of Schuschnigg's efforts to unite the Succession States and Poland.	478
Nov. 19 269	<i>Memorandum of the Confidential Conversation of Dr. Megerle With State Secretary Schmidt, in the Grand Hotel, Vienna, on November 17, 1937, From 9:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.</i> Schmidt urges that Göring visit Austria; the visit would improve Austro-German relations.	479
Dec. 7 270	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Urges that the interference of the Austrian Episcopate in Reich religious controversies demonstrates the need for measures against Schuschnigg.	481
Dec. 7 271	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Affairs (Keppler)</i> New complaints of Austrian Nazi intrigues against Papen.	481
Dec. 10 272	<i>The Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Affairs (Keppler) to the German Ambassador in Austria (Papen)</i> He will speak to Leopold about Papen's complaints.	483
Dec. 21 273	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> In an interview with Schuschnigg, Papen states the reasons for German dissatisfaction with Austrian policy, and warns that the tension cannot long endure.	483
Dec. 22 274	<i>The Austrian Minister in Great Britain (Franckenstein) to the Austrian Foreign Ministry</i> An intercepted despatch analyzing the attitude of various British groups toward German ambitions in general, and toward Austria and Czechoslovakia in particular.	486

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1938 Jan. 8 275	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Describes incidents which justify the charge that Germany is interfering in Austrian domestic affairs.	489
Jan. 8 276	<i>Memorandum</i> Keppler reports that Seyss-Inquart intends to resign, but Göring says he must remain at his post; new examples of Leopold's insubordination.	491
Jan. 15 277	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Describes the difficulties created for Austro-German relations by the controversy between Nazism and the churches.	491
Jan. 17 278	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Suggests that the activities of the anti-Nazi Father Muckermann in Vienna be scrutinized.	492
Jan. 27 279	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The plans for a Nazi <i>Putsch</i> , seized in the raid on the Austrian Nazi headquarters, have convinced Schuschnigg that the present situation cannot continue.	493
Jan. 29 280	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Describes the police raids and arrests in Vienna, and their political repercussions.	494
Jan. 29 281	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> The Austrian Minister described, and complained of, the activities of the Austrian Legion; Neurath replied that he was not informed.	495

G. BERCHTESGADEN, FEBRUARY 1938

1938 Feb. 2 282	<i>The Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Affairs (Keppler) to the Foreign Minister (Neurath)</i> Gives Seyss-Inquart's report on the concessions which the latter had won from Schuschnigg concerning the treatment of Austrian Nazis.	497
Feb. 3 283	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Reports of plans for a Nazi <i>Putsch</i> in Austria have been received in Rome.	498
Feb. 4 284	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Since Schuschnigg is showing willingness to make concessions, the situation is favorable for the contemplated conversations with him; Leopold is trying to force intervention by ordering terrorist acts.	499

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CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Feb. 7 285	<i>The Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Affairs (Keppler) to the Foreign Minister (Ribbentrop)</i> Reviews Austro-German relations and concludes that Schuschnigg's recent willingness to make concessions brightens the prospect for an evolutionary solution.	500
Feb. 8 286	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Legation in Austria</i> Keppler requests that influence be used to end the opposition of Leopold and Glaise to Seyss-Inquart's negotiations with Schuschnigg.	502
Feb. 8 287	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Reports that the negotiations are going well; requests that Göring instruct Leopold to refrain from any action.	503
Feb. 8 288	<i>Memorandum</i> The Austrian Minister endeavors, without success, to learn the reasons for the recent changes in the German Government and whether the changes mean a shift in German policy toward Austria.	503
Feb. 10 289	<i>The Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Affairs (Keppler) to the Foreign Minister</i> Argues that a common currency would serve the interests both of Germany and of Austria; gives details of Leopold's disobedience to instructions.	504
Feb. 10 290	<i>Memorandum on the Present State of German-Austrian Relations</i> Schuschnigg has evaded all efforts to force him to execute the Agreement of July 11, 1936, and has sought to divide the Austrian Nazis; recently, he has shown willingness to cooperate, but his past record makes skepticism advisable.	507
Feb. 11 291	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welzeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The French press believes the immediate German objective has shifted from Czechoslovakia; in face of the expected crisis, the press implies that there is little France can do.	508
Feb. 12 292	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Tells of violently anti-Nazi statements attributed to Father Muckermann; Papen hopes, through Cardinal Innitzer, to silence Father Muckermann.	510
293	<i>Undated Report</i> On the progress of negotiations in Austria; Schuschnigg is disposed to yield the essentials, but he must be definitely committed.	512
Feb. 12 294	<i>Protocol of the Conference of February 12, 1938</i> A draft calling for changes in Austria, including the appointment of specified "Nationals" to the Cabinet, which would make possible the unimpeded development of National Socialism; prepared for the Hitler-Schuschnigg conference at Berchtesgaden.	513

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936—JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Undated 295	<i>Protocol of the Conference of February 12, 1938</i> The signed protocol, in substance similar to the draft, but less categorical in form.	515
Feb. 14 296	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Explained to Attolico the failure to inform Italy in advance of the Berchtesgaden meeting and gave him some information about the meeting, but said nothing about the signing of a protocol.	517
Feb. 14 297	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Schuschnigg, although under pressure from France and Britain as well as from domestic opponents, is still holding to his agreement, but he asks that the Agreement of July 11, 1936, be reaffirmed in the communiqué; Seyss-Inquart asks the removal of Leopold and Tavs to Germany.	518
Feb. 14 298	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Gives the Austrian draft communiqué, which relates the Berchtesgaden agreements to the Agreement of July 11, 1936; Papen suggests a revision of the draft.	519
	<i>Editors' Note:</i> On Hitler's approval of Keitel's plan for creating the impression of impending military action against Austria.	520
Feb. 15 299	<i>Memorandum</i> Summarizes telephone conversations with Vienna concerning the text of the communiqué and official Austrian acceptance of the measures promised at Berchtesgaden; the text of the Austrian acceptance is given.	520
	<i>Editors' Note:</i> On the broadcasting of communiqués on the Berchtesgaden conversations.	521
Feb. 16 300	<i>The German Foreign Minister to the Austrian Foreign Minister (Schmidt)</i> Congratulates Schmidt on the conclusion of the Austro-German agreements.	522
Feb. 16 301	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions and Consular Offices.</i> For information, summarizes the Berchtesgaden Protocols; in conversations, interpret the results as progress in Austro-German relations and as a contribution to European peace.	522
Feb. 16 302	<i>The German Embassy in France to the German Foreign Ministry</i> French opinion is depressed by the success of German diplomacy in Austria; few believe that France and Britain will intervene to preserve Austrian independence.	523
Feb. 16 303	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Führer's Deputy (Hess)</i> Requests renewal of ban on interference in Austria by German Nazis.	524

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CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

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1938 Feb. 16 304	<i>The Personal Adjutant of the Führer's Deputy (Leitgen) to the Foreign Minister</i> Hess has renewed the ban on interference in Austria.	525
Feb. 17 305	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Events in Austria have aroused uneasiness in Britain, but no strong reaction is to be expected.	525
Feb. 17 306	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Reviews events since February 12; analyzes the composition of the new Austrian Government; concludes that while a promising beginning has been made, experience suggests that the actions of the new Government must be sharply supervised.	526
Undated 307	<i>Proposal for the Speech of the Führer and Chancellor</i> Suggests that Hitler praise Schuschnigg's concessions and promise cooperation.	528
Feb. 17 308	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> The French Ambassador sought repeatedly to obtain assurances that Germany would continue to respect Austrian independence; Ribbentrop denied the right of France to intervene in Austro-German relations, and stated that Germany would not shrink from war to protect the Germans living on her borders.	529

H. AN ACCELERATED EVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION, FEBRUARY-MARCH 1938

1938 Feb. 18 309	<i>Memorandum</i> Papen telephoned the revised text of the communiqué on the rights of Austrian Nazis; he urged acceptance, and, in order to put an end to rumor, requested publication of a statement that the measures agreed on at Berchtesgaden had now been carried out.	531
Feb. 18 310	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> In response to the request of the British Ambassador for information on Austria, Ribbentrop made, in more conciliatory form, the statements he had made to the French Ambassador.	532
Feb. 18 311	<i>Memorandum</i> Magistrati showed great curiosity about the next moves in Austria.	533
Undated 312	<i>Draft Press Release</i> Austrian Nazis now have the opportunity for legal activity; German Nazis will not interfere in Austrian domestic politics.	534
Undated 313	<i>Report on the Austrian Situation up to February 18, 1938, 7 p.m.</i> Describes the panic in Vienna; concludes that Hitler can make new gains in Austria if he so desires.	534

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936—JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Feb. 19 314	<i>Memorandum</i> The Hungarian Minister said that Hungary welcomed the Berchtesgaden visit.	537
Feb. 19 315	<i>Memorandum</i> Ribbentrop wishes the Italian Ambassador to be cursorily informed of the Berchtesgaden Protocol.	537
Feb. 19 316	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Austrian Minister reports that, on instructions from Vienna, he is using every effort to reassure the British Government on Austro-German relations.	538
Feb. 19 317	<i>The Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Affairs (Keppler) to the Foreign Minister</i> Thanks for instructions to make independent decisions on Austria.	539
Feb. 22 318	<i>Memorandum of the Reception by the Führer on the Afternoon of February 21, 1938, in the Presence of Field Marshal Göring</i> Hitler bitterly reproached Leopold, and for the future excluded Leopold and his assistants from Austria. Klausner was appointed leader of the Austrian Nazis and ordered to pattern his activities after those Bürckel had earlier pursued with success in the Saar. Hitler comments on Austrian and general European developments.	539
Feb. 22 319	<i>The Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Affairs (Keppler) to the Reichsschatzmeister of the N.S.D.A.P. (Schwarz)</i> Tells of Hitler's decisions on financing of Party activities in Austria.	541
Feb. 22 320	<i>Memorandum</i> Weizsäcker told Magistrati cursorily of the contents of the Berchtesgaden Protocol, but did not tell him all the provisions or mention that there was a Protocol.	542
Feb. 22 321	<i>The German Minister in Yugoslavia (Heeren) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Yugoslav Government had rebuffed a French invitation to join in a protest against a possible <i>Anschluss</i> .	543
Feb. 22 322	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Encloses the <i>aide-mémoire</i> defending the results of the Berchtesgaden meeting which the Austrian Minister had handed to Eden on February 16.	543
Feb. 23 323	<i>The Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Affairs (Keppler) to SA-Obergruppenführer Reschny of the SA-Hilfswerk Nordwest</i> Tells of Hitler's decisions on the <i>Hilfswerk Nordwest</i> .	544
Feb. 24 324	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Schuschnigg had refused the request to deny in his speech that brutal force had been used at Berchtesgaden as many, including the British Minister, were saying.	545

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Feb. 25 325	<i>The German Ambassador in Austria (Papen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Papen, on leaving Austria, feels that events are moving according to plan, and that Schuschnigg's reiterated determination to preserve Austrian independence need not, therefore, be taken too seriously.	546
Feb. 26 326	<i>Memorandum</i> Papen called and said that Schuschnigg intended to dissociate himself from the debate in the French Chamber on Austrian independence.	546
Feb. 26 327	<i>Memorandum by the German Ambassador in Austria (Papen)</i> A more extended account of Papen's farewell conversation with Schuschnigg. Schuschnigg had said that, at Berchtesgaden, concessions had been wrung from him by pressure.	547
Feb. 28 328	<i>Memorandum</i> Hitler notified the deposed Austrian Nazi leaders that he wished to try an evolutionary policy in Austria, and that, while they would be well cared for and might be used later, they were to remain in Germany. Hitler entrusted the Austrian problem to Keppler.	548
Feb. 28 329	<i>Memorandum</i> Seyss-Inquart reports that labor is flocking to the Nazis, but that the Government, encouraged by foreign powers, is trying to sabotage the agreement.	550
Undated 330	<i>Memorandum</i> Summarizing the international agreements for the preservation of Austrian independence.	551
Mar. 4 331	<i>The German Embassy in Great Britain to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Analyzes the debate on Austria in the Commons on March 2, and notes that Chamberlain did not accept the French view on the importance of Austrian independence.	553
Mar. 4 332	<i>The German Minister in Hungary (Erdmannsdorff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Schuschnigg, in conversation with Kanya, affirmed his determination to cooperate with Germany, while preserving Austrian independence.	555
Undated 333	<i>Conversation With Minister Guido Schmidt in Vienna on March 4, 1938</i> Keppler tried to secure redress for many grievances, but found Schmidt unwilling to accept responsibility.	556
Undated 334	<i>Conversation With Minister Guido Schmidt and Federal Chancellor Schuschnigg in Vienna on March 5, 1938</i> Schuschnigg expressed anger at the threats made at Berchtesgaden, but the discussion soon became friendly, and Keppler concludes that Schuschnigg will come along if force is not used.	557

CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Undated 335	<i>Memorandum of Trip to Vienna, March 3 to 6, 1938</i> Keppler's report that the Nazi Party is in fine shape, but is being restrained so that increasing concessions can be won from Schuschnigg; Seyss-Inquart is proving skillful, and is advancing Party interests steadily.	559
Mar. 7 336	<i>The Commissioner of the Führer and Chancellor for Economic Affairs (Keppler) to the Austrian Minister of the Interior (Seyss-Inquart)</i> A request for a discussion of police protection for Hitler when he goes to Italy in May.	561
Mar. 7 337	<i>Memorandum for the German Counselor of Embassy in Vienna (Stein)</i> On Otto of Hapsburg's information concerning events in Austria.	561
Mar. 8 338	<i>Memorandum</i> A third-hand report that on March 4 a conference of Austrian political leaders decided to hold elections in Austria as soon as possible.	562

I. CONQUEST, MARCH 1938

1938 Mar. 9 339	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Great Britain</i> The Austrian Government intends to hold a plebiscite Sunday; Keppler will fly to Vienna to prevent or modify the plebiscite.	562
Mar. 10 340	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Great Britain</i> Summarizes Schuschnigg's Innsbruck speech announcing a plebiscite; obviously, this is an attempt to take the National Socialists off guard.	563
Mar. 10 341	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Schmidt explained that the plebiscite was Schuschnigg's personal wish; the Cabinet was not consulted; Schmidt was holding aloof.	564
Mar. 10 342	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Great Britain</i> Hitler had instructed Seyss-Inquart to engage in no negotiations.	564
Mar. 10 343	<i>The Chief of the Sicherheitshauptamt of the Reichsführer-SS to SS-Gruppenführer Keppler</i> Encloses a description of the organization of the Austrian Nazi Party.	565
Mar. 10 344	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Describes the background of the plebiscite and events since the announcement.	566

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1938	<i>Editors' Note:</i> On Göring's telephone conversations during period March 11-14 and on plans for the invasion of Austria.	568
Mar. 11 345	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Austria (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Reports of Austrian military preparations.	569
Mar. 11 346	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welczeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Delbos expressed uneasiness concerning rumors of an impending war over Austria; Welczeck said that this was a family quarrel and others should stay out; Delbos replied that Europe as a whole was a family.	569
Mar. 11 347	<i>Memorandum</i> Bräuer tells Weizsäcker of alarm in France; France, however, was unlikely to intervene.	570
Mar. 11 348	<i>Minute</i> Magistrati asked about rumors of military moves, and requested that Italy be informed of German decisions; Weizsäcker gave very general information and assurances.	570
Mar. 11 349	<i>Minute</i> Magistrati reads a telegram stating that Mussolini had advised against the plebiscite.	572
Mar. 11 350	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said that Mussolini had advised against the plebiscite in Austria and that Italy had rejected a French proposal for joint action.	572
Mar. 11 351	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Legation in Yugoslavia</i> Yugoslav Minister had said Yugoslavia considered Austria an internal German affair.	573
Mar. 11 352	<i>The Führer and Chancellor to Benito Mussolini</i> Explains that Schuschnigg's failure to abide by the Berchtesgaden Agreement, and above all the impending plebiscite, make German intervention inevitable; states that the Brenner is recognized as the frontier; and reminds Mussolini of the support given to Italy by Germany in the past.	573
Undated 353	<i>Communication From the British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson) to Reich Minister von Neurath</i> Halifax warns against interference in the Austrian plebiscite since no one could say what the end or limit of an explosion would be.	576
Mar. 11 354	<i>The British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson) to Reich Minister von Neurath</i> Halifax had warned Ribbentrop of the effect in England if Germany insists on the resignation of Schuschnigg.	577

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1938 Mar. 11 355	<i>The British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson) to Reich Minister von Neurath</i> If reports of German coercion backed by force are accurate, the British Government protests in the strongest terms.	578
Mar. 11 356	<i>The French Ambassador in Germany (François-Poncet) to Reich Minister von Neurath</i> In view of reports of German coercion backed by force, the French Government protests most emphatically.	578
Mar. 11 357	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions</i> Explains that, on receipt of Seyss-Inquart telegram, Germany considers the dispatch of troops to Austria necessary.	579
Undated 358	<i>The Austrian Minister of the Interior (Seyss-Inquart) to the Führer and Reich Chancellor</i> Requests that troops be sent as soon as possible.	580
Mar. 12 359	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The British press says Austria will hamper Anglo-German relations, but there is no suggestion of intervention.	580
Mar. 12 360	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welzeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The French press, admitting that the British and French protest will not save Austria, regards the protest as a barrier to further German expansion; there is great bitterness against Italy.	581
Mar. 12 361	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Details of his conversation with Ciano, who, while rebuffing the advances of France, was disconcerted by events in Austria.	582
Mar. 12 362	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Hull gave the impression that he thoroughly understood the German action in Austria.	583
Mar. 12 363	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Yugoslavia (Janson) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Semi-officially, the Yugoslav attitude was sympathetic to Germany.	583
Mar. 12 364	<i>Minute</i> Seyss-Inquart, through Muff, unsuccessfully tries to prevent German troops from crossing the Austrian frontier.	584
Mar. 12 365	<i>Memorandum</i> Neurath's formulation of the bases of German action in Austria.	585
Mar. 12 366	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions</i> Repeats the substance of the German reply to the British and French protests: denies both the responsibility of Germany for the crisis and the right of other powers to interfere.	586

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CHAPTER II. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, JULY 1936-JULY 1938—Continued

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1938 Mar. 12 367	<i>Memorandum</i> Mackensen had told the military that the political situation in the west permitted the slowing down of precautionary measures there.	587
Mar. 12 368	<i>Minute</i> The War Ministry has no reports of military moves by other European states.	588
Mar. 12 369	<i>Memorandum</i> Report on the progress of the invasion of Austria.	588
Mar. 12 370	<i>Memorandum</i> On efforts to discover whether, as reported, Miklas had been presented with one or more German ultimatums.	588
Mar. 12 371	<i>Memorandum</i> Enclosing a Muff report on the ultimatum to Austria, and reporting efforts to suppress the facts.	589
Undated 372	<i>Telephone Message</i> Telling of an agent's report from France on the military and political repercussions of the invasion of Austria.	590
Mar. 13 373	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Italian press now agrees with the German position on Austria.	591
Mar. 13 374	<i>Memorandum</i> The provisions of the Austrian law on reunion with Germany, as reported by telephone; Austrian missions abroad would now place themselves at the disposal of the corresponding German chief of mission.	591
Mar. 13 375	<i>Memorandum</i> A telephone report on military operations and on military measures of other powers.	592
Mar. 13 376	<i>The British Ambassador in Germany (Henderson) to Field Marshal Göring</i> The British Government took note of Göring's assurance that German troops would be withdrawn from Austria and free elections held.	593

J. THE REPERCUSSIONS, MARCH-JULY 1938

1938 Mar. 14 377	<i>Memorandum</i> Clodius reports the decisions made in Vienna concerning the treaties and financial obligations of Austria.	593
Mar. 14 378	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to All German Diplomatic Missions (Except Vienna)</i> To give notification of the text of the German law on the unification of Austria with Germany.	594

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1938 Mar. 14 379	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Chiang welcomes union of Austria and Germany.	595
Mar. 14 380	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welzeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Recognition is spreading that nothing can be done about Austria; fear is growing that Czechoslovakia will be the next victim of German aggression.	596
Mar. 14 381	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had complained to Cadogan about the misrepresentation in the British press concerning the German action in Austria and concerning Ribbentrop's conversations in London.	597
Mar. 14 382	<i>The German Minister in Switzerland (Köcher) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Motta expressed admiration for the way in which the <i>Anschluss</i> had been executed; Köcher said the fears expressed in the Swiss press were absurd.	598
Mar. 14 383	<i>Memorandum</i> Magistrati had complained to Welzlicker concerning anti-Italian demonstrations by German troops in Innsbruck.	599
Mar. 14 384	<i>Memorandum</i> Speaking personally, Magistrati said that, in the light of German racial policy, and of German recognition of the Brenner frontier, a definitive solution of the problem raised by the Germans in the South Tyrol was necessary.	600
Mar. 14 385	<i>Memorandum</i> Magistrati conveyed Mussolini's thanks for Hitler's letter.	600
Mar. 14 386	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> An analysis of Chamberlain's statement in Commons on Austria.	601
Mar. 15 387	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Japan (Noebel) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Describes the enthusiasm the <i>Anschluss</i> aroused in Japan.	602
Mar. 15 388	<i>The German Ambassador in France (Welzeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> France has written off Austria, but a more active policy has been initiated regarding Spain and Czechoslovakia; the Czechs have been promised immediate armed assistance in case of attack.	603
Mar. 15 389	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergin) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Suggests that the intolerable Austrian Concordat be ignored.	603
Mar. 15 390	<i>The German Minister in Rumania (Fabricius) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> On the failure of Beneš to secure a meeting of the Little Entente.	604

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1938 Mar. 15 391	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The State Department, taking its cue from London and from the Jews, is now hostile to the German action in Austria.	604
Mar. 15 392	<i>Memorandum</i> The factual basis of the statement of Under Secretary Butler in the Commons on March 14 is challenged by Bismarck, and no effective reply is made by Kirkpatrick.	605
Mar. 16 393	<i>Memorandum</i> On the need to distinguish clearly between "German nationals abroad" and "the racial German element," and to avoid the expression "Racial-German Reich."	607
Mar. 16 394	<i>Memorandum</i> An endeavor to discover whether the Foreign Ministry had participated in the drafting of the law on the union of Austria with Germany.	607
Mar. 16 395	<i>Memorandum</i> Clodius explains his limited participation in the drafting of the law on the union of Austria with Germany.	608
Mar. 17 396	<i>Memorandum for the Führer</i> Magistratl asked that Hitler's letter to Mussolini be published in Germany, or that Hitler, in his Reichstag speech, recognize the Brenner frontier again.	610
[Mar. 17] 397	<i>The Italian Ambassador in Germany (Attolico) to the German Foreign Minister</i> Emphasizing the necessity for a definite statement on the Brenner frontier.	610
Mar. 19 398	<i>The German Embassy in France to the German Foreign Ministry</i> An informant says that the Russian proposal for a conference to prevent a repetition of attacks such as that on Austria was received sympathetically by the French, and that cooperation in the Polish-Lithuanian conflict was discussed.	611
Mar. 25 399	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini's unreserved acceptance of the <i>Anschluss</i> is widely criticized in Italy; he is as unenthusiastic about the <i>Anschluss</i> as his critics, but he approved out of political realism; the Axis is stronger than ever.	612
Apr. 2 400	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> A conversation with the British Ambassador on technical problems growing out of the <i>Anschluss</i> , on the persecution of Austrians and the expulsion of a British correspondent, and on reviving the discussion of a colonial settlement.	613
Apr. 18 401	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Until March 13, American opinion followed events in Austria with understanding of the German position; the increasing hostility after March 13 is explained by the President's intervention, by Jewish and Catholic propaganda, and by British control over American opinion.	615

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1938 Apr. 28 402	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions</i> Reviews the German declarations of the inviolability of the German frontiers with Italy, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Yugoslavia, and Hungary.	621
May 2 403	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the Office of the Foreign Ministry in Vienna</i> Enclosing the circular letter of an Austrian Nazi who intended to write a history of the courier service of the Austrian N.S.D.A.P.; such a publication would not serve German interests.	623
May 16 404	<i>Memorandum</i> Suggesting the release of those imprisoned Austrians against whom court proceedings are not feasible; Ribbentrop defers action.	624
July 5 405	<i>Memorandum</i> Welzsäcker reviewed with Heydrich the question of imprisoned Austrians, and worked out a policy to be followed when inquiries were received from foreign governments.	625

