

SOME SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS
OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAKIAN CRISIS OF 1938-39

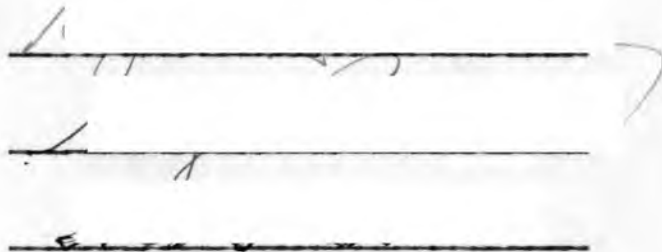
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I N T R O D U C T I O N

THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THIS STUDY WAS MADE

and

USEFUL SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

CHAPTER I

THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THIS STUDY WAS MADE

If thou wouldst know thy neighbor best
partake of his hospitality and reside
with him upon his own estate. ---Anon.

During the course of the last ten to fifteen years the vaguely perceived social changes, caused by the terrific impact of the Great World War upon Europe and the world in general, began to crystalize into perceptible form -- into definite movements which made themselves well known and keenly felt among the nations of the earth. In this period one finds the rise and strengthening of totalitarian movements, such as Communism, Fascism and Naziism, together with all their many ramifications. Naturally one is not surprised to discover counteractions and buffeting tendencies of democratic governments, which also in this period began to crystalize into protective programs against the onslaught of these powerful forces. During the last three or four years, and especially at the present time, the totalitarian states have come into open conflict with the democracies in their demand for increased world power.

One of these states in particular has been and still is making itself felt in the world with no small degree of impact and drive. That state is Nazi Germany, which under

the leadership of Adolf Hitler, is determined to increase its borders if not by peaceful means, then by violence and war. One of the earlier conquests of Nazi Germany, although accomplished without actual warfare, was the gradual breakdown and the final occupation of the democratic Republic of Czecho-Slovakia during 1938-39.

This invasion proved to be the first attack of the Nazis upon a country which was not culturally bound up with Germany. It is true that prior to this time in 1935 by means of an overwhelming plebiscite in favor of the Reich the Saar territory had been recovered; and that in 1936 the the Rhineland had been occupied and remilitarized. On March 11, 1938 the Nazis forced the Austrian "Anschluss", which brought an additional six million German-speaking inhabitants within the borders of the Reich. This was all accomplished under the cry that Germany had the right and the duty to "serve and protect" all German people living anywhere upon the face of the globe. Their greatest "protection", it was maintained, could only be through inclusion in the Reich itself. Even the occupation of the Sudetenland of Czecho-Slovakia in the fall of 1938 was justified on these same grounds, that its inhabitants were largely German. But when Czecho-Slovakia proper was invaded in the Spring of the following year the German cry of "race protection" no longer held true.

Sir Neville Henderson, the British Ambassador to Berlin

from 1937-39, observes that after the occupation of Prague,

Nazism ceased to be national and racial and became purely dynamic and felonious. By his callous destruction of the hard and newly won liberty of a free and independent people, Hitler deliberately violated the Munich Agreement, which he had signed not quite six months before; and his undertaking to Mr. Chamberlain, once the Sudeten had been incorporated in the Reich, to respect the independence and integrity of the Czech people.....Up till that March, as I wrote in my final report, the German ship of state had flown the German national flag. On those Ides of March, its captain defiantly hoisted the skull and cross-bones of the pirate, and appeared under his true colors as an unprincipled menace to European peace and liberty. (1)

Since the German occupation of Czecho-Slovakia, the Nazi conquest of smaller nations has continued, not only to include within the Reich German-speaking peoples, but to appropriate the rich lands and resources of other countries, and subjugate their citizens. This phenomenal drive of the Third Reich is a source of amazement to the whole world--if not a cause of fear.

To what may be attributed this unusual rise of National Socialism in Germany? Where is one to look for the underlying and basic factors of its positive and aggressive program? How have its techniques of public control and violence arisen? How far does it intend to go? Many attempts to answer these and other like questions have already been made. Economists have attempted to explain the formulation of basic causes for the break-down of the European status quo; political scientists have pointed out theories to elucidate the situation;

(1) Henderson, Sir Nevile, Failure of a Mission, Putnam's, 1940, pp. 218-19.

others have agreed that population and geographic position, as well as linguistic differences, have been important factors in the problem; some have proposed that the flight from Christian morals and religion has been a principle cause of these conditions. Undoubtedly these viewpoints have illuminated important factors which have a bearing upon a complete analysis of the problem, and are entirely worth while.

THE OBJECT OF THIS STUDY. However, there is another point of view which should be fruitful in an attempt to explain the culture conflict between Germany and the democracies, in consequence of which considerable light should be thrown upon the above questions, namely the viewpoint of the social psychologist.

Hence, the object of this study is to examine the data at hand in the penetrating light of social psychology in an attempt to arrive at some of the basic causes of the Nazi's rise to power and of the consequent fall of smaller nations within the sphere of German conquest.

Since a general study of this kind would be of vast proportions, the writer has limited the problem to the Czecho-Slovakian crisis of 1938-39, inasmuch as the chief events of this struggle come within his immediate experience. Nevertheless, a concentrated study of this national catastrophe should be indicative of the processes and causes of other national crises provoked by the Third Reich. In fact, the writer in a cursory study of subsequent Nazi conquests has

observed virtually the same processes and techniques employed by the conflicting parties as in the case of Czecho-Slovakia. Hence it might be ventured that the conflict of cultures as witnessed in the break-down of Czecho-Slovakia is more or less typical of all other Nazi encounters.

THE WRITER'S SOJOURN IN CENTRAL EUROPE. The Czecho-Slovakian crisis together with the events leading up to it has been chosen as the point of focus for a socio-psychological investigation since the writer professes some first-hand knowledge of the events creating it. It was his privilege to spend almost seven years in Central Europe as a missionary of the Mormon Church during two different periods of the last decade.

In October of 1928 he located in Germany, and there during almost a year's stay attempted to learn the German language and to acquaint himself with the social customs and behavior of the people. This proved to be a most enjoyable and profitable year for it gave him an insight into the life and culture of a people, who, prior to this time, were known to him largely by name only. He enjoyed their hospitality and goodness and insofar as he was capable became one of them. He learned to love the common folk and admired them for their sincerity. He noted in them strong traits of obedience to leadership, and sometimes almost blind devotion to a cause. For the most part they were seemingly non-militaristic, but

greatly enjoyed talking about the efficiency and precision of the former army. Many of them were disturbed and dissatisfied about conditions and hoped for leadership which might again weld them into solidarity. Some saw the salvation of the country in the National Socialist Party, which was constantly gaining power. Others wondered about it. A few had grave doubts.

Following this delightful experience, the writer was transferred to Czecho-Slovakia in the summer of 1929 and spent the remaining two and a half years of this European residence there, interspersing it with short visits to Germany and Austria. He came in touch with a wholly different type of people, the Czechs, whose language he also learned. He discovered it greatly to his advantage, as in Germany, to immerse himself in Bohemian life in order to learn the traits, characteristics and attitudes of the Czech people. He found that they were great lovers of individual freedom, and that in this respect they emulated the great reformer, John Hus; that although there was a feeling of distrust and antagonism toward the German nation, yet there prevailed a spirit of tolerance for the German and other minorities within the country. He enjoyed life with a happy, thriving, progressive people, who leaned heavily towards the great democracies of the world, England, France and the United States. He found them sincere and loyal, but always suspicious of

new influences from the outside. The writer found that he could again make himself at home among a strange people-- this time the Czechs--by seeking, at least in spirit, to become one of them. He learned to love, honor and admire this people, even as he had done the Germans. His two and a half years of intimate experience in Bohemian life and culture, gave the writer a profitable insight into their nature and manner of living. In November of 1931, prior to leaving for home, he found it difficult to bid farewell to both the Czechs and the Germans whose hospitality had never been wanting. He returned to the United States greatly enriched and feeling that "I am a part of all I have met."

During his first visit abroad the writer had no intention of making a study such as this. However, he became conscious of the differences between the behavior of the Czechs and the Germans, and kept a careful record in diary form of attitudes and traits as reflected in his daily contacts with the people.

It was only after his return to the University of Utah that the idea of a cultural study of the peoples among whom he had lived took form. It was the writer's good fortune at the university to come within the sphere of influence and friendship of Dr. Arthur L. Beeley, whom he learned to greatly admire and appreciate. Dr. Beeley introduced him into the field of social psychology and pointed out its vast possibilities in illuminating the causes and processes of social

change and of culture conflicts. Much to the regret of the writer he discovered the use of social psychology as a science in explaining national behavior patterns after he had left the European scene with its continual and subtle psychological currents. He felt that any study of culture conflicts in Europe would have to be based on empirical data previously gathered abroad more or less by accident or chance.

However, toward the close of the school year in 1936, much to the surprise and delight of the writer he was presented with another opportunity to return to Europe. Stimulated by Dr. Beeley, he crystalized the idea of making a study of outstanding culture traits of the people among whom he was to live. In June of that same year he and his family arrived in Prague to take up their residence there. His work took him frequently into Germany and Austria. Later he had occasion to spend short periods of time in France, Switzerland, Denmark and Norway.

The writer soon became aware that the nationalistic tendencies more or less vaguely perceived during his first visit to Europe had become greatly intensified, not only in Czecho-Slovakia but in Germany as well. In fact, it applied to the whole of Europe, which gravely watched the conquests of fascist movements--first of the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, next of the bloody revolution in Spain, and then of the bold Nazi siezures. Since his first trip to Germany, National Socialism had come into power to form the dictatorial

Third Reich. It soon became' apparent that it was threatening the peace of Central Europe, and that a conflict with Czecho-Slovakia was inevitable.

During some three and a half years of European tension, the writer observed the development of movements, which were to play a part in the break-down of Czecho-Slovakia. He gathered materials and data concerning both Czechs and Germans, hoping that a struggle would not ensue, but feeling that it would be inevitable. Finally he witnessed the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia's Sudetenland by German troops in October of 1938. He witnessed with admiration the valiant effort of the Czechs to rebuild and reorganize their nation, which was now stripped of its vulnerable "Maginot Line", bereft of one third of its former territory and population, and with vital points of industry and transportation in the hands of the Germans. He became aware of the internal forces within the Republic, sponsored by the Nazis, which prepared the way for this coup, and which played such a part in the final occupation of Czecho-Slovakia proper. He finally witnessed the dissolution of Bohemia and Slovakia, intentionally brought about by the clever use of subtle psychological and political forces, and then experienced some of the events accompanying the military occupation of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, by German troops on March 15, 1939. Thus he witnessed the final break-down of Czecho-

Slovakia and its inclusion within the boarders of the Third Reich.

The writer and his family remained in Czecho-Slovakia--now the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia"--until the beginning of the Nazi "Blitzkrieg" against Poland the following September, whereupon they returned home to the United States. Until his departure the writer had to deal with the Nazi officials and particularly with the "Gestapo" or the German Secret Police, which flooded the "Protectorate" in order to carry out a program of subjugation and appropriation. The writer could not fail to gain an insight into Nazi methods of group control and domination, effected largely through propaganda and violence. When he finally left the country he was unable, for obvious reasons to bring many of his notes and written observations. Nevertheless, prior to the German occupation he had succeeded in sending home much material which can well be used in his study of the Czecho-Slovakian Crisis of 1938-39.

METHOD EMPLOYED IN THE STUDY. The method of gathering material has already been indicated in the foregoing paragraphs--namely, that of direct observation and experience. The writer sought to maintain the objectivity of the social student and at the same time to make himself as nearly as possible a member of first the German and then Czech cultures. The attitudes and activities of the people among whom he lived could only be understood in terms of their

own thought-patterns. Znaniecki emphasizes this viewpoint in his discussion of "The Principles of Selection of Cultural Data." He writes:

What we know about reality, we know only by experiencing it and actively thinking about it; that being so, human experience and activity, namely, the experience and activity of the investigating scientist, are ever present factors in the study of all real systems.....

The essential character of cultural data we call the humanistic coefficient, because such data, as objects of the student's theoretic reflection, already belong to somebody else's experience and are such as this active experience makes them.....

The humanistic coefficient concerns both the composition and the structure of a cultural system. Every element which enters into the composition of a cultural system is what it appears to be in the experience of those people who are actively dealing with it; and the student cannot know what it is unless he ascertains how it appears to them.....

There is only one way of experiencing an object; it is to observe it personally. There is also only one way of experiencing an activity; it is to perform it personally. (2)

The writer also did his utmost in the study of one cultural system, to immerse himself in that system, and then to detach himself from it when investigating the second in a like manner.

In the choice of suitable data for the study of these two systems, the author paid special attention to national activities, tendencies and attitudes, as indicative of the

(2) Znaniecki, Florian, The Method of Sociology, Farrar & Rinehart, 1934, pp. 34, 37, 39, 49.

true nature of each culture. Since the construction and continuation of a cultural system is dependent upon these factors, such data are indispensable in a study of them.

Znaniecki bears this point out as follows:

Activity is nothing but what brings the construction of a system about; it is the primary factor of its construction.....The system which is being constructed is somehow getting determined by the agent (those within the culture) in advance, not in the sense of being "planned" or "foreseen" in its details, but in that of being made to include some of the many possible values within the reach of the agent's experience and to have these values combined and modified in one of many possible ways.....

An activity from the point of view of the agent's own experience of it, is a tendency to construct a system of values in the course of its realization. The term "tendency" suggests both the fact that the system is prospectively determined, "intended," and that this prospective determination may or may not be fulfilled...

Such a cultural tendency can manifest itself empirically not only in the course of its realization in activity, but also at other times as an attitude; and it does this when it only defines the situation without solving it.....An attitude is, thus, a potential substitute for the act..... (3)

Thus activities, tendencies and attitudes, as experienced and observed by the writer are the primary source of his data. Every contact he made during his first three years in Europe, and especially those made during his last visit of three and a half years, became a "case study," in an effort to discover which of many activities, tendencies and attitudes were most important in moulding the national life of

(3) Ibid., pp. 57,58,59,60,61.

Germany and then of Czecho-Slovakia. The writer has been careful to present in this study that data and evidence, taken from experience and research, which is representative of his numberless contacts made abroad over a period of almost seven years. He has made an effort to leave this material uncolored by his own prejudices and bias, and trusts that he has met this obligation.

The method of analysis in this study consists of the treatment of the data at hand in the light of some of the basic concepts and principles of social psychology. Their application should prove fruitful in explaining the nature and some of the underlying causes of the Czech crisis. A discussion of the concepts and principles to be employed is the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

USEFUL SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS AND PRINCIPLES

-o-

Perception without conception is
blind; conception without percep-
tion is empty. --- Blumer

With the advent of science man's understanding of the processes of nature has been greatly enhanced. For as Ellwood points out, "All science is an effort to understand the mechanism, or the technique, of concrete processes..... It does not question the reality of the phenomena or processes which it studies. Its endeavor is simply to account for phenomena by observing all the conditions which seem to be in any way connected with their appearance. Any phenomenon is explained scientifically when all of the conditions essential to its appearance are fully described." (1) This, then is the task of science.

In the development of science three major steps are to be noted. The first step is the appearance of percepts or a consciousness of the existence of phenomena; the second is the appearance of concepts or generalized thought; and the third, as indicated by Eubank (2), is the organization

(1) Ellwood, C. A., An Introduction to Social Psychology, Appleton, 1917, p. 1.

(2) Eubank, E. E., The Concepts of Sociology, Heath, 1932, p. 33

of concepts into a definite logical system, whereby the several parts appear as segments of a united and congruous whole upon which its general theory may be constructed. Practically speaking, all science is based upon these three important aspects of knowledge.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY DEFINED. Social psychology takes its place among the sciences as a relatively new system of investigating social actions. As a science it is an effort to understand the technique of concrete processes in human association. Largely because of its recent development, it can by no means be considered a fully organized or complete science. However, it is proving extremely useful in illuminating many spheres of social phenomena. In its development are to be found the three basic elements of a true science -- namely, a perception of social phenomena, the appearance of concepts to explain the observed phenomena, and finally, the organization of concepts into a definite and logical system. As social psychology becomes more widely used in the study of social problems, its concepts will become more clearly defined and organized, thus giving it its proper distinction in the realm of scientific activity.

Social psychology has been aptly defined by Dr. Beeley as follows:

Social psychology is a study of human behavior in terms of its social (as distinct from its biological) antecedents, characteristics and consequents. It describes the origin and development of personality in terms of human interaction, culture patterns and

social organization. (3)

Accordingly then an attempt is made in this study of the Czech crisis to view the behavior of the Czechs and the Germans in terms of their respective socio-psychological environments, and to describe their personality patterns in terms of human interaction and cultural background.

Data, made possible through perception, lend themselves to investigation and analysis through concepts, which become useful tools to the researcher. Science depends upon an adequate body of standardized concepts, which are only valid insofar as they have utility. They must be considered as working instruments and not as substitutes for knowledge itself. Looking at the concept in light of the functions it performs in science, Blumer says:

As I see it, the concept more specifically considered serves three functions: (1) it introduces a new orientation or point of view; (2) it serves as a tool, or as a means of transacting business with one's environment; (3) it makes possible deductive reasoning and so the anticipation of new experience. (4)

Social psychology has developed a system of useful tools to be used in the study of social processes and human behavior. These are the concepts and principles of social psychology. Although they are numerous, yet only certain ones can be applied with profit in the present study. Those

(3) Beeley, A. L., Social Psychology (Syllabus), University of Utah, 1938, p. 1.

(4) Blumer, H., "Science Without Concepts", American Journal of Sociology, Jan. 1937, p. 526.

to be employed in an examination of the data are as follows: (1) the concept of the group mind; (2) the concept of personality as the subjective aspect of culture; (3) the concept of culture patterns; (4) the technique of group behavior and group control.

THE CONCEPT OF THE GROUP MIND. To come to a fuller understanding of the momentous events which rocked Central Europe in the crisis of 1938-39, it would be well to inquire into the nature of some of the more subtle and sometimes elusive forces, which -- usually behind the scenes of ordinary human perception -- play a major role in shaping the destiny of nations. For as Gustave Le Bon in his masterful work, "The Psychology of the Great War", puts it, one who seeks to understand the true sources of international difficulty, must go back to the facts which precede it, and above all study the changes which have taken place in the national mind; for "the conduct of a nation, and hence its history, is derived from its mentality." (5)

If the assumption of Le Bon is correct, then an insight into the mind of Czecho-Slovakia, as well as into that of Germany, should reveal a fundamental background rich in serving to explain the chief factors of the Czecho-Slovak demise.

The question may well be asked: What is the group mind, and what are its component parts? In his brilliant

(5) Le Bon, Gustave, Psychology of the Great War, Macmillan, 1917, p. 18

essay on, "Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards," Salvadore de Madriaga used this concept as an approach to the comparative psychology of nationality, and observed that there are distinctive attitudes which determine a people's natural and spontaneous reactions towards life. Such attitudes form the group mind. He further explains: "These reactions spring in each case from a characteristic impulse, manifesting itself in a complex psychological entity, an idea-sentiment force, peculiar to each of the three peoples, and constituting for each of them the standard of its behavior, the key to its emotions and the spring of its pure thought." (6) Thus does de Madriaga define the group mind.

Although national groups manifest these distinctive attitudes, which more or less determine their patterns of behavior, yet the group mind in the actual sense of the word does not exist. National entities are merely aggregations of people making individual responses to common social stimuli. "It is nevertheless possible -- and extremely useful -- to consider the total, rather than the individual, patterns of response of a given aggregation of human beings at a given time" (7) in the study of group or national phenomena. This total pattern of response, then, is conveniently called the group mind, and as such becomes an extremely useful concept in revealing group behavior.

(6) De Madriaga, S., Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Oxford University Press, 1928, p. 3.

(7) Beeley, op. cit., p. 87.

A KEY FOR DETERMINING THE GROUP MIND. Ellwood, using the term, public opinion, as a synonym for group mind, states that it is formed by the action and reaction of many individual judgments, and that there need not necessarily be complete agreement among the individuals of the group. Since it is formed by the "coordination and organization of individual judgments, it may well represent the matured judgment of leaders and specialists, after these have reacted with their public." (8) Group leaders, it seems, may wield considerable influence on the formation of the group mind.

Here then is a key to be used in the search for characteristics and attributes of the national mind. The attitudes and reactions of the leader, since he has interacted with the group, should then more or less reflect the mind of the group. Likewise, an investigation of the characteristic impulses, emotions and attitudes of those directing national affairs, as checked against the reactions and opinions of others within the nation, should therefore reveal the mentality of a national entity.

PERSONALITY AS THE SUBJECTIVE ASPECT OF CULTURE. Not only is it true that the leader may influence the group mind, but since his interaction with the group is reciprocal, he is, to a great degree, the product of his socio-psychological environment, or in other words, of the culture which nourished

(8) Ellwood, C. A., The Psychology of Human Society, Appleton, & Company, 1925, p. 228

him. This is clearly indicated by Dr. Beeley, who, quoting Faris, writes: "A study of leadership reveals the fact that the leader's personality is essentially the subjective aspect of his culture. As Faris points out, the leader is both cause and effect. 'His power lies in his ability to lead in a direction in which men wish to go, or to resolve a difficulty for which no other one has a good solution..... But the leader is also the product of the life of his people and may be considered as a sort of device for the sake of the life of the group. What the leader desires and does has come from the people who produced or harbored him. If his program makes no appeal, his leadership is repudiated and his status is lost. The military ability of the Mongol leaders who invaded Europe, the remarkable phenomenon of the first crusades, and the influence of William Penn among the Quakers, not to speak of contemporary leaders of pacifism, fascism, and the rest -- these all reveal on examination, the correspondence of the program of the leader with the will and desire of the people whose culture he expresses.'"

(9)

CULTURE AND CULTURE PATTERNS. The Social psychologist points out that any historical phenomenon, such as the behavior of the Czech and German nations in the recent crisis,

(9) Beeley, op. cit., pp. 94-5, See also Faris, E., The Nature of Human Nature, McGraw-Hill, 1937, pp. 31-2.

can be best understood ⁱⁿ terms of the cultural antecedents of the peoples involved. It is necessary, therefore, for us to examine briefly the social psychological concepts of culture and culture patterns.

The anthropologist, Malinowski, has probably given us the best explanation of the meaning of these concepts. He describes culture as an "artificial, secondary environment."

"Culture is an instrumental reality which has come into existence to satisfy the needs of man in a manner far surpassing any direct adaptation to the environment. Culture endows man with an additional extension of his anatomical apparatus.....He makes houses or constructs shelters; he prepares his food more or less elaborately, procuring it by means of weapons and implements; he makes roads and uses means of transport. Were man to rely on his anatomical equipment exclusively, he would soon be destroyed or perish from hunger and exposure. Defense, feeding, movement in space, all physiological and spiritual needs, are satisfied indirectly by means of artifacts even in the most primitive modes of human life. The man of nature, the Naturmensch, does not exist." (10)

This artificial creation of man - which has become so powerful in determining his own personality - does not exist as an all-inclusive civilization but rather in varying patterns. In fact as Dr. Beeley points out:

"It would be more correct to speak of cultures or culture patterns rather than of any one all-inclusive culture or civilization. These patterns of culture represent a more or less fortuitous growth and development, and can be defined only in a combination of ways, that is, geographically, historically and comparatively. Such terms as the "Far East" and the "Western World", for example, are used to

(10) Beeley, op. cit., p. 36, quoted from Malinowski, B., "Culture", Article in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences.

designate culture patterns." (11)

Thus, it is possible to examine the problem of this thesis as a conflict between the Czech and German patterns of culture -- that is, as a struggle prompted by deep-seated social psychological differences.

GROUP BEHAVIOR AND GROUP CONTROL. Within a given culture each individual is faced with the inescapable necessity of conforming to existing arrangements. It seems important, therefore, if we are to understand the problem at hand, that we recognize some of the methods used by the group to control the behavior of the individual.

Social psychologists also explain that there are informal and spontaneous methods such as reproof and approval and also formal methods such as didactic instruction, the law, censorship, and propaganda. That it is the deliberate policy of the government of the Third Reich to control public opinion is now commonly known and any attempt, therefore, to understand the Czecho-Slovakian crisis must take into account, not only the concepts of group mind, personality integration and culture, but in addition, the social psychological processes of group control.

The practical application of these concepts and an understanding of the specific techniques mentioned, should therefore prove to be of great value in examining the data

(11) Ibid., p. 40

which is presented in the following pages. The writer first proposes to present a brief resume of the history of Czechoslovakia up to and including the heated events of the 1938-39 crisis as a background for the data, and then turn his attention to an application of the socio-psychological concepts to the information gathered.

PART ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CRISIS

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA (1)

-o-

I too, believe before God that, when the
storms of wrath have passed, to thee shall
return the rule over thine own possessions,
O Czech people! --- Comenius

Since a history of Czecho-Slovakia affords a basis for much of the data herein presented, and because it is less widely known than that of Germany, it is felt wise to include a brief historical sketch of the nation and its people. The history of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, as such, begins at the close of the World War. However, the existence of the nation, earlier known as the Kingdom of Bohemia, antedates this by many centuries, and finds its origin in the distant past.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CZECHS. It is rather definitely known that the Slavic tribes, from which the Bohemians spring, appeared in Europe as early as the second century A. D. and for a long period were under the domination of the Avars.

(1) Historical facts are drawn chiefly from the following sources:

- Krofta, K., Male dejiny ceskoslovenske, Praha, 1931
 Lewis, B., Facts About Democracy in Czechoslovakia,
 Prague, 1937
 Masaryk, T. G., The Making of a State, Allen & Unwin, 1927.
 Papousek, J., The Czechoslovak Struggle for Independence,
 Prague, 1928.

However, these Slavic groups under the leadership of Samo shook off the Avar yoke about 624 and were united into the first western Slavic state, which collapsed in 658 upon Samo's death. It was about this time that Czech and his followers took possession of the fertile Bohemian valleys and became the permanent inhabitants of that land.

In the middle of the ninth century two Christian missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, from Constantinople introduced the teachings of Christianity among the Bohemians, as well as among other Slavic tribes. Latin became the language of the church and with the spread of monasteries, which became the centers of learning, this Slav group became related to the West instead of to the East.

During the tenth century Boleslav I and his successor Boleslav II brought all the Bohemian tribes and princes into one state, including Moravia, western Slovakia and a part of Poland, as far east as Cracow. After this consolidation the German Emperor Henry III forced Bohemia back from Cracow and established a feudal sovereignty over the Bohemian kings, who paid him tribute and were forced to give him military aid. However in 1197 the German Emperor raised Bohemia again to the rank of kingdom, whose rights increased until the kings of Bohemia could be elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, which some of them were.

The thirteenth century was an age of expansion by conquest. Premysl Otakar II held sway over most of Austria

and his successor, Vaclav II, included in the kingdom Brandenburg and Berlin, most of Poland, Hungary and Croatia, and parts of Rumania. In the conflicts which followed this great Bohemian Empire was soon reduced.

It was during this century that the Bohemian rulers invited large numbers of German craftsmen and colonists into the kingdom in order to establish certain industries. These were the ancestors of the present-day Sudeten Germans, who played such a role in the recent crisis.

The "Golden Age" of Bohemia was ushered in under the rule of Charles IV (1346-78) who became not only the greatest of Bohemian kings but also Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He founded the University of Prague (1348) and distinguished himself by his great interest in education, religion, law morality, and in the peace and prosperity of his dominions generally. He showed a democratic spirit when he obtained the consent of the Estates to a law which guaranteed to the peasants the right of appealing to the Royal law courts against their territorial lords. His laws proclaimed the indissoluble unity of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Upper Lustatia. His was an era of building and prosperity.

THE ERA OF JOHN HUS. John Hus is the next great name in Czech history. He reformed Bohemian orthography and wrote extensively in Latin and Czech on religious and literary subjects. He initiated a reform movement in the Catholic Church of Bohemia and was consequently burned at the stake

in Constance in 1415 for heresy. From this time on, the history of Bohemia is largely a religious one.

Following the execution of Hus his cause became that of the Czech nation, its symbol being the chalice. The majority of the nation broke with the Catholic Church and became Hussites under the leadership of Zizka. Enraged, the Holy Roman Empire then raised crusading armies against the heretical Czechs, and the sanguinary Hussite wars devastated the country from 1420 until 1436. After the peasant and burger armies under Zizka had won a series of brilliant victories and even invaded Slovakia and Austria peace was finally restored to the exhausted nation in 1434. Bohemia became a Protestant land through victories won by a free peasantry inflamed with religious zeal.

George of Podebrady, a Czech, was elected king in 1458 and devoted his reign to restoring complete peace and agreement. Interestingly enough, one of his measures was an invitation to all Christian monarchs to join a permanent league which would settle all differences between them by arbitration. The members of the league were to give up entirely their right to wage war independently; and the power to decide for or against peace was to be vested solely in the federation of these nations. However, this scheme failed largely because the church prelates claimed that any such proposal should come from the Pope and not from a Czech king. This is a striking forerunner, conceived almost five hundred

years ago, of the modern idea of a League of Nations.

Down through the rule of numerous kings the struggle continued between the Hussites and the Catholic Church. The Hussites broke up into various factions as time went on. The struggle of the Church against the Protestant movement in Bohemia is largely responsible for the terrible Thirty Years War (1618-48) in the course of which the German-Catholic Army of Ferdinand II utterly defeated the exhausted Czechs at the Battle of White Mountain near Prague in 1620, thus placing them completely under autocratic Hapsburg rule. This marked the beginning of one of Bohemia's darkest periods -- three hundred years of subjugation under Austrian rule -- destined to last until the end of the World War.

HAPSBURG DOMINATION AND DORMANT NATIONAL LIFE. As a climax to the Battle of White Mountain the Hapsburg Emperor caused the execution of most of the Bohemian aristocracy and burgers, and inaugurated a terrifying era throughout the land not only of germanization but of catholicization as well. During this counter-reformation the Czechs suffered no end of persecution. Emperor Ferdiand's statement gives a key to the situation which prevailed, "Better no population at all than one of heretics." All Protestants were exiled or persecuted and their property confiscated. At the beginning of the war there were 3,000,000 people in Bohemia, nearly all Protestants; at the close of the war there were some 800,000, all nominally Roman Catholics. The possession of

Bibles and hymnaries was punishable by death. Many of the towns were repopulated by German immigrants belonging to the Church. During the mass confiscations from 1621-34 nearly three-fourths of the whole area of Bohemia was siezed and given to the victors.

The traditional rights of the Bohemian Estates were forcibly restricted in order to enhance the power of the Crown. The king abrogated the right of higher officials to advise on appointments to public office and filled all offices at his own pleasure. All officials, even judges, were compelled to resign every five years and be subject to reappointment, transfer or dismissal. The towns were shorn of their political power, all their representatives in the Estates together being allowed one vote.

From the middle of the seventeenth century all Austrian lands, ruled by various members of the House of Hapsburg, were united under one monarch. Hence the Bohemian Estates lost their right to elect a King of Bohemia. Furthermore all important offices were transferred to Vienna. In 1627 German was made the state language and was favored over Czech. By the end of the century German was used exclusively in official business and Latin in the universities. Thus Czech intellectual life and literature almost died out. Nothing of importance was published in the Czech language for over a hundred years after that time.

The Hapsburg monarchs ruled Bohemia with an absolute

hand. However, to the credit of Joseph II the burdens of serfdom were lightened in 1781 so that the peasants no longer required the consent of their masters to marry, learn a trade, attend school or change their residence. A Patent of Toleration in 1773 permitted the Reformed churches to exist and people to join them. Education was extended, but it worked to hasten the germanization of the Czechs, since all schools taught exclusively in German.

