# RESTORATION OF AUSTRIA

HEINRICH ALLINA

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY
PROF. DR. FREDERICK HERTZ

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#### INTRODUCTION

HOUGH Austria after the last war was but a small country she was, through her geographical position and for historical reasons, the key to the peace and prosperity of Central Europe, and Europe at large. From the moment when Austria was forcibly annexed by Hitler without any interference of the democratic powers the freedom of all the small nations of Central and Eastern Europe was doomed. A just and reasonable settlement of the Austrian questions, therefore, is of paramount importance to the whole future of Europe. The solution of this problem depends on many factors, some of which are very obscure, and one may have different views on many points of the future settlement. The memorandum submitted to the British people in the following pages, which has been worked out by eminent experts, certainly contains an important contribution to the discussion of the Austrian problem, and I am sure that its general tenor agrees with the wishes of every true Austrian. If I may be allowed to add a few remarks of my own, I should emphasise the importance of continuing what was good in Austrian traditions, especially the belief in the reign of Law, the aversion to violence, and the spirit of compromise, while avoiding unjustified self-complacency. It is my firm belief, moreover, that Austria can only live if the insane policy of excessive economic protectionism and of strangulating the free movement of individuals is abandoned by the world and if the Rights of Man are generally recognised as a fundamental law of nations.

FREDERICK HERTZ.

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#### THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE ANNEXATION OF AUSTRIA.

INTERNATIONAL treaties and agreements will lose their moral fundaments in the moment guns have begun to utter their language. There are, however, certain international principles and usages in the lives of nations which are supposed to be observed even in the time of warfare.

Although I am well aware that the juridical explanation of the legality of the annexation of Austria cannot be the decisive factor to pass a judgment on this regime of plunder and robbery, I still deem the effects wrought thereby, in analysing international law, of great importance and worthy of consideration in its ultimate conclusion. The following juristic propositions may be regarded as the expert opinion of a prominent Austrian lawyer who has practised in the field of International Law.

If the annexation of Austria be considered from the legal standpoint two main questions arise:

- 1. Is the recognition by the Great Powers and particularly by Great Britain necessary for the international validity of the annexation?
  - 2. If this question be answered in the affirmative, has Great Britain recognised the annexation in a definite manner?

#### ATTITUDE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

It is an established rule of international law that the acquisition of new territorial rights such as annexation requires for its validity recognition on the part of third states when the act alleged to be creative of a new right is a violation of an existing rule of customary or conventional international law. Failing such recognition the act in question is incapable of producing legal rights beneficial to the wrongdoer.

As regards the position of Austria the following treaty provisions have to be taken into account:—

Art. 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain: -

"The independence of Austria is inalienable otherwise than with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. Consequently Austria undertakes in the absence of the consent of the said Council to abstain from any act which might directly or indirectly or by any means whatever compromise her independence, particularly and until her admission to membership of the League of Nations, by participating in the affairs of another Power."

#### Art. 80 of the Treaty of Versailles :-

"Germany acknowledges and will strictly respect the independence of Austria, within the frontiers which may be fixed in a Treaty between that State and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers: she agrees that this independence shall be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations."

The undertaking given by Austria in Art. 88, quoted above, was repeated, and to some extent amplified in the *Geneva* Protocol of October 4th, 1922, in which Austria agreed to abstain from any regulation or from any economic or financial engagement calculated to compromise this independence (cf. *Oppenheim*, p. 234, note 2).

In the Agreement concluded between Germany and Austria on July 11th, 1936, Germany expressly and solemnly recognised the independence of Austria.

Hence the previous consent of, or the consequent formal recognition by the Council of the League of Nations, or, in respect of the relation of a Member State to Germany, the consent of or recognition by that State would in any case be required under international law. The annexation of Austria by Germany would, from the international legal point of view, be valid only if such a consent or formal recognition had been given.

The League of Nations dealt with the annexation of Austria only indirectly in connection with the question of contributions, but neither the Council nor the Assembly of the League of Nations had any occasion of dealing with the Austrian problem as such, although an energetic protest against the forcible annexation of Austria was lodged with the Secretary-General, M. Avenol, by the Mexican Government. Both the Spanish and the Chilean delegates made allusion to the wrong done to Austria.

