VIENNA, July 27, 1938.

SUBJECT: ACTIVITIES.

I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of a self-explanatory memorandum prepared by Mr. Morgan on Jewish activities.

There has been no relaxation in the pressure of the authorities on the "non-Jewish" section of the population. This is translated into additional pressure on this office.

The numbers who have been given short notice to evacuate their homes are constantly growing. A great many "non-Jews" will be on the streets on August 1st. Arrests and expulsions continue as usual. The rumor is widespread in Jewish circles that an additional 10,000 are to be sent to concentration camps early in August. Suicides are increasing.

Last week in a house where one of the clerics is a paying guest one member of the family and his wife committed suicide; another member of the family went mad. Reports of this kind reach us constantly.

The scenes of distress which we witness are becoming more and more pitiful. The nerves of these unhappy people are progressively deteriorating. The number of visa applicants increases daily. The queue before the doors of the Consulate General this morning was the longest in several months.

Yours,

[Signature]
Most of the people who visit the office come for the purpose of posing legitimate questions. Of course, many are kept away by form letters which anticipate their desire for information. Those who come, in my opinion, have a moral right to have access to some competent source of information. This involves an extremely heavy burden on the office.

The same considerations apply to the question of correspondence. Visa correspondence increases daily. Yesterday, an average day, the office received 257 registered letters. Today, a total of over 300 letters have come in. At the present moment every effort is being made to bridge over the situation with form letters.

Respectfully yours,

John C. Wiley,
American Consul General.

FOU/Imp.
File No. 946.1
Enclosure:
1. Memorandum.
Enclosure No. 1 to despatch
No. 246 of July 27, 1938 from
Consulate General at Vienna.

(VOL.)

Vienna, Germany,
July 10, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILEY.

Having heard that late last night and early this
morning anti-Semitic bombings had taken advantage of
Reichsmarschall Hitler's absence from Vienna to riot
against Jews, I made a tour in the second district this
afternoon. I found that the whole second district had
been most thoroughly assailed with anti-Semitic signs.
While on former occasions easily washed off paint had been
used, today's rioters have used tar paint, which is
practically impossible to remove. Buckets full of tar
had apparently been thrown at the plate glass windows of
Jewish cafés and the fronts of dozens of shops have been
painted in tar or in red paint. Signs reading "nach
Dachau" or "Emigrate to Palestine" were numerous as
well as uncomplimentary effigies of Jews. The David Star
was also a frequent decoration, in many cases pictured
as hanging from a gallows. I also crossed the river
into Stadion and found much the same conditions there.
I heard no reports of any one's having been injured and
many of the shops and cafés seemed to be doing a lively
business in spite of the disfiguring signs. In a few
cases, however, shop fronts had been smashed and awnings
pulled down.

The object of my drive to Stadion was to visit the so-
called "Uschulungs-Lager" (Retraining Camp) of which I had
heard through press contacts. This camp is located in the
waste land, half swamp and half dump, which extends for a
considerable
considerable distance along the inner side of the dike which has been erected along the left bank of the Danube to prevent floods. Various of the less sandy portions of this area are owned or at least occupied by small workers who have struggled to clear garden patches here and there. According to the leader of the " downhill-lager", this area is no worthless that it has never been surveyed by the city authorities and shows on the city maps merely as a blank. Trucks are now bringing earth and refuse material into this area and members of the downhill-lager are then levelling off this refuse, filling in avenues and converting the reclaimed land into gardens. Several small cabins have been built - kitchens, workshops, an administration office, and a night-watchman's hut. At the time I arrived there were only 25 workers there putting away tools and preparing to leave as the working day begins at 8 p.m. The head of the group had already left, but one of the workers volunteered to go back to town with us and seek out the leader. This leader, one Otto Adler, when fortunately we met on the road on his motorcyle, is an engineer by profession and although he is very Jewish, he also at the same time remind one of his manner of an enthusiastic S.A. man. At a distance he might easily be mistaken for a member of the S.A., on his motorcycle, he wears black riding boots and black riding breeches quite in the Nazi manner.

Traffic by the roadsides being inconvenient, we went on into town to a café, which, curiously enough, is patronized by Jews, although it is located immediately alongside the Hotel Metropole, the headquarters of the
Engineer Adler showed me snapshots of the camp in various stages and he promised to send me a few copies later. According to Mr. Adler, the whole organization is entirely spontaneous and illegal. A group of Jewish office employees in the early days of June joined together under the name of "The David-Leib Migration Group" in the hope of being able to emigrate as a group to some colonial region. Not being able to make any particular progress toward getting permission to emigrate, Adler, who was formerly a bock card leader, conceived the idea of the group's banding itself while waiting with work which would fit them for colonial conditions. On his own initiative, therefore, he interviewed the owners or occupiers of the waste land along the old Demba and proposed to them that his group be allowed to come and work on the land. The first person who accepted the idea was a streetcar conductor, who welcomed the idea of having his miniature jungle converted into a decent garden. Engineer Adler began work on this plot with 15 members of the emigration camp. The idea has proved so popular with the local plot holders that eight more have placed their land at his disposal and Engineer Adler now has a crew of work averaging about 360 in number.

Engineer Adler emphasizes that his camp is an entirely spontaneous independent organization inspired from no official quarter. He has been able to obtain a small contribution from the Hiltunsgesinde, but the group is supported for all practical purposes by contributions from the more well-to-do of its members.
example, who still have an income of as much as 500 marks a month give 400 marks to the group, keeping only 100 for themselves. These who are able to pay are charged cost prices for their food; those who are unable to pay are fed gratis and are in fact even supplied with streetcar tickets to enable them to reach the camp. So far none live at the camp except the volunteer watchmen. All other workers report at the camp at 7:00 a.m., and leave at 5:00 p.m.

When this movement began a building foreman by the name of Klein, who had been appointed commissarial administrator of a firm for which one of the members of the emigration camp had worked, because interested and being apparently fairly bread-minded has extended his protection to the group and is usually spoken of as its "Kommissar", although he has never been appointed to the post by any official body. He has, however, proved very useful in driving away meddlers and making contacts for the group with craftsmen, who have agreed to accept members of the group for short periods for special training in handling tools, laying bricks, making buckets, and other activities useful to the group. This movement was started in the first days of June and appears by a coincidence to have come only today to the official attention of the GESTAPO. Jagierrangarat Dr. Lange, who, as you know, is chief of the Division of Jewish Affairs of the Secret Police, and has proved one of our most oblique contacts in the present government set-up, inspected the camp about two hours before my arrival. According to Jagierrangrat Dr. Lange, although reserved in
his account, appeared most favorably impressed. Whether justifiably or not, Engineer Adler hopes through Mr. Lange to obtain official support for his camp. He states that he has already been promised that if any of his group are picked up by the police, they will be released if the matter is brought to Lange's attention. He also stated that Lange had informed him that he was going to Berlin on Wednesday for a few days' visit and that he might find the opportunity on that occasion to bring Adler's work to the attention of the higher authorities as a constructive enterprise deserving official recognition. Engineer Adler also, whether from Lange or from another source is not clear, hoped that in the near future a considerable number of Jews who had been arrested in the last few weeks would be released and turned over to his supervision as a sort of Jewish Arbeitsdienst and preparation for eventual emigration.

As mentioned earlier in this memorandum, Engineer Adler has a very military manner, which is doubtless of value in dealing with Nazi authorities. He told me in fact, with a broad grin, that he is already known at his Unschulungslager as the "Stadler Hitler".

John K. Morgan.
Vienna, March 19, 1938.

No. 160.

SUBJECT: FINIS AUSTRIAE.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

Sir:

Supplementing my despatch No. 161, of March 19, 1938,

I have the honor to review certain of the events which culminated in the incorporation of Austria in the German Reich.

The first ultimatum which was presented to Chancellor von Schuschnigg early in the morning of March 11 did not come directly from the German Government, but apparently from two ministers of the Austrian Government, Seyss-Inquart and Glaube-Kurstens, who in the light of subsequent events may be considered to have acted as spokesman of the German Government. This ultimatum demanded the cancellation of the plebiscite which Dr. von Schuschnigg had set for March 12.

Dr. von Schuschnigg yielded. He made his acceptance conditional on
assurances that there would be no Nazi disturbances in Austria. A second ultimatum was presented, presumably by the same persons, demanding not only that the plebiscite be canceled, but that Dr. von Schuschnigg resign. The latter stood firm. He was in constant communication with Paris and was fighting for time. A third ultimatum then followed. This last one appears definitely to have come from the German Government. According to reliable information it was actually communicated to Chancellor von Schuschnigg by Wilhelm Keppler and General Wolfgang Haff, the German Military Attaché.

This ultimatum threatened that 30,000 troops were on the German frontier and would march in at eight o'clock if those terms were not accepted.

At 7:45, having heard from Paris that there was no hope of intervention, Chancellor von Schuschnigg announced his resignation in a radio message of farewell. I understand, however, that President Miklas refused to accept it, that it was only around 11 p.m., that the President finally yielded. He had held out courageously until word finally came that Mussolini had definitely decided to acquiesce in Hitler's designs on Austria.

In telegram No. 68, March 11, 10 a.m., I reported the text of a radio message delivered by President Miklas, declaring that the Federal President had entrusted Seyss-Inquart with the direction of the affairs of the Government under foreign political pressure and the threat of military occupation. So far as I can learn, President Miklas was prevented from actually making this announcement over the radio. The text of the message, however, was given out by the Direction of Political Affairs of the Foreign Office, probably

* Telegram No. 68, March 11, 6 p.m.*
one of its last acts before the arrest of the Director, Dr. von Hornbostel.

From the foregoing it would appear that the official statements of the German Government describing the course of events in Austria do not correspond to the facts.

The hour when German troops crossed the Austrian frontier in the night of March 11-12 is not yet clear. It seems evident that they did not cross at 8, as threatened in the ultimatum, but at a much later hour; probably after 11 p.m. This leads to the presumption that there may have been a certain element of bluff in the German tactics, as in the remilitarization of the Rhineland. In other words, Germany may not have been prepared to carry through her designs by force if Great Britain, France and Italy had concerted action. Germany appears to have waited until it was clear that France would not march and Italy not obstruct.

In a very confidential manner, I have received information from an authoritative source which contradicts the German allegation that German troops entered Austria at the request of Seyss-Inquart. This information categorically denies that Seyss-Inquart made any such request.

Debate in the diplomatic corps is centered chiefly in whether Dr. von Schuschnigg was well advised in deciding to call a plebiscite. My appraisal of the situation is that he had very little to lose. If he did not assume the initiative, the independence of Austria were already lost. Seyss-Inquart was already speaking as Chancellor; an invisible government was visibly functioning.