From 1790 to 1848 Dobrovsky, Jungman, Palacky and others attempted a revival of the Czech language by their researches in Slavonics and history, and by their poetry and popular education. During the revolutionary wave which swept over Europe in 1848, Palacky, Brauner, Havlicek and others, stimulated the Czech national awakening by presenting national petitions to the Monarch demanding that he grant the whole empire freedom of the press, of assembly and of religious belief, the abolition of serfdom, elected representation in town councils and in the Diet. However, the only successes of the revolutionary year, 1848, were the abolition of serfdom and the establishment of the principle that all citizens are equal before the law.

Franz Joseph began his long oppressive reign in 1849. Bach, his Prime-Minister, inaugurated a new campaign of germanization, sharper police surveillance and abrogated liberty of the press. Bohemian political movements, the press and language were persecuted anew.

Not until 1882 was there any relief in the matter of language and education. In that year the Charles University was separated from the German University in Prague and Czech schools were organized and supported by voluntary subscriptions of the people. The Czech Academy of Science, Literature and Arts was founded in 1890 and the National Theater was built in 1881 and again in 1883. All of this was the work of Czech intellectual leaders and mass movements without backing from the Government or aristocracy.

Through the years the Czechs clung to Palacky's program of a reorganization of Austria which would give them autonomy in local government. But it was not until the beginning of the World War that they began to think about complete independence. The rapid expansion of nationalism and power of Germany and her increasing tendency to dominate Austria exposed the Czechs to grave dangers when Germany and Austria became allies in 1914. When the German Chancellor, Bethman-Holweg, declared it to be a war of the Germans against the Slavs, fear of the consequences of a Teutonic victory led the nation to strike for its liberty under the leadership of Masaryk and Benes.

THE WORLD WAR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. The World War estranged the Czechs still further from Austria since they found themselves in the Austrian army and sent against the Russians, their Slav cousins, on the Eastern Front and against France, towards which they always entertained profound

sympathy, on the Western Front. This was a terrible infliction for all patriotic Czechs. The Czechs could not therefore enter the war either with enthusiasm or with a desire for victory for Austria-Hungary, and some of them soon declared their sentiments openly. Many Czech troops deserted to the Allies, and in turn took up arms against the Triple Alliance. Several Czech politicians, chief among them, Prof. Masaryk and young Dr. Eduard Benes, proceeded abroad in order to initiate publicity and diplomatic struggle for the political liberation of their people. Those, too, who remained at home gravitated more and more away from Austria. This movement also spread among the Slovaks, who were under the dominion of the Hungarian crown. In spite of the century old separation of these two peoples, the consciousness of national unity with the Czechs was never lost in Slovakia. During the war these two began to consistently call themselves "Czecho-Slovaks".

Masaryk, who assumed the leadership of the liberation movement, together with his aides soon became convinced that the Monarchy could not last and that the Allies would eventually win the war. To assist in the break-down of Austria-Hungary, as well as to lend military aid to the Allies, a Czech "Committee of Action" was established in 1915 in the Allied countries, its members including Masaryk, Benes and other Czechs abroad. It later became the "National Council of the Bohemian Lands" with headquarters in Paris. It main-

tained contact with the revolutionary organization at home, known as the "Maffia", and worked for the complete independence of the Czechs and Slovaks.

Despite many difficulties the Czechs organized armed forces of their own to fight with the Allies. The first and most effective effort was in Russia, where Czech and Slovak settlers, and later prisoners of war, rendered valuable military service. Later, Czech Legions were formed in France and Italy. In 1918 the Legion in Russia, organized and directed by Masaryk and consisting of almost 50,000 men, attracted the attention and acclaim of the Allies by its heroic and successful effort to reach the French Front by travelling across Siberia, the Pacific, North America and the Atlantic -- the only route opened to it.

In April of 1918 representatives of all classes of the Czech nation assembled at Prague to take a public oath that they would never cease their struggle for independence until victory was theirs. In June of that same year the French government recognized the Czech National Council in Paris as the supreme organ representing the interest of the Czech nation, and as the basis for the future Czecho-Slovak Government. Similar declarations of recognition were subsequently made by the British, American, Japanese and Italian Governments. Finally on October 14th Dr. Benes, secretary-general of the National Council notified the Allies of the decision of the Council to appoint an interim Czecho-Slovak Government,

and before the end of October this government had received de jure recognition from all Allied powers.

Masaryk, who was then in the United States, proclaimed the independence of Czecho-Slovakia from Washington, D. C. on October 18th and enunciated the main principles upon which the Constitution of the future democratic Republic was to be based. A bloodless revolution took place on native soil and the National Committee in Prague declared independence on October 28, 1918. Two days later the Slovak National Council issued a proclamation to the same effect.

Severance from Austria-Hungary and the independent Czecho-Slovak State became a reality. In their new-born freedom and in their right to rule over their own possessions, the prophetic statement of Comenius became literally fulfilled.

THE NEW REPUBLIC OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA. On November 14th the National Assembly at Prague proclaimed the Czecho-Slovak State as a Republic and elected as its first president, Thomas G. Masaryk, although he was still in the United States and did not return until the following month. Simultaneously it elected Dr. Kramar as Prime Minister, Dr. Benes as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and General Stefanik as Minister of War.

From the Allied peace treaties -- with Germany at Versailles on June 28, 1919, then with Austria at Saint-Germain on September 10, 1919, and later with Hungary at

Trianon on June 4, 1920 -- the new Republic secured not only international recognition but also the final delimitation of her frontiers. It consisted of the historic territory of the Bohemian Crown, as it finally existed under the Hapsburg Monarchy -- that is, of Bohemia, Moravia, and "Austrian" Silesia -- with the addition of the Slovak portion of Hungary, and Sub-Carpathian Russia at the far eastern end, which requested union with the Republic. (2) The new State had an area of some 55,000 square miles and included a population of a little over thirteen and a half million people, of which about one fourth were German. (3)

This large German minority within the Republic was due to the inclusion of "Deutschboehmen" and the "Sudetenland", which formerly belonged to the Bohemian Crown. Upon the proclamation of Czecho-Slovak independence these two territories declared themselves autonomous provinces of the new Austrian Republic. However in December of 1918 all the German districts of the former Bohemian Lands were finally placed under the jurisdiction of the Prague government. This strong minority of over three million inhabitants manifest a negative attitude toward the new Republic and failed to cooperate even in the framing of the Constitution, although all minorities were invited to take part. In the course of time, however, the Germans abandoned their former negative policy, adopted one of participation in the administration of state affairs, and passed on to a spirit of friendly

(2) See Appendix A & B, pp. 199-200

(3) See Appendix D, p. 204

cooperation with the Czechs.

To insure the young Republic against outward danger, Dr. Benes effected an agreement for a defensive alliance first between Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia in August of 1920, and later with Rumania in April of 1921. In this way a political and economic alliance was established among these three states which came to be known as the Little Entente.

Under the leadership of Masaryk the Republic made remarkable headway during the ensuing years in which many progressive and democratic measures were put into effect, beginning with the Land Reform. Following this came progressive social legislation, the amelioration of difficult church problems, improvement in the racial minority situation, the building up of a wide-spread system of public education, the encouragement of industry and agriculture.

Upon the resignation of Masaryk in the Fall of 1935, Dr. Benes was elected President of the Republic and carried on the progressive work begun by the "Liberator". In the same year that Benes assumed the presidency Dr. Kamil Krofta, Professor of History at the Charles University in Prague, evaluated the situation as follows:

From neither nationality problems nor religious questions has the Czechoslovak Republic any serious menace to fear. Its social and economic conditions rest on solid foundations, and as it has succeeded in convincing the responsible factors in international politics both of its internal stability and of its significance for the peaceful development of Central Europe -- indeed, of

Europe generally -- the Czechoslovak Republic may, even at a period of crisis, economic, social and political, look forward with tranquility and hope toward a future that, with God's blessing, will be both happy and glorious. (4)

(4) Krofta, K., A Short History of Czechoslovakia, Williams & Norgate, 1935, p. 167.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMMEDIATE HISTORY OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK CRISIS (1)

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Another international crime has been committed!.... This action is but one of many which make it impossible for Europe to live in peace, order or security. --- Benes

Immediate and grave concern over the German threat to Central Europe was first felt in Czecho-Slovakia in the spring of 1938 when the German war machines began to turn in the direction of her southern neighbor, Austria. As early as 1934 it had been openly rumored in Germany that Austria must soon be incorporated into the Third Reich, and plans had been made to furnish Austrian Nazi rebels with arms and ammunition. At the time Europe considered this to be nothing more than an idle threat, and was confident that Germany could be held in check.

THE AUSTRIAN "ANSCHLUSS". However, when tension mounted in Austria in March of 1938 over Schuschnigg's determination to repel the political advances of Nazi Germany for

(1) Historical material is drawn chiefly from the following sources:

Ceske Slovo, one of the largest Czech daily papers.
Prager Presse, prominent German daily paper published in Prague
 Henderson, Sir Neville, Failure of a Mission, Putnam, 1940
 Reed, Douglas, Disgrace Abounding, Jonathan Cape, 1939.
 The writer's diary.

incorporation, Europe bestirred herself and carefully watched developments, hardly believing that Hitler could succeed. The German "fifth column" in Austria had agitated for union. Schuschnigg had visited Hitler at Berchtesgaden where the latter demanded submission to Nazi ambitions of incorporation. In a radio address delivered on March 9th, Schuschnigg settled any doubts Hitler may have had as the best solution of the Austrian problem, for he announced that the following Sunday, March 13th, he proposed to hold a plebiscite to determine whether the country wished to remain independent or become incorporated with Germany. Hitler, with great speed and accuracy, concentrated troops on the Austrian boarder and by dawn of March 12th had begun pouring them into his native land. The Austrians capitulated without resistance, and the "Anschluss" had become an accomplished fact one day before the anticipated plebiscite.

On March 13th Czecho-Slovakia was assured by the German Foreign Office that the latter had no designs on her territory. However, Hitler in his Reichstag speech of March 18th referred in a very definite tone to the "rest of the ten million Germans outside the Reich", who must be brought under its protection and influence, six and a half million of whom were accounted for in the Austrian coup. It took no great calculation on the part of the Czech government to determine that the other three and a half million were obviously the Sudeten

Germans of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. (2) Apprehension grew.

DEMANDS OF HENLEIN PARTY FOR FURTHER MINORITY CONCESSIONS.

The fears of the Czechs were further justified when during the last week of the same month Herr Konrad Henlein, leader of the Sudeten German Party, outlined and presented his political demands for increased minority rights to the Czech Cabinet, and publicly renewed them at Karlsbad on April 24th. After due consideration, the Cabinet two days later rejected these demands, but offered to negotiate on modified terms.

During the month of May frequent boarder clashes between Czechs and Sudeten Germans were reported. The German press began a campaign of "autrocity" stories, which intensified, as several events took place on May 21, namely: two Sudeten Germans were killed in an illegal flight over the boarder; the Czechs mobilized one class of reserves; and the French and Russians reaffirmed their treaty obligations to the Republic, to lend military aid in case of war.

In late July the appointment of Lord Runciman as a special advisor to the Czech government on the minority question, eased the situation somewhat, although the majority of the Czechs resented this interference on the assumption that they could and should handle their own internal problems. He attempted to negotiate between the two parties without success until the middle of the following September, when negotiations broke down completely.

(2) See Appendix D, p. 204

The Czechs, to maintain order in the Sudeten areas, had proclaimed martial law. Hitler, becoming more active in the cause of the Czech German minority, demanded their right of self-determination on September 12, where upon Henlein the following day reiterated the demand and in addition the revocation of martial law, which was summarily refused by the Czech government. Two days later Henlein, who had fled to the Reich, proclaimed a "Declaration for Annexation" of the Sudeten German area by Germany. The Czechs tightened their defence.

Tension mounted and war seemed inevitable. The Czechs were mobilized and already manned their "Maginot" line, constructed months before in the Sudeten Area under the direction of French military experts, as a defense measure against German invasion. France and Russia had again reaffirmed their treaty to stand by the Czechs, and Great Britain had strongly intimated to Germany that if France was drawn into the struggle England would be obliged to assist in every possible way. Besides this, German troops were concentrating on the Czecho-Slovak border, coming from Breslau, Dresden, Nuremberg and Vienne. War was at the threshold.

British Prime Minister Chamberlain sought to avert the crisis through personal contact with Hitler, whom he visited twice during the last two weeks in September. Hitler seemed to approve an Anglo-French proposal for the annexation of the Sudetenland by Germany. (3) The Czechs

(3) See Appendix H, p. 208

were forced to accept this plan on September 21 when Britian and France withdrew all promise of military support, even though it had been assured up until that time. However, upon Mr. Chamberlain's second visit to Godesberg following his success with the Czechs, Hitler would not accept the proposal, and stated that his own terms must be met, namely, an even further increase in territorial demands from the Czechs, as represented by his original map. (4)

EVENTS AT MUNICH AND THE OCCUPATION OF THE SUDETENLAND.

Thereupon the Czechs ordered complete mobilization. France called out more reserves. The German armies began to move again to the boarders of the Czech Republic. President Roosevelt attempted to dissuade Hitler through a long telegraphic appeal not to plunge Europe into war. Urged by Chamberlain, Mussolini persuaded Hitler to withhold his forces and meet with Chamberlain, Deladier and himself at Munich on September 29th in an attempt to reach a peaceful settlement of the Czech affair. (5)

Upon the scheduled day these representatives of France, England, Italy and Germany met at Munich and there signed an agreement, the so-called Munich Pact, granting Germany her full demands, upon the promise that this would be her last territorial acquisition. Czecho-Slovakia had no voice in the matter. The terms of the agreement were briefly

(1) The orderly and progressive occupation of territories

(4) See Appendix H, p. 208

(5) See Appendix I, p. 209

marked on an appended map from October 1st to 10th; (2) plebiscites in other German areas to be determined by an international council; (3) the right of option; (4) international guarantee of Czecho-Slovakia's new frontiers.

The Czechs capitulated, realizing that war without the aid of Allied support, waged against an aggressor almost seven times her strength, would mean not only bloodshed and intense suffering, but certain suicide. She recalled her troops, whereupon the Germans proceeded to occupy one third of her former territory.

The Czech nation, now shorn of its first line of defence and other strategic positions, engaged in a heroic effort to rebuild and fortify the country within its new boundaries. Benes resigned on October 5th, believing that in so doing Czech cooperation with the Reich could be facilitated. The new government, headed by Dr. Emil Hacha, came almost wholly under the influence of Germany. The Czechs were greatly disappointed for they thought that they would be left to live in peace within their frontiers, as the price of their capitulation. But Germany made constant demands of them. The first was for the cession of a strip of land for the building of a German highway from Breslau to Vienne through the heart of the new State. Whether the Czechs liked it or not the road was to be built, and so the Czechs signed the agreement. Other demands followed.

Despite this, Czecho-Slovakia survived the shock of

Munich with extraordinary resilience and "put its house in order". Its people buried their bitterness deep within, and grimly determined to make the best of their lot. They met their many problems with a spirit of bravery and courage, which astonished the writer, who lived among them during this time of transition. But even this partial freedom was not to be theirs for long.

Under Nazi influence, the Slovaks and the Ruthenians began to voice dissatisfaction with the Prague government, and argued for complete autonomy. Staged demonstrations took place in many centers throughout the nation. The Nazi press hotly denied any connection with the trouble, but opened up a tirade against the Czechs for their inhuman treatment of the Slovaks and other minority groups. On March 10th, Dr. Hacha dissolved the Slovak government, because its Tiso cabinet was making no effort to suppress the demands for autonomy, and installed another government favorable to Prague. He also sent Czech soldiers to Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, and other centers to maintain order. On the 13th, Dr. Tiso was invited to Berlin where he met Hitler. Upon his return, the following day he held a secret session of parliament, which before evening, proclaimed the independence of Slovakia, with the permission and under the protection of Nazi Germany. Prior to this time Ruthenia had been granted autonomy, and shortly after was swept away by a vicious Hungarian invasion. Thus the technical breakdown

of the federated Czech states was accomplished.

On the 14th of March, Dr. Hacha and Foreign Minister Chvalkovsky of the Czech government were called to Berlin, where the former was forced to capitulate to the demands of Hitler to make Bohemia and Moravia a "Protectorate" of the Reich. He issued orders from Berlin that German troops were to be allowed to take possession without resistance.

Beginning on March 14th and throughout the following day German soldiers poured into Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, under the guise that they had a mission to fulfill in the "protection" of these peoples. Martial law was declared throughout the land. On the 15th Hitler made his appearance in Prague to complete the effect of his lightning conquest of Czecho-Slovakia.

Thus March 15th, 1939 marked the end of a once prosperous and forward looking democratic state, accomplished through the intrigues and force of a dictatorial power. It also marked the beginning of the Nazi conquest of non-Germanic nations.

PART TWO

THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES

CHAPTER V

THE CZECHOSLOVAK MIND

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Truth shall forever prevail,
 even though it be subdued for
 a time. --- Master John Hus

According to the socio-psychological concept of the group mind, as already discussed, the moral, spiritual and emotional stature of a leader, as expressed in his attitudes and reactions with his fellowmen, measures with a fair degree of accuracy the mental matrix of the entire group. It is by means of this approach that the writer proposes to determine some of the chief characteristics and attributes of the complex national mind, first of the Czechs or Bohemians as they are sometimes called, and then of the Germans and their present Third Reich.

THE LEADERS OF THE BOHEMIANS. Down along the highway of history, and even as it disappears into the mists of tradition, it is possible to discover those outstanding individuals who emulate the masses. Their leadership, whether it be mental, social or executive, when viewed through the principle sometimes called the "exaltation of leaders", illuminates the long course which the national mind has followed. By this principle great national personalities

represent the attitudes and attributes for which the masses of the people stand. And Time, the Eternal Sieve of non-essentials, filters out the high-lights of the national mind.

And so we now turn a searching eye on a number of outstanding Bohemian leaders, from the dim but rather certain past down to the present day. These vigorous personalities, for convenience, are to be examined in the following groups:

- (1) Premysl the Ploughman, and Vaclav (Wenceslas), two early rulers of national importance, who are known largely through traditional history.
- (2) King Charles the Fourth, Thomas of Stitny, John Hus, and John of Pernstyn, who loom great on the shifting horizon of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, prior to the downfall of the Bohemian Kingdom at the close of the Thirty Years War.
- (3) Komensky (Comenius), the educator, Palacky, the historian, and Havlicek, the politician, who during the dark days of Hapsburg domination, made their lasting impression upon Bohemian culture.
- (4) Masaryk, Capek and Benes, who represent the current thought of the Czech nation, and whose names will live on not only for the great service they rendered their own people, but for the influence they exercised upon the civilized world.

A careful examination of these personalities, who

reflect their attitudes and ideals through incidents and principles which they cherished, should reveal the Czech mind and culture patterns it represents. For the sake of brevity, only the predominant chord of each individual is here struck, as ferreted from volumes of history and biography.

PREMYSL AND VACLAV. The ancestors of the various tribes which coalesced into the Czechs and Slovaks came originally from an eastward route beyond the Carpathian mountains. There is archeological evidence that the Slavs inhabited the regions of Bohemia as far back as 500 B. C., and possibly as early as 900 B. C. However, the accepted date of their final occupation by Cech, the ancestral leader, is placed in the middle of the fifth century. Cosmas of Prague, writing in the twelfth century, records that the early Czechs were peaceable people, sharing all things in common, and desiring to make war on none but the wild beasts. Only with the ambition to own private wealth did the need of a judge arise, and one of their number named Krok was chosen as ruler.⁽¹⁾

Through the mists of tradition come the events of this early period. Every Bohemian child knows this story, and the events which followed. On account of her wisdom, Libusa, the

(1) Mothersole, J., Czechoslovakia, John Lane & Bodley Head Ltd., London, 1926, pp. 3-4.

third daughter of Krok, was chosen to succeed her father. When her older brother indignantly claimed the right to rule, she warned her people against the tyranny of kings. However, she finally consented to choose a husband, who should rule them. She instructed her people to let her horse lead them to their future king, whom they would find ploughing with two oxen. They obeyed, and Premysl the Ploughman became the husband of Libusa, and the founder of the first Bohemian dynasty. He insisted on bringing with him his ploughman's boots, that his successors might remember their lowly origin, and be always humble and merciful. (2)

Although this story is legendary, and perhaps the product of the Czech mind, yet it reveals the projection of an ideal government in which wisdom, justice and peace are the goals desired; also humility and mercy are the basic requirements of the ruler. And strangely enough, these virtues are symbolically implied in the title given this first dynastic ruler, for "the very name of Premysl carries with it no war-like signification, but comes from a root meaning 'to think over' or 'reflect'; and according to tradition he was a great law giver. His descendants reigned in Bohemia until 1306." (3)

(2) Ibid, pp. 4-5. Also Jirasek, J., Stare Povesti Ceske, Jos. R. Vilimek, Prague, pp. 30-35.

(3) Ibid, pp. 6.

Vaclav, or Wenceslas, which is the English rendition of this Czech name, was the outstanding ruler of the Bohemians in the 10th century A. D. and is honored throughout the land today as its Patron Saint. A half a century before his time two Greek priests, Cyril and Mehtodius, found their way to Bohemia, where they introduced Christianity. From this time on the history of Bohemia is closely interwoven with the sanguinary and turgid drama of Christianity in Europe. The account of Vaclav, partially verified by early chroniclers, comes to us largely by the devious course of tradition.

To examine the traits of this early ruler, we find them best preserved in a rewritten account by Alois Jirasek, the Walter Scott of Bohemia, during the present century. He writes of him as follows:

His grand mother, Ludmilia, educated him in the Christian faith, and as he grew up the young prince was never happier than when he was allowed to assist the priests in serving mass.....

Wenceslas won the love of his people by his acts of mercy. When he ascended the throne he freed the slaves, opened the prison doors and abolished the gallows..... (4)

Mothersole in throwing further light on this Patron Father of Bohemia illuminates his humane Christian characteristics as follows. She relates:

During his short reign of eight years, Wenceslas

(4) Jirasek, A., Stories and Legends of Old Prague, Blackie & Son, London, 1931, pp. 14.

showed himself to be an enlightened ruler, far in advance of his times. He removed the gibbets and the gallows from the public places, regarding their presence as more likely to brutalize the people than to deter them from crime. He also prohibited torture as a means of extracting confessions.

His chief aim seems to have been to live up to his Christian profession, according to his understanding of what this involved. Twice he was said to have offered personal combat to an invading prince in order to save his country from the horrors of war. He would often spend the night in prayer, and gave largely to the churches. (5)

Curiously enough, Jirasek indicates a political event during the lifetime of Wenceslas, which finds an interesting counterpart in the national behavior of the Czechs during their recent crisis with the Third Reich. Their tendency towards capitulation in times of war, when the odds seem overwhelmingly against them, is noted at this very early time. Perhaps the only great exception to this trait is found in the stirring years of the Hussite Wars, when the Bohemians under the impassioned leadership of Ziska, and still inflamed by the murderous execution of John Hus by fire, fought with religious fervor, believing that with God they were a majority. Jirasek records the capitulation of King Wenceslas as follows:

At that time war broke out between the Germans and the Bohemians. Wenceslas was a brave soldier, but he considered it a useless sacrifice of life to continue fighting against his stronger adversary. Therefore, he agreed to pay tribute to the Germans, and the German king became the overlord of Bohemia.(6)

(5) Mothersole, J., op. cit., p. 9.

(6) Jirasek, A., (English Version), op. cit., p. 15.

From the foregoing, certain cultural traits are to be found, which have left their lasting imprint upon Bohemian behavior patterns. The advent of Christianity was ushered in with profound effect, for it seemed to meet the emotional and spiritual needs of these people, who in their own way, prior to its coming, emulated many of its basic concepts. The following attitudes have come to light as mirrored by these leaders: (1) The recognition of the equality of men; (2) The desire for wise, equitable and merciful leadership; (3) A desire for peace -- even though at times a price must be paid.

CHARLES IV, THOMAS OF STITNY, JOHN HUS, JOHN OF PERSTYN.

The leading personalities of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, who are made to live again in the fascinating pages of careful and accurate history, not only confirm the above trend of the early Czech mind, but amplify one's understanding of it.

The first of this group is King Charles the Fourth (1314-1378), whose enlightening reign marks the so-called Golden Age of Bohemian history. He appears to be one of the great men of his time, and distinguished himself by his active interest in education, religion, law, morality, and in the peaceful prosperity of his dominions in general.

One of his most important acts, which has since characterized the nation, was the founding of the first university

in Central Europe, the University of Prague, established in 1348. It is now known as the famous Charles University of Prague. Interestingly enough it was formed into four "nations", or rather into four schools to serve the several nationalities in the dominion and to attract others to it. These "nations" or divisions of the new university were as follows:

- 1- The Bohemian division, including Slovaks and Southern Slavs.
- 2- The Bavarian, including Rhine-land Germans and Austrians.
- 3- The Saxon, including Danes and English.
- 4- The Polish, including Silesians, Russians and Lithuanians.

Here one sees the beginning of a Bohemian institution, which along with its later developments became an integral part of Bohemian culture -- education and scholarship. Charles' announcement to the Lords of the Bohemian Estates in stating his intention to found such an institution, reveals something of the Czech mind:

One of our greatest endeavors is that Bohemia, our kingdom, for which we feel greater affection than for any other lands, should, through our action, be adorned with a greater number of learned men; thus will the faithful inhabitants of that kingdom, who incessantly thirst for the fruits of learning, be no longer obliged to beg for foreign alms. Rather they will find a table prepared for them in their own kingdom; thus will the natural sagacity of their minds move them to become cultured by the possession of knowledge. (7)

(7) Mothersole, J., op, cit., p. 18.

The Bohemians have always been outstanding in the field of education and culture in the sciences, and unselfishly have offered it to as many as would partake, regardless of race or nationality. This was characteristic of the late Czecho-Slovak Republic, whose educational system was world renowned and whose program served all national groups within its bounds. Is it not possible to perceive here a trait of the national mind, which calls for higher learning as a basis to its program?

It is not altogether impossible that the affinity of the Czech mind for the French, their ways and their culture, had its inception at this time. King Charles at the age of seven was sent by his Premyslid mother to Paris to there be educated. The love of French culture never left him. He in fact formed the Prague University on the model of the one then existing in Paris. The Bohemian mind has now for centuries sought comfort and example in the French and in the English, while it has usually abhorred the culture of its closest neighbor, the Germans. John Hus, the Reformer, was drawn close to the idealism of the English through the writings of his English contemporary, John Wycliffe. And here the culture of France but a few years earlier touched Bohemia through the medium of her greatest king.

Brief comment on King Charles the Fourth would not be complete without indicating his suave diplomacy. Palacky,

the Czech historian, records that his talent in the art of government was exceptional, and that he obtained far more by skillful diplomacy than he ever could have done by force of arms. Far-sighted diplomacy seems to be the inherent trait of the Bohemian statesman. It is recorded that King Charles:

Even before coming to the throne induced the Pope to found the Archbishopric of Prague, which made Bohemian Bishops independent of the German archbishops of Mainz. To obtain this, he had to declare on oath that the language of Bohemia was Slavonic, quite different from German, and that the distance from Prague to Mainz was a twelve days' journey. Already, at nineteen, he was thus showing his care for the independence of Bohemia. (8)

Thomas of Stitny, one of the earliest students of the University of Prague, and of the lesser noblemen, became a prolific writer on many topics. He was the first to employ the national language as a medium for the discussion of theological and philosophical questions, claiming that all people were the sons of God, and thus had a right to acquire wisdom in that language which God had given them. In this, as well as in his claim to independence of judgment, he was a forerunner of Master John Hus, whose great merits for the development of the language of his country have only lately been recognized. The writings of Thomas of Stitny, a country squire, greatly influenced the masses who read only Bohemian. Typical of his writings is the following taken from his work, "Christian Teachings":

The master shall not permit any evil among his servants,

(8) Ibid., p. 17-18.

neither lies nor unbecoming speech, nor blasphemy, nor dice-throwing, nor quarrels, nor illicit love-making, nor thieving, nor slanderous talk. For the master will have to answer grievously for whatever evil of abomination take place among his servants through his neglect.

Every master must therefore be lord over his servants in order to prevent shameful things among them. But he must first attempt to prevent such things by persuasion. If he cannot at once eradicate an old habit he must proceed slowly, so as not to give rise to a new bad habit. If he cannot attain any result by kindness he must then exercise his rights as master.....

Let every master also take good care that he does not acquire property by ill means, for it is the most difficult sin to repent of. This is the great blindness sent by the Evil One -- that people would rather give alms for monasteries or build churches than restore ill-gotten gains.....

Yet because it goes against the grain to return such gains it is essential for everyone to avoid appropriating what is another's, especially wages. When anyone has done work, pay him at once and do not delay until the morrow, for possibly he has this evening nothing to eat or has no time to go for it. (9)

Here is found in more succinct form the relationship of master to servant as understood by the Czechs of that time; also the admonition to be mindful of one another's property; in short, the injunction to be mindful of the other fellow's welfare.

If a Czech were asked today who is the most revered national hero, he would undoubtedly place first the name of

(9) Hromadka, J. L., Heritage of the Bohemian Reformation, in at the Cross-Roads of Europe, Pen Club, Prague, 1938, p. 121-2.

Master John Hus (1369-1415), religious reformer, preacher and university rector, who for his religious convictions was burned at the stake at Constance. He is the exalted Czech martyr. At this outrageous crime, "almost the entire nation stood suddenly for Hus and declared that the truth of Hus and of the religious preachers would be 'protected and defended until blood flows'. This was the declaration of the Czech revolt against the supreme authority of the Church, a revolt against the whole Christian world." (10)

This leader who so influenced his nation, gave direction and momentum to the elements of the reformation. "He made sharp criticism of the dissipated life of the clergy and the decay of the church and of morals generally. By his unflinching courage, aggression and truthfulness he soon rose above his contemporaries and in a few years became the leader of the whole movement. At an early age he gained merit as an awakener of the national consciousness and as an expounder of current questions in the national tongue. He was Master of Liberal Arts and also a Rector of the University. It would, however, be a misconception to regard the importance of Hus as lying in the scientific or theological fields. With Hus the moral aspects of life were

(10) At the Cross-Roads of Europe, The Period of Princes and Kings, by V. Chaloupecky, p. 66.

ever to the fore and he willingly drew on contemporary moralist literature for justification. He had personal magnetism. His words inflamed. This was particularly so after he became acquainted with the teachings of Wycliffe... 'I am moved by his writings,' wrote Hus..... The sentence, 'It is more fitting to listen to God than to people,' runs like a thread through the writings of Hus.... He was equally opposed to the unconditional recognition of spiritual authority as he was opposed to the same recognition of secular authority." (11) This represents an adequate portrait of the great Bohemian leader, in whom centered the nation's most ardent desires and most conspicuous attributes.

Educated, fearless, a severe critic of ill and unwonted behavior, a practical moralist, dauntless in the cause he sponsored, a strenuous opponent of absolute authority, and a humanitarian in the highest sense of the word -- these depict the man and the nation he represents.

From his "Exposition of the Ten Commandments", chapter forty-four, comes this statement of universal brotherhood, and the tie which binds all men together:

I say this to my conscience, that if I knew a foreigner, no matter whence he should come, who was virtuous and loved God and strove for the

(11) Ibid., pp. 61-63.

good, more than my brother, he would be dearer to me than my brother. Good English priests are therefore more acceptable to me than unmanly Czech priests; a good German dearer to me than an evil brother. (12)

In the tense moments at Constance, not long before his execution, he wrote a letter of admonition to his countrymen from his prison cell. This was made known far and wide, and made its imprint upon the Bohemian mind. The following paragraphs, taken from this letter, dated June 10, 1415, epitomize his attitudes:

I would beg you and exhort you to obey the Lord God, to exalt his word, to hear it gladly and fulfill it.....

I beg the nobles to be kindly to their poor and rule them justly. I beg the burghers to conduct their business honestly. I beg the artisans faithfully to carry out their work and take pleasure in it. I beg the servants to serve their masters and mistresses with fidelity. I beg the masters to live honestly, to teach their apprentices faithfully, instructing them first of all to love God, to learn for his glory, for the good of the community, and for their salvation and not for mere avarice of advancement in this world. I beg the students and other pupils to give good heed to their teachers and follow their example so that they may learn more diligently for the praise of God and for their own and other people's salvation.

