A RETROSPECT OF POST-WAR GERMANY

RELATIONS. WITH GREAT BRITAIN

statesmen

Versailles

furnished by Reuter, of Herr Hitler's speech before the Reichstag vesterday in reply to President Roosevelt's telegram : ---

8

President of the United States of America has called reparations, and thus impoverished contents of which you are already familiar. Before 1, the addressee, actually received this focument the rest of the world had already been informed of it by radio and newspaper eports; and numerous commentaries in the organs of the democratic world Press had dready generously enlightened us as to the fact that this telegram was a very skilful, tactical document, destined to impose upon the States n which the people govern the responsibility for warlike measures adopted by the plutocratic countries : in view of these facts I decided o summon the German Reichstag so that you, zentlemen, might have an opportunity of hearing my answer first and of either confirm-

ng that answer or rejecting it. But in addition I considered it desirable to keep to the method of procedure initiated by President Roosevelt and to inform the rest of the world, on my part and by our own means. f my answer.

But I should like also to take this oppor unity of giving expression to the feelings with which the tremendous historical happenings of he month of March inspire me. I can give vent to my deepest feelings only in the form of umble thanks to Providence, who called upon me and vouchsafed it to me, once an unknown oldier of the Great War, to rise to be the eader of my so dearly loved people. Providence caused me to find the way to free our cople from its deepest misery without any hedding of blood and to lead it upwards once more. Providence has granted that I night fulfil my life's task-to raise my German people up out of the depth of defeat and to iberate it from the bonds of the most infamous lictate of all times.

For this alone has been the aim of my actions. Since the day on which I entered politics I have been moved by no other idea han that of winning back the freedom of the German nation, restoring the power and crength of the Reich, overcoming the internal lisruption of the nation, remedying its isolaion from the rest of the world, and safeguardng the maintenance of its independent conomic and political existence.

I have worked only to restore that which thers once broke by force, I have desired only o make good that which Satanic malice or uman unreason destroyed or demolished. I ave therefore taken no step which violated the ights of others, but have only restored that ustice which was violated 20 years ago. The resent Greater German Reich contains no

erritory which was not from the earliest times

The following is the full text, as were maltreated by their hatred and unreason were, unfortunately, not in a position to share with those who had injured them in this escape. It is impossible to enumerate the stages of the suffering of our own people. Robbed of the whole of its colonial possessions, deprived Members of the German Reichstag ! The of all its financial resources, plundered by soaddressed a telegram to me, with the curious our nation was driven into the blackest period of its national misfortune. And let it be noted that this was not National-Socialist Germany, but democratic Germany, the Germany which was weak enough to trust for a single moment the promises of democratic

GERMAN SUFFERINGS ELEMENTS OF BOLSHEVISM

The misery resulting therefrom and the continuous want began to bring our nation politically to despair. The decent and industrious people of Central Europe thought that they could see the possibility of deliverance in the complete destruction of the order which appeared to have become a curse.

Jewish parasites on the one hand plundered the nation ruthlessly, and on the other hand incited the people when it had been reduced to misery. As the misfortune of our nation became the only aim and object of this race, it was possible to breed among the growing army of unemployed suitable elements for the Bolshevist revolution. The decay of political order and the confusion of public opinion by the irresponsible Jewish Press led to ever stronger shocks to economic life and conse-

the army of unemployed was called, finally existence involved by the excessive density of population, economic life had not become more uncertain in the course of time, but on the contrary more and more secure. Industry

and diligence, great thrift, and the love of scrupulous order, though they did not enable the people in this territory to accumulate excessive riches, did at any rate insure them against abject misery. The results of the wretched peace forced upon them by the democratic dictators were thus all the more terrible for these people who were damned at

"GREED FOR SPOILS"

outcome of the Great War. First it was the mark became the crown lands and the nucleus

THE TIMES SATURDAY APRIL 29 1939

TEXT OF HERR HITLER'S SPEECH abide by them.

ALSACE-LORRAINE AND THE SAAR

I have not, as France did in 1870-71, described the session of Alsace-Lorraine as intolerable for the future, but I have here drawn a difference between the Saar Territory and these two former imperial provinces. And I have never changed my attitude nor will I ever do so. I have not allowed this attitude to be modified or jeopardized inside the country on any occasion, either in the Press or in any other way. The return of the Saar Territory has done away with all territorial problems in Europe between France and Germany. I have, however, always regarded it as regrettable that French statesmen should take this attitude for granted. This is however not the way to look at the matter. It was not for fear of France that I preached this attitude. As a former soldier I see no reason whatever for such fear. Moreover, as regards the Saar Territory, I made it quite clear that we would not countenance any refusal to return it to Germany. No. I have confirmed this attitude to France as an expression of an appreciation of the necessity to attain peace in Europe instead of sowing the seed of continual uncertainty and even tension by making unlimited demands and continually asking for revision. If this tension has nevertheless now arisen, the responsibility

does not lie with Germany but with those international elements which systematically produce such tension in order to serve their capitalist interests.

PEACE WITH NEIGHBOURS

A SERIES OF DECLARATIONS I have given binding declarations to a large number of States. None of these States can complain that even a trace of a demand contrary thereto has ever been made to them by Germany. None of the Scandinavian statesmen, for example, can contend that a request has ever been put to them by the German Government or by German public opinion. which was incompatible with the sovereignty and integrity of their State. I was pleased that a number of European

States availed themselves of these declarations by the German Government to express and emphasize their desire, too, for absolute neutrality. This applies to Holland, Belgium, Switzerland Denmark, &c. I have already mentioned France. I need not mention Italy. with whom we are united in the deepest and quently to increasing misery and to greater closest friendship, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, eadiness to absorb subversive Bolshevist ideas. with whom we as neighbours have the fortune he army of the Jewish world revolution. as to be on very friendly terms. On the other hand, I have left no doubt from the first rose to almost 7,000,000. Germany had never moment of my political activity that there snown this state of affairs before. In the living existed other circumstances which represent space of the great German people and of the such a mean and gross outrage of the right old Habsburg States belonging thereto, of self-determination of our people that we despite all the difficulties of the struggle for can never accept or endorse them. I have never written a single line or made a single speech displaying a different attitude towards the above-mentioned States. On the other hand, with reference to the other cases, I have never written a single line or made a single speech in which I have expressed any attitude contrary to my actions.