*Władysław N牟rath's reply to the British representations.*
Chancellor von Schuschnigg had perhaps not foreseen the cabinet crisis in France; that Italy would adopt an entirely negative attitude. The exposé by Mussolini of his relations with and attitude towards the Austrian Government, an ex post facto disavowal of Austria, clearly did not accord with the official Austrian understanding of the circumstances which the Duce describes. It may be recalled that only two months ago the Rome Protocols had been re-affirmed in Budapest. Gian at that time had informed the Austrian representatives that Italy approved of Austrian policy and that Austria could continue to count on Italian support.

The plebiscite, moreover, was probably the only form in which Chancellor von Schuschnigg could re-capture the initiative. It was perhaps the only in which he could answer the German assertion that the Austrian nation was being artificially prevented from joining the Reich.

It is evident that Chancellor von Schuschnigg overreached himself in the first announcement of the plebiscite. In it he established conditions for voting which were far from reassuring. The age qualification of twenty-four was designed to eliminate a substantial part of the pro-Nazi vote. Affirmative ballots were to be provided, while voters who wished to vote against the independence of Austria would have to furnish their own ballots. There was no convincing guarantee of secrecy and, as Hitler has pointed out, there was no evidence that adequate steps would be taken to prevent "repeating".

From sources of information which I consider reliable I am informed that Seyss-Inquart himself was duped by the German tactics. He had no idea that the independence of Austria would be extinguished.
He foresaw a National Socialist Austria with himself as Chancellor. This is confirmed by a foreign correspondent who had the opportunity of talking privately with Seyss-Inquart when he was en route to Linz on March 5. Seyss-Inquart told him categorically that the independence of Austria would be maintained.

Almost Dr. Wilhelm Wolf, who succeeded Dr. Guido Schmidt as Minister for Foreign Affairs, entered office believing that he was to be member of the cabinet of an independent state. The speech which he delivered whereby he turned over the Foreign Office to Herr Ribbentrop was put in his hands already drafted fifteen minutes before he was to speak. I am told it came as a considerable shock to him. My impression is that the German Government and National Socialist Party in Germany took over Austria by a series of surprise moves which the local National Socialist leaders were obliged to accept with the best grace they could. Rumors have it that disillusionment in Austrian Nazi circles has not been long in coming. The "plums" are going to the German Party Comrades.

Despite the great reception which was given to Hitler when he came to Vienna, I have seen nothing to change my opinion that the National Socialist movement in Austria is definitely a minority movement. The crowds which welcomed Hitler were great in number. An important percentage, such as schoolchildren, government functionaries and clerks, veterans' organisations, etc., were given orders to turn out. That part of the populace which showed great and spontaneous enthusiasm may be estimated as not representing more than a small fraction of the population. It may be recalled that when Napoleon entered Vienna there were those who threw roses in his path. The hundreds who visit the Legation each day bring in stories of grief and tragedy.
The Polish Minister, M. Cieniewski, who has always been
pronouncedly Nazi in his sympathies and whose connections were almost
entirely Nazi, states that if there were to be a really free election
"today" for union with National Socialist Germany, not ten percent
of the population would vote in favor. He foresees, though, that
the plebiscite of April 10 will be conducted in such a way as to
assure a gigantic victory for Hitler.

Many priests have been arrested. The Bishop of Graz
has been two days in prison, and the Prince Bishop of Salzburg
was placed under house arrest for three days. Cardinal Innitzer, at
the instance of Seyas-Inquart, called in person upon Hitler in
the Hotel Imperial and had a fifteen minute interview with him.
Subsequently a statement appeared in the press on March 16 which
stated that the Cardinal had expressed his joy to Hitler at the
"reunion" of German Austria with the Reich and the will of the
Austrian Catholics to work with all their strength at the German
reconstruction. The Nuncio tells me in confidence that while
Cardinal Innitzer did sign a statement, the text of the one which
appeared was not that which he had approved. The Nuncio added that
Cardinal Innitzer was a weak man. Monsignor Gioegnani also remarked
that he feared the situation had only one solution: war.

At present the greatest activity prevails in ferreting
out Austrian official archives. When the Kikhasmstrasse learns the
exact nature of the relations between Italy and Austria, the results
may be illuminating and call for some private explaining.
Various estimates of arrests have reached me. Probably in Vienna many thousands have been detained. The S.S., the S.A., and the Gestapo are active day and night. Houses are being searched; money, private property, even the knives, forks and spoons are being confiscated in Jewish homes. The last day or so added attention is being paid to Legionists. As I write this, the news reaches me that Prince Fürstenberg, an ex-ambassador and a man of advanced years, has just been taken from his home. Princess Starhemberg, the mother of Prince Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg, has also been detained, though subsequently released.

President Miklas allegedly has made his peace with the new régime. There will be a pension, a home, a car and even a sentinel.

First hand accounts of conditions in the prisons, congestion, treatment of prisoners, lack of sanitary facilities, etc., are most distressing.

The Chancellor is still under guard somewhere in the Budaerode. The night of the debacle, the Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires was asked by telephone if he would note Dr. von Schuschnigg to Hungary. He agreed to do so, but the Chancellor never appeared. I am told on reliable authority that three different times since then arrangements have been made for him to leave the country, but that each time he refused to go. The obvious interpretation is that he has declined to sign certain statements which would substantiate the euphemistic German version of what took place. Rumor has it that he will not be tried for high treason but interned at Dachau.

There are rumors in the Diplomatic corps of a monster "Moscow trial" at which ex-government officials will be tried. I doubt this seriously. There may, though, be some sort of an anti-de Fu in order to whitewash the Nazis of complicity in the murder of Dollfuss, to make Münster a martyr instead of an assassin.
The "suicides" of Major Fay and Neustätter-Girmer may indicate where the "guilt" will fall. In this connection it may be recalled that the rôle played by Major Fay and others has never been fully clarified. The arrest of Mr. Louis Rothschild and the attention which is being paid to the archives of the Credit-Austrial, the Phoenix, etc., indicates that much financial dirty linen will be washed, probably very much in public, in an endeavor to establish moral justification for antijewish measures.

Bürgermeister Schmidt, Director von Hombostel of the Foreign Office and a long series of other high government officials are under arrest.

Dr. Guido Schmidt will apparently receive a post in Germany. Five minor officials of the Foreign Office will also be retained in public service.

There are varying estimates of the amount of the non-Aryan element of the population of Vienna. The orthodox Jews, baptized Jews, those partly Jewish and those married to Jews are believed to approximate about a third of the population of the city. The full force of the blow has come so suddenly and the measures which have been taken against them are so drastic that within a short time a condition of great distress may be expected, if it is not already here.

The most interesting aspect of the demise of Austria and the advance of Germany to the Brenner is the effect the new situation will have on the Rome-Berlin axis.

The axis has received a blow. However, the weakness of the Chamberlain-Halifax Government and the cabinet crisis in France has apparently decided Mussolini to throw in his lot with Hitler. The axis instead of being weakened is probably fortified, with the
center of gravity nearer Berlin. The question now arises: how far and in what direction will the Duce endeavor to follow the via imperialis hand in hand with Germany?

Respectfully yours,

John C. Wiley,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.
Vienna, April 1, 1938.

Dear Pierrepont:

I cannot tell you how much I appreciated your very nice letter of March 15th. Until the telegram you referred to came in I really didn't know whether we deserved a commendation or an obituary.

I have tried to make it clear to the Department that I am prepared to leave immediately or stay on indefinitely. As you will perhaps recall, the Department telegraphed me that I would probably stay on for some months.

Before discussing the matter further, I would like to preface what I may say with the explanation that I am not at all eager to leave Vienna for the great unknown. Vienna has, of course, lost most of her charms. However, the world is filled with less attractive posts. Moreover, we are most comfortably established and breaking up housekeeping involves not only wear and tear but very considerable expense. Indeed, the prospect of staying in Vienna through the spring and summer doesn't sound at all disagreeable.

I rather think though that I should leave and I submit the reasons pro and con. Please treat it as confidential since I do not feel strongly enough on the subject to wish to get into any debate with those in the Department who might think otherwise. To me, it is purely a technical question. I think I demonstrated at Antwerp that I had no objection to service in a consular capacity. The reasons are briefly, as follows:

J. Pierrepont Moffat, Esq.,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.
I have not been here in a consular capacity. The fact that I have a commission as Consul General has apparently been kept as a little secret between the Legation and the Department. A month before my arrival the late Foreign Office was informed of my assignment as Counselor and was told that I would also be in charge of the Consular Section. This is not a consular title. It has to do merely with consular functions, which, by an oral understanding between Mr. Messemer and the late Foreign Office, American diplomatic officers were permitted to perform. In other words, I have been, not inconspicuously, the diplomatic representative of the United States for the last seven months as Chargé d'Affaires. The question arises whether it is entirely dignified, in view of what has happened here, for me to be appointed as Consul General to the new régime. So far as I can ascertain, all other chiefs of mission, including Chargés d'Affaires a.i., have left or are preparing their departure. If I stay, I shall stick out like a sore thumb, and two obvious misinterpretations are possible: the appointment of the Chargé d'Affaires as Consul General might look like a benediction or, conversely, it might appear that we were trying to maintain a Legation surreptitiously.

We have been here just long enough to have made a great many contacts. As a consequence, our house has become a haven of refuge for ex-governmental, ex-Patriotic Front and Monarchist elements to flock in every time they see a light in the window. They, like the Jews who fill the office all day, are in need of sympathy. I don't at this time feel like being rude to the people I so assiduously cultivated until so very recently when they were "top side". Naturally, in the past I was very careful to avoid contact with Nazi sympathizers. Now the picture has changed.

As Consul General at this post I would certainly be considered by the new authorities as the friend of their enemies. My personal feeling is that this is not the moment to cut the pack and have a new deal. Should there be a Consul General here, in order to accomplish his work with success, he should be in a position to enter into normal relations with the new authorities in just the same way as is now
being done in Berlin.

The only reason I can find for the Department's wishing to keep me here is that I am here. Perhaps, too, there may be no need for my services elsewhere at this time. As for the latter consideration, I can only say that I should be only too delighted to seek out some peaceful spot and sit in the sunshine indefinitely.

The pressure on the Visa Section is increasing every day. Every available person in the office has been moved down to the Visa Section, and in the Chancery we spend most of our time receiving special cases, which have to do directly or indirectly with visas. The Embassy in Berlin has already telephoned me that they are reporting everything except local color. (The local color seems a radical red!)

Yours sincerely,
Vienna, April 8, 1933.

No. 178

Subject: THE CHURCH OF AUSTRIA AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

With reference to my despatch No. 116 of February 19, 1933, and supplementing my despatch No. 169 of March 19, 1933, (page 7), I have the honor to report that since Cardinal Innitzer's call upon Herr Hitler on March 12th the capitulation of the Church of Austria before National Socialism appears to have been complete and unconditional.