I would also ask you to love one another, not to let the good be suppressed by force, and to give every person his rights. (13)

Dr. Mastny in his introduction to Count Lutzow's excellent biography of John Hus indicates the impact this great

(12) Hromadka, J. L., op. cit., p. 124.

(13) Ibid., pp. 123-4.

leader had upon his people. It was John Hus "who fought so nobly for freedom of conviction. It was his martyrdom which gave birth to that abhorrence of oppression, but also to that unshaken belief in the final victory of justice and truth which accompanied our nation through centuries of suffering, until having attained their liberty and independence, they could proudly inscribe the motto, 'Pravda vitezi' (Truth prevails) upon the escutcheon of their own State." (14)

In following down the pages of history, one discovers an interesting letter, dated December 2, 1539, coming from the hand of John of Pernstyn, an influential and well-beloved nobleman of the Bohemian lands. The original is in Latin. Here John of Pernstyn explains to King Ferdinand I why the people of Bohemia have no affection for or confidence in the letter. An extract from this letter well illustrates a phase of the national mentality of that time:

.....In the first place it is very well known to your Majesty that such a Kingdom together with its King and ruler flourishes best when it is united with him in friendship and when mutual respect is shown by the subjects for their Lord, and again by him for his subjects. For it is from love that all true values come. From it assuredly there issues such trust and harmony that the Lord with his subjects and the subjects with their Lord are so to say of one mind. Where all this is disregarded, however, things develop otherwise, for it is written that a kingdom divided against itself cannot last, and house upon house must fall. (15)

(14) Count Lutzow, The Life and Times of Master John Hus, Dent, London, 1921, Introd. p. V.

(15) Cross-Roads of Europe, p. 160.

In this second group of leaders briefly examined for their reflection of national traits, we find, running like a thread through the racial fabric, those attitudes and attributes discovered in the first personalities studied, namely, some conception of the equality of men; the desire for wise and just leadership; and a passion for peace. These are either amplified or modified by the disclosure of the behavior traits of the second group. Masters and servants must be solicitous of one another; all should cooperate for the welfare of each other; diplomacy, rather than warfare, is the best policy; let good foreigners be welcome; do not allow good to be suppressed by force; give every person his rights -- these are the characteristics which come to the fore.

However, added to them, we find the development of a strong desire for education and scholarship; a psychological affinity for French and English cultures and the sub-conscious desire to emulate them; also the crystalization, under the influence of Hus, of the national behavior pattern of patience, our day is coming, for 'Pravda zvitezí' -- Truth will prevail! Basic to it all seem to be the early teachings of Christianity, which profoundly influenced the whole nation.

KOMENSKY, PALACKY AND HAVLICEK. With the exception of Masaryk, these appear to be the most talked-of leaders of current Czech literature. In persuing the trend of the Bohemian

mind an examination of these personalities should reveal interesting data.

Following the Reformation, the Czech people were re-Catholicized by fire and the sword. Under the Hapsburg oppression, their national spirit was all but extinguished. Their leaders and learned men sought refuge in exile. Greatest among them was Komensky (Comensius, 1592-1670), the educator, the last Bishop of the Bohemian Brotherhood Church. His wanderings took him to Poland, England, Sweden, Hungary, and finally to Amsterdam, Holland, where he died, never having realized his great ambition to organize schools in Bohemia. His writings are known to all Czechs.

The principles of his educative program have been accepted by the nation, and by the world at large. Among them are:

- 1- Equal opportunities for all, rich and poor, boys and girls alike.
- 2- Very rare punishments; examples of kindness were to be the means used.
- 3- The development of reasoning faculties, as opposed to the mere burdening of the memory. (16)

Komensky in his "Unum Necessarium", reflects the national tendencies when commenting on "Peace and Liberty":

What then is the one thing essential when the matter at issue is to preserve peace? It is harmony -- that cement of minds which keeps together all the forces

(16) Mothersole, op. cit., p. 119

of society, for if the opinions, inclinations, aspirations and efforts are all too divergent, there is an end of security.....

And what is essential for preserving harmony? The answer is: good order in persons and actions -- that the ones shall be superiors and the others subordinates, and that each man shall know what place and what time is suitable for any particular act. And all must be free with constraint, and the outcome of sensible consideration without trickery and without dissembling. For the human character is such that men wish to be governed in a human fashion, rather led than dragged, rather persuaded than compelled, for man was created in the image of God, a reasoning, free and independent being. The art of government is thus based upon caution and foresight and not upon trickery, upon wisdom and not upon force. In brief, for perfect harmony it is essential to have either worthy equality or worthy government and worthy obedience -- for general liberty (like the common dowry of human character and the universal mark of the divine image within us) is the leader and the whole world of free deeds. (17)

Men are reasoning, free, independent beings; government is based upon wisdom, and not upon force -- these are the principles which so thoroughly permeated his being, that in his conviction that they must eventually prevail, his soul cried out in prophetic utterance:

I also believe before God that after the passing of the storms of wrath brought down upon our heads by our own sins, the rule over thine own possessions shall be restored to thee, O Czech people! (18)

"In John Amos Comenius the Czech Reformation found a personality that incorporated all the yearnings for reform in a truly world format. Christ supreme above all power and force; brotherhood supreme above all confessional differences;

(17) Hromadka, J. L., op. cit., pp. 127-8.

(18) Mothersole, J., op. cit., p. 61. Also Masaryk, Making of a State, p. 51.

lasting peace and understanding supreme above all the conflicting interests of State. Such was the meaning of Comenius, the unhappy exile who wandered from land to land." (19)

The central figure of the Czech national revival was Frantisek Palacky (1798-1876), who through his work, "History of the Czech People in Bohemia and Moravia", regenerated and revitalized the national spirit. During the trying years of hardship and suffering under the Hapsburg yoke, the national spirit of the people smouldered, only to be fanned to flame by the efforts of such leaders as Palacky.

While he did not advocate a forceful break with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of which his people were a part, yet he felt the need of a stirring national life, such as the nation enjoyed in earlier times. Thus, this great historian, made the pages of the past live anew with the glory of the race. His influence permeated the most dormant souls to cause a reawakening of the old Bohemian esprit de corps.

Dr. F. Chudoba, a personal friend of the writer, in his "Survey of Czech Literature", summarizes Palacky's appraisal of the national spirit as follows:

The conclusion at which he (Palacky) arrives is that the Czech nation, in spite of its numerical inferiority, was always strong when it served an ideal, and through that ideal the higher good of mankind, its progress and morality; and that on the other hand,

(19) Hromadka, J. L., op. cit., p. 119.

it always became weak when it lost faith in its ideals. This inference induced him to believe that his people could recover its spiritual strength if it were animated by a new ardour, a new idealism. In other words, according to him, to be a Czech in the best sense meant to do some higher duty than to live but one's private or national life without thinking of others. (20)

Masaryk, who was profoundly influenced by Palacky, and who called him the "Father of the Nation", said that it was he "who gave us a philosophical history of our nation, understood its place in the world, and defined our national objective. He perceived that in virtue of our geographical situation and of our past, we are a part of the world as a whole; that we need to realize this position and act in accordance with it. He saw that Europe and mankind were tending towards unification, and he told us what part we were to play in the 'centralization of the world'". Palacky wrote:

The miraculous power of steam and electricity has set up new standards. The old barriers between countries and peoples are disappearing more and more, the families and tribes of humanity are being brought nearer together, into closer reciprocal contact..... International rivalry has reached a degree hitherto unknown. It will grow and grow. Those who stand out of the race will decline and presently be past saving. I ask myself whether our people, gifted beyond others, is to stand aside, through neglect or incomprehension on the part of its leaders, whether it shall take no part in the emulation which alone can assure its life in the future.

It is time for our people to awaken and to seek its bearings in the spirit of the new era, to glance beyond the narrow limits of its home, and, without failing in love of its own country, to become more zealous and withal more circumspectly a citizen of

(20) Chudoba, F., A Short Survey of Czech Literature, Kegan Paul, 1924.

the world.....We must double our zeal and seek to stand as equals alongside of other nations whose spirit of enterprise has spread their sway to the uttermost parts of the earth. (21)

Continuing with Masaryk: "Palacky insists that this world policy, in the true sense, must be based on humane principles." Again the latter writes:

My last word is a warm and heartfelt wish that my beloved people in Bohemia and Moravia, whatever their station, may never cease to be true to themselves, true to the truth, and true to justice.....In the glorious era of Hus, the Czechs outdid all other European peoples in education and spiritual eminence.... Now they still need to educate themselves and to heed the dictates of enlightened reason. This is the only counsel I would bequeath to them.....

Whenever we have triumphed it has been more by the might of the spirit than by physical power; and, whenever we were vanquished, it was through lack of spiritual vigour, moral courage and boldness. It is wholly wrong to imagine that the military wonders of our fathers wrought in the Hussite Wars came from blind and barbaric raging and smashing, and not from high enthusiasm for an idea, for moral sturdiness and lofty enlightenment. When in a like struggle, two hundred years later, we sank almost to the grave, it was because we no longer towered in spirit above the enemy but, being more like unto them in demoralization than unequal to them in strength, we put our hope in the sword and in force..... Not until we conquer and rule by the power of the spirit, in the struggle that Providence has laid upon us from time immemorial, can we be assured a lasting future. (22)

Palacky, in holding up the ideals of the race, was not unaware of the negative traits and attributes of his people. While he here reflects the reawakened national mind in terms of zealous effort towards world citizenship, to be gained

(21) Masaryk, Thomas G., The Making of a State, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1927, pp. 421-2.

(22) Ibid., pp. 421-2.

through spiritual and moral strength and courage, yet he is able to turn the searching light of self-criticism upon the nation. The following brief extract illustrates his description of these traits:

Among the various defects of our people, the worst and the greatest is one for which there is no Czech name though it has long gnawed at our roots -- intemperance, self-indulgence in the broadest sense. Czechs, and Slavs generally, bear themselves far better in woe than in weal..... They find getting easier than keeping; what they gain today is squandered today or tomorrow.... In this the Germans are more cool-headed, more sober, more prudent. A German knows how to make a fortune and how to husband it. After having gained a competence abroad he is not ashamed once more to live a peasant's life in Bohemia. Fond though he is of good food and drink, he looks further into the future and lusts less after dainties, jewels and luxury..... The suffocation of our national feeling among us is not the only cause of our misfortunes. Other causes are our blind cleaving to home earth, our lack of enterprise abroad, a desire for novelty that seeks rather to enjoy than to create, that is more passive than active -- nay, even our easy-going good fellowship that abhors violence and suffers wrong more readily than it wrongs a neighbor..... To get rid of this ancient, evil spirit we must first know and recognize its nature, for it is a matter of life and death..... Not by noisy raving will it be achieved, only by quiet true hearted effort, sincere and steady, as undeviating under temptation as under terror. Reasonable moral education must be brought to a higher level so that our people may understand itself and ensure its future. Any other remedy is but a pitiful palliative..... To all patriots I appeal that they should strive to give our people nourishing spiritual and moral food. Then they will muster enough sound sense henceforth to exchew poisonous infections. (23)

Here is severe criticism of a people during their period of dormancy and subjugation -- a self-inflicted review of their condition, the reasons for it, and the way out, as

(23) Ibid., pp. 422-23.

suggested by the historic thread of the Czech mind, as voiced by this leader. That way out is: moral education of the masses. Interestingly enough, when this was begun, rapid improvement in the tone of the national spirit and of the racial mind was made. The Bohemian mind was reawakening from a long sleep!

Step by step we test the ground to find a place where we can safely put our foot; in this way we progress, slowly it is true, but in safety, having nothing to fear from subsequent stumbles and frights..... We desire nothing impossible, and see our salvation in peaceful, gradual, but firm and certain progress. (24)

The foregoing are the words of Karel Havlicek (1821-1856), who here so tersely gives expression to "the doctrine of Czech politics in the nineteenth century and Czechoslovak politics in the twentieth century." He had great dislike for extremes, and never shrank from saying that he followed the golden mean.

"This man, who died young in the middle of the last century, seems in some mysterious way to have concentrated in himself the genius of his race, and to have anticipated his nation's political methods..... He was the typical realist, in a day which knew not the name of realism..... The mention of resourcefulness should not be overlooked. It was his practical political instinct which was inimitable and unteachable. Not a line can be found in his writings in which he permitted himself to be merely a literary man playing

(24) Peroutka, F., At the Cross-Roads of Europe, op. cit., p. 250.

at politics, under no obligation to meditate about the practicability of his ideas. An independent journalist, he wrote with the practical responsibility which should be felt by a prime minister. This was at a time when his nation, entrusted to the occasionally negligent rule of the Hapsburgs, had no title of government power. But Havlicek, who never had the prospects of such a thing happening, might have gone from his desk straight to a government office and carried out literally what he had written. He covered his paper with practical plans only. Modern radicals, who found him to their liking because he spoke out bravely in an Austrian court and because an Austrian Government sent him into exile, are as a rule not entitled to appeal to him. In comparison with them Havlicek was something like a sober-minded and honest political engineer. (25)

In Havlicek we see the emergence of a new political realism of the Czech mind, reborn from the sluggish years of suffering and subjugation under despotic foreign rulers. It is a realism which smacks of practicality and temperance, with its roots deep in the nourishing soil of democracy. As reflected by the ceaseless efforts of Havlicek, the Bohemian mind has again found a goal.

Thus, in examining the Czech mind, through this third group of national figures, one finds not only those character-

(25) Ibid., pp. 248-49.

istics already revealed in earlier times, but the development of still other traits. Chief among these are, the tenacity of the Czech mind, as indicated by its latent power to revive itself; the quality of self-criticism; and effort towards political realism.

MASARYK, CAPEK AND BENES. Having critically examined a number of leading figures of the past, we now turn our attention to three representative personalities of the present time, in whose acts and attitudes the contemporary national mind may be reflected. These are Masaryk, the Liberator of the Czechs and the First President of the new Czecho-Slovak Republic, Karel Capek, the modern Czech literary genius, and Edvard Benes, the successor to Masaryk, and the present guiding light of the Czechoslovakian cause.

Wickham Steed writes: "A generation hence, when the war (World War) and its antecedents are seen in perspective, who will be found to have won abiding fame? Among military commanders, perhaps Marshal Foch. Among political leaders perhaps President Wilson. But I have long thought that, when all accounts are closed and all reputations critically assessed, the man who will stand foremost as a creative statesman will be Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic..... I may be biased by personal affection and admiration. Yet some knowledge of his deliberate aims and positive achievements leads me to think him peerless among the agents of Destiny, who between 1914

and 1918 wrought in her smithy and forged the framework of Europe anew.

"None of the statesmen on either side of the contest entered into it with so keen a sense of its meaning as Masaryk. None saw so clearly from the beginning what its outcome must be if Europe, and all that Europe stood for in the world, were to survive. Where is a parallel to be found to the Prague professor who went open eyed into exile, determined to return only when he should bring with him the freedom and the restored independence of his own people -- a people whose very name was strange to Allied Governments and peoples?

"The thought of personal advantage was ever alien to him. Time and again, in the years before the war, he had risked all to bear witness to the truth. When war came, what stirred him to the depths and possessed him wholly was the idea that, after three centuries of servitude, his people might be reborn to freedom, to spiritual and democratic unity as Hus and the Bohemian Brotherhood had conceived them, and that to him it might be given to fulfil the seer's vision of his illustrious prototype, Comenius: 'I, too, believe before God that, when the storms of wrath have passed, to thee shall return the rule over thine own things, O Czech people! '" (26)

Thus, briefly epitomized is not only an evaluation of

(26) Masaryk, op. cit., (From Introduction by Sir Henry Wickham Steed, pp. 13-14.)

Masaryk, but a general statement of his aims and accomplishments. He, perhaps above all others, embodied not only the democratic idealism of the Czechs, but the moral stamina and the practical insight to carry these ideals into practice. Benes, in his funeral oration over the bier of Masaryk on September 21, 1937, reminds us of the Czech spirit as reflected in the Liberator's basic philosophy. Benes said:

From the coign of vantage of his eighty-seven years he expressed quietly, firmly, platonically and in a Christian spirit, his answer to all these questions of the disturbed Europe of today in a formula which was simultaneously his philosophy and life's practice: "Jesus -- not Caesar."

Then Benes continues by quoting the words of Masaryk:

The profoundest argument for democracy is faith in man, in his worth, in his intellect and immortal soul; this is true metaphysical equality. From the ethical angle democracy is justified as a political realization of love of one's fellow-men. Things that are eternal cannot be matters of indifference to an immortal, the immortal cannot abuse the immortal, cannot exploit it, or do it violence. True democracy, based upon love and respect to one's fellow-men, and to all that are near is the realization of the divine order upon earth. (27)

Shortly after the liberation of the Czechs and Slovaks, Masaryk indicated the direction the new Republic was to take. He spoke to them saying:

We desire to occupy ourselves with peaceful administrative activities. The essence of democracy is in administration and autonomy. Democracy is not ruling; it is labouring to secure justice. And justice is the mathematics of humanitarianism. (28)

(27) Benes, E., Masaryk's Path and Legacy, (Funeral Oration), Prague, 1937, pp. 19-20

(28) Peroutka, F., op. cit., p. 272.

Turning to Masaryk's own volume, "The Making of a State", we find indications of the practical application of these ideals, particularly in regard to Czecho-Slovakia's large German minority. In suggesting the way in which to deal with this difficult problem he wrote:

The Germans outside Germany are entitled to political freedom and to a due share in the administration of the States to which they belong. Those States, on the other hand, are entitled to demand that their German citizens shall not be an aggressive vanguard, as the Pan-Germans would have them be, and that they should make up their minds to work together in peace with the peoples among whom they have lived for centuries and to whom they are bound by ties material and spiritual.....

This does not mean that..... our Germans are second-class citizens. They were invited to come by our Kings who guaranteed them the right to live their own lives in a full measure -- a weighty circumstance, politically and tactically, for the Germans as well as for us. I, for my part, acknowledge and deliberately adopt the policy of our Premyslide Kings who protected the Germans as a race. (29)

In further speaking of the German minority, Masaryk also points out that other racial minorities must enjoy the privileges of a truly democratic state, including free public education. To quote him again:

Alongside of the Germans we have a few Poles, more Little Russians (in Slovakia) and still more Magyars. To them also the rule applies that the rights of race must be safeguarded. Local self-government and proportional representation may, in a democratic State, serve this purpose well. Each minority, too, must have elementary and secondary schools of its own. In civilized Europe the number of high schools and universities is now determined by a definite ratio to population and educational needs. In Germany

(29) Masaryk, T. G., op. cit., p. 387.

there are approximately one university for every three million and a technical high school for every six million inhabitants. In Czecho-Slovakia three million Germans have a university and two technical high schools. (30)

Masaryk, in decrying Chauvinism, at the same time shows the practical application of tolerance as a trait of the Czech mind. Turning again to his volume, we read:

Chauvinism is nowhere justified, least of all in our country. A noteworthy fact, which I often mention to Germans and foreigners as characteristic of our people and of our revolution, is that despite all the Austrian acts of oppression during the war and the intolerant demeanour of a large number of our Germans no violence was done to the Germans in Prague or elsewhere on October 28, 1918. So filled were our folk with the positive idea of creating a State that they thought no evil and took no reprisals. One or two excesses on the part of individuals prove nothing to the contrary.

From the first the leaders of the revolution wished the Germans to cooperate with them; and at the Geneva Conference between the delegates of the Prague National Committee and Dr. Benes a proposal was adopted without discussion, as something self-evident, that a German Minister should be included in the Government..... I simultaneously negotiated with the Germans and sought to gain their good-will..... In the same spirit our National Committee at Brno, or Brunn, promised the military command in Moravia to invite two Germans to join it. After the revolution, the Czech leaders offered to set up a special Department of State for German affairs -- a conciliatory and far-sighted step. (31)

Thus, as reflected from the writings of Masaryk, we discover some of the principle characteristics of the Czecho-Slovak mind of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

(30) Ibid., p. 387-8.

(31) Ibid., p. 389.

Masaryk believed with Havlicek that if the nation were morally sound it could preserve independence and defend its freedom. When placed at the head of his State he symbolized a principle which has been recognized as a trait throughout Czech history: humanitarianism.

Turning to the writings of one of Czecho-Slovakia's most noted and gifted writers, Karel Capek, whose influence has been felt far beyond the boarders of his own country, we again find a positive indication of the traits of self-criticism, tolerance and humanitarianism. In an article entitled, "Love For One's Nation", Capek among other things writes:

We need fifty years of undisturbed development in order to be where we should like to be today. This is not blind confidence in our ability and tenacity. Our history although somewhat disjointed, the fact that through great political storms we held our ground, and that during the world conflagration we managed to restore our state, this all testifies to our political ability. I do not think that I exaggerate in saying that our history is one of the most interesting --- we are fine fellows, but we often take a false step. The German anthropologists' skull and brain indexes place us among the foremost nations; we are gifted, no doubt about that, but we are somewhat unstable, not prudent enough, and shall I say, politically green. Political inexperience provides a fertile soil for demagogy, and of that we have more than enough. The discussions about the crisis of democracy, and the shortcomings of parliamentary government have their origin to a large extent in that insufficient experience..... To put it frankly there are still some who side with the thief rather than with the policeman..... (32)

(32) American Institute, Selections From Czechoslovak Literature and Science, Prague, 1935, pp. 9-10

Having thus chided his people for their mistakes, and for the failure of a few to fully realize the meaning of democratic state-hood, Capek points out that patriotism must be expressed in deed and action:

We must express our patriotism by a conscious public spirit. Without doubt this state is ours, ours by virtue of historical right, according to the principle of the majority, and because we have built it. We have considerable minorities, however, and must be conscious of the difference between a state and a nation; a nation (a people) is a cultural organization, the state a political organization. We have duties to the nation, and duties to the state. Obviously they must not conflict. We have built the state; we must know how to manage and govern it. It is our task to win to the idea of our democratic republic the minorities with whom we are living. Their numbers and their culture impose democratic concord both on them and on us. How to proceed with the minorities is taught us very practically by our own experience under Austria-Hungary: what we did not like to have done unto us, we shall not do unto others..... (33)

Dr. Eduard Benes, one of the founders of the Republic and its second President who took the helm during the development of the recent crisis, again and again enunciated the desire of the Czechs to apply toleration, cooperation and good-will toward all people. In a series of speeches delivered in the Sudeten German area, he optimistically reflected this attitude. He admitted that the Czechs had made some errors in administration, and that the demands of the German minority, then inflamed through German propaganda from the outside, would be considered in light of Czecho-Slovakia's democratic spirit. Excerpts from his speech

(33) Ibid., p. 11.

delivered at Reichenberg to the German population of the Republic on August 19, 1936 are representative of the Czech attitude:

In this land the Czechs and Germans have lived side by side for centuries..... It was not until the nineteenth century that, with the evolution of the national idea, a nationality struggle in the modern sense of the term arose. That struggle, in addition to a clash of ideas and politics, was in particular a fight for the soul of the individual..... Nationality conflicts are natural and inevitable on all ethnographical frontiers, but our two peoples are today mature enough not to allow themselves to be denationalized..... Let us work together in the political and economic spheres; let us not exaggerate racial struggles and differences; let us keep them within reasonable bounds and reasonable forms.....

I emphasize the fact that Czechoslovakia is a State in which no nationality is menaced in its national or cultural existence, and that the struggle of the minority nations here is not a fight for existence but merely a struggle for political power and co-rule in the State. This state of affairs is expressed by both Czechoslovaks and Germans in the fact that the Germans are spoken of as equals among equals.....

At Znojmo I said: My relationship to the Germans of this State is a human one. They are my compatriots, my co-workers; they are people suffering with me in days of need, and rejoicing with me in the day of good fortune. In the search for the right way to fair collaboration I have confidence in the Germans in our Republic receiving all that they require for their cultural and economic prosperity, and I am convinced that by a gradual and steady evolution and the maintenance of the democratic system of government this can be given them..... Our Constitution is of so liberal a character that it suffices to meet all these problems.....

We have remained a democracy, and a democracy we shall continue to be, a democracy which rejects all methods of violence in internal policy, the suppression of personal liberty and of the free expression of public opinion, a democracy which solves the problems of internal politics with the aid of evolutionary methods, that is, by way of compromise and the mutual agreement of all the constructive elements of Nation and State.

Nor will there be any change in this regard in the future, no matter what may happen around us in Europe..... (34)

In this group of contemporary Czecho-Slovak leaders are reflected again some of the principle attitudes and traits of the Czech mind. Among these are reiterated a desire for peaceful development; a rejection of the use of violent methods; a capacity for self-criticism; a toleration for and humane treatment of national minorities; and love for individual freedom and democracy.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK MIND REFLECTED BY THE COMMON MAN.

Expressions of these same characteristics are to be found not only among the masses of the Czecho-Slovakians, but also among a large number of Sudeten Germans, who have brought themselves around to democratic thinking. The following comments of a Czech farmer in conversation with the writer seem to be more or less representative of the masses. In speaking of the tension which was mounting because of German demands, he declared:

We ordinary people desire peace and quiet, and I hope that we shall not have too much trouble with the Germans. I am proud to be a Czech and thus be able to enjoy the heritage of Hus, Masaryk and our other great men who worked unceasingly for liberty and freedom. And I am anxious, too, that our Germans have this same liberty and freedom, and will do all I can to help them retain it. I have two neighbors, one is a German and the other a Pole, of whom I am very proud as citizens of my country. We cooperate together and are happy in our undertakings, one with another. However, if the Germans abroad threaten our peace and freedom, I and my whole family stand ready to defend the country we love and cherish.

(34) Czechoslovak Sources and Documents, No. 11, The Problems of Czechoslovakia, Orbis, Prague, 1936, pp. 9-25.

In the writer's contacts with many Germans of Czecho-Slovakia prior to the highly inflammable days of the crisis, he sensed a general spirit of cooperation and satisfaction among them. Aside from the fact that a number of the factories had closed their doors because of the economic depression, they seemed contented and happy within the Republic. The following is a representative statement made to the writer by a German business man:

In the beginning when the Republic was first established, we didn't like the idea of being subject to Czech rule, and openly resisted the incorporation of the German sections into the new State. We felt we were justified in this, for we supposed that the Czechs would abuse and mal-treat our people. Much to our surprise, however, they invited us to participate in regulating the affairs of the State, and made us feel as though we were an important increment in the successful development of the country. At first we were suspicious of all this, and held ourselves aloof. But when we began to have our own German schools, and were actually allowed to regulate our own local affairs, and to have representation in the central government, then we were convinced that the democratic spirit of the Czechs was genuine. Of course, there were inevitably a few cases of unwise administration by the Czechs -- at least from our standpoint -- but generally speaking they have treated us as equals, as human beings. I think I speak for the majority of the Germans in this country when I say we thoroughly enjoy and appreciate the opportunity of individual freedom and the spirit of cooperation which prevails here. Although I am German by birth, yet I should hesitate to make my home in Germany under present conditions there.

This typical observation is a graphic description of the Czech mind as reflected through the largest minority group in Czecho-Slovakia, the Germans. It represents a favorable reaction by those on the fringe of Czech culture to principles which the Czech mind holds in high esteem.

In our foregoing investigation of the outstanding leaders of the Bohemian people, as drawn from the pages of history and from representative attitudes of the common man, we have discovered a number of principle characteristics and traits of the Czecho-Slovak mind, which may be summarized as follows: (1) an appreciation of individual freedom and democratic rights; (2) a sense of justice and equality among all men regardless of nationality; (3) a desire for wise and equitable leadership; (4) a capacity for self-criticism; (5) an affinity for English and French cultures; and (6) an ardent desire for peace, even at the price of capitulation. To epitomize these traits in a single sentence we might describe the Czecho-Slovak mind as being characterized by humanitarianism whose sustenance and vigor are drawn from such principles as the equality of man and the inviolability of individual freedom.

CHAPTER VI

THE GERMAN MIND

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Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war. --Bernhardi

In an effort to discover the subtle play of cultural forces resulting in the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia, it now becomes not only a necessary but an intriguing task to disclose the outstanding traits of the German mind. Such conflicts of culture can best be understood in light of the behavior patterns of each nation as influenced by their national minds. Having thus discovered and identified the principle traits of the Czech mind, as well as having noted it in action since the advent of the World War, the writer feels that a similar investigation of German characteristics and culture patterns will prove fruitful.

As in the study of the Czech mind the attitudes and the reactions of Germany's leading men, as drawn from the pages of history, are now to be investigated. Since a leader is the product of the culture with which he must interact, his attitudes, emotions and responses indicate in fair outline the national mentality of the agregation which accepts his leadership.

It will be convenient to throw the spotlight of investigation upon two periods of German history: first to concentrate its illuminating rays upon that era beginning with the rise of Germany under the driving hand of Prussia, down to the World War; and second to enlighten that period of the phenomenal rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi movement during the past two decades, together with its startling and far-flung ambitions.

THE GERMAN MIND FROM THE DAYS OF THE INDEPENDENT
PROVINCES DOWN TO AND INCLUDING THE WORLD WAR

In an attempt to trace the German mind during this period, one should expect it to be reflected in the attitudes and actions not only of early tribes, but of prominent rulers, politicians, philosophers, poets, etc., who gained the coveted status of leadership in their varied fields of activity down through the centuries. There are many excellent studies in both English and German on the historic figures of Germany, and numerous interpretive works on their philosophies, attitudes and traits. A list of the most prominent of these volumes is to be found in the writer's bibliography. (1) Drawing from these works, he has chosen a number of historical facts and leaders, representative of the general trend of German thought during this period, which

(1) Bibliography, see pp.

reflect the content of the national mind. It, therefore, proves useful to examine German attitudes and response patterns according to the following plan: (1) Early Teutonic Rule and Serfdom; (2) Prussian Influence--the Great Elector, and Frederick the Great; (3) United Germany--William I, and Bismark; (4) Goethe, Heine, Nietzsche, and Lasson; (5) and Kaiser William II and Ludendorff.

EARLY TEUTONIC RULE AND SERFDOM. From what little is known of the early Teutonic tribes which formed the genesis of the German Empire, it would seem that their "mentality" "resembles that of other nations whose conditions of life have induced them for many hundreds of years to battle with their neighbours for the possession of coveted lands, and whose manners and customs, morality and law are all derived from the imperious desire of making conquest." (2) Germanic songs and legends which come down through the mists of that early time indicate a war-like people, whose desire was conquest and expansion. Their Gods were powerful and quick to avenge and demanded positive obedience to their every whim. And the Gods of these early people were the products of their own minds and characteristics, a symbolic imagery of their own desires and ambitions. Not only did the Teutonic Gods demand obedience, but the tribal chieftains required absolute fidelity. As Professor Gaus of Princeton writes: "Even the old idea of fealty, of 'deutsche Treue', which led the retainers of Teutonic chiefs or rulers to submit uncomplainingly

(2) Le Bon, Gustave, The Psychology of the Great War, 1917, p. 52.

to every abuse and all oppression and to follow their lords into misfortune and exile, though it has doubtless waned, nevertheless retains some vestiges of its traditional force even today." (3)

Here in brief form are to be noted several characteristics, which have appeared to persist through centuries of Germanic culture: (1) a willingness to tender absolute obedience to leadership; (2) the necessity and desire for military prowess; and (3) the innate urge for conquest. As far back as one can pierce the veil of tradition, these elements are to be found as cultural tendencies of the German people.

This early tendency towards utter servility to overlords, although it was prevalent throughout all of Europe during the Middle Ages, nevertheless persisted among the German states long after it had been modified or abolished among other national groups. Cole in a succinct chapter on Germany points to this fact as follows:

In the historical evolution of modern Germany the contrast between the east and the west is again of predominant importance. For, whereas in the west the manorial system decayed and the serfs took on gradually the character of free cultivators by stages roughly corresponding to those of the similar evolution in the other countries of Western Europe, in the east serfdom in the most extreme form was often positively imposed at a time when in the more advanced areas of Europe it was being mitigated or abolished.