THE ANSCHLUSS

1. AUSTRIA .--- The oldest Eastern march of the German people was once the buttress of t' German nation on south-east of 1. The Germans is country are

des .d from settlers fro. .Il the German

against Germany. Everything else followed making war profits. automatically. The more this State tried to fulfil the task it had been set, the greater was the resistance put up by the national minorities. And the greater the resistance, the more it became necessary to resort to oppression. This inevitable hardening of the internal antitheses

led in its turn to an increased dependence on the democratic European founders and benefactors of the State. For they alone were in a position to maintain in the long run the economic existence of this unnatural and artificial creation.

Germany was primarily interested in one thing only, and that was to liberate the nearly 4.000,000 Germans in this country from their unbearable situation, and to make it possible to the thousand-year-old Reich. It was only natural that this problem immediately brought up all the other aspects of the nationalities problem. But it was also natural that the removal of the different national groups should deprive what was left of the State of all capacity to survive-a fact of which the founders of the that they decided on the assault on the other minorities and had forced these against their structed State.

NO DOUBT LEFT

I have likewise never left any doubt about my opinion and attitude. It is true that, so long as Germany herself was poweriess and de-phase in which the tendency of this affair, long as Germany herself was powerless and defenceless, this oppression of almost 4,000,000 Sermans could be carried out without the Reich offering any practical resistance. However, only a child in politics could have believed that the German nation would remain for ever in the state it was in in 1919.

Only so long as the international traitors supported from abroad held the direction of tory of National Socialism these traitors had to transfer their domicile to the place whence they had received their subsidies, the solution of this problem was only a question of time. cerning Western Europe. It was certainly understandable that Western Europe was interested in the artificial State brought into being in its interest. But that the nationalities surrounding this State should regard this interest as a determining factor for them was a false directed to the financial establishment of this democracies

A MILITARY STATE MENACE TO THE REICH

The financial requirements of this State followed but one guiding idea-namely, i the creation of a military State armed to the

teeth with a view to forming a bastion extending into the German Reich, which promised to be a starting point for military operations in connexion with invasions of the Reich from the West, or at any rate an air base of undoubted i value. What was expected from this State is To-day we know the reason for this frightful To-day we know the reason for this frightful calmly stated that the duty of this State, in the

people, and have seen to it that they should other than to prevent the consolidation of involving them in the inevitable bloodlust so Central Europe, to provide a bridge to Europe as to immerse humanity in a new catastrophe for Bolshevist aggression and, above all, to act in which some would have the honour of as a mercenary of the European democracies losing their lives, and others the pleasure of

EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER

THE MEETING AT MUNICH You are acquainted, Gentleman, with the

decisions I made at the time:-1 .-- The solution of this question, and, what is more, y October 2, 1938, at the latest;

2.—The preparation of this solution with all the means necessary to leave no doubt that any attempt at intervention would be met by the united force of the whole nation.

It was at this juncture that I decreed and ordered the construction of the Western fortifications. On September 25, 1938, they for them to return to their home country and were already in such a condition that their power of resistance was 30 to 40 times as great as that of the old Siegfried Line in the Great War. They have now been practically completed and are at the present moment being enlarged by the new lines outside Aachen and Saarbrücken which I State had been well aware when they planned ordered later. These, too, are very largely it at Versailles, since it was for this very reason ready for defence. In view of the condition of these, the greatest fortifications ever conwill to become part of this amateurishly con-structed, the German nation may feel perfectly minute insight of responsible men on the other assured that no Power in this world will ever succeed in breaking through this front.

When the first provocative attempt utilizing the Czech mobilization had failed to lead to phase, in which the tendency of this affair,

which really concerned Central Europe alone, became all the more obvious.

If the cry of "Never another Munich! is raised in the world to-day, this simply confirms the fact that the peaceful solution of the problem appeared to be the most fatal the German State could people rely on these thing that ever happened in the eyes of those own accord and three was consequently no disgraceful conditions being patiently put up warmongers. They are sorry no blood was longer any Czecho-Slovakia. It was, how with. From the moment when after the vic- shed-not their blood, of course; for these ever, understandable that long after the agitators are, of course, never to be found ethnographic principle had been made invalid where shots are being fired, but only where money is being made! No, it is the blood Moreover, it was exclusively a question affect- of many nameless soldiers. Moreover, there ing the nationalities concerned, not one con- would have been no necessity for the Munich Conference, for that conference was only made possible by the fact that the countries which had at first incited those concerned tion pressed for a solution in one way or another, were compelled to try to secure conclusion which was perhaps regrettable for for themselves a more or less respectable just as English measures in, say, Northern Ire-many. In so far as this interest was only retreat; for without Munich, that is to say land, whether they be right or wrong, are not without the interference of the countries of State. Germany could have had nothing to say "Motor the inclusion of the entire if this financial interest had not been subjected problem—if it had ever grown so acute—would exclusively to the political aims of the jvery likely have been the easiest thing in the world

The decision of Munich led to the following result : --

csuft. — csum of the most essential parts of the first of the definition of the most essential parts of the definition of the Reich. (2) The keeping open of the possibility of a solution of the other problems of that State—i.e., a return or separation of the existing Hungarian and Slovak

part of Czech newspapers to relapse into the old style of writing, made it finally clear even to the greatest simpleton that the old state of been wasted on England. We shall not de affairs would soon be restored. The danger or lose heart on that account, but-re man or other might get control of the vast find ways and means to secure our index stores of munitions. This involved the darger | ence without immetime secure our index of immense explosions. of a military conflict was all the greater as cannot refrain, gentlemen, from giving you an idea of the truly gigantic amounts of this inter-

national store of explosives in Central Europe. Since the occupation of this territory the following have been confiscated and placed in safe keeping : --A.-AIR FORCE 1. Acropianes 2. Anti-aircraft guns B.—ARMY $\frac{1.582}{501}$

2.175 785 469 Minenwerfer C -- ANMUNITION

Deciss, USE 3.000.000 rounds.
 D.—Other implements of war of all kinds, c.g.:— Bridge-building equipment, Aircraft detectors, Searbhibwiden.

