

# Which Way to Peace?

## The Central European Situation Considered

*His many years' work at the Quaker Centre, Berlin, his close contacts with Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other countries, and his frequent return visits to the Continent, all give an authority possessed by few Friends to the views on the crisis in Europe which Corder Catchpool here presents.*

WE must hope that Europe, after the alarms of a critical fortnight and the climax of last week-end, has entered a period of relative calm; but it is possible they are the opening acts of a major world drama. No student of international affairs can imagine that any difficulties have been thereby settled. It has merely been decided to make a further, more determined attempt at settlement, rather than allow the powder-magazine to be fired forthwith. This is a gain, even if a high price has to be paid. Our own political crisis indicates how acute are the problems facing the world, how heavy may be the price of peace. It is well for us to remember at such a time the costs of war, which must be ever-present to the minds of responsible statesmen.

We live in an age of sudden and violent crises. Calm judgments are more than ever needed. Three weeks ago, men in the streets of Vienna and Berlin had no inkling of impending excitements. I would remind my fellow-Englishman that his relatively free Press, in the long run a safeguard of truth, is often in a crisis the purveyor or even the factory of rumour, which ran wild after the events in Germany three weeks ago. The pending resignation of General von Fritsch had been common knowledge for months past. There was no occasion for its announcement, even with the unexpected accompanying changes in command, to give rise to such a crop of exaggerated conjectures. Similarly, it had been known for long, both in London and Berlin, that von Ribbentrop was marked for promotion to the German Foreign Office; the only question was, when?

So, too, in Vienna. For some time past the Monarchists have been gaining influence, with increasing Austrian Nazi restiveness as a reaction. But that restiveness has prevailed more or less acutely for years, due to the feeling of party extremists that they were being let down by Germany. The arrangement of 1936 brought some easement, but tension had again developed recently, and von Papen had been negotiating a new agreement, of which the Berchtesgaden meeting, however closely associated with the internal situation of the Reich, was the formal conclusion.

The demand for a popular vote or plebiscite in Austria has been steadily vetoed by the Allied Powers; the attempts of a democratic Reich to secure closer economic union were opposed, and finally defeated by a Hague Court judgment which fell under suspicion of political jobbery—one of the principal nails in Germany's coffin for the

League. To what extent the threat of violence lurked in the background at Berchtesgaden we do not know; but leading British statesmen have said, even during the last few days, that the aim of our rearmament is to "ensure that when Britain talks her voice is listened to." One wonders whether all great "Powers" really think with the same mind?

Two main influences have for long been engaged in a tug-of-war within Germany, the pro-British and the pro-Italian policies. The Austrian Nazis were protagonists of the latter course, because it would give them their way in their own country. The desire for friendly relations with Great Britain has, however, remained strong and persistent in the Reich. Of late it has suffered at least a temporary set-back. A keen friend of Anglo-German understanding wrote to me a few days ago from Berlin: "The miserable political situation prevents our peoples from getting together. When one recalls what an ovation Mr. Eden once received at Friedrichstrasse station! We all looked forward then to an understanding with our great kindred folk. He would not take advantage of our mood. Thus is your work for peace made difficult." I think one of the greatest needs of our day, and, for the Briton, one of the hardest possible tasks, is the attempt to understand our neighbour's point of view, however strongly he may differ from it.

Whilst questions of national independence and minority rights throughout Central and South-East Europe must continue to cause us acute anxiety, it may be remembered that widespread industrial decline or ruin has resulted in the area of that former economic whole, due to its break-up into national, often autarchist and antagonistic units. People in Vienna still tell you, 20 years after the war, that theirs is a dying city. The same for other stricken areas in Central Europe. To some thoughtful observers it has seemed that this economic distress, with its inevitable accompaniment of political unrest, can only be overcome through the re-establishment, in some form or another, of economic unity or close co-operation. Whatever its other reactions, the step taken at Berchtesgaden is a move in this direction. It would have been well for the world had it been taken in 1931, when Dr. Bruening was the Reich negotiator.

There will be no settlement in Europe before the last injustice of Versailles has been swept away. Refusal to allow the "Anschluss" has now gone the way of reparations and the Rhineland demilitarisation. There remains, I think, only the colonies question to be faced. The claim was urged again by Hitler on Sunday last, in a speech more peremptory in tone than heretofore, but hardly weightier or more disquieting in substance. The repudiation of any territorial or other differences with France

was reaffirmed, and merits acknowledgment by our friends. The desire was expressed to see peace re-established between the two great nations of the Far East. These are the more hopeful features of a three-hour speech. Italy has never been trusted in Germany, where 1915 is not forgotten, and the famous axis is a political accommodation, not a spontaneous friendship.

It is deeply to be regretted that the crisis at home has reached its culmination simultaneously with the alarms of the Continent, for the sequence of events thus appears to be more direct than is actually the case. It is not yet over, and comment must be reserved. The resignation of Mr. Eden will cause regret to many, but Friends, who have had contacts with Lord Halifax, may feel thankful that, in the emergency that has resulted, the Foreign Office is, temporarily at least, in charge of such a trusted peace-maker. Pacifism must often in the eyes of the world appear as weakness. Faced with the aggression of dictators abroad and the danger in our own country of a rising wave of angry passion, demanding that they be met in their own kind, let us not forget that there is a third way—the way of firm but friendly effort towards understanding and adjustment, without yielding on principle, inaugurated by the visit of Lord Halifax to Germany, and the indefatigable journeyings of George Lansbury. Proposals in the language of the politicians are also to hand in the Van Zeeland Report.

CORDER CATCHPOOL.

## MAINLY ABOUT FRIENDS

A. Barratt Brown, Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, is to deliver the Swarthmore Lecture at Friends House on Tuesday evening, May 17. He will be dealing with the subject of democratic leadership, but his title has not yet been finally fixed.

The 1939 Swarthmore Lecturer has also been secured. This will be D. Elton Trueblood, of Stanford University, California, and Editor of *The Friend* (Philadelphia). He will be spending two terms next year as a Fellow at Woodbrooke. His subject is expected to be "The Validity of Religious Experience."

One of the 15 British delegates invited to the World Missionary Conference of the International Missionary Council at Madras next December is Dr. Herbert G. Wood. The Woodbrooke Council to whom the invitation was announced last week (as reported elsewhere in this issue) gladly gave its Director of Studies leave of absence for the Autumn Term so that he could participate in the proceedings at Tambaram, near Madras.

H. G. Wood stated that Lootfy Levonian, of Beirut, the Old Woodbrooker, was also going to the Conference as one of the Near-Eastern delegates. He hoped that they would be able to travel

together by air or car across the desert to Baghdad, and then to go on to Iran (Persia) for a fortnight. Thence they would go to Karachi and Lahore, and would see something of Friends' work in Central India before reaching Madras.

Both Friends and the Selly Oak Colleges, which have such close missionary associations, are fortunate in being so well represented at this important World Conference. The last of the series of broadcast talks, by the way, on the Madras gathering is to be given on Sunday next at 4 p.m., when Dr. Nicol Macnicol, the authority on Indian religions and former Secretary of the Indian National Christian Council, will speak on "Building Up the Young Churches in the East."

The Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, is expected to be the speaker at a Penal Reform meeting Manchester Friends have arranged at the Mount Street Meeting House on March 7.

Harry T. Silcock and Ward Perkins expected to leave London yesterday (Thursday, February 24) for their visit to China "under concern," as described in our report of the Meeting for Sufferings. They hope to arrive at Hong Kong on March 26. There are a few Chinese Friends at Penang and at Singapore (Harry Silcock's son, T. H. Silcock, is Professor of Economics at Raffles College at the latter port), and it is hoped there will be an opportunity of a few hours' visit in each case.

If conditions are favourable H. T. Silcock and Ward Perkins expect to be able to reach Chungking by air, and thence to Chengtu. Should this not be possible they may land in Indo-China and enter the Yunnan province of China. The way to Chungking would then be by 'bus, a week or so's none-too-easy journey.

They expect to spend a month in West China, and then hope to meet Rufus Jones and his wife in Shanghai in May to discuss the possibilities of a Quaker centre there.

Harold and Irene Heath in Pemba, whom Leonard Wigham has just gone out to relieve, have both recently suffered from an attack of malaria. They are now recovering satisfactorily and are staying in Banani, preparing for their departure on furlough some time in March.

The last issue of *The Seed*, formerly the Friends Anti-War Group publication (1½d. a copy from John W. Strange, 7, Staple Inn, Holborn, W.C.1), contains an account of an attempt to bring together "all Friends who believe that socialism is an integral part of our religious and peace message to-day." As a result of conferences and correspondence a Quaker Socialist Group has been formed, to which *The Seed* has been handed over. Regular meetings seemed out of the question for a busy and scattered membership, so study groups are to be encouraged, to discuss subjects to be dealt with in *The Seed* and to contribute to each issue. The objective of the Group is "to declare the essential unity of the spiritual, material, economic, and political sides of our life. . . . That is our main task; that and the essential corollary of community based on

COPY

49. Parliament Hill  
London, N.W. 3

George Balfour Esq. JP. MP.  
Elmstead Lodge,  
Chiselhurst  
Kent.

Dear Sir,

As two of your parliamentary constituents, we ask your earnest and immediate consideration of the following:

We have an intimate knowledge of Germany and the German people. This dates from 1919, when we were members of the Society of Friends Child Relief Mission to Central Europe. From 1931 - 1936 we were British representatives at the Friends' International Centre, Berlin, living there with our four children.

As the outcome of almost unbroken contacts, conversations and correspondence with all sorts of German people over the past 20 years, we are convinced that the overwhelming majority of German people ardently desire friendship with England, but ~~would~~ be against us should we continue the war now without attempt at settlement by negotiation. The entire present generation of German youth would fight fanatically for their country. To stake everything on war would be a huge uncertain gamble. The same applies to expectation of revolution in Germany. If it came at all, we think it would be long delayed, and would end in complete bolshevisation through increasing identity between two vast totalitarian blocks, the Soviets and the Reich.