(3) Gaus, Christian, The German Emperor As Shown In His Public Utterances, Scribners, 1915, p. 7.

The imposition of the most extreme form of serfdom in respect of personal status, as well as labour dues upon the German population east of the Elbe, came about largely in the sixteenth century, whereas from that time in the west the severities of serfdom were being at least somewhat relaxed. (4)

The servitude of the masses was so ingrained into the national character of the German states, that it was not broken down until the Napoleonic era, when Napoleon totally abolished serfdom in the subordinate German states. But even this innovation failed of permanence. Cole points out that:

It was largely under the influence of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic system that the freeing of the Prussian serfs was carried through, and that the status of serfdom was definitely abolished by the Prussian edict of 1807. Thereafter one German State after another made an end of the personal status of serfdom, though in many cases the requirements of service by the peasant as a condition of his land-holding survived much longer, and these relics of the old servile status were only gotten rid of gradually during the nineteenth century... (5)

The above is clearly indicative of the trait of servitude and obedience among German people, and is apparently of some significance in their national life, since it continued long after the freedom of other national groups. Not only is the servitude of the masses to be noted, but conversely the implied right of the overlords to demand and secure obedience. The German mind has ever known the meaning of the command, "Obey!"

(4) Cole, G.D.H., Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today, Knopf, 1934, p. 109-10.

(5) Ibid., p. 110.

PRUSSIAN INFLUENCE-THE GREAT ELECTOR, FREDERICK THE GREAT.

An understanding of modern Germany necessitates an insight into the mind patterns of Prussia, which, after the failure of many other states to consolidate the German duchies, finally succeeded in this herculean task. Its completion, however, was not achieved until the culmination of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, when Bismark and William I made the full weight of Prussian domination felt among the other German States. Only Prussia could accomplish this. But what traits did she possess to bring this about?

Prussia was born of conquest, and became great through conquest alone. She was more or less geographically artificial in her make-up, since her boundries had been expanding at the expense of neighboring peoples. She was untiring in her conquest for expansion, although at times this brought disaster and defeat, as in the case of the Thirty Years War when in 1640 she was almost swept clear of inhabitants. The King of Prussia then wisely attracted some twenty thousand French Protestants to the State, who had been driven from France upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. From this time on Prussia again flourished, for these new immigrants introduced new trades and industries. Berlin, formerly a small town of some six thousand population became a prosperous city. One hundred years later six hundred thousand of their descendents lived among Prussia's two and a half million inhabitants.

Le Bon aptly describes the ruling power of Prussia:

The Kings of Prussia were always absolute sovereigns of their realm. Long before the date of the modern German philosopher they held that the State was supreme and should make its own laws and morality, and that the sole function of the people was obedience...

The essential principle of the Prussian monarchy was to extend its territory without cease or pause, and to this end everything else was constantly sacrificed... In order to carry out their dreams of conquest the Kings of Prussia devoted the major portion of their resources to the army.... (6)

Frederick William, called the Great Elector, (1620-88) became the first really outstanding ruler of Prussia.

(Incidentally, he has always been cited by Kaiser William II as his model and is spoken of by him with great veneration.) It was he who "restored the prestige of the army and centralized the government; and, we are informed by recognized authority, that by a clever and unscrupulous use of his intermediate position between Sweden and Poland, he procured his recognition as an independent Duke of Prussia by both powers and eventually succeeded in crushing the stubborn and protracted opposition which was offered to his authority by the estates of the duchy. His success in organizing the army was proved by his great victory over the Swedes at Fehrbellin in 1675. (7)

From the drive for conquest and expansion, we note the rise of a great centralized army in Prussia. The love of militarism is one of the strongest cords which weaves

(6) Le Bon, op. cit., p. 54.

(7) Gauss, op. cit., p. 18-19.

itself throughout the racial fabric of Germany. It has its roots in Prussia.

When Frederick William I (1688-1740) came to the throne the Prussian forces numbered 38,000 men, while at his death they had increased to 83,000. At the same period France had only 160,000 soldiers and Austria but 100,000. Universal military service had been made obligatory by law in 1733. (8)

It was during the reign of Frederick the Great (1740-86), however, that the power of the Prussian State was firmly established. "His military genius.... and his policy of dissimulation here stood him in good stead. He sowed discord among his neighbors and awaited the favorable opportunity to attack even on the slightest pretexts, and in the case of Silesia, without the formality of a declaration of war." (9) With his powerful military machine he was able to double the area of Prussia with the annexation of Silesia and a part of Poland. His enlarged kingdom remained until the time of Napoleon, when it was temporarily destroyed.

The Prussian mind, which was later to so greatly influence the rest of the German States through its domination, is seen to possess those traits which are much in evidence in Germany today: (1) absolute sovereignty of the rulers; (2) untiring conquest; and (3) a passion for militarism.

UNITED GERMANY - WILLIAM I, AND BISMARCK. In 1862 before the military committee of the Prussian Chamber of

(8) Le Bon, op. cit., p. 54

(9) Gauss, op. cit., p. 20.

Deputies, Prince Bismark proclaimed:

Not by speeches and resolutions of majorities are the great questions of the time decided -- that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849 -- but by iron and blood. (10)

Bismark (1815-1898), Chancellor, first of Prussia, and later of the twenty-six states which he welded into the Great German Empire, in this statement well reflects in bold outline the persistent German attitude of domination by force. This appears to be characteristic of him until he had succeeded in realizing a united German Empire. Thereafter he followed a peace policy in order to preserve that Empire.

Dr. Arthur Rosenberg, professor at the University of Berlin, describes the Prussian influence and the conditions under which Bismark was able to found this solid Empire. Throughout his historic description are to be found the earmarks of the Prussian traits already revealed. He writes:

In Prussia the King and the military aristocracy wielded supreme power..... The King chose his Ministers in accordance with his personal inclination. The Civil Service and the Police were firmly controlled by the Government..... Confronted by the disciplined Prussian army, a popular rising was foredoomed to failure. Even the recruit inspired with subversive ideas submitted himself to the discipline of the army; and the iron institution of the Prussian corps of officers and non-commissioned officers displayed no cracks anywhere. Although here and there throughout the country a liberal-minded judge was to be found, nevertheless the machinery of the Law from the President of the Supreme Court to the last recruited policeman was entirely subservient to the Government.

(10) Out of Their Own Mouths, Appleton & Co., 1917, p. 8.

Thus feudal and conservative Prussia held all the political trumps in its hand. A compromise was only conceivable if the military caste voluntarily surrendered an important part of its rights and privileges to the middle class, and this might be accomplished in two ways; either the middle class was given a share in the actual government in Prussia, or the middle class shared in the government of the Empire to such an extent that a counterpoise was thereby created to Prussia. At the establishment of the Empire, Bismark avoided both of these paths. He left Prussia untouched -- that is to say, the King and the military aristocracy retained all authority -- and he raised an Imperial constitutional edifice from which Prussia ruled the Empire, and not the Empire Prussia.....

With Prussia as the military dictator of Germany..... it was excessively difficult to induce the Prussian military caste to make concessions to other and unarmed sections of the nation. Even if Bismark had ever desired to do so, it is improbable that he could have induced William I to renounce an important part of his prerogative. It was a misfortune for the subsequent evolution of Germany that the constitutional conflict in Prussia ended in so complete a victory for the Royal authority. Feudal Prussia hurled back the attack of the middle-class liberalism along the entire front. The King of Prussia (William I) and his army were victorious in 1864, in 1866 and in 1870-71, and by their victories alone the German Empire was rendered possible. Was it conceivable that after such victories the King would renounce his prerogative in favour of a parliament? Hence Bismark left Prussia untouched and entrusted it with the leadership of Germany. (11)

Thus through the military dominance of Prussia, under William I, Bismark, his Chancellor, succeeded in welding together in 1871 the twenty-six German provinces to form the imposing German Empire. The spirit of conquest and an iron hand had accomplished this fact. Upon the union of the German States an Imperial Constitution was set up, which called for

(11) Rosenberg, Arthur, The Birth of the German Republic, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. 4-5

a federal government made up of representatives from the various States, which was to rule the new Empire. But Prussian influence prevented this system from actually working. Rosenberg informs us that:

The secret of the Imperial Constitution lay in the fact that in reality no Imperial Government was ever called into being. The place of an Imperial Government was taken by the Federal Council (Bundesrat), the organ of the individual State governments, with the Imperial Chancellor as its advisor and representative. From the very outset Bismark must have known that the Federal Council, which was no more than a "Council of Ambassadors", was utterly incapable of governing. Thus the Federal Council became the constitutional camouflage for Prussia's governance of the Empire, while the Imperial Chancellor, who was the President of the Prussian Council of Ministers, formulated German policy. If a State, for example Bavaria, put forward definite demands, the matter had to be settled by diplomatic channels; and no once in the whole course of its history was the policy of the Empire determined by a collaboration between any of the component States. The cornerstone of Bismark's edifice -- the government of the Empire by the Federal Council -- was from the outset an avowed fiction. (12)

Here at the birth of the great German Empire in 1871 are to be seen the influences of the Prussian mind ingeniously at work. These traits, dominant in Prussia, in time filtered throughout the whole nation. The mind of Prussia was the mind of Germany, as has been reflected through the brief references to the work of Bismark. William H. Dawson, author of many volumes on German life and culture, points out the influence of Prussia's new position:

A new and virile influence now entered into German national life, or rather an old influence began to

(12) Ibid., p. 5.

exert itself under new and more favorable conditions. This was the influence of the Prussian spirit, which in its various manifestations has more than anything else transformed the Germany of the past and given to it a new, though not a higher culture. This spirit has ever been a hard and immalleable element in the life of Germanism; it is still the knot in the oak, the nodule in the softer clay. This spirit..... was to assert itself in an irresistible form, its intrinsic strength reinforced by all the advantages derived from Prussia's constitutional position at the head of the (German) Confederation. (13)

In continuing his discussion of the Prussianized Germany, Dawson clearly indicates the national mentality as follows:

This Prussianized Germany incarnates power and force; its culture is a materialistic culture; its spirit is the spirit of subdual and mastery; and its ambition is conquest and domination. In a book written seven years ago (The Evolution of Modern Germany), I called attention to the alarming growth of "force worship" in modern Germany and to some of its most sinister expressions; and no apology can be needed for recalling some of the words then used.

"The struggle," it was there said, "to which Germany has since 1860 devoted its undivided strength is not a struggle waged consciously in the name and for the sake of civilization, but a struggle for sheer mastery in the realm of matter and for political ascendancy amongst the nations. Yet if Germany should ultimately gain all the material success and political power it aspires after, no one will dare to say that it will mean more for civilization and the world than the weak and disjointed Germany of a century ago, which gave to mankind Goethe and Schiller, the Kant and Fichte, whose teachings for a time have been cast aside. (14)

The impact of Prussian culture upon the rest of Germany is well shown by Gauss of Princeton. He shows that the framing

(13) Dawson, William H., What Is Wrong With Germany?, Longmans, Green, 1915, p. 3.

(14) Ibid., p. 13.

of the Constitution and the building up of the German Empire was not a stage in the attempt to give freedom and self-government to the German people, but to guarantee and maintain the supremacy of Prussia. To quote Gauss:

Whether or not this is a possible view, it is in any case, one occasionally to be found implied in the speeches of the Emperor, and it came to open expression in the statement of William I that the empire was merely a "greater Prussia". So, too, when a few years ago Alsace-Lorraine proved itself recalcitrant to the wishes of its imperial master, he threatened that he would make of it a "Prussian province".....

On this occasion a Socialist orator declared in the Reichtag: "We salute the imperial words as the confession, full of weight and coming from a competent source, that the annexation to Prussia is the heaviest punishment that one can threaten to impose upon a people for its resistance against Germany. It is a punishment like hard labor in the penitentiary, with loss of civil rights." (15)

Another representative incident occurred in which the brute force and lightening speed of Prussianism, made itself felt throughout the Empire. Turning again to Gauss:

When in 1878, by a curious coincidence, two attempts were made upon the life of Emperor William I (one by Hoedel, an irresponsible person of diseased mind and body, who had been dismissed from the Social Democratic party; and another by Nobling, who was not a Social Democrat), Bismark immediately and easily siezed this occasion to crush Social Democracy and increase the imperial power. He dissolved the Reichtag, and in one month the law-courts inflicted no less than five hundred years of imprisonment for lese-majeste. Within eight months the authorities dissolved two hundred and twenty-two workingmen's unions, suppressed one hundred and twenty-seven periodicals and two hundred and seventy-eight other publications; and innumerable bona-fide co-operative societies were compelled by

(15) Gauss, op. cit., p. 11.

the police to close their doors without trial and with no possibility of appeal. With equal dispatch numerous Social Democrats were expelled from Germany on a few days notice. (16)

Having now observed the reflected attitudes, traits and powers of the Prussian mind during this period of German history, we may conclude that chief among them are: (1) the right of the monarch and his aides to absolute rule; (2) survive obedience to the demands of the ruler; (3) peerless militarism; and (4) domination through the conquest.

Thus far we have endeavored to discover the traits of the German mind as reflected largely through her leaders in the political sphere -- through her rulers. In extending the validity of the traits discovered and examined, it would be well to briefly turn to other great minds, which in their writings have done much not only to influence German thought, but to reflect it as well.

GOETHE, HEINE, NIETZSCHE, AND LASSON. Only a few such national figures can be briefly considered here. These have been chosen as being more or less representative of the galaxy of German authors, poets and philosophers, who during the nineteenth century contributed their works to German culture.

Goethe (1797-1856), the immortal poet and author of Germany, who rallied to the cause of humanitarianism and freedom, was keenly alert to the dangerous characteristic

(16) Ibid., pp. 7-8.

traits of his nation. In a conversation with Eckermann, famous editor of Germany, Goethe indicated the barbaric nature of his people. Dawson reports it as follows:

Speaking of his own Germany, Goethe said, less than a century ago, that its culture was still in a bad way, and that he would be contented if after a few hundred years it could be said of his countrymen, 'They have ceased to be barbarians.' (17)

In the light of his humanitarian ideals Goethe, in a conversation with Luden in November of 1813, expressed his great concern over the Fatherland. He said:

I have often been deeply pained to think of this German nation, so worthy in its individuals and so pitiable as a whole. The comparison of the German people with other peoples arouses painful feelings that I have tried by every possible means to avoid. (18)

Another quotation gives some hint as to his deep concern over the fate of his people, for Prussia even at that time was exercising no small influence over the provinces:

The Prussians are cruel by nature; civilization will make them ferocious. (19)

Almost one hundred years ago, Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), who is perhaps Germany's greatest Romantic poet, and spokesman of liberalism and humanitarian idealism, perceived in startling outline the results of reactionary, militaristic fanaticism, which finally drove him into exile. A passage from his first volume of the literary history of Germany

(17) Dawson, op. cit., p. 7.

(18) Out of Their Own Mouths, op. cit., p. 114.

(19) Ibid., p. 114.

is not only indicative of German traits, but is startling for its prophetic tone:

The philosopher of Nature will be terrible because he will appear in alliance with the primitive powers of Nature--able to evoke the demoniac energies of old German Pantheism, the doing of which will awake in him that battle-madness which we find among the ancient Teutonic races who fought neither to kill nor to conquer, but for the very love of fighting itself. It is the fairest merit of Christianity that it somewhat mitigated that brutal German gaudium ceraminis or joy in battle, but it could not destroy it. And should that subduing talisman, the Cross, break, then will come crashing and roaring forth the wild madness of the old champions, the insane Berseker rage, of which the Northern poets wail and sing. That talisman is brittle, and the day will come when it will pitifully break. The old stone Gods will rise from long-forgotten ruin and rub the dust of a thousand years from their eyes, and Thor, leaping to life with his giant hammer, will crush the Gothic cathedrals!

But when those days shall come and ye hear the stamping and ring of arms, guard ye well, ye neighbors' children, ye French, and put not forth your hands into what we are doing in Germany, for verily evil will come upon you for that. Beware, lest ye blow the fire, and take good care that ye do not quench it; ye can in doing so all too easily burn your fingers.....

There will be played in Germany a drama compared to which the French Revolution will be only an innocent idyll.....
(20)

The prophetic foresight of Heine, in deducing the future behavior of his people from a knowledge of their mind patterns, is astonishing in the light of recent events in the Third Reich. Will the ultimate fulfillment of his words come true?

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900), foremost among German philosophers, reflects outstanding cultural traits in

(20) Heine, Heinrich, De l'Allemagne, 1855, Vol. 1, p. 181. Also quoted in Schuman's Nazi Dictatorship, Knopf, 1936, p. 473.

many of his writings. He puts into the mouth of Zarathustra, the following words:

Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars--and the short peace more than the long.....Ye say it is the good cause which halloweth even war? I say unto you: it is the good war which halloweth every cause. War and courage have done more great things than charity... Be not considerate of thy neighbor.....What thou doest can no one do to thee again. Lo, there is no requital...

Thou shalt not rob! Thou shalt not slay!--such precepts were once called holy.....Is there not even in all life robbing and slaying? And for such precepts to be called holy, was not truth itself thereby slain?... This new table, O my brethren, put I up over you: Become hard..... (21)

In his "Beyond Good and Evil" he reflects the trait of deception in German culture, as being essential and profound:

It is wise for a people to pose, and let itself be regarded as profound, clumsy, good-natured, honest and foolish; it might even be profound to do so! Finally, we should do honour to our name--we are not called the 'tiusche Volk' (deceptive people) for nothing. (22)

And again:

I even feel it my duty to tell the Germans, for once in a way, all that they have on their conscience. Every great crime against culture for the last four centuries lies on their conscience.....And always for the same reason, always owing to their bottomless cowardice in the face of reality, which is also cowardice in the face of truth; always owing to the love of falsehood which has become almost instinctive in them.....

German intellect is my foul air; I breathe with difficulty in the neighborhood of this psychological uncleanliness that has now become instinctive--an uncleanliness which in every word and expression betrays

(21) Nietzsche, Thus Spake Zarathustra, Macmillan, 1911. Quoted in Out of Their Mouths, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

(22) Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, Macmillan, 1914, p. 200.

a German.....That which is called 'deep' in Germany is precisely this instinctive uncleanliness toward one's self, of which I have just spoken; people refuse to be clear in regard to their own natures. (23)

From the writings and utterances of these men is disclosed the trait of German self-criticism, although it seems to be submerged below the level of the national consciousness, except where penetrated by far-thinking men, such as these. Nietzsche brings to light the trait of deception, an inevitable co-partner of war and conquest. Here again from the critical minds of German thinkers national characteristics are elicited in clear outline.

The writings of the German philosopher Lasson, who emulates many of the doctrines of Hegel and Treitschke reflects the German attitude of the deification of the State. These scholars did much to influence the mind of Germany and to project this mind pattern in crystalized form far beyond its ordinary course.

Lasson's works well betray some of the principle elements of German national life and feeling. In his volume, "Das Kulturideal und der Krieg," are to be found the following concepts:

Between States there is but one sort of right--the right of the stronger.....and therefore it is quite in accordance with reason that wars are waged between States.....

Were disputes between States to be determined by a court and by compulsion exercised by superior power,

(23) Nietzsche, Ecce Homo, Macmillan, 1911, p. 124 and 127.

all States subjected to such a court would cease to be States. The suppression of war would imply the suppression of all States and the remolding of civilized humanity into a single political system.....Separate States are therefore by nature in a state of war with each other. Conflict must be regarded as the essence of their relations and, as a rule, friendship as accidental and exceptional.....

In the intercourse of State with State there are no laws, and there can be none.....There is no legal obligation upon a State to observe treaties.....A State cannot commit a crime.....Treaty rights are governed wholly by considerations of advantage.....

A so-called small State is not a State at all, but only a tolerated community, which absurdly pretends to be a State.....

Some speak of the so-called right of peoples to decide their own destiny. To permit a people, or, to be more correct, a fraction of a people, to settle international questions, such as their assignment to such and such a State, would be like permitting the children of a household to elect their father.....

A war of conquest is quite as just as a war of defence. It is folly to resent a war of conquest. The object of the conquest is the only interesting point..... (24)

Here in this volume of a Berlin University professor, is implied the exaltation of the State above all else. His natural corollaries follow that might makes right; war is justifiable and necessary; small States have no right to exist; treaties imply no obligation; war for conquest should be vindicated.

KAISER WILLIAM II AND LUDENDORFF. During the reign of William II (1888-1918) and throughout the World War, Germany found herself in full possession and under the influence of

(24) Lasson, Das Kulterideal und der Krieg, 1868; also quoted in Le Bon, op. cit. pp. 78-80; and in Out of Their Mouths, op. cit., pp. 35-41.

the German behavior patterns and attitudes as thus disclosed. The Kaiser himself had become saturated with Prussian idealism from childhood. Although he attempted to keep peace, yet the German mind as reflected through him betrayed belligerent traits. On March 26, 1895 he visited Friedrichsruh, to make a birthday presentation to the aging Bismark in the name of the Empire. His presentation vividly reflects Prussian influence. To Bismark he addressed himself:

Our whole Fatherland decks itself out to celebrate your birthday. This day belongs to the army. Its first duty is to do honor to its comrades, to its old officers, whose efficiency made it possible to carry through the mighty deeds which found their reward in the crowning of a regenerated Fatherland.....

.....I come now to present your Highness my gift. I could find no better token than a sword, this noblest weapon of the Germans; a symbol of that instrument which your Highness with my late grandfather helped to shape, to sharpen, and also to wield; the symbol of that great, powerful period of building whose mortar was blood and iron; that weapon which is never dismayed and which, when necessary, in the hands of kings and princes will defend against internal foes that unity of the Fatherland which it had once conquered from the foes without.....

We comrades call out: His Highness, Prince Bismark, Duke of Lauenburg -- Heil! Heil! Heil! (25)

Despite the outward appearances that the nation apparently desired peace, as indicated by Rosenberg (26), yet the German mind found it impossible to suppress those traits which eventually resulted in the world conflagration of 1914-18. Dawson writes of the Kaiser, indicating that his efforts toward

(25) Gauss, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

(26) Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 58.

peace were superfluous and of a deceptive nature:

Even were it possible to give to the Emperor all the credit he desires for having kept the peace, it would still be impossible to acquit him of responsibility for the present disaster (the World War). He knows -- no one better than he -- that for a decade there has been going on in his country a veritable crusade of envy, hatred, and malice aimed at the world in general, but especially at the three countries which are now fighting side by side as allies, though the entente cordiale was not completed when this unholy crusade began. The Emperor himself gave the word, and great was the multitude of the preachers. Imperialists, Colonial expansionists, Pan-Germanists, Chauvinists of every party and complexion have joined in proclaiming Germany's claim to rule the world and force its culture upon it.....

When did the Emperor, who knows everything, who can do everything, and whose will is law, condemn or even by act or word or sign, discourage these orgies of malice and mischief which were demoralizing the political life of Germany, perverting the very soul of the nation, and endangering the peace of the world? I have read all the accessible public utterances of the Emperor, as contained in many volumes, and nowhere have I found a single word disapproving of the agitations fomenting ill-will, aggression and greed, whose consumation is the present world war, the responsibility of which Germany is now desperately desirous of relieving its Emperor. (27)

In spite of the avowed efforts toward peace, General von Bernhardi, an aide to the Emperor and a brilliant author, expressed the attitude of the time. He was not given to fantasies or castle-building and so should be representative:

We ourselves have become conscious of being a powerful as well as a necessary factor in the development of mankind. This knowledge imposes on us the obligations of asserting our mental and moral influence as much as possible, and of paving the way everywhere in the world

(27) Dawson, op. cit., pp. 164-5

for German labour and German idealism. But we can only carry out successfully these supreme civilizing tasks if our humanizing efforts are accompanied and supported by increasing political power.....

The dominion of German thought can only be extended under the aegis of political power, and unless we act in conformity with this idea we shall be untrue to our greatest duties towards the human race. (28)

The Proclamation to the Army of the East of William II in 1914 tends to bear out Bernhardt's contention. The Emperor was now speaking to those who could comprehend the German mind, and not for foreign nations. Among other things he proclaimed:

..... Remember that you are the chosen people! The Spirit of the Lord has descended upon me because I am the Emperor of the Germans! I am the instrument of the Almighty. I am his sword, his agent. Woe and death to all those who do not believe in my mission! Woe and death to the cowards! Let them perish, all the enemies of the German people. God demands their destruction, God who by my mouth bids you do his will! (29)

Here is a typical illustration of the technique of playing upon the deep streams of religious devotion, by transferring the whole responsibility to God -- but through the Emperor. The German attitude, that it is the superior nation, renders an unhindered approach to this device.

As an indication of the submissiveness of the German population to authority and of their blind obedience in time of crisis, as well as of their desire to enter the World War

(28) Ibid., pp. 19-20.

(29) Out Of Their Mouths, op. cit., p. 4.

the following is quoted from Rosenberg:

On August 4 all Parties represented in the Reichtag might have agreed that the Anglo-Franco-Russo-Japanese coalition (those united in the World War against Germany) revealed the complete bankruptcy of the foreign policy pursued by William II and Bethmann-Hollweg..... Would it not at least have been wise to ensure public criticism of the Government? Should not the freedom of the Press and the right of public speech have been defended? Should not the Reichtag have remained in session in order to be able to intervene in any crisis? Had the political parties no anxiety as to the aim for which Germany was fighting? Politics are not made of general battle-cry, such as "Defense" and "Public Safety". Yet not a single one of the parties..... raised any such question on August 4. Instead they passed the war credits and permitted themselves to be sent home. Without any attempt being made to hinder them, the Government became possessed of a dictatorial right to decide all military, political and economic questions, and was in a position with the help of the censorship and martial law to suppress all public expression of political opinion. Such was the German Burgfrieden of 1914. How did it come about that such a state of things was possible?

It was in accordance with the ideas of the Prussian military aristocracy that the King should be given a free hand in time of war. Thus the Burgfrieden..... had no desire to interfere with the constitutional rights of the Emperor. Opposition was more likely to come from the liberal middle class and the Social Democrats; but both of these parties lacked the "will to power" necessary to have enabled the Reichtag on the outbreak of the war to acquire for itself new rights. The unprecedented authority of the German (military) General Staff also contributed to this result.....

On August 4 the Reichtag met at a moment when mobilization was proceeding with an almost uncanny precision throughout the entire Empire and no Party dared to lift a hand or raise a voice against the General Staff. The Reichtag voted the necessary money and demonstrated the unity of the nation. It was a repetition of 1870. At that time the politicians had kept silent and General Moltke alone spoke. (30)

(30) Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 76-7.

Here in concise form is an account from a contemporary German historian, Dr. Rosenberg of the University of Berlin, which portray well the chief traits of the German mind as recorded in the pages of modern history: the dictatorial rights of the Emperor as the head of the State; submission on the part of the populace; denial of all rights to the public; great military precision. All of this is simply a repetition of mind traits expressed at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, when General Moltke, under Bismark, was in sole command.

As the World War dragged on, and under the disappointment that the French army had not been routed and annihilated within the planned six to eight week period, and that it together with the English troops continued to be a devastating force, the enthusiasm of the German working classes behind the front began to ebb. It is interesting to note that in the absence of success and in suffering from economic want, the masses woke to a consciousness that many things could no longer be endured that had formerly been tolerated. A deep-seated discontent animated the population. (31)

"Throughout the spring and summer of 1916 the German army was slaughtered in thousands at Verdum, where the Chief of the General Staff, von Falkenhayn, believed it to be possible to destroy the French army by a process of attrition. At the

(31) Ibid., p. 90.

very moment when the battle of Verdun reached its height a million English troops took the offensive on the Somme. The German armies on the Western Front lived through the worst weeks they had experienced since the battle of the Marne..... To fill the German cup of misery to overflowing the Russian armies (on the east)..... began a great offensive, in the course of which they broke through the Austrian Front, and compelled the Austrian armies to retreat after having inflicted upon them very severe casualties..... The German army, which was faced with an almost superhuman task on the Western Front, found itself compelled in addition to give support to the entire Eastern Front from Riga to the Carpathians." (32)

The Allied Powers under conditions of this kind had reason to believe that victory would crown their efforts before the end of the year. The German mind disillusioned by these circumstances, lost confidence in its leaders, who could bring them neither victory nor bread. The Emperor since the beginning of the war was seldom heard of, and now in this time of crisis he seemed to be living in retirement, leaving the conduct of the war in the hands of his principle military and political advisers. It seemed as though the German mind could not persist without victorious leadership.

"..... A discontented nation vented the hatred it already felt for the army officers in an increased degree upon

(32) Ibid., p. 114.

their superiors, namely, the ruling German Princes, and above all, upon the Emperor as Supreme War Lord. The Emperor was now called upon to pay for his autocratic behavior before the war. The embittered workmen made him responsible for famine, misery, and war, regardless of the fact that since August 1914 he could hardly be said to have governed at all..... The authority of the Emperor and the existing Government had so greatly waned that it could have been easily disregarded." (33)

Here we see the German mind floundering in time of severe crisis. Without adequate leadership it was lost. It needed an absolute hand which could take the initiative and point the way. When on August 29, 1916 the Emperor under pressure of national feeling relieved von Falkenhayn of his command, and appointed von Hindenburg in his place, the German mind felt the grip again of absolute leadership.

But this regenerated spirit both in the army and at home came not from Hindenburg, but from the dictatorial power of his Chief of Staff, General Ludendorff, whose plans and tactics resulted in sweeping victories on the Eastern Front. The national mind was satisfied. A united Germany held out for almost two years more.

However, during this crisis an age-old trait of the German mind had broken under the stress of adversity. According to tradition and the Imperial Constitution, the supreme

(33) Ibid., p. 115.

command of the army was vested in the Emperor. He was the head of the State. But under the new conditions the supreme command was divorced from royalty. For Ludendorff exercised complete command of the army, as well as absolute control of domestic policies.

Although the Emperor remained the figure-head, yet the Prussian tradition that royal blood must rule was strangled, perhaps forever. The German desire for dictatorial, hard-fisted rule did not wane, but was permanently lifted from the shoulders of royalty. This is of particular interest in the rise of Hitler -- one who was obscure coming from the rank and file of the common man.

Ludendorff was a dictator in every sense of the word. But "it was only in October 1918, when the General himself formally admitted that he had lost the war, and thereby in a sense announced his abdication as dictator, that it became possible to relieve him of his post..... It was this man, who in October 1918 was forced to resign in consequence of the military and political collapse of Germany, who had been the real ruler of the country ever since August of 1916." (34) Thus one observes the great dependence of the German mind upon absolute leadership during the war.

In concluding our examination of the traits of the German mind from the days of Teutons down to and including the

(34) Ibid., p. 124.

World War, we have discovered that certain outstanding characteristics weave themselves through the whole fabric of German life from those early times until the collapse of the Empire in 1918. The writer would hasten to say that these traits are not the only ones kindred to German people, for there are many others which place them high on the level of literary, scientific and artistic achievement, which other peoples have had difficulty in attaining. However, the traits of German culture herein disclosed appear to be important above all others in moulding and shaping the destiny of this great nation, and in explaining its behavior in international as well as internal situations.

To briefly summarize, these psychological characteristics might be listed as follows: (1) a desire for strong absolute militaristic leadership; (2) subservience to such rule; (3) a demand for supreme militarism; (4) an innate urge for conquest; (5) a tendency toward deceptive practices; (6) a feeling of superiority; (7) and hence the mission of imposing German idealism upon the rest of the world through world domination.

It is little wonder then that the Third Reich has risen to power and that Germany has lifted her head again under the dictatorial leadership of Naziism. The crushing blow of the World War duller her national tendencies, but they are deep-seated and tenacious, not readily changed or eradicated over a short period of time. They required only the firey spirit of enthusiastic leadership to set them again roaring into flame.