CHAPTER III. GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES, AUGUST 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938

A. THE IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT, AUGUST-DECEMBER 1937

1937 Aug. 5 406	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had complained of Dodd's speech, but advises that the incident be ignored.	627
Aug. 31 407	<i>The American Ambassador to Germany (Dodd) to the German Foreign Minister</i> Expressing surprise that his remarks had given offense.	628
Sept. 23 408	<i>Memorandum</i> Freytag advises that Dodd's speech and letter be ignored.	628
Sept. 27 409	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A discussion with Sumner Welles on the <i>Europa</i> of the Far East, Spain, armaments, colonies, Anglo-American trade negotiations, and Ambassador Dodd.	630
Oct. 1 410	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Welles tells in confidence of Dodd's impending recall.	632
Oct. 2 411	<i>Memorandum</i> Gilbert pointed out that the activities of Germans in the United States were disturbing German-American relations.	632
Oct. 7 412	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Roosevelt's "quarantine" speech was directed mainly against Japan; no military conflict is likely.	633

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1937 Oct. 9 413	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Action is not likely to follow the "quarantine" speech; America will act only if there is a world conflict in which Britain is involved.	634
Oct. 11 414	<i>Memorandum</i> Freytag reviews the history of the Friends of the New Germany and the German-American Bund, and argues that Germany should have nothing to do with the Bund but should, like Italy, concentrate on cultural activities; suggests a reply to Gilbert's representation of October 2.	635
Oct. 15 415	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Reviews the origins and consequences of the "quarantine" speech; concludes that American policy is not becoming more active.	639
Oct. 15 416	<i>The State Secretary and Chief of the Reich Chancellery to the Foreign Minister and the Reich Propaganda Minister</i> Enclosing a treatise on the United States by Rechenberg which Hitler had read with great interest.	642
Oct. 28 417	<i>Memorandum</i> Davidsen gives personal data on Rechenberg and analyzes his treatise; concludes that neither the man nor his writing is reliable or useful.	642
Nov. 15 418	<i>Memorandum</i> Further arguments by Freytag against accepting Rechenberg's views as an accurate picture of American life.	645
Nov. 22 419	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Uses the resolution passed by the Catholic Bishops to develop the argument that religious strife in Germany is injuring German-American relations.	646
Nov. 24 420	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Mackensen)</i> Former Ambassador Schurman had complained of German efforts to exert political influence over Americans of German origin. While Dieckhoff had denied that such efforts had been made, he warns that the activities of the Bund, in a situation already difficult because of the Jewish and Church questions, are a serious danger.	648
Nov. 27 421	<i>Minute</i> Weizsäcker told Attolico he doubted if the Anti-Comintern Pact had alarmed the United States.	652
Nov. 30 422	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The editorial in today's <i>New York Times</i> approved by the Department of State, which is trying to combat isolationist views; Dieckhoff believes American policy will follow British.	652

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1937 Dec. 7 423	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Warns that American isolationism will end if there is intolerable provocation, or if the existence of Britain and of values vital to America are threatened.	653
Dec. 11 424	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in the United States</i> Tells of popular indignation over a speech by Ickes.	656
Dec. 13 425	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had thought it best not to protest Ickes' speech.	656

B. THE EMBASSY AND THE BUND, DECEMBER 1937-JANUARY 1938

1937 Dec. 17 426	<i>Memorandum From the Office of the State Secretary</i> Announcing a conference on German-American activities.	657
Dec. 20 427	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> German-American relations remain unchanged because of fear of the "Aggressor States," the sharpening of ideological differences, and the fear of the spread of Nazism which the activities of the Bund encourages; warns that indifference to American opinion was disastrous once and may be again.	658
Dec. 22 428	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Mackensen) to the German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff)</i> A recently discovered connection between the <i>Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle</i> and the Bund has been broken.	662
1938 Jan. 3 429	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The passages on foreign policy in the President's message are intended to undermine isolationism and to favor preparedness.	663
Jan. 7 430	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> After dismissing the American fear of the Bund as without foundation, Dieckhoff examines exhaustively the possibility of mobilizing the German-Americans so that they could prevent a repetition of 1917, and concludes that any official efforts to this end would not only fail but would injure the German-Americans and German-American relations; the history of the Bund, and especially of its alleged Party connections, is used to fortify this conclusion.	664

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1938 Jan. 13 431	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Mackensen)</i> Summarizes his report of January 7, and emphasizes the necessity for German authorities to remain aloof from the Bund.	678
Jan. 14 432	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had protested vehemently against Dodd's speech of January 13.	679
Jan. 18 433	<i>The Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff)</i> On efforts of the Foreign Ministry to improve German-American relations.	680
Jan. 19 434	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> Urging that no official notice be taken of the "March of Time" film on Germany; a protest would merely increase the popularity of the film.	681
Jan. 21 435	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Complains that a speech at Stuttgart by Glissibl of the Bund makes it harder to deny any connection between the Bund and Germany.	684

C. THE BUND OFFICIALLY REPUDIATED, JANUARY-JUNE, 1938

1938 Jan. 21 436	<i>The Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery (Lammers) to the Foreign Minister</i> Hitler is considering whether the new American Ambassador should be received before satisfaction is given for the Dodd speech.	685
Jan. 26 437	<i>Memorandum</i> At a meeting on January 24, public announcement that Reich-Germans may not be members of the Bund was recommended.	685
Feb. 4 438	<i>Memorandum</i> At a meeting of representatives of several offices, the Bund was discussed and the recommendations in the memorandum of January 26 accepted.	687
Feb. 5 439	<i>Reich Minister von Neurath to the Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery (Lammers)</i> Urges that, despite justified indignation over Dodd's conduct, the new American Ambassador be given a chance to improve relations.	689

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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Feb. 9 440	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had told Welles that Germany bore no responsibility, while the anti-German campaign in America bore much responsibility, for the grave condition of international affairs. Dieckhoff believes the Government could bring the United States into a war perhaps more quickly than into the first World War.	689
Feb. 10 441	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in the United States</i> Gives the text of a proposed press announcement calling attention to the fact that German nationals are not permitted to join the Bund; the American Government is to be informed.	691
Feb. 24 442	<i>Memorandum</i> In telling the American Ambassador of the renewed prohibition against membership in the Bund, it should be emphasized that this step is taken in the hope of improving relations.	692
Feb. 28 443	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Has heard of new promises of support to the Bund; urges that the German connections be broken.	693
Mar. 22 444	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Uses a speech of Ambassador Kennedy to argue that, while the isolationists are vocal and the Government is determined to keep its hands free, America will come into a world conflict if Britain is involved.	694
Mar. 22 445	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> Uses the American reaction to the <i>Anschluss</i> to argue that American policy follows British policy; if Britain fights, America will fight; fears his reiteration of this thesis is boring but does not wish an American declaration of war to take Germany by surprise.	696
Mar. 29 446	<i>The German Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff)</i> Asks if a "goodwill tour" by Wiedemann and lectures by prominent Germans would help to counteract anti-German activities in America.	698
Mar. 30 447	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Argues that the failure of the American Government to press the campaign for repeal of the Neutrality Act does not in any way guarantee American neutrality; if Britain fights, America will fight.	699

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1938 Apr. 7 448	<p><i>The Aide to the Führer and Chancellor (Wiedemann) to the Head of Political Division IX in the German Foreign Ministry (Freitag)</i></p> <p>Enclosing a summary of a conversation between Wiedemann and Fritz Kuhn in which the former had denounced the conduct of the Bund and refused to answer Kuhn's questions and complaints.</p>	701
Apr. 14 449	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Strongly advises against undertaking any publicity campaign until after the elections in November.</p>	703
Apr. 29 450	<p><i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Ribbentrop complains strongly that the American Government made no attempt to improve the attitude of the press; the American Ambassador says that the attitude of the press in both countries is not very gratifying.</p>	704
Apr. 30 451	<p><i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff)</i></p> <p>Encourages Dieckhoff to reiterate his warning about the attitude of America in a world conflict; praises the new American Ambassador.</p>	705
May 21 452	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Attributes the opposition of Ickes to the provision of helium to pressure from anti-German groups; the President privately disagrees with Ickes but can say nothing.</p>	706
May 28 453	<p><i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in the United States</i></p> <p>Requests a report on the activities of the Bund and the execution of the order of February 10.</p>	707
June 2 454	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The Bund continues to cause uneasiness; all governmental and Party authorities have not severed their connections with the Bund.</p>	708
June 2 455	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Enclosing reports from the Consulates General at New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, all of which state that the Bund is injuring German-American relations and dividing Americans of German origin.</p>	709

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D. THE CONFLICT OF INTERESTS, JUNE-SEPTEMBER 1938

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1938 June 10 456	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> The American Ambassador states that he will do all in his power to stem the press agitation in America.	713
June 13 457	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Dirksen) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> In an hour-long conversation, Ambassador Kennedy expressed eagerness to visit Germany, stressing his desire to promote friendly German-American relations and his confidence that, because of his strong position at home, he would succeed; the American foreign service, the visit of Colonel Lindbergh to Germany, the Jewish question, the American press, and the aims of German policy were among the subjects discussed.	713
June 25 458	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The steady rise of anti-German sentiment (the origins of which are summarized) makes unlikely any new commercial agreement between the United States and Germany.	718
July 20 459	<i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Dirksen) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> Ambassador Kennedy reported that American sentiment against Germany was much stronger, but the President continued to promote peace; Kennedy reiterated his desire to visit Germany. In a marginal note, Weizsäcker states why Dieckhoff opposes the visit.	721
July 28 460	<i>Memorandum</i> Secretary Hull, in conversation with Dieckhoff, listed the reasons for American resentment at German economic policy.	724
Aug. 16 461	<i>The Under State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Woermann) to the German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Th. Kordt)</i> Kennedy is to be told that his visit would be welcome, but that it is uncertain whether the occasion which he had suggested for the visit would materialize.	725
Sept. 12 462	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in the United States (Thomsen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A detailed analysis of the forces shaping American foreign policy. Ideological aversion to totalitarianism is only a cover for the more important concern for the balance of power and international trade.	726

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CHAPTER IV. GERMANY AND THE FAR EAST, JULY 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938

A. NEUTRALITY, JULY-AUGUST, 1937

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1937 July 20 463	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions</i> In the Far East conflict Germany will observe strict neutrality, but earnestly desires a peaceful settlement for economic reasons and because the conflict serves Soviet interests. (Footnote: The text of the Secret Agreement attached to the Anti-Comintern Pact of November 25, 1936).	733
July 21 464	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano gave the Italian view, which is sympathetic to Japan.	735
July 21 465	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Falkenhausen gave in confidence Chiang's estimate of the probable course of events, and his own, both of which were most optimistic.	736
July 22 466	<i>Memorandum</i> The Japanese Counselor said that the intervention of third powers to promote a peaceful settlement would not be welcome.	737
July 22 467	<i>Memorandum</i> The Japanese Counselor protested that arms were still going to China, despite the promises of Neurath that these exports would be stopped; Weizsäcker said he would investigate.	737
July 24 468	<i>Memorandum</i> The British Chargé d'Affaires brought an <i>aide-mémoire</i> expressing anxiety about conditions in the Far East, summarizing the action taken by the British Government, and requesting the German view; Weizsäcker replied that Germany had taken no action, and intended to take none.	738
July 27 469	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A Japanese spokesman complained that German shipments of arms to China were stopped only after a protest and that the German Military Adviser still is active in China.	740
July 27 470	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Chiang urges German pressure on Japan, hinting that China might be forced to seek aid from the U.S.S.R.	741
July 28 471	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> Germany has counseled moderation to Japan; can do no more.	742
July 28 472	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> A strong repudiation of the Japanese contention that the Anti-Comintern Pact requires German assistance to Japan. German neutrality, not Japanese protests, stopped the delivery of arms to China; recall of the German military advisers would mean taking sides against China.	742

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1937 July 28 473	<i>Memorandum</i> The Japanese Ambassador suggests that, by refusing to recognize the anti-Communist motivation of Japanese action in China, Germany was jeopardizing the Pact; Weizsäcker suggests that the Japanese are in fact facilitating the spread of Communism.	744
July 30 474	<i>Memorandum</i> Further Japanese efforts to demonstrate that Japan was fighting Communism in China and that Germany was therefore obligated to assist Japan.	745
July 31 475	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassies in China and Japan</i> Is Sovlet activity increasing in North China?	747
Aug. 1 476	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Reports of Communist activity have no truth, but Japan may drive China into alliance with the U.S.S.R.	748
Aug. 3 477	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Japanese politicians hope for a quick, local solution of the North China conflict; the military men, however, plan the overthrow of the Nanking Government. The Japanese claim to have evidence of Communist activity in China.	748
Aug. 17 478	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Hitler stated that Germany must remain neutral in the Far East; some arms deliveries to China were to continue.	750
Aug. 17 479	<i>Memorandum for Ambassador von Ribbentrop</i> A discussion with Japanese representatives of the possibility of drawing Rumania and Poland into the Anti-Comintern Pact.	750
Aug. 19 480	<i>Memorandum</i> State Secretary Funk agreed that, in accordance with Hitler's decision, the Propaganda Ministry must alter its pro-Japanese attitude.	752
Aug. 19 481	<i>Memorandum</i> Keitel agreed that the German press must take a neutral position on the Far Eastern conflict.	753
Aug. 20 482	<i>Memorandum</i> Contrary to expectations, instructions had gone out for the press to take a more friendly position toward Japan; pending further steps by Neurath, these must stand.	753
Aug. 23 483	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Unexpected Chinese resistance has shifted the Japanese objective to complete overthrow of Chiang and the Nanking Government; in this new situation the recall of our military advisers in China, and pressure on China to make peace should be considered.	754

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1937 Aug. 30 484	<i>Memorandum</i> The Chinese Ambassador argued that the Nonaggression Pact with the U.S.S.R. meant no change in Chinese policy and that the German policy of neutrality should therefore continue; Gaus expressed misgivings.	756

B. DIVIDED COUNSELS, SEPTEMBER-NOVEMBER 1937

1937 Sept. 8 485	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Japanese are worried because the Italians persistently endeavor to give the negotiations for an anti-Comintern pact an edge against England; Italy is trying to exploit the Far Eastern conflict to obtain a freer hand in the Mediterranean.	757
Sept. 19 486	<i>Memorandum for the Führer</i> Forecasts an early victory for Japan, after which the Nanking Government will be forced to conclude an anti-Comintern pact; the Japanese hold out to Ribbentrop the prospect of a joint economic program with Germany in China.	758
Sept. 21 487	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Repeats Japanese objections to the presence of German advisers in China; the advisers are reported to be directing operations.	759
Sept. 22 488	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Rebuffs Japanese hints that the German Ambassador be recalled from Nanking, that more information about conditions in China be passed on to Japan, and that a German-Japanese-Italian anti-Comintern pact be concluded; if they wished, Japan and Italy should make a bilateral agreement.	760
Sept. 23 489	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> Renew representations against bombings near German buildings.	761
Sept. 23 490	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Argues against recall of advisers and denies that advisers are participating in fighting.	761
Sept. 24 491	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> Repeats the substance of Trautmann's denial that the advisers are participating in operations.	762
Sept. 25 492	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> On rumors of the establishment of a Soviet airline in China.	763

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1937 Oct. 11 493	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Chiang requests that German influence be used to secure a more neutral attitude from Italy, and hints at his desire for German participation in the Brussels Conference.	763
Oct. 13 494	<i>Memorandum</i> Suggests that Germany forestall an invitation to the Brussels Conference by saying that Germany will not participate in a hopeless undertaking.	764
Oct. 14 495	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> A justification for the probable refusal of Germany to attend the Brussels Conference.	765
Oct. 14 496	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Explains the German view of the Brussels Conference to the Italian Ambassador.	765
Oct. 15 497	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> In conversation with the Chinese Ambassador, Neurath explains why Germany will not attend the Brussels Conference and denies that the German advisers in China are to be withdrawn.	766
Oct. 16 498	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Advises that Germany attend the Brussels Conference.	767
Oct. 19 499	<i>Memorandum</i> The War Ministry asked if the Foreign Ministry knew anything of Göring's instructions to stop deliveries to China; Mackensen said the Foreign Ministry knew nothing.	767
Oct. 19 500	<i>Memorandum</i> Through Ribbentrop and Göring, Keitel had been told that Hitler had decided to support Japan and to stop deliveries to China; Japan had threatened to end the Anti-Comintern Pact unless Germany ceased to support China.	768
Oct. 21 501	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Japan probably will not go to Brussels and hopes Germany will not go; Italy will represent the Japanese position; Japan is prepared for direct negotiations with China, initiated by Germany.	769
Oct. 21 502	<i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Sumner Welles argues that Germany should attend the Brussels Conference.	770
Oct. 22 503	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> Explain to the Chinese that Germany considers the Brussels Conference futile, but would be glad to serve as a channel for direct negotiations.	771

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1937 Oct. 22 504	<i>Memorandum</i> Göring had stated that deliveries to China were secretly to be continued.	772
Oct. 27 505	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Hitler says Germany will not go to Brussels.	772
Oct. 28 506	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A Japanese suggestion that Germany influence China to begin peace negotiations.	773
Oct. 29 507	<i>Memorandum</i> The Japanese Ambassador was pleased by the German refusal to go to Brussels.	773
Oct. 30 508	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had suggested the desirability of peace negotiations to the Chinese, but it would be desirable to know something of the Japanese conditions before speaking to Chiang.	774
Oct. 30 509	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> Is Japan ready for peace negotiations or merely seeking propaganda effects?	775
Oct. 30 510	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> Warns not to go beyond urging China to seek a settlement; so far, Germany is only a letter carrier.	776
Oct. 30 511	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Warns of disadvantages in China if Germany and Italy appear to be following a common policy in the Far East.	776
Oct. 31 512	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had intended to give Chiang the outline of Japanese terms obtained from Ott, but will withdraw to the role of letter carrier.	777
Nov. 3 513	<i>Memorandum</i> Mackensen had suggested pointing out to Hitler that it was better to have a German than a Soviet general at Chiang's side.	777
Nov. 3 514	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Hirota gives the Japanese peace terms: autonomous Inner Mongolia; a demilitarized zone and a pro-Japanese administration in North China; a larger demilitarized zone in Shanghai; cessation of anti-Japanese policy; a common fight against Bolshevism; reduced customs; respect for rights of aliens. Dirksen convinced of Japanese good faith.	778
Nov. 3 515	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> Tell Chiang of Japanese terms, which seem acceptable.	779

CHAPTER IV. GERMANY AND THE FAR EAST, JULY 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938
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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Nov. 5 518	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> On learning the Japanese terms, Chiang said there would be a revolution if they were accepted; peace was possible only on the basis of the <i>status quo ante</i> ; if Chiang fell, the Communists would take over and fight on.	780
Nov. 6 517	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Italy</i> If questioned about rumors of German mediation in China, say they are unfounded.	781
Nov. 7 518	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said mediation impossible until Japan had won a clear victory.	782
Nov. 8 519	<i>Memorandum</i> Hitler had not mentioned the recall of advisers in China, but had said the War Ministry must avoid being pro-Chinese.	782
Nov. 8 520	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Advisers should not be recalled now because they will be useful in mediation; if mediation fails, Japan will press for their recall.	783
Nov. 9 521	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Falkenhausen pointed out to Chinese leaders the disastrous consequences of continued war.	784
Nov. 10 522	<i>Memorandum</i> In reply to an inquiry, Mackensen told the British Ambassador the reports of German mediation were fabrications.	784
Nov. 20 523	<i>Memorandum</i> The Italian Ambassador said Italy must recognize Manchukuo and asked that Germany do likewise on November 25, adding that Ribbentrop had said Hitler agreed to the recognition.	784
Nov. 22 524	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Told the Italian Ambassador that Germany was not prepared to make Japan a free gift by recognizing Manchukuo and thereby forfeiting the position of mediator.	785
Nov. 24 525	<i>Memorandum for Minister Aschmann of the German Foreign Ministry</i> Germany is a natural mediator, but mediation is possible only if requested by both sides; the Brussels Conference prevents mediation at present. Welzsäcker presents this view for guidance.	786
Nov. 27 526	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Italy</i> Hitler said Germany was ready in principle to recognize Manchukuo, but only after receiving guarantees for trade.	786

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C. MEDIATION, DECEMBER 1937-JANUARY 1938

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Dec. 1 527	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Told the Chinese Ambassador that it was in the interests of China to conclude peace as soon as possible.	787
Dec. 3 528	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Chiang conditionally accepts the Japanese terms as a basis for discussion.	787
Dec. 3 529	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Japanese optimism is rising as Chinese resistance weakens; to counter the opposition to a negotiated peace, the General Staff hopes Hitler will open the door for negotiations.	788
Dec. 3 530	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Explains why mediation should be undertaken by Germany at once.	791
Dec. 3 531	<i>Memorandum</i> Keitel seeks information on the military situation in China.	792
Dec. 4 532	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> Gives the text of a communication to the Japanese Government summarizing the peace discussions since November 3; Dirksen to make sure Japan is ready to open direct negotiations on these terms; then Germany will obtain a similar promise from China; after that, Hitler would appeal for a cessation of hostilities.	793
Dec. 5 533	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Chinese Government summarizes the negotiations and requests that Hitler propose the cessation of hostilities as a preliminary step to the restoration of peace.	797
Dec. 6 534	<i>The German Representative at Hsinking (Knoll) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Japanese mistrust of Germany has appeared strongly as a result of the nonrecognition of Manchukuo and rumors of German mediation.	798
Dec. 6 535	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> Make appropriate use of the Chinese summary in speaking with Hirota.	798
Dec. 7 536	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Hirota intimates that recent Japanese successes would lead the Army to demand harsher peace terms.	799
Dec. 8 537	<i>Memorandum</i> Attolico intimates that Germany is not keeping Italy informed of steps to bring about peace.	800

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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Dec. 10 538	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> Without exerting influence, make it clear that Germany will not convey unacceptable terms to China, or terms Japan intends later to broaden.	800
Dec. 13 539	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Although the Chinese deny rumors of an alliance with the U.S.S.R., they admit that pressure for such an alliance is growing.	801
Dec. 23 540	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Hirota gives the revised Japanese peace terms, which went far beyond those communicated on November 2, but fell short of those the Army and industry wished to impose; a reply was expected by about the end of the year, and if the terms were accepted hostilities would continue during the peace negotiations.	802
Dec. 23 541	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Italians have requested information on the German-Japanese conversations; despite Dirksen's protests, apparently the Italians have been given some information.	804
Dec. 24 542	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> The Japanese terms are to be given to the Chinese, with the statement that Germany took no stand with regard to them.	805
Dec. 24 543	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> The Japanese terms have been reluctantly given to the Chinese; call attention to the difficulty of rapid communication; Germany will keep Italy informed in general terms.	808
Dec. 26 544	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Japanese terms were received with consternation by Kung and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.	809
Dec. 27 545	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Details of the Chinese reaction to the Japanese terms.	810
Dec. 29 546	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> Point out that it would be wiser to accept terms which fall short of Japanese aspirations rather than to drive China into the arms of the U.S.S.R.	810
Dec. 30 547	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Hirota gives the details of some of the Japanese terms.	811
Dec. 31 548	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had endeavored to moderate Falkenhausen's optimism concerning the possibilities of continued Chinese resistance.	812

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Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Jan. 10 549	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Neurath told the Japanese Ambassador that a prolonged war involved dangers for Japan. The Ambassador said that if Chiang Kai-shek would not accept the Japanese terms, peace would be made with the provincial governors.	813
Jan. 12 550	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had wired Hankow that the Japanese expected a clear statement of the Chinese position by the 15th.	814
Jan. 12 551	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had told the Chinese Foreign Minister that the Japanese expect an answer by the 15th.	814
Jan. 13 552	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Chinese Foreign Minister requests that Japan be told that China is prepared to take as the basis of discussion the terms proposed in November, but desires further information on the altered terms of December; Trautmann stated that this communication revealed no desire for an understanding.	815
Jan. 14 553	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Hirota considered the Chinese reply evasive; Dirksen suggested that specific Japanese terms be given.	816
Jan. 15 554	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Kung requested that Japan be told that China desires understanding and durable peace with Japan, and earnestly wishes to know the basic conditions proposed by Japan.	817
Jan. 15 555	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A Japanese naval spokesman has proposed that the former German islands in the Pacific be returned to Germany, and then purchased by Japan. Dirksen is sure both that Japan will not relinquish the islands and that an early clarification by direct discussions is desirable.	818
Jan. 16 556	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Hirota says the Chinese reply reveals no intention to sue for peace and that negotiations are therefore abandoned.	819
Jan. 17 557	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> Tells of the breakdown of negotiations.	820
Jan. 17 558	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Details of Dirksen's efforts to secure continued negotiation.	821
Jan. 17 559	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had not yet informed the Chinese of the Japanese note, in the hope that China would offer concessions.	822