We believe that the boundless energy of the new Germany could be diverted from war to co-operation in constructive tasks for the benefit of the wole world, and we know German people who are thinking along such lines.

We therefore urgently beg that the present opportunity for a conference be not lost.

Yours sincerely,

T.C.P. CATCHPOOL  
Gwen S. CATCHPOOL

P.S.

Our services in any efforts towards better relations between our country and Germany are freely at disposal.

X How diff to draw fighting?

(X) in the field of hostilities, of something on the same lines as those suggested to R.W. - the formation of a defensive alliance between the great democracies of the British Empire and the U.S.A.? This would, to be sure, play into Hitler's hands the extent of leaving him and Mussolini dominant on the European continent, and possibly a large part of Africa.\* It would acquiesce in the Lebensraum thesis of the totalitarian States, but it would make secure a great block of democratic opinion by a far surer means of preserving democracy for the future of the world, than by one more democratic power entering the fray on the one side, against a further powerful totalitarian state on the other. It would mean a Great Britain, in virtue of being an island, relinquishing her former privileged (dominant), position in Europe, indeed in the world, and withdrawing from the European continent, and perhaps large parts of Africa. But we have, as Hitler clearly sees, the Dominions with their vast possibilities of future development with us. These, with the United States, would be a great and unassailable repository of sane democratic peace-loving opinion, which would be able, when the upheaval has quieted down, to lead Peoples to the kind of world organisation which we envisage when we discuss peace aims.\* Some such method of dealing with the present situation seems to me far more fruitful than the attempt to smash our way through to what is called Victory and its almost inevitable aftermath, such as we experienced in the last war. Someone said to me a day or two ago: "I was recently told the best news that I have heard for a long time: WE ARE MAKING VAST NUMBERS OF PONTOONS. DO YOU REALISE WHAT THAT MEANS?" It means the preparation for an attempt at an offensive on the continent of Europe in 1942 or 1942. I can hardly believe that anyone with a sense of humanity left in him, undistorted by the war-spirit, can help being appalled at such a prospect.

I, personally, who know the German people so well, and believe in their innate sanity, intelligence and humanity, have little fear for their future development, even should they, to the extent suggested, be "victorious" in the present conflict. A great majority of the people dislike the Nazi philosophy and régime, is apathetic to the war, would be thankful to see its end, and to settle down to a long era of peaceful development and exploitation of the enlarged opportunities for a fuller life which would be theirs. They are <sup>the</sup> at best, I think, the only instruments for destroying the evils of the Nazi régime. The present leaders, many of whom are regarded by the German people as evil, unprincipled men,

\* We would think that to be possible.

\* Including federal autonomies, and so liberations, for the territories at present occupied by Germany, which can thus most surely be eventually freed.

will disappear, and better elements will come into control. Continuation of the war to complete defeat of Germany, or of Great Britain, would destroy the possibility of such a desirable evolution. Defeat would bring revolution and violence for a Generation in Germany and destroy all prospects of peace indefinitely. Complete military victory, on the other hand, would so strengthen the present forces and confirm the belief in their methods, that the resulting situation would be equally hopeless. I have tried to suggest a sort of compromise which at a moment when most of our people think we are "winning", may seem like a capitulation, but which by confronting a Germany with many of its aims satisfied, and to that extent victorious, with an immensely powerful world block holding and propagating a different ~~phase~~ *philosophy* and system, would ensure a check to further aggression and enable the better elements in Germany to come into their own, helped, as time went on, by friendly influence and intercourse from the democratic side, whose people would desire nothing better than cooperation and interchange between the powers predominant in the various spheres of influence into which the future world would have been divided. It would not be a defeat for Great Britain. We, as it were, would be taken into moral, and to some extent spiritual, partnership with America, and America is not defeated.

I have not expressed very fully or clearly what I have in mind, but there may be a thought in it which is worth following up - fantastic though it may sound at first hearing. My idea is that British-American Union, to whatever degree it were carried at the moment, might provide a way out of the present impasse without undue loss of prestige - not by America joining in the work of destruction, but by the constructive purpose of safeguarding for the world of the future all these precious spiritual values, for which we are supposed to be fighting, *by withdrawing them from the military conflict of violence.*

With warmest greetings,

Your friend,

T.C.P. CATCHPOOL.

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Station: Belsize Park  
Tel.: Hampstead 3370

Zer  
4.3.1938

49, PARLIAMENT HILL,  
LONDON, N.W.3.

Dear Lord Buxton,

*appeal*

In further reference to our telephone conversation this evening, I enclose herewith draft of the proposed appeal for contributions from Great Britain in aid of the Quaker Relief in Sudetensland. I am conscious that it is undesirably long, and if you have any suggestions for shortening it or amending in any way, I shall be grateful for a note of them. I have however discussed the draft with Dr. Toynbee and with the Secretary of the Friends Service Council, who although agreeing that it is too long, do not see that it could well be substantially reduced. I am sorry that the copy sent is somewhat untidy with the several slight alterations made, but hope that it is legible and intelligible. I have added in pencil at the foot, the signatures as I should like them to appear. Arnold Toynbee, with whom I have cooperated throughout in preparing the appeal, has agreed to sign it in its present form. He is also preparing a list of people to whom it might suitably be sent in the first instance. It is not proposed to make a public appeal; for one thing, the Ministry of Social Welfare in Prague, and also the Prague Quaker Group, preferred a private one. I propose to print neatly in the form of a 4-page leaflet, and have a few hundred copies made. Perhaps we shall send out only a few to begin with, to see what response if any, is met with. Some unsolicited contributions have already been sent in, and these are for the time-being banked with the Friends Service Council. They can be transferred to the A/C in Prague at any time, and this will I presume be the procedure with other monies that may come in as a result of the appeal.

I was very glad to hear you speak hopefully of the change in policy of the Government. In spite of the anxieties of the last few weeks, I have cherished a great hope that a turning point might have come at last. I take the liberty of enclosing an article I wrote for The Friend of last week; as it has to reach the Editor by Tuesday morning, I had to write before the parliamentary debates took place, but they have certainly strengthened <sup>my</sup> the position I took up. I feel however that I know insufficient as to Mr. Chamberlain's personality, as well as of Mr. Eden's, and of the the situation as regards Anglo-Italian relations which have played the principal part in the present crisis, to form a judgment as solidly based as I should like. Where Germany is concerned, I feel that I have more knowledge to go upon. The second enclosure is from a former young Social Democrat leader in Germany, in Prague since 1933, exceptionally intelligent and well-informed I think. I should allow more than

42 PARLIAMENT HILL  
LONDON, N.W.

x cc Mr Czee's plan in / note?

he does for the hope of reaching a firm and honest agreement with Hitler, in a conference on equal terms and a fair deal, especially with a strictly limited objective. I believe that if Hitler put his signature to such a document for say a ten or even 25 years' settlement, it would be kept. This would create a new atmosphere, in which all sorts of things might happen in the time of grace provided. It is interesting to speculate as to what terms might be mutually agreeable. Here I am anxious about the die-hards at home - in all parties.

Accept my deeply appreciative gratitude for the prominent part that you are taking in all these things. I trust that the burden of such critical times may not lie too heavily upon you, and pray that you and others upon whom rests so great a responsibility, may be given strength to support it.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

T.P. Catchpool

P.S. I shall not be leaving until Tuesday morning -

Best wishes for your journey.

Station: Belsize Park  
Tel.: Hampstead 3370

49, PARLIAMENT HILL,  
LONDON, N.W.3.

June 7th. 1938

Lord Noel-Buxton  
18. Cowley Street  
Westminster S.W.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton.

I have just returned from Prague where I have seen Minister Necas (Ministry of Social Welfare) and other people connected with the relief work in which we are interested. I find that the child welfare relief organisation (Reichskommission fuer Kinderschutz und Jugendfuersorge) is in process of being transformed from the completely unpolitical organisation which it has always been since its foundation in 1907 down till the present time, into something like a Sudeten German Party department on the lines of the Reich German Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt. As the whole purpose of our (Quaker) intervention was to make possible the use of certain money available for child relief work in the Sudeten areas by eliminating all suspicion of political propaganda connected with it, our function seems to have come to an end. The transformation of the child welfare organisation is, I think, very significant of the whole situation, for it appears to be being carried through by the Party without any reference to the authorities - in fact Minister Necas himself appeared to know nothing about it, nor did members of the Society of Friends in Prague. It was through my friend Dr. Heller, the founder and until recently the director of the Kommission fuer Kinderschutz und Jugendfuersorge, that I heard of the change that is taking place, and which he himself, a moderate and liberal spirited man, though a supporter of the S.d.P., much regretted. Herr Oberregierungsrat Grueneisen of the Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, to which Brueder in Not is affiliated

in Berlin, also appeared to be unaware of what is going on. Consequently it is hardly possible at present to discuss the future (if any) of our Quaker relief action with those principally concerned, and for the moment I have kept the information to myself.

I expect to be in Prague again in about a fortnight's time, and by then the situation may be sufficiently clear for discussion with all concerned. Similar changes are taking place in other organisations, such as for instance the Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie in Czechoslovakia; also the "Kinderverschickung" (the sending of 6000 children for seaside holiday in Germany) which was forbidden by the Prague authorities last year because they suspected or feared propaganda in connection with the enterprise, has this year been again proposed with an insistence and assumption that nothing can now possibly stand in the way of its realisation, which is again significant of the prevailing atmosphere. The Prague authorities (Ministry of the Interior) appear to have given assent without raising the slightest objection, although I was specially commissioned when I was in Berlin towards the end of March by Oberregierungsrat Grueneisen, who is head of the German Red Cross, to approach the Ministry of the Interior in Prague directly on his behalf with the request that they should do nothing at present in response to the application for permission to carry through the "Kinderverschickung" scheme which had been made by the Bund der Deutschen, a nominally cultural, but strongly propagandist German organisation. He had expressed the wish that if anything of the kind was undertaken at all, it should be within the framework of the unpolitical Quaker action, and the Ministry in Prague informed me that they would be pleased to grant every facility should we (the Quaker action) put forward proposals. You will realise that all this preparation has simply been brushed aside by the propagandist body, who evidently feel themselves in such a strong position that they can carry through their intentions with hardly so much as "by your leave", and the Ministry has completely given way.