CHAPTER VII

 THE GERMAN MIND AND ITS PRESENT AMBITIONS

AS REFLECTED IN NAZIISM

-o-

A new peace shall make Germany 'mistress of the globe', a peace...established by the victorious sword of a master race that takes over the world in the service of a higher civilization. --- Alfred Rosenberg

Following the tragic consequences of the World War, the German mind found itself upon a wreckage of shattered dreams. Having been steeped for so many years in the doctrines of the inherent superiority of the German "race" and its "Kultur", the right to world domination, militarism and strict obedience to the implied divine rule of the Emperor, it found itself suddenly stripped of all it had built up and idolized.

Democracy was suddenly thrust upon the German people. But without the long arduous years of experience in learning to use and apply democratic techniques, the German mind found it in diametric opposition to the deeply forged traits developed in the past. The German mind could not quickly readjust. In democracy it found no panacea for the maladjustments caused by the war. There was subtle revolt against the new order of things, but a disorganized, disjointed revolt. The German mind unconsciously sought the elements of German culture temporarily swept away by the defeat of 1918. The mind so long dependent upon abject obedience to absolute leadership endeavored to find it.

Theodore Abel of Columbia University in his recent work, "Why Hitler Came Into Power," a study based on the original autobiographies of six hundred Nazis, well describes this condition as being prevalent shortly after the close of the war:

The lack of revolutionary fervor was evident even at the time the revolution was supposed to be in full swing. The Frankfurter Zeitung wrote on December 11, 1918:

"Never has there been a movement which originated from so many chance occurrences. Voltaire was able to predict the French Revolution. But nobody really wanted a revolution in Germany, and had anyone predicted it in 1914, he would have been considered ridiculous. The fact is that the German revolution, originating as a mutiny in the navy, later joined by the soldiers and workers, is leaderless. Does this revolt dispose of the old faith in authority? For four hundred years we have known nothing but obedience to bureaucracy. Frederick the Great declared he was tired of ruling over slaves; Bismark complained about the submissiveness of German character. Snobbish superiority has always characterized the ruling classes. Has the idea of a free people now become a reality?"

In the light of subsequent events the prediction of the "Sage of Heidelberg", Max Weber, made at the height of revolutionary fervor, is an accurate answer to this question. "The prevalent liberal ideas are for most Germans only a drug to relieve the terrible tension created by the breakdown at the front," he wrote. Liberal thought was doomed to vanish shortly, for, as Prince Max von Baden declared a short time previously (September 18, 1918), "The lack of liberty in Germany is due not so much to the institutions of the Reich as to the general passiveness of the people in the face of authority, and their unwillingness to assume personal responsibility for the fate of the Fatherland". (1)

Authoritarian, absolute leadership, known for centuries to the German mind, was conspicuously absent following the

(1) Abel, Theodore, Why Hitler Came Into Power, Prentice-Hall, 1938, pp. 17-18.

flight of William II into Holland. During the several years of the Weimar Republic, leadership arose in Germany, but not of the type consistent with the German mind. It seemed to lack expression of the now latent desires of the race -- obedience, militarism, race superiority, domination. With the election of Hindenburg to the Presidency of the German Republic in 1925, a spark of national enthusiasm was rekindled, for in this "Grand Old Man of Germany" was reflected the adamant militarism of the former Fatherland. But this was not sufficient. The satisfaction of the German mind demanded more than this.

THE RISE OF HITLER AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM OR NAZIISM.

As was already pointed out in an earlier chapter, the leader is essentially the product of the culture which nourishes him, but at the same time through the process of interaction may also greatly influence the group behavior of his followers. In this milieu of German disappointment and dissatisfaction, intensified by sore economic conditions, a product was being moulded and forged in the white heat of the German culture processes -- a product in the form of a leader embodying the essence of the German mind. In him was fired more than the militarism of Von Hindenburg. He was tinctured with the qualities necessary to regiment and march the masses, let alone the army; with the capacity to demand absolute obedience; with the vision to bring the Reich again to its place in the sun; with the obsession that his "race" is superior; and with

the idea that Germany should rule the world. Blended into this personality complex was his ability to enthuse the masses through means of the dramatic spoken word. Here was a true product of the "genuine kulture" -- a leader who could satisfy all the needs and the desires of the German mind. "Der Fueher", Adolf Hitler, made his entrance upon the scene.

This ascension to the unoccupied seat of power did not take place over night. The nation had to become aware of his inherent German qualities. Since the subtle desires of the national mind were largely in the realm of the unconscious, they had to be brought to the level of consciousness before the leader could be wholly accepted. Hitler began to interact with his countrymen to bring about this consciousness.

His first notable appearance before the public occurred on February 24, 1920. This beginning was successful because the soil of discontent was ready for his viral seed. To quote again from Abel:

On this date, which marks the beginning of the movement, Hitler proclaimed the program of a new political organization, the National Socialist German Workers' Party. In the speech which he delivered on this occasion he announced as the goal of this party a "fight to death" against the regime in Germany that had emerged from the aftermath of the World War. But in voicing his denunciation, Hitler was expressing a sentiment which had agitated thousands of his compatriots since the armistice. Hitler was not, therefore, building his movement upon a void. He was founding it upon a widely prevalent state of opposition and discontent in Germany, which many others before him had attempted to utilize for concerted action. (2)

(2) Ibid., p. 13.

Admirably qualified for leadership in a culture desiring his type, he drew to him those of like nature. With military organization and cunning, the reluctant and suspicious currents, represented by conservative groups, were whipped into line. It is not the purpose of this chapter to enter into the historical details of the Nazi rise to power, but simply to indicate the racio-psychological conditions under which it thrived. Suffice it to say, that as the German mind found in Hitler the forces and techniques, which enlivened and inflamed the basic desires and ambitions of the race, the movement grew, until Hitler and his party had gained supreme control of Germany - a Germany which wanted him.

As Abel points out, prior to their success, the National Socialists were accused of fomenting a civil war, which made little impression on the greater part of the German people. Such aggressive tactics served to arouse the admiration of the citizenry nurtured in the worship of militarism. The fighting spirit of the National Socialists, moreover, had a special appeal at the time, in view of the spectre of Bolshevism currently haunting the middle and upper classes; and anybody who was bold enough to take the offensive against such a menace was welcome. Hitler was more than the head of a political party; he was the leader of a movement. A party might be expected to conform to some established procedure, but a movement sweeps aside all considerations, once it gets into power, until it has completely asserted itself. (3)

(3) Ibid. pp. 110-111

This in brief is the Nazi rise to power, made possible through the deep and well-marked channels of the German national mind.

To gain a clear-cut picture of the German mind of today, since the advent of Naziism, one should expect to find it reflected, again, through the leaders of the Reich, its institutions and its doctrines, as well as through representative members among the laymen. It will be profitable to briefly examine German attitudes according to the following units: (1) Hitler and Goering; (2) Kube and Rosenberg; (3) Nazi Institutions of Learning; (4) the Common Man; and (5) Nazi Doctrines.

HITLER AND GOERING. The voice of "Der Fuehrer" is to be found in the modern-day German bible, "Mein Kampf". Although some of his stated objectives have changed, and although contradiction is to be found within the book itself and in that which is written, as against that which has been actually accomplished, yet it betrays definite characteristics of the present German mind.

Hitler's concept of the State is not identical with that of Hegel, who conceived the State Absolute as an end in itself. Hitler believes the State to be a means to the end of purifying the "race", which by virtue of its innate superiority is entitled to rule the world. His chapter on "The State" is pointed. Here are some attitudes taken from the unexpurgated edition:

The State is a means to an end. The end is the preservation and fostering of a community of living beings

who are physically and mentally alike. This preservation consists, in the first place, of the race as it exists, and permits of the free development of all the slumbering powers of the race. Of these powers part will always be devoted primarily to the preservation of physical life, and only what remains goes to assist in further intellectual development. But as a matter of fact the one is always indispensable to the other.

States that do not serve this purpose are mistakes, nay, monstrosities. The fact of their existence does not alter this, any more than the success of a crew of buccaneers can justify piracy....(p. 381)

Anyone who talks of a mission of the German people on earth must know that it can consist only in the formation of a State which sees as its highest task the preservation and advancement of the noblest surviving element of our nationality, indeed of mankind..... The German Reich as a State must include all Germans, with duty not only of gathering and preserving the most valuable racial elements among that people, but of rising them slowly and surely to a dominating position (p. 385)

It is naturally easier..... to see the State authority as merely the formal mechanism of an organization than to regard it as the sovereign embodiment of the self-preservation instinct of a nationality on this earth. For in the one case, to these weak minds the State and State authority are the end in themselves, whereas in the other they are but a mighty weapon in the service of the great eternal fight for life, a weapon to which everyone must submit because it is not formal and mechanical, but is the expression of a common will for the conservation of life..... (p. 386)

Opposing us is the endless army not so much of the deliberately bad as of the mentally lazy and indifferent, to say nothing of those who have an interest in the preservation of the existing situation. But it is the very apparent hopelessness of our tremendous struggle which makes our task grand, and offers a chance of success. The war-cry that frightens away or soon discourages small spirits is the assembly-signal for true warrior natures. And one thing we must get through our heads: If a certain total of a people's energy and vigor seems to be concentrated on one goal, and thus is definitely removed from the inertia of the broad masses, these few percent rise to be over-lords of all. World history is made by minorities, if this numerical minority embodies a majority of will and determination.

What to many people may seem an obstacle today is in reality the first essential for our victory. The very magnitude and the difficulties of our task offer the probability that only the best warriors will join the battle. And this very winnowing is a guarantee of success. (p. 387) (4)

From these few pages of "Mein Kampf", which has influenced millions of Germans since it satisfies the desires of the national mentality, are to be found, re-emphasized in potent terms, the chief characteristics and ambitions of this militant race. The State is a means toward the end of producing a super-race, the Germans, which, guided by a superior intellectual minority to whom supreme obedience must be given, will through the arm of force eventually dominate the world. This rings a familiar note to the German ear.

There is no doubt left in their own estimation that they are to become the superior race, and thus dominate all else.

Again to Hitler's volume:

Our German people in particular, lying crushed today, exposed to the kicks of the world, needs the hypnotic strength inherent in self-confidence. But this self-confidence must be trained into the young members of our people from childhood. His whole education and training must be planned to give him the conviction that he is absolutely superior to others. Through his physical strength and agility he must regain his faith in the invincibility of his whole nationality....(p.399)

He who would heal this inwardly sick and rotten age must first muster up the courage to lay bare the causes of the disease. That must be the concern of the National-Socialist movement: to gather and range in order, out of our own nationality, beyond all hidebound mediocrity, those forces capable of initiating the battle for a new world concept. (p. 421) (5)

(4) Hitler, Adolf, Mein Kampf, (Unexpurgated English Edition), Stackpole, 1939. Original German published 1925-27

(5) Ibid.

Again another forceful statement of the Nazi leader, as taken from the original German copy, and as recorded in the work of Leland Stowe, for more than seven years the foreign correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune. He quotes Hitler as follows:

It is necessary, then, for better or worse, to resort to war if one wishes seriously to arrive at pacifism. In reality the humanitarian and pacifist idea will perhaps be excellent on that day when the man superior to all others will have conquered and subjugated the world first of all in such a measure that he becomes the sole master of the earth. First, then, the battle, and afterwards -- perhaps -- pacifism. (p. 315) (6)

A further quotation or two from the same source, tend to amplify the traits and attitudes already described. Constant reference is made to these doctrines and objectives throughout the book. The following statements picked at random reflect Nazi thought:

To forge a well-sharpened sword is the object of a people's domestic policy; to see that the forging is done and to seek allies at arms is the object of its foreign policy. (p. 689)

An alliance which is not concluded with a view to war is absurd and worthless. (p. 749)

Let one give to the German nation six million bodies trained to perfection by sport, all embraced by a fanatical patriotism, animated with the most vigorous offensive spirit, and a National regime will make an army of them in less than two years, if it is necessary -- or in any case, at least the foundation of that army. (p. 611)

So in the future it is not by grace of nationality that we shall gain the land which is the life blood of our people, but by the might of the victorious sword. (p.741)

(6) Stowe, Leland, Nazi Means War, McGraw-Hill, 1934, p. 7.

It is necessary that, without regard for traditions or prejudices, it (the National Socialist movement) have the courage to assemble all the forces of our people to progress in the path which will take it out of the narrow space in which it has to live today and will lead it towards new territories. (p. 731) (7)

Thus does "Der Fuehrer" reflect the national mentality of his people in the two volumes of his "Mein Kampf", the writing of which took root and germinated in 1924 during his imprisonment at the Prison Fortress at Landsberg on the Lech. The thirst of the German mind long conditioned by like motives and ambitions during previous centuries, was amply quenched with the liquid flow of Hitler's concepts. Here was the embodiment of certain deep-seated German culture traits, picked up and revitalized from where Kaiser William II had left off in 1918.

A single quotation from a speech given on July 22, 1934 by General Herman Goering, is representative of the clear-cut, soldier-like expressions of this Nazi henchman, who occupies a position of leadership only second to Hitler. He epitomizes the authoritarianism of the State in true military fashion:

From now on, I demand from everybody, no matter who he is, that he devote his entire self to the authority of the National Socialist State. In the future there is to be only one authority, namely that of the State. (8)

In examining accounts of his speeches, it is found, as is to be expected, a tone resembling that of Hitler. It seems

(7) Ibid. pp. 7, 26, and 82 respectively. (Translations from the original German edition of Mein Kampf.)

(8) Ibid., p. 116.

unnecessary to quote him further in an endeavor to find his reflection of the German mind, since the above statement is sufficiently representative of him.

WILHELM KUBE AND ALFRED ROSENBERG. While it would be possible to quote at length from the writings and speeches of scores of Nazi leaders in our quest for the outstanding traits of the German mind, yet the following are fairly representative.

Wilhelm Kube, Nazi floor leader, declared at the opening of the Prussian Diet that the goal of the Reich was to unite all Germans to better serve Germany's mission to the world. He said:

I, as a Prussian, say that we Prussians are Pan-Germans; that we shall continue to be so, and that we shall have obtained our goal only when all Germany, including German Austria, is united with our Vaterland in one great state which can then serve Germany's mission in the world. (9)

Numerous declarations of Alfred Rosenberg, the former chief of the foreign political department of the Nazi party, and once mentioned for German Foreign Minister, are revealing. According to Wickham Steed, Rosenberg believed that the so-called Christian virtues of meekness, humility, charity, pacifism, and racial equality are essentially inferior to the German virtues of strength, courage, manliness, militarism, physical beauty, patriotism, honor, and belief in

(9) Ibid., p. 83.

racial purity. His creed is as follows:

The God whom we revere would not exist for us if our soul and our blood did not exist. Therefore everything which protects, purifies and strengthens the honour and the freedom of this soul and this blood is the concern of our religion, our rights, and our State. Our Holy Places are those where German heroes died, where monuments and memorials remind us of them. Our Holy Days are those on which they fought most passionately. And the Holy Hour of the German will come when the symbol of awakening, the banner with the sign of rising life (the Hooked Cross) has become the one dominating faith of the German Reich. (10)

Here is not only a reflection of German traits and beliefs, but also a foreshadowing of the influence which he hoped the Nazi movement would have upon the German population. He perhaps realized that the leader, gaining momentum in fixed culture channels could carry his followers beyond their present capacity. This, at least, appears to be his ambition for the party which in the course of time has been largely realized.

"Readers of Herr Rosenberg's Mythos of the Twentieth Century," says Wickam Steed, "will feel no surprise at these efforts to rid German Christianity of the Jewish taint..... He alleges that the blood of Germans, shed in the war, is returning to life. In the soul of the German folk new cells are being built up. Present and future appear in a new light; and, for the future, a new German mission reveals itself. No longer is it a fight between class and class,

(10) Steed, H. Wickham, The Meaning of Hitlerism, Nisbet, 1934, p. 120.

or dogma and dogma, but a settlement between blood and blood, race and race, folks and folk -- a struggle of soul values against soul values." (11)

Here, couched in ethical and philosophical terms, the idea of race superiority and the right of domination is again implied. It seems to run like a life-line throughout German culture and is present in every field of activity and thought.

NAZI INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING. Schools and universities, being centers of culture, should adequately reflect the national tone of any group. What then is to be seen in the mirror of the German school system?

L. I. Snyder well describes the nature of nationalistic tendencies in Germany in pre-war times as follows:

Germany embodied her national aspirations in her school system perhaps more than any other continental power. (p. 129)

The German educational system emphasized that the school existed, first of all for the State..... Obedience to authority, loyalty to the crown, even docility, were encouraged because they favored the power of the State. Through the primary and secondary schools the prospective citizen underwent a vigorous training which always stressed the glory of German civilization, German ideals, German politics, German industry, German "Kultur"..... The spirit which tempered the national army was accepted without question in the educational system. There was but little need to force the system upon the population. It was accepted gracefully as a national requirement.Cleavages in the German caste system were definite and rigid, but in the matter of duty to the Fatherland, and loyalty to the crown, every student, whether Junker's son or butcher's scion, was made aware of his Germanness. (pp. 124-5) (12)

(11) Ibid., p. 122.

(12) Snyder, L. I., From Bismark To Hitler, Bayard Press, 1935. (Quotation also in Abel, op. cit., p. 30)

The only change from the school system of pre-war Germany has been that under the Nazi regime the national characteristics as reflected and projected by Nazi leaders -- akin to those mentioned above by Snyder -- have been greatly intensified. Within the experience of the writer during his visits to Germany, the whole educational program has been adapted to Nazi concepts; texts have been written, glorifying in every field of study, the aims and the ambitions set forth by the national leaders; Hitler has been made the idol of every boy and girl and to them represents all that the Fatherland stands for; the motto, "You are born to die for Germany," pervades the school room; class lessons and school games are saturated through and through with militarism. Illustrations quoted by Stowe are representative observations:

The first scene occurs every morning in a schoolyard in Berlin. It is 8:30 A.M. Boys ranging from eleven to sixteen years are being given morning exercises under their instructor. But the boys are not running around playing games. They are prone on the ground behind a heap of turned-up earth. They are throwing things. Perhaps it is a game. Their object stands some forty feet or more away. It is the dummy head and shoulders of a man. As you peer more closely through the fence you observe that they are trying to hit, from a prone position, this dummy target. What the boys are throwing are wooden replicas of hand grenades..... After twenty minutes or half an hour of this setting-up exercise they march into the classroom to begin their other studies..... (pp. 66-67)

On May 9 (the Nazi government had been in power only two months) Reichsminister Frick announced a new law for the German schools. In customary National Socialist fashion he explained the basic principles of this law at great length and, in this case, with clarity. "The military idea," said Frick with

gratifying frankness, "must find ample treatment in school instruction. The German people must learn once more to see in military service the highest patriotic duty and source of honor; the germ of the military idea must be planted in the youth now growing up." (pp. 72-73) (13)

This is simply an emulation and an elaboration of the educational concept expressed by Hitler in "Mein Kampf":

Into the brain of the smallest child should be implanted this ardent appeal: "Almighty God, bless our arms! Be just as Thou hast ever been just. Pronounce Thy judgment and tell us if we deserve liberty. God, bless our battle!" (14)

On up the line to higher education, Stowe presents a list of lecture courses as culled from the 1933-34 curriculum of the University of Berlin. These courses are innovations since the Nazis came into power. An equal number of more general arts and science courses have been dropped in order to make room for the following list:

Faculty of Medicine: Courses on "Poison Gas" by Professor Behrens.
 Department of History: "Military Geography and Military Policy", by Dr. von Niedermayer.....
 Department of Science: "Military Technique and Its Relation to Mathematics and Physics", by General Karl Becker.
 Also: "Military Utilization of Electrical Means of Transmission", by Professor Kiebitz.
 From the curriculum of the Gymnastic Institute: Course of lectures on, "Maintenance and the Perfecting of the Military Aptitude of the Individual and of the People," by Professor Johannes Mueller....." (15)

(13) Stowe, op. cit.

(14) Ibid., p. 66 (Quoting from original German copy, p. 715)

(15) Ibid., pp. 68-69

Thus, it is to be seen from the educational programs that the national tone is strongly militaristic. It should not be overlooked at this point that this trait, as well as others related to it, are highly intensified, perhaps to the exclusion of others, as they are passed on to the rising generation. Here is to be noted a technique frequently used by supreme leaders in preserving those culture traits which they most favor -- the technique of the educational magnifying glass.

THE COMMON MAN. If the average man incorporates these attitudes of the race mind in his own philosophy and activities, the conclusion that they are characteristics of the national mentality is bolstered. Upon examination it is found that the common men and women of Germany do reflect these attitudes in varying degrees.

Theodore Abel, Associate Professor of Sociology at Columbia University, whose work has already been quoted, gives us an ingenious picture of the average German. Following the lead of the Polish sociologist, Florian Znaniecki, who used life histories in the investigation of various social problems, Abel applied this same method in his study of present-day Germany. While in that country in 1934 he secured six hundred and eighty-three autobiographies from Germans in all walks of life by offering "400 Marks in Prizes for the Best Personal Life History of an Adherent of the Hitler

Movement." (16) From these combined manuscripts by taking the model values of his data, he cleverly arrived at the following fictitious, yet representative, type of Nazi follower:

He is male, in his early thirties, a town resident of lower middle-class origin, without high school education; married and Protestant; participated in the World War, but not in the military activities during the revolution of 1918 or later outbreaks; had no political affiliations before joining the National Socialist party and belonged to no veteran or semi-military organizations. He joined the party between 1930 and 1931, and had his first contacts with the movement through reading about it and attending a meeting. He was strongly dissatisfied with the republican regime in Germany, but had no specific anti-Semitic bias. His economic status was secure, for not once did he have to change his occupation, job or residence, nor was he ever unemployed. (17)

This is the type of representative German whose attitudes are to be examined in the search for supporting evidence of national traits as expressed by Nazi leaders and educational institutions. Curiously enough, Abel's description of this prototype indicates a secure economic status, but none-the-less a strong dislike for the republican form of government under which the average German found himself before the rise of Hitler. Economic stress is often cited as a general cause for the rise of Naziism. While it may have had some influence, yet, as implied here, it was not a major factor. Obviously, of chief importance was the fact of unrealized latent desires among the masses, which

(16) Abel, op. cit., p. 3.

(17) Ibid., p. 6.

had not been fired by vigorous leadership and the resultant dissatisfaction with a democratic regime, which the German mind could not fathom. Even under this drive of dissatisfaction, it seems that the average man was wholly incapable of realizing his national desires without authoritarian leadership, which demanded utter obedience.

A few excerpts taken from the autobiographies as presented in Abel's book indicate the characteristics of the common man in regard to his national attitudes:

The joy of fighting for Hitler's principle gave my life a new meaning. The philosophy of the movement endowed my hitherto aimless life with a meaning and a purpose. (p. 146)

I attended the (Nazi) meetings, and I always felt happy to see the little groups of brown-clad soldiers march through the city with rhythmic strides and straightforward mien, unlike the Communists, who shambled through the city streets like so many robbers. As an old soldier, I was pleased to see Hitler's fighters march in this disciplined fashion. (p. 176)

Throughout 1928 I followed the work of the Nazis through the press, and it became evident to me that even the sympathizers with the movement were ready to die for Hitler's ideas. Consequently, it was not difficult for me to make up my mind. (p. 177)

We returned from the party meeting in Nurnberg strengthened in our belief in the Leader and his mission, and determined to redouble our efforts for the movement. Position, family, every other consideration must be forgotten for the sake of our cause. (p. 179)

I felt that Hitler personified all my desires for a new Germany. (p. 183)

My belief is that our Leader, Adolf Hitler, was given by fate to the German nation as our savior, bringing light into darkness. (p. 244)

To set down my life history means to justify myself. It also means to reflect on what I am, that I am a National Socialist by birth rather than by conversion. It means admitting the consequence that I became and am an S.S. man, and that I want nothing better than to serve in a black Hitler regiment. (p. 244) (18)

These are expressions of the typical German -- the average man from the common walks of life. Such statements, as quoted by Abel, could be endlessly multiplied from the experiences of the writer of this thesis, who made numerous visits to Germany during the years 1928-31 and 1936-39. Not only do these statements appear to be representative of the population of the Fatherland, but also of German minority groups in other nations, even including the United States. The German seems to carry the traits of the national mind, together with its desires and ambitions, wherever he goes.

It would seem profitable to turn to the ranks of educated Germany to elicit a representative statement from that group. Sir Norman Angell in his work, "Peace With the Dictators?", confines the first part of his book to a record of a symposium conducted on this question. The symposium consists of a German, an Italian, and Englishman and an American, who discuss the problem. We are concerned here only with the views of the German, which seem to be representative of those of his intellectual level. He is frank to state the following:

(18) Ibid., (page references follow quotations).

We see much of the world around us in utter chaos, the victim plainly of some process or principle of degeneration, disintegration. We must either dominate that chaos and disintegration, or share it, become one of its victims. We do not intend to share it; or become one of its victims. We intend to dominate it. As between control or chaos, we choose control; it was the Roman choice, as it is now ours.

We are pushed to that role also by deep instinct, an impulse to satisfy spiritual needs as real and definite as the physical need for bread, as a woman's desire for children. We believe -- and the Fuehrer has never hidden that belief -- that the German race has certain moral values, absolute virtues, peculiar to itself, inherent in its blood. It is a race which by virtue of those very qualities of blood feels an irrepressible urge, or moral hunger, to lead, to rule, to civilize. It has never yet enjoyed its right to fulfill that destiny, to take its due part in the world's government. It has not yet played its role. What we ask is power and freedom to fill that role. We now ask it with the sure knowledge that we shall get it; that you are powerless to prevent us, and we hope sincerely that you will not try. (19)

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPLE MIND TRAITS OF NAZI GERMANY.

From the foregoing analysis of the attitudes of Nazi leaders, of national patterns as reflected through the school system, and of representative statements from the common people, certain characteristics of Nazi culture stand out preeminently on the horizon of national thought. They may be summarized as follows:

- 1- Inherent in the life-blood of the Reich is a profound love and admiration for order and its counterpart, detailed organization.
- 2- The only way to the perfect attainment of these two, according to the German mind, is through tendering

(19) Angell, Sir Norman, Peace With The Dictators?, Harper Bros., 1938, pp. 5-6.

absolute obedience to supreme leadership.

- 3- These two traits find positive expression in glorified militarism, of which the national army is but a small part. The militaristic spirit is enjoyed by every individual through a galaxy of national organizations, such as the Nazi Youth Bunds, the Brown Shirts, etc.
- 4- In the fertile soil of the above characteristics, the concept of German race superiority finds nourishment.
- 5- This in turn gives rise to the passionate desire or -- to the German mind -- the inherent right to dominate and rule the world.
- 6- Finally, the State is the means through which these characteristics find greatest expression, and through which the ambitions of the national mind are to be realized. Thus the individual will must subject itself to the dictates of the State, the personification of which is seen in the leader.

GERMANY'S TWO WORLDS OF THOUGHT. While in our examination of the chief characteristics of the Nazi German mind we have found them to be of a militant nature, yet there are sporadic and baffling reflections of tendencies toward the opposite extreme. In light of the German mind as described in these pages, it appears difficult to reconcile statements concerning peace and non-aggression.

To turn to Stowe's illuminating account of such expressed tendencies we find: "On October 18, four days after he had led the Third Reich out of the League of Nations and the disarmament conference, Chancellor Adolf Hitler made the following peace declaration before eight hundred of his party leaders in Berlin.

"'Germany wants nothing but peace," said Chancellor Hitler. Then he added, "More than anybody else National Socialist Germany clings to peace because the National Socialist idea is based on a racial concept of state leaders united by blood. It turns toward domestic issues and therefore knows no imperialistic policy of conquest toward the outside. We reject every policy of force but we are just as much determined to guard our rights.'

"Four days earlier while the Reich's Geneva bomshell was still reverberating in world capitals, Adolf Hitler spoke to foreign governments and to universal public opinion in equally impressive language. In his personal manifesto, issued on that memorable October 14, the Nazi dictator summed up the attitude of Germany in these words:

"'The government and the people reject violence as an unsuitable means to remove the existing differences with the European community of states.'

"That same night Adolf Hitler made one of the greatest and most stirring speeches of his career. At least forty million of his compatriots listened by radio to his tempestuously earnest voice. Untold millions heard his words re-broadcast in five languages, virtually to all corners of the earth. Among other things, speaking of France, Hitler stated:

"'I speak in the name of the entire German people when I solemnly declare that we all are imbued with the

sincere desire to wipe out an enmity that, in regard to its sacrifices, is out of all proportion to any possible gain..... It would be an immense event for all humanity if these two peoples banished violence once and for all from their common life. The German people is ready to do so.'" (20)

This contradiction of purpose is not only characteristic of Hitler, but also of earlier German emperors and of the people themselves. It appears to be a trait of the national mind, which must be accounted for. William H. Dawson, a keen and thorough student of German life and author of numerous volumes on Germany, finds such contradictions rife in history. Speaking of the late Kaiser, William II, he says:

Even more than his acts the Emperor's oratory has kept all Europe on the tender hooks of apprehension and distrust. One month we find him posing as a pacifist in the industrial West of Germany and declaring it to be his "chief care to preserve peace for my country." But the very next month he is declaring at Berlin, in the midst of complete European tranquility: "My glass is raised to the nation in arms. Let our powder be dry, our swords sharpened, our goal fixed, our forces strained, and may the pessimists be confounded".....

Absolute Sovereigns may keep the peace for different reasons -- for reasons of policy and sheer selfishness, as well as motives of goodwill and morality. Frederick the Great sought peace and kept it as soon as he had obtained all he wanted, but he left his neighbours no rest until then. Bismark saw to it that King William I kept the peace until 1864, but only because Prussia's sword was still at the grinder's; once sharpened he promptly used it, and did not sheathe it again for seven years, during which he fought three bloody wars. Then he, too, preserved the peace, but only because it was not in Germany's interest to fight again. (21)

(20) Stowe, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

(21) Dawson, William H., What Is Wrong With Germany?, Longmans, Green, 1915, pp. 163-4.

In spite of the obvious conclusion that such behavior is resorted to as a practical means of throwing the opposition off the track or is in the opportune interests of the state, yet the roots of this behavior pattern go deeper than this. While it has often served as a technique to trick the enemy, yet many such statements at the time of their utterance have been made in sincerity. A quirk in the national mentality of Germany finds full justification and reconciliation in these two grossly opposed attitudes, which appear to baffle and confuse the rest of the world.

Paradoxically enough the German mind appears to have two worlds of thought, as developed through the centuries by the fusion of various Germanic peoples. The Germans, themselves, have sensed this difference, as tersely expressed in the catchwords: "Goethe or Bismark?" Humanitarianism and freedom of thought found their way into the German mind, as represented by Goethe, Kant and other great national characters. On the other hand, the militaristic, hard, feelingless spirit of Prussianism, as represented by Marx, Lagarde, Nietzsche, Bismark and William II, made its lasting imprint upon the national character.

The observations of Masaryk, the Czech, who was an ardent student of German life and philosophy, are enlightening. He notes the driving influence of Prussia upon Germanic culture:

The Prussianization of Germany was political in the first instance. Taking advantage of the decay of the "Holy Roman Empire of German Allegiance," that remanent of Roman Catholic theocracy, the Prussian theocracy dominated Germany and Austria by its strong, unitary, military and administrative organization. Little by little Prussianism secured control of all efforts to advance education and culture, and made of Germany outwardly a well-ordered Empire. Not only in politics, philosophy, science and art, but even in theology this Prussianism expressed itself. As soon as the leading men and classes in a nation begin to rely on might and violence, the wells of sympathy dry up. People lose interest in knowing the feelings and thoughts of their neighbors, since the mechanism of the State, the word of command, and the fist, suffice for all purposes of intercourse. They cease to think freely and their learning becomes barren of living ideas. (22)

He sees the present German mind personified in Hegel, whose philosophy is an admixture of these two streams of thought, but leaning heavily towards Prussianism. To quote again from Masaryk:

I look upon Hegel as a synthesis of Goethe and Kant and an anticipation of Bismark. He (Hegel) accepted the Prussian idea of the State as the highest expression of nationality and a guide for the whole community. His pantheism and fantastic philosophy are a transition from the idea of the Universe held by Goethe and Kant to the mechanical materialism and violence of Prussianism. By his doctrine of "Absolute Idealism" Hegel supported the claim of the Prussian State to absolute authority, forsook the universal outlook and humaneness of Goethe and Kant, and created the basis for a policy of force in theory and practice. It was not for nothing that Hegel was originally a theologian; and even in theology he propounded the principles of the Prussian theocracy. Bismark and the Emperor William were always calling on God, the Prussian God; and Bismark and Bismarkianism swallowed up Goethe. The Prussian State became the infallible director of the nation and of its spiritual life and culture. (23)

(22) Masaryk, op. cit., p. 307.