In 1933
In 1933 the Catholic clergy of Austria issued a Christmas Pastoral Letter in which the Church vigorously condemned National Socialism (vide despatch No. 55 of January 10, 1934). At the end of 1937 the Austrian Episcopate formulated a message of sympathy to the Bishops of Germany, which was published in the OBSERVATORRE ROMANO on December 3rd of that year. In this message the Episcopate said:

"We have sincere sympathy for your fate, because many are trying to establish in our state too such conditions as have developed in your country.... But we trust that these endeavors will be in vain...."

The foregoing presents an interesting contrast to the present attitude of the Church.

The REICHSPOST, which was the news organ of the clerical wing of the Patriotic Front, was immediately taken over by the authorities with the rest of the press of Austria after the collapse of Austrian independence. Its editor, Dr. Fander, together with others of the staff, was immediately arrested.

The REICHSPOST has retained its format and is being employed as a vehicle to disseminate National Socialist propaganda to the Catholics in Austria.

Under date of March 23th the REICHSPOST declared in substance that National Socialism approached all those who for any reason held aloof. No one in Germany should feel that he was being suppressed. It was false that the Anschluss would either endanger religion or Western culture. Catholic eyes had been opened when they found themselves in the alleged...
defense of their dogmas in company with Patriotic Front politicians and bolshevizing adventurers. National Socialism now extended the hand of conciliation to those who had been deluded by agitators and by criminal means into conflicts of conscience. In continuation, the REICHSPRÄSIDENT denied that Weltanschauung and religion were in conflict. National Socialism merely demanded unconditional submission to the supreme command. Nothing happened to Catholics who on Sunday complied with their Christian duty; nothing to priests who were loyal to the people and the state and who delivered their sermons in the religious spirit of Christ.

In conclusion, the REICHSPRÄSIDENT declared that the Catholic Church would not be restricted in its religious sphere of action. National Socialism only drew a line between the religious sphere and that of the state.

Following this, there were various news items in the press announcing that both the priests and the faithful had put themselves "unconditionally behind the Great German State and its leader." This culminated on Sunday, March 29th, when in every church a proclamation of the Bishops was read to the congregation. The text in translation reads as follows:

"Proclamation of the Solemn Declaration of the Austrian Bishops in the matter of the

After long conferences, we, the Bishops of Austria, in view of the great historic
hours which the people of Austria are experiencing and aware of the fulfillment in these days of the thousand year old longing of our people for unification in a large Reich of the Germans, have decided to address the following proclamation to all our followers.

We can do this all the more freely since the Leader's representative for the Plebiscite in Austria, District Leader Burešov, has made known his straightforward policy, which is to be carried out under the slogan: "Render unto God that which is God's and unto Caesar that which is Caesar's."

Vienna, March 31, 1938 For the Church Province of Vienna:

Theodore Cardinal Innitzer
Archbishop

For the Church Province of Salzburg:

Sigismund Waits
Prince Archbishop.

ROMISH DECLARATION.

From our innermost conviction and of our own free will we undersigned Bishops of the Church Province of Austria declare on this occasion of great historic events in German Austria that:

We gladly acknowledge that the National Socialist movement has accomplished and accomplishes remarkable achievements in the
field of national and economic development, as well as social welfare for the German Reich and people, and particularly for the poorest classes of the people. We are likewise convinced that by means of the activity of the National Socialist movement, the danger of atheistic bolshevism, which is all-destructive, was warded off.

The Bishops give their best blessing for this work in the future and will counsel their followers in this sense.

On the day of the plebiscite it will be a self-understood national duty for us, the Bishops, to declare ourselves as Germans in favor of the German Reich, and we expect of all faithful Christians that they know what they owe to their people.

Vienna, March 10, 1938

The Archbishops and Bishops of Austria.

The vernacular version is enclosed herewith (Enclosure 1).

Under date of March 13th this proclamation had already been communicated to the Gauleiter, Herr Breslau, with a covering letter in which Cardinal Innitzer stated: "You will see from it (the proclamation) that we Bishops of our own free will and unforced have fulfilled our national duty. I know that good collaboration will follow this declaration." The letter concluded with "Heil Hitler!" added in the Cardinal's own handwriting over the signature.

I have direct information that in four of the churches
churches of Vienna where this proclamation was
read from the pulpit the priest took the occasion
to make savage attacks on Dr. von Schuschnigg, and
in at least one instance gave most fulsome praise
to Hitler and National Socialism.

The situation has been further clarified today
by the publication in the press of an open letter,
dated April 1st, addressed by Cardinal Innitzer to
the Assemblea. The text in translation is as
follows:

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF VIENNA

Vienna, March 31, 1938.

Dear Assemblea:

I feel impelled to write you a few
observations to clarify and correct a
report of which I have been informed and
which the Berlin "Havas" representative
disseminated under date of March 30th with
regard to the Proclamation of the Austrian
Bishops.

The "Havas" representative writes:

One can connect this proclamation with
the visit which the Papal Nuncio in Berlin
made two days ago to the Reich Minister
for Foreign Affairs, von Ribbentrop.

I state in this regard: The solemn
declaration of the Bishops has no connection
whatever with the visit of the Papal Nuncio
in Berlin; on the contrary, it took place

Anastasiously
spontaneously as a result of the significant and historic hour of the reunion between Austria and the German Reich. The preamble which the Bishops prefixed to the declaration is sufficient proof of this.

Likewise, I must refute the assertion of the "Raven" representative in the same report that the proclamation should be taken as a gesture of the Bishops to relieve the situation, for I consider it beneath my dignity to make gestures at such an important and historic moment.

I emphasize again that the declaration of the Bishops, as indeed our whole attitude towards the election, is to be valued fundamentally as a profession of loyalty which arises alone from the urge of our common German blood.

Moreover, I should like to inform you quite frankly of my most sincere desire in these historic days, namely, that the declaration of the Bishops may have marked a turning point in the religious and cultural life of our whole people, initiating a period of the most widespread internal pacification and conciliation between Church, State and Party.

I venture to hope that this latter is of a nature to blunt the point at the outset of possible future erroneous and incorrect
assertions in speech and in print.

Respectfully yours, and Heil Hitler!

Theodore Cardinal Innitzer,
Archbishop.

The vernacular text is enclosed herewith (Enclosure B).

The Vatican Nuncio, H.E. Gaetano Ciscognani, came to see me yesterday. He was in a state of acute distress. He deplored Cardinal Innitzer's weakness and told me that he had proceeded without advice or consultation; from which I can only infer that neither the Vatican nor the Nuncio were acquainted with his plans. The Nuncio stated further that the Cardinal had undermined the position of the Church in Germany, which had so courageously fought National Socialism for years, and he regretted particularly the fact that the Church in Austria had voluntarily renounced its authority without anything in compensation, not even the possibility of serving humanitarian ends. (The Nuncio has attached the greatest importance to the question of obtaining the release of Dr. von Schuschnigg, ex-Burgemeister Schmitz and other prominent Catholics who are in custody.) The Nuncio would have welcomed the attitude of the Cardinal if it had been designed to bring about peace between the Vatican and National Socialism. This, he knew, would not be the case. The Church in Austria after the plebiscite on April 10th would be reduced to impotency.

The Nuncio
The Nuncio believed that the capitulation of the Church in Austria had been engineered by a Pan-German Catholic organization, the Neue Lando Society. In conclusion, the Nuncio confirmed information which I had previously received and reported to the Department that relations between Cardinal Imittner and the previous government had been far from close. In fact, the Cardinal had only seen President Miklas and Chancellor von Schuschnigg on very rare and formal occasions. There was frequently a period of months when the Cardinal had had no contact whatsoever with the leaders of the late government.

The Nuncio attributed the sad condition of the Church in Austria to the fact that it had been sheltered by the Monarchy so long that it had entirely lost its militant qualities.

I suggested that the Cardinal was presumably his own master and, for the Church in Austria, could shape policy as he might wish. The Nuncio replied sharply that this was not at all the case.

The Nuncio will leave before the "plebiscite" for Rome. His colleague in Berlin is already functioning in respect of Austria.

In National Socialist circles the tendency is to attribute any and Fascistical statecraft to the tactics followed by Cardinal Imittner. I fear that this is not the case. From several reliable sources I learn...
I have heard that for the last two years the Cardinal has been vacillating and weak; that his Sudeten origin and inborn nationalist instincts made him susceptible to the National Socialist influences within Austrian Catholic ranks.

Respectfully yours,

John G. Wiley,
Charge d'Affaires ad interim.

File No. 96046

Enclosures:
1. REICHSPROP, March 30, 1938;
2. REICHSPROP, April 2, 1938.
Dear Hugh:

I am much obliged for your letter of April 12, 1938, with regard to the work in Vienna.

As an observation post, it has been extremely interesting. Though we are tremendously busy with our parochial duties - chiefly visas, protection, and welfare cases - we have kept up our reporting on the subjects which you mentioned: the Jews, the Catholics and economic developments. Copies of these reports have, of course, been sent to your Embassy.

I am not, however, sanguine that very great interest in reporting from Vienna can be maintained for any length of time. The treatment meted out to the Jews is not being changed. It is just a continuation of the same thing. It will gradually become an integral part of the Jewish problem in the Reich. Naturally, the subject will have to be thoroughly treated by this office, but I don't think it will require imagination or great effort.

I have been particularly interested in the attitude of the Catholic Church in Austria. I have been reporting rather exhaustively on it for some months, both in despatches and in personal letters. A further report on the subject is now in course of preparation. I think that the situation, so far as the attitude of the Austrian Church is concerned, is now clear-cut. The only question of future interest that I foresee is the policy of the authorities towards the Church. Also, the repercussions of the situation here on the Vatican

The Honorable
Hugh R. Wilson,
American Ambassador,
Berlin, Germany.
and on the Church in Germany will certainly be worth following. That, however, will not be in our bailiwick.

I have been mindful for years of the importance Austria could - and now will - play as the "spring-board", both political and economic, for the Balkans. However, the jumping will be done from Berlin. As for the absorption of Austria into the economy of the Reich, that, too, will be engineered in a centralized way. There will, of course, be information of interest available locally, but Vienna, I fear, will not be the focal point.

Contacts which were laboriously built up are now gone. When this office is definitely established as a Consulate General and enters into official relations with the new authorities, the task of getting built in again will have to be accomplished anew. This will require time, patience and tact. In this connection, it has been intimated to me by the Department that I am only to stay here a few months. I suppose, therefore, that someone else will have to do it.