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1938 Jan. 18 560	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> An open sale of the Pacific islands to Japan would hurt Germany's colonial claims; a public announcement of Japanese willingness to discuss German colonial claims, and a secret agreement to resell to Japan would be most advantageous.	822
Jan. 24 561	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Doubts if the Japanese would accept a secret agreement to resell the islands after their return to Germany; return and resale must be parts of one agreement.	823
Jan. 25 562	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> The Japanese Ambassador told Neurath that Japan would set up a new government in China; the possibilities of expanding German-Japanese trade were discussed.	824
Jan. 25 563	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> On colonies, wait for the Japanese to open the subject, and maintain a noncommittal attitude.	825

D. CONCESSIONS TO JAPAN, JANUARY-MAY 1938

1938 Jan. 26 564	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Now that German efforts at mediation have failed, and the defeated Chinese Government is seeking Soviet support, German military advisers should be withdrawn from China, the delivery of war materials to China should stop, Manchukuo should be recognized, and North China should be the base for German trade.	826
Feb. 5 565	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Hirota requested that German shipments of war materials to China be stopped and suggested the recognition of Manchukuo, withdrawal of German military advisers from China, and the discussion of German colonial claims.	832
Feb. 14 566	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Shanghai reports recognition of Manchukuo would turn China against Germany.	833
Feb. 14 567	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Canton reports that recognition of Manchukuo would wreck the economic and cultural position of Germany in South China and give Soviet Russia her chance.	834
Feb. 16 568	<i>Memorandum</i> A review of discussions with Japan on the former German colonies, and of possible solutions of the problem.	835

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1938 Feb. 17 569	<i>The Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancellery (Lammers) to the Foreign Minister</i> Hitler now wishes to recognize Manchukuo.	839
Feb. 21 570	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> An explanation of the recognition of Manchukuo, to be given to the Chinese Government. The recognition does not mean an end to the friendly relations between Germany and China or to German neutrality in the Far Eastern conflict.	839
Feb. 23 571	<i>Memorandum Concerning the Visit of Japanese Ambassador Togo to Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop on February 22, 1938, at 5 p.m.</i> After expressing gratitude for the recognition of Manchukuo, Togo said Japan was anxious to further German colonial aspirations but could not relinquish the islands held by Japan. Ribbentrop suggested that on economic and financial questions Japan show the same generosity Germany had shown on Manchukuo.	841
Feb. 24 572	<i>Memorandum</i> The Chinese Ambassador charged that, by recognizing Manchukuo, Ribbentrop had abandoned Neurath's foreign policy; Mackensen replied that Hitler laid down German policy, and denied that the recognition was an act unfriendly to China.	843
Mar. 8 573	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Vigorously attacks the premises of Dirksen's report of January 26; argues that the recognition of Manchukuo was a mistake and that, if the other concessions recommended by Dirksen were made, China would be lost to Germany while Japan would give nothing in return.	844
Mar. 17 574	<i>The Chief of the Supreme Headquarters of the Wehrmacht (Keitel) to the Foreign Minister</i> Urges that General Ott, who cannot be given a high military post because he was Aide to Schleicher, be given a diplomatic post.	851
Apr. 8 575	<i>Memorandum of the Conversation Between the Foreign Minister and His Excellency Mr. Togo on April 8, 1938, at 5 p.m.</i> Togo argues that Germany cannot be conceded economic equality with Japan in China; Ribbentrop insisted that Germany was entitled to a certain measure of equality with Japan and a more privileged position than other countries.	851
Apr. 23 576	<i>Memorandum</i> Wiehl submits, for Ribbentrop, the figures on German contracts for, and deliveries of, war materials to China.	852
Apr. 26 577	<i>Advisory Staff Nanking (China)</i> A table of the number and names of German advisers to the Chinese Government.	854
Apr. 27 578	<i>Memorandum</i> Weizsäcker confirms to the Chinese Ambassador the reports that Germany definitely wished the German military advisers in China to leave.	855

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1938 Apr. 28 579	<i>Memorandum</i> Göring had forbidden the export of war materials to China.	856
Apr. 30 580	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Falkenhausen says that departure of advisers would be a breach of contract and would mean financial ruin for the advisers.	856
May 5 581	<i>Memorandum by the German Ambassador in Japan (Ott)</i> Encloses a Japanese statement on matters under discussion between Germany and Japan, and tells of his conversation with the Japanese Foreign Minister on these matters.	858
May 9 582	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Chiang protested against the German intention to stop the deliveries of matériel; Trautmann is convinced that abrupt action on the advisers and matériel will jeopardize the position of Germany in China.	860
May 13 583	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> Tell Falkenhausen that the early departure of advisers is expected, and cooperate with him to secure Chinese consent; Germany will compensate the advisers; strict measures are contemplated if officers refuse to comply.	861
May 17 584	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> Emphasizes that withdrawal of advisers is expressly ordered by Hitler and that refusal to leave will have serious consequences; intimates that, if China makes difficulties, diplomatic relations will be broken off.	862
May 21 585	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Chinese Foreign Minister said the withdrawal of advisers would be interpreted as indirect aid to Japan; he stressed the private status of the advisers.	863
May 30 586	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in China (Trautmann)</i> A private letter, touching on Trautmann's difficult position, on the close connection between the War and Foreign Ministries, on Czechoslovakia, colonies, and the U.S.S.R.	864

E. THE SEARCH FOR A PREFERENTIAL POSITION IN NORTH CHINA,
MAY-SEPTEMBER, 1938

1938 June 2 587	<i>Memorandum of a Conversation Between the Foreign Minister and the Japanese Ambassador on May 20, 1938 (Based on Information Given by the Foreign Minister)</i> The Ambassador presented a <i>Pro Memoria</i> stressing Japanese desire to promote German economic interests in China, but emphasizing the need to safeguard the special position of Japan in China; while this was not a treaty it was backed by the word of honor of the Japanese Government; a treaty was not desirable.	865
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1938 June 2 588	<i>Memorandum of a Conversation Between the Foreign Minister and the Japanese Ambassador on May 20, 1938 (Based on Information Given by the Foreign Minister)</i> Ribbentrop pointed out the German services to Japan, the German losses in China, the inadequate Japanese cooperation, and the German expectation of greater Japanese cooperation in future. The Ambassador promised to consult his Government.	867
June 2 589	<i>Memorandum of a Conversation Between the Foreign Minister and the Japanese Ambassador on May 28, 1938</i> A sharp discussion on the German demand for the provision of more foreign exchange by Japan.	868
June 3 590	<i>Memorandum</i> The Japanese Ambassador opposed the suggestion of Raumer and Wiehl that the <i>Pro Memoria</i> of May 20 be so worded as to make certain both that the concessions applied to all parts of China under Japanese control, and that Germany would receive better treatment than third powers.	870
June 10 591	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> A reply on the departure of advisers is expected by June 13.	872
June 13 592	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> No further delay in departure of advisers is permitted; tell Chiang you will be recalled if he continues his opposition.	872
June 14 593	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Chiang said all German advisers would be relieved of military functions and the majority allowed to depart immediately.	873
June 16 594	<i>Memorandum Regarding Deliveries of War Matériel to China</i> On the confusion within the German Government regarding the status of deliveries of matériel to China, and on the disastrous effects of cancellation of contracts for the German armament industry.	874
June 18 595	<i>Memorandum for the Foreign Minister</i> In a conference with the Japanese Ambassador, Ribbentrop insisted that Germany must have a preferential economic position in China; there was discussion of a rumored Italo-Japanese pact, and of cooperation in the task of combatting lies about the authoritarian states.	876
June 19 596	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Chiang had been told that if his attitude persists the German Ambassador will immediately be recalled.	877
June 20 597	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> Trautmann was to leave immediately if definite consent to the departure of all advisers was not secured by June 23; severance of relations might follow quickly.	878

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1938 June 23 598	<i>Memorandum for the Foreign Minister</i> Togo was told that Germany was dissatisfied with both the form and the content of the <i>Pro Memoria</i> of May 20; a more formal document was needed, and one which clearly recognized the German claim to preferential economic treatment in China.	879
June 23 599	<i>The German Ambassador in China (Trautmann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Despite all his efforts, Chiang insists that five or six advisers stay in China temporarily.	881
June 24 600	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in China</i> Since the time limit has expired, Trautmann is to leave.	883
June 29 601	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Consulate General at Hong Kong</i> If the advisers leave as planned on July 5 relations may be continued.	884
June 29 602	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Togo gave Ribbentrop a revised <i>Pro Memoria</i> on German trade in China, intimated that, while Japan would grant Germany preferential treatment in practice, this could not be stated in treaty form. Ribbentrop said the draft did not appear to go beyond most-favored-nation treatment, which was not satisfactory.	884
July 5 603	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Oshima reported the results of the interrogation of the G.P.U. chief who was now in Tokyo. Ribbentrop stated that he was not satisfied with the revised <i>Pro Memoria</i> submitted by Togo.	887
July 6 604	<i>Memorandum of a Conversation With the Japanese Ambassador on July 6, 1938</i> After a discussion with Wiehl of the German-Japanese economic negotiations, the revised <i>Pro Memoria</i> was considered. Some minor differences of wording were adjusted, but there was no agreement on the German demands for preferential treatment and for an exchange of notes.	888
July 28 605	<i>Memorandum</i> In conversation with Togo, Wiehl said German belief that the revised <i>Pro Memoria</i> was unsatisfactory was reinforced by evidence that Japan was determined to exclude all foreign trade in North China; a statement of specific German grievances was given Togo. A vigorous discussion followed, from which Wiehl concluded that Japan was ready to make concessions.	890
Aug. 9 606	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Japan</i> Reviews the negotiations with Japan regarding North China and concludes that Japan refuses formally to promise preferential treatment to Germany because the Japanese had promised Britain they would not grant such preference.	894

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1938 Sept. 16 607	<i>The German Ambassador in Japan (Ott) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Hears that Japan is prepared to strengthen the Anti-Comintern Pact but, if possible, to direct it exclusively against the Comintern.	896
Sept. 22 608	<i>Memorandum</i> Magistrati told of a Soviet report that Japan had avoided war with the U.S.S.R. because Germany had refused the Japanese request for military assistance; Woermann denied that Japan had requested military assistance.	896

CHAPTER V. GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION, NOVEMBER 1937-JULY 1938

1937 Nov. 25 609	<i>The German Ambassador to the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German War Minister (Blomberg)</i> Encloses the text of a lecture given at the Wehrmacht Academy.	898
Undated 610	<i>Extracts From an Address by the German Ambassador to the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) Before the German Wehrmacht Academy, November 25, 1937</i> The Soviet Union is dominated by fear of Germany; this fear led to the Soviet pacts with France and Czechoslovakia, and to the increase in armament expenditures. The wave of terror has greatly weakened the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. is headed, economically and politically, for a depression.	898
1938 Jan. 5 611	<i>The Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police in the Ministry of the Interior to the Foreign Ministry</i> An order for the immediate expulsion of all Soviet nationals who are Jews.	900
Jan. 10 612	<i>The Counselor of the German Embassy in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to Counselor of Legation Schliep of Political Division V in the German Foreign Ministry</i> Enclosing the revised text of Schulenburg's address to the Wehrmacht Academy.	901
Jan. 10 613	<i>Memorandum on the Status of German-Russian Negotiations</i> On the difficulties encountered in securing an extension of the trade agreement.	902
Jan. 13 614	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The request for the closing of consular agencies in the U.S.S.R. indicates a systematic endeavor to limit relations with foreign countries as much as possible.	903
Jan. 17 615	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A detailed examination of Soviet measures to reduce the number of consular agencies in the U.S.S.R.; these measures have their origin in the increasing preponderance of forces hostile to foreigners.	904

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1938 Jan. 28 616	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Expelled Jewish Soviet citizens will be sent across the border illegally if Soviet entry permits cannot be procured.	909
Feb. 7 617	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Soviet comments on personnel changes in the German Government.	909
Feb. 7 618	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Figures on Reich-Germans arrested in the U.S.S.R. and on the deportation of German prisoners.	910
Feb. 21 619	<i>Memorandum on the German-Russian Economic Negotiations</i> Outlines the difficulties encountered, from Nazi Party officials as well as from the Soviet negotiators, in securing a continuance of deliveries of essential raw materials from the U.S.S.R.	912
Feb. 22 620	<i>Memorandum</i> The German Military Attaché in Moscow said the reports of the German couriers were the only remaining source of information outside of Moscow.	915
Feb. 24 621	<i>Memorandum</i> Describes the courier service to Tokyo via Siberia; despite doubts regarding security, the service will be continued.	915
Mar. 29 622	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in France</i> Give publicity both to the statement under oath by the Germans implicated in the Moscow trial that the charges were pure inventions, and to the fact that Hitler's speech of February 20 shows the impossibility of cooperation between Germany and the Soviet Union.	916
May 16 623	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Litvinov's vague speech on Abyssinia is further evidence of the weak position of the Soviet Union in international affairs resulting from the bloody domestic events.	917
June 18 624	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The new Soviet Ambassador to Berlin, Merekalov, is young but gives the impression of self-assurance.	918
June 20 625	<i>The Press Adviser of the German Embassy in the Soviet Union (Stein) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Soviet press reports on German preparations for war, and on popular resistance to these preparations.	919

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1938 June 23 626	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i></p> <p>From a change in a news despatch suggested by the Soviet censor, and from the persistent curiosity shown by the American Embassy, Schulenburg concludes that the Soviet Government is trying to create the illusion that a Soviet-German understanding is possible, and that these efforts are meeting with success.</p>	920
June 27 627	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Analyzes Litvinov's speech of June 23 on the international situation and concludes that the speech shows little aggressiveness, a desire to leave open all possibilities, and a strikingly objective attitude toward German policy.</p>	921
July 4 628	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Personnel changes in the Commissariat for Domestic Affairs indicate the increasing influence of the G.P.U. in the Soviet Government.</p>	924
July 5 629	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>Enclosing an analysis of political and economic relations between Germany and the Soviet Union. Soviet foreign policy, increasingly influenced by fear of Germany and Japan, has been weakened by political and economic difficulties at home. German efforts to increase the flow of raw materials from the Soviet Union have not yet succeeded.</p>	926
July 5 630	<p><i>Memorandum by the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) Concerning Litvinov's Speech on Foreign Policy of June 23, 1938</i></p> <p>The speech shows disillusionment over the cooperation of the Soviet Union with the democratic countries and the League of Nations and marks the end of the Soviet policy of close collaboration with Britain and France.</p>	928
July 6 631	<p><i>The German Ambassador in France (Welczeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Analyzes a semi-official article on Soviet-German relations and concludes that the Soviet alliance is now valued by France chiefly as a means of keeping Germany away from the Soviet reservoir of raw materials and manpower.</p>	929

CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938A. THE ENCYCLICAL ON THE CONDITION OF THE CHURCH IN GERMANY,
MARCH-MAY 1937

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Mar. 22 632	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Vatican had prepared the encyclical "On the Condition of the Catholic Church in Germany" secretly to prevent a ban on its being read.	932
Mar. 23 633	<i>Memorandum</i> Dieckhoff refuses to conduct conversations with the Nuncio because of the very serious situation created by the encyclical.	933
Mar. 23 634	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Vatican provided for wide dissemination abroad of the contents of the encyclical, but asserts continued desire for good relations with Germany. Bergen advises that, outwardly, the encyclical be ignored.	934
Mar. 23 635	<i>The Reich and Prussian Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs to the Bishops of German Dioceses</i> The encyclical represents a serious violation of the Concordat; its dissemination in any form is forbidden.	935
Mar. 24 636	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Warns that if complications result from the encyclical, a Yellow Book will be issued, containing the notes addressed earlier to Germany.	936
Mar. 25 637	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the Germany Embassy to the Holy See</i> Bergen is not to participate in ceremonies at Easter.	937
Mar. 26 638	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions in Europe and the Consulate General at Geneva</i> Nuncio has been told that the encyclical is regarded as a call to battle.	937
Mar. 27 639	<i>The Chairman of the Fulda Conference of Bishops (Bertram) to the Foreign Minister</i> Enclosing a copy of his reply to the prohibition against dissemination of the encyclical. The reply denies that the encyclical or its dissemination violated the Concordat. The struggle against Christianity waged in high places made the encyclical necessary.	938
Apr. 1 640	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Tells what he has learned concerning the origin of the encyclical; points out that the international situation, and particularly Italo-German relations, make denunciation of the Concordat inadvisable; urges that the German reply affirm German willingness to protect religion.	941

CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Apr. 5 641	<i>Memorandum</i> The Nuncio presented a <i>Pro Memoria</i> protesting against the measures taken against the publication of the encyclical, especially the suppression for 3 months of bishops' official publications; Dieckhoff said he would investigate.	943
Apr. 7 642	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy to the Holy See</i> Hitler has ordered the resumption of the foreign exchange and immorality trials against Catholic clergymen.	945
Apr. 7 643	<i>The Reich and Prussian Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs (Kerrl) to the Chairman of the Fulda Conference of Bishops (Bertram)</i> Maintains that while the German Government has desired peace with the Church, the Pope and Catholic clerics in Germany have demonstrated their hostility to the new Germany, especially by their failure to condemn clerics who violated the revenue and morality laws of Germany; the encyclical is conclusive proof of a desire to rally the world against the new Germany.	945
Apr. 9 644	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Hassell) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Clano joins Hassell in denouncing the Vatican's harsh policy toward Germany and its weakness in Spain.	949
Apr. 9 645	<i>The Reich and Prussian Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs (Kerrl) to the Foreign Ministry</i> Recommends that the Foreign Ministry refuse to discuss the Nuncio's <i>Pro Memoria</i> of April 5.	950
Apr. 15 646	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions and Consular Offices</i> Encloses a note concerning the encyclical; decision on publication of the note is reserved for a later date. The note denounces the encyclical as an attempt to arouse the world and German Catholics against the new Germany and as a violation of the Concordat; friendly relations can be established between Church and State, and the Concordat continued, only if the Holy See holds the clergy to the fulfillment of their political obligations of loyalty.	951
Apr. 15 647	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Cardinal Pacelli explains that the Pope had issued the encyclical only when experience showed that Germany was unwilling to negotiate; the Holy See remained willing to negotiate.	954
Apr. 23 648	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions</i> For guidance of conversations, encloses the correspondence on the prohibition against dissemination of the encyclical.	956

CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Apr. 30 649	<p><i>The Papal Secretary of State (Pacelli) to the German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen)</i></p> <p>In reply to the German note of protest against the encyclical, denies any political intent and affirms that the Holy See in this case as in all others takes exception to governmental forms and practices only when they injure spiritual welfare; maintains that the German note had not refuted any of the statements in the encyclical and that before cooperation can be restored the German State and the Nazi Party must be released from the anti-Christian currents which draw their strength from the struggle against the Church.</p>	956
May 4 650	<p><i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Mussolini, in conversation with Neurath, points out the harmful effects of the Church struggle in Germany, and says that through small favors to the clergy he had won their support.</p>	966
May 11 651	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>On reports that the Episcopates of other countries wish to organize demonstrations against the persecution of the Church in Germany.</p>	967

B. THE SPEECH OF CARDINAL MUNDELEIN, MAY-OCTOBER 1937

1937 May 20 652	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Suggests that the German reaction to Cardinal Mundelein's speech not be allowed to go so far as to weaken the strong German position.</p>	968
May 21 653	<p><i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy to the Holy See</i></p> <p>Representations are to be made against the insulting language Mundelein used against Hitler and members of the Reich Government.</p>	968
May 21 654	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the United States (Dieckhoff) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Defends himself against the charge that he had not treated Mundelein's insults with sufficient seriousness.</p>	969
May 25 655	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>In reply to the German protests against the Mundelein speech, Cardinal Pacelli asks what Germany intends to do about the insults to ecclesiastical institutions and personages which appear day after day in Germany.</p>	970
Undated 656	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>A longhand draft by Neurath asking what the Curia intends to do about the moral corruption of the clergy.</p>	972

CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938-Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 May 26 657	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> As requested, will leave for Germany, ostensibly on official business.	973
May 27 658	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy to the Holy See</i> Gives the text of a note saying that the conduct of the Holy See in connection with the Mundelein speech has made a normal state of relations impossible.	973
June 9 659	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires of the German Embassy to the Holy See (Menshausen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Gives evidence that, since the arrival of the official text of the Mundelein speech, the Vatican is inclined to conciliation and feels the Cardinal went too far.	975
June 25 660	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires of the German Embassy to the Holy See (Menshausen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Encloses the reply of Cardinal Pacelli to the German protest. The reply denies that the Holy See had refused to discuss the Mundelein speech, explains the circumstances under which the speech was delivered, lists specific German insults to ecclesiastical institutions and personages, and suggests an examination of all the causes of the present situation of conflict.	976
June 30 661	<i>Memorandum</i> At a conference between representatives of the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs the relative advantages of various ways of denouncing the Concordat, and of justifying this action, were discussed.	982
July 3 662	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> The Nuncio complained that certain searches and confiscations of files by the Gestapo violated the Concordat; Neurath said he would investigate.	983
July 6 663	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Enclosing a note from the Papal Secretary of State answering charges of anti-German activity in the Saar made by Bürckel.	984
July 7 664	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to Counselor of Legation Dumout of the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Vatican fears that Germany is organizing a "third" faith in opposition to the Evangelical and Catholic faiths.	988
July 20 665	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> In addressing pilgrims from Chicago the Pope praised the zeal of Cardinal Mundelein.	989
July 21 666	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy to the Holy See</i> The Pope's praise of Cardinal Mundelein will inevitably produce an equivalent reaction in Germany.	990

CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 July 23 667	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Pope often speaks without caution or reserve, to the unpleasant surprise of the Secretariat of State. Bergen had impressed on the Cardinal Secretary the damage which resulted.	990
July 23 668	<i>Memorandum</i> Minister Kerrl had gone to Bayreuth to discuss with Hitler the Vatican policy of Germany.	993
July 24 669	<i>The Reich and Prussian Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs to the Foreign Ministry</i> Complains that, although no satisfaction has been received for the Mundelein speech, relations have in effect become normal again.	993
July 24 670	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy to the Holy See</i> Hitler has ordered that the morality trials cease until further notice.	995
Aug. 5 671	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the Reich and Prussian Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs</i> Agrees that relations with the Curia are not normal, but denies that diplomatic business must be suspended; the contemplated note on the Concordat may create a new situation.	995
Aug. 6 672	<i>The Reich and Prussian Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs to the Foreign Ministry</i> Examines recent correspondence on the Mundelein case and repeats the often expressed opinion that Germany is not represented at the Holy See with the requisite firmness and fervor.	997
Aug. 13 673	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Reich and Prussian Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs (Kerrl)</i> Defends Bergen, and points out that language which may be appropriate at home is not suitable for intercourse with the outside world, as Germany has repeatedly discovered to her cost.	998
Aug. 21 674	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The Cardinal Secretary of State expressed uneasiness at reports that anti-Catholic demonstrations were planned for the Party Rally; these could only lead to counterdemonstrations.	999
Aug. 22 675	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Warns that the critical tension in Vatican-German relations continues and that the Pope is prepared to battle stubbornly.	999
Aug. 26 676	<i>Memorandum</i> Mackensen discussed with representatives of other Ministries the proper order for the execution of contemplated measures relating to the Church.	1000