(23) Ibid. p. 308.

Thus in the philosophy of Hegel one sees the fusion of two trends of thought -- that of humanitarian idealism, overshadowed by that of materialism and violence. In this interaction of two mind patterns, little was lost, although the latter by far outweighs the former. To reconcile the two, the German mind has built up the philosophy that materialism and violence are necessary for the preservation of idealism and freedom.

Since under the system of violence and subjugation, the German mind is not free, it finds compensation and satisfaction in expressing humanitarian ideals and in verbalizing the virtues of peace, freedom and benevolence. These latent qualities of the mind, finding their way to the surface from time to time, give expression to peaceful and humanitarian motives, while at the same time violence and force persist. This baffles the world. To the German it is the natural thing.

John Dewey recognized this paradox in German thought and action and wrote an enlightening chapter upon it in his little volume, "German Philosophy and Politics." He sees these two thought patterns in the philosophy of Kant. To turn to Dewey:

It is precarious undertaking to single out some one thing in German philosophy as of typical importance in understanding German national life. Yet I am committed to the venture. My conviction is that we have its root idea in the doctrine of Kant concerning the two realms, one outer, physical and necessary, the other inner, ideal and free..... Surely the chief mark of

distinctively German civilization is its combination of self-conscious idealism with unsurpassed technical efficiency and organization in the varied fields of action. (24)

He indicates that the so-called inner realm, ideal and free, is predominant over the outer realm of the physical and necessary, and he leans upon Kant to substantiate his point. The present writer from his knowledge of German traits and behavior must take issue with this point of view, and state that since the Germans are greatly limited in the inner realm, they compensate for the lack of the ideal and freedom by building up hopes and aspirations, which they believe to be realities. Thus, the inner realm only seems to be of greatest importance, while in point of actual life it has lesser value. Being a German, even Kant could not escape the tendency to place it first. Dewey describes the inner realm of thought as being "above and beyond" them. And in this way it serves, as shown by him:

Above and beyond as an end, for the sake of which all technical achievements, all promotion of health, wealth and happiness exist, lies the realm of inner freedom, of the ideal and the supersensible. The more the Germans accomplish in the way of material conquest, the more they are conscious of fulfilling an ideal mission; every external conquest affords the greatest warrant for dwelling in an inner region where mechanism does not intrude. Thus it turns out that while the Germans have been..... the most technically pragmatic of all peoples in their actual conduct of affairs, there is no people so hostile to the spirit of pragmatic philosophy..... (25)

(24) Dewey, John, German Philosophy and Politics, Henry Holt & Co., 1915, pp. 28-29.

(25) Ibid., pp. 29-30.

Professor Dewey then indicates the difficulty the foreigner has in understanding a complex of this type and contrasts it to the English tradition of freedom. All of this is a beautiful example of the misunderstanding of one people for another since they fail to perceive the background of each others philosophy and behavior patterns. Again to quote Dewey:

The division established between the outer realm (of German life), in which of course fall acts, and the inner realm of consciousness explains what is otherwise so paradoxical to a foreigner in German writings: The constant assertion that Germany brought to the world the conscious recognition of the principle of freedom, coupled with the assertion of the relative incompetency of the German folk en masse for political self-direction.

To one saturated by the English tradition which identifies freedom with power to act upon one's (own) ideas, to make one's purposes effective in regulation of public affairs, the combination seems self-contradictory. To the German it is natural.

Readers who have been led by newspaper quotations to regard Bernhardt as preaching simply a gospel of superior force, will find in his writings a continual assertion that the German spirit is the spirit of freedom, of complete intellectual self-determination; that the Germans have always been the standard bearers of free thought. We find him supporting his teachings not by appeal to Nietzsche, but by the Kantian distinction between the "empirical and the rational ego."
(26)

And so in Germany's two worlds of thought, entirely consistent to the German mind, it is possible to find seemingly irreconcilable utterances of war and materialism on the one hand, and of peace and humanism on the other. The

(26) Ibid., pp. 33-34.

frequent voicing of the latter may not be so much a trick to outwit the enemy as it is a mental device to compensate for the actual lack of it in German culture.

To understand this paradox is also to better understand the present practices of Naziism as motivated by the Nazi mind. It explains in part the willingness of the masses to endure the outward, harsh and sometimes cruel impositions made upon them. It is natural for them to transpose the hard facts of life into terms of non-reality -- dreams of unknown freedom, of world domination, etc. -- all of which seems to make the burden worth while. It helps to explain their ability to place sole trust and confidence in a dictatorial leader, no matter how rough the path he treads. If he truly symbolizes the traits and ambitions of the German mind, then no sacrifice can become too great in his behalf, and their utter obedience eagerly awaits his stern command. They may be led like sheep to place their all upon the German altar.

LEADERSHIP AS A FORCE IN SHAPING THE GROUP MIND. The socio-psychological concept of the group mind implies that the leader is the product of the culture in which he is nurtured, and that he in turn influences the group which places confidence in him. Although the leader is nourished in the cultural soil of national tendencies, yet under favorable conditions, he may, and often does, tower over and dominate those forces which gave him root and strength.

It may well be that a leader carried swiftly upward by the momentum of his national culture patterns, might, through his personal thirst for power and for further ascendancy, project himself beyond the moral limitations of the group mind, and use the masses toward a realization of his own ambitions.

Such may often be the case, since the desires, traits and ambitions of the group mind are vague and wholly without definite form among the majority of the people. In times of severe national crisis there is a marked tendency -- at times, a demand -- for a clear crystallization of these ever-present but elusive tendencies. The psychological basis for dictatorship -- especially for a national entity which has never developed a degree of self-initiative among the masses -- is to be found in a situation of national despair and disappointment. Here the leader may easily become a dictatorial power, for he crystallizes in unmistakable, dynamic form these vague and elusive characteristics of the group mind. Therefore the masses see in him a tangible realization of their desires -- a way out of the dilemma, according to the culture patterns which they have intuitively felt. They place utter faith in him and blindly obey. He gains great prestige. Soon his very person becomes a mythical entity to inspire the common herd along the course he chooses to take. As Cooley says, "The power of a man often transcends the man himself;..... and the real question is not so much, What you

are? as, What can I believe that you are? What can you help me to feel and be?" (27)

The faith of the masses in such leadership is usually engendered within them because of the positive faith the leader has in himself and in the ideas he champions. According to Le Bon, such a "leader has most often started as one of the led. He himself has been hypnotized by an idea, whose apostle he has since become. It has taken possession of him to such a degree that everything outside it vanishes, and that every contrary opinion appears to him to be an error or a superstition..... The intensity of (his) faith gives great power of suggestion to (his) words. The multitude is always ready to listen to a strong-willed man, who knows how to impose himself upon it. Men gathered in a crowd lose all force of will, and turn instinctively to the person who possesses the quality they lack." (28) The leader's faith in his own mission, springs of course originally from the group mind which produces him. But it is possible, especially if his success arouses personal ambition, that he take advantage of that faith and lack of will in his followers to the attainment of his own designs. Many a leader has so abused such faith.

A dictatorial leader acquires the advantages of prestige in his favor. To quote Le Bon again, "Great power is

(27) Cooley, Charles H., Human Nature and the Social Order, Scribners, 1922, p. 341

(28) Le Bon, G., The Crowd, Macmillan, 1922, p. 133.

given to ideas propagated by affirmation, repetition, and contagion by the circumstance that they acquire in time that mysterious force known as prestige. Whatever has been the ruling power in the world, whether it be ideas or men, has in the main enforced its authority by means of that irresistible force expressed by the word 'prestige'..... Prestige is in reality a sort of domination exercised on our mind by an individual, a work or an idea. This domination entirely paralyzes our critical faculty, fills our soul with astonishment and respect. The sentiment provoked is inexplicable, like all sentiments, but it would appear to be of the same kind as the fascination to which a magnetized person is subjected. Prestige is the mainspring of all authority." (29)

A dictator may well capitalize upon the paralyzing effect of his prestige upon any critical faculties his followers might have had. Despite the fact that prestige is derived from the channels of the group mind, yet it may become a subtle weapon in the hands of unscrupulous leadership to carry the masses beyond their moral limitations.

Such a leader must also be capable of stimulating the imagination, and of constantly producing new objectives if he is to remain in power. As Cooley points out, "The people who do things, the young, and all those having surplus energy, need to hope and strive for an imaginative object; and they

(29) Ibid., pp. 147-8.

will follow no one who does not encourage this tendency. The first requisite of a leader is, not to be right, but to lead, to show the way." (30) Here, one who is ambitious for personal power can employ this technique of firing the imagination of the youth, who, being none too well founded in the institutions of the past, readily acquire those traits desired by the leader.

The dictator must always have the appearance of being the master of the situation and be in a position to point out what must be done next. Since he is dealing with others, he must make them feel that his decisions represent theirs, and thus avoid if possible the arousal of opposition. Or as Cooley indicates, "possibly he may take the violent method, and browbeat and humiliate a weak mind. There are various ways of establishing superiority, but in one way or another the consummate leader always accomplishes it..... Take Bismark as an example.....! He conciliated those whom he thought it worth while to conciliate, and browbeat, ignored or ridiculed the rest. There was nothing a rival could do or say but Bismark, if he chose, would say or do something which made it appear a failure." (31) The complete suppression of the opposition is a necessary element in the maintenance of the dictator's power. The techniques of making others feel that his decisions represent their own desires, and of silencing

(30) Cooley, op. cit., p. 343.

(31) Ibid., pp. 330-31.

the opposition, are means used by dictators in breaking down the psychological limitations of the group.

Taking advantage of the blind faith of his followers, and capitalizing upon his prestige, the dictator finds it an easy step to preserve his position through the technique of institutionalizing his control. This may be done through the organization of armed force, through secret service, through the education of the youth, through party organization, etc. Young points out this technique as follows: "Leaders in the dominant minority begin the process of institutionalization of their control as soon as possible after they acquire dominance. This institutionalizing of control occurs after every revolution -- religious, economic, or political. Lenin and Trotsky entrenched their control in the Communist Central Committee. Under the Fascist regime Italy was organized to continue the dictatorship of Mussolini" (32) Hitler has institutionalized his control through the spider-web organization of Naziism.

Besides these extremely important techniques, the dictator uses "persuasion and flattery. These include..... propaganda, and the building up of various slogans, myths and legends which will retain the leaders in power. Persuasion, employing gestures, and language, appeals to pride and conscience, to fear and anger, and to a host of prejudices

(32) Young, Kimball, Social Psychology, Crofts & Co., 1930, p. 392.

already vaguely formed but now made articulate. In all this the power of words over emotions and actions is most apparent...." (33)

And so, although the leader is the product of the group mind, in which is to be found the genesis of his behavior patterns, yet through the above mentioned devices and techniques, he may lead the glibble masses far beyond their own first sub-conscious desires, or at least urge them to attain those desires by means and methods wholly inconsistent with their original intent. Thus, the personality of the dictator by this process becomes the dominant force in shaping the group mind. The very existence of the totalitarian state implies that everyone is in agreement with him--with his mind and its ambitions.

THE NAZI MIND IN ACTION. It has been the observation of the writer during his frequent visits to Germany, and from his numerous contacts with the German people, that Adolph Hitler, swept into power by the surging psychological currents of a national dilemma, has gradually acquired a passion for power and authority, made all the more desirable by his uncanny success in thus far realizing his ambitions. In the opinion of the writer Hitler commenced his ascent with a sincere desire to free Germany of the many shackles which bound her down; he earnestly adopted policies

(33) Ibid., p. 392.

which he felt were for the good and advancement of the German people. The writer cannot bring himself to believe as many have proposed, that his program right from its inception was designed to deceive and mislead the masses. Only when Hitler began to feel the warm pulsation of success and power and its increasing tempo did he begin to broaden the horizon of his ambitions and decide to use any means possible in the rapid attainment of his ends.

Sir Neville Henderson, the British Ambassador to Germany during almost three years prior to the Polish crisis of 1939, gained an unusual insight into the life and temperament of the "Fuehrer" through frequent personal contact with him, as well as with his chief aides. In discussing Hitler's astonishing rise to power, he relates in his recent volume, "Failure of a Mission", the following:

In the final report on events..... I remarked that Hitler would prove a fascinating study for historians with psychological leanings in the future. His critics today describe him by many strange names; he may be any or all of them, but I prefer to leave it to the professional psychiatrist to pronounce the verdict. For me he was sort of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. To begin with, he may not have been more than a visionary of genius or a practical dreamer with a sublime faith in himself and in his mission to reinstate Germany in her former position among the nations. "Mein Kampf" shows that he was naturally endowed with a highly developed political sense, but it is unlikely that his original ambitions were as wide as they subsequently became. His initial aspiration may well have been to become Chancellor of Germany, to complete her unity by means of the incorporation of Austria, his own motherland, as a first objective, and to restore to Germany her self-respect and prosperity. The interesting point to elucidate would be when he ceased to be Jekyll and became Hyde. It was

probably a matter of gradual evolution. Dictators, having achieved absolutism, lose their sense of proportion. Each success leads to ever expanding aims, while their insatiable desire for their own permanence drives them in the end to put self before country, and to adventure as the sole means of maintaining their hold. So it was with Napoleon and so it seems to be with Hitler. The Chancellorship, the unity and the prosperity of Germany were not enough. His flatterers described him as the successor of Frederick the Great and Bismark; and as time went on, he felt himself called upon to emulate their military victories as well as their other constructive achievements. During that first visit of mine to Nuremberg I could not....forbear asking myself how any human brain could keep its sanity amid all the adulatory worship which his fellows accorded him. When I first met him, his logic and sense of realities had impressed me; but, as time went on, he appeared to me to become more and more unreasonable and more and more convinced of his own infallibility and greatness. In the end Bismark was no longer an equal. Hitler could and did describe Ribbentrop as a second Iron Chancellor.

He himself had become something far greater, conceivably a sort of Mahomet with a "sword in one hand and "Mein Kampf" in the other." And with such a sword there need be no longer any limit to his ambitions except his own death.....

He was a skillful mixer of fraud with force, and was always seeking to find for everything excuses which would hoodwink his people into submitting to anything which he might order for them. Even a dictator cannot ignore altogether the feelings and wishes of his people, and Hitler used his internal propaganda with immense skill for this purpose. His constant aim was to persuade them that everything he did was right and justified, that he and Germany were the victims of calculating and hostile foreigners who drove him (Hitler) to act as he did solely in self-defense..... (34)

If these observations be true, then it becomes apparent that Hitler and his small group of ruling elite, having

(34) Henderson, Sir Nevile, Failure of a Mission, Putnams, 1940, pp. 181-183.

gained absolute power, largely because of the blind obedience of the masses to their dictates, are the principle force in directing the German mind today. They are the mind of Germany, for they tend to divert and suppress opposition through deception, education, violence and any other means or techniques available to them in the attainment of their own selfish ambitions. The Nazi mind in action, then, is seen in the programs and activities of the small number of ruling elite in Germany today.

Hermann Rauschning, the ex-president of the Danzig Senate and a former leader of the National Socialist Party of Germany, who broke with the Nazis in 1934 because he could not conscientiously uphold their program and tactics, presents one of the most intimate and vivid pictures of the Nazi mind in action that the writer knows of. His description of Nazi methods, techniques and ambitions is to be found in his recent volume, "The Revolution of Nihilism." According to the writer's personal knowledge of conditions and activities in present-day Germany, through intimate contacts, and from confidential accounts related to him by dependable Germans in the country, he feels that many parts of Herr Rauschning's account are a true reflection of Naziism during the last few years.

A few selected quotations from Rauschning will serve to indicate not only the Nazi mind in action, but something

of its ambitions as well. He conceives the movement to be a nihilist revolution, or in other words, a powerful and violent drive to annihilate any opposition that stands in the way of the elite's ambitions. In speaking of this revolutionary dictatorship of the small elite ruling class he writes:

The revolutionary dictatorship is a new type in its cynical, unprincipled policy of violence. The outsider overlooks, above all, the essential distinction between the mass and the elite in the new revolution. The distinction is vital in every field. That which is intended for the mass is not applicable to the elite. The program and official philosophy, allegiance and faith, are for the mass. Nothing commits the elite -- no philosophy, no ethical standard. It has but one obligation, that of absolute loyalty to comrades, to fellow-members of the initiated elite. This fundamental distinction between elite and mass does not seem to have been sufficiently clearly realized, but it is just this that explains many inconsistencies, many things done, that leave the outsider dumbfounded..... (page 20)

Hitler is deliberately and unceasingly held up to the masses as a deity. One of the principle devices for securing National Socialist dominance is this deification of the man, his raising to the altitude of the sole savior of the nation. "We all believe on this earth in Adolf Hitler, our leader"; "we acknowledge that National Socialism is the faith that alone can bring blessedness to our people." These are official pronouncements by the party elite. The Messiah-figure of the leader is the indispensable center of their propaganda, as carefully devised as the whole of the apparatus of power..... The figure of the leader must be withdrawn more and more into seclusion and surrounded with mystery. He must only come visibly into the presence of the nation by means of startling actions and rare speeches at critical moments in the national destiny. Except for that he must withdraw from view -- just like the Creator behind the creation -- in order to heighten his effectiveness by his mysteriousness. The very rarity of his appearance would make them events..... (pp. 35-6)

National Socialism is action pure and simple, dynamics in vacuo, revolution at a variable tempo, ready to be changed at any moment. One thing it is not -- doctrine or philosophy. Yet it has a philosophy. It does not base its policy on doctrine, but pursues it with the aid of a philosophy. It makes use of its philosophy as it makes use of all things men have, and all they want, as fuel for its energy..... National Socialist policy is in the highest degree subtle and sly, aimed at keeping to the front a system of "inflammatory idea," in order the more effectively and more startlingly to seize each opportunity..... To the conscious nihilist there are no ideas. But there are substitutes for ideas which can be foisted on the masses by suggestion, and he has little hesitation in imposing on them whatever they can swallow..... The National Socialist "philosophy" is not the outcome of any lofty intuition; it is deliberately and carefully manufactured..... A myth must be created to give the masses energy for action..... Thus the ruling consideration in the production of the National Socialist philosophy is its power of influencing the masses by suggestion, of instilling into them the sense of the duty of obedience..... (pp. 23-4)

It will surprise nobody that the National Socialist revolutionary Elite are entirely without moral inhibitions..... It is characteristic..... that it is only in exceptional cases that its leaders are removed on account of incorrect dealings -- to put it euphemistically -- under the civil code. Lack of morals in civil life is not frowned on; it is no ground for suspicion of a member's National Socialist orthodoxy. National Socialism demands, indeed, of its sworn elite that all personal moral scruples shall be overridden by the needs of the party. Anyone who reveals that he is allowing himself the luxury of guidance by his own conscience has no place in the elite and will be expelled..... It is impossible to demand scrupulous correctness in a member's private life when any crime may be required of him in the interest of the party. Demands have actually been made of individuals in order to have a future hold over them, or to test their readiness to obey..... (pp. 33-4)

National Socialist leaders conceal their true objectives so well that many members of the elite only realized after a considerable time that they had been drawn into double existence, with fictitious spiritual, national aims, and one very real one, the

pursuit for power..... Here again the National Socialist leaders carried into practice the new doctrine of violence, the doctrine that spiritual assets are of value for the legitimation of political power and for nothing else..... It is by force alone that an elite comes to the top. Force is applied at all times, for the one purpose of maintaining the elite in power -- and applied ruthlessly, brutally and instantaneously..... It is virtually a duty for every member of the elite to undergo training in brutality. It prefers at all times the most violent means, the most violent solution. Only in this way does it retain its position..... (pp. 31-2)

The revolutionary elite can maintain itself in power in its permanently critical situation only by continually pushing on with the revolutionary process. In its effort to hold on to power it is compelled to destroy the old social and political institutions, since it is in these that the strength of the old ruling class lies. When the political structure of the country has been razed to the ground, the elite will march over the frontier, to upset the existing international order..... (p. 32) (35)

Having described in general some of the techniques and aims of the ambitious elite, Rauschning continues with an explanation of the more detailed methods employed in controlling not only the masses, but those organs of Naziism which carry out the orders of the leaders. He writes of the machinery put into operation to make the will of all bend to the will of the few. He continues:

The tasks the machinery of domination has to fulfill are: the permanent revolutionizing of the mass of party followers, the keeping alive of their will to fight, and the maintenance of the dynamic character of the movement. The rank and file have to be kept continually on the move and continually under tension. They have to be controlled down to the smallest detail in their whole lives. They have to be kept entirely dependent and under supervision, and prevented from giving way to any undisciplined impulse of their own. Each member of the rank and file of the party must be made to associate his whole existence

(35) Rauschning, Hermann, The Revolution of Nihilism, Longmans, Green & Co., 1939 (pages indicated after paragraphs)

with the party, and to identify himself entirely with the party, by the continued fear that if he does not do so he will be robbed of his livelihood. The rank and the file must be made to feel that they are continually under observation, and must be kept in continual restlessness and insecurity, in a permanent state of uneasy conscience and fear. These tasks yield to certain principles of organization, which amount in the end to this: the machinery must be absolutely watertight, and it must embrace every side of life. There must be no zones of immunity.....

A very important principle is that of two fold organization. For every group of duties parallel bodies are trained, to cover the same field of work from different sides, with the principal object of watching one another and holding one another in check by their rivalry. This principle is regarded as so important that it is carried through right up to the top.....

A further principle of organization is the delimitation and grading of the fields of work of all party officials by the two regulative disciplines of leadership and blind obedience. The fact that every person in an official position in the party is harnessed to the disciplinary mechanism in several directions, participating both in the responsibility of leadership and in the duty of absolute obedience, has developed a very practical and tightly drawn system of supervision and counter-supervision, from which no official can possibly escape.

Finally, this whole system is kept under observation by a secret party tribunal and jurisdiction, completely independent of the State, whose activities are supervised in turn by special inspectors. This whole gigantic apparatus is centered on the single supreme individual; but his final decision is only needed in exceptional cases, the self-acting mechanism disposing of most matters in lower stages of the hierarchy. Thus the whole machinery remains free for all practical purposes for the transmission of orders from above, and in critical matters from the supreme leader, down to the extreme limits of the organized party. A grandiose and certainly unique instrument of the leader's will..... (pp. 39-41)

Next after the hierarchy in the means of dominion come the methods of forcible disciplining and of destruction of the earlier elements of orderly government. In this connection it would be natural to consider all

the methods of violence, old or newly elaborated, which are used by modern revolutions -- concentration camps, political terrorism, the secret police system, the employment of special cadres of the party for purposes of intimidation; and also the more subtle methods of spreading fear and of breaking men's character and independence..... (p. 44).

Everything (Naziism) does is represented as done simply in the defence of a sacred right and moral mission.... Every lie is adorned with a show of virtue Moral indignation comes next after brutality in the National Socialist armory of effective propaganda. It takes the place of reasoned argument. The revolution is true to type in its eternal moralizing, in its defence of "virtue".....

Should terrorism produce discontent, there is always a public enemy to be discovered. Public indignation is poured over him from time to time, so that collective outbursts of rage may provide a diversion for accumulating private resentment. To provide continual diversion, and never to leave the citizen to himself with nothing to do, is another tactical rule of general application..... (pp. 45-6)

All these things are merely things for show, means of propaganda, doctrines foisted cynically on the nation by an elite who are themselves indifferent to them.... All these considerations formed the framework of National Socialist philosophy.... to be set out in fiery phrases that would work on the masses and serve as a starting point for continual appeals to the emotions, in order to produce intoxication and ecstatic response.... "Talk in generalities," was the continually repeated instruction from the National Socialist leaders in the "period of the struggle", in every field of propaganda, big and little..... Concrete promises divide, generalities unite. So effectively, so indiscriminatingly, in such elementary terms, intelligible to the most simple-minded of propaganda corporals, was the philosophical training imparted. Its supreme purpose was the collecting of the crowd, the emptying of its mind, the rousing of its feelings, the summons to a pretended higher existence on a heroic scale; or to a happiness as one of the herd -- Strength through Joy, Beauty of Labor, Enjoy Life. Simple but effective, for it is not meant for the despised intellectual but for the masses, to place them under a spell and lead them by the nose. (pp. 50-2) (36)

NAZI AMBITIONS. From the foregoing one gains an insight into the methods employed by the few in Germany for the gaining and retaining of absolute power, whereby personal ambitions may be realized. But what are these ambitions of the Nazi elite, and how far do they extend? "Mein Kampf" indicates that the Nazis have a "world mission", which must be accomplished through "the conquest of the sword".

During the tense days of the Sudeten trouble in Czechoslovakia in the fall of 1938, an interesting and revealing map fell into the writer's hands, which purports to be a schematic plan of Nazi conquest in Europe. (37) It was reported to have been taken from the person of a Sudeten Nazi officer apprehended by the Czech police early in September of 1938, and was delivered to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague for investigation. One of the chief advisors of the Foreign Minister, who is an intimate friend of the writer, arranged for him to procure a copy, which is herein reproduced. It shows the anticipated acquisitions of Germany for the spring and fall of each year from 1938 up to 1941, during which time Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Jugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Northern France, Switzerland and the Russian Ukraine are to be brought under the influence of Germany. The lower portion of the map shows Greater Germany from 1938-1948 extending

(37) See Appendix G, p. 207

her sway over all of Northern and Eastern Europe, with the Mediterranean area left to the Southern Axis partner, Italy. The map proved true to schedule up to and including the Polish conquest.

The circumstances under which the map was found and the results of the investigation in Prague indicate that it had its origin in Germany. Whether it is a valid official map is a question. It may be a technique of propaganda designed to make the members of the Nazi Party feel that they actually belong to a forward-moving aggressive cause. Whatever the case may be, the German population is led to believe that such territorial claims are to be made. This is indicative at least of Nazi ambitions. Truly an audacious and comprehensive project!

Rauschnig clearly points out Nazi ambitions, and warns first of the conquest of Europe. But he goes a step farther by making the startling claim that the Nazis intend to redivide the world, and then to eventually dominate it as the natural right of the most superior and most powerful race. To again quote Rauschnig:

The ultimate aim is the maximum of power and domination. The means is a general subversion, the destruction of the existing order so as to have a free hand for the building of a new and greater dominion. But behind this is the intention no longer to be confined to Europe. Obviously it is impossible to state all these aims in precise terms, they are influenced by considerations of military and strategic policy, and by the all-pervading urge to revolutionary destruction....

The central ideal of this urge is the redistribution of the world. So at least it is envisaged by the German Minister of Propaganda. And it is no mere chance that it was Goebbels, and Jacobin, who spoke of the rare moment of the redistribution of the world. "Redistribution" is the old ideal of demagogic Socialism. Redistribution, whether at home at the expense of the rich or abroad through the expropriation of defeated enemies -- the idea is the same, the magic idea of "sharing out".....

This claim to the redistribution of the world is no longer the just desire of a nation for room to live and move. The mobilization of all the resources of the nation is not for the ending of the injuria temporum. Dynamism is the will to anarchy. Not the ending of revolution but the final and complete fulfillment of revolution in Western civilization, its extreme expression -- such is the essential aim of National Socialism. (38)

Here then, appears to be a ruling elite, represented by Hitler, which after being hurled into power by the groping German mind, cunningly took advantage of those who put them in power, and now use them as a stepping stone toward deadly, dangerous and personal ambitions, a lust for maximum power and world dominion. With such ambitions in the hearts of a dangerous few, who wield a vigorous but deliberately mislead and regimented nation at their will, what hope is there for the peace of the world?

(38) Rauschnig, H., op. cit., pp. 265-7.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES

He who is master of Bohemia is
master of Europe. --- Bismark

The nature of the disastrous conflict between Czechoslovakia and the Third Reich, as well as its implications, were seen in clear outline by President Eduard Benes many months before the crisis itself broke. He plainly expressed the essence of the struggle to Douglas Reed, news correspondent and author, in an interview granted the latter on the eve of December 19, 1937. On that occasion Benes pointed out, among other things, the following:

If Germany takes the question of minorities as a pretext for attacking Czechoslovakia, where they are better treated than in Poland, Hungary or Italy, for instance, British opinion must understand that this is done, not because the situation of the minorities is bad in this country, but because we have not been submissive to German foreign policy.

I could very easily make peace with Germany if I had cared to make the same equivocal policy of Monsieur X of Monsieur Y -- if I wished to accept German influence in our general foreign policy.....

All this German campaign against us -- if only this could be understood in England -- is not on account of the German minority and its treatment, but because Germany thinks she can force us to adopt a different foreign policy -- to abandon France, England, collaboration with Western Europe, and to submit to German influence.....

I am convinced that if we abandon this position and if we do not resist the influence and pressure of Germany we shall in a few years have war again -- not against us, but against France and England, as we did in 1914. Czechoslovakia would have to fight again for Germany, as in 1914 for Austria..... (1) 、

Here in a few terse paragraphs one finds a pointed description of the true nature of the Czech and German national minds in conflict -- a conflict deliberately perpetrated by the stronger power. In this clash of culture patterns, one notes that the numerically weaker, characterized by a desire for peace and humanitarian idealism of which it was deprived for so many centuries, was seeking through collaboration with the great democracies of Europe to protect its independence and status against the influence and pressure of an opposing culture, characterized by the will to dominate. It was a struggle in which the weaker realized that without the influence and assistance of kindred nations, its position was precarious, and thus it desperately bid for friendly outside aid and cooperation. It was a situation in which the stronger, desiring to avoid the great expense of war, if possible, attempted to force the hand of the weaker by undermining the latter's alliances with outside governments. This was accomplished by misrepresenting the actual issues of the carefully instigated conflict through the pretext of "freeing" and "protecting" the ill-treated, subjugated minorities

(1) Reed, Douglas, Disgrace Abounding, Jonathan Cape, 1939, pp. 55-6.

residing in the weaker nation. If such misrepresentations could be made to appear factual, concessions could be secured from allies supporting the weaker nation, which would cause it to capitulate in favor of the oppressor.

This characterized the conflict which took place between democratic Czecho-Slovakia and dictatorial Germany. It resolved itself into a struggle to maintain peace and the status quo on the one hand, and an aggressive move for power and increased dominion on the other. It was a subtle offensive activated by the Germans, and resisted only as a defense measure by the Czechs. By sheer weight of force the preponderance of power lay with Nazi Germany, and far outweighed any resistance the Czech Republic could offer, unless in the Scales of Justice, France and England would guarantee to make up the deficiency. This hope proved to be in vain. Hence, the conflict resulted first in the occupation of the Sudetenland in October of 1938, and finally in the complete domination of Czecho-Slovakia in March of the following year.

HENLEIN AND THE SUDETE GERMAN PARTY. Among the first signs of open conflict within Czecho-Slovakia was the agitation of the German minority for increased rights and privileges shortly after the Nazis came to power in Germany under the glistening banner of "A Spritual Bond Unites All Germans." Slogans of "Volksgemeinshaft" and "Kulturgemeinshaft", seemed innocent enough at first, but were given deep meaning by

German minorities and especially by National Socialist propaganda, which gradually gained systematic infiltration into German areas. Those radical elements among the minorities, which had maintained connection with the Hitler program before its ascension to power, initiated a movement for the formation of a "National Front", which under the Czech Constitutional Government was permissible. This movement quietly supported from Germany, incorporated the "leadership" principle, under which Konrad Henlein in October 1934 formed the German "Heimatfront", at the head of which he placed himself as "Fuehrer" and issued a manifesto calling upon all Germans in Czecho-Slovakia to join it.