Motor-vehicles, and Special motor-vehicles-in vast quantities !

I believe that it is a good thing for millions and millions of people that I, thanks to the lastside, succeeded in averting such an explosion, and found a solution which I am convinced has finally abolished this problem of a source of danger in Central Europe.

The contention that this solution is contrary under no circumstances be regarded as final, because it admitted that other problems required and remained to be solved. We cannot really be reproached for the fact that the parties concerned-and this is the deciding factor-did not turn to the four Powers but only to Italy and Germany, nor yet for the fact that the State as such finally split up of its

Germany should take under her protection her interests dating back a thousand years, which are not only of a political but also of an economic nature.

The future will show whether the solution which Germany has found is right or wrong. However, it is certain that the solution is not subject to English supervision or criticism. to resist at all costs later on, when the situa- For Bohemia and Moravia as the remnants of former Czecho-Slovakia have nothing more whatever to do with the Munich Agreement. land, whether they be right or wrong, are not subject to German supervision or criticism, this is also the case with these old German

Electorates. However, I entirely fail to understand how the agreement reached between Mr. Chamberlain and myself at Munich can refer to this case, for the case of Czecho-Slovakia was settled in the Munich protocol of the four Powers as far as it could be settled at all at that time. Apart from this provision was merely made that if the interested parties should fail to come to an agreement they should be entitled to is) There still remained the question of surantees. As far as Germany and Italy were concerned, the probability of the far been made paramete of this State had from the fars there made paramete of this State had from the fars there made producing the parties of the state had the state of the farst state of the state of the state producing the parties of the state had the state of the sta ever, these interested parties did not appeal to A Creenesion and Creenesion and a service in the service interest of partices of the dipter of the service in the service is the service in the service is t

look upon Germany as a vassal State. our love and friendly feelings have in on the consciousness of our own strength

able to put any trust in German assure In the circumstances I consider it a n of course that we no longer wish 'o expec or the British people to bear the burden situation which is only conceivable in an a sphere of mutual confidence. When Ger became National-Socialist and thus pave way for her national resurrection, in r ance of my unswerving policy of frien with England, of my own accord I mad proposal for a voluntary restriction of Ge naval armaments. That restriction was, ever, based on one condition-namely will and the conviction that a war bet England and Germany would never be possible. This wish and this convicti

alive in me to-day. I am, however, now compelled to state the policy of England is both unofficially officially leaving no doubt about the fact such a conviction is no longer share London, and that, on the contrary, the op prevails there that no matter in what co Germany should some day be entangled, Britain would always have to take her against Germany. Thus a war against many is taken for granted in that counts

most profoundly regret such a develop for the only claim I have ever made, and continue to make, on England is that return of our colonies. But I always m: very clear that this would never becom cause of a military conflict. I have a held that the English, to whom those col are of no value, would one day understan German situation and would then value man friendship higher than the possessi-territories which, while yielding no real whatever to them, are of vital important

THE NAVAL AGREEME NEED OF A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING

Germany

Apart from this, however, I have advanced a claim which might in any way interfered with British interests or have be a danger to the Empire and thus have any kind of damage to England. I have a kept within the limit of such demands a intimately connected with Germany's space and thus the eternal property o German nation. Since England to-day, by the Press and officially, upholds the that Germany should be opposed unde circumstances, and confirms this by the 1 of encirclement known to us, the basis fc Naval Treaty has been removed. I have t fore resolved to send to-day a communic to this effect to the British Government. is to us not a matter of practical materia portance-for I still hope that we sha able o avoid an armaments race with En -but an action of self-respect. Shoul-British Government, however, wish to once more into negotiations with German this problem, no one would be happier t at the prospect of still being able to cor a clear and straightforward understandin Moreover, I know my people-and 1 on them. We do not want anything the not formerly belong to us, and no State ever be robbed by us of its property ; but he is able to attack Get aver believes the

Guns (light and heavy) neavy) 3. Tanks 5. Automatic pistols 6. Rifles . Infantry ammunition, over 1,000,000,000 rounds. . Shells, over 3,000,000 rounds.

Searchlights. Measuring instruments,

there was no bloodshed-that 175,000 Germans were able to return to the homeland which they loved above everything else without a few hundred thousands others having to be shot for it ! This grieved the apostles of humanitarianism deeply. It was therefore no wonder that they immediately began to look out for new possibilities of bringing about a thorough disturbance of the European atmosphere after all. And so, as in the case of Czecho-Slovakia, they again resorted to the assertion that Germany was taking military steps-that is, was supposedly mobilizing. This mobilization was said to be directed against Poland.

RELATIONS WITH POLAND

THE PROBLEM OF DANZIG

There is little to be said as regards German-Polish relations. Here too the Peace Treaty of Versailles-of course intentionally-inflicted a most severe wound on Germany. The strange way in which the Corridor giving tion 1 The hate of these mischief-makers is of history, that Germany was no more to Poland access to the sea was marked out was the more readily to be understood as they were blame for the outbreak of the War than any meant above all to prevent for all time the deprived of one of the greatest danger-spots other nation. But I do not believe that establishment of an understanding between of the European crisis, thanks to the heroism Poland and Germany. This problem is-as for one man, his nation and-I may say-also quenes for the whole surrounding world, that hanks to the Italian and German voluniters, is for the whole globe, provided the whole painful of all problems for Germany. Nevertheless I have never ceased to uphold the view that the necessity of a free access to the sea for the Polish State cannot be ignored, and that as a general principle, valid for this case 100, nations which Providence has destined or, if you like, condemned to live side by side would be well advised not to make life still harder for each other artificially and unnecessarily. The late Marshal Pilsudski, who was of the same opinion, was therefore prepared to go into the question of clarifying the atmosphere of German-Polish relations, and finally to conclude an agreement whereby Germany and Poland expressed their intention of renouncing war altogether as a means of settling the questions which concerned them both