It is, I think, evident in the circumstances that our appeal must be suspended, at any rate for the present, ~~until the position is clearer.~~ Before my departure rather over a fortnight ago I had sent out a few copies of the appeal, and during my absence my wife has completed the first dispatch by sending to all other names on the list you gave me and on that which I myself have drawn up - only about a couple of dozen names in all. There has not been much time for response yet, but I find on my return that one contribution of £ 5.- has come in. Any money ~~that we can collect in this way~~ can be put to very good use as there are all sorts of ways in which smaller sums can be applied in the strictly impartial and unpolitical spirit in which all our work has been conducted.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

T. C. P. Catchpool

T. C. P. CATCHPOOL.

Station: Belsize Park  
Tel.: Hampstead 3370

*Catborough*

49, PARLIAMENT HILL,  
LONDON, N.W.3.

2nd. September 1938

Lord Noel-Buxton  
Colne Cottage  
C r o m e r. Norfolk.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton.

I enclose a confidential memorandum which formed a sort of background to semi-diplomatic conversations which Lord Allen had in Berlin and Prague, where I accompanied him last month. You have been so kind in supporting our relief work in the Sudeten areas of Czechoslovakia that I should like you to see this memorandum, although, as the visit was a private one of Lord Allen, the memorandum must I think also be considered as of a private nature. I am sure you will be deeply anxious and concerned about the present situation. The latest turn of events indicates a slight improvement, but the situation seemed so very grave to us when in intimate association with the parties principally concerned, that one hardly dares <sup>to allow</sup> hopes to rise without more substantial ground than ~~is~~ at present offers. Your last letter to "The Times" was spoken of in Berlin with great appreciation. I think you were considered as the only British statesman who really understood the German case, especially the need for urgency. Other people see most prominently the need for saving Czech independence, and my memorandum indicates something of the danger thereof. I can tell you more of this sometime in personal conversation; but you probably are fully acquainted already with the situation in all its details.

The Friends Peace Committee yesterday ( I mention this in confidence) decided to approach the Government immediately with an appeal that some gesture, public or private, might be made before Hitler's speech on Foreign Affairs at Nuernberg. I am not quite sure exactly what form this will take, as I am not on the Drafting

p.t.o.

or Coburnes, or recognition that  
we making claim for concessions  
by others, British Imperials—  
must also be ready to concede.

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Committee, possibly just an assurance of British friendliness with the German people in the endeavour to remove the suspicion of hostility on our part to all legitimate German desire, which is so widespread; possibly something more tangible in the shape of an open repudiation of the "War Guilt" charge.\* One point is much in my own mind, viz. that if the latest Czech proposals should be accepted as a basis of further negotiations by the Sudeten Party (which means by the Reich Government also), everything possible should be done to restrain the British Press from an outburst similar to that which occurred <sup>after</sup> during the week-end of May 21/22. I was in Germany at that time and read in every German paper quotations from the English Press crowing over the defeat of German machinations resulting from a show of British firmness. This spirit and attitude (Whatever actually happened at that week-end) created anger and embittered feelings in the Reich. If the same thing happens again I believe it must be fatal to all hopes for peace. I wonder if there is anything that can be done to warn the responsible people of our Press?

With kindest regards, & apologies for  
encroaching upon your holiday,

Yours sincerely

T. C. P. Catchpool

T. C. P. CATCHPOOL

(Part of a Letter from Corder Catchpool)

17th. September 1938

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I enclose a copy of a letter received yesterday from the British Legation in Prague, whither I am starting to-morrow morning by air. I hope that the open door which it indicates, together with many contacts, both Czech and German, which I already have in the Czechoslovakian Republic, will give opportunity for me to be of real service. I should hesitate very much to intervene at such a critical moment in such a critical situation, did I not think this would be possible. But the first and sufficient concern with which I go, is just to be with our many friends in Czechoslovakia, friends both with and without a big F, both Czech and German, in this time for them of such intense strain, trying quietly to sympathise, comfort and cheer them; largely avoiding in association with them all discussions of political issues - at least so far as this is possible."

(COPY)

BRITISH LEGATION  
PRAGUE III  
THUNOVSKA 12

Dear Mr, Catchpool.

Many thanks for your letter of August 27th.  
I am glad to see that you may be coming out here again soon,  
and I have informed Lord Runciman of your plans.

May I take this opportunity of congratulating  
you on the Czechoslovak Government's award? Mr. Newton  
asks me also to send you his own warm congratulations, and  
to tell you how pleased he is to learn of this recognition  
of your noble work. He hopes he may have an opportunity  
of seeing you on your next visit.

Yours sincerely

P. M. TROUTBECK

Confidential

Catnip

On Board SS Prinses Beatrix, Flushing to Harwich, 16.8. 1939.  
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You will I think expect a few words from me on my return from four days spent at Pyrmont attending the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Germany, followed by nine days of almost uninterrupted interviews and discussions on the political situation. The atmosphere is again so overfilled with rumours and counter-rumours, that the mind of the observer in England cannot fail, I should imagine, to be seized with a sense of confusion and uncertainty. The observer in the Reich hardly avoids the same feeling. I may well be asked, however, what is the value of my numerous and intimate contacts with Germany, if I am unable to offer any opinion, or guidance, as crisis approaches - so I must see what can be done, but it has never before been so difficult to formulate any ideas. I have spoken with dozens of German people and have noticed unusual hesitation on their part to express opinions. The attitude of "the man in the street", for what such generalisations are worth, may perhaps best be described as "anxiety fading into indifference"; but the German is more reserved than we are about anything that may savour of "washing dirty linen in public", and this applies particularly to the average man; for opponents of the régime are glad to do it, whilst supporters have none to wash! "I speak to you now as a friend, not as a German", said a wealthy industrialist, expressing critical opinions, though this was natural enough seeing that his wife is Jewish and his children already abroad. A few people, however, are less vague,

are even dogmatic in their utterances. I have met some who were convinced that "The Day" is due to fall about the middle of this week. The 16th. is frequently mentioned. Although it is already past noon as I write, they may yet prove to be true prophets! This was in the earlier half of my visit. I think that partial mobilisation-orders, for definite dates, mainly account for such views. At the other extreme are the multitudes who cherish a blind faith that the Fuehrer ~~would~~<sup>will</sup> keep his country out of war. In between lie all degrees of anxious foreboding upon the next events. In general I do not think fear or expectation of war is so marked as it was a year ago, or as it is in England. Perhaps, as is the case with us, people have to some extent become inured to the idea of its near possibility. But most German people are tired with overwork and do not give the amount of thought to politics, and consequently to the prospect of war, that we do. Many have given up reading the papers. In any case, I think there is less evidence of war psychosis than with us. "Is it plausible", I was asked several times, "that immense new shimmering white buildings should be going up in our big cities, a mark for every enemy bomber; or that the vast masses of iron needed for such constructions should be diverted from armament manufacture, if we really intended to make war?" I flew right over the centre of Berlin recently, and myself noted the vast roof expanse of such strategic buildings as the new Air Ministry and Reichskanzlei, simply, asking to be used as targets! A 10-year programme of such works is in progress.

Recognition of all these cross and contrary currents must govern everything that here follows. What strikes an Englishman visiting Germany even now, is the very genuine personal friendship shown to him everywhere. I have travelled to Munich, Salzburg and Berlin, and have not met with the slightest trace of unfriendliness throughout. The exact contrary is the case. The customs examiner at the frontier said to me this morning with a smile: "Well, you don't find Germany very war-like, do you?" I replied: "Your press is not particularly friendly towards us". "Ach, yes," he said, "it is a Kleinkrieg (guerilla warfare) on both sides". Nor have I found a trace of suspicion, in spite of large notices in public places warning people against the danger<sup>of</sup> spies, and although I've been reading and often cutting out extracts from newspapers, and scribbling notes all the time. It is a sign of freedom from at least the extreme of anxiety. Some commodities are perhaps rather scarcer than before. I think the butter-ration at hotel breakfast has been reduced since my last visit 5 weeks ago; and a restaurant waiter said he could not serve pots of coffee, only cups - "but you can have as many as you like", he added aside. There is certainly nothing specially significant in this connection to note, and I do not think the economic factor is going to play any important part in the immediate political situation. Talks with many officials of various ranks and degrees of influence fall into rather a different category from private conversations. I find it remarkable that even at a time of crisis, quite frank and friendly conversations

even on highly controversial subjects, can still take place. This is perhaps thanks in part to the trust placed in the name of Quaker, but I should like to quote another frontier incident in which I was quite unknown. I had unwittingly infringed seriously the "Devisen" regulations. "It is my duty to detain and search you" said the official;" but I shall trust the statement you have made to me, and say no more about it". Professor.....,our Mennonite friend, and chairman of "Brueder-in-Not", who was very earnestly concerned that a few English Quakers should meet with German Mennonites and see whether anything could be done together to stay the approaching tragedy of war, at whose urgent request, in part, I went to Berlin on this occasion, had well prepared the ground by talking to his friends in the Foreign Office about our close cooperation with him for 2 - 3 years in the Sudeten children relief work..

In such conversations with officials, one does sometimes get what seems ~~just~~ like just a tiny peep behind the scenes. The old strong desire for friendship and understanding with England still seemed to exist, with disappointment that it always proves so difficult to attain, and perhaps a feeling that our two peoples are "fated" not to understand <sup>each other</sup>, that sooner or later it must come to an "Auseinandersetzung" between us (we must some day have it out with each other). The same rather wistful desire for friendship applies not only to our people, but still, I believe, to the person of our Prime Minister, who so won the heart of the man in the street a year ago. He is, however, regarded as the prisoner of his parliamentary opposition.