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CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Aug. 27 677	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>At the conference on contemplated measures relating to the Church it was recommended that the declaration concerning the nullity of the Concordat be issued as soon as possible and that the new school law be promulgated immediately thereafter.</p>	1001
Aug. 30 678	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>A further discussion with the Cardinal Secretary of State of alarming reports concerning German-Vatican relations. The Cardinal and Bergen exchanged assurances of desire to relieve the tension and to establish normal relations.</p>	1002
Sept. 19 679	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>In greeting German pilgrims, the Pope lamented the honors given to a false prophet [Alfred Rosenberg], who opposed everything Catholic and Christian.</p>	1003
Sept. 21 680	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Mackensen)</i></p> <p>While noting that the Concordat had not been denounced at Nuremberg, as had been feared, the Vatican believes the honor accorded Rosenberg means an open fight and the end of hopes for a settlement. Warns that open condemnation of National Socialism will affect Catholics and advises that the Concordat note not be sent.</p>	1004
Sept. 29 681	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>Kerrl told Mackensen that Hitler would settle the whole question of Church and State by a great speech which Hitler said would eclipse Luther's ninety-five theses and complete the work of the Reformation; on the day of the speech the Vatican will be told that the Concordat is outdated.</p>	1005
Oct. 1 682	<p><i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Mackensen) to the German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen)</i></p> <p>During his visit Mussolini has avoided mentioning our relations with the Vatican in any way. Warns that the whole religious situation will probably be reopened.</p>	1006
Oct. 7 683	<p><i>The Foreign Ministry to the Reich and Prussian Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs</i></p> <p>There is no reason to take up the Mundelein case; the present situation is best suited to a new departure in German relations with the Curia.</p>	1007

CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938—Continued

C. RELATIONS KEPT IN A STATE OF INDECISION, OCTOBER 1937-MAY 1938

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1937 Oct. 16 684	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> A conversation, rather sharp in tone, between Neurath and the Nuncio concerning the German failure to answer complaints, the contents of the <i>Schwarze Korps</i> , and the attitude of the Vatican toward Spain.	1007
Nov. 10 685	<i>Memorandum</i> The Nuncio tells of religious objections to certain German laws; Gaus promises to look into the matter.	1008
Nov. 29 686	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Encloses a note concerning the ban on religious instruction by Catholic priests, and requests instructions. The note points out that the ban is contrary to the Concordat and that the religious, or rather the anti-Christian, teaching now offered is subversive of the Catholic faith.	1010
Dec. 26 687	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> In his Christmas allocution the Pope said that the religious persecution in Germany had rarely been equaled; he vigorously repudiated the accusation that, in protesting against this persecution, he was interfering in politics.	1013
1938 Jan. 5 688	<i>Memorandum</i> A representative of the Nunciature was told that the Christmas allocution of the Pope would not be printed in Germany because it contained sharp attacks against the Reich.	1016
Jan. 20 689	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Enclosing a memorandum by a well-informed local German priest; there is no doubt that France is exploiting Vatican-German tension. The memorandum argues that the Italian people reject the Third Reich as a power which fights the Church; mission posts throughout the world, including German missionaries, see Germany thwarting their work; everywhere France is stepping into the positions forfeited by Germany.	1017
Feb. 13 690	<i>Memorandum</i> A review of the Reich and State concordats which formed the legal basis for relations with the Holy See. All were still formally in force, and diplomatic relations continued. Neurath had rejected the contention of the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, made on January 4, that action on Vatican notes should no longer even be considered.	1021
Feb. 14 691	<i>Memorandum</i> Ribbentrop and Mackensen agreed that Hitler could not visit the Pope while in Rome; Gaus was to suggest a justification for this position.	1022

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CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Feb. 26 692	<p><i>The Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen)</i></p> <p>If the question of a visit by Hitler to the Pope arises, place emphasis on the fact that this is a visit of the creator of National Socialist Germany to the creator of Fascist Italy, and therefore the visit has a special character.</p>	1023
Mar. 3 693	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i></p> <p>A visit by Hitler to the Pope is still hoped for here, except by opponents of Germany, and is evidently expected by the Italian Government; the omission of the visit will be regarded by the Vatican as a distressing precedent and will put a further strain on relations.</p>	1023
Mar. 9 694	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>A representative of the Nunciature was told that Germany was not yet prepared to discuss the claim of the Holy See, first made on February 1, that the restrictions on education by religious in Bavaria was a violation of the Concordat.</p>	1025
Mar. 9 695	<p><i>Minute</i></p> <p>The Italian Counselor of Embassy hinted to Weizsäcker that it was desirable that Hitler make a gesture to show he was not entering Rome in an anti-Catholic frame of mind.</p>	1026
Mar. 15 696	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>On the Incorporation of the Austrian Legation into the German Embassy.</p>	1026
Mar. 25 697	<p><i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>The Nuncio requested permission to establish a branch of the Nunciature in Vienna, complained of an attack on the Pope in a German periodical, and asked when a reply could be expected on the school question; Ribbentrop gave inconclusive replies.</p>	1027
Apr. 1 698	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The Holy See states that it was not consulted on the declaration of the Austrian Episcopate.</p>	1028
Apr. 2 699	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>While the undoubtedly inspired attack of the Vatican radio on the Austrian bishops should be counteracted, it must not appear that we are trying to drive the Episcopate into conflict with Rome, possibly to establish a national church.</p>	1029
Apr. 4 700	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The Cardinal Secretary of State emphasized that the attacks of the autonomous Vatican radio were not inspired by the Vatican, and that he fervently wished for peace with Germany.</p>	1029

CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938-Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Apr. 6 701	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Cardinal Innitzer, who has made no secret of his Greater German attitude, appeared to have had a hard struggle in his conferences at the Vatican.	1030
Apr. 6 702	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Cardinal Innitzer's revised statement was extorted from him; the Pope was swayed by morbid irritation with Germany; suggests continued support of the Cardinal.	1031
Apr. 8 703	<i>Memorandum</i> Greiser reports that the Cardinal Secretary stated that he was prepared to come to Berlin to effect a settlement between the Vatican and the Reich.	1031
Apr. 19 704	<i>Memorandum</i> The Italian Chargé d'Affaires again mentioned the possibility of a visit by Hitler to the Pope; Weizsäcker protested against a report in the Italian press that the visit might take place.	1032
Undated 705	<i>Proposal for a Note to the Vatican on the Nullity of the Reich Concordat, Using the Arguments Suggested by the Foreign Ministry on June 11, 1937</i> An unsigned, undated draft justifying the abrogation of the Reich and State concordats on the ground that they are not suited to present conditions.	1032
May 5 706	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy Sec (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Reports a speech by the Pope lamenting the display of the swastika flag in Rome on the occasion of Hitler's visit.	1035

D. A CONSISTENTLY NEGATIVE POLICY, MAY-SEPTEMBER 1938

1938 May 5 707	<i>The Reich and Prussian Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs to the German Foreign Ministry</i> As a result of popular anger at his failure to vote in the plebiscite of April 10, Bishop Sproll was forced to leave his diocese. If he returns unrest will recur; the Vatican should be asked to influence him to resign.	1035
May 18 708	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> Hears that Mussolini sounded out the Pope about a possible visit by Hitler, and that the Pope replied that he would receive Hitler if the latter would make an agreed statement on the Church in Germany.	1036
May 18 709	<i>Memorandum</i> Draft instructions to Bergen stating that Bishop Sproll should renounce his see.	1037

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CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 May 23 710	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Reviews the tension resulting from events climaxed by the failure of Hitler to visit the Pope; suggests that considerations of foreign policy make an easing of the tension advisable; in any case a decision on policy appears indispensable.	1038
May 25 711	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> A detailed review of the ways in which German relations with foreign countries and German interests throughout the world are injured by the religious strife in Germany, and particularly by the lack of respect implied in the consistently negative attitude of the Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs toward the Holy See.	1039
June 9 712	<i>Memorandum on Matters Pending With the Vatican</i> Lists the subjects on which complaints have been received from the Holy See and which, in accordance with instructions, have been left pending.	1043
June 10 713	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Had taken up the request for Bishop Sproll's recall with the Cardinal Secretary of State who, while not approving the Bishop's conduct, was very reserved.	1044
June 10 714	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> After the Nuncio had presented specific requests, which Ribbentrop promised to examine, the Nuncio asked whether conversations could be resumed for a general settlement of differences; Ribbentrop said the time for such a settlement had not yet come.	1044
June 21 715	<i>Memorandum</i> Weizsäcker had told the Nuncio that the request for a branch office of the Nunciature in Vienna could not be complied with.	1046
June 23 716	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen)</i> The assimilation of Austrian law to German may be the signal for a large-scale combat with the Curia; the lull in discussion of ecclesiastical matters will soon end.	1046
July 11 717	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy to the Holy See</i> Bishop Sproll's recall is to be requested once more.	1047
July 15 718	<i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> Tempers are rising because of the German habit of ignoring notes from the Secretariat of State; the new German marriage law will inevitably be protested.	1048

CHAPTER VI. GERMAN RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE,
MARCH 1937-SEPTEMBER 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 July 20 719	<p><i>The Chief of the Security Police (Heydrich) to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Bishop Sproll returned to Rottenburg on July 16, on express instructions from the Holy See. A demonstration took place that evening, in which there were regrettable excesses. The Bishop refused demands that he leave. The Party will continue the demonstrations, with orders against excesses.</p>	1049
July 21 720	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>Woermann renewed the demand for Bishop Sproll's recall; the Nuncio took an entirely negative position.</p>	1051
July 23 721	<p><i>Memorandum for the State Secretary Regarding Bishop Sproll</i></p> <p>A review of the case of Bishop Sproll.</p>	1051
July 26 722	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>If Bishop Sproll's recall is demanded, the Curia will resist; advises that demonstrations be stopped and that the Bishop be boycotted; his position will then be untenable, and he will not get the halo of a martyr. Forcing the issue will disturb the secret peace negotiations between the Reich Commissioner and the Austrian Episcopate. The Vatican is unquestionably ready for peace.</p>	1052
July 30 723	<p><i>The German Ambassador to the Holy See (Bergen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Hears confidentially that the refusal of the Pope to recall Bishop Sproll results from fear of establishing a dangerous precedent.</p>	1054
Aug. 4 724	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>Woermann suggests postponement of discussion of the Nuncio's request for the establishment of a bishopric at Innsbruck because of the uncertain state of relations.</p>	1054
Aug. 15 725	<p><i>Memorandum</i></p> <p>In the case of Bishop Sproll, a conference of the ministries concerned had decided that since a boycott must be accompanied by demonstrations, and since demonstrations could not be continued for years, the only solution was to prohibit his residence in Württemberg and, if necessary, have the Gestapo quietly remove him from that State.</p>	1055
Aug. 17 726	<p><i>The Reich Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs (Kerri) to the Reich Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (Goebbels)</i></p> <p>Enclosing a note to be published in the Württemberg press justifying the banishment of Bishop Sproll.</p>	1057
Sept. 26 727	<p><i>The Reich Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs to the Reich Minister for Science, Education, and Public Instruction</i></p> <p>Notes from the Vatican and complaints from the Nunciature are not being answered because of the anti-German attitude of the Vatican.</p>	1058

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CHAPTER VII. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
MARCH-AUGUST 1938A. ITALY BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES,
MARCH-APRIL, 1938

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Mar. 17 728	<i>Memorandum for the Führer</i> Magistrati told Ribbentrop that the British had proposed negotiations on the following subjects: reduction of Italian troops in Libya; Italian adherence to the London Naval Treaty of 1936; Palestine; anti-British propaganda; Spain; recognition of the conquest of Abyssinia.	1059
Mar. 29 729	<i>Memorandum</i> Attolico pointed out that Mussolini's acquiescence in the annexation of Austria was not popular in Italy; to counteract a growing danger, propaganda for German annexation of South Tyrol must stop; he gave Mackensen a memorandum which showed Nazi Party support of this propaganda.	1060
Mar. 29 730	<i>Memorandum From the Office of the Foreign Minister to the Head of the Political Department, via the State Secretary</i> Ribbentrop wishes an investigation of Attolico's complaints concerning German propaganda in South Tyrol; the severest measures are to be taken against circles acting contrary to Reich policy.	1065
Mar. 31 731	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to Various German Diplomatic Missions</i> To counteract British suggestions on colonies, point out that Germany asks the return of her colonies as a right, and that Germany is not interested in a partial solution or in the acquisition of other colonies.	1065
Apr. 2 732	<i>The Deputy Head of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry to the German Ambassador in France (Welczeck)</i> The Moscow Embassy reports that relations between France and the U.S.S.R. are very bad, and that the alliance may be ended; the view of the Paris Embassy is requested.	1067
Apr. 4 733	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> The Italian Chargé told Ribbentrop that the negotiations with Britain would be concluded about April 15, that Italy was withdrawing troops from Libya, and that Italy had rebuffed, and would rebuff, British suggestions that negotiations be begun with France.	1067
Apr. 6 734	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the Deputy of the Führer (Hess)</i> Requests an investigation of Attolico's complaints and orders to all authorities that anti-Italian propaganda be stopped.	1068
Apr. 13 735	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in France (Bräuer) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Revived discussion of the manner of accrediting a French Ambassador to Italy is typical of the trend in France toward a rapprochement with Italy.	1069

CHAPTER VII. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
MARCH—AUGUST 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Apr. 14 736	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in France (Bräuer) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> French opinion of the U.S.S.R. has gone down, and relations are now far from cordial; the alliance is valued, and will be retained, because it closes the Soviet reservoir of raw materials to Germany and, in the event of war, will tie down part of the German Army.	1070
Apr. 15 737	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said Italy would not negotiate with France until after France had appointed an Ambassador.	1074
Apr. 16 738	<i>Minute</i> Magistrati gave Welzsäcker a copy of the Anglo-Italian agreement, and gave assurances intended to forestall possible German sensitiveness.	1074
Apr. 17 739	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said that a French <i>aide-mémoire</i> had been received requesting negotiations; earlier, he had rejected the British suggestion that France be included in the Anglo-Italian negotiations; now, he would listen to the French proposals, but he saw no basis for agreement.	1075
Apr. 17 740	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Gives the text of the French <i>aide-mémoire</i> requesting early negotiations.	1077
Apr. 18 741	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini spoke of the French attempts at <i>rapprochement</i> exactly as Ciano had spoken. Mackensen explained Hitler's stand on South Tyrol. Mussolini expressed his thanks and told how, to settle Italo-Yugoslav relations, he had suppressed Italian propaganda in Dalmatia.	1078
Apr. 19 742	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Legation in Czechoslovakia</i> The Anglo-Italian Agreement is the result of Chamberlain's realism and is welcomed by Germany. Do not give the impression that we are dissatisfied, or that we feel the need for similar Anglo-German negotiations.	1079
Apr. 19 743	<i>Memorandum</i> Magistrati said Mussolini was not pleased by the statement in a Sudeten publication that the Austrian <i>Anschluss</i> had raised Hitler's prestige and lowered Mussolini's.	1080
Apr. 20 744	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> An informant reports new evidence of German interest in South Tyrol and resultant Italian uneasiness.	1081

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CHAPTER VII. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
MARCH—AUGUST 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Apr. 20 745	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker)</i> Encloses a report from the trusty informant stating that Italy expects, and would support, a German thrust eastward; on the other hand, a revival of the old German push south-east would bring Germany into conflict with Italy. Mackensen concludes that assurances to Italy are needed concerning German policy, and particularly concerning the Brenner frontier.	1082
Apr. 21 746	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The French Chargé had been disappointed by Ciano's reserved reception of the French overture.	1083
Apr. 21 747	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano requests that, in assimilating the Austrian economy to the German, Italian interests be safeguarded; otherwise the atmosphere for Hitler's visit would be impaired.	1084
Apr. 21 748	<i>The German Consul General at Milan (Bene) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> There is electric tension in South Tyrol and widespread belief that, when Hitler is in Rome, Mussolini will give him South Tyrol. The Consul describes episodes which show the tension, and he concludes that the fate of South Tyrol cannot at present be predicted.	1085
Apr. 22 749	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> In conversation, first with Prince Philip of Hesse, and then with Mackensen, Ciano stressed the damage which the tension in South Tyrol was doing to Italo-German relations, and the consequent necessity for Hitler to enforce acceptance of his policy on all Germans.	1088
Apr. 22 750	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Woermann) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Under Secretary Butler stressed his own desire, and the desire of the British Government, for an understanding with Germany; referring to Czechoslovakia, he said that the manner in which Germany achieved her national aims would be decisive for the attitude in England.	1092
Apr. 23 751	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> The French Chargé said that he, in response to Ciano's expression of willingness for discussions, had declared that the French were ready to hold such conversations; the Chargé outlined the possible content of the coming discussions.	1083
Apr. 23 752	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Italy</i> On the question of Italian economic interests in Austria, gives the evidences of German consideration for Italian wishes.	1094

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CHAPTER VII. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
MARCH-AUGUST 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 Apr. 25 753	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Hore-Belisha said that he supported Chamberlain's policy, which saw existing realities clearly and drew the logical conclusions. The possibility of an Anglo-German understanding was discussed.	1095
Apr. 25 754	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano appeared satisfied by the German assurances on Italian economic interests in Austria.	1097
Apr. 27 755	<i>Memorandum</i> Analyzes in detail the Anglo-Italian Agreement of April 16. If executed, the Agreement means an end of Italian expansion in the Mediterranean, at least expansion at British expense. Italy is no longer completely dependent on Germany and gains freedom of action in Central and Southeastern Europe. Germany gains by the lessened danger of being drawn into war by Italy, and by this new vindication of the value of bilateral, as opposed to general settlements.	1097

B. THE AXIS STRENGTHENED, APRIL-JUNE 1938

1938 Apr. 30 756	<i>The State Secretary in the Office of the Commissioner for the Four Year Plan (Körner) to the Foreign Ministry</i> There is agreement that the Italians must suffer no losses on their Austrian holdings, but on his visit to Rome Hitler should not agree to a legal acknowledgment of Austria's debts as this would establish a bad precedent.	1101
Apr. 30 757	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Great Britain (Th. Kordt) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> During the visit of Daladier and Bonnet to London agreement was reached on Czechoslovakia and Spain; Britain pressed for closer cooperation with the Axis, and apparently suggested that France become more aloof from the U.S.S.R.	1103
Undated 758	<i>Memorandum</i> A review of Italo-German relations, and of Italian foreign policy in general, since 1936.	1104
May 9 759	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker), Temporarily in Rome, to the German Foreign Ministry</i> During Hitler's visit to Rome, Italian and German draft political agreements were laid aside; the real result is reflected in the speeches, and particularly Hitler's words on the Alpine frontier.	1106

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CHAPTER VII. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
MARCH—AUGUST 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 May 11 760	<p><i>Counselor of Legation Braun von Stumm to the Head of the Information and Press Department in the German Foreign Ministry (Aschmann)</i></p> <p>An informant said Hitler's speech in Rome had changed an incipient feeling of hostility into enthusiasm and confidence; the informant advised great caution regarding Czechoslovakia; he said the Italians blamed French shipments of arms for the continuance of the civil war, and for the heavy losses among the Italian volunteers, in Spain.</p>	1107
May — 761	<p><i>The German Foreign Ministry to All German Embassies (Except Rome, Tokyo, Hankow, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Santiago)</i></p> <p>Outlines what was to be said, and what was to be denied, concerning Hitler's visit to Italy.</p>	1108
May 12 762	<p><i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the Under State Secretary (Woermann)</i></p> <p>As a result of Hitler's visit to Rome it is clear that in Czechoslovakia Italy will neither hinder nor actively support German aims; for the present, Italian policy in the Mediterranean aims at consolidation; long-run objectives seem not yet determined; no appetite for Spanish possessions was apparent.</p>	1110
May 16 763	<p><i>The German Ambassador in France (Welczeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>After repeated assurances that the Franco-Italian negotiations would soon reach a successful conclusion, Mussolini's speech at Genoa created astonishment and disappointment.</p>	1111
May 17 764	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Summarizes Mussolini's speech at Genoa on May 14 and concludes that Axis solidarity is now reestablished, if Germany shows consideration for Italian interests in Austria, and if all authorities in the Reich follow Hitler's declared policy regarding South Tyrol.</p>	1112
May 18 765	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Unless Italian interests in Austria are recognized by Germany, Mussolini has ordered that a direct appeal be made to Hitler.</p>	1115
May 19 766	<p><i>The German Ambassador in France (Welczeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Describes French alarm at the interruption of the conversations with Italy, and the efforts of Bonnet to demonstrate French nonintervention in Spain.</p>	1116
May 20 767	<p><i>Memorandum of the Meeting of May 19, 1938, on the South Tyrol, Under the Chairmanship of the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Ribbentrop said that, for Germany, there no longer was a South Tyrol question; anyone who deviated from Hitler's policy would be punished. In imitation of the Italian procedure regarding the Italian minority in Yugoslavia, Hitler might explain his policy to a representative group of South Tyrolese leaders.</p>	1117

CHAPTER VII. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
MARCH—AUGUST 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 May 20 768	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Mussolini told Ribbentrop that, territorially, the South Tyrol question was closed. Ciano told how Mussolini silenced the Italian minority in Yugoslavia by a conference with their leaders; Ribbentrop said Germany would imitate the Italian example.	1119
May 20 769	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> An informant describes the background and results of Mussolini's speech at Genoa: the Axis is strong again and dominates Europe, if Hitler's words on South Tyrol are followed by action; France has been warned that hopes of detaching Italy from Germany are futile and that, for an agreement with Italy, France must discontinue her aid to the Loyalists and accept a Franco victory.	1120
May 23 770	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said that so long as France sabotaged nonintervention in Spain there was no basis for agreement.	1125
May 24 771	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Italy</i> It is proposed to have Hitler explain German policy to a delegation of South Tyrolese leaders; Germans would tour the valleys and seek out the proper persons to be invited; Mackensen is to make the necessary arrangements with Ciano.	1126
May 25 772	<i>Memorandum</i> Ciano had informed the British, and would inform others, that although no agreement was signed during Hitler's visit, the visit had confirmed Axis policy in every respect.	1127
May 30 773	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the German Embassy in Italy</i> Summarizes the Italo-German agreement on Austria; the negotiations are believed to have produced the desired political results.	1128
May 31 774	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> After remarking on the need for closer cooperation between Axis representatives at some capitals, Attolico asked about the project for an Italo-German written agreement. Ribbentrop said nothing was being done and he thought the matter was not of decisive importance.	1128
June 1 775	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano was not enthusiastic about the idea of having German emissaries select South Tyrol representatives on the spot for the interview with Hitler.	1130
June 3 776	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> A summary of a speech by Ciano stressing Axis solidarity.	1132

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CHAPTER VII. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
MARCH—AUGUST 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 June 3 777	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said that if the British suggested mediation in Spain he would refuse; he said the negotiations with France could not be resumed until the Spanish question was settled.	1133
June 13 778	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> An informant says Mussolini plans to annex Albania as soon as possible.	1134
June 13 779	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> It is true that Litvinov said that the U.S.S.R. would welcome a Franco-Italian settlement; he did not say that such a settlement would weaken the Axis although he certainly hoped this would be the result.	1134
June 18 780	<i>The German Foreign Ministry to the Head of the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle</i> In response to Italian objections the plan has been dropped to have emissaries select representatives in the South Tyrol for an interview with Hitler; any Party offices with contacts in South Tyrol, or South Tyrolese who visit Germany, are to be informed of Hitler's policy.	1136
June 18 781	<i>Memorandum</i> Attolico again raised the question of an Italo-German written agreement on general policy; Weizsäcker said the project was still formless.	1137

C. AXIS POLICY STRENGTHENS THE ENTENTE, JUNE—AUGUST 1938

1938 June 22 782	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano described at length a conversation with the British Ambassador concerning Spain and the Italo-French negotiations as these related to the coming into force of the Anglo-Italian Agreement. From Ciano's remarks it was evident that the Italians were informed about the telegraphic reports of Perth.	1137
June 22 783	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Italian troop withdrawals from Libya (11,000 men so far) had been stopped now that the entry into force of the agreement with Britain was uncertain.	1141
June 23 784	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen)</i> Italian eagerness to bring the agreement with England into force, apparently even by decreasing the Italian effort in Spain, is creating doubts about the solidarity of the Axis. Ribbentrop has hinted to Attolico that the idea of a written Italo-German agreement might be taken up again.	1142

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CHAPTER VII. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
MARCH—AUGUST 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 June 27 785	<i>The Chief of Staff of the Head of the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle to the Foreign Ministry</i> A leader from South Tyrol has been told of Hitler's policy.	1143
June 30 786	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> An inconclusive discussion between Ribbentrop and Attolico on the possibility of negotiations concerning cooperation between Germany and Italy.	1143
July 1 787	<i>Memorandum by the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> On reports that in November and December 1937 Litvinov was angered by Delbos' refusal to visit Moscow.	1144
July 2 788	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano informed the British that their insistence on an end to the Spanish question before putting the Anglo-Italian Agreement into force relieved Italy of the necessity of conforming to the agreement, and that a resumption of Italian negotiations with France was only possible after the coming into force of the Anglo-Italian Agreement.	1145
July 4 789	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Points out that the figures on Italian troop withdrawals from Libya given by Ciano on June 22 and July 2 were very different; apparently almost 20,000 men have been withdrawn.	1147
July 11 790	<i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Soviet hopes that the annexation of Austria and Italian negotiations with Britain and France had weakened the Axis have been destroyed. Now Litvinov is encouraged by the Franco-Turkish agreement.	1148
July 13 791	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano summarized the British reply on the coming into force of the Anglo-Italian Agreement, and commented that the matter had reached an impasse; Mussolini was using his regained freedom of movement to send reinforcements to Spain, where Italian troops would soon make a new and strong assault, with Valencia as its goal.	1150
July 18 792	<i>The German Ambassador in Italy (Mackensen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini was elated by Italian successes in Spain; there, as in Abyssinia, China, and Czechoslovakia, the British had bet on the wrong horse.	1152

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CHAPTER VII. GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS OF WESTERN EUROPE,
MARCH—AUGUST 1938—Continued

Date and Doc. No.	Subject	Page
1938 July 18 793	<p><i>The German Ambassador in Great Britain (Dirksen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Since March, Anglo-German relations have deteriorated to the point where war is freely discussed. The deterioration is explained, not only by the activity of Jews, Communists, and nationalists, but by the effects of the <i>Anschluss</i> and the Czech crisis, by rearmament propaganda, and by the entrance of Anglo-German relations into domestic politics. Chamberlain is ready and able to make a settlement, unless Germany uses force in Czechoslovakia, in which case war is certain. An Anglo-German settlement is urgently necessary.</p>	1153
July 21 794	<p><i>The German Ambassador in France (Welczeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The Daladier-Chamberlain correspondence—on Spain, on the Anglo-Italian Agreement, on German rearmament, on Czechoslovakia, and on the need for a common Anglo-French policy—has created unusual optimism in France.</p>	1159
July 26 795	<p><i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The visit of the Hungarian Ministers to Rome resulted in no new agreements; rather, the Hungarians found that Italy places both the Axis and friendship with Yugoslavia above friendship with Hungary.</p>	1161
July 30 796	<p><i>The German Ambassador in France (Welczeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The royal visit to Paris completed the strengthening of Anglo-French relations, which has gone on since the visit of Daladier and Bonnet to London in April, and marked the beginning of a new ideological front of the democracies, including the United States. The new <i>Entente Cordiale</i> is founded on the fears resulting from Germany's regained strength and from the Italian menace to France's Mediterranean communications, and the <i>Entente</i> will weaken only if these fears abate.</p>	1163
Aug. 15 797	<p><i>The Italian Ambassador in Germany (Attolico) to the German Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Forwards a letter from Ciano declining an invitation to Nuremberg. Attolico urges the necessity for a meeting between Ribbentrop and Ciano to consider the European and world situation, and to demonstrate Axis solidarity.</p>	1170
Aug. 16 798	<p><i>The German Chargé d'Affaires in Italy (Plessen) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Mussolini, in view of German-Italian relations, had refused to approve the sale of airplanes to Czechoslovakia.</p>	1171
Aug. 16 799	<p><i>The German Ambassador in France (Welczeck) to the German Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The Franco-Italian passport war indicates that even pro-Italian circles in France, and the British as well, have abandoned hope of an agreement with Italy.</p>	1172

APPENDICES

Appendix I

ANALYSIS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ARCHIVES

The schedule attached to this note gives a rough picture of the captured Foreign Ministry archives. When captured, the documents were, for the most part, packed in bundles. On average, each bundle contains some six files or volumes, totalling perhaps a thousand to fifteen hundred pages. The schedule purports to show only whether there is much or little material. Qualitatively, the table tells nothing: one bundle may be more important than a hundred other bundles.