TENSION LESSENED

This agreement contained one single exception, which was in practice conceded to Poland. It was laid down that the pacts of mutual assistance already entered into by Poland-this applied to the pact with France -should not be affected by the agreement. But it was obvious that this could apply only to the pact of mutual assistance already concluded beforehand, and not to whatever new pacts might be concluded in the future. It is a fact that the German-Polish Agreement resulted in a remarkable lessening of the European tension. Nevertheless there remained one open question between Germany and Poland, which sooner or later quite naturally had to be solved-the question of the German city of Danzig, Danzig is a German city and wishes to belong to Germany. On the other hand, this city has contracts with Poland, which were admittedly forced upon it by the dictators of the Peace of versailles. But since, moreover, the League of Nations, formerly the greatest stirrera High Commissioner—incidentally a man of extraordinary tact—the problem of Danzig must in any case come up for discussion, at the latest with the gradual extinction of this calamitous institution. I regarded the peaceful settlement of this problem as a further contri-bution to a final loosening of the European tension. For this loosening of the tension is assuredly not to be achieved through the agitations of insane war-mongers, but through the removal of the real elements of danger. After the problem of Danzig had already been discussed several times some months ago, 1 made a concrete offer to the Polish Government. I now make this offer known to you, gentlemen, and you vourselves will judge whether this offer did not represent the greatest imaginable concession in the interests of European peace.

have already pointed out. 1

was, it is true, once more extremely sorry that arrangements governing its relations with Ger | which in the end goes so far that inter | direst derannt of humanity and historynany, I can but welcome such an idea, proided, of course, that these arrangements are pased on an absolutely clear obligation binding both parties in equal measure. Germany is perfectly willing at any time to undertake such obligations, and also to fulfil them.

all desire so much will become possible.

IMPOSSIBLE BURDENS

in a hundred years, although it has been

burden, in the sum total of the outcome of all

(3) Mr. Roosevelt declared that he had

already appealed to me on a former occasion

ANSWER: I myself have always been an ex-

ponent of this view and, as history proves, have

settled necessary political economic and social

problems without force of arms-i.e., without

Unfortunately, however, this peaceful settle-

ment has been made more difficult by the

agitation of politicians, statesmen, and news-

aper representatives who were neither directly

oncerned nor even affected by the problems

(4) Mr. Roosevelt believes that the " tide of

large part of the world is condemned to a

ANSWER: As far as Germany is concerned

I know nothing of this kind of threat to other

nations, although I every day read in the demo-

cratic newspapers lies about such a threat. Every day I read of German mobilizations,

of the landing of troops, of extortions-all this

in regard to States with whom we are not only

living in deepest peace, but also with whom we are, in many cases, the closest friends.

(5) Mr. Roosevelt believes further that in

ANSWER: As a politician I have been the

exponent of this conviction for 20 years, at a

time when, unfortunately, the responsible statesmen in America could not bring them-

selves to make the same admission as regards

their participation in the Great War and its

(6) Mr. Roosevelt believes lastly that it lies

with the leaders of the great nations to preserve

case of war victorious, vanquished and neutral

millions of years to come.

to arms.

resort to arms.

in question.

common ruin.

nations will all suffer

issue.

which are agi the world fro.

NATIONALIST SPAIN **GENERAL FRANCO'S** TRIUMPH

If for these reasons fresh unrest has broken out in Europe during the last few weeks the responsibility therefor lies solely in the propa-ganda in the service of the international warfor generations to come. mongers which we know well and which, con-ANSWER: No one knows this better than ducted by numerous organs of the democratic States, endeavours, by continually increasing nervousness and inventing continual rumours, the German people. For the Peace Treaty of Versailles imposed burdens on the German to make Europe ripe for a catastrophe, that people which could not have been paid off even

catastrophe from which it is hoped to achieve what has not yet been brought about-namely, proved precisely by American teachers of constitutional law, historians and professors the Bolshevik destruction of European civilizaevery conflict must have disastrous conse-In the past weeks Germany has experienced and celebrated the victory of Nationalist Spain with the most fervent sympathy. As I resolved to answer the plea of General Franco to give in the activity of the state of the systematically drawn into such pact obligations. For since in past centuries and—as I pointed out at the beginning of my In the past weeks Germany has experienced him the assistance of National-Socialist Germany in countering the international support many in countering the international support of the Bolshevik incendiaries, this step of Ger-of wars, if Mr. Roosevelt's assumption were of really beinble to solve decisive intermany's was misinterpreted and abused in the most infamous way by these same international agitators. They declared at the time that Gerthese wars, which it would have to bear for many intended to establish herself in Spain, and proposed taking Spanish colonies, indeed the landing of 20,000 soldiers in Morocco was invented as an infamous lie, in short, nothing on behalf of a peaceful settlement of political. was omitted that could cast suspicion on the economic, and social problems without resort idealism of our and the Italian support, in

order to find the material for fresh warmongering. In a few weeks now the victorious hero of Nationalist Spain will celebrate his festive entry into the capital of his country. The Spanish people will acclaim him as their deliverer from unspeakable horrors, and as the liberator from bands of incendiaries who are estimated to have more than 775,000 human lives on their conscience through executions and murders alone. The inhabitants of whole villages and towns were literally butchered under the silent benevolent patronage of West European and American democratic humanitarian apostles. In this his triumphal procession the volunteers of our German Legion will march, together with their Italian comrades, in the ranks of the valiant Spanish soldiers. We hope to be able to welcome them home soon afterwards. The German nation will then know how bravely its sons have played their part on that soil too in the struggle for the liberty of a noble people and therewith for the salvation of European civilization : for if the sub-human forces of Bolshevism had proved victorious in Spain they might easily have spread across the whole of Europe. Hence the hatred of those who are disappointed that Europe did not once more go up in fire and flames. And for this reason they are doubly anxious to miss no opportunity of sowing the seeds of mistrust among the nations and of stirring up somewhere else the war atmosphere which they so much desire.