"If it comes to war", said one official, "it will not be over Danzig, it will be a struggle for mastery between Great Britain and Germany. I was told that the Foreign Secretary, (which no doubt implies the Fuehrer too) himself no longer cherishes feelings of bitterness or resentment, but only a sense of the hopelessness of coming to any understanding with us - for which no doubt he holds us responsible. So he has given up trying and now pursues another policy, not so much against us as in spite of us, or because of the difficulty of going with us. (This with all reserve).

Danzig (there is relatively little mention of the Corridor, but it is no doubt implicit every time), still dominates all other issues. I heard, per radio, the speech of Forster - one of the most violent extremists of the Nazi Party, and a close personal friend of Hitler - on Thursday last (10.8.39), ending with: "May we soon be meeting, not to protest against Polish excesses, but to celebrate the liberation of our city", (I quote from memory). At Fuerth, a few days later, the phrasing was a shade more confident: "I shall go back and tell my people in Danzig that whatever may happen, their return to the Reich will one day be realised." Another principal feature of the immediate situation is the anti-Polish propaganda and wide-spread anti-Polish feeling. After weighing evidence, I think there is room to doubt the accuracy of our British press when it says how calmly and reasonably the Poles are behaving. For instance, I talked with an English boy who had just come from the Scout Jamboree in Hungary. He said the Polish Scouts were "frightfully fierce", and boasted how their airmen could bomb German cities within a few minutes.

Asked why the learned German, they replied: "In order to fight the enemy better". "Far worse than anything I<sup>have</sup> heard in Germany", commented my friend. That is only one voice, and the voice of youth quoting youth, so discount should be allowed; but it is not isolated evidence. The Germans complain that we are not informed by our press about the fantastic Polish territorial pretensions which have resulted from our guarantee.

The King-Hall Letters to Germany have made an enormous splutter, and their net effect, according to the unanimous opinion expressed to me, whether by supporters or opponents of the régime, has been entirely negative; or rather, the exact opposite of that intended. Dr. Goebbels gave them enormous publicity, just because he saw what a weapon they presented to him. A friend of mine, who has no brief for National Socialism, said that, considered from the psychological point of view, i.e. the effectiveness of their appeal to German people, they were quite hopeless. "The most elementary common sense would have recommended expert German cooperation in launching such an a/scheme, but quite obviously this was not thought of. By way of digression, as I have often been asked my opinion of Nora Walms 'Reaching for the Stars', (which I have not read), I might say that during this visit I heard two comments upon it - 1) that people mentioned in it are too thinly veiled, and that some have in consequence got into trouble; and 2) that it is too superficial to be taken seriously by any German (this by a publisher, very anti-régime.)

It is curious that whilst the desire for friendship with Great Britain seems almost as strong as before, there is I believe a growing sense of superiority, traceable to England's humiliation at Moscow and in the Far East, where we are seen as retiring gradually, with the best possible grace and ~~face~~ behind the Singapore line; and in the event of war, it is said, would be compelled to do so forthwith. These things and the "Encirclement" policy, have I believe enormously strengthened German solidarity. I say this in spite of some emphatic utterances to the contrary from trustworthy people, though it is possible that the Nazis still have doubts as to its <sup>(i.e. the solidarity)</sup> reliability in case of war. So far as power for action of the Peace Front is concerned, there is little outward evidence that it is looked upon as a factor to be seriously reckoned with. The Poles and their army, devoid of any "Westwall", (the German Maginot Line, of which a film was released whilst I was in Berlin), relying merely on the out-of-date fortifications, somewhat strengthened, of the old German-Russian frontier, are I am afraid regarded with contempt ("weaker than the Czechs"), which causes the arrogant Prussian spirit to think that it could mete out almost instantaneous destruction.

The talk of Russo-German contacts, both economic and political, persists, but without much evidence; and it may be no more than rumour. True it appears to be, however, though not generally known, that Thaelmann and other leading Communists have been released (this should on no account appear in the press), and this might lend colour to the idea of collusion. Much less is heard in Germany now ~~in Germany now~~ than formerly of the independent Ukraine idea.

The Fuehrer, on the contrary, is said to be moving towards recognition of Russia as a "National-Staat (national State), no longer as a "weltzersetzendes Element" (destructive element in the world.)

As one tries to pierce the riddle of the immediate future, three alternatives seem possible:-

- 1.) Continuance of unyielding fronts, ending in the blind and ruthless arbitrament of force;
- 2.) a reasonable, constructive, and internationally agreed solution;
- 3.) panic compromise, or laissez-faire, after emergency is already upon us.

The soundest German opinion, even sometimes in Nazi Party ranks, would I believe prefer the second, or middle course. Talk of crisis is naturally dissociated, to a greater extent than is the case with us, from talk of war. I wish we could keep the distinction more in mind; for in my opinion crisis there will be, soon; but I hope not war. Admitting the inevitability of crisis, the possibilities seem to be two, 1.) Crisis before the Party Rally in September (Parteitag des Friedens - Party Rally of Peace), 2) Crisis after it.

Much opinion favoured the former idea. Crisis, and if no other way out, war - Blitzkrieg (Lightning War) - fait accompli before the Parteitag, at which a constructive peace, the "New Order in Europe", about which one hears so much now-a-days (Lebensraum having rather faded out in comparison), a vague federal idea under German hegemony foreshadowed in South-East Europe, might be announced. ≠

(The Frankfurter Zeitung of August 6th. had an illuminating leading article on the economic aspects of such a scheme.)

In spite of the technique of uncertainty, it is clear that nothing is being left <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ chance that might contribute to German success in the event of war. All along the country roads around Salzburg, for instance, where I took a motor drive with a friend, horses were being led in for mobilisation. "In the middle of the harvest" my friend remarked, adding: "Last year we were saying, "there can be no war till the harvest is in". In any case (as the traveller across Germany can see,) the harvest now is nearing its end. Petrol is also very scarce, or non-obtainable, in parts of the Reich. This may be due to Government war measures, though there are rumours that Great Britain has prevented Shell imports to Germany.

In the case of 2), a "Peace" settlement might be offered at Nuernberg, possibly coupled with ultimatum and time-limit. This would lend sufficient colour to the designation "Parteitag des Friedens", ~~and~~ even were the offer rejected and war ensued. It may be taken for granted that Hitler's tactics will be ~~xxxxxx~~ in the nature of an endeavour to manoeuvre his opponents into the rôle of breakers of the peace, (if it is broken); in the eyes of his own people, that is. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ As to the nature of the offer, I might as a speculation suggest the repetition of Hitler's former offer viz. extra-territorial road to the Corridor. It was made "once for all", but might "generously" be renewed, and so increase the alleged responsibility of anyone rejecting it again. There is really no material to be had on the strength of which even a guess between these alternatives can be made; and there is as usual a third possibility that must be taken into account, - that <sup>given</sup> ~~in~~ the excited state of Polish heads, and the inflammable stuff in quantity all about the frontiers, some "intolerable" provocation

(real or otherwise) against Germany might occur. The Fuehrer, to put it mildly, is in no friendly state of mind towards the Poles. (It is said to have been understood that in his treaty with Pilsudski, the Danzig and Corridor question was to be settled within the period of its term.) Any such event might be too much for Hitler's self-control, and disaster occur. This is the fearful danger of to-morrow and next week.

Into these speculations came the sudden news of Ciano's visit to Salzburg and Berchtesgaden, which has set the whole world guessing. I have studied carefully the German reports of these meetings. Making every allowance for what we know the German press to be, there seems nevertheless to be about them a remarkable note of assurance which I believe to be something more than bluff - confidence that it really will be peace in our time now. - (Hitler is said to have plans ready for complete absorption of all who might be thrown out of employment by cessation of armament manufacture) - a Pax Germanica, of course, or rather an axis-peace; something constructive and durable, supported perhaps with a four-Power guarantee. I have even wondered whether Russia might not be brought in as a fifth guarantor - whether the note of confidence I seemed to diagnose might possibly spring from agreement and support in that quarter. "The Encirclement policy has brought Europe to the brink of war", so runs the argument. "We have to take matters into our own hands in order to secure peace" - so we are back at the starting point again. How matters will be taken in hand is the secret of the small inmost circle of initiators<sup>ed</sup> - perhaps it is still the secret of Hitler's brain alone (that stumbling-block to any agreed international settlement by reason), though from the published reports, I have the impression that a concrete plan does now exist, with ~~the~~

even the time of application already fixed. When may that be? Here we are in the sphere of guessing again, and to prophesy <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ gratuitously to ask for trouble.

I will nevertheless hazard a forecast, viz: that unless any extravagant ~~act~~ of Polish provocation occurs, which means of course any event that might be so regarded in the Reich, then we may hope for continuance, until the curtain rises on the next act, at Tannenberg (August 27th) or the Partitag early in September, of the present uneasy condition of "not-war".

Quaker <sup>Embassies</sup> ~~embassies~~ and their service for peace fit ill into this setting, of an avalanche already in motion, which must bring emergency upon the dwellers below, though we hope <sup>that</sup> the worst - destruction - may be escaped by all. Our recent efforts with our Mennonite friends (at least, the thought was continually with me at the time) are hardly likely to hold up an avalanche! They can perhaps make a small contribution towards diverting it, though even that sounds presumptuous. But it is the long-term service we are really equipped to offer, which - to follow up our metaphor - may correspond to the building, even now, of avalanche shelters such as have been constructed within my own memory to protect many of the more vulnerable roads and railways in the Alps.

I told myself in Berlin that we need never, indeed that we shall never, abandon hope and faith in ultimate success.

August 16th, 1939

T.C.P. CATCHPOOL

Versailles and of the unproductive Post-Versailles policy is no end in itself, but only a first step towards an act of mutual decision for future co-operation.