If I were elsewhere in the world, I would look upon Vienna as a most strategic place for the low-down on Central Europe. Here, I have the feeling that it will not be more interesting than Munich or Cologne. I hope you will find an occasion to come here and judge things for yourself. I am somewhat apprehensive that the Department may expect results from Vienna which cannot be forthcoming.

The British and French Consul Generals received provisional recognition almost immediately. I am beginning to wonder why there is such a delay in our case.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vienna, May 6, 1938.

Dear Bill:

I couldn't possibly tell you what a joy it was to hear your voice - after such a long silence - come fresh and clear across the broad Atlantic. The news about Barkis was, of course, superb. I shall be most careful and shall not shake the embryo in the egg.

About a fortnight ago the persecution of the Jews flared up in a violent pogrom of some days duration. Though relatively few Jews were killed, perhaps not more than three or four, it was a degrading and disgusting example of what German culture is capable of. The malafactors were largely the Austrian S.S. and S.A., chiefly the latter. I observed no evidence of spontaneity. Indeed, I saw the S.A. marching to the Prater in perfect discipline under smartly uniformed officers just like troops going to manoeuvres. In the Prater they staged a "circus" of hundreds of unfortunate Jews whom they rounded up there.

The stories you hear of burglary in uniform, plundering, confiscation, extortion, arrests, insanity and suicide are in all probability not in the slightest exaggerated.

Now Bürekol has been appointed Reich Commissar for Austria.

There has been a tremendous multiplicity of offices with confusion and conflict of authority.

The Honorable
William C. Bullitt,
American Ambassador,
Paris, France.
The Austrian Nazis are divided into two camps: Seyss-Inquart-Neubacher, respectively the Statthalter and Burgermeister, and the Leopold-Taxis faction. The latter led the illegal movement, not too adroitly, and after the Anschluss were summoned to Germany where presumably they are in disgrace.

I rather suspect that the Germans permitted administrative confusion in Austria to become progressively worse confused and perhaps provoked the Austrian S.S. and S.A. lawlessness against the Jews in order to create a situation which would warrant the appointment of Bürckel. The significance of his appointment is considerable. He presumably comes in as a Roman Prefect in a conquered province, and I rather suspect that the local National Socialist régime will hereafter be relegated to a very minor role. In other words, the appointment of Bürckel is perhaps a second wave of conquest. The first eliminated Schuschnigg and the Patriotic Front; now the Nazi co-religionaries in Austria have got what was coming to them too. Any idea of a separate régime under Austrian National Socialist rule probably is definitely over.

I have just had some information from a former high official of the Austrian Foreign Office about the secrecy of our codes and ciphers which is nothing short of alarming. He told me that the cabinet noir of the Bundeskanzleramt had been incredibly efficient and he wanted to warn me that if I had anything of a confidential nature that I wished to communicate to my Government I should under no circumstance use the telegraph; I should send confidential things only by courier. The head of the cabinet noir had been a genius at breaking down codes and ciphers. The Germans have had no one comparable to him. After the Anschluss this talented functionary was taken to Berlin with his entire office. In Austria he had received 600 schillings a month; he was now receiving 1,800 Reichsmark.

The official in question is one of several who remain at liberty. His situation is precarious and I have been able to render him a personal service which put him under a considerable debt of gratitude to me. I take his warning seriously. It was not possible for me to extract any further details from
him. He was so terrified in giving me this warning that he could barely speak. I am
criving the substance of the foregoing to
Pierrepont Moffat.

The Catholic Church in Austria has been
completely revolting. Hitler is compared to
Constantine and the Cross has already been
confused with the Swastika.

Irena will pop over to Paris for a week-end
in about a fortnight or whenever you are not too
terribly taken up.

Yours sincerely,
Vienna, May 23, 1938.

Dear Pierrepoint:

Many thanks for your letter of May 3, 1938.

From a purely personal point of view there is only one thing that I am eager to avoid, namely, getting involved too deeply in Jewish relief and emigration problems. When I see you some day I shall tell you why.

I have just received a letter from Messersmith which would indicate that the Department contemplates reducing the personnel of this office on June 30th. The reduction would come about by not taking over certain of the employees of the Commercial Attaché who are now working in the Visa Section and presumably by not replacing an American clerk who is about to leave for Berlin. I admit that on the face of things it seems ridiculous that an important Legation with a large consular section should, on being reduced to a mere consular establishment, require reinforcement. However, the situation is such that we most definitely do. I am therefore most encouraged that we can count on your help in respect of personnel. We need it.

With regard to the Western Electric, the British attitude seems to be entirely negative - in respect of nearly everything else too. Incidentally, I am rather puzzled why we never heard anything further from Western Electric. The situation here represents nothing less than racketeering on a gigantic scale. I fear that our stake in Germany can be very largely written off.

J. Pierrepoint Moffat, Esq.,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.
Our protection work has fallen off considerably, which cuts the loss we suffered in having Stebbins transferred to Paris.

Geist has apparently turned back a substantial part of his allowance for courier service. With reference to the Department's Instruction of April 21, 1938, I think it would be well if funds could be re-allocated to him. The delay in the transmission of mail between Berlin and Vienna would seem to indicate that the German authorities play little games with it enroute.

You doubtless noted from our telegram No. 226 of May 22nd, 1 a.m., that we covered the neighborhood pretty thoroughly. So far everything is quiet on this side of the Czechoslovak frontier. Last night Montbas, the French Counselor in Berlin, telephoned the ex-French Legation here that Henderson shot the works. He allegedly told the German Government that if they invaded Czechoslovakia, Great Britain would "march". Montbas believes that the acute phase of the crisis is over. While this morning's press is still very sensational, the threatening note which has been much in evidence during the last few days is absent.

The fear of war, coming on top of the anti-Semitic wave which has swept over such a large part of Central and Southeastern Europe, means, of course, an additional stimulus to emigration. The immediate result is a mob scene for us. We are swamped.

Yours sincerely,
Dear Messersmith:

Your letter of April 27th speaking of reduction rather than an increase of our staff came somewhat as a shock. I can readily understand, however, that with the large staff we have here the suspicion might easily arise in the mind of the Department that our trouble was perhaps lack of organization rather than inadequacy of personnel. While I do not pose as a visa expert or an organizing genius, I feel pretty safe in assuring you that there is little hope of accomplishing much more through internal readjustment or reorganization in this office.

Since the Anschluss the volume of work has steadily increased. We have gradually introduced all the tricks and shortcuts of other visa offices, and by a process of trial and error we have reached, I believe, the very best possible distribution of staff and quarters. There are two "old timers" among our native clerks who do not seem capable of turning out as large a volume of work as they should. A number of others have had to accustom themselves to entirely new work, and, taking it all in all, Austrian personnel is probably not as efficient as the German personnel, say, at Stuttgart. On the other hand, salary levels are lower here.

As for office space, we have given the Visa Section everything it wants. It has the entire ground floor and four rooms above (the Military Attaché's office, the Consul General's office and the large room in between, as well as the small room which used to be the file room). The general file room has now been brought up next door to your old office, and I have improvised a partition in the above at relatively small expense, which I shall bear myself.

The Honorable
George S. Messersmith,
Assistant Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Vienna, June 3, 1938.
Personal interviews average about five hundred a day. Each interview is a matter of desperate earnestness to the person involved. New and frequently strange problems continue to arise. The telephone never stops ringing. There is literally a flood of affidavits coming in, and we are maintaining an active correspondence with which seems to be a large section of the American population, including certainly a safe majority in both Houses of Congress.

In my telegram No. 233 of June 1st, 1 p.m., I reported that the office hours of the Visa Section were from 9 a.m. until 10 p.m. Mr. Medalie and others are frequently still on hand at midnight. At the present time the office and staff are verging on exhaustion. In addition to the vast volume of work, there is another important factor, the tense and tragic atmosphere in which they perform their duties.

It is an old trick to ask for twice as much as you need in the hope of getting what you want. I wish most earnestly to assure you that in any personnel requests I have made in the past or may make in the future have been and will be based on minimum requirements. Indeed, I am very much afraid that I may seriously have underestimated our requirements. And frankly, it is not at all impossible, if the Department acquiesces in my present recommendations, that I may again be forced to appeal for reinforcements later in the summer.

The Jews are being given no respite. Each time there is a period of calm, it is quickly interrupted. We are in the midst of a new and aggravated wave of Jewish persecution; wholesale arrests, deportation to Dachau, forced labor in Styria; and the local prisons are overflowing. Every conceivable pressure is being put on Jews to make them abandon their worldly goods and flee the country. There is, I understand, a substantial clandestine exodus over the frontier at night. Great numbers appear in the Consulate General with expulsion orders based on “voluntary” acquiescence allowing periods of from two weeks to two months for final and definite departure from the Reich. The anxiety of these people is indescribable.
At the present moment we have had to abandon any attempt at answering local mail. We are issuing our allotted number of visas with the utmost difficulty. People wait hours, sometimes all day, before they can be received. Unless the Department can find it possible to come to our rescue, there will be no alternative to frequently closing the office to the public in order to catch up. Then, of course, a storm will burst over our heads.

There are well over half a million people in Austria alone who come under the Nuremberg laws. This is, therefore, not a temporary emergency. Indeed, I think the pressure on this office will increase. The evidence of support and the qualifications of would-be immigrants is becoming progressively thinner. More and more attention will have to be given to individual cases. While I fully appreciate the difficulties which confront the Department in meeting demands from the field, which are probably coming in from a large area, I fear our needs are irreducible and imperatively necessary. Happily, they come to only a small sum per annum.

Mr. L'Heureux came over from Stuttgart and proved to be very helpful. I am very grateful to the Department for sending him here.

I have no news of a political nature that is authentic. Vienna is no longer in the stream of European politics. Previously we could feel here the repercussions of German foreign policy. Now these repercussions have only to do with internal affairs. Nevertheless, I am most pessimistic. I think the world will be very lucky indeed if Western Europe escapes war this summer. Hungary seems to be entering the Nazi orbit at a rapid rate.

Yours sincerely,
Dear Messersmith:

I have just received your letter of May 17, 1938, and I am most obliged for the background you so kindly gave me on Mr. Myron Taylor's Committee. I enclose herewith as of possible interest to you a report drawn up under date of April 28, 1938, by General Sir Wyndham Deedes for the British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The General made only a brief visit here, but he made his report in concise and accurate form.

We have had a number of American visitors in Vienna, including Landeser, Rosen, Schweitzer of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and Bernstein of Hisen. They, too, have doubtless collected much information.