The things which these international warmongers have in the past few weeks fabricated in lying assertions and published in numerous newspapers are in part just as childish as they are malicious. The first result-is as far as this is not intended to serve the internal political purposes of the democratic Governments-is the spreading of a nervous hysteria which already considers the landing of inhabitants of Mars in the land of unlimited possibilities. The real purpose, however, is to prepare public opinion to regard the English policy of encirclement as necessary, and consequently to π it should the worst come to the worst

STRENGTH OF THE AXIS have always seen the necessity of an The German people on the other hand can

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ventions from another planet are believed namely, hele of Versailles. (12) Mr. evelt declares further that it is believe that, as soon as the responsible (clear to himali international problems can Governments impose upon themselves and be solved arouncil table, their journalistic organs the necessary restraint ANSWER pretically one ANSWER pretically one ought to believe

and truthfulness as regards the relations of in this posty, for common sense would the various countries to one another, and, in correct dem on the one hand and show ecessity of a compromise on particular, as regards internal happenings in the compel other countries, the fear of war will dis- the other. appear at once, and the trancuillity which we |. For exam ecording to all common-sense

teneral principles of a higher logic, and human justideed according to the laws of 2. In his telegram Mr. Roosevelt expresses the belief that every major war, even if it were a Divine will peoples ought to have an to be confined to other continents, must have equal share the goods of this world. It serious consequences while it lasts, and also ought not the happen that one people needs so muving space that it cannot get along with Thabitants to the square kilo-

metre while is are forced to nourish 140, 150, or even on the same area. But in no case should a fortunate peoples curtail the avietime existing living of those who are, as it is, suffering, by ing them of their colonies, for instance. I d therefore be very happy if these problemuld really find their solution at the councilie. My scepticism, however, is based on thet that it was America herself who gave shat expression to her mistrust in the effectives of conferences. For the greatest confere of all time was without any doubt the Led of Nations. This authoritative body, reenting all the peoples of the world, create accordance with the will of an American ident, was supposed to solve the problems umanity at the council table. The first Statewever, that shrank from this answer-also in the course of the last decades. correct, humanity would already have a national proble at the conference table.

> FAILRE OF THE EAGUE NO DESIVE PROBLEM ETTLED

We honour ur well-meant opinion, Mr. Roosevelt, but posed to your opinion stands activity of ingreatest conference in the proved imposse to solve one single decisive German Government believed that there was no need to foll the example of the United their seat at this onference table. It was not till after years f purposeless participation America and likwise leave the largest conference in the work. Since then I have solved the problems encerning my people, which like all others we unfortunately, not solved t the conferent table of the League of Nations—and, to without recourse to war in assume that he would probably rightly conany case. App already mention have been broug in recent years been found your belief that very problem can be solved

your belief that very problem can be solved at the conference belie is true, then all nations, including the United States, have been led in the past 700 or 80 years either by blind men or by eriminals. For all of them, including the statesmen of the United States, and especially her gregiest, did not make the chief part of their history at the conference table. their peoples from the impending disaster. CONTROL OF NEWSPAPERS ANSWER: If that is true, then it is a punishbut with the aid of the strength of their people. able neglect, to use no worse word, if the leaders of nations with corresponding powers Thee freedom of North America was not-achieved at the conference table any more than are not capable of controlling their newspapers for war, and so to save the conflict between the North and the South e threatening calamity of was decided there. I will sav nothing about

the world tro. a threatening catamity of was decided there. I will say holding added are Governments ? an armed conflict. I am not able to under the innumerable struggles which finally led are the struggles will finally its finally. Mr. Roosevelt asks that assur-stand, further, why these responsible leaders to the subjugation of the North American ances be given him that the German armed instead of cultivating diplomatic relations. Continent as a whole. I mention all this forces will not attack, and above all not

give the aims of the German policy so State. openly that the entire world can hear it in any case. But these explanations are without significance for the outside world as long as it is possible for the Press to falsify and suspect every statement, to question it, or to cover it with fresh lying replies.

A STATEMENT OF POLICY? RECIPROCITY REQUIRED

(16) Mr. Roosevelt believes that, because the United States as one of the nations of the Western hemisphere is not involved in the immediate controversies which have arisen in Europe, I should therefore be willing to make such a statement of policy to him, as the head of a nation so far removed from Europe. Answer:-(1) Mr. Roosevelt therefore seriously believes that the cause of international peace would really be furthered if I were to make to the nations of the world a public statement on the present policy of the German Government.

But how does Mr. Roosevelt come to expect of the Head of the German State above all to make a statement without the other Governments being invited to make such a Endeavour wale United States—the reason being that Prent Wilson himself even then tambed to the reason the reason the statement of their policy as well? I cer-tainly believe that it is not feasible to make tainly believe that it is not feasible to make such a statement to the Head of any foreign State, but rather that such statements should preferably be made to the whole world, in accordance with the demand made at the time by President Wilson for the abolition of secret diplomacy. Hitherto I was not only always prepared to do this, but, as I have already said, I have done it only too often. Unfortunately the most important statements concerning the aims and intentions of German policy have been in many so-called democratic States either withheld from the people or distorted the actual factuat in almost 20 years of the by the Press. If, however, President Roosevelt thinks that he is qualified to address such world-namelyne League of Nations-it has a request to Germany or Italy of all nations because America is so far removed from international pilem. Contrary to Wilson's Europe, we on our side might with the same promise, Gerny was hindered for many right address to the President of the American years by the Pee Treaty of Versailles from Republic the question as to what aims American foreign policy has in view in its (i) sur recovert believes that the function participating inhis great world conference. American foreign policy has in view in its events " is once more bringing the threat of participating inhis great world conference one turn, and on what intentions this policy is based-in the case of the Central and South American States, for instance. In this case States, and the they should therefore take Mr. Roosevelt would, rightly, I must admit, refer to the Monroe Doctrine and decline to comply with such a request as an interference in the internal affairs of the American Conthat I resolved to follow the example of America and like is leave the largest confer-trine for Europe—and above all for the territory and the interests of the Greater German Reich.