Although, since I took up in 1923 the professional study of international law, I have fought without compromise against Versailles as so-called legal right, I have nevertheless always been careful to make it clear that nothing but a new beginning on a new and positive basis could be of any help. We Germans cannot help but note that England is determined to maintain, at the cost of world-war if it come to that, a settlement now held to be of vital importance for Poland, but one against which the English delegation in Paris appealed in 1919, and which as few other decisions made at Versailles, was for many years, especially in England, but also in France, simply designated as untenable. For the mistake made by the founding of the jumble of States around Prague (instead of founding a Czech State), Chamberlain tried last autumn to discover a kind of excuse in the conditions of the winter of 1918/19. But even Chamberlain could not apply this apology to the dismembering of eastern Germany, <sup>or</sup> so one gathers from the attitude of the English delegation in Paris in 1919. In place of this we are experiencing a situation far worse than that of Versailles; England is not now dependent on the U.S.A. and on France for its decisions - she is herself taking the lead. Or has she really, merely in order not to have to co-operate on equal terms with Germany, left Warsaw to decide its own fate?

I wish that you in England would consider the following: The freedom of the German nation as a whole was so completely destroyed at Versailles, that the Weimar Constitution (no less liberal in formulation than any other constitution in the world), could not have been carried into effect even if it had been compatible with our history and traditions, for the real masters of Germany did not sit in Berlin, but in London, Paris, Washington and Geneva. If we had burst into revolt, truly no war for independence in the history of the world would ever have been more just. Instead of that we sought to negotiate, we made offer after offer and still kept them, even when the people, on the brink of despair - united under more strictly disciplined leadership. Will England now really force upon us another German War of Liberation?

Perhaps England has already taken this decision, or will be making it while this letter is on its way to you. If that be the case, please accept it as a reminder of the time of our high hopes for mutual understanding, in spite of Versailles. I still hope. In this sense I and my wife greet you and your wife. We know how much you personally have done to bring this understanding about.

Yours faithfully,  
(Ihr sehr ergebener)

(signed) Herrmann Jahreiss

( Copy of letter written on the Eve of War by a prominent German Publicist, Prof. Dr. Jahreiss of Cologne University, who has worked untiringly for better understanding between England and Germany, especially by means of frequent leading Articles in the Kölnische Zeitung, one of Germany's most important provincial journals.)

Cologne,  
Ubierring 57  
31. 8. 39

Dear Mr. Catchpool.

I received your kind letter of July 25th, just as I was leaving for Tirol. I most deeply regretted not being here when Mr. Buxton tried to see me. If I am rightly informed you and he were together during your recent visit to Germany.

I suppose that your plans cannot be followed up for the time being, although they are so enormously important and so praiseworthy - not that I doubt the possibility of an understanding between our two nations! I even suppose that the last few weeks have shown many Englishmen who have real knowledge of the situation, how much the German people desire, in just the same way as does our government, to work with England in constructive co-operation. It must also be admitted, however, that the world, as reflected by the majority of English utterances, seems to be standing on its head! We are hated - we, who if anyone, since the betrayal of the 14 Points, and the many years intimidation by force, have had good reason to hate, and even according to Lloyd George's own prophesy of 1919 were bound to hate - and yet after all, however unnatural it is, do not hate! Is it not possible for people in England to get together and offer spontaneously, for the first time, negotiations for revision, and thus provide a basis which would make it possible for the German nation to believe an official undertaking <sup>given</sup> by England? We should so like to trust you; but since the betrayal of the 14 points, which the German people still take as seriously today as did leading Englishmen themselves in 1919 and later, England has done nothing to restore confidence. The German people are absolutely hungry for some sign that England too is ready, together with us and with France, and Italy, to create a new and positive basis on which we can all build. If we really want to escape from the unfruitful sequence of recurrent catastrophe, of victory and defeat, with mere armistice called "peace" in between, from the sterile procedure dictated by anxiety for our prestige - then, ~~after~~ <sup>having</sup> the unique opportunity at the end of the World-War ~~had~~ been missed through breach of the terms upon which we laid down our arms, a common starting point must again be arranged. You know me well enough to realise that my criticism of

Station: Belsize Park  
Tel.: Hampstead 3370

*Irish medi<sup>n</sup>*

49, PARLIAMENT HILL,  
LONDON, N.W.3.

21st. September 1939

The Rt. Hon.  
Lord Noel-Buxton  
18, Cowley Street  
London. S.W. 1

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

I have been in correspondence with Miss Edith Ellis (sister of Lady Parmoor) with regard to neutral channels through which influence might be brought to bear with a view to seizing any opportunity for mediation which might arise, specially in the effort to ensure that the door to negotiations is not absolutely slammed in advance, before we know what offers may arise. In this connection Miss Ellis writes in a letter I have received to-day:

"I would very much like you to let Noel-Buxton know". This sentence occurs in the middle of a longish letter, the relevant parts of it I think I had better copied for you:

"I have heard from James Douglas (Senator of Dublin Parliament). He says they have to be extremely careful in Dublin, and he does not think there is anything that Irish Friends can do at present. He does not think it would be wise to see the German Minister. There is a good deal of German propoganda in Eire and the IRA is, no doubt, exploiting it. My mind has turned in another direction which also brings in Ireland. I have been speaking with the Vicar of Scarborough, who warmly agrees with me, and on his advice I wrote to the Archbishop of York, whom I am to see to-day. (Sept.19th.) The alliance between Germany and Russia will have created much commotion in Rome. There seems to be an opportunity for the Vatican to make his voice heard. We ourselves are no good, for we are now in the quarrel, but if we knew the mind of religious Italy, it would be a great gain. The Irish Minister in Rome is a personal friend of the Pope. I want to get permission from Lord Halifax to go

*See the word  
Irish  
in Rome*

p.t.o.

PARLIAMENT  
LONDON N.W.3

out to Rome. I do not see anyone else to do it because the approach through Eire is very much better than anything our people can do for us. I should like to see Cardinal Hinsley first; his secretary told me he would like to see me again, so that is easy. There would be difficulties - the War Office would be dead against it, but if our Archbishops and the Cardinals approve, it would be difficult for Lord Halifax not to be sympathetic. I may be coming up to London quite soon, and should like much to see you and the Buxtons. I have let Denys Boyd-Carpenter know because I want him as a companion. I also told Malcolm MacDonald because he kindly helped me the last time by getting a letter through the Foreign Office Bag to Lord Perth."

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

T.C.P. Catchpool

T. C. P? CATCHPOOL

misery and want have been so great as in the two years preceding the advent of the Third Reich.

I think therefore that at best this playing for revolution is a great and uncertain gamble; and in view of the latest events I regard it as a foregone conclusion that if revolution occur, whether sooner or later, it will be a revolution to Bolshevism. Even supposing, then, that we are successful in the doubtful aim of fomenting subversion with our leaflets, which I myself can hardly expect before war-exhaustion sets in, there is no likelihood of a submissive democratic German Government. Indeed, seeing that it is the Nazi extremists who all the time have been pressing towards the Bolshevistic goal, it is difficult to see why such a transition should need need new Chiefs at all. We shall get increasing identification between the two vast totalitarian systems, and in the process, it is all that is best and most moderate even in the Germany of to-day, that will be lost. This in my view is the goal towards which we are driving, if we are mad enough to continue the war. If in danger ourselves, we should try to rally America to our cause, and it would become a world-wide ideological conflict of unprecedented horror. I have my own ideas as to how moderate opinion in Germany could be strengthened to the point of putting its own house in order as far as international decencies are concerned; and though that might be a lengthy process, the end would see the liberation of Czechs and Poles, though not in all probability their Versailles frontiers, which no one ought to consider sacrosanct, more surely restored than could ever happen through war.

I expect that you are very busy; but if you would care to see them, I could send you from time to time thoughts I might write upon the situation, or come to see you at any time if you thought I could be of any help.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

T.C.P. Catchpool.

P.S. You may like to see a copy of the enclosed letter from Prof. ~~Jahreiss~~ written on the day before war was declared. I think it is of special interest at this moment, because it emphasises Germany's desire to negotiate a reasonable settlement, & reveals the distrust of England which prevails on the other side.

Station: Belsize Park  
Tel.: Hampstead 3370

*Caselypore*

49, PARLIAMENT HILL,  
LONDON, N.W.3. ✓

The Rt.Hon.Noel-Buxton,  
18 Cowley St.,  
S.W.I.

I.XI.1939

x "rather"! Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

I was so pleased to see you again last Friday evening, but it made me feel rather conscience-stricken to remember that I have never replied to your letter of Oct.6th., in which you asked me to explain further what I meant by helping the moderate Germans to put their house in order. Please pardon my neglect.

I fear that you attached more importance to my words than they or the thought behind them justify. I knew so many moderate people in Germany who supported in varying degree the Nazi régime, at least in the negative sense of tolerating it because they could see nothing to take its place but communism or chaos or both, that I always felt a certain confidence that, given time, combined with sympathy abroad for the legitimate aspirations of the Reich and reasonable support in the desire to attain them, the period of high fever would burn itself out, the grosser excesses of the system gradually disappear, and a period of ordered development set in for the Reich, both within its frontiers and in its relations with the outside world. Things took a different course, in part I think for lack of sufficient patience and tolerance in dealing with both the young and rather brutally vigorous Third Reich, as with some of its leading personalities\* and events of its career. One frequently reads nowadays the suggestion that the western powers looked on with a sort of benevolent goodwill whilst such events as the introduction of conscription, or the march into the Rheinland, were taking place, and that credit is due to us for such tolerant behaviour. I watched those events from inside the Reich, and I think rather that the outcry, hostility and threats with which they and similar acts were greeted, so far from making any good impression of benevolent toleration, only confirmed the conviction that if ever the Reich were to obtain what it regarded as justice and liberation from the shackles of Versailles, it could only be through such defiant unilateral action. Each reaction to events of this kind creates a situation of growing tension which results in a more violent disturbance of international stability when the next event occurs. The same sort of consideration applies in the more personal relations of foreign statesmen and governments with leading personalities of the Reich, particularly Hitler and Ribbentrop. I am probably asking more than is fair of any human being but a Quaker, in thinking that any other reaction to such behaviour as we had to put up with might have been possible. The émigrés, breathing out hatred

\* Ambassador Henderson's report tends to confirm this impression

and revenge, did not help; but it is right to put back the responsibility for that onto Hitler, for it is only natural, after all that they have gone through. In short, my hope or theory that the moderate elements in the Reich might under more favourable conditions have turned events into happier directions, is probably expecting more than human nature has in its power to give. Such was my hope, however, whilst I was living in Germany; and I met with enough experience, in my own relations with German people of all categories, of a nature to nourish the hope to the end. In all this I start of course with the Quaker faith that spiritual evils like the Nazi mind in its worse aspects cannot be destroyed by methods so like its own as is war, but only driven underground in one place to break out sometimes somewhere else, probably in greater fury than before; whereas it could be overcome and changed, albeit perhaps but slowly and through much pain and suffering, by methods of an entirely different kind. *I had some work beginning along these lines.*

The two methods are mutually exclusive, for when once war has broken out, most of the channels through which influence might be brought to bear are closed; and the minds of whole nations are turned away from the things that might possibly unite peoples, to become occupied exclusively with those that separate violently. My thought of supporting moderate opinion to put its own house in order postulates therefore the possibility of normal contacts, and disappears in time of war. My mind therefore turns away from anything which depends upon winning the war, however good it may be in itself. I cannot interest myself in the good world after Hitlerism has been smashed. I find myself concentrated upon how to end hostilities as quickly as possible, so that healing instead of inflaming processes may begin to work.