The Henlein party built up a very capable and aggressive organization of young people, and penetrated into all the various German societies and cultural and economic institutions. The proximity of the general elections in 1935 multiplied opportunities for increased agitation, which made the party finally the strongest political body of the German minority. It adopted the name of the Sudete German Party. Its main sources of strength were the intellectual and political forces and the propaganda of Nazi Germany. Josef Chmelar in writing of the activities of the Henlein party says:

The political methods of the Henlein movement in Czechoslovakia are closely connected with the whole National Socialist orientation.....Its starting point was, above all, the assertion that the situation of

the German minority in Czechoslovakia was really catastrophic, that they were menaced to the very foundations of their existence, and that a radical struggle was essential to enable them to exist. It is in this spirit that those who conduct the propaganda of the Henlein Party harangue the public at home, and still more so the public abroad. (2)

The Henlein Party, virtually a Nazi "Fifth Column" movement, upon advice from Germany played upon the economic crisis, prevalent throughout Europe, to point out the unemployment of Germans in the Republic and to disgruntle them. The Henlein agitators, in exploiting the economic distress in the German manufacturing areas for their own ends, attempted to create the impression that the Czech government neglected these Germans.

The truth is that all unemployed Germans in the Republic partook of the benefits of an equitable and adequate system of unemployment insurance all during the years of the economic crisis along with unemployed Czechs. Besides insurance the German sections received large sums for public welfare and food supplies, notably Reichenberg and Gablonz. Careful attention was also given to German districts in the allocation of projects under the State programs of employment and public works. The Czech Government did all in its power to alleviate as quickly as possible the economic crisis and its social consequences, and drew no distinction between Czechs and Germans.

(2) Chmelar, Josef, The German Problem in Czechoslovakia, Orbis, Prague, 1936, p. 65.

Among other complaints arising from the radicalism of the Henlein movement which flung its adherents into a struggle "for the existence and rights of the German people" in Czecho-slovakia, was the alleged claim that the German minorities did not enjoy their share of schools and cultural institutions. This proved to be a baseless assertion, except perhaps in one or two isolated cases. To insure school education in their mother tongue for the children of racial minorities, the Czech government pursued a policy of providing schools for all minority groups in proportion to their population in various areas. According to an official report of October 31st 1935 not less than 95% of the German children were attending German elementary and upper elementary schools. Of 433,431 German school children, 417,003 were being taught in German schools by German teachers. A statistical analysis clearly shows that the Germans received an equitable share of the schools, as did all minority groups. (3) No minority in Czecho-Slovakia had to fight for its educational rights and for insuring the fundamental conditions for the education of its young people in its mother tongue.

These are typical illustrations of the inner conflicts which took place in Czecho-Slovakia as perpetrated by the Heinlein Party under direction from Berlin. Except for inevitable isolated cases and a few injudicious administrative acts by local Czech officials, which were inescapable, the conflicts

(3) See Appendix F, p. 206

were trumped up on a basis of falsehood and misrepresentation. The "spear-head" organization of Konrad Henlein created conflict in areas of comparative peace, and through a play upon German emotions and culture traits revived dormant hates and nationalistic desires until the majority of the Germans in the Republic believed in the justice of his cause. The Czechs retaliated simply with a presentation of the actual facts and conditions which prevailed among the minorities. On the one hand was the glowing fire of emotion, on the other, a cool reasoning from the facts. This characterized the conflict throughout.

Henlein, following his return from the Olympic Games held in Berlin, abandoned his plea for "increased rights" and adopted a sharper tone in the form of a demand for "unconditional autonomy for the Sudete Germans within the areas where they live their national life." The demands of the Henlein Party increased, as did many of the exaggerations of minority conditions. The Czech Government met this conflict with additional concessions to the Germans, in order to leave no doubt that they received just treatment and equal rights. The German minority already possessed "autonomy" under the terms of the Czech Minority Law. However, they would not grant "unconditional" freedom, since they saw in it the plan of the Third Reich to dismember the Republic and subject it to German influence.

During 1937, and especially during the following year, a few border incidents occurred in spite of the vigilance of the

Czechs in their attempt to avoid them. The majority of them were deliberate fabrications perpetrated by the Henlein movement to inflame not only the German minority in the Republic, but to use for propaganda in arousing the Germans of the Reich to a sense of Germany's avowed mission -- the freeing of all Germans.

As the tension of the conflict reached new heights, Henlein, at a party convention at Karlsbad on April 24, 1938 outlined an eight-point program in which, among other things, he demanded: full self-government for the German areas; removal of injustices since 1918 and reparation for the damages thereby caused; and full liberty to profess German nationality and German philosophy. (4) The Czechs promised to give these demands due consideration. On May 21st the Czecho-Slovak Government intimated that they were calling up one class for training and for the purpose of maintaining order in the frontier areas. On the same day two Sudeten Germans were shot down near Eger in an illegal flight over the border. It was reported that German troops were being moved to the Czech border. The Czechs mobilized upon the advice of France and England, who renewed their determination to stand by the Republic, and warned Germany of their intention. But the expected conflict of arms did not take place.

HITLER ENTERS THE CONFLICT. The tension, however, continued to grow, since the Nazi Press initiated a re-doubled

(4) The Crisis in Czecho-Slovakia, April 24 -- October 13, 1938,
No. 344, Carnegie Endow. For Internat'l Peace, p. 401.

tirade against the Czechs and the atrocities they were alleged to have committed against the Germans. This was designed for home consumption in order to enrage the German masses, as well as for the Czechs in order to provoke them to an outburst of actual violence against the minorities. It was also designed to build up the "justice" of the German "mission" and the need for Hitler's intervention. Nazi broadcasting stations hammered away in a like fashion day and night practically without cessation. The Czechs attempted to counteract this tirade of press and radio by publishing and broadcasting in Czech and German the simple but weighty truths of the Republic's treatment and concessions to the German element, and by warning its own people of the obvious intent of the Third Reich to crush the Republic. Czech leaders admonished the masses to refrain from overt actions of violence and constantly reminded them to keep calm and collected in spite of German misrepresentations. It was the writer's observation that the Czech population generally adhered to such suggestions.

In the heat of this campaign the leaders directing the destiny of these two nations projected themselves personally into the conflict through the radio and the press. Hitler, as early as March 18, 1938 in his Reichstag speech following the Austrian "Anschluss", made reference to his "ten million unredeemed Germans" of which Austria only accounted for six and a half million. The inference was only too clear that the remaining three and a half million were the Sudeten Germans, the object

of his next attack. Encouraged by the course of events the Henlein Party made further drastic demands upon the Czech Government.

REFLECTION OF CZECH ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CONFLICT.

Reference to a few representative events which took place in September of 1938 clearly point out the nature of the one-sided conflict. On the 6th of September the Sudeten German Party made further demands in the form of a "Fourth Plan", which the Czech Government took under consideration. Four days later in an international broadcast, President Benes stated the attitude of the Czecho-Slovak Republic calmly but forcefully. He broadcast the same message in Czech, Slovak and German respectively. Excerpts from that speech indicate the Czech attitude:

I am talking to you at a moment of international difficulties, the most serious since the World War, which have entangled not only Europe but also the greater part of the world.

I am talking to you at a critical moment about ourselves and about our situation in this disturbance and I am talking to all of you -- Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, and all other nationalities -- and through them to all of their political parties, to all creeds and all classes.

I am talking to you as a people who want security and peace and who aim at human dignity and good will..... For twenty years the Republic has developed quietly and progressively. Political democracy and freedom, economic prosperity, religious tolerance, and social justice have been achieved step by step without crises, upheavals or revolutions.....

We have, however, one unique problem which always has been for centuries difficult, and requires new methods of treatment -- the nationality question.....We have

endeavored to solve this problem in a progressive way
.....This must be done in a spirit of true and sincere
democracy.

It is in this spirit that the Government opened negotiations with the different nationalities of our Republic. We have begun with the Sudeten German party as being the most important group.... New proposals (are now) formulated in such a way that no misunderstanding shall arise; but there are other parts of the proposals which were not contained in the original plan. These are elaborated in order to give to the State what belongs to the State and to the nationalities what belongs to the nationalities..... This applies to Czechs, Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians, Ruthenians and Poles. Our democratic conditions make us proceed in this manner.....

If we decided on this solution at a troubled time when confidence is shaken, it is certain that by this we would make a sacrifice, which is not small, for the preservation of universal peace. We wish to contribute to a settlement of European problems in general and to the establishment of good relations with all our neighbors, especially with Great Germany.....

If I, as President of the Republic and head of the Government, am recommending this solution to you today, although it entails heavy sacrifices, I appeal at the same time to the whole population of the State and tell you this in all seriousness:

We must reestablish full confidence and cooperation between two great nationalities of the Republic and thus insure internal calm and peace and peaceful development. Not only I, in my official capacity, must work for peace, not only those responsible for the Government and the government party, but also the minority of opposition. These above all and every citizen in particular must and shall do the same in his own station.

Every one of you in the present state of things does service to peace by avoiding disputes, incidents and quarrels. It is possible for anger, irritation, and provocative incidents to threaten not only our internal peace but also the peace of Europe.

I am appealing to all Czechs, Germans, and other peoples without distinction of nationality within the Republic... I appeal to every individual citizen. I appeal to our whole population. Never has the responsibility of every

one of us been greater than at the present. Be calm, keep level-headed. Go quietly about your work. The less you diverge from your normal lives the greater will be your contribution to the preservation of peace.
(5)

GERMAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CONFLICT. Two days later on September 12 Adolf Hitler, addressing the Congress of the National Socialist Party at Nuremberg, openly made the Czech question Germany's vital concern. Excerpts from this speech vividly portray the Nazi role in the conflict. Fraught with emotion, Hitler thundered:

I am speaking of Czechoslovakia. This is a democratic State. It was founded on democratic lines by forcing other nationalities, without asking them, into a structure manufactured at Versailles.

As good democrats they began to oppress and mishandle the majority of the inhabitants. They tried gradually to enforce on the world their view that the Czech State had a special political and military mission to perform in the world..... The task of Czechoslovakia in case of war is to bombard German towns and industrial works.

This mission, however, is in direct contrast to the vital interests, to the wishes, and to the conception of life of a majority of the inhabitants of the State. But the majority of the inhabitants had to be quiet, as any protest against their treatment was regarded as an attack on the aims of the State and therefore in conflict with the Constitution.

Should, however, some one belonging to the majority of the oppressed people of this nation protest against this, the nation may knock him down with force and kill him if it is necessary or desired. If this were a matter foreign to us and one that did not concern us, we would regard this case, as so many others, merely as an interesting illustration of the democratic conception of people's rights and the right of self-determination and simply take note of it.

(5) Ibid., pp. 407-10.

But it is something most natural that compells us Germans to take an interest in this problem. Among the majority of nationalities that are being suppressed in this State there are 3,500,000 Germans..... These Germans, too, are creatures of God. The Almighty did not create them that they should be surrendered by a State constitution made at Versailles to a foreign Power that is hateful to them, and He has not created 7,000,000 Czechs in order that they should supervise 3,500,000 Germans or act as guardians for them and still less to do them violence and torture.

The conditions in this nation are unbearable, as is generally known. Politically more than 3,500,00 people were robbed in the name of the right of self-determination of a certain Mr. Wilson of their self-determination and of their right to self-determination. Economically these people were deliberately ruined and afterward handed over to a slow process of extermination.

These truths cannot be abolished by phrases. They are testified to by deeds. The misery of the Sudeten Germans is without end. They want to annihilate them. They are being oppressed in an inhuman and intolerable manner and treated in an undignified way..... This is not a matter of indifference to us.

And I say that if these tortured creatures cannot obtain rights and assistance by themselves, they can obtain both from us. An end must be made of depriving these people of their rights..... I declared in my speech of February 22 before the Reichstag that the Reich would not tolerate any further continued oppression of 3,500,000 Germans, and I hope that the foreign statesmen will be convinced that these were no mere words..... (6)

THE MUNICH PACT. On the strength of this the Henlein Party the following day rejected the offer of the Czecho-Slovak Government to negotiate, and on September 15, Henlein proclaimed a Declaration for Annexation of Sudeten Germany to the Third Reich and fled to Germany. This was followed by the mobilization of troops on both sides. The Czechs, seeing that peaceable negotiations were futile, mobilized upon the advice of France and

(6) Ibid., pp. 411-13.

England, and were determined to defend their country against certain invasion. They manned their "Maginot Line" as a preparatory measure to meet the anticipated attack.

A few days later, however, France and England, not wishing to risk war, urged the Czech Government, under threat of withdrawing all military, financial and moral support which they had promised, to accede to a plan whereby the Sudeten territories would be handed over to Germany without conflict. The Czechs accepted this Anglo-French Plan (7) on September 21 and stated in their communique, "Previously we had to depend upon their (the Allied Powers') help, but when we were threatened with force, it became evident that the European crisis had become so serious that our friends advised us to purchase freedom and peace by sacrifices, inasmuch as they could not help us."

Hitler, however, would not accept the Anglo-French Plan, since he desired still further concessions. After a number of flights to Hitler, and with the assistance of Mussolini, Prime Minister Chamberlain arranged the historic Munich Conference of September 29, 1938, at which time the "Four Powers," England, France, Italy, and Germany, met and agreed to grant Germany's demands (8). The Czechs were not consulted. As a consequence of this action, the Czechs were forced to capitulate or suffer annihilation. On October 1st Czech troops began to evacuate the

(7) See Appendix H, p. 208

(8) See Appendix H, p. 208

German areas and German contingents took possession. The first phase of the German conquest of Czecho-Slovakia became a fact.

The feeling and the spirit of the Czechs is well indicated in a radio broadcast by Dr. Hugo Vavrečka, the Czecho-Slovak Propaganda Minister, who spoke upon the eve of the Czech acceptance of the Anglo-French Plan. He stated:

The Czech Government accepted the Anglo-French proposals only in order to avoid bloodshed. It is a case without parallel in history that our allies and friends imposed conditions upon us which are usually imposed upon vanquished enemies.

It is not lack of courage which has induced our government to take this decision which grips our hearts. Even the most courageous man may find himself in a situation wherein he is compelled to dodge a falling rock. God knows that it takes more courage to love than to commit suicide. God knows that no honest man would say that we were frightened or cowardly when we authorized our Prime Minister to report to France and England that we resolved to offer ourselves for world's peace just as centuries ago the Divinity sacrificed himself on the cross for mankind.

We shall not blame those who left us in the lurch, but history will pronounce its judgment about this theme. Our duty now is to look to the future and defend the nation which will live. We shall be strong and it is for you to see that prosper. We shall not perish. We shall preserve our country. We shall look toward the future with our heads upraised. (9)

This also expresses the spirit and resolute determination of the Czechs to carry on after the tragedy of Munich. They set themselves to the task of building up a Republic now one third less in size and population. The "Four Powers" had guaranteed the new boundaries, and Hitler had proclaimed that this was the

(9) Czech daily, Ceske Slovo, Prague, September 21, 1938; see also New York Herald Tribune, European Edition, September 22, 1938.

last of his territorial conquests, and that he wanted no foreign element within the Reich itself. With these assurances the Republic, now under the influence of Germany, attempted to carry on its existence.

POST MUNICH DEVELOPMENTS. President Benes resigned on October 5 to facilitate the work of the new post Munich government. Dr. Emil Hacha, was eventually elected as a "puppet" President with a new Cabinet. Germany made severe demands on the new Government, which now estranged from France and Great Britain, was forced to toe the mark. Without going into detail the Third Reich demanded political subserviency, military submission, and tribute. As pledges of these they demanded that the Czechs denounce their treaties with France and Russia. They also demanded that the size of the Czech army be reduced; that gold reserves be handed over to cover Czech notes taken in the Sudeten areas.

The Czechs, with no other alternative, submitted to these demands.

The new Czecho-Slovakia became a Federation of three home ruled States -- Bohemia and Moravia, with the capital at Prague; Slovakia with the capital at Bratislava; and Carpathian Russia or Ukraine with its capital in the village of Chust. Each one was to enjoy home-rule except that the army, foreign policy, and finance remained under the jurisdiction of the central government in Prague.

In the months that followed the Germans never allowed the Czechs to adjust their relations with the Reich. They complained to the Foreign Minister, Franz Chvalkovsky, that the government was going neither far enough nor fast enough in carrying out German desires. Unavoidable incidents were always a threat to the new Republic, for Germany repeatedly warned, "If this sort of thing continues we shall be in Prague within eight hours."

The Third Reich finally succeeded in perpetrating the final break-down of the new Republic, by fomenting the Slovaks against the Czechs and in urging that they demand complete autonomy. This gave rise to the complete German occupation of Czecho-Slovakia. Bohus Benes presents, in the opinion of the writer, the truest account of this seizure. He writes:

Hitler's regime prepared its plan for the breaking up of Central Europe about the 18th of February. It inspired an artificial uprising in Slovakia, diabolically incited radical Slovak elements against the Czechs and Jews. At the same time, it approved some of the steps which the Prague government was taking against violations of a small group of Slovaks who were being led by Nazi agents. By these artificially created complications, the Nazi regime tried to create a basis for the justification of the crime which it had been planning from the moment the Munich agreement was signed.

When Adolf Hitler called the president of Czecho-Slovakia, Dr. Hacha, to Berlin on the 14th of March, the realization of the Nazi plan for the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia had begun. That which happened in Berlin during the night of March 14th shows the barbarism of the Nazi regime in its sharpest light. The methods which the Nazi leaders used on the seventy-year old president to gain their ends will remain a classic proof of the perfidy and cruelty of the Nazis in their international relations. In Berlin, Dr. Hacha submitted

to a gruelling third degree..... Dr. Hacha was put into the hands of Goering and Ribbentrop from the moment he arrived in Berlin at eleven o'clock that night. Later, Adolf Hitler took part..... Dr. Hacha, who fainted during the ordeal and was revived only after hypodermic injections were administered, signed a paper which was put before him at five o'clock in the morning without being given an opportunity to discuss it with the constitutional heads of the Czechoslovak government.

Goering and Ribbentrop worked on Hacha by accusing Czechs of attacks upon Germans, by accusing them of pogroms and arson, all of which were actually instigated by Nazi agents. When Dr. Hacha argued against these false accusations and refused to sign the capitulation, Adolf Hitler interposed and repeated the scene which he had previously enacted in Berchtesgaden with Schuschnigg, prior to the annexation of Austria.....

There was no need for the threats of immediate bombardment of Prague, for while Nazi leaders were working on Dr. Hacha, Moravska Ostrava had already been occupied by German soldiers and all other military steps had either been ordered or carried out.....

By seven o'clock that morning (March 15th), German soldiers had reached Strasnice near Prague. In the forenoon when the first German soldiers appeared in the streets of Prague, the city wept with grief, with anguish, with despondency and anger. Men and women stood about weeping and vowing vengeance. They turned away so as not to see the army of occupation; a few spat and voiced threats against the advancing forces....

Hitler's visit to the Hradcany castle (seat of the Czech government) fell heavily, cruelly upon the Czech people. The Germans placed large amplifiers in the Old Town Square, through which the broadcast Nazi songs, each ending with "Heil Hitler". In the streets where no one reacted, no one shouted, the German army was accompanied by portable amplifiers of the propaganda division to supply the songs, the shouting and the "Heil Hitler". In this way the proper sound accompaniment was created for the movie-news trucks which were filming Hitler's rape of Prague to be shown in the Reich.....

When Adolf Hitler arrived in Brno (the following day) thousands of workers were waiting at the terminal, as their local trains had been delayed because of Hitler's arrival. Through some error, Hitler opened the window on the wrong side, facing the masses of the Czech workers. He raised his arm and awaited an ovation. Only a frigid silence was his response.....Angrily Hitler stepped away from the window and turned to the other side. That's how Brno received him. Those few moments of silence have a more powerful historical value than other expressions.....

On the 17th day of March 1939 the Nazi army began a systematic plundering of the Bohemian Crown lands. Within a few weeks, more than one and a half billion dollars worth of raw materials, arms and other commodities were hauled away from Bohemia and Moravia without compensation. Eighty million dollars worth of gold was stolen and taken to the Reich in special automobiles.... The Germans siezed the Skoda Works and other munitions plants and thus gained a tremendous advantage in their armament program against France and England.....

All of Czecho-Slovakia was flooded with thousands of agents of the dreaded Gestapo. Simultaneously watching the Czech people and some of the unreliable elements in the Reich army, these agents quickly established the rule, which for six years was used to break the nerve and the morale of the German nation, employing medieval methods in its quest for Nazi justice.

An endless chain of political refugees began to make its secret or public, but in every case an equally sad, journey into exile. (10)

This brief account of the final conquest of Czecho-Slovakia by the Third Reich concurs in practically every detail with the experience and observations of the writer, who witnessed these tragic events. He say the injustice done the Czechs for the sake of Nazi territorial ambitions, and accomplished under the pretext of Germany's need to preserve order and prevent bloodshed

(10) Benes, Bohus, Czechoslovakia, Its Sacrifice and Future, Czechoslovak National Council of America, 1939, pp. 29-33.

in a land which had known nothing but peace and order. The Nazis had come in to "protect" the Czechs; against whom they did not say.

Thus ended, as far as the outer world was concerned the outward manifestations of the conflict perpetrated by the German mind against the Czechs. Nazi Germany had found wisdom in the declaration of Bismark, "He who is master of Bohemia is master of Europe," and had determined to occupy that key position in Central Europe through any means available.

PART THREE

NAZI TECHNIQUES IN THE ANNEXATION

OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

CHAPTER IX

 NAZI TECHNIQUES IN THE ANNEXATION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

A clever victor will always impose his demands on the conquered in parts..... He can then reckon that a people will feel no sufficient cause in each of these single oppressions for siezing arms again. --- Mein Kampf

The subtle, penetrating techniques of Naziism in affecting the annexation of Czecho-Slovakia, are of the same type as employed in Austria prior to and following the "Anschluss". They appear to be well tested and standardized, and thoroughly learned by all who apply them. They are techniques based almost wholly upon deception, misrepresentation and force. Such techniques are applied gradually, one by one, until the victims, almost unbeknown to themselves, become completely ensnared and subjugated.

THE "FIFTH COLUMN". The carefully-planned, secret "fifth column" organization within the marked country is a technique widely employed to prepare the ground for actual conquest. As early as 1934 it was positively known that the Third Reich was sending agents into Czecho-Slovakia, where they established themselves as citizens, and then quietly began the organization of a devastating "fifth column". Newspapers and publishing concerns were set up under the guise of innocent private enterprise. Through the "fifth

column" movement the German minorities were pressed into service either through an emotional play upon German mind traits, weaknesses and desires or, if this did not prove effectual in enlisting certain members, then through intimidation and threat.

Under the democratic form of government, where the German minorities were represented, this movement succeeded in establishing a "grapevine" system into every department of the State. Whenever its underground activities came to the attention of the Czech officials through some miscalculated step, the individual or group involved took refuge under the petticoat of democratic procedure and firmly averred the rights of "free speech", "free press", and "representation." It organized the youth of the German minorities and began to indoctrinate them with principles of National Socialism; it placed its own members in the German schools as teachers. One of the directors of the English Club Union of Czecho-Slovakia, which consisted of some thirty English Clubs throughout the Republic, and of which the writer was general secretary, turned out to be a member of the German "fifth column," as was disclosed after the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia. He thereafter took up his duties, openly, as an agent of the Gestapo. Members of the "fifth column," despite the vigilance of the Czechs, were to be found in all strategic places -- within the army, in munition plants, and in the higher government circles.

Whenever questioned, they always submerged their activities under the cloak of democratic rights.

This column, as has already been suggested in the previous chapter, became the core of the Sudeten German Party under the leadership of Konrad Henlein, who was in constant communication with and under orders from Berlin. Its role was to provoke the mistrust of the German minority to the Czech government, to disgruntle them, make extravagant promises of economic betterment, and then keep the political griddle hot by constant demands of "increased rights and concessions to the oppressed Germans". The successful effect of this technique, especially among the German minorities and the citizens of the Third Reich, we have already indicated.

The dynamic life of the "fifth column" was nourished by promises of high positions of leadership when the final coup took place; by mystic ritual and secret meetings in which personal allegiance was pledged to the "Fuehrer" and to the great "humanitarian cause" of working to free an "enslaved people"; by the technique of slogans and marching; and by a constant flood of literature and propaganda which somehow found its way over the boarder from Germany.

A supreme technique, also used in Germany, to constantly vitalize the movement, was found in the unwritten patriotic requirement that every member must have a portrait picture of the Fuehrer hung in a conspicuous part of his home. By this means the personality of the leader could be

projected into every home, for embodied in his likeness were all that the movement stood for -- and above all one could read from the "Fuehrer's" eyes, "For the glory of the great cause!" This symbolic projection of the "Fuehrer's" personality took on constant life and vitality because of the unceasing propaganda sent into the German homes, to build him up; and because of the radio talks which brought his stirring, emotional voice into the home, which all members were under obligation to hear. (1) Their personalities became integrated with his through this technique of projection. It had great value as a unifying process.

The Czechs unconsciously used this same method of personality projection, for upon the wall of every Czecho-Slovak home hung a picture of Masaryk (2), and later one of Benes (3), both of whom represented Czecho-Slovak mind traits. When evening papers were read in which their names were prominent, or when their voices resounded from the small domestic radios, their pictures on the wall actually seemed to speak and one felt that he was truly in their presence. Usually a feeling of awe and reverence took possession of a household upon an occasion of this kind, and especially during times of tension.

When the Germans dominated Czecho-Slovakia, after the siezure of the Sudetenland, they demanded that the government effect the removal of all pictures of Masaryk and Benes from schools and public buildings, and if possible from the homes.

(1) See Appendix L, p. 212

(2) See Appendix J, p. 210

(3) See Appendix K, p. 211

A reaction of rage and anger followed the announcement of this order. The Czechs were then partially appeased by being permitted to hang up a replica of the State Coat of Arms, but not of their former leaders. The Germans, no doubt, realized the value of this technique of personality projection, and believed this to be dangerous in their conquered and newly won satellite.

If the "fifth column" could not win members of the German minority through its appeal to lofty intuition and to the "great humanitarian cause" by a system of inflammatory ideas, then it resorted to black-mail, boycott, and "liquidation" of opposition individuals or groups. Many Germans and their families appeared to be satisfied with their lot in Czecho-Slovakia, and were happy to be beyond the reach of Nazi Germany. Pressure was brought to bear upon those who could not be hood-winked into submission. They were informed that unless they lined up with the movement their businesses would suffer boycott, and that if they still resisted they would be properly "liquidated". A number of such "democratic Germans", when so threatened fled to the interior. Some of them were lured to the boarder by telegrams and letters requesting them to meet relatives and friends on their way to Prague. Unsuspecting, some responded to such tactics and were never seen again. They were properly "liquidated".

As the general situation became more tense the "fifth

column" perpetrated many incidents. The Czechs were aware of this technique, and warned their people to suffer humiliation rather than to become ensnared in public outbursts of passion provoked by German agents. On the boarder homes were rifled and property was stolen by "fifth column" members and the acts were blamed onto the Czechs to fan and inflame the "need to free an oppressed and tortured" German minority.

Just prior to the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia on March 15, 1939, the writer saw how "Czech terrorism" was fabricated by the Nazi machine. One evening he was watching the crowd stroll up and down the Wenceslas Square in Prague. In the crowd were groups of Nazi youth moving along as other Praguers do, when suddenly one of them struck an innocent citizen in the face. He flushed, but held his temper as the youth hurried on through the crowd. The writer saw this occur several times that same evening. In one case it provoked a fight, which the police hurriedly suppressed. They arrested a few persons, but let the Nazis go. Here was a type of terrorism being attempted by a few upon the many. Under other conditions it could have had far-reaching effects.

Just prior to the Polish War, an intimate American friend of the writer found himself in a compartment with a comely, distinguished-looking, grey-haired woman, as he was travelling through Germany. He performed a slight favor for her, which gave opportunity for an interesting and revealing

conversation. Upon inquiring of the woman, he discovered that she had just come from Czecho-Slovakia, and was now on the way to Poland. During the course of the journey, she told him that she was one of the charter members of the Nazi Party at the time of its organization in Munich, and produced a document to that effect. Upon inquiry he learned that she was a special agent of the party and had been sent first into Austria, then to Czecho-Slovakia, and now into Poland. Her assignment was to occupy a position, secured for her in advance, as a school teacher in a prominent city. She was to carefully organize the German youth, and at the right time, upon orders, urge them to provocative measures against the peaceful inhabitants of the town. This she had accomplished in Vienne, and again in Prague. She was to carry out the same program, if necessary, somewhere in Poland.

Much more could be said of the organization and methods of the "fifth column" movement in preparing the ground for the Czech crisis. However, the present discussion is indicative of the subtle techniques and programs followed out. The cunning method of working from inside out, of forming a parasytic organization protected under the rights of the political body it seeks to destroy, is one of the most devastating forces employed by Nazi Germany today. It played its part well in Czecho-Slovakia.

PROPAGANDA AND THE CONTROL OF PUBLIC OPINION. Open conflict and war are ultimately decided by the thoughts and

the temperment of the masses. Up to a certain point these thoughts and temperments can be manipulated. This is known as the science or technique of propaganda, which in time of conflict usually flies in four directions: to the home front; to the army; to the enemy; and to neutral countries. (4)

The Nazis through absolute control of the chief organs of propaganda, namely, the press, the radio and moving pictures were able to nourish the home front within the Reich on reports and stories about the Czechs, which brought them to an emotional white heat. When the "fifth column" had sufficiently prepared the ground by internal organization and cunning propagandizing of the German minorities, the next step was to inflame the German public against the Czechs.

All of the techniques of effective propaganda were used. A press and radio tirade was instigated, which made the German cause in Czecho-Slovakia appear noble and just. It was made to appear that the conflict was not an act of aggression on the part of Germany, but a means of "freeing oppressed Germans from abominable mistreatment and persecution"; also the cause of "racial purity" and the "oneness of all Germans" was proclaimed over and over again. The enemy, the Czechs, were blackened and ridiculed in a most deadly fashion; and finally the "Fuehrer" promised his followers "certain victory over the devilish and conniving Czechs," who were nothing but "wild dogs, which would soon be tamed and

(4) De Wilde, Popper and Clark, Handbook of the War, Houghton, Mifflin, 1939, p. 215.

willingly eat from the master's hand." The army, too, was publicly assured that it was an invincible machine which could not meet with failure. These ideas appeared in glittering generalities, carefully couched in emotional phrases and fraught with "catch" words and slogans, which were repeated continually in press columns and over the air.

The German daily, "Der Angriff", of September 10, 1938, carried a pathetic story to the German people, which is representative of Nazi fabrications. The writer has chosen it at random from many clippings. It published an account of a young Sudeten German who was allegedly paroled from a Czech prison after which he fled to Germany and enrolled in school there. In an editorial attached to this account was written: "When will the world understand that in the twentieth century in the musty prison cells in Prague there are daily used methods of torture only known in criminal museums and in the horror-filled traditions of the Middle Ages."

In the same paper appeared a photographic account of a story published in a Czech daily, "Moravska Orlice", in which the latter claimed that a certain contractor from the Sudetenland by the name of Neumann living in Frydku, had been interned in the concentration camp at Dachau, when he went to Austria. According to the "Angriff" the contractor was in Berlin. It commented: "Long ago the Czechs should have comprehended that they cannot shake the blood and spiritual bond which joins the Sudeten Germans to the Reich with such

fat and preposterous lies. The monsters, who write such lying reports, belong to the concentration camps where a government can properly direct them." Reporting news of the situation in Prague the "Angriff" heads in large type: "Dramatic tension in Prague. Diabolic terror!"

