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1145
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Although the conflict in the Far East provoked by Japan in China has deep implications so far as the Far Eastern and general world situation are concerned, although the Spanish question still has in it elements threatening the peace of Europe, and although territorial and other claims by Italy against France are impending, the most important disturbing factor in the European situation and in the world problem is still Germany.

For several years after the establishment of the National Socialist Government in Germany it was concerned with steps which largely involved situations within Germany and the ridding of Germany of the so-called shackles of the Treaty of Versailles. After the occupation of the Rhineland by German troops and the complete disregard of existing treaty obligations into which Germany had entered at Versailles and afterwards, including obligations of the new National Socialist Government, the next step had to be taken beyond the frontiers of Germany. The government consistently proclaimed that it had no territorial objectives beyond the existing German frontiers and no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of other States.

A keen critic and observer of European affairs has said that the Totalitarian States are like a man on a bicycle - they have to go forward or break their crown. No one who knew, therefore, the real objectives of the present government in Germany had any doubt about the future program. Austria became its objective because there a German speaking people was living. In spite of what has been said, the Austrian state truncated and restricted as it was had been

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able to build up a very effective national life. It was able to meet its international obligations. The currency was on a sound basis and had about a 35% gold cover. During years of depression in Europe the Austrian government made steady progress towards political stability and economic recovery. Immediately after the re-occupation of the Rhineland by Germany, the German ~~objective~~ Offensive against the Austrian government began. The Austrian Chancellor was finally "invited" to come to Berlin and he was told in clear terms by Hitler what would happen if he did not resign. The Austrian Chancellor returned to Vienna and decided to hold a plebicite. As there was no question but that such a plebicite would be in favor of Austria's retaining her sovereignity and independence, the German government would not permit it to take place. The Austrian Chancellor was informed if he did not immediately resign and turn over to a National Socialist, the country would be invaded. Realizing that his country would not receive aid from other states, the Austrian Chancellor, in order to save bloodshed resigned. His successor invited the German government to send in troops "in order to maintain order" and within a relatively short period Germany had taken over complete sovereignity of a formerly independent state. Before the acquisition of Austria, and even immediately thereafter, the German government indicated that it had no objectives against Czechoslovakia. It merely desired that the German minority in Czechoslovakia should have decent treatment. As a matter of fact, General Goering thanked the Czechoslovakians immediately for not having mobilized when the German troops entered Austria. Almost immediately after the acquisition of

Austria

Austria was completed, the German press began to thunder about the atrocities in Czechoslovakia, the lack of order and the suppression of the rights of Germans in that country. All this was manufactured out of the whole cloth for there was no more peaceful and, on the whole, a more prosperous country in Europe than Czechoslovakia. The story of how this German campaign of vilification and finally of force lead to the taking over of the Sudeten area by Germany and to the Munich Agreements is well known. The truncated Czechoslovakian state was assured by the German government that its sovereignity would be respected. Hitler made public declarations that no further steps against Czechoslovakia were contemplated.

Within a relatively few months, however, another coup was necessary to keep the bicycle from toppling. Now the German troops are in Moravia and Bohemia. Czechoslovakia as an independent state has disappeared. Whatever may be the results of the present action, Moravia and Bohemia will be in fact a German province and have lost all independence. A puppet Slovakia has been set up which will be in effect a German province. The proclaimed program of the National Socialist regime of protecting minorities and of bringing Germans within the German Reich has now been stripped of its pretense. The move of the last few days brings 10,000,000 Czechoslovakians within the German Reich - the largest minority in any European state and there can be no doubt that the future will show that the treatment of this minority will really be horrible. In other words, the Germans will really be doing what they have consistently accused, first the Austrians and then the Czechoslovakians and tomorrow will be accusing others

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of doing.