My doubts about positive results from the Leaflet War, expressed in my last letter, have been strengthened rather than otherwise during the interval; and much that I have heard and read has contributed in the same sense. I heard in the radio news this evening that German leaflets are being dropped in France. Would it ever occur to us that they could have any effect there? Or that German tracts over England would cause anything but amusement? Denunciation of Hitlerism shows no understanding of German psychology, or indeed of any psychology at all. Nothing is more likely to stiffen the resistance of German people than to be told that they lack essential equipment, food or leaders for conducting a successful war, and that they are certain to lose. There seems a good deal of point in Molotov's reproach, so long as we go on talking about fighting to destroy Hitlerism, that the Allies are the aggressors, with the inevitable German reaction which that must involve. I therefore turn to thoughts of intervention and conference. This presents difficulties enough; but a conference will have to be held sometime, and experience points to the likelihood of more satisfactory and more permanent results being attained whilst reason is still in command and civilisation relatively undamaged, than could be the

case after a "fight to a finish", when ruin is universal and the passions of wartime in control of men's minds. The help of neutrals, especially of the big neutrals, would be of vital importance. I have often wondered whether, in view of the deep-rooted distrust of Britain in Germany, as well as vice-versa, the most hopeful possibility for a successful conference might not lie in handing over the whole thing to neutrals, if a group with adequate prestige could be induced to act.

I think my view, expressed in my last letter to you, that if any revolutionary change occurred in Germany it is more likely to be in the nature of increasing bolshevisation rather than in return to tame democratic government, has been strengthened in the meantime, but I am thankful that Molotov has stressed Russian neutrality and desire to work for restoration of peace. I had separate talks with Messrs. Jan Masaryk and Dr. Beneš yesterday, and both of them happened to mention independently that high circles in London are flirting with the idea of first re-establishing democratic government in Germany, and then proceeding to march with Germany in an ideological war against Russia. If such fantastic thoughts are really being taken seriously, one becomes anxious at the remoteness of responsible thought from the realities of the situation.

It seems hardly possible that there can be any considerable winter offensive of a military nature, so we may have some months to reconsider the whole insane and unholy predicament in which Europe finds itself. I suppose that Hitler may use this time of waiting to prepare his forces for the great onslaught and his mind in growing bitterness and hostility. How good it would be if these months could be regarded rather as truce than as period of preparation for renewed and intensified hostilities. Public opinion in our country, and perhaps even political opinion in parliamentary and government circles, seems to be changing, if only slightly. If this change in the direction of desire to explore the possibilities of conference, of negotiation rather than of trial by violence, could be conveyed to Germany during the winter period of waiting, perhaps a change might set in there too, a little seed sown in the wintry soil, unseen but alive and ready to grow and in the coming spring to bear fruit not of evil but of good.

I wonder if you know that Edith Ellis is just back from Italy? We expect a visit from her in our home tomorrow evening, and look forward to hearing her report. No doubt you will be seeing her.

I enclose a copy of a brief note my wife and I sent to our local M.P. some weeks ago. There is no need to acknowledge this letter, or return the enclosure. I must indeed apologise to you for having written at such length.

With kindest regards,

T.P. Catchpool.

49, Parliament Hill  
London, N.W. 3

(Copy)

13. I. 1940

The Editor,  
News Chronicle,  
Bouverie Street.  
LONDON. E.C. 4

Dear Sir,

You do right in a recent leading article: "Bombs and Bullies" to stigmatise the brutality of Nazi policy in attacking defenceless fishing-boats; but when you add that we cannot retaliate, one is caused to stop and think. Not only are we using a powerful weapon, i.e. the blockade, whose effect is most devastating upon that section of the community generally considered to be the most defenceless, the little children; but it may even be questioned whether the Nazi brutalities referred to are not themselves, in part at least, in the nature of retaliatory measures against the recent intensified use of the blockade weapon. You describe the Nazi policy as: "Here is a man who can't defend himself, let's go and hit him". Might not our own policy in this respect be described as: "Here's a child who can't defend himself, let's go and hit him"? As to the effect of blockade upon child life in the last war, may I quote the then editor of your paper, Mr. A.G. Gardiner, of the Daily News, who witnessed, as I did, and recorded, its devastation? "A generation who have never known sufficiency of food....The sum of wretchedness is so vast as to be beyond human relief.....For our good name we might cancel the discrimination against these children". Those children are the young Nazis of to-day.

Is not the moral of this, to try to find even now a way out of this tragic situation, which is driving two nations to rival one another in efforts to subject innocent and defenceless sections of each other's population to a maximum of suffering?

Yours sincerely,

T. C. P. CATCHPOOL

Station: Belsize Park  
Tel.: Hamstead 3370

*To NEBS.*

*MP to read*

49, PARLIAMENT HILL,  
LONDON, N.W.3

*Destroy*

Charles Roden Buxton Esq  
6. Erskine Hill  
N. W. 11

March 2nd. 1940

My dear Charles.

*This arrived when I was in the lowest depths! I'll like to see it if I think you needn't communicate with it e. e. s. you can just throw it away. I agree with him broadly!*

I cannot say how sorry I am to hear you are unwell, both because of the wretched time you have to pass through to recovery, and because you can so hardly be spared from active life just now. You have however been so incessantly ~~been~~ at work that it is not surprising. A period of quiet will I hope and trust restore you with renewed energy for the resumption of the great task. I return herewith the paper you so kindly sent me (dated 23.II.40) with which I need hardly say I feel the most complete agreement, in view of which I think there is no need to comment upon it.

*See doing work for much*

With regard to Lord Noel-Buxton's "War Aims" Memorandum, of which you have kindly sent me copies, I have the feeling that it does not go so directly to the most essential point as your own considerations of the subject. It may however be intended for a rather different circle, with whom it is necessary to adopt more of the argumentum ad hominem line, which would make understandable the amount of space given (in the first two sections: Popular Views and Illusory Guarantees) to the negative aspect of the subject, points of view and arguments presumably not shared by the author of the memorandum. Otherwise it seems unnecessary to me to consider these views so fully, if at all. They fill nearly half the space of the Memorandum.

*Yes*

*Oh. My main H! (Knockout now pd)*

With regard to the positive sections: Genuine Guarantees, and Conditions for Negotiating Peace; these are good and important, though not I think stated so consisely and effectively as you have done. There is one point of view with which I do not feel myself quite in agreement, if

p.t.o.

I am sorry, our typist seems to have made a muddle here. Will you please excuse this, & continue as shown by arrow, in order to get sequence of paragraphs right?

I have understood it rightly, viz. that the best guarantee for stable peace would be to bring home to the Germans <sup>an</sup> disinclination for war through ~~a~~ recognition by them that aggression does not pay.\* To return to the beginning of this argument, I think the only ultimate way of dealing with the German unrest is not this negative one - not to insist on proving to them that aggression has failed, or upon a military "disappointment", before we can consider any other attitude towards them but that of meeting force with force; but in thinking of the deeper causes of the unrest and planning a settlement which the Germans themselves would accept because they felt that it satisfied certain demands which they believed to be fundamentally just and reasonable - in short a world in which they would feel happy through a sense of equality and fair dealing. I still believe that this is the right way to deal with threats of domination, in so far as these really exist. I am inclined to think that they could have been sublimated by such treatment before the situation sharpened to the point of war, but that they may well develop if war is extended and intensified. In this connection I have been wondering whether we could not take up Norman Angell's suggestion of throwing open the British Empire and all its <sup>in the sense</sup> advantages to any who care to enter it. If this were interpreted <sup>in the sense</sup> of Germany merely becoming another of the Dominions, it is, of course, of no value; but if it meant a real and complete partnership on equal terms, then it opens a grand vision for future peace on a basis which might be permanently unshakable. It was at once objected in the meeting that no British Government would ever consider anything of this kind, and that is, I am afraid, the real difficulty. If however a movement with people of Sir Norman Angell's prestige behind it could be started, there might be favourable conditions for a national campaign along these lines. → Please go to p. 3, 2nd paragraph.

I doubt whether this is psychologically sound or possible of attainment with any certainty. Lord Halifax in his recent speech to students at Oxford maintained ( and I think it is the main or only point of substance in a long address) that force could guard the field in which good can work and render positive service which can be given in no other way. Force on the scale and the nature of modern totalitarian war, however, seems to me more like starting

a prairie fire, which may spread almost indefinitely and beyond the power of man to stop it; or to use another picture, when Lord Halifax, as quoted in the Memorandum, says it is essential that German aggression should not prove to have been good business, it seems to me like a gambler at Monte Carlo saying: I must play on until I have at least recovered my losses. He ignores the nature of gambling, as it seems to me so many sensible people nowadays ignore the nature of war - but I find myself entering into the sphere of pure Pacifism, and that is taboo in political considerations! + Please go back to p. 2 line 4: "To return to the ..."