The "Voelkischer Beobachter," the official organ of the Nazi Party, in an editorial of September 9, 1938, wrote: "Prague is playing with fire," and again, "the terrorism of the Czechs is threatening Europe. Strong indications of Czech provocations in Moravska Ostrava and in all principle centers. London is pessimistic; Paris trifles; Rome calls Prague to order; Budapest strikes at Czech Chauvenism." Again throughout this edition of the paper are found the following: "Local Czech offices practice excesses against German inhabitants. Mourning of the Sudeten German Party for Knoll. A mysterious suicide." Further, "Shirts of school children snatched away. The Sudete German costume is now the costume of a prisoner. An old method: The Czech press screams, Catch the thief!"

The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of September 10th writes, "The hope that it is still possible to find a modus vivendi between the Czechs and the Sudeten Germans, grows daily smaller." The "Berliner Boersen Zeitung" of September 16th carried a column under the following heading: "Dreadful descriptions by refugees. Fifteen people already in Germany. Tanks shoot down women and children. The Czechs place Europe before a terrible reality. Fifty Soviet planes stationed at

Kradec Kralovy. Benes as an accuser. Plan for mass murders."

These are more or less representative of the daily headlines of the German press during the weeks of nervous tension just prior to the occupation of the Sudetenland. Alleged threats and atrocity stories filled the news columns for the German public. The army read and felt that it truly had a real mission to perform in liberating the German minorities from such bestial treatment. From the observations of the writer during those weeks, these stories had little or no basis in fact.

The Czech papers on the other hand remained relatively free from such propaganda measures. Nor did they attempt to suppress the repetition of these stories in their own press. They published some accounts in full, which had the effect of greatly amusing the Czech population. As nearly as the writer could determine, they counteracted rather with a truthful presentation of events in an opposite column. They also resorted to the use of the humorous story and the joke in pointing out German inconsistencies. The "Ceske Slovo", one of the Republic's largest dailies, printed a humorous story each day in the lower right hand corner of the front page. Frequently this story was to ridicule the Nazis. For the few who could not read, it was passed on by mouth. These stories were known by everyone, and by their very humor buoyed up the spirits of a people, who were being abused in the German press by almost every kind of misrepresentation known. One such

humorous story the writer remembers particularly well, for he memorized it. It appeared in the "Ceske Slovo" during the uncertain days prior to the Sudeten siezures. It runs as follows:

Adolf Hitler and Hermann Goering were touring at a high speed along one of Germany's great cross-country highways, when unfortunately they ran over a fine German police dog belonging to a near-by farmer and killed it. Adolf being a man of deep compassion, ordered the car stopped and asked Hermann to approach the farmer and offer his sincere regrets over the tragedy, as well as indemnity for the loss of the dog. Hermann was gone but a few moments. When he returned the Fuehrer was amazed to find him loaded down with poultry, butter and the produce of the field. Not being able to understand this, he exclaimed: "Hermann, how is it that you are laden down this way? I thought the farmer would bring his wrath upon you until you made ample payment for the loss. What in heavens name did you say to bring us this rich reward?" Goering, much perplexed over the situation himself, replied: "I only said to him: Heil, Hitler the dog is dead."

The Czechs took great delight in the implication of this story, that even the Germans would be happy to be rid of Hitler and his program, and would gladly welcome such news.

Another story subtly indicating the fear of the German masses to express themselves under dictatorial power was related far and wide. It probably had its origin in some Czech publication, which eluded the attention of the writer. He subsequently heard it from his house maid. Her eyes twinkled with glee as she proceeded to tell it:

One bright day found Chamberlain and Hitler fishing on opposite sides of a pond. Chamberlain was pulling the wriggling fish out as fast as he could bait his hook. But try as he would, Hitler had no luck. Finally he could stand it no longer and called across the pond: "Hi there, Neville, you must have all the fish on your

side of the water." Chamberlain shouted back: "Your wrong, old top, there are just as many fish on your side, but they're all afraid to open their mouths."

The Czechs did not appear to be fearful of the Nazi threats, for almost up until the time of the Munich Pact they felt that the Allies would come to their rescue. As one drove through the country villages, Czech flags were to be seen at every turn. In the last week of May in 1938, after the first German threat, the writer rode through the Sudeten territory, and noted banners flung across the streets proclaiming: "My se nedame ani pid zeme," meaning, "We shall not surrender one inch of land." Nazi propoganda seemed to have little effect upon them, while on the other hand, with the help of the "fifth column" movement, it greatly stirred the German minority to a high pitch of emotional fervor for the German "cause", in which race prejudice appeared to play a major role.

The techniques of propoganda served well for German home consumption. The masses and the army were ready to devour the Czechs the moment the word was given. German visitors, stopping off in Prague, could hardly conceive that the atrocious accounts with which they had been flooded were on the whole untrue and misleading. They could scarcely believe their own eyes, even though they saw conditions of comparative calm, peace and quiet within the Republic. The German propoganda machine had been effective.

Following the military occupation of the Sudetenland, German propoganda eased its terrific campaign against the

Czechs, but did not wholly relent, for it still found space to voice complaints about the Czech disposition to take its time in meeting German demands and desires. From this time on German propaganda was forced into all Czech papers. By necessity they were required to print only news censored by the Czech Press Bureau, which came under the influence of Germany. The formation of a new government favorable to Germany and approved by her, after the resignation of Benes, and the psychological effects of the Franco-British betrayal, combined to bring the Czechs into the sphere of German influence.

Berlin carefully supervised all organs of propaganda within the new State and permitted the Czechs to read and hear only what Germany desired they should learn. Within a week the whole tone of the Czech press had changed to expressions of cooperation and friendship with the Reich. The masses greatly resented this "about-face", but realized that the government now under German duress had no other alternative.

So effective did this control become, that at the time of the general occupation of Bohemia and Moravia on March 15, 1939 the Czechs were greatly surprised to discover what was happening, and that their last threads of freedom were being shorn from them. They expected intuitively that such a blow would come sooner or later, but they had received continual assurances, through their carefully controlled organs of

propaganda, that Hitler had no further ambitions in Czech territory. They discovered that they had been grossly misled, but asked themselves what they could have done about it anyway.

SOME TECHNIQUES OF MILITARY INVASION. During the first months of 1939 the German "fifth column," coupled with the Nazi propaganda machine, turned its attention to the Slovaks among whom it created a feeling of distrust and dissatisfaction against the Czecho-Slovak Federal government in Prague. Under false pretense the Slovaks were led to demand absolute autonomy. Another relentless but brief press campaign again inflamed the German population against the Czechs for their alleged injustice in dealing with the Slovaks. The Czech government, it was averred, could not maintain peace and order under these times of stress and strain, and plead for the protection of Germany. Again this became propaganda for home consumption. The stage was set for the lightning-like entrance of the army, which was to fulfill "a great mission".

The principle technique of this military occupation was the surprise element. Troops concentrated in Dresden, Vienne and elsewhere were moved up to the boarder for "spring maneuvers". In the Czech press, word went out that Germany would not violate the new boarders of the country. As has already been related, President Hacha was called to Berlin, under the guise that he went to plead for German assistance, and was there forced to issue orders to the Czech High

Command to allow German troops to enter the country without resistance or hindrance. Before the population fully realized its plight, mechanized troops poured over the borders from all directions beginning on the 14th of March, even before Hacha had "agreed" to place the Czechs under German "protection". They occupied every hamlet and village and placed the country under a dictum of martial law.

The radio, the Czech Press Bureau and the National Bank were among the first objectives to be wholly taken over. Radio and press constantly warned the people in their own interests to provoke no trouble, and to go about their work and business undisturbed.

The Czech army was demobilized in short order, and arms and munitions intended for defence were hurried off to the Reich to increase her military prowess and strength. Even the hunting weapons and domestic arms in some sections had to be given up without a murmur. Strategic industrial and munition plants were taken over.

Many techniques employed by the army were to impress the population that it meant business and that everything was subordinate to it. As the soldiers marched into the country, their machine guns were mounted and their bayonets fixed. They paraded down the main streets, and occupied temporarily the most prominent centers. They established quarters in the schools, which were dismissed, not only to make room for them, but to prevent the radical school

elements from gathering to provoke trouble.

The day after the invasion some three hundred German planes barely skirting the tops of the highest buildings roared for hours back and forth over the city of Prague. This was one Nazi technique of taunting, "Now try something and see how you are crushed and blown to bits." During the two months of martial law army regiments practiced maneuvers in great open fields where the Czechs could not fail to see them. All of this had the desired effect of causing the Czechs to feel entirely powerless and subjugated. This was the "protection" of a "friendly army which came to save them from revolution, bloodshed and carnage."

Another devastating, terrifying force accompanied the invasion of the army and soon penetrated all Czech life. It was the dreaded German Secret Police or Gestapo with its black-list of politicians, industrialists, financiers, democratic Germans and influential Jews. It was the Gestapo which was prepared to take over the radio and the press, under the protection of the army. It was this organization which commandeered the prisons and soon established concentration camps for those who would not measure up to the new decrees and orders. The appearance and establishment of the Gestapo put the terrifying seal of complete annexation upon the Czecho-Slovak State. Thus, the democratic Republic, after stormy, bitter and disappointing months, became the "Protectorate" of the Great Third Reich, with its population utterly subservient to German dictates.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Knowledge humbleth one by impressing upon his immortal soul the profound realization that he hath only begun to sound its vast and unknown depths.
--- Anon.

This modest attempt to understand some of the aspects of the recent Czecho-Slovakian crisis, in terms of the point of view of the modern social psychologist, makes no claim to finality. The writer is frank to confess that the task proved to be so tremendous, and the problems involved of such magnitude, that it was impossible, within the limits of the time and resources available, to complete the entire analysis as it was planned originally. Many problems remain to be solved and it is the aim of the investigator to continue in the future this facinating and profitable enterprize.

At the present time, nevertheless, the data seems to justify certain conclusions and indicate additional problems for futher investigation and analysis.

First of all it seems apparent that the Czecho-Slovakian crisis can be best understood as a conflict of cultures and that the present struggle transcends the personality of the individuals who are prominent in the process. A corrollary to this conclusion is the assumption that any

event which might do away with the present Nazi leader would probably have little effect upon the conflict itself.

In the second place an analysis of the national Czecho-Slovak and German minds reveals that the Czech qualities of humanitarianism, love of individual freedom, and a desire for peace and justice, as well as the contrasting qualities of the German mind expressed in their attitudes of superiority, military aggression, and blind obedience to leadership, are national characteristics of long standing. In fact, the present crisis is probably an overt expression of conflicting attitudes which have been developing in intensity through centuries of cultural evolution.

In addition, it is evident that the German people have been more successful in using the industrial artifacts of culture to promote their national ambitions than have the people of Czecho-Slovakia. The mechanization of the army and the use of the agencies of man, impressive as devices for group control and to extend German culture, are timely illustrations of this fact.

Finally, this analysis suggests that the conflict in Czechoslovakia is but an aspect of the world problem of cultural differences. Undoubtedly the greatest threat to civilization is the inability of competing cultures to accomodate each other. Thus, the problem of Czechoslovakia is an expression of the most perplexing problem of the modern world.

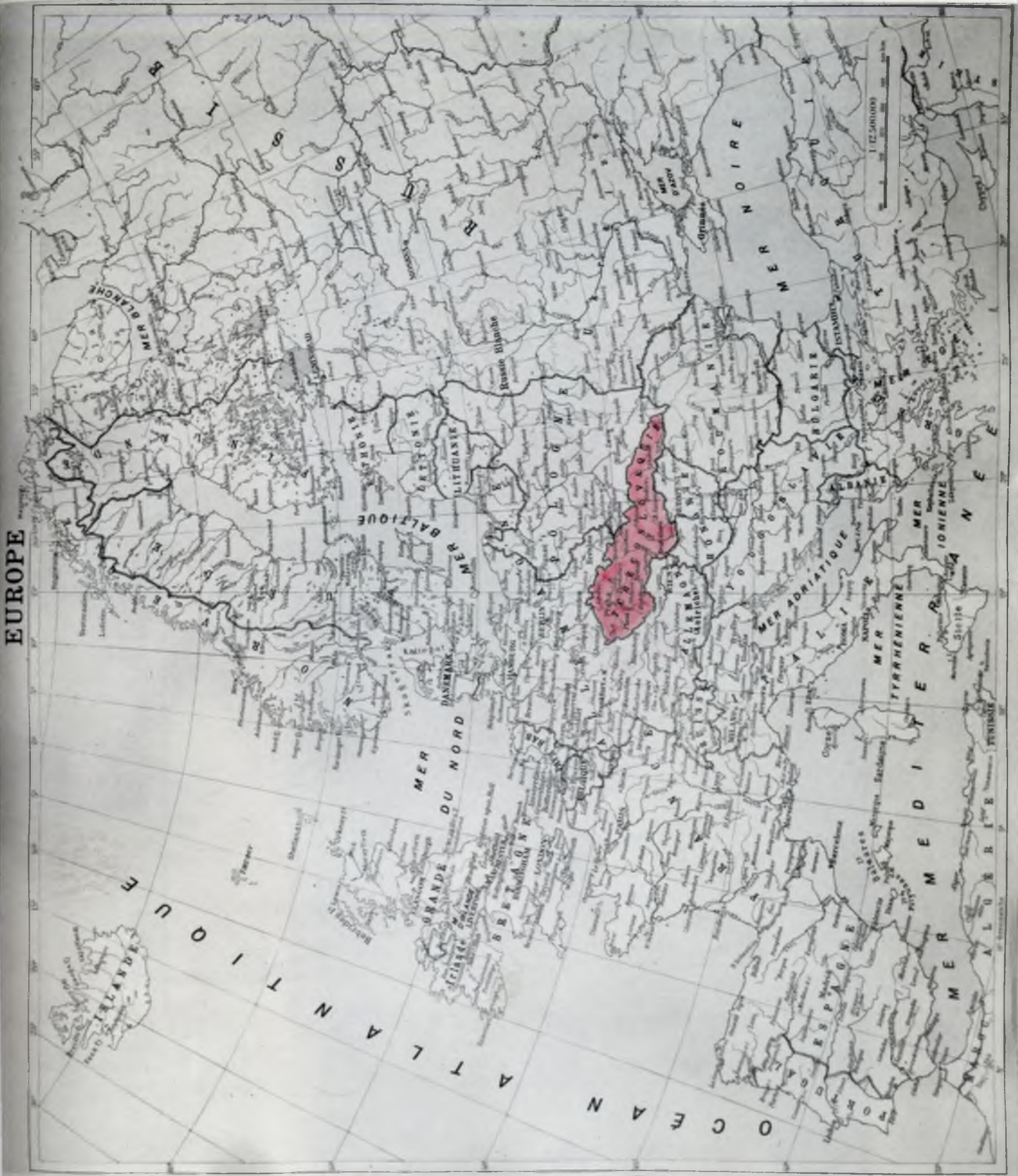
A P P E N D I C E S



APPENDIX A

GEOGRAPHIC POSITION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

LIBRARY



APPENDIX B

HYPSOMETRIC MAP OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA SHOWING ITS NATURAL BOUNDRIES

CARTE HYPSONÉTRIQUE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE TCHECOSLOVAQUE

HYPSOMETRIC MAP OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC



APPENDIX C

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
-----CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

THE LAW OF FEBRUARY 29th, 1920

WHEREBY THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER OF THE
CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC IS INTRODUCED

WE, the Czechoslovak nation, desiring to consolidate the perfect unity of our people, to establish the reign of justice in the Republic, to assure the peaceful development of our native Czechoslovak land, to contribute to the common welfare of all citizens of this State and to secure the blessings of freedom to coming generations, have in our National Assembly this 29th day of February 1920 adopted the following Constitution for the Czechoslovak Republic; and in doing so we declare that it will be our endeavour to see that this Constitution together with all the laws of our land be carried out in the spirit of our history as well as in the spirit of those modern principles embodied in the idea of Self-determination, for we desire to take our place in the Family of Nations as a member at once cultured, peace-loving, democratic and progressive.....

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER
OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC.

S E C T I O N I.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

1.

1. The people are the sole source of all State power in the Czechoslovak Republic.

2. This Constitutional Charter determines through what organs the sovereign people shall express their will in laws, provides for the execution of these laws, and guarantees to the people their rights and liberties. Such limitations are imposed upon these organs of Government, as shall preserve to the people all rights guaranteed by this Charter.

2.

The Czechoslovak State shall be a Democratic Republic, the head of which shall be an elected President.

3.

1. The territories of the Czechoslovak Republic shall form a united and indivisible unit, the frontiers of which may be altered only by Constitutional Law.

2. The autonomous territory of Carpathian Russia, which shall receive the widest measure of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czechoslovak Republic, shall be an integral part of this unit by the terms of its voluntary declaration as set forth in the Treaty between the Allied Powers and the Czechoslovak Republic of September 10th, 1919. Carpathian Russia shall have its own Diet, which shall elect its presiding officer and other officials.....

S E C T I O N V.

RIGHTS, LIBERTIES AND DUTIES OF THE CITIZEN.

EQUALITY.

106.

1. Privileges due to sex, birth or occupation shall not be recognized.

2. All persons residing in the Czechoslovak Republic shall enjoy within its territory in equal measure with the citizens of this Republic complete and absolute security of life and liberty without regard to origin, nationality, language, race or religion. Exceptions to this principle may be made only so far as is compatible with international law.

3. Only such titles may be conferred as designate official rank or a profession. This enactment in no way affects academic honours.....

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, THE RIGHT OF FREE ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

113.

1. Freedom of the Press as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms and to form associations is guaranteed. It is therefore in principle inadmissible to place the press under preliminary censorship. The manner in which

the right of forming associations and the right of free assembly shall be exercised shall be determined by law.

2. An association may be dissolved only when its conduct violates the law of the land or disturbs public peace and order.

3. Restrictions may be imposed by law especially in cases of assembly in places which serve as public thoroughfares, in cases of the establishment of associations for the purpose of profit, and in cases of the participation of foreigners in political associations. The law shall also state what restrictions shall be placed on the principles of the foregoing paragraphs in time of war or in case of events taking place within the State seriously threatening the republican form of government, the Constitution or public peace and order.....

S E C T I O N VI.

PROTECTION OF NATIONAL, RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL MINORITIES.

128.

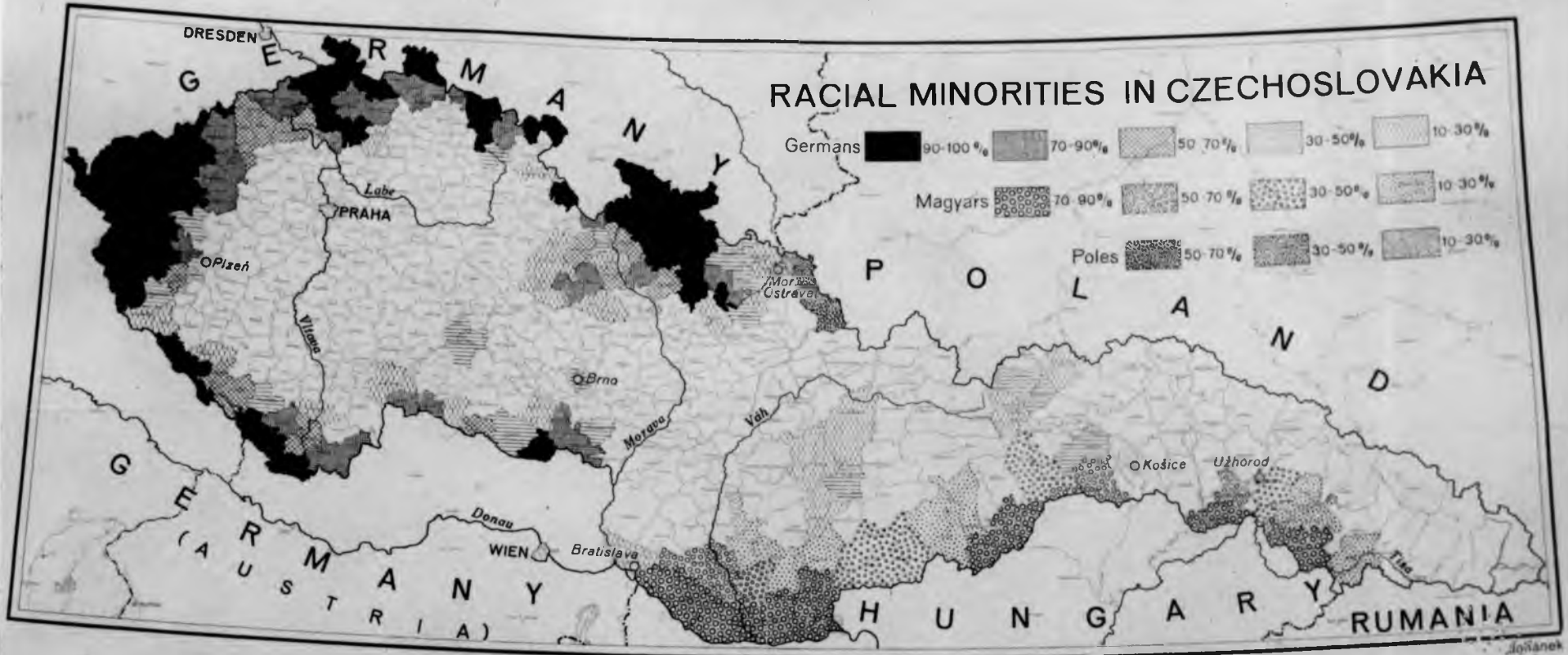
1. All citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic shall be in all respects equal before the law and shall enjoy equal civic and political rights whatever be their race, their language or their religion.

2. Difference in religion, belief, confession or language shall within the limits of the common law constitute no obstacle to any citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic particularly in regard of entry into the public services and offices, of attainment to any promotion or dignity, or in regard to the exercise of any trade or calling.

3. Citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic may, within the limits of the common law, freely use any language they chose in private and business intercourse, in all matters pertaining to religion, in the press and in all publications whatsoever, or in public assemblies.

4. This, however, does not affect the rights conferred on the state organs in these matters by laws already in force or to be passed in the future with a view to public order, the security of the State or effective control.....

APPENDIX D



OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC WHICH IN 1930 WAS 14,729,536, THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONALITIES WAS:

CZECHOSLOVAK	9,756,604 or 66.42% (INCLUDING 67,834 FOREIGNERS)	JEWISH	190,856 or 1.39% (INCLUDING 18,187 FOREIGNERS)
GERMAN	3,318,445 or 22.53% (INCLUDING 86,757 FOREIGNERS)	POLISH	100,322 or 0.68% (INCLUDING 18,585 FOREIGNERS)
MAGYAR	719,569 or 4.89% (INCLUDING 27,846 FOREIGNERS)	RUMANIAN	14,828 or 0.10% (INCLUDING 1,166 FOREIGNERS)
RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN	568,941 or 3.86% (INCLUDING 19,772 FOREIGNERS)	YUGOSLAV	3,113 or 0.02% (INCLUDING 2,913 FOREIGNERS)

APPENDIX E

ETHNOLOGICAL DIVISIONS IN CSR.

(According to the census of 1930.)

Citizens of CSR belong to these nationalities:		
Czechoslovak	9,688,943	66.92 %
German	3,231,718	22.32
Hungarian	692,121	4.78
Ruthenian	549,043	3.79
Jewish	186,474	1.29
Polish	81,741	0.56
Miscellaneous	49,465	0.34
Foreign residents	250,031	—
Total Population	14,729,536	100.00

APPENDIX F

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN
CZECHOSLOVAKIA (IN %)

Type	Year	Czecho- slovak	Ruthe- nian	German	Magyar	Polish	Others
Kindergarten	1932-33	67.9	1.8	25.6	1.3	2.7	0.7
Elementary	1932-33	68.9	3.4	22.0	5.1	0.6	—
Auxiliary	1932-33	67.-	3.-	24.-	1.-	—	5.-
Secondary	1933-34	69.8	2.-	25.1	2.6	0.5	—
Technical	1931-32	66.9	1.2	25.-	0.5	0.3	6.1
Continuation	1931-32	71.3	5.-	19.9	2.2	0.6	1.-
Universities and Colleges	1931-32	78.6	—	21.4	—	—	—
Public Libraries . . .	1930	71.9	3.1	20.6	4.-	0.4	

Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer!

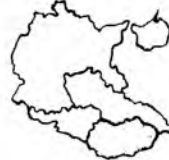
Frühjahr 1938



Herbst 1938



Frühjahr 1939



Herbst 1939



Frühjahr 1940



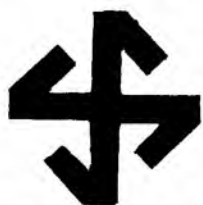
Herbst 1940



Frühjahr 1941



Herbst 1941



Groß-Deutschland 1938-1948



Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!

TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS OF NAZI GERMANY

(MAP TAKEN FROM NAZI OFFICER)

Wie wird die neue Tschechoslowakei aussehen ?



Die Vorschläge des englisch-französischen Plans. Schwarz = Gebiete in der Tschechoslowakei mit mehr als 50 Prozent deutscher Bevölkerung (abzutreten an das Deutsche Reich). Dieser Plan ist durch die Tschechoslowakei am 21. September angenommen worden.



Die Vorschläge des deutschen Memorandums vom 23. September. Schwarz = tschechoslowakische Gebiete, abzutreten an das Deutsche Reich am 1. Oktober. Schraffiert = Gebiete, in welchen bis zum 25. November eine Volksabstimmung stattfinden soll.

ANGLO-FRENCH PROPOSAL

HITLER'S DEMAND

Montag, 28. September 1938

Extra-Blatt

Wochenblatt Nr. 39

Preis 10 Sch.

Seite 15 Sch.

Basler Nachrichten

Eine unerwartete Wendung Chamberlain, Daladier, Mussolini und Hitler treffen sich morgen in München

Sensationelle englische Démarche in Rom veranlasst Duce zu Telefongespräch mit Hitler

Paris, 28. September. Ag. (Havas). Daladier, Chamberlain, Hitler und Mussolini werden am Donnerstag in München zusammentreffen.



Der britische Premier Neville Chamberlain



Der französische Premierminister Paul Reynaud



Der italienische Duce Benito Mussolini

Der britische Botschafter bei Graf Ciano



Der britische Botschafter Sir Horace Kimmins



Der italienische Außenminister Graf Ciano

Paris, 28. Sept. Ag. Die britische Botschafter Sir Horace Kimmins wurde am Mittwoch Nachmittag von dem italienischen Außenminister Graf Ciano empfangen. Nach einem einstündigen Gespräch wurde Kimmins von Ciano zum Frühstück eingeladen. Der Besuch des britischen Botschafters bei Graf Ciano wurde als ein Zeichen für die Fortschritte der Verhandlungen angesehen. Die Gespräche werden am Donnerstag in München fortgesetzt.

Einladung Hitlers

London, 28. Sept. (Havas). Hitler hat die britische Regierung durch seinen Botschafter in London um eine Einladung zu einer Konferenz in München gebittet. Die britische Regierung hat diese Einladung abgelehnt.

Engländer soll hitlergen. Bierspeisung entgegen haben

Paris, 28. September. Ag. Die britische Regierung hat die deutsche Regierung gebittet, die Bierspeisung in München zu verhindern. Die deutsche Regierung hat diese Bitte abgelehnt.

Der Verlauf der Unterredung

Paris, 28. Sept. Ag. Die Unterredung zwischen den britischen und französischen Botschaftern und dem deutschen Botschafter hat sich am Mittwoch in München abgehalten. Die Gespräche wurden am Donnerstag fortgesetzt.

Mussolini bereits unterwegs im Flugzeug

Paris, 28. Sept. Ag. Mussolini ist im Flugzeug nach München unterwegs. Er wird am Donnerstag in München eintreffen.

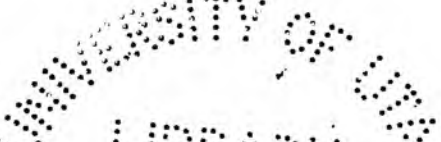
Heimtitelbar nach dem Besuch Carl Berthls

Paris, 28. Sept. Ag. Der britische Botschafter Sir Horace Kimmins hat am Mittwoch in München einen Besuch bei dem deutschen Botschafter Carl Berthls gemacht.

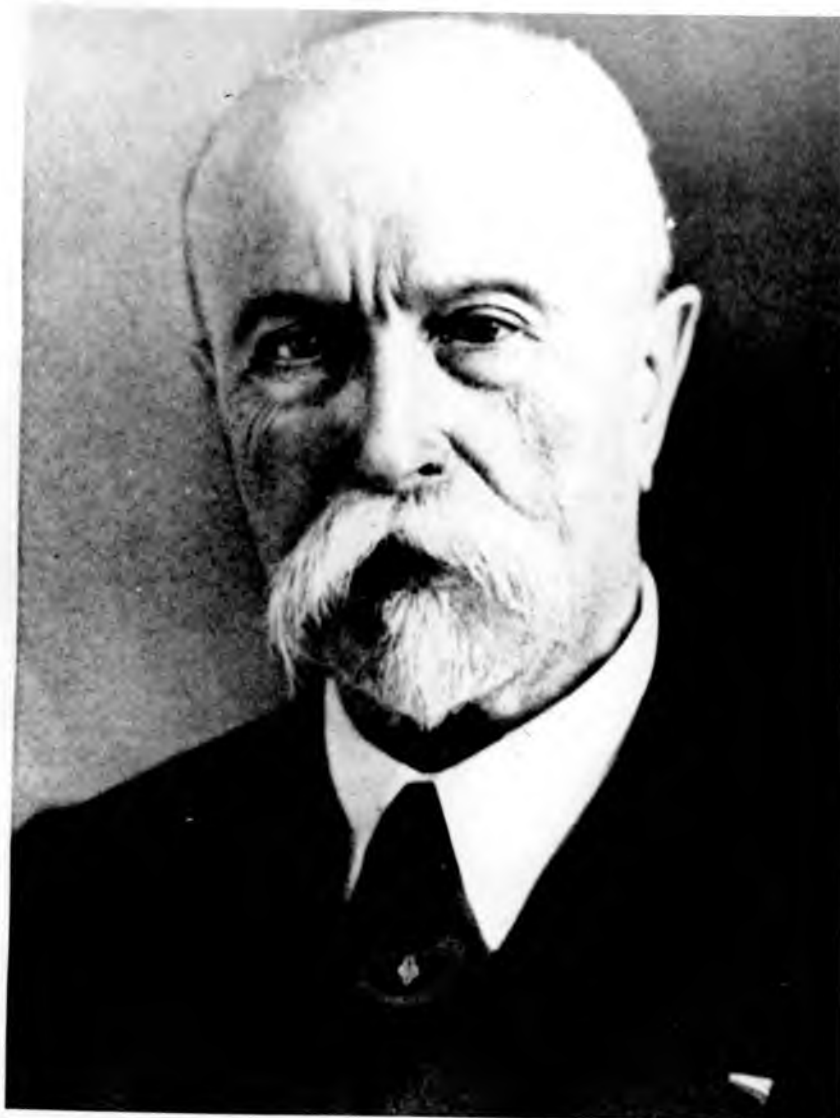
Daladier spricht heute Abend

Paris, 28. Sept. Ag. Der französische Premierminister Paul Reynaud wird heute Abend in Paris sprechen. Er wird über die aktuelle Situation berichten.

ANNOUNCEMENT IN THE "BASLER NACHRICHTER"
OF THE "FOUR POWER" MEETING IN MUNICH



APPENDIX J



DR. TOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK,
PRESIDENT LIBERATOR,
FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

APPENDIX K



DR. EDVARD BENES,
PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

APPENDIX L



Der Führer an seinem 47. Geburtstag

ADOLF HITLER, CHANCELLOR OF THE THIRD REICH

APPENDIX M

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