There is no question but that the movement of Germany to the South East is in full swing. The effect of the disintegration of Czechoslovakia will be to weaken the position of Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The same means which have been used to stir up the so-called minorities elsewhere will be employed in Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia unless an end is put to this mad career of the German government. The same tactics will be employed with the world standing idly by. These tactics may have for some period further success. While Germany is gathering new problems and increasing her difficulties through expansion, she is also tremendously increasing her military strength and is working into the position which is her primary objective - that of being able to fight a successful way against England and France and reducing them to a second and a third rate position as world powers.

There is a misleading tendency to characterize the present disordered world relations as due to a struggle between the "haves" and "have-nots". This idea is pushed forward principally by and in the dictatorships, but there is a noticeable tendency to give credence to this as the principal factor in circles in other countries besides the dictatorships. There is something deeper and more vital in the situation than a struggle between the "haves" and "have-nots" - there is a basic clash of idealogies. It is very simple, perhaps convenient for some in the democracies who

who will not realize the facts in a realistic way, to state that they are not interested in idealogies, but it nevertheless remains basically true that the fundamental factor in the present situation is this conflict of idealogies.

The world is witness in at least three of the major dictatorships of a reversion to the doctrine of force and of might and to an entirely different international morality than that which has been slowly and painfully built up in the last century. This reversion of the law of force is to replace international law and practice and a whole new system of public and private morals based on the doctrine of might and force is to be imposed on the world. The principles involved in the struggle conceived to exist between the "haves" and "have-nots" merely form one of the external parts of this new international immorality.

Not only a completely new political and social order is being set up, but a new economic order has been established in the dictatorships. This order is based on the idea of self-sufficiency and the imposition of bi-lateral agreements always to the benefit of the stronger state. Within the dictatorships agricultural production has been stimulated and put on an insecure basis which cannot indefinitely continue. Industrial production has been stimulated and almost the entire industrial structure transformed and put on an armament basis. The sum total of the economic and financial internal measures under-taken by the dictatorships is the imposing on them of a system under which the public and private resources are being used up. Real wages are continually sinking. The nation and the people are growing poorer and the standard

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of living is sinking. The dictatorships know that a day of reckoning must come when the last resources are exhausted and an exasperated people will no longer put up with a further reduction in their standard of living.

Unless the dictatorships are successful in imposing their will on the world, the most difficult problems for the people of the dictatorships will arise when these arbitrary governments have disappeared. The entire economic industrial and financial structure, dislocated and impoverished and in some cases entirely transformed during the period of arbitrary rule, will have to be brought back to a peaceful basis and incorporated into a world economic structure towards the disorganization of which they will have done so much.

No one knows better than the dictatorships themselves that the economic, industrial and financial structure which they have set up has no hope of permanence unless they are successful in imposing their will on the rest of the world. The dictatorships cannot make concessions for the first concession is for them the beginning of the end. It is for this reason that they pursue so unrelentingly the course they have set for themselves and why it is hopeless for the rest of the world to believe that any lasting engagements can be made with the dictatorships.

It is becoming increasingly clear that, if the democracies, including the United States, are not willing to defend their political, social and economic views now by all peaceful methods at their command, it is only a question of time when they shall have to defend them with force.

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There is no logical escape from the fact that if the lawless nations continue to gain their ends through force or through the threat of force or if too dangerous compromises continue to be made as they have been made in recent years, disintegration will proceed inexorably and to the point at which the beace of the world will be definitely endangered and a catastrophic war the sole possible outcome.

The maintenance of the peace of Europe since 1933 has been possible only by the abandonment by the two great European democracies of one position after the other. In fact, since the end of the war there has been one concession after the other first to Germany and then to Italy and to Japan in the hope that these concessions would satisfy and maintain the peace. The concessions have only whetted the appetite and the net result of the concessions is the situation which Europe and the rest of the world face today. A general world war cannot be averted if the democracies continue further on this road of one-sided concessions.