No thorough qualitative analysis has yet been attempted of the materials dating from 1867 to 1936. To 1920, the files seem intact. In the German destruction list of April 1945, the most important files from 1932 to 1936 were included, but only three bundles are known to have been destroyed. Unfortunately, these bundles comprised a large part of the material on armament questions; four bundles on this subject survive. While the Germans were moving the secret political files for 1920-1936 and those of the Cultural Department, an explosion destroyed some and damaged others; the surviving files suggest that the loss was not as serious as the classification of the documents suggests. With these exceptions, it can be tentatively stated that the evacuated archives of the Foreign Ministry are intact from 1867 to 1936.

As far as possible, the files of the years from 1936 have been examined. The Foreign Ministry filing system was reorganized in that year to conform to a radical change in the structure of the Political and Economic Departments of the Ministry. The filing system, therefore, can be most clearly studied in relation to the organization of the offices it served. The division of responsibility within the Foreign Ministry on December 1, 1937, is shown at Appendix II.

At the top was the Reich Foreign Minister (Neurath until February 1938, then Ribbentrop). The files of his personal secretariat bore the general title "Office of the Reich Foreign Minister" (*Büro RAM*). Part of these files were destroyed on Ribbentrop's orders, and only a fragment was captured. It is obvious that the collection contained material of great importance. Some of this material is recorded on the German microfilm mentioned in the General Introduction, but it has not been possible to establish the exact relation of the film to the files. However, interrogation of officials of Ribbentrop's staff has shown that most of the documents they considered important have been recorded on the film. In any case the film, whose authenticity has been fully established, is of the greatest value, since it contains many highly important documents of which no other copies have been found. The last documents recorded on the film date from 1943; after that we have a few records of important conferences and other documents of similar quality preserved in a box belonging to Paul Otto Schmidt, the senior interpreter at the Foreign Ministry. Unfortunately, the records of the personal staff which accompanied Ribbentrop on his various moves in the latter stages of the war (while the *Büro RAM* remained in Berlin) are not in our possession.

Next under the Foreign Minister came the State Secretary. Dieckhoff was Acting State Secretary August 1936–March 1937, when Mackensen was appointed and served until February 1938; his successors were Weizsäcker (1938–1943) and Steengracht von Moyland (from March 1943). The State Secretary's office (*Büro des Staatssekretärs*) kept extensive files which are almost complete. They include both the State Secretary's own memoranda and correspondence and also copies of telegrams and other documents handled by the different departments of the Foreign Ministry. The only known gap is the file on Anglo-German relations, probably from the spring of 1938 until April 1939. Some of this material, however, is preserved in other files. It is, moreover, important to note here that German Foreign Ministry practice, unlike that, for instance, of the British Foreign Office, involved the preparation of copies of documents for each interested department instead of the circulation of a single document which returned to a central registry of files. Thus, the same document may be found in the files of several different departments, a fact of great assistance when dealing with incomplete archives. On the whole, the State Secretary's files form the most important single collection for the period after 1936.

Of the other major departments of the Foreign Ministry, the most important was the Political Department (*Politische Abteilung*). Until February 1938, the Director of this Department was Weizsäcker, and he was succeeded by Woermann, for whom the title of Under State Secretary (*Unterstaatssekretär*) was revived. The Under State Secretary had his own files, but these do not in general compare with those of the State Secretary in range and value. By 1938 the Political Department was divided into ten sections, though this number was increased by a further seven during the war. The bulk of these sections (II to X) dealt with geographical regions, and their responsibility until September 1943 was divided as follows: II. Western Europe, including France and Great Britain; III. Southern Europe (except Italy); IV. South-eastern Europe (divided into two sections, (a) Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and (b) Austria and Czechoslovakia); V. Eastern Europe; VI. Scandinavia and the Baltic States; VII. Orient (excluding the Far East); VIII. Eastern Asia and Australia; IX. America; X. Africa. The only section of the Political Department which, before the war, was not concerned with a particular geographical area was Pol. I. In addition to dealing with general policy, Pol. I comprised subsections dealing with military (*M*) and air (*L*) questions. It had a section dealing with the League of Nations (*Vbd*) until 1939, and other *ad hoc* sections were added from time to time including one for National Defense (*Landesverteidigung*).

Secret documents of the Political Department kept at the departmental level were apparently kept together in the *Pol. Geheim Büro*. Most of its files are not in our possession as they were not passed to the Political Archives for evacuation with the remainder of the files.

The files of the remaining departments have less importance. The secret files of the Legal Department (*Rechtsabteilung*), headed for many years by *Ministerialdirektor* Gaus, are missing, since all 23 bundles listed for destruction were actually destroyed. This is unfortunate, since distribution lists on other documents show that the Legal Department received many of the most important political papers.

The files of the Personnel Department (*Personal- und Haushalts-Abteilung*) were also partly destroyed, but this is probably a less serious loss.

NOTE : The gap in the files on Anglo-German relations from the spring of 1938 to the spring of 1939, mentioned on p. 1178, line 8 from top, has now been filled. The State Secretary file on the Halifax visit, November 1937—April 1939, has been identified as the file thought to be missing and is identical with film serial No. 375 (cf. Appendix III, p. 1200) and was used in the preparation of this volume.

The files of the Press and Cultural Departments (*Presse- und Kulturpolitische Abteilungen*) are apparently complete, except for the secret files of the Press Department.

The secret files of the Economic Policy Department (*Wirtschaftspolitische Abteilung, Handelspolitische Abteilung*) were destroyed, but a large number of non-secret files survived. In addition, the *Handakten*, or special personal files compiled for the Director, Wiehl, and his deputy, Clodius, contain copies of secret and top secret documents of some importance. There are many such *Handakten* for officials of other departments, normally reflecting their own special interests, but sometimes containing copies of important documents not circulated elsewhere.

In January 1937 Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, the chief of the organization concerned with Reich-Germans living abroad (*Auslandsorganisation*), entered the Foreign Ministry, and in December 1937 was given the title of State Secretary. In spite of the fact that he ranked level with the State Secretary and reported directly to the Foreign Minister, Bohle's files have yielded little of value and, indeed, he sometimes complained himself that he was inadequately informed of current Foreign Ministry activities.

For many years there had existed a special internal office in the Foreign Ministry (*Sonderreferat Deutschland*) responsible for questions concerning the relations between foreign and domestic policy. In December 1938 Ribbentrop added another special office for Party questions (*Referat Partei*) responsible for liaison between the Foreign Ministry and all Party organizations. Its chief was Martin Luther, an old collaborator of Ribbentrop in the *Dienststelle Ribbentrop*. In May 1940 these two offices were amalgamated into one (*Abteilung Deutschland*), and during the war years Luther succeeded in increasing the scope of his activities, including, in 1942, control over a directorate of propaganda abroad (*Auslandspropagandaleitstelle*). However, in February 1943 Luther was arrested and sent to a concentration camp on charges of plotting against Ribbentrop. The place of the *Abteilung Deutschland* was taken by two "groups" (*Gruppe Inland I und II*) directly under the Minister. The files of these various offices, though numerous, are far from complete.

The files of the German diplomatic missions abroad are comparable in bulk with those of the Foreign Ministry and are very important for filling gaps in the Foreign Ministry records. The files of the Embassies in Rome and Moscow, and of the Legation in Prague, are particularly valuable. Most of the secret files of the Paris Embassy were destroyed by the German archivists in accordance with the order of April 10, 1945, but those that survive contain documents of the war years not available elsewhere. The files of the London Embassy were not mentioned in this order, but no secret files later than 1936 have been found; it is possible that, in this and similar cases, the files had already been destroyed at the Embassy.

Of the files from other sources in the collection, the largest are those of the Old and New Reich Chancellery (*Alte and Neue Reichskanzlei*). These are mainly concerned with internal affairs, but those of the Old (pre-Nazi) Reich Chancellery contain minutes of Cabinet meetings at which foreign policy was discussed.

It will be noted that few of the files continue to the last years of the war. Presumably the current files remained in Berlin or in the Muhlhausen area. If not destroyed, these files may be in the hands of the Soviet Government. The British and American Governments have in their possession certain papers

dating from the last weeks of the war when Doenitz's Government was functioning at Flensburg, and these will be used for the later volumes of this series. However, in the present collection the record for the last months of the Nazi regime must inevitably remain incomplete.

*Schedule of Documents in the Custody of the Foreign Office
and the Department of State¹*

No.	Division	Subdivision	Period ²	Bundles
A) DOCUMENTS OF THE FORMER GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY				
I. DOCUMENTS PRIOR TO 1920				
1	I a	Pol.	1867-1920	4296
2		World War	1914-1918	547
3		General Headquarters	1915-1918	58
4		Welfenfonds	1870-1914	20
5	Treaties	Pol.	1867-1920	107
6	Friedensabteilung		1919-1920	7
7	II—Restakten		1853-1920	252
8	Missions	Bogotá	1913-1918	58
9		Petersburg	1816-1914	206
10		Tangier	1845-1914	88
11		Cetinje	1906-1914	1
12	Conferences		1890-1920	22
II. DOCUMENTS 1920-1936				
13	World War		1921	16
14	Office of the Reich Minister		1920-1936	175
15	Office of the State Secretary		1920-1936	100
16	Handakten of various Heads and Deputy Heads of De- partments	Ritter (Sonderreferat W)	1920-1936	63
17		Heads of Departments II-IV	1917-1935	50
18		Gaus (Department V— Legal)	1914-1930	64
19		Miscellaneous Hand- akten (so-called Kleine Archive)	1914-1932	85
20	Special Departments and Sections	Friedensabteilung (later Department II F)	1920	140
21		Friedensvertrag	1920-1921	50

¹ For the period before 1936, the schedule of documents was compiled from fragmentary German lists, not from the documents themselves. Since the documents have not yet been examined, it is possible to speak with certainty only of the number of bundles; it is impossible to describe with precision the contents of each part of the schedule.

² The dates indicated in the fourth column are the extreme dates of the first and last document in each series. For instance, for practical purposes the *Pol.* files numbered 80-91 end with December 1940. Isolated documents only are found after this date. Similarly, the *Inland* series numbered 69-74 are of most value for the period after 1938, though a few documents go back to 1929.

No.	Division	Subdivision	Period	Bundles
22		Referat Deutschland	1920-1936	89
23		Sonderreferat W— (Transportation and Shipping Questions, pre- viously in Depart- ment IV)	1920-1936	840
24		W Rep. (Reparations)	1920-1936	230
25	Secret papers of Depart- ment F and the Geo- graphic Divisions		1920-1936	467
26	Department II	II. Pol.	1920-1936	634
27		II W	1920-1936	514
28		II be (occupied areas)	1920-1936	470
29		II F Air	1921-1936	104
30		II F Military, Navy	1921-1936	130
31		II F Secret	1932-1936	4
32		II F Disarmament	1921-1936	100
33		League of Nations (previously Sonder- referat)	1923-1936	400
34	Department III	III Pol.	1920-1936	449
35		III W	1920-1936	167
36	Department IV	IV Pol.	1920-1936	892
37		IV W	1920-1936	278
38	Treaties	Department II	1920-1936	150*
39		Department III	1920-1936	42*
40		Department IV	1920-1936	160*
41		Shipping	1920-1936	24
42	Commissions ⁴		1920-1924	300
43	Delegations ⁴		1920-1932	130
44	Plenipotentiaries, Commissioners ⁴		1921-1923	140
45	Representatives of the Foreign Ministry ⁴		1920	17
46	Plebiscite Area in Upper Silesia ⁴			
47	War Guilt Section		1920-1936	131
48	Committee of Inquiry into the War Guilt Question		1923-1925	12
49	Reichstag Investigating Committee		1914-1926	20
III. DOCUMENTS 1936-1945				
50	Reich Foreign Minister		1936-1943	9
51	Dienststelle Ribbentrop		1935-1944	36
52	State Secretary		1936-1944	127

* Reckoned in files; an estimated figure.

⁴ Mostly relating to peace negotiations and treaties.

No.	Division	Period	Bundles
53	Head of the Auslandsorganisation in the Foreign Ministry	1937-1943	40
<i>Miscellaneous Handakten</i>			
54	Ettel	1939-1944	3
55	Etzdorf (Representative of the Foreign Ministry to the OKH)	1939-1944	6
56	Hencke	1922-1944	9
57	Hewel	1937-1943	9
58	Keppler	1930-1944	5
59	Krümmer	1934-1943	2
60	Künsberg	1938-1943	29
61	Luther	1936-1943	18
62	Megerle	1934-1942	7
63	Rahn	1942-1943	2
64	Ritter	1938-1945	14
65	Schmidt (Press)	1938-1943	10
66	Schmidt (Interpreter)	1938-1944	12*
67	Representative of the Foreign Ministry to the Reich Commissioner for the Ukraine	1941-1944	4
68	Liaison Office of the Commissioner for Information Services	1940-1943	16
<i>Groups Inland I and II</i>			
69	Inland I D	1938-1945	22
70	Inland I Partei	1929-1944	101
71	Inland II A and B	1935-1945	355
72	Inland II C	1933-1945	51
73	Inland II D	1929-1945	47
74	Inland II Geheim	1936-1945	117
75	Referat D VI (Bauten)	1938-1943	21
<i>Papers of the Political Department</i>			
76	Under State Secretary Pol.	1936-1943	27
77	Pol. I League of Nations	1936-1940	6
78	Pol. I M	1936-1944	56
79	Pol. I Air	1936-1940	56
80	Pol. II	1936-1944	43
81	Pol. III	1936-1942	79
82	Pol. IV	1936-1944	110
83	Pol. V	1936-1944	144
84	Pol. VI	1936-1944	26
85	Pol. VII	1936-1943	10
86	Pol. VIII	1936-1941	27
87	Pol. IX	1936-1944	15
88	Pol. X	1936-1944	5

* Reckoned in files.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Division</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Bundles</i>
89	Pol. XI (War Guilt Question)	1941-1943	3
90	Pol. XII (Preparations for Conclusion of Peace)	1941-1945	1
91	Pol. XIII (Russland Gremium)	1936-1942	11
92	Pol. Geheim	1936-1943	25
93	Directives Pol. II	1940-1943	18
94	Handakten Wiehl	1921-1943	62
95	Handakten Clodius	1921-1945	65
96	Handakten Collection (Ha. Pol.)	1914-1944	76
97	Papers of the Economic Policy Department	1936-1945	825
98	Papers of the Legal Department	1880-1945	3264
99	Papers of the Cultural Policy Department	1890-1945	1885
<i>Treaties</i>			
100	Political Department	1936-1944	80*
101	Economic Policy Department	1936-1944	44
102	Legal Department	1920-1943	400
103	Cultural Policy Department	1920-1941	28
104	Press Department	1915-1944	520
105	Protocol Department	1920-1944	227
106	Personnel Department	1860-1945	5042
107	Accounts Division	1920-1944	1100
108	Politisches Archiv (Geschäftsakten)	1920-1944	185
109	Referat Pers. (Historisches Referat)	1937-1939	4
110	Asservate zum Politischen Archiv [†]	1920-1944	15
111	Politisches Archiv (Geschäftsakten Meisdorf, Friedland, Degnershausen)	1936-1944	6
112	Asservate [†]	1860-1945	122
113	Nachlässe [‡]	1860-1945	300
<i>Missions</i>			
114	Ankara	1875-1943	213
115	Athens	1927-1940	28
116	Belgrade	1876-1944	71
117	Bern	1854-1943	860
118	Brussels	1845-1940	89

* Reckoned in files.

† Small miscellaneous accessions to the archives from various sources.

‡ Documents of defunct sections or former officials.

No.	Division	Period	Bundies
119	Budapest	1910-1944	209
120	Bucharest	1867-1940	177
121	Hague	1858-1944	172
122	Helsinki	1889-1944	27
123	Copenhagen	1862-1944	139
124	Kovno	1895-1941	246
125	Lisbon	1869-1943	277
126	London	1861-1937	433
127	Luxembourg	1879-1940	61
128	Madrid	1865-1942	580
129	Moscow	1921-1941	216
130	Oslo	1890-1940	610
131	Paris	1871-1944	1433
132	Prague	1918-1939	333
133	Pressburg	1922-1944	390
134	Reval	1919-1941	207
135	Riga	1868-1941	273
136	Rome (Quirinal)	1818-1943	1517
137	Rome (Vatican)	1849-1943	179
138	Sofia	1879-1944	113
139	Stockholm	1825-1941	368
140	Warsaw	1920-1939	193
141	Washington	1870-1938	504
142	Vienna	1867-1939	758
143	Zagreb	1921-1944	773
<i>Missions—Secret Papers</i>			
144	Antwerp	1931-1939	1
145	Athens	1937-1938	1
146	Bern	1939-1942	5
147	Bucharest	1936-1942	3
148	Ciudad Trujillo	1941	1
149	Lisbon	1928-1943	8
150	Madrid	1936-1943	9
151	Moscow	1937-1941	18
152	Paris	1938-1944	26
153	Prague	1938-1939	1
154	Rome (Quirinal)	1920-1943	66
155	Rome (Vatican)	1903-1942	7
156	Sofia	1931-1938	1
157	Tirana	1924-1943	6
158	Zagreb	1940-1944	28
159	Special Commissioner Southeast	1944	1
160	Consulates	1845-1944	4270*
161	Miscellaneous Documents		800*
B) DOCUMENTS NOT ORIGINATING IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY			
162	Handakten Epp	1900-1945	36
163	Handakten Frank	1918-1945	86
164	Handakten Speer	1936-1945	18

* Estimated figure.

APPENDIX I

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Division</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Bundles</i>
165	Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut	1933-1945	69
166	Alte Reichskanzlei	1920-1933	3665 ^a
167	Neue Reichskanzlei	1933-1945	1630 ^a
168	Präsidialkanzlei	1919-1940	125
169	Chancellery of the Deputy of the Führer	1933-1942	168 ^a
170	Office of the Führer's Adjutants	1935-1940	328 ^a
171	Party Offices	1930	15
172	Various documents of foreign origin	1912-1945	95

^a Reckoned in files.

Appendix II

ORGANIZATION OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ON DECEMBER 1, 1937¹

THE REICH FOREIGN MINISTER

Baron von Neurath

Attached: V. L. R. von Kotze

Office: L. S. Dr. von Marchtaler
A. R. Köppen

THE STATE SECRETARY OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY

Dr. von Mackensen

Office: L. S. Dr. Siegfried
A. R. Reifegerste

THE HEAD OF THE AUSLANDSORGANISATION IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY

E. W. Bohle, Gauleiter

Attached: L. S. Dr. Ehrich
R. O. I. Rust

Chief Clerk: H. R. Schönhertz

Protocol

Diplomatic Corps in Berlin. Foreign consuls in the German Reich. Audiences with the Führer and Chancellor. Ceremonial, Decorations:

Gesandter I. Kl. von Bülow-Schwante; V. L. R. Dr. Boltze; L. S. von Kessel; L. S. Ritter von Reichert; Ref. Pappritz; H. R. Pingel; A. R. Propp; A. R. Spletstösser; A. R. von der Seipen; A. R. Vogel.

Internal German Affairs (Referat Deutschland).

Gesandter I. Kl. von Bülow-Schwante; V. L. R. Dr. Hinrichs; L. R. Dr. Schumburg; H. R. Jüngling; R. O. I. Klee.

PERSONNEL AND BUDGET DEPARTMENT (PERS.)

Personal data on members of the foreign service. Matters relating to pay and welfare. General administration of the Foreign Ministry and of diplomatic missions abroad. Questions relating to budget, finance, and accounts. Political archives. Library. Cipher service. Language service. General questions concerning the organization of the foreign service.

Head of Department:

Ministerialdirektor Dr. Prüfer.

¹ This organization plan has been translated from the German Foreign Ministry organization circular of that date. The original is filmed as serial 1780, frames 406709-25. The initials and terms preceding the names in this list indicate the title or grade of each official, and are explained in the Glossary, Appendix V. For a table of the organization of the Foreign Ministry on June 1, 1938, see vol. II, Appendix II.