I, of course, have realized from the beginning that there would or could be no change in our immigration laws and that naturally the American Government would not contribute funds for the alleviation of the Jews in Europe. There will, however, be substantial sums available from private sources. Landeser told me that his organization was prepared to throw in a million dollars and that undoubtedly more would be forthcoming. Indeed, it looks to me as though this situation before it ends would take on the proportion of some of the post-war relief work. Should this be the case, it would be important not to have Jewish activities in Austria centered in wrong or impractical hands, which I fear may possibly be the case. I gave the Department some background on Messrs. Gilsmeester and Ruffner in my despatch No. 251 of May 12, 1938, which has perhaps come to your attention.

The Honorable
George S. Messersmith,
Assistant Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.
In addition to the almost insoluble problem of finding quarters of the earth where the Nuremberg victims can find refuge, there are many technical questions which directly or indirectly may fall within the province of any intelligently directed international action. To cite a few: vocational training for the young, transit visas, the financing of transportation, soup kitchens for the destitute, care of the sick, and perhaps the necessity of arranging for temporary sojourns en route. This would apply particularly to emigrants to America.

The dimensions of this catastrophe are increasing constantly. The policy of the authorities towards the Jew seems to be utterly lunatic. I believe, however, that there is an underlying and successful policy, namely, completely to shatter Jewish morale and thoroughly to undermine the Jewish capacity for passive resistance. The combined activities of the S.S., S.A., the Gestapo and the tax authorities have, I think, been entirely successful in convincing the great majority of the Jews of the futility of opposition. Most of them are signing away their worldly possessions and subscribing to "voluntary" agreements to leave the country within a definite fixed period. We have many cases where a visa applicant will receive a visa within, say, four to six months. The applicant is ready and willing to meet all official requirements, including the spoliation of his possessions. This, however, is not enough for the new régime. The would-be emigrant is obliged to leave weeks before the visa can be issued to him. Some of these people have been able to arrange for a temporary sojourn in France or Switzerland. Others, though, have had to go to prison. The impatience of the Hurewel régime to get rid of the Jewish element is ominous. One can only perhaps imagine that it is inspired by the possibility of war and the desire to eliminate a hostile element in the population. If there is war, Heaven alone knows what will happen to these unhappy and wretched people. If there is no war, the situation of those Jews who remain in Austria will by autumn become desperate.

I feel very strongly that the State Department will be obliged to stand aloof. There will probably be no effective or proper way in which it could be of direct help. However, in order to be able to stand
comfortably aloof it would be most helpful for the problem to receive intelligent and coordinated attention on the part of responsible private organizations. Personally, I still believe that an American version of Sir Wyndham Deedes should come quietly and unobtrusively to Vienna. The International or other committees dealing with the situation here could learn through him what is feasible and what is not feasible. Otherwise, valuable efforts may be misdirected, and it would be a pity if time is wasted through mistaken endeavors. Also a private person with tact and energy might be able to alleviate matters with the Austrian authorities. Naturally, I cannot rush in too directly in matters which do not in some way involve American interests.

It is probable that as conditions here seep into the consciousness of the outside world, public interest will greatly increase; also pressure on the Department.

You will appreciate, of course, that our situation here is difficult. We work in circumstances of heart-rending misery. The instinct to do something for everybody is overwhelming. Our possibilities of real assistance are terribly limited.

Yours sincerely,
American Consulate General,
Vienna, July 5, 1938.

Confidential

MEMORANDUM FOR INSPECTOR ERHARDT

The pressure of the visa public on this office is accentuated by the constant intervention of interested persons and personages in the United States who write and telegraph directly to this office, and in many instances give letters of introduction to visa applicants. Intervention of this kind from the United States cannot be ignored. The communications which we have received from senators and congressmen, and the personal letters of introduction from members of both Houses, run into many hundreds. Prominent men in American public life, senators, congressmen, governors of states, and high officials of the Government have interested themselves in specific cases to a great extent. I have seen nothing comparable to it since I have been in the service. In addition, the most eminent personages in American university, scientific and literary life have joined the endless list of the Americans who seek to help friends and relatives in Austria. They, too, cannot be ignored.

Another burden on the office are the Bestätigungen and letters which are given out with regard to the status of visa applications. I have pointed out in a previous memorandum that these statements, of which there are
three categories (copies attached), afford some measure of protection from arrest, in many instances facilitate release from custody, and quite frequently make possible a prolongation of the period within which the person in question has been ordered to leave the country. To give one of these statements involves not only the mechanical function of preparing it, but also recourse to the files. It is therefore not merely a question of keeping abreast of the filing of the great mass of incoming documents, but of constant re-filing as well. Many cases present special features which involve the preparation of a special letter, telephone calls and other personal attention. Indeed, the pressure is so great that the staff as it is at present constituted must exert every effort to meet the exigencies of the moment, with little or no time for the performance of basic routine duties. In consequence, correspondence is far behind and the condition of the file room is a source of great anxiety. My most earnest desire is to reconstitute the Commercial Section. How can I? The staff of two members of the Commercial Section are performing functions in the Visa Section which are indispensible.

The pressure of the public on this office responds not to the attitude of this office towards the public, but to the attitude of the authorities towards the Jews. The majority of the people who visit this office are under an order of expulsion, which presents the alternative of leaving the country by a given date or of entering a concentration camp. There are many instances where a
person has been in possession of an invitation from this office to appear for final examination, but has been arbitrarily ordered by the authorities to leave the country before the date of examination. Many of these persons have been incarcerated in Dachau. This is all contrary to an oral understanding which this office has with the Gestapo. It may respond to a deliberate policy of destroying Jewish morale, breaking down Jewish passive resistance, and of bringing pressure on the Evian Conference. In any event, until this policy of the authorities subsides, there is no hope of any diminution in the pressure on this office.

The work involved in acting as custodian for the affidavits of support submitted on behalf of would-be emigrants to the United States is tremendous. I have discussed with the members of the staff the pros and cons of attempting to require the visa public to act as custodian of their own documents. Careful consideration has led me to the conviction that such a course would not be feasible. The reasons, I have set forth in my previous memorandum. The pre-examination of evidence of support, too, is an exacting task.

A remaining service to the visa public is that of receiving and giving information to representatives of many welfare organizations who are interested in the plight of Austrian Jews. The hours spent in receiving such persons and the work devoted to corresponding with such organizations represents a heavy burden on the office.
Last but not least, this office has had to give extreme care to the purely psychological side of the visa problem. The despair of the Jewish population is such that there has been a prolonged wave of suicides, which is continuing. I am informed that in two instances in the Belgian Consulate revolvers have been taken from disappointed applicants. In this office, no matter how negative an attitude it has been necessary to adopt because of the visa restrictions in force, there has so far been no unfortunate incident. Indeed, I feel confident that the respect for human dignity which has been observed by the staff has rescued many individuals from complete despair.

It is perfectly clear that this office should not let down the bars at a time when millions are on relief in the United States. The fact, however, that this office must strictly observe existing law and regulations makes it all the more necessary that every proper consideration be given to the public. Should this office have adopted or should it adopt any but a humanitarian attitude, should it rebuff or exclude the public, the repercussions abroad and at home would be most unfavorable and rightly so. I therefore consider it indispensable that a properly staffed section for special functions be maintained in order that the situation can properly be met. I wish particularly to express my conviction that this situation is not one which will right itself or be righted in the near future. It is not a passing emergency, but a state of
affairs where the dimensions are expanding, not contracting. I am sure, though, that a special emergency budget of $300.00 a month would suffice for this office to meet the situation perfectly. This budget would not be expended on the Visa Section proper or upon any feature of the work which has to do with the handling of quota numbers, the final examination of applicants and the granting or refusal of visas. It would be devoted entirely to the special functions outlined above. It would moreover enable the Commercial Section to be reconstituted. The expense represents, in view of the problem which we face, a very small item. It becomes indeed almost insignificant in comparison with the fees which are taken in by this office.

I wish also to emphasize the fact that the type of visa applicant with whom we have dealt since the Anschluss represents the upper strata of the pre-Anschluss population of Austria. So far there has been a type of applicant who for the most part is able to overcome any presumption of likelihood of becoming a public charge in America. When the lower strata and the Ghetto Jews begin to qualify for admission to the United States, it is perfectly clear that each case will have to have the closest scrutiny in order to prevent evasion of the American immigration laws. There will be a still greater strain on the office at that time - a time which is not remote.

John G. Wiley,
American Consul General.

Fuer den Generalkonsul:

amerikanischer Vize-Konsul

Fuer den Generalkonsul;

Amerikanischer Vizekonsul

Das Generalkonsulat teilt Ihnen mit, dass in Ihrer Angelegenheit Affidavit (Buerzschaftserklärungen) und andere Papiere aus den Vereinigten Staaten eingelangt und hier überprüft worden sind. Diese Dokumente sind anscheinend ausreichend und Sie werden daher in einiger Zeit eine Vorladung zur persönlichen Vorsprache zwecks Einreichens Ihres formellen Visumsansuchens erhalten.

Vorherige Anfragen sind zwecklos.

Hochachtungsvoll

Fuer den Generalkonsul:

Amerikanischer Vizekonsul.
American Consulate General, Vienna, July 5, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR INSPECTOR ERHARDT

At the time of the Anschluss the staff of the consolidated offices, Legation and Consular Section, was as follows:

Commissioned officers
John C. Wiley, Chargé d'Affaires and Consul General
John H. Morgan, Second Secretary and Consul
John H. Lord, Second Secretary and Consul
G. Frederick Reinhardt, Vice Consul of Career
Thomas R. Flack, Vice Consul, non-career
Don P. Medalie, Vice Consul, non-career
Lowell M. Riley, Military Attaché
Gardner Richardson, Commercial Attaché
Henry L. Stebbins, Assistant Commercial Attaché

Non-career personnel, Diplomatic
Leonidas H. Parker, American, Foreign Service clerk
Mary Jane Porter, American, Foreign Service clerk
Lucille G. Wetzler, American, Foreign Service clerk
Franz Karolius, assistant accountant
Olga Hunkaoy, translator
Franz Zarube, supplies
Adolf Bacik, reception
Karl Deopfl, telephone operator
Klemens Breuner, messenger
Anna Nasinez, charwoman
Aloisia Enk, concierge
Anton Lehner, janitor
Andreas Hartel, porter, government-owned residence

Non-career personnel, Consular
Carl E. Sucherstein, accountant
Martha Junkermann, file clerk
Dr. Felix Rodakowski, legal and protection
Margit Rafelowiecz, protection and citizenship
Olga Wittmann, citizenship and passports
Hermann Bublay, commercial
Eray Hersberg, commercial
Josef Gursmann, invoices and notarials
Herta Watzl, commercial
Annamaria Neangya, visas
Hilde Riedl-Riedensau, visas
Friedrich Denk, visas
Anton Götzl, doorman and messenger
Karl Wiesinger, messenger
Engelbert Jarolin, messenger and fireman
Anna Haselsteiner, charwoman

Non-career personnel, Commercial Attaché
Milka Fuchs, clerk
Angela Unger, clerk
Emil Ludwig, clerk
Emmerich Boxbe, Clerk
Eduard A. Redl, clerk
Antonia Tesarek, janitress

Following the Anschluss, the entire staff was coordinated to meet the exigencies of the situation.
Both the Military Attaché and the Commercial Attaché made themselves very useful in respect of special questions. The Assistant Commercial Attaché entered the Chancery on a full time basis and was of exceptional value in protection cases.