To the informed and observing there can be no escape from the conclusion that the United States is the ultimate object of attack of the powers grouped in this new system of force and lawlessness. These dictatorships hope that when the time comes for them to deal with the United States, the United States will be practically alone with the rest of the democracies cleared out of the way. That the United States is the last on the list of the nations against which this doctrine of force is to be implied can give only small consolation. The world has seen the action of the Japanese in Manchuria and in China. It has seen the

Italian

Italian action in Ethiopia and in Spain and in the Mediterranean. It has seen the German action in Austria and in Czechoslovakia. The authors of these policies have left no doubt either by their declarations or by their actions as to what their intentions are. With increasing success pretenses have been dropped and even the former barrage of pretenses of good intentions and pius declarations have disappeared. What has been seen so far and what is going on in the way of action and of the application of this doctrine of force as an instrument of policy is only the forerunner and must be viewed only as a forerunner of similar and more serious acts if the movement is not stopped. There is ample and increasing evidence that the doctrine of force is already in the stage of cumulative effect.

So far the Western Hemisphere has been largely spared these acts of force by the lawless states. The United States, however, must know from its experience what ~~the~~ may be expected ~~were in the world war~~. General Faupel, the former Ambassador of Germany to Franco-Spain recently declared specifically in Berlin that the Lima Conference was an endeavoring to stop the German domination and penetration of Latin-America. Some of the smaller and less powerful states in the Western world could speak volumes on the subject of pressure. The tentative action of the lawless states and their convictions have been felt at a time when the resurrection of the doctrine of force was still in its infancy, in fact, hardly conceived. Once the position in Europe is propitious, one can realize the degree to which the efforts of the dictatorships will be felt in

Latin-America

Latin-America and certainly to the North. The ground in some of these countries to the south may already be fairly propitious to receive a doctrine of force. The careful observer will not fail to keep in mind that the establishment of the dictatorships and the regimes of force play into the hands of a brutish power-seeking, utterly selfish group which is found in every country and which only needs small encouragement and opportunity to lift up its head and assert itself.

It is not only territory which is in play - as too many observers are inclined to think. In some ways territory is the least which is at stake. What is at stake fundamentally are these new ideas and new forces which are continually coming more strongly into action and whose field of action is definitely but cumulatively expanding. All of these new ideas and forces are directly opposed to the concepts, basic ideas and principles of action so happily still prevailing in the democracies and which we here are determined to conserve.

The manoeuvres now in ~~practice~~ progress in the Far East, in Spain and in the Mediterranean and in Southeastern Europe are only steps along a long road which the dictatorships have fairly well surveyed and laid out. ~~These may even be considered~~ Catastrophic and complete as they may appear now, they are only intermediate and subsidiary steps. The single aim of the dictatorships under the subtle leadership of the present government in Germany is the disintegration of the British Empire. The constant weakening of England in Europe, the Dominions and component parts of the Empire ~~easily play~~ easy prey to the dictatorships and thus open the way to attack

attack on the United States which by then would stand practically alone.

The ~~big~~ plan conceived by the National Socialist Government in control in Germany is:

1) Complete control of Germany through the coordination of all public opinion forming means within the country and complete control by the Party of every aspect and expression of German life.

2) Physical absorption of Austria and Czechoslovakia.

3) Complete political, social and economic hegamony over Southeastern Europe by Germany.

4) The acquisition of the Ukraine.

5) Concurrent with these steps the isolation of Russia.

6) The weakening of France through the breakdown of the Soviet alliances and by the development of English-German friendship and cooperation.

7) In the meantime and concurrent with the latter part of the foregoing program, the disintegration of the British Empire would be in progress and reach a point when this disintegration could be accelerated by Germany at any time she saw fit.

8) With England weakened the way would be opened to the Western World and to the United States.

It is really against England and the United States that the program is fundamentally directed for they are considered as having what Germany must and does want.

The foregoing program is not based on any idle supposition. It is obvious what progress has already been made on this program. No concealment has been made by National Socialist leaders and their objectives. If there are/those who still believe that such a program credits the Totalitarian states with too sinister objectives, the story can now be read in the facts by all except the wilfully blind.