Moreover, I would obviously never presume

before world conferences that he would then communicate information received by him concerning the political aims however. Mr. Roosevelt, of Germany to other nations from the political aims of the p from this, however, as sider such a presumption tactless. numerous other problems 17. The American President further declares

WHO IS THREATENED?

ANSWER .--- How has Mr. Roosevelt learned which nations consider themselves threatened

by Germany policy and which do not ? Or is Mr. Roosevelt in a position, in spite of the enormous amount of work which must rest upon him in his own country, to recogze of his own accord 1 these inner spiritual f other peoples and

1 mental imoressi ir Governments

to demand that I account to them. However, State in accordance with the wishes of that which is now-as it will continue future-particularly pressing. It would be a noble act if Preside

But I should not like to let this opportunity pass without giving above all to the president [Noosevell were to redeem the pre of the United States an assurance regarding by President Woodrow Wilson. those territories which would after all give him in the first place be a practical those territories which would alter an give much in the first place to a posticitation of the most cause for apprehension—namely, the to the moral consolidation of the United States itself and the other States of consequently to the improvem economic conditions. the American continent.

And I here solemnly declare that all the assertions which have been circulated in any way concerning an intended German attack or invasion on or in American territory are rank frauds and gross untruths. Quite apart from the fact that such assertions, as far as the military possibilities are concerned, could have their origin only in a stupid imagination.

(19) The American President then goes on to leclare in this connexion that he regards the discussion of the most effective and immediate manner in which the peoples of the world can obtain relief from the crushing burden of armaments, as the most important factor of all.

Answer :- Mr. Roosevelt perhaps does not know that this problem, in so far as it con-cerns Germany, has already been completely solved on one occasion. Between 1919 and 1923 Germany had already completely disarmed-as was expressly confirmed by the Allied Commissions-the extent of this disarmament being as follows: --The following military equipment was

destroyed : ---59,000 guns and barrels. 130,000 guils and variots. 130,000 machine-guns. 31,000 minenwerfer and barrels. 6,007,000 rifles and carbines. 243,000 machine-gun barrels. (a) 25,000 gun carriages.
(b) 25,000 gun carriages.
(c) 4,300 minetwerfer carriages.
(c) 4,000 band and rife prenades.
(c) 60,400,000 rounds sentil calibre annunition.
(c) 30,000 rounds sentil calibre annunition.
(c) 35,000 metric tons shell iackets.
(c) 32,151 metric tons carriage casts.
(c) 32,000 unfilled rounds of annunation.
(c) 32,000 unfilled rounds of annunation. 28,000 gun carriages. There were further destroyed :-Sleighs, transportable workshops, anti-aircraft car-riages, gun-carriages, steel helmets, gasmasks,

munitions industry, machinery, and rifle barrels.

The following air force equipment was destroyed : --- (1) 15.714 fighters and bombers.
 (2) 27.757 aeroplane engines. While in the navy the following was destroved : --In addition were the following destroyed :vchicles of all kinds poison gas and (partly) anti-gas apparatus fuel and explosives searchights scarchights sighting apparatus distance and sound measuring apparatus enticel instruments of all kinds harness, &c., &c. all accodromes and airship hangars, &c.

THE PLEDGE TO

DISARM

GERMANY'S EARLIER OFFERS

structed the way for new veloped traffic, caused might built and canals to be dug, ce gigantic new factories, and at endeavoured to further the edu ture of our people. I have sur ing useful work once more for the 7,000,000 unemployed wh According to the solemn pledges once given the hearts of us all, in keepi peasant on his soil in spite o and in saving the land itself f more bringing German trac and in assisting traffic to th a precaution against the thre world not only have German people politically, rearmed them; I have als to destroy sheet by sheet that its 448 articles contains the v which peoples and human b which peoples and human b been expected to put up with, back to the Reich the provir us in 1919. I have led back country millions of Germans away from us and were in mi-ortablished the historic with established the historic unity living space and, Mr.

to ottai

GERMANY AT AMERICA A CONTRAST IN PRO

(21) Mr. Roosevelt also stated that the heads of all great Gove in this hour responsible for humanity. They cannot fail prayers of their peoples to be pr the foresceable chaos of war.

would be held accountable for th Mr. Roosevelt! I fully unders vastness of your nation and the im: of your country allows you to fee for the history of the whole w the history of all nations. I, Si in a much more modest and sn You have 130,000,000 people square kilometres. You posses with enormous riches in all mine fertile enough to feed half a t and to provide them with all nec I once took over a State whi by complete ruin, thanks to its promises of the rest of the wor bad régime of democratic Gove this State there are roughly 1-each square kilometre-not 15, a The fertility of our country can pared with that of yours. We is minerals which Nature has pl disposal in unlimited quantities. of German savings accumulated foreign exchange during many)

were squeezed out of us and ta We lost our colonies. In 1933 country 7.000,000 unemployed, workers on half-time, millions sinking into poverty, destroyed

commerce ; in short, general ch MEIN KAMP Since then, Mr. Roosevelt, I J

able to fulfil one simple task. myself responsible for the fate this world took no interest in t

of my own people. I have rega called upon by Providence to people alone and to deliver th

frightful misery. Consequent past six and a half years I have

powers of my people in view o by the whole of the rest of the

veloping these powers to the i utilizing them for the salvation munity. I have conquered char

re-established order, enormo production in all branches of

economy, by strenuous efforts stitutes for numerous materials

night for the single task of

PAGE

Cup at the Bath Club yesterday. (p. 6)

General dullness in the stock markets yesterday

was relieved by a slight rally towards the close.