I am afraid I have become somewhat rambling, but it is such a relief to be able to chat with you, even by letter, that I trust you will pardon me. Of course you must not trouble with anything of this kind until you feel inclination to do so. This applies also to the two other enclosure which I send. One of these is part of a letter I sent to Ben Riley, following my recent conversation with him, giving some indication of his attitude, which I suppose is typical of the Labour Party in general by whose points of view he seems to have been completely <sup>captured</sup> influenced. The other is a development of a question put to me at a Y.M.C.A. meeting at which I spoke last Sunday evening, of about 100 young men, at Westensuper-Mare. I do not feel quite sure that this is the whole of the answer. Sometime I should value your comment upon it.

With affectionate greetings and all good wishes,

Corder

P. S.

You do not need to be told that I would come to see you at any time when you are a little better and care for me to do so.

Grace reason.  
Barbaric in Empire

Station: Belsize Park  
Tel.: Hampstead 3370

*MSA*  
*A*

49, PARLIAMENT HILL,  
LONDON, N.W.3.

April 11th. 1940

Charles Roden Buxton Esq.  
Upshire Bury  
Waltham Abbey,  
Essex.

*destroy*

My dear Charles,

~~My last letter from you was your confidential circular of 28th. March, which I received on April 4th. I need not tell you that you have been much in my thoughts all the time, though there has been a rather long delay since I last wrote to you. I did not quite realise that you expected comment except upon the personal question in your earlier letter about the possibility of retiring from political life for some constructive work in writing. My reference to "a politician plays truant" was not meant to be taken too seriously. I realised, of course, that any work you might undertake in lieu of practical part in current political events would be of the first importance - not that the delight of your literary essays is a thing of little importance in the world as it is to-day. They gave me a real and abiding sense of our own precious national heritage.~~

*nic*

~~In view of your request for comment on the second aspect of your letter, I have been looking for it with a view to replying further, but I am sorry to say that it has been mislaid somewhere amongst my many papers, and in these last few rushed hours before leaving to join my family at the seaside for a few days I have not had the calm moment required to think where I can put my hand on it. I remember, however, that you wrote of the dual language of our Government. I had myself been impressed by the apparent contradiction between the apathy of public opinion, so far as I could gauge it, almost complete absence of anything like war mentality or enthusiasm, almost a lack of interest; and on the other hand almost universal expression of exactly that mentality in the~~

p.t.o.

*to M. J. G.  
war mentality*

present completely uncertain - I suppose we must reckon with the possibility that the new situation may operate in exactly the opposite sense. What I still maintain, however, is that whoever writes the pamphlet (& Roger could do it admirably) it should be done with your close co-operation, & should go out in your name. Are you able

To receive visitors now? If so, could Roger & I come to see you - when I get back next week, & talk this over? By the way, I am due to go to Geneva with Percy Barlett on Monday 22nd, to meet the AFSC envoy who is returning with Karlis C-J. H.G.A. saw RAB at the FO on Wednesday, & had the impression of a much easier situation, so far as assent to the activities of our Ctee is concerned. RAB sanctioned the visit to Geneva, and will help to hurry through the permits. CC the Press. I deduced from this that word must have gone round to Press writers to whip up support for the war - a tragic occupation for anyone. Now recent events have I suppose for the moment changed the whole situation. They must inevitably cause a certain <sup>excitement</sup> ~~anxiety~~, if not thrill, in the minds of unthinking people, & deep anxiety to others.

*Handwritten signature/initials*

I have felt completely stunned by the latest developments in the war. We had reached a point when there seemed a consensus of evidence that the deadlock was likely to continue. This gave hope that influences making for peace might have a reasonable chance to work; but it was clear that even with the continuing deadlock, in the present situation, breakdown into a frightful offensive somewhere or other might occur at any moment, perhaps even though neither side desired or intended it - and this has now happened, probably with more desire and intention on both sides than seemed likely only a few days ago. It is a great setback to all our hopes. I do not like leaving London at such a moment and cannot bear the thought of even a few days at the seaside, but the family is there with grandfather, and I have already postponed departure two days beyond the promised date of joining them. I think it is right to go now, and the next few days will give me the opportunity to recover from the shock; after which we must begin quietly to resume our work again in the same sense as before, however difficulties may have increased. It may be necessary to re-think the whole situation and perhaps change somewhat the nature and methods of our efforts, but they will remain essentially the same in fundamental purpose. Do not let this weigh upon you too heavily.

|| +  
|| +

With affectionate greetings,

As ever,

Corder.

P.S. I found your memo. before leaving home, but am now in the train to Ipscombe (Beza's Castle Hotel, till next wed. morning, 17<sup>th</sup> inst., then home again), so cannot write more fully at the moment, however, there is one point I want to refer to. It seems to me very important that the second pamphlet you had in mind should appear. It may be that after the present offensive a new opportunity may come, with greater openness in the public mind, possibly even in the government, to a settlement by reason rather than force - tho' everything must remain for the

X

April 26th. 1940

To the Editor  
The Manchester Guardian  
MANCHESTER.

Dear Sir,

All friends of sanity in wartime will be thankful for your leading article of 24th. inst. in reference to the speech of Mr. Duff Cooper at the St. George's Day Luncheon.

It is not sufficiently realised that the mentality which such utterances reveal, is not exclusively a wartime product; for instance, immediately after Munich, when tendering his resignation, Mr. Duff Cooper said that Hitler was "more open to the language of the mailed fist" than to other forms of approach. At Saarbruecken, on October 19th. 1938 Hitler replied that "Messrs, Chamberlain and Daladier did their utmost to find a road to Peace", but (he added) "they rule in countries where internal construction makes it possible for them to be replaced by others not so concerned with Peace; and such <sup>others</sup> ~~countries~~ exist: Mr. Eden, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Duff Cooper.....It would be the aim of these men to begin a new world war immediately. They make no bones about it".

We do not need to accept this monstrous charge, to see that the mentality of people like Mr. Duff Cooper and ~~his~~ <sup>its</sup> public expression do not only jeopardise, as you point out, the peace-making which must ultimately be undertaken. In the critical months prior to the outbreak of war, when peace hung in the balance, and we claimed to be doing all in our power to preserve it, this mentality contributed to the final breakdown of the sabotage of such efforts.

Recognition of this fact may help to that understanding of German mentality and its psychological reactions which is essential if a lasting settlement is ever to be attained.

Yours sincerely,

T. C. P. CATCHPOOL

Station: Belsize Park  
Tel.: Hampstead 3370

49, PARLIAMENT HILL,  
LONDON, N.W.3.

May 4th. 1940

Lord Noel-Buxton,  
18, Cowley Street  
Westminster.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

When my wife and I were with you last week I mentioned my meeting with Dr. Berber at Salzburg shortly before the outbreak of war, and a proposed Open Letter to The Times which we discussed together then. His idea was that all efforts to modify the attitude of the British Government had failed, the situation was becoming rapidly critical, and that the only possible way of saving it might be a direct appeal over the head of our Government to the British people. Berber was at Salzburg near his chief Ribbentrop and other heads of the Party, who were all at the time ensconced around Berchtesgaden participating in final decisions and arrangements. I spent a whole day with him. In the morning we discussed the general situation, in the afternoon we went for a motor ride in the lovely country around Salzburg and sat on a rock at the top of a mountain pass. I took out a writing block whilst Berber paced up

Lord Noel-Buxton  
18, Cowley Street.

June 4. 1940

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and down in front of me, thinking out and expressing the sort of thing that might be said in the proposed Open Letter. I jotted down some notes of this, and when I got back to Berlin next day, drafted the letter, a copy of which I enclose. I am sorry that it is not more legible. Please do not try your eyes. If it is not quite easily legible to you, I would wish you to send it back, and I would have it re-typed. I enclose also copy of a covering letter which I wrote at the time to Dr. Berber. Both letters were sent by the hand of a special courier to Salzburg. The Foreign Office was communicating in this way each day with Ribbentrop, and communications for Dr. Berber could be sent in the official bag. At the time of our interview Berber expected to be back in Berlin within a few days, and your brother Charles was also due to arrive a few days later. We therefore had great hopes that he and Dr. Berber might be able to meet, and the idea was that Charles and I and perhaps Roger Carter, who was also in Berlin at the time, should sign the letter as three English people who were in Berlin at the critical time, and who had some contacts with the German authorities. During the few days following the dispatch of the letter, I was frequently on the telephone to Berber's hotel at Salzburg. There was a special line to him from his Institut für aussenpolitische Forschung. He was however constantly engaged with

Lord Noel-Buxton  
18, Cowley Street.

June 4.1940

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his chief from the time of my visit onward and kept postponing the date of his arrival in Berlin. We did not discuss my draft letter together by telephone, as there was hope of our meeting in person. This however faded. I had to leave Berlin before he came back, and Charles also had to leave. Roger Carter, who stayed on in Berlin until a week before the beginning of the war, had one final interview with Berber, when however nothing of special significance transpired, it being already too late.

You will see from my letter to Berber that even whilst drafting the Open Letter composed from notes of my conversation with him, I had a strong sense of the futility of such a last-minute effort. Charles and Roger Carter, to both of whom I showed the draft, also felt it quite useless and hopeless. In view of this and of my failure to discuss it further with Berber himself, nothing was done about it. Reading it again <sup>from</sup> with this distance of time, and across the intervening events, it gives me the impression of a much more reasonable proposition than it evidently did in August last. The feeling of futility which we all had at that time indicates, I think, the degree of intransigence on both sides in those last months prior to the outbreak of war, after our guarantee to Poland of March 31st. I had almost forgotten the term "Peace Front" which was evidently being used last summer and was thought of as the best guarantee for the preservation of peace. It is of tragic interest to

Lord Noel-Buxton  
18, Cowley Street

- 4 -

June 4.1940

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note the earnestness with which the Open Letter begs our country not to be misled by the illusion that war could be prevented in that way - merely by a rigid front of determination to resist aggression, should it occur, by force. It is evident that Berber thought at that time that what I have called in the Letter the "middle alternative", was a possible line of political action, and might have met with success. Although he was no doubt impressed by the desperate nature of the situation (in the afternoon drive I mentioned above, we saw the roads full of horses being brought in by the farmer folk for mobilisation), he certainly thought it worth while to make this final effort at an agreed settlement. He would not have gone to so much trouble if he had not thought there was at least a possibility of success. My impression is that he saw the intransigence on the German side and felt that no modification of Hitler's determination to carry things to the extreme, if the other side maintained its determined opposition, could be achieved. If any way out was to be found, the move had to come from our side. I think he would have admitted that this was not a fair give - and - take; but that in view of the appalling alternative (which we are at this moment experiencing) he was justified in asking for a final attempt to avoid it from our side, even at the cost of pocketing a little pride, and believed that there was at least a chance, I do not know what odds he would have taken upon it, of success!