Deputy Head of Department:	V. L. R. Dr. Dienstmann.
Attached:	A. R. Stempel.
Head of budget and financial affairs:	V. L. R. Schellert.
Special assignments:	V. L. R. z. D. Schroetter.
Pers. H Organization of the foreign service abroad. Training of candidates for the higher service. Personal data of higher officials, of honorary consuls, experts, etc. Information center:	V. L. R. Dr. Rohde; L. R. Ramm; H. R. Dr. Schwarz; A. R. Eich; A. R. Diederich.
Pers. M Personal data on other officials and employees. Organization and simplification of working of the Ministry:	L. R. Schroeder; A. R. Rock; A. R. Kownatzki (Walther); R. O. I. Voigt; K. S. Erlewein.
Pers. R Drawing-up and general administration of the budget. General questions relating thereto. Fee and income revenues. General cash and accounts. Preliminary examination of accounts. Administration of funds for official requirements, newspapers and books, postal, telegraph and telephone charges, household expenses, etc., for missions abroad, courts of arbitration and mixed commissions, subsidies in foreign countries, welfare organizations and repatriation costs. Currency matters for the Foreign Ministry and for missions abroad. Collections in foreign countries:	V. L. R. Kammler; L. R. Rieger; H. R. Pfeiffer; H. R. Edert; Rechn. R. Lachnitt; H. R. Engel; A. R. Stadelmann; A. R. Guenther; A. R. Schulz (Erich); A. R. Klauenberg; A. R. Nachtigal; A. R. Bartsch; A. R. Niemandt; A. R. Frensch; A. R. Blenk; A. R. Krüger; R. O. I. Ressler; R. I. Dittmann; R. I. Jasiek.
Pers. B Salaries and wages, welfare and maintenance, travel and removal expenses of officials and employees of the foreign service and other persons. Official expenditure of honorary consulates:	L. R. Dr. Bischof; A. R. Fischer; Kzler. Lehmann; A. R. Brose; A. R. Entrodacher; A. R. Reinicke (Georg); A. R. Wegener; A. R. Roethig; A. R. Drewski; Kzler. Buchholz; R. O. I. Bunze; O. I. Göhring (Max); R. O. I. Belling; R. O. Roysl; O. I. Scholz; R. O. I. Blaack; K. S. Eichler; K. S. von Gross.
Pers. D Administration of funds for official requirements, newspapers and books, postal, telegraph and telephone charges, household administration and sundry expenses of the Foreign Ministry. Unbud-	L. R. Balsler; G. K. Baron von Ungelter; K. z. D. Dr. Bergfeld; A. R. Winzer; H. R. Steinicke; A. R. Bähre; A. R. Ullrich (Bruno); A. R. Herold; A. R. Panten;

geted expenses. Upkeep of Government (Reich) buildings. Matters relating to construction and leasing at home and abroad. Purchasing and furnishing; living quarters:

A. R. Viertel; A. R. Sevser; A. R. Schütz; R. O. I. Thiele; O. I. Blessing; R. I. Hoffmann; M. Kzl. S. Riese-
weber.

Directly subordinate to Deputy Head of Department:

Pers. S Couriers; security questions at home and abroad: Ref. Mors; M. Kzl. O. S. Ober-
jürgen.

Inspector of Accounts:

V. L. R. Kammler.

Legation Accounts:

Accountant: A. R. Eger.

Head Bookkeeper:

H. R. Kiem.

Cashier: A. R. Hintze.

Pers. Bibl. Library. Acquisition of books of reference for departments and sections. Supply of literature to posts abroad:

O. R. R. Dr. Holleck-Weith-
mann; Bibl. Piske; Bibl. Dr.
Wender; Bibl. Insp. Lubig;
Bibl. Insp. Hanfand.

Pol. Arch. Political Archives and historical
Pers. hist. section:

L. S. Dr. Frauendienst; Dr.
Ullrich (Joh.); H. R. Glas-
sow; A. R. Langner; A. R.
Heinrich.

Pers. Z CIPHER and communications service,
including necessary equipment:

V. L. R. Selchow; O. R. R.
Schauffler; R. R. Langlotz;
R. R. Dr. Kunze; R. R.
Paschke; R. R. Steinbrinck;
R. R. Scherschmidt; R. R.
Hoffmann (Ernst); R. R.
Dr. Kasper; R. R. Dr. Roy.
H. R. Sergeois; H. R. Kla-
bunde; H. R. Schultz (Wil-
ly); A. R. Oehlandt; A. R.
Hübscher; A. R. Pellmann;
A. R. Mieschel; A. R. Rad-
dünz; Kzler. Zorn; R. I. Po-
piersch; techn. Insp. von
Ahsen.

Cipher office:

H. R. Lührs; H. R. Pifrément;
A. R. Ziem.

Telegram registry:

O. R. R. Gautier; L. R. Dr.
Schmidt (Paul); R. R. Dr.
Schultheiss.

Pers. L Language services:

A. R. Kniestedt.

Chief Clerk:

Main Office (Reception):

H. R. Schimpke; H. R. Heyer;
A. R. Schmidt (Wilh.);
A. R. Dux; A. R. Hoppe;
A. R. Reiner.

Central Chancellery:

Head of Chancellery: M. Kzl.
O. S. a. D. Baumbach.

Messenger Service:

Head of Messenger Service:
Günther (Friedrich).

Housekeeper's Department:

Building supervisor:
Fasewalk.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT (POL.)

Head of Department:

Ministerialdirektor Baron von
Weizsäcker.

Deputy to Head of Department:

Ges. I. Kl. Prince von Bis-
marck.

For special assignments:

V. L. R. von Lieres und Wil-
kau; L. R. Mackeben.

Pol. I League of Nations. Military ques-
tions. Armaments. Aviation.
Defense:

V. L. R. von Kamphoevener;
L. R. Schultz-Sponholz;
L. R. Dr. Baron von der
Heyden-Rynsch; L. S. von
der Damerau-Dambrowski;
A. R. Eckhardt; A. R.
Steinmeyer; A. R. Grimm.

Pol. II Western Europe (Great Britain,
Ireland, British possessions—
unless dealt with elsewhere—
France, with North Africa, Mo-
rocco, and Tunis, Belgium, Neth-
erlands, Switzerland, Luxem-
bourg):

V. L. R. von Rintelen; L. R.
Baron Marschall von Bie-
berstein (Adolf); L. S. Dr.
von Holleben; A. R. Gu-
dohr; A. R. Rose.

Pol. III Southern Europe
a) Spain, Portugal:

L. R. Dr. Schwendemann;
-----;² A. R. Haack.

b) Vatican:

L. R. Dr. Haidlen.

Pol. IV Southeast Europe (Albania, Bul-
garia, Greece, Italy—Ethiopia,
Libya—Yugoslavia, Austria, Ru-
mania, Czechoslovakia, Hun-
gary):

V. L. R. Dr. Heinburg; L. R.
Dr. Busse; L. R. Dr. Alten-
burg; L. S. Dr. Mohrmann;
A. R. Gläser.

Pol. V Eastern Europe (Poland, Danzig,
Soviet Union):

V. L. R. Dr. Schliep; L. R.
Bergmann; L. S. Baron von
Welck; Amts-u. Landg. R.
(Att.) Dr. Schaffarczyk;
H. R. Wenger; H. R.
Giesche; H. R. Brembach.

Pol. VI Scandinavia and border states
(Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Ice-
land, Finland, Estonia, Latvia,
Lithuania, Memel Territory):

V. L. R. Dr. von Grundherr;
L. R. Count von Hohenthal;
L. S. Dr. Doertenbach;
Assess. (Att.) Graf; R. O. I.
Bornstedt.

Pol. VII Middle East (Egypt, Afghanistan,
Arabia, Ceylon, Cyprus, Pales-
tine, Syria, Turkey, India, Iraq,
Iran, Sudan):

V. L. R. Dr. von Hentig; Dr.
Schlobies.

² Marks of omission appear in the original.

Pol. VIII	Far East and Australia (Japan, Japanese mandated territories, China, Manchukuo, Mongolia, French Indo-China, Siam, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Netherlands East Indies, Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, South Sea territories):	V. L. R. Dr. von Schmieden; L. R. Dr. Count Strachwitz; L. R. Dr. Voskamp.
Pol. IX	America North America (United States with possessions—except Philippines—Canada), Central and South America, Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic: Questions concerning confiscated German property in the United States. German-American Mixed Claims Commission:	V. L. R. Freytag; L. S. Dr. Anderson; L. S. von Stempel; R. O. I. Wildegans. Ges. z. D. Rohland.
Pol. X	Africa (except Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Italian possessions, Egypt, Sudan). Mandate and colonial questions:	L. R. Dr. Strohm; L. R. Dr. Zeitschel; Kzler. Larssen; A. R. Mannes Schmidt; R. O. I. Metz.
Chief Clerk:		H. R. Kownatzki (Erich).

ECONOMIC POLICY DEPARTMENT (W)

Head of Department:		Ministerialdirektor Wiehl.
Attached:		
Deputy to Head of Department:		V. L. R. Dr. Clodius.
Directly subordinate to Head of Department; Leader of delegations for commercial treaty negotiations:		V. L. R. Dr. Hemmen.
W I	General section for questions concerning economics and finance:	L. R. Dr. Wingen; L. S. Dr. Baron von Maltzahn; L. S. Dr. Pawelke; Assessor (Att.) Dr. Allardt; A. R. Granass.
W I	Raw materials:	L. S. Dr. Rahn.
W II	Western and Southern Europe except Great Britain and Italy (Belgium, including colonies and mandated territories, France, including colonies, protectorates and mandated territories, Luxembourg, Netherlands, including colonies, Portugal, including colonies, Spain, including colonies): Switzerland:	V. L. R. Sabath; Ges. R. Dr. Kreutzwald. L. R. Dr. Wingen.

- W III Southeast Europe with Italy and Near East (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy with colonies, Yugoslavia, Austria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Afghanistan, Egypt, Arabia, Cyprus, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Sudan, Turkey, Yemen): V. L. R. Moraht; K. z. D. Dr. Kalisch; L. S. Dr. Junker; L. S. Dr. Janz; L. S. Dr. Riegner; A. R. Schwenn.
- W IV Eastern Europe (Danzig, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Memel, Poland, Russia): V. L. R. Dr. Schnurre; L. R. Baron von Behr; Assess. (Att.) Dr. Bottler; Assess. (Att.) Dr. Bruns; H. R. Bienotsch.
- W V Northern Europe (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden). Also, monopoly problems: L. R. Dr. van Scherpenberg; H. R. Bienotsch.
- W VI Great Britain, Dominions and British possessions except Canada (Australia, Ceylon, Great Britain, British India, Ireland, Malay States, New Zealand, Straits Settlements, South Africa): V. L. R. Rüter; L. S. Dr. See-los.
- W VII Far East (China, Hong Kong, Japan, Manchukuo, Philippines, Siam, South Sea territories): L. R. Dr. Voss; A. R. Grunwald.
- W VIII America
 a) North America, including Canada and Mexico (Canada, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Liberia, Mexico, United States), also promotion of tourist traffic: V. L. R. Dr. Davidsen; V. K. Krienen.
 b) South America, including Central America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay, Venezuela): L. S. Dr. Rahn; L. S. Dr. Pamperrien; L. S. Dr. Maciejewski; A. R. Autzen.
- W IX Shipping: V. L. R. Bleyert; H. R. Zornow; R. O. I. Dietzler (Alfred).
- W X Reich Office for Foreign Trade. (Economic news and information service; chambers of commerce abroad): V. L. R. Dr. Bosenick; H. R. Grunow.
- Chief Clerk: A. R. Voss.

LEGAL DEPARTMENT (R)

- Head of Department: Ministerialdirektor Dr. Gaus.
- Deputy to Head of Department: V. L. R. Dr. Albrecht.
- R I International law, cooperation in conclusion of treaties. League of Nations law. Peace organization. Arbitration courts, and the Permanent Court of International Justice. Laws of war and neutrality. Red Cross. Advancement of jurisprudence. The Academy for German Law and the National Socialist League of Guardians of the Law. Publication of documents on foreign policy:
- Index of foreign treaties:
- R II a) Consular law (except as dealt with under R VI). Law applying to diplomatic missions. Extraterritoriality. Trade treaties and concessions. International traffic law, except international motor vehicle traffic. Settlement of questions of German property in former enemy countries, including liquidation agreements and laws relating to war damage. Termination of mixed claims courts and claims by neutrals for damages arising out of the war. Revalorization of foreign loans in German hands. Industrial protective laws. Copyright law.
- b) Tax law. Civil Service Law. Private insurance law. Opium and other narcotics. Customs matters affecting German and foreign diplomats:
- R III a) Nationality. Constitutional and administrative law. Ecclesiastical law.
- b) Penal law. Legal aid in criminal cases. Extradition cases. Criminal proceedings in Germany against Germans for offenses committed abroad and against foreigners abroad for offenses committed in Germany. Reports on criminal proceedings:
- L. R. Dr. Lohmann; L. S. Dr. Stahlberg; A. R. Steinseifer.
- A. R. Kayser.
- L. R. Busch; L. R. Günther; A. R. Breitfeld; H. R. Schaub; A. R. Kayser.
- V. L. R. Dr. Siedler; L. R. Dr. Kastner; H. R. Jander; H. R. Hanck; R. O. I. Dahms; O. I. Lang.

- R IV Compulsory military service. Compulsory labor service. Registration abroad of those liable for military service. German war graves abroad. Persons suffering war injuries. Prisoners of war (cases still pending from the World War). Welfare. Social insurance law. Hunting and fishing legislation. Gun licenses. Hereditary health law: V. L. R. Dr. Sethe; Ger. Ass. (Attaché) Dr. Hecker; A. R. Lindemann; R. O. I. Schild; R. I. Markeffsky.
- R V Labor law. The International Labor Organization. Industrial law. Police, particularly Aliens Section. Counterfeiting. White slave traffic. Child welfare. Pornographic literature. International motor vehicle traffic. Universal Postal Union. International Telecommunication Union. Passport law. Refugee questions. Welfare law. Reception (*Uebernahmesachen*): V. L. R. Rödiger (Gustav); L. R. Fischer (Rob.); A. R. Schaarwächter; A. R. Zarbock.
- Passport office of Foreign Ministry: H. R. Reimke.
- R VI Consular jurisdiction in matters of civil law and lawsuits. International legal protection and legal aid in civil matters. International private law. Standardization of international law in matters of civil, commercial, maritime, and aviation law. Foreign law on civil status. Matters relating to marriage laws and civil status, especially enforcement of law concerning race protection and certification of health before marriage. Law officers' opinions in matters of civil law and civil cases of the Foreign Ministry. Agreements regarding credentials: L. R. von Haeften; L. S. von Nostitz; A. R. Hasenei.
- Credentials office of the Foreign Ministry (cf. passport office): H. R. Reimke.
- R VI Na Matters of inheritance. Procuring of documents abroad relating to civil status and proof of descent: L. S. von Nostitz; A. R. Dietzler (Egon).
- Special assignment: Reform of consular legislation. Preparation of manual for the consular service: Gesandter z. D. Dr. Kraske.
- Chief Clerk: H. R. Schuhmacher.

CULTURAL POLICY DEPARTMENT (KULT.)

Head of Department:	Gesandter I. Klasse Dr. Stieve.
Deputy to Head of Department:	V. L. R. Dr. von Twardowski.
Kult. Gen. General questions of cultural policy. Cultural conventions. Cultural treaties, their implementation and effect. Cultural policy of other powers. Interstate societies:	L. R. Dr. Resenberg; R. O. I. Garbe.
Kult. A Position of German racial groups abroad and of minorities in the Reich. Press and literature of German racial groups abroad. Political work abroad by Reich-German agencies. Scientific work on questions of race. Work of ecclesiastical organizations on questions relating to Germanization. International racial group policy. German Houses. German libraries abroad:	Gen. K. Dr. Lorenz; L. S. Dr. v. Fries; Dr. Goeken; A. R. Fleissner; R. I. Dr. Schatz.
Kult. B Economic questions relating to Germanization:	L. R. Dr. Schwager; K. z. D. Buttman.
Kult. E Emigration and repatriation. Settling abroad. Germanism in Russia. Persons of German stock in the Soviet Union and care of refugees of German stock from Russia:	L. R. Dr. Kundt; Kzl. Fischer.
Kult. H Administration of funds of the department. (School funds. Funds for cultural purposes. Goethe House funds. Foreign Institute of the University of Berlin. School building program in Poland):	i. V. L. R. Dr. Roth; H. R. Krüger; R. I. Aurich; R. I. Werlich.
Kult. J Youth movement at home and abroad. Cultural relations of Hitler Youth with foreign countries. International youth rallies at home and abroad. Youth excursions. Boy Scout matters. Youth congresses:	K. Dopffel; R. O. I. Scholz.
Kult. Nf Enquiries abroad about Reich-Germans and foreign nationals. Reich-Germans and those of German race who have immigrated or wish to immigrate:	L. R. Dr. Kundt; Dr. Baron v. Bodman.

- Kult. S German educational system abroad. Matters affecting German schools abroad. Subsidies for schools abroad and for language teachers. Supplies to schools abroad of books, magazines, and school material. Questions relating to examinations and credentials. Committee of awards. Foundations. German Academy. Personal data on language teachers, exclusive of questions regarding payments. Educational systems of foreign countries. School books. Collection of reports of foreign schools. Educational periodicals. German Pedagogic Office, foreign section. Exchange of students and teachers. Travel of students. Exchange of correspondence by students. Selection and care of foreign students in Germany. Tuition fees for foreign students. International pedagogic exhibitions, meetings, and congresses. Travel of educators to congresses. Budget and financial affairs of schools abroad. Questions of payment to language instructors and teaching staffs abroad. Travel of instructors for schools abroad. Applications for assistance by teachers and former teachers residing abroad and returning home. Placement and leaves of absence for teachers trained in higher institutions of learning. Placement and leaves of absence for those not so trained. Questions pertaining to instructors in German schools abroad and to language teachers, exclusive of financial questions:
- Kult. U University affairs (Congresses, exhibitions, and festivities). Exchange of visiting professors with foreign countries. German lecturers at foreign universities and the reverse. All questions
- V. L. R.-----;
L. R. Dr. Holm; K. Dopffel;
L. S. Dr. Paul; H. R. Blum;
H. R. Unruh; A. R. Barthol;
A. R. Walden; A. R. Filke;
R. O. I. Scholz; Hilfsarb. Lohmann.
- K. Dr. Schaefer-Rümelin;
A. R. Hiemke; A. R. Stichter.

² Marks of omission appear in the original.

affecting students, including travel of German students abroad and the reverse. Scholarships and fellowships. Academic honors. German Academic Exchange Service. The Foreign Institute. Institute for Politics. The Association for the Far East:

Kult. W	General scientific relations with foreign countries. Scientific congresses and exhibitions. Research journeys and expeditions. Scientific institutes. Honoring of foreigners. Reich Central Office for Scientific Information. Lectures by German scholars abroad and by foreign scholars in Germany. Health questions. Sanitary agreements. German hospitals and German medical personnel abroad. Archaeology. Museums. Books and libraries. Periodicals. The promotion of books and exhibitions of books abroad:	L. R. Dr. Roth; L. R. Dr. Pfeleiderer; Dr. Stünzner; A. R. Zachowius; R. O. I. Grabowsky.
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Chief Clerk:

A. R. Hemmerling.

PRESS DEPARTMENT (P)

Head of Department:	Gesandter Aschmann.	
Deputy Head of Department:	V. L. R. Wolf.	
I	Southeast Europe (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Austria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary):	V. L. R. Wolf.
II	Western Europe except Netherlands and Switzerland, (Belgium and colonies, France and colonies, Italy, Luxembourg, Morocco, Vatican), also <i>Deutsche diplomatisch-politische Korrespondenz</i> :	V. L. R. Braun von Stumm.
III	Great Britain with Dominions, protectorates, and colonies:	L. R. Dr. Bömer.
IV	Eastern Europe (Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania; Danzig, Poland, Soviet Union):	G. K. Sommer.
V	Scandinavia (Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden), Finland, also Netherlands:	L. S. Dr. Schlemann.
VI	Portugal, Spain, Central and South America:	V. L. R. Pistor.

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|------|--|----------------------------------|
| VII | United States of America: | i. V. L. R. Dr. Bömer. |
| VIII | Near East (Turkey, Egypt, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Syria): | Ges. z. D. Dr. Kirchholtes. |
| IX | Far East (China, Japan, Siam, India, Netherlands Indies). Switzerland. Currency matters: | V. L. R. z. D. Dr. Katzenberger. |
| X | Economic and colonial questions. League of Nations. International treaties. Periodicals dealing with foreign politics: | V. L. R. Dr. Dumont. |
| XI | Verbal and written reporting on press: | Dr. Schacht. |
| | Chief Clerk: | H. R. Warnick. |

Appendix III

LIST OF GERMAN FILES USED

The following table identifies the German file from which each document has been derived. The documents of the Foreign Ministry were bound into volumes by the Germans. The documents in these volumes have been micro-filmed, and each film of a file has been identified by a film serial number, while each page of the documents has been identified by a frame number stamped on the original at the time of filming. The documents published in this collection are identified by printing the film serial number and frame numbers in the upper left-hand corner of each document. By reference to the following table of film serial numbers the location in the German Foreign Ministry archives of the copy of the document used in this publication may be determined.

<i>Film Serial Numbers</i>	<i>German File</i>
28	German Legation in Czechoslovakia: Telegrams to and from the Foreign Ministry and other Authorities.
33	Reich Foreign Minister: Memoranda on Visits of Foreign Statesmen.
49	Head of the <i>Auslandsorganisation</i> .
74	German Embassy at the Holy See: Secret Papers, Political Papers, Miscellaneous Papers.
100	German Embassy in Italy: Mackensen Papers.
109	State Secretary: Anglo-Italian Relations.
111	State Secretary: Chinese-Japanese War.
115	Reich Foreign Minister: Austria.
119	Head of the <i>Auslandsorganisation</i> : Italy.
120	State Secretary: Austria.
145	Under State Secretary: East Asia Conflict.
147	Reich Foreign Minister: Poland, Poland Conflict, Poland-Danzig.
151	Under State Secretary: Nine Power Conference.
153	Under State Secretary: China/Japan.
155	<i>Pol. VIII</i> : Political Relations between Japan and Germany.
174	State Secretary: Japan.
198	Economic Policy Department: Clodius, Japan.
210	Under State Secretary: Nine Power Conference.
223	State Secretary: (1) Austria, <i>Handakten</i> . (2) Visit of Austrian State Secretary Guido Schmidt to Berlin, 1936, <i>Handakten</i> .
224	State Secretary: Chinese-Japanese Conflict.
296	Political Department: France, Socialism, Communism, etc., in France.
313	Under State Secretary: French, Italian, British Negotiations.
325	State Secretary: Mussolini Visit.
348	State Secretary: (1) Visit of Italian Foreign Minister Ciano to Berlin. (2) Material for Führer's Visit to Rome. (3) Visit of the Führer to Rome.