Foreign bonds were firmer, but South African

goldmining shares remained weak on liquida-

The New York exchange again moved in favour

of sterling and closed at \$4.68¹/₈; the premium

on forward dollars at three months further

declined to 1 7-16c. Francs were slightly

firmer against sterling at 177 15-64f. (p. 19)

Gold fell 1d. to 148s. 7¹/₂d. per oz., while the

The total of building plans approved in Decem-

ber shows a reduction of 30.6 per cent. com-

The Crown Agents for the Colonies invite appli-

cations at a price of 99 for £700,000 of

Jamaica Government Three-and-a-Half per

Cent. Inscribed stock, 1955-1959. This repre-

sents the balance of an issue of £1.300,000, of

which £600,000 has already been placed.

Deposits of the District Bank show a rise on the

It is proposed to write down the issued capital

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

this month the Committee stage of the Criminal

Justice Bill will be one of the most important

domestic matters awaiting the House of Com-

mons. The Home Secretary has every reason

on the whole to be satisfied by the reception of

his Bill, both in the House and in the country.

It has aroused widespread interest and discus-

sion without any considerable assault upon its

guiding principles. Those principles include the

extension of means for the discipline of the

young offender without sending him to prison

the doctrine that punishment should be regulated

to suit the criminal rather than the crime; the

establishment, as the aim of the penal system,

of the reform and rehabilitation of the offender,

to be sought by all means consistent with the

deterrence of other potential criminals; and the

recognition that, when a hardened ruffian has

defied all attempts to reclaim him, the com-

munity has a right to protect itself against his

Such criticisms as have been advanced by

informed opinion fall, with one notable excep-

directs a conviction to be recorded before an

offender, especially a young offender, is placed

on probation. The answer is that the change

is intended to strengthen the 1s of the

probation officers themselves. ...e probation

system depends on active effort by the

offender for his own rehabilitation. In calling

of detention.

When Parliament reassembles at the end of

year of £2,409,000, or nearly 3 per cent. (p. 18)

further declined to 20¹/₈d. (p. 19)

(n. 18)

8

pared with December, 1937. (p. 18)

premium over the dollar parity increased to

1d. The turnover in gold was £461,000. Silver

FINANCE AND COMMERCE

tion from the Cape. (p. 18)

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THURSDAY JANUARY 19 1939

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Weather Forecast

ENGLAND, S.E .- Wind northerly, moderate or fresh; mainly fine; temperature lower than of late, with frost at night.

Further Outlook .- Rain spreading from the west. (p. 14)

TO-DAY'S NEWS

HOME

The Air Ministry mission to Australia will also visit New Zealand to make a survey of that country's possibilities for the manufacture of aircraft. (p. 12)

A Museum of Romano-British Archaeology at Newcastle-on-Tyne is projected under the care of the University of Durham, and an appeal has been issued for £15,000 towards the cost of £20,000. (p. 9)

Sir Arthur Jelf, Mayor of Hythe, is inviting the mayors of the Corporate Towns to assist in the nurchase of an Elizabethan manuscript

The Queen's Club beat the Bath Club in the flogging is said to be appropriate, it is still more | British political officers are also endeavouring to squash rackets competition for the Bath Club difficult after the lash has rendered the criminal sullen and bitter.

There are only two possible arguments in favour of retaining the power to flog. One, that the special public indignation aroused by certain crimes must be given vent, is a sentimental argument; and this is not a sentimental Bill. The other is that there are certain.crimes for which imprisonment is not a sufficient deterrent to protect the community, and only flogging will eradicate them. As the Cadogan Committee showed, this allegation is flatly contradicted by the evidence. The outbreak of garrotting had subsided before Parliament authorized flogging for it; the crimes then made liable to corporal punishment showed a marked increase in the years immediately following the passing of the Act. The exploits of flogging Judges at certain Assizes turn out, when critically examined, to have had no effect in reducing the number of crimes. Scottish Judges always got on very well without the power to flog, and have not used the power since, in one class of case, it was conferred on them in 1912; and in Scotland crimes of violence have for half a century been decreasing considerably faster than in England. The records of prisoners eligible for corporal punishment were examined by the Cadogan Committee, and it was found of Commonwealth Mining and Finance, Limited, from £1,212,500 to £606,250. (p. 18) that those who had actually undergone it showed a rather worse subsequent record than the others.

In face of this impressive testimony there is ranged one authority to which the highest respect must be given. The Judges of the King's Bench sent to the Committee a memorandum urging the retention of their powers of corporal punishment. (This advice is commonly cited as 'unanimous," but the Cadogan Report did not so describe it.) The Judges' views must be based on long observation of criminals, though it may be thought that the officers who live with convicts in prison may know them more intimately than even the most learned who only see them in the dock. Fortunately their Lordships have themselves provided the real answer to their own advice. Ever since the War they have been vigorously acting on their principles. Where they have had the power to flog they have exercised it in a steadily increasing proportion of cases, rising from an average of 20.9 per cent. in 1921-25 to 44.4 per cent. in 1931-35. These years have seen a slight increase in the number of cases of robbery. In the fifteen years before the War their predecessors exercised the power much more sparingly ; and, while the rate of flogging fell from 11.2 per cent. to 2.5 per cent., the number of cases of robbery declined further depredations by means of a long period by about a third. These figures were presumably not before the Judges when they drew up their memorandum, and it may be supposed that they are good enough lawyers, having read the tion, within the framework defined by these Cadogan Report, to subordinate their judgment principles. Some, for instance, think they have to the verdict of a jury that has heard the detected a retrograde step in the clause that evidence.

The Aden Centenary

T opeal for a fitting commemoration of the comenary of the British occupation of Aden deserves generous support. It is signed by public in the Japanese mind. It is the weakness of this men who have been or are still responsible for conception, this vision of the future, that it is

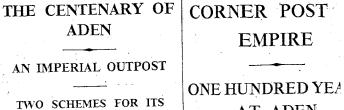
of reclaiming the depraved characters for whom | lordships and of security on its caravan routes. promote education and hygiene and to improve the communications of the country; and there is good reason to expect the early restoration of the ancient prosperity of the land once known as Arabia Felix."