In respect of the Commercial Attaché's clerical staff, Mrs. Fuchs and Miss Unger devoted part time to consular work. Mr. Redl has been engaged full time in the Visa Section since the Anschluss. Mr. Boxberg was engaged full time on protection work until his resignation. After the resignation of Mr. Boxberg, Mr. Ludwig devoted his entire time to this work.

Since the Anschluss the following decreases in personnel have occurred or have been decided upon:

Major Lowell M. Riley, Military Attaché
Mr. Gardner Richardson, Commercial Attaché
Mr. Henry E. Stebbins, Assistant Commercial Attaché
Mr. Emrie Boxberg, employee of Commercial Attaché
Mr. Emil Ludwig, employee of Commercial Attaché
Miss Angela Unger, employee of Commercial Attaché

Antonia Tesarek, employee of Commercial Attaché
Miss Mary Jane Porter, American, Foreign Service clerk
Miss Herta Wutal, employee of Consulate General
Mr. Friedrich Denk, employee of Consulate General

The following increases have taken place since the Anschluss:

Miss Elisabeth Hohenlohe
Miss Elisabeth Kowy
Miss Elfriede Schlosser
Mrs. Milka Fuchs

(*) Temporarily re-employed.
Mr. Eduard A. Redl

Non-career Vice Consuls temporarily assigned to Vienna

Mr. Paul L. Dutko
Mr. J. A. Tuck Sherman (Returned to Bern, July 2, 1938)
Mr. Charles M. Gerrity
Mr. Casimir T. Zawadzki

The work of the office has greatly changed in aspect. There has been a great decrease in the need for current political and economic reporting, which is now largely centered in Berlin. New sources of information may gradually become available; reporting would then develop in importance.

Protection work has been very exacting and has exhausted the time of officers and clerks in great measure. It is, however, probable that this feature of the work will progressively decline. American property interests are either being readjusted or liquidated; in either case it is being made relatively valueless to American economy and to the actual owners. Incidents involving the molestation of American citizens seem to have subsided for the present.

The liquidation of pending cases and the presentation of new cases presages, however, considerable protection work for the foreseeable future. The part time services of two senior officers and two clerks, not to speak of stenographic assistance, will be required.

Commercial work.

Due to the urgent need of clerical assistance else-
where, the office of the Commercial Section has been temporarily closed. Trade with the United States is at dead center and there is nothing in this field which is of urgent nature. In the immediate future, however, the Commercial Section will be reconstituted, when the work can be readily brought up to date.

**Visa Section**

The Visa Section has borne the brunt of the situation precipitated by the Anschluss. The actual visa work, however, has been conducted without mishap. The quota numbers allocated to this office have been promptly issued each month in full observance of existing laws and standing regulations.

The Visa Section has not been induced by the circumstances attending the Anschluss to attempt to turn itself into an emigration bureau or a refugee camp. Only those persons who, in the opinion of the Consulate General, were qualified for admission into the United States have been receiving visas. No visa has been granted without the initials of the Immigration Inspector and the approval of the Public Health Surgeon. The pressure, however, of the public on the Visa Section, indeed upon all the officers of the Consulate General, has been exceptional.

From the purely technical point of view, the situation has been clear-cut and easy to control. Information bulletins and application blanks (Fragebogen) have been made available to all. A routine information section was established on the ground floor, in charge of a competent native clerk, and visa applicants whose evidence
of support survived pre-examination have been given and will be given appointments for final examination in a manner both orderly and chronological.

In the visa work, however, there have been daily a great number of special cases involving complications of a personal or official nature where visa applicants have desired to present their special problems and seek authoritative advice. This has introduced a time exhausting element. The continual arrests and persecution of the Jews have caused them to bring their visa troubles on mass to the representatives of the country whither they wish to emigrate. Indeed, this phase of the work is constantly increasing due to the tactics employed by the Gestapo and the Criminal Police. Orders of expulsion, with the alternative of imprisonment, account for a large part of the importunate and desperate public that besiegis the office.

The alternative before the office was to appeal to the police in order to keep the public out by force, or, in a moment of distress unique in history, to attempt to receive the public and to show that there still existed some respect for decency and human dignity. I naturally chose the latter course, which has, of course, greatly overtaxed the capacities of the office.

To recapitulate: The work of the office which has directly to do with the protection of American interests, political and economic reporting, and the taking of visa applications and subsequent granting of visas to persons who are eligible to receive visas could be easily dealt
with the present staff of the Consulate General; indeed there might be a slight reduction; provided, however, that it was not necessary to cope with a Niagara of correspondence and that there was a police cordon to prevent ingress to the public. I have considered every way in which the pressure of the public might be eased; how ingress might be put on a selective basis. Various successful innovations have been introduced. The pressure remains, however, enormous, and I am disinclined to take drastic steps further to exclude those persecuted people who, in the final analysis, have a moral right to be heard by us.

I may add that the Jewish leaders of the Kultusgemeinde have done a great deal to reduce the volume of personal calls and have appealed to the Jewish section of the population to use great restraint in calling personally at the Consulate General. The Kultusgemeinde itself functions as an information center. Indeed, as the situation now is, there appears to be nothing that the office could do further to reduce the pressure of the public. By own experience in respect of personal visits is that the questions posed and the problems placed before us are legitimate and that we would not find it feasible to admit some and exclude others. There is no line that could be drawn.

At the suggestion of Inspector Krutar, I am distinguishing between usual and special consular functions of the office. The special functions are those which do not immediately serve American interests; they are not duplicated in other consular offices and could be abolished.
In my opinion, these functions should not be abolished. They are humanitarian; in many instances help is rendered. The extraordinary consular functions of the Consulate General in the present crisis are numerous and difficult to describe.

For example: affidavits and the manifold other documents submitted as evidence of support come to the office in a flood through the Department of State, by mail from relatives and friends, or are delivered in person by visa applicants. The usual visa practice is, quite properly, to obliged the visa applicant to be the custodian of his own documents. In Vienna this course of procedure has been carefully considered and has been rejected, despite the fact that a great alleviation in pressure of work should presumably ensue through its adoption.

The disadvantages would be: the local authorities in their interminable house searchings usually confiscate all documents. In each case where the applicant has possessed his own evidence of support and it has been seized by the authorities, confusion, extra work and delay have resulted. When the evidence of support is on file in the Consulate General, there is greater security. Moreover, affidavits of support frequently include several persons. One may be applying in Vienna; another, for example, in Zurich. Sometimes the applicants all depend from different quotas or are obliged by circumstances to travel at different times. The physical possession of the evidence of support during present disturbed conditions seems therefore desirable. Fundamentally, the custody of these documents
represents a special service to the visa public. I therefore classify it under exceptional consular services.

As for other special services rendered by the Consulate General, what are they and what do they accomplish? Primarily, the fact that a visa applicant can call, present his problem and receive a civil answer is, psychologically at least, a factor of importance. I am sure that the suicide rate, which is very high, has been favorably influenced by this attitude.

More concrete results, however, are achieved. Statements that (1) evidence of support is under way, (2) has been received, or (3) has been presented and found to be apparently adequate, frequently serve to prevent arrest and detention in Dachau or to secure release for those already in custody, or facilitate persons under order of expulsion or imminent danger of arrest to penetrate other countries for temporary sojourn. Many other small facilities are possible without impropriety or deviation from official duty. Among the extra functions involved in this are those of pre-examination of evidence of support and the maintenance of a large volume of correspondence.

The work performed by the section for special functions calls for the following staff:

1 officer (Mr. Zawadzky) to receive the public, an average of one hundred calls a day. Mr. Zawadzky has unusual qualifications for this work.

2 officers (Mr. Gerrity and Mr. Reinhardt) to pre-examine documents.

4 clerks in charge of custody of affidavits and other evidence of support.
5 clerks, stenographic and clerical assistance.
1 messenger.
1 charwoman.

The officer staff was available; also three clerks.

It was urgently necessary, however, to recruit additional employees, for whom no appropriation was available. The personnel needs of this office had made a deep impression on various welfare organizations and from three different philanthropic sources I was pressed to accept funds not only to increase my staff but to increase existing salaries as well. I have declined all these offers, since I did not desire either personally or officially to be under any sense of pecuniary obligation to private organizations or individuals, and I am sure that the Department will concur in the wisdom of this decision. I have had, however, no other course to pursue but to meet the expense involved from my own pocket. The additional staff which I have thus engaged are working on a month to month basis and are as follows:

Miss Pauline Emmet  
Miss Margaret Jones  
Miss Nora Remy  
Miss Lette Edith Taskier  
Miss S. Wiener  
Mr. Emil Weigl  
Frau Antonia Teserek  
Frau Lenk  
Fraulein Trude Bruch

The total cost comes to only 863.00 marks or approximately $545.00 per month. Additional persons are needed and several members of the Special Functions Section have given their services at purely nominal pay, for a short period only. Their successors may have to be given higher salaries. This Section probably requires approximately $600.00 per month.

This special section of the office will relieve the other branches of the Consulate General from excessive work.
The purpose of the visa work of this office is not that of facilitating emigration to the United States, but of administering the laws and regulations in a precise and equitable manner. Only a small percentage of the "non-Aryan" population of Austria is now eligible to receive the American visa. That percentage is, however, grouped on bloc, and its numbers are substantial. Evidence of support on hand approximate 10,000 cases. Perhaps another 30,000 to 40,000 applicants are registered. We are being allocated some 6,000 numbers a year by the quota control office in Berlin, and some 2,500 numbers by other quota control offices. For some time to come these numbers will be issued in full. This compares with a pre-Anschluss average of some 600 visas a year. The Department may therefore be asked whether there has been a change in visa policy in Vienna. The answer is that there has not been a change in policy. The vast majority of visa applicants since the Anschluss had no previous desire or need to leave Austria. An important percentage of these people represent the substantial element of pre-Anschluss Austria. A large part of them are able through foresight and foreign connections easily to disprove any likelihood of becoming public charges. Indeed, sympathy aroused in the United States has produced evidence of support based on material resources and sincerity which are perhaps unprecedented. This accounts for the increase in visas granted - without seeking for a change in policy to explain the spread between

(*) Jews and "non-Aryans" are estimated by the Council for German Jewry to exceed 665,000 persons.
visas granted previously and those granted now.