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The policy of the United States is definitely one of peace, but the people of the United States still envisage this as the maintenance of a long range and a long term peace and not as a policy aimed at the maintenance of an armistice bought at a price which may mean ruin through war at the end. The only safe policy for the United States would seem to be one which does not prejudice the future definitely and the destruction of all that we have stood for and struggled for. The policy which the interests of the United States therefore would dictate is a long range policy for peace and order which looks clearly at the facts and which is based only on the facts as they must be faced from day to day.

A purely negative attitude now on the developments which are taking place in the Far East and in Europe, such as a determined adherence to isolation, would present the greatest risk that the major bulwark which now stands between the United States and the successful dictatorships - the British Empire - will be destroyed. Once that Empire is weakened the position of the United States is weakened for then we will stand alone.

It is the fears of war and of the horrors of war which prevail in the democratic states, and understandably so, which are paralyzing their action. It is accordingly this fear which the totalitarian states are tremendously capitalizing just as in every political social and economic sphere they are capitalizing the worst that lies in human nature and in the most cynical fashion, and have shown a realistic understanding of these less fine human characteristics. So

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this fine feeling existent in the democracies and which finds expression in the fear and horror of war, is being capitalized by these cynical regimes and so far with a success that seems incredible. This fear of war in the democracies which has been accompanied by a patience which does them credit may, if carried beyond a certain point, lead to their ruin. It is in this particular aspect that a dangerous game of poker is being played in Europe. The dictators are playing their hands on the hope that the patience of the democracies will be carried beyond the point of safety . The democracies hope that by the exercise of patience they will wear out the dictatorships and in the meantime are increasing their own strength through re-armament. This is a grave game with great stakes. For the stake is really the saving of civilization.

The democracies realixe that force and war are still instruments ~~and~~ of international policy and action. This realization is shown in the fact that they maintain armies and navies. The democracies, however, while realizing force as unfortunately still an instrument of policy and while maintaining military and naval force, wish to use them only for defense. The dictatorships on the other hand, not only recognize force as an instrument of policy but consider it as an active instrument and are not only arming themselves to the teeth, but are actively brandishing their armies before the world with the hope that through this threat of force over more peaceful nations they may gain advantages contrary to international morality, right and decency. They know that they cannot get away with this by the actual use of the force at their command if other nations choose to assert themselves and use their force. It is therefore on the fear of war in the democracies that

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the dictatorships are playing and on the lack of complete unity of action between them.

It is out of these ideas that there grows this common action on the part of Germany, Italy and Japan when they lack any other common ground on which unified action is usually based. They put out this definite threat of force and of war hoping that, although the balance in the way of actual power is against them, their aggressive action and the fear of war will permit them to gain piece-meal but steadily their ends and finally the goals which they have set for themselves.

The United States are increasingly coming to ~~believing first by~~ the recognition of the fact that these developments in the Far East and in Europe cannot leave them cold, that it is on what happens there that will depend to a large extent their own security, happiness and maintenance of those ideas in which we believe. No matter how much, therefore, our people may wish to feel aloof from what is happening in the Far East and in Europe, no matter how much they should like to find shelter behind the so-called neutrality legislation, our people are beginning to realize more fully every day that the vital question before them is whether or not we shall follow a negative policy which will almost certainly bring war in the end, or one which offers the hope of really maintaining peace, with decency and order.

With ~~the following goal~~ this goal in view it would seem clear that while all the action of the United States in the international field must have for its primary objective the maintenance of the general peace through peaceful means and the non-involvment of this country in war, there

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1185
copy 2

must be this basic formulation of a policy which does not make war inevitable in the end. Our policy must be a wise, long range policy of peace, but with unswerving adherence to the principles on which our country has been built and with the maintenance of a defensive force which will assure the world that it is not by our compâaisance that we will encourage the totalitarian states in the attainment of their ends.