Three Notes to Japan

On the opposite page our Tokyo Correspondent contributes an interesting analysis of Japanese reactions to the recent British Note. This communication, which in firm tones requested a clarification of Japan's China policy in the light of various recent declarations by her leaders, followed at no great interval a Note on similar lines from Washington; and it was itself followed by a third Note from Paris. None of the trilogy is likely to get either an early or a satisfactory reply. To ask Japan what she thinks she is doing is to invite an answer which, if it were truthful, would be somewhat confused ; and MR. HIRANUMA'S Government is likely to fall back on the well-worn routine of circumlocutory evasion.

But the Cabinet-lately reshuffled and weakened, notably in the important sphere of finance-cannot, however glibly it deals with them, contemplate with complacency these symptoms of a growing tendency towards parallelism in the policies of the democratic Powers. Japan's attempt-conceived with some foresight, but executed with only moderate skill -to drive a wedge between Great Britain and America in the Far East has palpably failed; and it would be rash to prophesy how much longer she can with impunity regulate her relations with aggrieved Powers by offering them worthless assurances. The drift towards retaliatory action in defence of legitimate interests has been, and may for some time yet be, slow (just as the drift toward parallel diplomacy by Washington and London has been slow, and the analogous drift towards the simultaneous granting of aid to China); but it does not require great perspicacity in Tokyo to discern this almost inevitable trend in affairs, or to interpret its ultimate implications. In the circumstances it is encouraging to find the Japan Times now counselling, on behalf of the submerged but respectable moderate element, a policy of caution. Numerous friends, or former friends, of Japan in this country-some of whom met last night to listen to a graceful speech from the new JAPANESE AMBASSADOR-would have fewer misgivings about the future of that country if the voice of the moderates was more often heard. The Governments and peoples both of this

country and of the United States are constantly rebuked by Japanese spokesmen for their failure to "grasp the meaning of the new order in East Asia." It seems doubtful however whether the nature and scope of Japan's continental ambitions, as formulated by her present leaders, are seriously misunderstood in responsible quarters on either side of the Atlantic. In this context it is perhaps the Japanese who can be more justly charged with a lack of imaginative comprehension. The "new order" of which they speak has not been blished; probablno Japanese would prete at it had. Its or. reality is as a conception-vague but ardentthat percential. It metal-tee trhough its



CELEBRATION

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES Sir,-To-morrow, Thursday, January 19, Aden will have been for 100 years under the British flag.

During the past century the Settlement of Aden has developed from a decayed and dusty township into a great port, an imperial outpost and the metropolis of a portion of Arabia for which Great Britain is directly responsiblenamely, the Aden Protectorate, whose boundaries, extending on the west to the confines of the ancient realm of Sheba and on the north and east to the territory which in antiquity was known as Arabia Felix, comprise an area greater

than that of the United Kingdom. The local committee appointed by the Governor of Aden, Sir Bernard Reilly, to devise the most worthy method of commemorating the

centenary, has recommended that an endeavour should be made (a) to found and equip a maternity and infant welfare clinic, and (b) to establish an adequate system of poor relief.

The Government of Aden has undertaken to maintain these two practical and praiseworthy schemes once they are inaugurated. Both will benefit not only the inhabitants of Aden itself but those of the Protectorate as well, and even the dwellers in the Yemen. By the institution of a maternity and child welfare clinic much suffering will be saved and infant mortality reduced; while an organized system of poor relief has long been needed in Aden to deal with cases of poverty and distress which inevitably arise in a centre of population.

The inhabitants of Aden, of every community and creed, have gratefully and generously responded to the Governor's appeal, and a sum of between £4,000 and £5,000 is already assured. But if the memorial is to be worthy of the event that it is designed to commemorate a total sum of at least £7,000 is needed, and it is felt that some of those who have served in Aden or, during a voyage to and from the East, have enjoyed the hospitality of its sports grounds and the shelter of its gardens, may desire to contribute and thus to assist in the raising of the standard of life of their less fortunate fellowsubjects, on whose labours the prosperity of Aden so largely depends.

To this end, with the cordial approval and support of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a committee has been formed in London, under the chairmanship of Lord Lamington, formerly Governor of Bombay, under which, for administrative purposes, both the Settlement and the Protectorate of Aden remained for many years.

The inhabitants of Aden are among the most loyal subjects of the Crown and are the heirs of an ancient and historic culture. For some centuries before the English came to Aden the land ad been in decline and eclipse. Now, under British administration, its ancient felicity bids fair to be restored and to those who desire to share in that restoration the proposed memorial offers a unique opportunity.

Ketzog Hadhrama Dhala STAR GULF-OF-ADEN Miles 50 100 (1977w)

13

EMPIRE

AT ADEN

A GREAT PORT REVIV

A hundred years ago to-day the tow

Aden was occupied for the Governmen

Bombay by a landing party of 300 Euro

and 400 Indian troops. It was the

accession of territory in the reign of Q

From a Special Correspondent

Some hundred miles east of the Bab el M

Straits the Aden peninsula juts out into the

Ocean like a large pier, the seaward end of

is formed by the cone of an extinct ve

Within the crater, which is tilted to the

east, lies the ancient town, to which alc

inhabitants still give the name Aden.

ridges of the mountain and in the inter

valleys other centres of habitation have

up during the last century, the chief of

some five miles from the crater, is Taw

Sana

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Victoria.

Steamer Point, an official, residential, an mercial centre, familiar to travellers to a India and the East, fronting the berths c liners and the fuelling buoys of the Anglo Oil Company.

Aden is joined to the mainland by a lo isthmus, some three miles long, on which the naval wireless station, the Royal A aerodrome, and the Levy Lines. The harbour lies to the west and thus en shelter of the mountain.

The Settlement or Colony of Aden co the peninsula and the isthmus. togethe narrow strip of land adjoining its landy and running westward round the har another rocky outcrop, known as Litt Within the jurisdiction of the Colony, w is only 75 square miles, is included the Perim, at the entry of the Bab el Mande which was occupied in 1857, and unt years was an important coaling station.