*Film Serial
Numbers*

- German File

- 351 *Pol. V: Russia, General Foreign Policy.*
- 375 *State Secretary: Halifax's Visit and its Consequences.*
- 403 *Pol. V: Russia, Russian Commercial Mission in Germany.*
- 418 *German Embassy in the Soviet Union: German Internal Politics, Defense, the Anti-Comintern.*
- 438 *State Secretary: Correspondence between the State Secretary and German Diplomatic Representatives Abroad.*
- 442 *State Secretary: Correspondence between the State Secretary and German Diplomatic Representatives Abroad.*
- 522 *Pol. geheim: Russia.*
- 523 *Pol. geheim: Russia.*
- 533 *State Secretary: Relations with the Holy See.*
- 580 *Colonial Affairs.*
- 590 *German Embassy in the Soviet Union: Russian Diplomatic and Consular Representatives Abroad.*
- 598 *Pol. V: Russia, Arrests.*
- 605 *Pol. II: France, General Foreign Policy.*
- 621 *Pol. II: France, Political Relations between France and Germany.*
- 625 *Pol. II: France, Endeavors to bring about Franco-German Understanding.*
- 631 *Pol. II: France, Political Relations between France and Poland.*
- 634 *Pol. II: France, Political Relations between France and Italy.*
- 635 *Pol. II: France, Political Relations between France and Russia.*
- 664 *Pol. II: France, Political Relations between France and Czechoslovakia.*
- 710 *Pol. IX: United States, Political and Cultural Propaganda, U.S.A.*
- 740 *Pol. II: France, Political Journeys of Foreign Statesmen.*
- 809 *Head of the Auslandsorganisation: Files on United States of America, Ireland, France, Deutsches Auslandsinstitut, Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland, Büro Chef AO, Cultural Policy Department of the Foreign Ministry, Reich-Germans in the Netherlands Indies—Reprisals.*
- 860 *State Secretary: German Foreign Minister's Visit to London. -*
- 905 *Under State Secretary: Halifax Visit.*
- 969 *Head of the Auslandsorganisation: Austria.*
- 1041 *Pol. IX: United States, Political Relations between the United States and Germany.*
- 1097 *Pol. VIII: Anti-Comintern Pact.*
- 1146 *Pol. IX: United States, Germanism Abroad.*
- 1249 *Pol. II: England, Ministries.*
- 1282 *State Secretary Keppler: Files on Austria.*
- 1291 *State Secretary Keppler: Files on Austria.*
- 1387 *Pol. II: Britain, General Foreign Policy.*
- 1479 *Ambassador Hewel Papers: Germany.*
- 1486 *Pol. IV: Italy, General Foreign Policy.*
- 1500 *Pol. IV: Italy, Political Relations between Italy and Germany.*
- 1518 *Pol. IV: Italy, Mussolini's Visit to Germany, September 1937.*
- 1519 *Pol. IV: Italy, Political Relations between Italy and Germany.*
- 1539 *German Embassy in the Soviet Union: General Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union.*

<i>Film Serial Numbers</i>	<i>German File</i>
1549	Reich Chancellery: Austria.
1550	<i>Pol. IV</i> : Italy, Political Relations between Italy and Hungary.
1558	<i>Pol. II</i> : Great Britain, Lord Halifax's Visit to Germany in November 1937.
1579	<i>Pol. II</i> : Great Britain, Political Relations between Britain and France.
1580	<i>Pol. II</i> : Great Britain, Political Relations between Britain and France.
1585	<i>Pol. II</i> : Great Britain, Political Relations between Britain and Germany.
1595	<i>Pol. II</i> : Great Britain, Political Relations between Britain and Germany.
1607	<i>Pol. III</i> : Holy See, Mundelein Incident.
1608	<i>Pol. III</i> : Holy See, Political Relations of the Holy See with Germany.
1609	<i>Pol. III</i> : Holy See, Political Relations of the Holy See with Germany.
1611	<i>Pol. III</i> : Holy See, Political Relations of the Holy See with Germany.
1620	<i>Pol. III</i> : Holy See, Political Relations of the Holy See with Germany.
1649	<i>Pol. geheim</i> : Austria.
1661	Political Department: Confidential Papers.
1687	<i>Pol. I Vbd.</i>
1716	German Embassy in France: Reunion of Austria with the Reich.
1726	<i>Pol. geheim</i> : East Asia, the Sino-Japanese Conflict, 1937, Peace Feelers.
1744	<i>Pol. IV</i> : Austria, Political Relations between Austria and Germany.
1788	<i>Handakten</i> of Dr. Arthur Seyss-Inquart.
1791	German Embassy in France: Russia, Secret File.
1798	<i>Pol. IV</i> : Austria, Political Relations between Austria and Germany.
1824	Ribbentrop, Miscellaneous Papers.
1879	<i>Pol. III</i> : Holy See, Prosecution of Roman Catholic Priests Accused of Moral Delinquency.
1907	German Embassy in the Soviet Union: Political Relations between Germany and the Soviet Union, General.
1909	German Embassy in the Soviet Union: Political Relations between Germany and the Soviet Union, Secret.
1927	State Secretary: War between China and Japan.
1928	State Secretary: War between China and Japan.
1929	State Secretary: War between China and Japan.
1958	<i>Pol. IV</i> : Austria, Domestic Politics, Parliamentary and Party Systems.
1959	<i>Pol. IV</i> : Austria, Domestic Politics, Parliamentary and Party Systems.
1978	<i>Pol. III</i> : Holy See, Educational Affairs.

*Film Serial
Numbers**German File*

- 1990 *Pol. III: Holy See, Actions against anti-Nazi Attitude of Roman Catholic Priests.*
- 1997 *State Secretary Keppler: Austria.*
- 2000 *Economic Policy Department: Wiehl, America.*
- 2017 *Pol. IV: Austria, General Foreign Policy.*
- 2020 *Pol. IV: Austria, Visits of Statesmen.*
- 2021 *Pol. IV: Austria, Political Visits of Austrian State Secretary Guido Schmidt.*
- 2039 *German Embassy in France: Italy.*
- 2058 *Economic Policy Department: Clodius, Italy.*
- 2062 *Pol. IV: Austria, Domestic Politics, Parliamentary and Party Systems.*
- 2070 *Pol. IV: Austria, National Socialism, Fascism, and Kindred Movements.*
- 2091 *Pol. IV: Austria, National Socialism, Fascism, and Kindred Political Movements.*
- 2092 *Economic Policy Department: Wiehl, Russia.*
- 2127 *German Embassy in Italy: Secret Documents.*
- 2128 *German Embassy in Italy: Secret Documents.*
- 2134 *State Secretary: Memoranda on Diplomatic Visits.*
- 2179 *Under State Secretary: Schmidt Visit.*
- 2184 *Pol. IV: Albania, Political Relations between Albania and Italy.*
- 2185 *State Secretary: Memoranda on Internal Directives, Views on Specific Questions, Telephone Conversations, etc.*
- 2196 *State Secretary: Political Correspondence of the State Secretary with Officials of the Foreign Service.*
- 2227 *Pol. IV: Austria, National Socialism, Fascism, and Kindred Political Movements.*
- 2232 *Pol. IV: Austria, National Socialism, Fascism, and Kindred Political Movements.*
- 2234 *Pol. IV: Austria, National Socialism, Fascism, and Kindred Political Movements.*
- 2258 *Under State Secretary: Halifax Visit.*
- 2303 *Pol. IV: Austria, National Socialism, Fascism, and Kindred Political Movements.*
- 2307 *Pol. IV: Austria, National Socialism, Fascism, and Kindred Political Movements.*
- 2308 *Pol. IV: Austria, National Socialism, Fascism, and Kindred Political Movements.*
- 2311 *Reich Foreign Minister: Austria.*
- 2422 *Pol. IX: United States, Political Relations between the United States and Germany.*
- 2431 *Pol. IX: United States, General Foreign Policy.*
- 2529 *Under State Secretary: The Führer's Visit to Italy.*
- 2554 *Under State Secretary: Colonies.*
- 2809 *Reich Chancellery: North America.*
- 2810 *Pol. IX: United States, Germanism Abroad.*
- 2871 *Political Department: Treaties.*

<i>Film Serial Numbers</i>	<i>German File</i>
2910	<i>Pol. VIII:</i> China, Political Relations between China and Germany.
3153	<i>Pol. IV:</i> Italy (South Tyrol).
3454	<i>Pol. IV:</i> Austria, Political Tour of Austrian State Secretary Guido Schmidt.
C 81	Reich Chancellery Documents, England, volume 6, 1937.
F 1, 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, 17, 19, 20	German Foreign Ministry film of files of the Reich Foreign Minister's Secretariat.

Appendix IV

LIST OF PERSONS¹

- ABETZ, Otto, Paris representative of the *Dienststelle Ribbentrop*.
ADAM, Colonel Walter, Head of Austrian Government press service.
ALFIERI, Dino, Italian Minister for Popular Culture, 1936-1939.
ANTONESCU, General Ion, Chief of Rumanian General Staff, 1933; Minister for Defense in Goga cabinet, 1937, and in Miron Cristea cabinet; resigned 1938.
ATTOLICO, Dr. Bernardo, Italian Ambassador in Germany, September 8, 1935-May 18, 1940.
BAAR-BAARENFELS, Eduard, Austrian, Vice Chancellor in Schuschnigg cabinet, May 1936.
BARGEN, Dr. Werner von, Counselor of Legation in German Legation in Belgium.
BASTID, Paul, French Radical Socialist Deputy from 1924; President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber; Minister of Commerce in the Blum cabinet, June 1936.
BECK, Colonel Jozef, Polish Foreign Minister, 1932-1939.
BECK, Colonel General Ludwig, Chief of the General Staff of the German Army, 1935-1938.
BENES, Dr. Eduard, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, 1918-1935; also Prime Minister, 1921-1922; President of the Czechoslovak Republic, December 18, 1935-October 5, 1938.
BERGEN, Dr. Carl Ludwig Diego von, German Ambassador to the Holy See, April 1920-April 1943.
BEST, Dr. Werner Karl, former judge, dismissed 1932; Nazi Party member from 1930; official at Gestapo Office in Berlin.
BLOMBERG, Field Marshal Werner Eduard Fritz von, Reich War Minister, 1933-1938, and Commander in Chief of the *Wehrmacht*, April 21, 1935-February 2, 1938.
BLONDEL, Jules-François, French Counselor of Embassy in Italy, 1935-1938; Chargé d'Affaires and Minister Plenipotentiary in Italy, 1936-November 18, 1938.
BLUM, Léon, French Prime Minister, June 1936-1937, Vice President of the Cabinet, June 1937-January 1938; Prime Minister and Minister for the Treasury, March-April 1938; President of the French Socialist Party.
BÖHME, Franz, General of Infantry, Head of Austrian Intelligence Service.
BONNET, Georges, French Minister of Finance in the Chautemps cabinet, June 1937-January 1938; Minister of State, January-March 1938; Foreign Minister in the Daladier cabinet, April 1938-September 1939.
BÖRTICHER, Lieutenant General Friedrich von, German Military and Air Attaché in the United States, 1933-1941.

¹ The biographical details given relate principally to the period and subjects covered by the documents in this volume. For positions of officials in the German Foreign Ministry, see Appendix II.

- BRAUCHITSCH**, Colonel General Walter Heinrich von, Commander in Chief of the German Army, 1938-1941.
- BRÄUER**, Dr. Curt, Counselor of Embassy in the German Embassy in France.
- BULLITT**, William Christian, American Ambassador in France, September 13, 1936-1940.
- BÜRCKEL**, Josef, *Gauleiter* of Saar Palatinate, Reich Commissioner for Austria.
- BÜRCKNER**, Naval Captain Leopold, Head of the *Ableitung Ausland* of the *OKW*.
- BUTLER**, Richard Austen, British Member of Parliament (Conservative) from 1929; Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, February 1938-1941.
- CADOGAN**, Sir Alexander, Deputy Under Secretary of State in the British Foreign Office, October 1936; Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, January 1, 1938-1946.
- CANARIS**, Admiral Walther Wilhelm, Head of the Bureau of Foreign Affairs and Intelligence of the *OKW*.
- CHAMBERLAIN**, Neville, British Member of Parliament (Conservative), 1918-1940; Leader of the Conservative Party; Prime Minister, May 28, 1937-1940.
- CHAUTEMPS**, Camille, President of Radical Socialist Group of French Chamber, 1934; Minister of State in Blum cabinet, June 1936-June 21, 1937; Prime Minister, June 22, 1937-January 15, 1938, and January 18, 1938-March 10, 1938; Vice President of Council of Ministers and Minister of Coordination in Daladier cabinet, April 11, 1938-1939.
- CHURCHILL**, Winston Spencer, British Member of Parliament (Liberal and Conservative) since 1900; Prime Minister, 1940-1945.
- CHIANG KAI-SHEK**, Marshal, Commander in Chief of Chinese forces and member of Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.
- CIANO DI CORTELLAZZO**, Count Galeazzo, Italian Foreign Minister, 1936-1943.
- CINCAR-MARKOVIC**, Aleksander, Yugoslav Minister in Germany, December 19, 1935-1939.
- CORBIN**, Charles, French Ambassador in Great Britain, May 24, 1933-July 4, 1940.
- COT**, Pierre, French Radical Socialist Deputy from 1928; Minister for Air in Daladier, Sarraut, and Chautemps cabinets, 1933-1934, in Blum cabinet, June 1936-June 1937, and in Chautemps cabinet, June 1937-January 1938; Minister of Commerce, January-April 1938.
- COULONDRE**, Robert, French Ambassador in the Soviet Union, November 1936-November 1938; French Ambassador in Germany, November 1938-September 1939.
- CSAKY**, Count István, Chef de Cabinet to Kanya, Hungarian Foreign Minister; Hungarian Foreign Minister on latter's resignation, December 10, 1938; in Imredy and Teleki cabinets until his death in February 1941.
- DALADIER**, Edouard, French Radical Socialist Deputy from 1919; Minister of National Defense, 1936-1938; Prime Minister and Minister of National Defense, 1938-1940.
- DARANYI**, Dr. Kálmán, Hungarian Prime Minister and Minister for Agriculture, October 12, 1936-May 14, 1938.
- DARRÉ**, Walther, German Minister for Food and Agriculture, 1933-1942; Reich Peasant Leader.
- DAVIES**, Joseph E., American Ambassador in the Soviet Union, 1936-1938; Ambassador in Belgium, July 20, 1938-1940.

- DELBOS, Yvon, French Radical Socialist Deputy from 1924; Foreign Minister in Blum cabinet, June 1936-1937, and in Chautemps cabinets, June 22, 1937-January 15, 1938, and January 18, 1938-March 10, 1938.
- DIECKHOFF, Dr. Hans Heinrich, Head of the Political Department of the German Foreign Ministry, April-August 1936; Acting State Secretary, August 1936-April 1937; Ambassador in the United States, May 18, 1937-December 11, 1941 (absent from his post from November 1938).
- DIETRICH, Dr. Otto, State Secretary and Head of Press Division in Reich Ministry of Propaganda; Reich Press Chief of the Nazi Party.
- DIRKSEN, Dr. Herbert von, German Ambassador in Japan, September 1933-February 1938; Ambassador in Great Britain, May 5, 1938-September 3, 1939.
- DODD, William E., American Ambassador in Germany, June 13, 1933-December 29, 1937.
- DRAXLER, Dr. Ludwig, Austrian Minister of Finance in Schuschnigg cabinet.
- EDEN, Anthony, British Member of Parliament (Conservative) from 1923; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, December 1935-February 1938.
- EISENLOHR, Ernst, German Minister in Czechoslovakia, February 5, 1936.
- ERDMANNSDORFF, Otto von, German Minister in Hungary, May 11, 1937-July 31, 1941.
- FABRICIUS, Dr. Wilhelm, German Minister in Rumania, April 9, 1936-January 29, 1941.
- FALKENHAUSEN, Alexander von, German General of Infantry, military adviser to the Chinese Government, 1934-1938.
- FIERLINGER, Zdenek, Czechoslovak Minister in the Soviet Union, October 7, 1937-March 16, 1939.
- FISCHBÖCK, Dr. Hans, Austrian bank president, Minister of Commerce in the cabinet of Seyss-Inquart.
- FLANDIN, Pierre Etienne, Leader of the French Left Republican Party; Deputy from 1914; Minister for Foreign Affairs, January-June 1936; former Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies.
- FORSTER, Albert, Nazi *Gauleiter* of Danzig.
- FORSTER, Dr. D., Counselor of Embassy in the German Embassy in France, 1936-1938.
- FRANÇOIS-PONCET, André, French Ambassador in Germany, 1931-1938; Ambassador in Italy, November 18, 1938-June 10, 1940.
- FRICK, Dr. Wilhelm, Reich Minister of the Interior, January 30, 1933-August 1943; Protector of Bohemia-Moravia, 1943-1945; executed October 16, 1946.
- FUNK, Dr. Walter, State Secretary in the Reich Ministry of Propaganda, 1933; Reich Minister of Economics, November 1937-1945; President of the Reichsbank, 1939-1945.
- GAMELIN, General Maurice Gustave, Chief of the French General Staff and Vice President of the Conseil Supérieur de la Guerre from January 1935.
- GILBERT, Prentiss B., Counselor of Embassy in the American Embassy in Germany, July 19, 1937-February 24, 1939.
- GLAISE-HORSTENAU, Major General Edmund, Austrian Minister of the Interior and Minister without portfolio in Schuschnigg cabinet; Vice Chancellor in Seyss-Inquart cabinet.
- GOEBBELS, Dr. Josef, Reich Minister of Propaganda, 1933-1945.

- GÖRING, Hermann Wilhelm, Reich Marshal, member of the Reichstag from 1928; President of the Reichstag from 1932; Minister President of Prussia and Reich Minister for Air from April 1933; appointed Commander in Chief of the Luftwaffe from May 1935; commissioner for the Four Year Plan; October 1936; Chairman of the War Cabinet and nominated successor-designate to Hitler, September 1, 1939.
- GOGA, Octavian, Prime Minister of Rumania, December 28, 1937–February 10, 1938; died May 7, 1938.
- GRANDI, Count Dino, Italian Ambassador in Great Britain, 1933–1939.
- GREISER, Arthur Karl, Nazi President of the Danzig Senate.
- HABICHT, Theodor, former leader of the Austrian N.S.D.A.P.
- HALDER, General of Infantry Franz, Chief of the General Staff of the German Army, 1938–1942.
- HALIFAX, Edward Wood, 3d Viscount, member of British Conservative Party; Lord Privy Seal, November 1935–May 1937; Lord President of the Council, 1937–1938; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, February 1938–December 1940 (created Earl of Halifax, 1944).
- HAMMERSTEIN-EQUORD, Hans, Austrian, Minister of Justice in Schuschnigg cabinet, May 1936.
- HASSELL, Ulrich von, German Ambassador in Italy, November 8, 1932–February 17, 1938.
- HEEREN, Viktor von, German Minister in Yugoslavia, 1933–1941.
- HEMPEL, Eduard, German Minister in Eire, July 8, 1937–May 1945.
- HENCKE, Andor, Counselor of Legation in the German Legation in Czechoslovakia, November 12, 1936–March 16, 1939.
- HENDERSON, Sir Nevile, British Ambassador in Germany, April 30, 1937–September 3, 1939.
- HENLEIN, Konrad, founded the *Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront*, September 30, 1933, to replace banned Nazi Party in Czechoslovakia, renamed Sudeten German Party, 1935; appointed Reich Commissioner for Sudeten German territories, October 1, 1938; *Gauleiter* of the Sudetengau and Reich Commissioner, May 1, 1939.
- HERRIOT, Edouard, Honorary President of French Radical Socialist Party; Deputy from 1919; Mayor of Lyons, 1905–1941; member of various cabinets, 1916–1936; President of the Chamber of Deputies, 1936–1942.
- HESS, Walter Richard Rudolf, member of the Nazi Party from 1920; Hitler's Deputy, 1933–1941; member of the Reichstag; Reich Minister without portfolio, 1933–1941; member of the Secret Cabinet Council, 1938–1941.
- HESSE, Prince Philip of, son-in-law of the King of Italy, employed as a special envoy between Hitler and Mussolini.
- HEWEL, Walter, Counselor of Legation, Chief of the Personal Staff of the Reich Foreign Minister; plenipotentiary of the Foreign Ministry with the Führer.
- HIMMLER, Heinrich, *Reichsführer*-SS and Chief of the German Police from June 1936 with the rank of State Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior; Reich and Prussian Minister of the Interior, August 1943; member of the Reichstag from 1930.
- HITLER, Adolf, Führer and Chancellor of the German Reich from January 30, 1933; became Chief of State on death of Hindenburg, August 2, 1934; assumed command of *Wehrmacht* February 4, 1938, and of the Army December 1941.

- HODZA, Dr. Milan, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, November 6, 1935–September 22, 1938; member of the Agrarian Party.
- HORE-BELISHA, Leslie, British Member of Parliament (Liberal and Liberal National) 1923–1945; Secretary of State for War, May 1937–January 1940.
- HORNPOSTEL, Theodor, Head of Political Division in the Austrian Foreign Ministry.
- HOETHY DE NAGYBANYA, Admiral Nicholas, Regent of Hungary, 1920–1944.
- HUEBER, Dr. Franz, Austrian Nazi, Minister of Justice in Seyss-Inquart cabinet.
- HULL, Cordell, United States Secretary of State, 1933–1944.
- IMREDY, Dr. Bela, Hungarian Prime Minister, May 14, 1938–February 1939.
- INNITZER, Cardinal Theodor, Archbishop of Vienna.
- JANSA, Alfred, *Feldmarschallleutnant*, Chief of Austrian General Staff.
- JODL, Colonel Alfred, Chief of the National Defense Section in the High Command of the Armed Forces, 1935–October 1938, executed at Nuremberg October 16, 1946.
- JURY, Dr. Hugo, Austrian Nazi, Minister of Social Administration in Seyss-Inquart cabinet.
- KANYA, Kálmán, Hungarian Foreign Minister, 1933–November 16, 1938.
- KEITEL, Colonel General Wilhelm, Head of *Wehrmachtsamt* in Reich War Ministry; appointed Head of the *OKW*, February 4, 1938; executed at Nuremberg October 16, 1946.
- KENNEDY, Joseph P., Chairman, United States Maritime Commission, 1937–1938; United States representative, International Wheat Advisory Committee, 1938; United States Ambassador in Great Britain, January 17, 1938–November 30, 1940.
- KEPPLER, Wilhelm, appointed to the Reich Chancellery to deal with economic questions, July 7, 1933; given special task of employing economic measures to replace raw materials from abroad with home products, November 13, 1934–October 18, 1936; State Secretary for special duties in the Foreign Ministry, March 19, 1938; *Reichsbeauftragter* for Austria.
- KIENBÖCK, Dr. Viktor, President of the Austrian National Bank.
- KIOSSEIVANOFF, Dr. Georgi, Bulgarian Foreign Minister, April–November 1935; Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, 1935–1940.
- KIRK, Alexander Comstock, Counselor of Embassy in the American Embassy in the Soviet Union, 1938–1939.
- KIRKPATRICK, Ivone Augustine, First Secretary at the British Embassy in Germany, August 30, 1933–December 14, 1938.
- KLAUSNER, Major Hubert, *Landesleiter* of the Austrian N.S.D.A.P., State Secretary for Political Instruction in Seyss-Inquart cabinet.
- KORDT, Dr. Erich, Secretary of Legation, 1936, and Counselor of Legation, 1937, in the German Embassy in Great Britain; assigned to Ribbentrop's staff in the Foreign Ministry, March 9, 1938.
- KORDT, Theodor, Counselor of Embassy in the German Embassy in Great Britain, April 20, 1938–September 3, 1939.
- KROFTA, Dr. Kamil, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister in the Hodza cabinet, 1936–1938.
- KÜHLENTHAL, Lieutenant General Erich, German Military Attaché in France; previously Head of the Intelligence Branch of the Reich War Ministry.
- LAMMERS, Dr. Hans Heinrich, State Secretary and Chief of the Reich Chancellery, 1934–1937; Reich Minister and Head of the Reich Chancellery, November 1937; member and Secretary of the Secret Cabinet Council, February 1938.

- LAVAL, Pierre, French Independent Senator, 1926-1940; Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, June 1935-January 1936.
- LEBRUN, Albert, President of the French Republic, May 1932-July 1940.
- LEOPOLD, Captain Josef, Leader of Austrian N.S.D.A.P.
- LEY, Dr. Robert, Leader of the German Labor Front from 1933.
- LIPSKI, Josef, Polish Ambassador in Germany, November 15, 1934-September 1, 1939.
- LITVINOV, Maxim Maximovich, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, 1930-1939.
- LORENZ, SS-Obergruppenführer Werner, Head of the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, January 1937; Head of the Foreign Relations Department of the Nazi Party on the Staff of the Führer's Deputy; member of the Reichstag.
- LUBOMIRSKI, Prince Stephen, Counselor of Embassy in the Polish Embassy in Germany.
- LUKASIEWICZ, Juljusz, Polish Ambassador in France, July 1936-1939.
- MACKENSEN, Hans Georg von, son of Field Marshal von Mackensen; German Minister in Hungary, September 30, 1933; State Secretary in the German Foreign Ministry, April 15, 1937; Ambassador in Italy, April 1, 1938-September 8, 1943.
- MAGISTRATI, Count Massimo, Counselor of Embassy in the Italian Embassy in Germany.
- MASSIGLI, René, Director of the Political Section in the French Foreign Ministry, 1937-1938.
- MASTNY, Vojtech, Czechoslovak Minister in Germany, 1932-1939.
- MENGHIN, Professor Oswald, Austrian Nazi, Minister of Education in Seyss-Inquart cabinet.
- MIKLAS, Wilhelm, Austrian Federal President, 1928-1938.
- MILCH, Colonel General Erhard, German State Secretary and Deputy Air Minister.
- MOLTKE, Hans Adolf von, German Ambassador in Poland, November 14, 1934-September 1, 1939.
- MOSCICKI, Ignacy, President of Poland, June 1, 1926-1939.
- MOTTA, Dr. Giuseppe, Head of the Political Department of the Swiss Federal Council (Foreign Minister).
- MUFF, Wolfgang, Lieutenant General, German Military Attaché in Austria.
- MUSSOLINI, Benito, Founder of the Italian Fascist Party; Prime Minister from October 1922.
- NEUMAYER, Rudolf, Minister of Finance in the Schuschnigg cabinets of November 3, 1936, and February 15, 1938, and Seyss-Inquart cabinet of March 12, 1938.
- NEURATH, Constantin, Baron von, Reich Foreign Minister, June 2, 1932-February 4, 1938; appointed President of Secret Cabinet Council, February 1938; Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, March 1939-1941.
- NEUSTÄDTER-STÜRMER, Odo, Austrian, Minister of Security in Schuschnigg cabinet, November 3, 1936-March 20, 1937.
- OSHIMA, Hiroshi, General, Japanese Military Attaché in Germany 1934-1938; Japanese Ambassador in Germany, 1938-1939 and 1940-1945.
- OTT, Eugen, Major General, Military Attaché in the German Embassy in Japan, 1934-1938, Ambassador in Japan, April 28, 1938-1942.
- PACELLI, Cardinal Eugenio, Papal Nuncio in Berlin, 1920-1929; Cardinal Secretary of State, 1930-1939; Pope Pius XII, 1939.