Lord Noel-Buxton  
18, Cowley Street

- 5 -

June 4. 1940

All these considerations are academic to-day, but they are perhaps needed in order to understand the Open Letter; and I at least have found them interesting in looking back upon them now.

I enclose also copies of two letters written recently to the Manchester Guardian. The later one was published in that paper yesterday.\* There is no need to <sup>acknowledge this or to</sup> return any of the enclosures.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

*T. C. P. Catchpool*

T. C. P. CATCHPOOL.

\* I cannot find a copy of this to send.

Catchpool

24. IX. 1940

To the Editor of THE TIMES,  
London. E.C. 4

Sir,

I am sure that every reader of The Times will agree with the expressions of horror and detestation at the sinking of the ship carrying child refugees to America, contained in your leading article "Victims of the Nazi", of 23rd. inst. I think nevertheless that our British sense of fairness and honesty should cause us to recognise that blockade appears to the Germans as a cold and slow but equally deliberate and sure method of destroying child life. At all events, such was the case in and after the last war, and I presume it is so still. The effectiveness of the blockade weapon against child life can be abundantly documented from the records of reliable British witnesses of its results.

Yours faithfully,

T. C. P. CATCHPOOL.

Summary of K. H. Bureau's  
letter (3.3.48) to Lord Buxton (received 25.4.36)

Introduced to Lord Buxton by M. C. Catchpool in 1933, in Berlin. Connected with plot to form an organisation called "Bündische Jugendbewegung" in opposition to Hitler's Jugend. Had impressed Hitler that such an organisation as the "Bündische Jugendbewegung" would create good impression in England (one of Hitler's aims in 1933). Was anxious to get into touch with Baden-Powell. Asked Lord Buxton if he would "inform" Baden-Powell of this movement. (B.J.B.) This Lord Buxton promised to do "during a walk, as K. B. was afraid of the Gestapo hearing of his plotting against the Hitler Movement in the Kaiserhof. Not successful in his plot. Most of his associates killed by Gestapo. [Germany or British]

Point of letter: - Bureau has got into difficulties with his part. Would Lord Buxton let him have some lines that he remembers that Bureau gave him secretly valuable political inside information about the plot against the Hitler Jugend and so on? He also informed Lord Buxton of his hope "to bring about a voluntary diplomatic understanding about Austria to prevent another triumph of Hitlerian force."

Station : Belsize Park  
Tel. : Hampstead 3370

Lord Noel-Buxton.

My Dear Friend,

I do not know whether you will remember that on the occasion of your visit to Berlin in 1933, when I was living there as representative of the English Friends, I introduced to you a young German, at that time I suppose a youth of about 18 who was a leader in one of the Youth Movements which were almost innumerable in ~~free~~<sup>free</sup> Hitler Germany, and several of which were at that time struggling to maintain their existence independent of the Hitler-Jugend. The boy, Karl Heinz Burau, who will be a man of about 32 now, appears to be in some difficulty with the Authorities. I am not quite sure whether with the Occupation or the German, I think with the latter. He has written me pages and pages on the subject of his present situation, with some trial pending against him, though he is not in prison or detention; but I am not much wiser as to the exact state of affairs. Since soon after the time of the interview with you mentioned above, I myself have heard nothing further from Burau until he wrote to me again a few weeks ago. I remember him quite clearly, but in view

49, PARLIAMENT HILL,  
LONDON, N.W.3.  
March 23rd, 1948.

Catchpool  
(in vite)

of the long intervening period during which I know nothing except from his own <sup>return</sup> letters as to what he was doing or what was happening to him, it is difficult to know how one can help him now. He was an ambitious youth, and though he claims to have got into difficulties by opposing the Nazis, I do not feel sure as to the direction in which his ambitions may have lead him.

My wife and I have recently spent six months in Germany with the Friends Relief Service. In May we expect to go again to Germany, for a few weeks, visit to the French and American zones of Occupation. I hope to be able to see Dr. Berber, who is now living in Baden-Baden, and has some post under the French Occupation Authorities there.

With kindest greetings,

Your friend sincerely,

Gordon Catzhpood.

Enc. Letter from Karl Heinz Bureau.

K.H. Baran Berlin Spandau Keltererweg 40 3.3.48

To Lord Buxton, MP, London

May I venture to remind you that I had once the privilege to be introduced to you by Mr Corder Catchpool myself being at that time a young student of Berlin university. Once I saw you in Berlin it was in connection with a plot of a part of the former Bündische Jugendbewegung to maintain legally an organisation separated from the party's Hitler Jugend. We had impressed Hitler-using General von Reichenau, at that time chief of the Ministeramt der Wehrmacht, and Rudolf Hess via Albrecht Haushefer and directly and influential quarters of the Auswärtiges Amt as intermediaries-with the argument that such a separated organisation would be very useful representative presence in connection with foreign affairs and especially in regard to a popular understanding with Britain, at that time one of Hitler's main aims... May I ask to remember the situation of that time,--sentimentally so very different from the time of 1939 and later and of today,--a situation which eventually led to the Naval Treaty and the Munich Agreement? We youngsters believed honestly in the possibility of an understanding and hoped to succeed in our plans by and by by plots. So we planned a separated organisation, influenced really only by ourselves and quite independent in its policy and spirit from the party. Of course, we had to deceive Hitler that it would be in his interest to grant us such a licence. To convince Hitler we were eager to get a hearty welcome by Baden Powell and corresponding British quarters at once when we should get permission to publish anything about that organisation. We had already succeeded in getting Rauschning's (head of Danzig government) support who had sent a group (half HJ half our boys under our tutelage) and our name to the Jamboree in Gdöllö 1933--to the bitter anger of von Schirach. As we suddenly seemed to succeed it was left to me to inform quickly British quarters in order to give us the afforded reprieve. As you just happened to be in Berlin I asked you--of course without giving you names and details in order not to endanger unnecessarily by any possible indiscretion anybody else--to inform Baden Powell, or the corresponding expert for this, in general about our plan. This you promised me to do. May be you hardly can remember, it may even be it was mere kind politeness on your side than earnest meaning as I may have seemed to you too young and unexperienced in politics. But after all on my side it was earnest meaning, and I remember too very distinctly that Mr Catchpool had arranged my seeing you,--as I had not treated him to do,--during a walk and not at the Kaiserhof. For I had been afraid of the Gestapo's secret microphones at the Kaiserhof and I was quite conscious that according to the German terminology I was committing High Treason and by speaking with you about Landesverrat, which meant death penalty.

Unfortunately in the end we did not succeed in this and other plans. By and by most or all of my associates got killed by the Gestapo, Albrecht Haushefer as the last by a special Gestapo envoy only a few hours before the Russians conquered the prison. I myself have now got into difficulties about my past. It therefore would be of extreme value for me to get your testimony by some lines that you remember that I gave you secretly valuable political inside information on about the plot against the HJ and so on.

I certainly did at that time not aim for a world war to overthrow the Hitler regime but I did strive for an understanding between Germany and especially the Anglo Saxons, and for undermining the Hitler regime by plots. So for instance I had hoped to bring about a voluntary diplomatic understanding about Austria to prevent another triumph of Hitler-

lerian force. This was the general problem I mentioned to you the different times I was privileged to see you. Naive and primitive as my ideas may seem to-day, after all what has happened since, it still is a fact that the generals (von Fritsche) were ultimately prevented from an earnest plot only by the unnecessary triumph of Hitler's personal policy in regard to Austria, as at least it was made by propaganda. (I may claim to be an expert in this problem as I had very intimate talks with Seyss-Inquart about all sides of the problem as early as '35). Even if I should have been mistaken sometimes I think I should be forgiven for my youth and my goodwill. Besides I was put into concentration camp, even destined to death by the Reichssicherheitshauptamt and only escaped this fate by special tricks. I feel not too happy to have to approach you with such questions to help combat all this sort of de-nazification often is rather disgusting. So I hope you will kindly see what you can do. I am obliged to you and to Mr Gatepeel who kindly promised to pass the letter to you.

I remain Sir yours sincerely

H. G. Gierwin

x Reichssicherheitshauptamt x

Envelope on Catchpool.

1. "Which way to peace?" by C.
2. letter from C. to Geo. Ralston.
3. " " C. to ? re. Germany etc.
4. Catchpool to Buxton. 7/3/38.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ 7/6/38 in visit to Prague
6. \_\_\_\_\_ 2/9/38. re. Sudeten etc.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ incomplete.
8. letter to C. fr. Troutbeck.
9. 11 pp. by C on return fr. G. 16/8/39.
10. Fahriss to Catchpool - 31.8.38.
11. Catchpool to Buxton 21/9/39.
12. \_\_\_\_\_ 3/10/39.
13. \_\_\_\_\_ 1/11/39.
14. \_\_\_\_\_ to "News Chronicle" re Nazi brutality etc.
15. 2 \_\_\_\_\_ Roden B. + blockade.
16. T.E.P. Catchpool to "Man Guard." 2.3.40.
17. \_\_\_\_\_ to NB
18. \_\_\_\_\_ to "Times" 4/5/40.
19. Summary of KH Buzan's letter to NB 24/9/40.
20. Note to NB fr. C. to NB
21. pp. fr. Buzan to NB. 3/3/48.