The time is clearly approaching when evidence of support submitted by would-be emigrants to the United States will become progressively thinner, when ever greater care will have to be observed in scrutinizing each case. This will involve an added burden on the staff of the Visa Section.

I venture to point out that many members of the staff will imperatively require vacations; not for pleasure but to prevent physical collapse. I add herewith a memorandum dated June 30, 1933, submitted by Public Health Surgeon Dr. George C. Van Dyke, for such interest as it may present:

"I have been asked to comment on the health of your staff.

In general - I should state that they are holding up admirably well mentally and physically under the terrific stress of the past few months.

The only suggestion I have to offer from a medical standpoint is quite superfluous as I know that all is being done that can be done - however I shall make it - and that is, that all possible leave be granted your employees.

I shall be glad to consult with the individual members of your staff at any time on medical problems or conditions incurred in line of duty - and shall make in so far as it is possible specific recommendations to you and to them regarding these problems."

In conclusion, I wish to pay tribute to the staff. The American staff has worked conscientiously and well. The native personnel, to whom there is no incentive of career or patriotic appeal, has demonstrated superb devotion to duty. For these people, hours and
conditions of labor have been arduous and the wage scale low. Among the many steps which the Department has taken to assist this office, the one for which I am the most indebted is that of authorizing Inspector Erhardt to proceed to Vienna. His presence here has been of practical help and moral support to me to an extent which I could not exaggerate.

John C. Wiley,
American Consul General.
VIENNA, July 7, 1938.

REACTION IN AUSTRIA TO VIENNA CONFERENCE.

[Signature]

I have the honor to report that the Vienna press has ignored the Vienna Conference. Interest therein is, nevertheless, wide-spread. That this is the case among the Jewish and "non-Aryan" sections of the population reflects, of course, their sole remaining hope of alleviation and rescue. The attitude of the authorities is less clear, but it is evident that the deliberations at Vienna are being followed with close attention.

The Jewish Community, or Münchgemeinde, is being represented at Vienna by a delegation of three: Dr. Josef Lowenhart, Professor Heinrich Neumann, and Herr Berthold Storfer.

The first named is provisionally directing the affairs of the Münchgemeinde. The second is a famous throat specialist who has received wide publicity as physician to the Duke of Windsor. I know but little with regard to Herr Storfer. He has had, I believe, some connection with banking and in the past has advised Professor Neumann with regard to his private investments.

I do not believe that this delegation will be found to be particularly representative or helpful. Dr. Lowenhart
hers, following the Anschluss, was in custody at Dachau. It is suspected that his spirit is not entirely resilient and that he is somewhat under the influence of the Gestapo.

Professor Neumann shines in his particular field. Otherwise his career has not been particularly successful. Moreover, his personality is not prepossessing. Herr Sterfer, as a personage, is somewhat obscure.

It was not the desire of the Jewish Community to be represented at Evian; indeed, I am reliably told that it was formally decided not to send anyone to the Conference. It was held that the Austrian Jews were not defendants and dared not be plaintiffs; that, therefore, there was no proper or helpful role for them to play at Evian.

The change in plan, according to an informant, was dictated by the Gestapo, which selected the three persons mentioned above.

Mr. Arthur Kuffer, who is associated with Mr. Gideonester in the latter's somewhat obscure enterprise (see dispatch No. 631 of May 15, 1933), has also proceeded to Evian. I am told that he has succeeded in attracting himself to the British delegation.

It appears that the activities of Gideonester and Kuffer in furthering illegal transport of emigrants to Palestine indicate close collaboration with the Gestapo, the Italian authorities and the ultra Zionists led by Mr. Jabotinsky, the Jewish "Hitler".

The increasing pressure which the Gestapo and the Criminal Police have exerted on the Jewish population...
during recent weeks is generally interpreted as an effort designed to influence the Conference at Evian in order to accelerate mass Jewish migration from Austria.

Respectfully yours,

John C. Wiley,
American Consul General.

File No. 84C.1
VINNEA, July 14, 1938.

PARTY FRICTION IN AUSTRIA. TREATMENT OF JEWS.

CONFIDENTIAL.

I have the honor to report that Herr Burakel, the Reichs Commissar for Austria, held a press conference on
June 30th with foreign correspondents. Among these were
Mr. Louis Loehner, head of the Berlin office of the
Associated Press, and Mr. Edward W. Beattie, Jr., a United
Press staff correspondent also stationed at Berlin.
They came reluctantly and I gathered the impression that
the German authorities exerted great pressure to assure
a representative turn-out for the Vienna excursion.

The press conference was doubtless inspired by the
desire of stilling rumors of schism in the Party, of
portraying the situation of the Austrian Jews in a less
unfavorable light. Its success is doubtful.

Herr Burakel emphasized to the correspondents the
magnitude of his task and his success in bringing the
Austrian Nazis under his discipline and control. He
denied that there had been any revolt against his authority.

My comment on this must be reserved because of the
lack of authentic information from qualified Party sources.
My feeling, though, is that whatever success Herr Burakel
has had in maintaining the outer aspects of discipline and
loyalty
loyalty may be attributed more to steam-roller tactics than to devotion. Indeed, there has been constant murmuring from the Party rank and file that a purge was impending, that another "June 30th" could be expected, which reflects, I think, widespread and sullen discontent.

There are various factors in the situation which can readily explain dissatisfaction. First, an important percentage of the Party in Vienna has "non-Aryan" connections. Except among the rabble and the minority, the ruthless methods employed against the Jews are certainly not generally popular. The dislocation of trade which has resulted from the spoliation of the Jews has likewise caused wide resentment. Last but certainly not least is jealousy of the carpet-bagger, of the German official or Party member who has arrived from the Alt Reich in order to accept the rewards which Austrian Nazis felt should have been reserved for them.

The fact that the Austrian Party has been left without authority in Austria and that Party workers, including the Legion, have been given the shadow rather than the substance of victory makes it dubious whether Herr Bürkal's assurances will fully appease their disappointment. He promised that German functionaries on duty in Austria were to remain only as temporary advisers. The consensus is that the German carpet-baggers have come to stay. Their attitude is distinctly proprietary, which, of course, is also irritating.

In addition to the foregoing, there remains the ancient split in the Austrian Party, with Seyss-Inquart and Neubacher on one side and the Leopold-Dr. Tavs faction on the
on the other, a fissure which apparently has not been closed either by circumstances or the intervention of the Führer.

The lack of harmony within the Austrian Party and the latter's resentment at their treatment are probably not elements of present importance in the internal picture of the Reich. There doubtless are and will be recalcitrant Austrian Party elements. They are, however, probably powerless against the centralized authority of the NSDAP. Already there have been many arrests among Party members and there will, of course, be as many more as circumstances may dictate. Moreover, administrative dispersion is also an effective weapon.

On the subject of arrests, Herr Bürelkel gave statistics. His policy, he said, was to carry out the Anschluss with a minimum of arrests. He gave the number at present in Schutzhaft or protective custody at 3,700, of whom about half were Jews. I feel that the Reichs Commissioner must have been speaking on the basis of inadequate information. According to the best estimates I have been able to compile, ten to fourteen thousand on the average are in custody in Vienna alone, and substantial transports of prisoners are regularly sent to Buchenwald and the prison camps in Germany.

Herr Bürelkel also categorically repudiated the order issued by Gouleiter Globovanik on June 23rd for the dismissal of Jewish employees of Jewish firms. Responsible Jewish informants have confirmed to me the fact that the order is being carried out despite Herr Bürelkel's statement, that over 7,000 have already been thrown into the streets of Vienna.

(*) Text of the order is enclosed in copy and translation.
of Vienna.

The Statthalterei also denied the validity of the Globocnik order, stating that such an innovation would run counter to the Party line; clearly Jews alone should be employed in Jewish business.

The answer to this dialectical interpretation of National Socialist ideology is that the Party line in Austria is that of the left wing of the NSDAP. It seeks in Austria the prompt elimination of Jewish business and so far as I can judge the task is already practically accomplished.

The attitude of Herr Bürekel on commissarial management of business, chiefly "non-Aryan," is described in telegram No. 289 of July 7th, 3 p.m., and despatch No. 310 of July 11, 1936.

On the subject of the treatment of the Jews, Herr Bürekel openly admitted that the procedure followed was not legal. He had wanted to proceed in accordance with law, but this had been made impossible by lying articles which had been published in the foreign press in order to sow hatred for Germany.

Queried on the subject of Countess Vera Szornin, he categorically denied that a marriage had taken place between her and Dr. von Schuschnigg. I am able, however, to report that according to information which comes to me from an authoritative source, the marriage actually took place. (Dr. von Schuschnigg is now confined in a small attic room of the Hotel Metropole, the Gestapo headquarters, where he is permitted to receive the visit of his wife each Friday.)

It would
- 5 -

It would appear that Herr Bürkel's remarks throughout were singularly lacking in accuracy.

As for the process of spoliation of the Jews, there is a curious respect for legalistic formalities. The signature of the person despoiled is always obtained, even if the person in question has to be sent to Buchenwald in order to break down his resistance. The individual, moreover, must go through an endless series of transactions in order to liquidate his property, and possessions; and proceed abroad penniless. He is not permitted to simplify matters by making everything over on bloc to the state.

Though the golden egg is being scrambled and the goose is being driven out of the country, the seizure of Jewish property must be a source of great profit to the finances of the state; the equivalent perhaps of a capital levy.

The question remains, however, whether this attack on private property will stop with the Jews; whether the methods employed in Austria substantially differ from those of Bolshevik Russia. In any event, the liquidation of the Kulaks in the Soviet Union presents a close analogy to the treatment meted out to the Jews in Austria.

There appears to be no real analogy between the treatment of the Jews in Austria and their treatment in Germany. Here the methods employed against them can only be described as anti-Semitic Bolshevism. Presumably two different régimes cannot permanently endure in the same country, namely, a more moderate one in the
Alt Reich and extreme radicalism in the Ostmark. It may be presumed therefore that the influence of one must eventually prevail over the other. If Austria should turn out to be a successful laboratory test for left wing supremacy, the ultimate implications would be far-reaching.

Respectfully yours,

John C. Wiley,
American Consul General.

File No. 000
(TRANSLATION)

At the instance of the Gauleiter, all Jewish employees are to be removed from Jewish firms. Immediate discharge without indemnity is possible under the law of May 21, 1935, concerning the caution fund. This law stipulates approximately that claims for indemnities will be granted when considered equitable. The competent court is empowered to transfer for hearing claims arising under this provision and brought into court to the administrative authorities, who, in turn, are empowered to render decisions in accordance with political exigencies.