- PAFEN, Franz von, Military Attaché in the German Embassy in the United States, 1913-1915; Reich Chancellor, June-December 1932; Vice Chancellor in the Hitler cabinet, 1933-1934; Plenipotentiary for the Saar, November 1933-June 1934; German Envoy (later Ambassador) on Special Mission in Vienna, August 16, 1934-March 13, 1938.
- PAUL, Prince, Regent of Yugoslavia, 1934-1941.
- PAUL-BONCOUR, Joseph, French Foreign Minister in the Blum cabinet, March 13, 1938-April 10, 1938.
- PEMBAUR, Dr. Walter, Austrian, Head of the *Volkspolitisches Referat* of the Fatherland Front.
- PERNTER, Dr. Hans, Austrian, Minister of Education in the Schuschnigg cabinets of November 3, 1936 and February 15, 1938.
- PERTH, Earl of, Sir Eric Drummond, British Ambassador in Italy, October 26, 1933-May 1, 1939.
- PFUNDTNER, Hans, State Secretary in the German Ministry of the Interior, 1933-1943, permanent Deputy of the Minister.
- PHIPPS, Sir Eric, British Ambassador in Germany, 1933-1937; in France, April 28, 1937-October 16, 1939.
- POTEMKIN, Vladimir P., Vice Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, 1937-1940.
- RAAB, Julius, Austrian, Minister of Commerce in Schuschnigg cabinet of February 15, 1938.
- REYNAUD, Paul, French Left Republican Alliance Deputy, 1928-1940; Minister of Justice in Daladier cabinet, April-November 1938; Minister of Finance, November 1938-March 1940.
- RIBBENTROP, Joachim von, German Ambassador in Great Britain, October 1936; Reich Foreign Minister, February 4, 1938-May 1945; executed October 16, 1946.
- RICHTHOFEN, Herbert, Baron von, German Minister in Belgium, May 7, 1936-October 14, 1938.
- ROOSEVELT, Franklin Delano, President of the United States, March 4, 1933-April 12, 1945.
- ROTHERMERE, Esmond Cecil Harmsworth, Viscount, British newspaper proprietor, owner of *The Daily Mail* and other daily newspapers.
- ROTT, Hans, Austrian, Minister without portfolio in Schuschnigg cabinet of February 15, 1938.
- RÜMELIN, Dr. Eugen, German Minister in Bulgaria, March 10, 1923-May 20, 1939.
- RUNCIMAN, Walter, Viscount, former Member of Parliament (Liberal and Liberal National); Head of the British Mission to Czechoslovakia, 1938.
- SARGENT, Sir Orme, Assistant Under Secretary of State in the British Foreign Office, 1933; Deputy Under Secretary of State, 1939.
- SCHACHT, Dr. Hjalmar, President of the Reichsbank, March 17, 1933-January 20, 1939; Minister of Economics, August 1934-November 1937.
- SCHMIDT, Guido, Austrian State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, July 1936-February 1938; Minister for Foreign Affairs, February-March 1938.
- SCHMITZ, Richard, Mayor of Vienna.
- SCHULENBURG, Friedrich Werner, Count von der, German Ambassador in the Soviet Union, October 3, 1934-June 22, 1941; executed after the attempt on Hitler's life, 1944.

- SCHUSCHNIGG, Kurt von, Austrian Federal Chancellor, July 1934–March 11, 1938.
- SCHWERIN VON KROSIGK, Lutz, Count, Reich Minister of Finance, 1932–1945.
- SELZAM, Dr. Eduard von, Counselor of Legation in the German Embassy in Great Britain.
- SEYSS-INQUART, Dr. Artur, Austrian Nazi; Minister of Interior in Schuschnigg cabinet, February 15, 1938; Austrian Federal Chancellor, March 12, 1938; executed at Nuremberg October 16, 1946.
- SIMON, Sir John, British Member of Parliament (Liberal and Liberal National), 1906–1940; Leader of the Liberal National Party until 1940; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1931–1935; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1937–1940.
- SINCLAIR, Sir Archibald, British Member of Parliament (Liberal), 1922–1945; Leader of Liberal Parliamentary Party, 1935–1945.
- SKUBL, Dr. Michael, Austrian, Police President of Vienna; State Secretary for Security in Schuschnigg cabinet of February 15, 1938, and Seyss-Inquart cabinet of March 12, 1938.
- SPAAK, Paul Henri, Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 1936–1938; Prime Minister, May 1938–February 1939; Socialist Deputy for Brussels.
- STALIN, Josef Vissarianovich, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party since 1922; member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics since 1925.
- STOCKINGER, Fritz, Austrian, Minister of Commerce and Transport in Schuschnigg cabinet, May 1936.
- STOYADINOVICH, Dr. Milan, Yugoslav Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, June 24, 1935–June 1939.
- STUCKART, Dr. Wilhelm, State Secretary in the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior.
- SZTÓJAY, Major General Dóme, Hungarian Minister in Germany, December 19, 1935–1944.
- TATARESCU, Dr. Gheorghe, Rumanian Prime Minister, January 1934–December 1937; Deputy Prime Minister, February–March 1938.
- TAUCHER, Dr. Wilhelm, Austrian, Minister of Commerce and Transport in Schuschnigg cabinet of November 3, 1936.
- TAUSCHITZ, Stephan, Austrian Minister to Germany.
- TAVS, Dr. Franz, attorney, Austrian N.S.D.A.P. leader.
- THOMSEN, Hans, Counselor of Embassy in the German Embassy in the United States.
- TIPPELSKIRCH, Werner von, Counselor of Embassy in the German Embassy in the Soviet Union.
- TRAUTMANN, Oskar, German Ambassador in China, 1935–1938.
- VANSITTART, Sir Robert, British Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1930–1938; chief diplomatic adviser to the Foreign Secretary, 1938–1941.
- WEIZSÄCKER, Ernst, Baron von, Head of the Political Department of the German Foreign Ministry, August 1936–March 1938; State Secretary, April 1, 1938–April 1943.
- WELCZECK, Johannes, Count von, German Ambassador in France, April 30, 1936–September 3, 1939.
- WELLES, Sumner, United States Under Secretary of State.
- WIEDEMANN, Captain Fritz, aide to Hitler.
- WIESNER, General Friedrich von, leader of Austrian Monarchist movement.

- WILSON, Sir Horace, Chief Industrial Adviser to British Government, 1930-1939; seconded to the Treasury for service with the Prime Minister, 1935-1939.
- WILSON, Hugh R., United States Ambassador in Germany, January 17, 1938-January 31, 1940 (absent from his post from November 1938).
- WOERMANN, Dr. Ernst, Counselor of the German Embassy in Great Britain, 1936-February 1938; Head of the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry (Under State Secretary), March 1938-1943.
- WOLF, Dr. Wilhelm, Austrian Nazi, Foreign Minister in Seyss-Inquart cabinet.
- WÜHLISCH, J. von, Counselor of Embassy in the German Embassy in Poland.
- ZEHNER, Wilhelm, General of Infantry, Austrian, State Secretary for Military Affairs in Schuschnigg cabinet.
- ZERNATTO, Guido, Austrian, General Secretary of the Fatherland Front, Christian Social Party, and Minister without portfolio in Schuschnigg cabinet.

Appendix V

GLOSSARY OF GERMAN TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS¹

- A.A., Auswärtiges Amt
Abteilung, department
Abteilung Ausland, Foreign Department in the Bureau (Amt) of Foreign Affairs and Intelligence of the OKW
Abwehr, Intelligence Department in the Bureau (Amt) of Foreign Affairs and Intelligence of the OKW
a.D., ausser Dienst
Alte Reichskanzlei, pre-Hitler Reich Chancellery
Amtsleiter, director of an agency; also, N.S.D.A.P. functionary
Amtsrat, grade in the gehobener Dienst
Amts- und Landgerichtsrat (Amts-u. Landg. R.), Local and District Court Counselor (judge)
Angabe (Ang.), additional item in a file
Anschluss, union, annexation; particularly of Austria by Germany
A.O., Auslandsorganisation
A.R., Amtsrat
Assessor (Assess.), first stage of employment in the höherer Dienst
Att., attaché
Aufklärungsausschuss der Schuldfrage, Committee for Inquiry into the War Guilt Question
Ausland/Abwehr, Bureau (Amt) of Foreign Affairs and Intelligence of the OKW
Auslandsdeutscher, ethnic German living outside Germany, regardless of citizenship
Auslandsorganisation, foreign organization of the N.S.D.A.P. concerned with German nationals living abroad; the 43d Gau
ausser Dienst, retired
Auswärtiges Amt, German Foreign Ministry
BRAM, office of the Reich Foreign Minister
Brigadeführer, SA and SS rank equivalent to U.S. brigadier general
Bundesgesetzblatt, Austrian law gazette
Büro, office; clerical service in an agency
Büro RAM, office of the Reich Foreign Minister
Chef der Auslandsorganisation im Auswärtigen Amt (Chef AO), Head of the Auslandsorganisation in the Foreign Ministry
Deutsche diplomatisch-politische Korrespondenz, German Diplomatic and Political Correspondence (press releases of the Foreign Ministry)
Deutsches Auslandsinstitut, German Foreign Institute in Stuttgart, for research and propaganda among Auslandsdeutsche
Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro, semi-official German news agency
Dg. Pol., Dirigent der Politischen Abteilung
Dienststelle Ribbentrop, office of Ribbentrop in his capacity as foreign affairs adviser to Hitler; of decreasing importance after his appointment as Foreign Minister

¹ Abbreviations are explained by giving the full German terms. These terms are explained at their proper alphabetical listing.

Direktor der Politischen Abteilung
(Dir. Pol.), Head of the Political Department

Dirigent der Politischen Abteilung,
Deputy Head of the Political Department

D.N.B., Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro

e.o., ex officio; where this precedes the file number, it indicates a draft for which there are no preceding papers (cf. zu)

Flüchtlingshilfswerk, refugee relief organization of the N.S.D.A.P.

Führer, leader

Führerprinzip, leadership principle of the N.S.D.A.P. ("Responsibility of the subordinate to the superior; authority from the superior to the subordinate"—Göring)

g., geheim

Gau, one of the 43 regional divisions of the N.S.D.A.P.

Gauamtsleiter, head of the Gau office of an N.S.D.A.P. organization

Gauleiter, highest N.S.D.A.P. official in a Gau

Gauleitung, regional N.S.D.A.P. leadership

geheim, secret

geheime Reichssache, top secret

Geheimer Regierungsrat, honorary title conferred on officials of the höherer Dienst

Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo), secret political police

gehobener Dienst, "upper service" in the German Civil Service, between the mittlerer Dienst and the höherer Dienst, consisting of the following grades in ascending order: (1) Inspektor, e.g., Technischer Inspektor, Bibliothekinspektor, Regierungsinspektor, Verwaltungsinspektor, Konsultatssekretär (A.A.); (2) Oberinspektor, e.g., Regierungsoberinspektor, Verwaltungsoberinspektor, Regierungsoberrevisor, Konsultatssekretär I. Kl. (A.A.); (3) Amtmann, e.g., Regie-

rungsamtmann, Verwaltungsamtmann, Kanzler (A.A.), Ministerialkanzleivorsteher; (4) Amtsrat

Generalkonsul (Gen. K.), consul general

Gerichtsassessor (Ger. Ass.), Assessor whose training has been in law rather than government

Gesandter, minister; see höherer Dienst

Gesandter I. Klasse, minister first class; see höherer Dienst

Gesandtschaftsrat, counselor of legation; see höherer Dienst

Geschäftsakten, official file, as distinct from private or personal file

Ges.R., Gesandtschaftsrat

Gestapo, Geheime Staatspolizei

G.K., Generalkonsul

g.Rs., geheime Reichssache

Gruppe, group, department; also, SA and SS formation equivalent to Army Corps

Gruppenführer, SA and SS rank equivalent to U.S. major general

Handakten, file maintained by an individual official

Handelspolitische Abteilung (Ha. Pol.), Economic Policy Department of the Foreign Ministry, renamed Wirtschaftspolitische Abteilung between March and June 1938

Hauptsturmführer, SS rank equivalent to U.S. Army captain

Heimatblock, political organization stemming from the Austrian Heimwehr

Heimatschutz, local semi-military organizations in Austria which were merged with the Heimwehr

Heimwehr, semi-military organization oriented in general toward an independent Austria organized along authoritarian lines

Hilfsarbeiter (Hilfsarb.), temporary employee

Hitlerjugend (H.J.), Hitler youth organization

Hilfswerk der N.S.D.A.P., relief organization of the N.S.D.A.P.

- Hofburg**, Austrian imperial palace
- Hofrat**, court counselor, high grade in the Austrian Civil Service; also, pre-1919 grade in the German Civil Service, superseded by **Amtsrat**
- höherer Dienst**, "higher service" in the German Civil Service, consisting of the following grades in ascending order: (1) **Regierungsrat**, **Bibliothekar**, **Gesandtschaftsrat** (A.A.), **Konsul**, **Legationsrat** (A.A.), **Vizekonsul** (A.A.); (2) **Oberregierungsrat**, **Oberregierungsrat** as **Ministerialbürodirektor**, **Gesandtschaftsrat I. Kl.** (A.A.), **Konsul I. Kl.** (A.A.), **Legationsrat I. Kl.** (A.A.); (3) **Ministerialrat**, **Botschaftsrat** (A.A.), **Generalkonsul** (A.A.), **Gesandter** (A.A.), **Vortragender Legationsrat** (A.A.); (4) **Ministerialdirigent**, **Generalkonsul I. Kl.** (A.A.), **Gesandter I. Kl.** (A.A.); (5) **Ministerialdirektor**, **Gesandter I. Kl.** as head of a mission (A.A.); (6) **Staatssekretär**, **Botschafter** (A.A.)
- H.R.**, **Hofrat**
- Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut**, Ibero-American Institute, founded in Berlin in 1929 to further relations with and interest in Latin America, Spain, and Portugal
- Inland**, department of the Foreign Ministry dealing principally with the N.S.D.A.P. and its agencies, and with the police
- in **Vertretung** (i.V.), by direction; acting
- K.**, **Konsul**
- Kanzlei**, copying and mailing office of a Ministry
- Kanzler**, chancellor; head of a **Kanzlei**; grade in the **gehobener Dienst**
- Konsultssekretär**, grade in the **gehobener Dienst**
- Konsul zur Disposition**, consul awaiting assignment
- Kreis**, political subdivision; also, largest subdivision of an N.S.D.A.P. **Gau**
- K.S.**, **Konsultssekretär**
- Kulturpolitische Abteilung** (Kult.), Cultural Policy Department of the Foreign Ministry
- K.z.D.**, **Konsul zur Disposition**
- Kzler.**, **Kanzler**
- Landesführer**, provincial leader (of the Austrian Fatherland Front)
- Landesgruppe**, N.S.D.A.P. organization for a foreign country, controlled by the **Auslandsorganisation**
- Landesgruppenleiter**, leader of an N.S.D.A.P. **Landesgruppe**
- Landeshauptmann**, (Austrian) provincial governor
- Landeskreisleiter**, leader of an N.S.D.A.P. **Kreis** in any country outside Germany
- Landesleiter**, leader of the Austrian N.S.D.A.P.
- Landesleitung**, Austrian N.S.D.A.P. leadership
- Landesinspekteur**, pre-1934 title, changed to **Landesleiter**
- Legationskasse**, accounts division of the Foreign Ministry
- Legationsrat**, counselor of legation; *see höherer Dienst*
- Legationssekretär**, secretary of legation; *see höherer Dienst*
- L.R.**, **Legationsrat**
- L.S.**, **Legationssekretär**
- Luftwaffe**, German air force
- Maifeld**, section of the Reich Sport Field in Berlin, used for open-air demonstrations
- Min. Dg.**, **Ministerialdirigent**
- Min. Dir.**, **Ministerialdirektor**
- Ministerialbürodirektor**, chief clerk
- Ministerialdirektor**, ministerial director, grade in the **höherer Dienst**; usually head of a department in a Ministry
- Ministerialdirigent**, grade in the **höherer Dienst**; usually deputy head of a department
- Ministerialkanzleiobersekretär**, grade in the **mittlerer Dienst**, serving in the **Kanzlei** of a Ministry

- Ministerialkanzleisekretär**, grade in the *mittlerer Dienst*, serving in the *Kanzlei* of a Ministry
- Ministerialrat**, ministerial counselor, grade in the *höherer Dienst*
- Ministerrat**, (Austrian) Council of Ministers
- mittlerer Dienst**, "intermediate service" of the German Civil Service, consisting of the following grades in ascending order: (1) *Assistent*, e.g., *Regierungsassistent*, *Verwaltungsassistent*; (2) *Sekretär*, e.g., *Regierungssekretär*, *Verwaltungssekretär*, *Kanzleivorsteher*, *Ministerialkanzleisekretär*; (3) *Obersekretär*, e.g., *Regierungsoberssekretär*, *Verwaltungsoberssekretär*, *Ministerialkanzleioberssekretär*.
- M.Kzl.O.S.**, *Ministerialkanzleioberssekretär*
- M.Kzl.S.**, *Ministerialkanzleisekretär*
- Nationalrat**, (Austrian) National Council
- Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (N.S.D.A.P.)**, National Socialist German Workers' Party
- Neue Reichskanzlei**, New Reich Chancellery
- Nr. (Nummer)**, number
- N.S.D.A.P.**, *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*
- Oberführer**, SA and SS rank approximately equivalent to U.S. colonel
- Obergruppenführer**, SA and SS rank equivalent to U.S. lieutenant general
- Oberinspektor**, grade in the *gehobener Dienst*
- Oberkommando des Heeres**, Supreme Command of the Army; Supreme Headquarters of the Army
- Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine**, Supreme Command of the Navy
- Oberkommando der Wehrmacht**, Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht; Supreme Headquarters of the Wehrmacht
- Oberregierungsrat**, grade in the *höherer Dienst*
- Obersalzberg**, Hitler's mountain home near Berchtesgaden (*Berghof*)
- Obersturmbannführer**, SA and SS rank equivalent to U.S. lieutenant colonel
- O.I.**, *Oberinspektor*
- OKH**, *Oberkommando des Heeres*
- OKM**, *Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine*
- OKW**, *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*
- O.R.R.**, *Oberregierungsrat*
- Ortsgruppe**, subdivision of an *N.S.D.A.P. Kreis*, comprising Party membership in a locality
- Ortsgruppenleiter**, head of an *N.S.D.A.P. Ortsgruppe*
- Partei**, party, in particular the *N.S.D.A.P.*
- Personal- und Haushalts-Abteilung (Pers.)**, Personnel and Budget Department of the Foreign Ministry
- Politische Abteilung (Pol.)**, Political Department of the Foreign Ministry; subdivided according to geographical areas, each designated by a Roman numeral (*see Appendix II*)
- Politisches Archiv**, Political Archives of the Foreign Ministry
- Präsidentialchef**, Head of the Presidential Chancellery
- Präsidentialkanzlei**, German Presidential Chancellery, attached to Hitler as Chief of State in 1934
- Promi**, *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*
- Putsch**, uprising, e.g., the July 25, 1934, uprising of the Austrian Nazis in which Chancellor Dollfuss was killed
- RAM**, *Reichsaussenminister*
- Rechnungsrat (Rechn. R.)**, pre-1919 Civil Service grade, equivalent to *Amtsrat*
- Rechtsabteilung (Recht.)**, Legal Department of the Foreign Ministry

- Referat, division within a department of a German Ministry in charge of a particular field of work; in the Foreign Ministry, usually dealing with a specific country or group of countries
- Referent, drafting officer, expert, specialist, competent official (according to context); also, head of a Referat, usually with title of Legationsrat or Vortragender Legationsrat
- Regierungsinspektor, grade in the gehobener Dienst
- Regierungsoberinspektor, grade in the gehobener Dienst
- Regierungsrat, grade in the höherer Dienst
- Reich, empire; Germany
- Reichsaussenminister, Reich Foreign Minister
- Reichsführer-SS, commander in chief of the SS (Himmler)
- Reichsgesetzblatt, German law gazette, published by the Ministry of the Interior
- Reichshauptamtsleiter, head of a central department of the N.S.D.A.P.
- Reichsjugendführer, German Youth Leader, head of the Hitlerjugend
- Reichsleiter, highest N.S.D.A.P. rank; director of an N.S.D.A.P. function for the Party as a whole
- Reichsmark, German mark; official rate of exchange about 40 cents in 1936-38
- Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda
- Reichspressechef, Reich Press Chief
- Reichsschatzmeister, N.S.D.A.P. treasurer
- Reichsschatzmeisterei, N.S.D.A.P. treasury
- Reichstag, German Parliament
- R.I., Regierungsinspektor
- Rm., Reichsmark
- RM, Reichsminister; Reichsmark
- R.O.I., Regierungsoberinspektor
- R.R., Regierungsrat
- Russland Gremium, Special Committee on Russia
- SA, Sturmabteilung
- SA-Hilfswerk Nordwest, relief organization for Austrian refugees, maintained by the SA
- Schutzstaffel (SS), Elite Corps of the N.S.D.A.P. (black shirts), used for military and police purposes
- Sicherheitsdienst (SD), security service; intelligence and counter-intelligence agency of the SS
- Sicherheitshauptamt, central police organ of the SS
- SS-Grenzüberwachung, guard maintained by the SS on the Bavarian-Austrian border
- Staatssekretär (St. S.), State Secretary; the permanent undersecretary of a Ministry, and its highest non-political official
- Stabsleiter, personal assistant to the head of a central department in the N.S.D.A.P.
- Standarte, SA and SS unit equivalent to a regiment
- Sturm, SA and SS unit equivalent to a company
- Sturmabteilung (SA), Storm Troops of the N.S.D.A.P. (brown shirts)
- Tagebuch (Tgb.), daily ledger, listing incoming and outgoing mail
- Teinfaltstrasse, Vienna headquarters of the N.S.D.A.P.
- Unterstaatssekretär (U.St.S.), Under State Secretary
- Untersturmführer, SA and SS rank equivalent to U.S. second lieutenant
- Vbd., Völkerbund
- VDA, Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland
- Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland, see Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland
- Vizekonsul (V.K.), vice consul
- V.L.R., Vortragender Legationsrat

Völkerbund, League of Nations

Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland, "League for Germanism Abroad", a pre-1933 Pan-German organization which became allied with the N.S.D.A.P. and was used by the Auslandsorganisation to unite Germans everywhere; called "Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland" until 1933

Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (VOMI), central agency for problems concerning Volksdeutsche, ethnic Germans of non-German citizenship; formed as the Büro von Kursell in 1936, renamed and placed under SS-Obergruppenführer Lorenz in 1937

Volkspolitische Referate, sections set up in the Austrian Fatherland Front during 1937 to facilitate entry of Nazis into the Front

Vortragender Legationsrat, Counselor of Legation, grade in the höherer Dienst; Foreign Ministry equivalent of Ministerialrat; frequently title of head of a Referat

Waffen-SS, SS units organized for combat service

Wahlkonsul, honorary consul

Wehrmacht, German armed forces

Wehrmachtsamt, Armed Forces Office in the War Ministry

Welfenfonds, Guelph Fund; fortune belonging to King George V of Hanover, seized by Prussia when he was dethroned in 1866

Wirklicher Amtsrat (Wirkl. A.R.), pre-1919 designation to distinguish "actual" from titular Amtsrat

Wirtschaftspolitische Abteilung (W), *see* Handelspolitische Abteilung

Zelle, cell; subdivision of N.S.D.A.P. Ortsgruppe

zu, in connection with; where this precedes the file number it indicates that the previous papers on the subject have this file number

zur Disposition (z.D.), awaiting assignment

H.M.S.O. has also published

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