These provisions are to be brought to the attention of the several firms through presentation of this notice, and the said firms will acknowledge the fact that they have taken notice thereof through the signature of persons duly authorized to sign for the said firm and affixing its seal thereto.

When approaching such firms, the Betriebszellenleiter will first be consulted and the head of the firm will be visited in his company; inasmuch as the NSBO representative must in each instance be informed of this decree without fail.
Vienna, July 9, 1937.

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GRENVILLE FESTON UPON HIS ARRIVAL IN VIENNA.

As I may not have the pleasure of seeing you before you take up your duties here and as I realize how valuable it is to have from one's predecessor certain indications with regard to the local position, I take pleasure in making the following observations, which are not intended for guidance in any sense, but merely for information. I am confident that you will appreciate the spirit in which they are made.

The Vienna Diplomatic Corps is, on the whole, made up of men of considerable merit, for most countries realize the importance of the Austrian position and the maintenance of peace and the status quo, and have therefore sent good men here. I have had very close and intimate contact with Sir Walter Selby, the British Minister, who is, unfortunately, leaving for Lisbon in October, as he has to take his promotion as Ambassador. He has rendered valuable service here to his Government and to Austria in difficult years, and is one of the most understanding, courageous, and capable diplomats here. My association with him has been particularly helpful and close, and Mr. Mack, the Secretary of the British Legation, is an unusually capable officer, with a charming wife. The French Minister, M. Pueux, is also a capable diplomat, but is a diplomat of the old school in that he is quite reserved and more difficult to talk with. He, too, has rendered very valuable service to his Government and to Austria and to the cause of peace, and is very well informed. His First Secretary, Count Montbas, is an unusually clever and capable and well informed officer. I have found the Greek Minister, Mr. Politis, one of the most capable diplomats in Vienna; although he represents only a small country, he is particularly well informed and his judgment is very sound. I have known him for many years and I have found the association with him particularly helpful. The files contain very complete information concerning Mr. von Papen, the German Minister. He is a clever man, but an intrigant, and basically utterly irresponsible. He is concerned principally with the maintenance of his own position, and in his whole political career has been an intrigant and a schemer, with his personal interest first. He pretends not to be in sympathy with all that is happening in Germany, but is, in fact, a willing tool of the present government in Germany. I have kept my relations with him on a courteous and friendly basis, but have refrained from any close
commerce, as I found this to be more dangerous than helpful. I have had particularly close relations with the Brazilian Minister, Mr. Gracie, who is very friendly towards our country. He has a delightful family, with which we have had close association. He is basically very friendly to our country. He is the principal of the South American representatives here and I have found it personally and officially well worth while to cultivate and maintain this close relationship. The Chilean Chargé d'Affaires is a charming man and his wife is a very attractive woman. We have been only very friendly personal terms, but I find that his political information is usually somewhat unsound. It is well to bear in mind that he has rather intimate relations with the German Minister, and what one tells him is likely to get to von Papen. He is, I find, basically friendly to our country, but very sympathetic to the Fascist régimes. The Polish Minister here, Mr. Gawroński, does not enjoy much prestige and is basically friendly to the Fascist régimes and is used a good deal by von Papen. He is clever, but not sound and is somewhat irresponsible. Although we lived next door to each other, we had relatively little contact. The Swiss Minister, who is the Doyen of the Corps, is a very sound, intelligent, and capable person. The Belgian Minister is a very pleasant person, but not particularly capable. His First Secretary, Baron van der Elst, is a very fine fellow and is married to an American girl. I will refrain from further comment with regard to the Diplomatic Corps, except to state that we had pleasant relations with all. I should say further that the Bulgarian Minister is a well informed, very capable, and friendly person, with whom I had useful contact. He has a very attractive wife.

You will find Chancellor Schuschnigg a very capable, resourceful and courageous man. He has a tremendous task, but has the admiration of the majority of the Austrian people, even of those who do not like this semi-Fascist government. He is determined to maintain the independence of Austria at all cost. While very reserved in his manner, he is in reality a charming person, and I would suggest as frequent contact with him as circumstances permit. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Schmidt, is a very pleasant and capable individual, with whom I have had close contact in a personal and friendly way ever since I came to Vienna. Dr. Hornbostel in the Foreign Office is very friendly towards the Western Powers and one of the most capable men in the Austrian Government. On political matters he is a very splendid contact and one can talk with him very frankly. On commercial and economic matters the principal contact in the Foreign Office has been Dr. Wildner, who is an unusually capable and intelligent man and who is basically very friendly to and understanding
of our country. Dr. Schiller is at the head of the economic section of the Foreign Office and is equally friendly and understanding, but our contact has been principally through Dr. Wildner.

You will find President Miklas an unusually charming and capable person. He is very friendly to our country and understanding of it. He stands strongly and in a determined way for Austria's independence without any concession, for he knows that this is the only safe course.

The Austrian officials as a whole are inclined to be understanding of and friendly to our country, and we have had such pleasant contact with so many of them that I cannot begin to particularize.

As Austria depends so much on external support and the friendship of the Western Powers for the maintenance of her position, I have found it advisable to do all in my power to assist in keeping down in this country discriminatory movements of all kinds. There is always an effort on the part of the Nazis and certain Nationalist circles to press forward anti-Semitism. As any anti-Semitic action by the Government and following of the German example would cause Austria to lose much sympathy in other countries, I have from time to time not failed in a proper way to bring to the attention of the Government in an informal way how dangerous it would be to permit this anti-Semitism or other forms of discrimination to increase. I have found a very understanding attitude in the Austria Government, and the President, the Chancellor, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs have kept these discriminatory movements in check. From time to time, on account of the pressure exerted on them, it is necessary for them to get a little support and encouragement, and I have not hesitated to give this by informing them of the interest of our own people in Austria which would be weakened if discriminatory movements were permitted to grow here. The British Minister and the French Minister have, I am sure, done this also. In view of the pressure on the Austrian Government, the situation has been maintained extraordinarily well, and this is one of the things in which we can play a very useful role here without in any way taking formal or official steps.

With regard to the Jewish situation in Austria, I have found it useful to maintain contact with Dr. Friedmann and Dr. Löwenhers, who are the president and vice president of the Jewish community. They are both good men, but inclined to be at times overly fearful and sometimes exaggerate the importance of discriminatory action which may take place. I have also had very useful contact with Dr. Herman
Oppenheim, whose address is Am Hof 2. He is in many respects somewhat sounder than the other two mentioned above. Friedmann and Löwenherz represent the Zionist group, and Oppenheim the more conservative Jews. Contact with all of them is useful and helpful.

I have had very valuable contact with Dr. Wirth, the former Chancellor of Germany, who is now a refugee and is working on behalf of various interests in keeping down discrimination of all kind. I have known Dr. Wirth for many years, and he is a sound, capable, honest and really worth while person. He is a Catholic, is well regarded by the Vatican, and has intimate contact with Catholic circles in most European countries. He is, I think, receiving some financial assistance which enables him to live from Jewish quarters, and he is principally interested in keeping Catholic circles in Europe from giving any support to anti-Semitic movements. Because of his prestige and soundness, he is a very helpful person and he has very considerable influence because of his contact with worth while persons in so many countries. In the interest of peace and order I have found it advisable to maintain a discreet contact with him and he has given me much helpful information. I have enjoyed having him at my home for lunch or dinner when he is in Vienna, and I recommend him as a very useful contact, as well as a delightful person to know.

As to pending business in the Legation, there is very little of importance. We had some film negotiations, which are completely covered in the office correspondence, and it is my opinion that we should let this matter rest for the time being. The Commercial Attaché is fully informed concerning my views, with which he is in thorough agreement. I do not think we should take any action with regard to the contingent fee on films until we have general negotiations for a trade treaty.

The question of our negotiating a trade agreement with Austria will come up in the fall. I think the Austrians wish to wait and see how the negotiations with Czechoslovakia, now going on, will turn out. They are basically anxious to make such an agreement, which I think we can now facilitate in every way. I was against our negotiating in the past, for I felt that on the Austrian and on our side there were difficulties in the way of arriving at an agreement and that it was therefore useless to negotiate - and worse than useless until there was certainty of success. Now, I think, the Austrian difficulties are somewhat removed, and we seem to be prepared to accept the principle of preferences among the South Eastern European states in which we do not necessarily share, except to the degree and measure in which they may be shared in by states outside this area. This removes the difficulties which we had on our side. The French
and the English, I am sure, are prepared to accept these preferences also. There is a real movement for cooperation in an economic sense among the states of Southeastern Europe, and it is unquestionable that our trade agreements program can help that movement. It is my conviction that economic cooperation among the states of Southeastern Europe will go far to remove a good deal of the political unrest in that area, and therefore lead to economic and political consolidation, which means more in the maintenance of the status quo than armies. The present government in Germany will be against our whole trade agreements program in this part of the world, but the conservative elements in Germany who really understand the position and who will eventually control there again understand that such preference systems in Southeastern Europe should be favored, for they know that, even though Germany does not share in these preferences, she will be the country which will eventually benefit most by better conditions in Southeastern Europe. This is only natural because of natural economic and geographical conditions, and no one has anything against that, but there is no reason why Germany should share in these preferences themselves.

When this question of a trade agreement becomes actual, Dr. Wildner in the Foreign Office will be found to be the best informed person, and it is to be hoped that he will form one of the Austrian group who will eventually go to the United States because of the soundness of his views, their liberality, and his wide knowledge. Whenever the time comes to negotiate, we should, I think, facilitate the beginning of the negotiations in every way in our interest and in that of Austria.

The despatches of the Legation, particularly the confidential series of reviews which we write every week, I think will give you a good idea of how we have from time to time summarized and viewed the Austrian position. I will not attempt to go into details, but I would strongly suggest that you will find it advisable to read this confidential series of weekly political reviews for several years back. It will save you much reading and you can read these confidential despatches in little time.

I personally am deeply convinced that the maintenance of Austria's independence is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of peace, and that is why I have, without taking any official action, done everything I could to maintain the Austrian position. We are interested in the maintenance of peace, and I am one of those who believe that the only sure way that we can keep out of war is to see that there is no war. I am equally convinced that if Germany gets Austria in any form whatever, it will mean eventually domination by her of all of Southeastern Europe, as well as the Ukraine. This is the principal objective of the present Government in Germany, and if she reaches that objective, the French and the English will be reduced to a very secondary position in Europe, the British Empire
will disintegrate rapidly, and we in the United States will be faced by completely new political and social order, which will be our enemy and with which we will have to reckon in the end. These are the reasons very briefly why the maintenance of Austria's independence at all costs is so important and why I have endeavored to do everything that I could discreetly and properly do to maintain the present Government and the independence of the country. It is the only government which for the present could hope to maintain the situation.