#### THE ATTITUDE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

1. The Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, made a statement in the House of Commons on March 14th, 1938, in which he described the events in Austria during the last few days. He mentioned that H.M.'s Government had protested to the German Government against the annexation of Austria, and he read the answer of the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, von Neurath, in which the latter alleged that relations between Germany and Austria did not concern third Powers. Mr. Chamberlain contested the correctness of this standpoint.

One of the speakers in the debate which followed was Mr. Churchill. He declared inter alia:—

"The gravity of the events of the 11th March cannot be exaggerated.... We cannot say the past is the past without surrendering the future.... Therefore I venture to submit to the House that the Nazi Conquest of Austria cannot remain which it is...."

2. In the House of Lords the Austrian question was discussed on March 16th. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Halifax, made a statement in the course of which he said:—

"That independence of Austria, in complete disregard of treaty provisions, has disappeared overnight and the world, therefore, has been presented with a fait accompli in a fashion and in a setting of accompanying circumstances for which I can recall no parallel in history... I can see no good to be gained... by bringing this matter before the League Tribunal. Nothing short of war can put back the clock, and State Members of the League are not prepared to go to war on this issue... H.M.'s Government are therefore bound to recognise that the Austrian State has now been abolished as an international entity and is in process of being entirely absorbed into the German Reich. They do so, indeed, without waiting for the plebiscite, the result of which, in view of the circumstances in which it is going to be held, is a foregone conclusion." (House of Lords Debates, 5 s., vol. 108, pp. 179 and 181.)

After this statement had been made Lord *Snell* withdrew his motion asking to bring the Austrian question before the Council of the League.

Recognition de facto and de jure.

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that Great Britain has recognised the incorporation of Austria into the German Reich de facto, but not de jure.

The authorities on International Law, in accordance with international practice, distinguish between de *facto* (or *implied*) recognition of territorial changes on the one hand and de *jure* (or *express* or *formal*) recognition on the other hand.

De facto recognition means that the State concerned takes note of the fact that such territorial changes have occurred, and in particular that a State has annexed the territory of another international entity. But this does not mean to say that such change is considered a legal, valid and lawful act, as an act purporting a permanent change of sovereignty. Contrary to de facto recognition, the de jure recognition means the acknowledgment of such an annexation as a lawful act, as an act which is considered a definite change in the structure of the family of nations. A de facto recognition is therefore given only for the time being and

without prejudice to future decisions to be taken by the recognising State. Such a recognition is revocable at any time. De jure recognition is considered to be binding and definitive.

Withdrawal of the Legation.

That the withdrawal of a Legation and its replacement by a Consulate General and the obtaining of an exequatur for the Consul General from the aggressor State does not mean a de jure recognition of the result of the aggression has been expressly shown in the case of *Abyssinia* as well as in that of *Czechoslovakia*.

The British Government decided in December 1936 to replace the Legation in *Addis-Abeba* by a Consulate General. A communique published by the British Government on December 21st, 1936, said that this measure was taken for the protection of the British subjects in *Abyssinia*, and pointed out that this step did not constitute a de jure recognition of the annexation of Abyssinia, and that the British Government reserved their decision as to such a recognition.

The attitude of the British Government with regard to the events in *Czechoslovakia* in March 1939 was identically the same.

On May 22nd the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. *Butler*, made the following statement in the House of Commons:—

"The withdrawal of H.M.'s Legation (in Prague) does not affect the attitude of H.M.'s Government, which was stated by the Prime Minister on March 20th." (*Hansard*, 4 s., vol. 347, p. 1,892.)

The reasons which made it necessary to appoint a Consul in the territory of Czechoslovakia, and why such an appointment did not involve de jure recognition, were thoroughly discussed in the Commons by Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on May 26th, 1939. Sir John stated inter alia:—

"The diplomatic representative in Prague could not continue because the German Government had required that after May 25th diplomatic representatives in Prague should not enjoy extraterritorial rights.... As regards our Legation, we are, therefore, withdrawing our Minister.... The German Government, in their communication, said that Consular representatives in Bohemia and Moravia would cease to be recognised on and after June 20th unless, in the meantime, the Consul obtains the exequatur of authority."

Sir John explained that the obtaining of the exequatur was necessary because the Consul could only then undertake the protection of British subjects, and only after the exequatur had been obtained could he send his official bag, use a cipher, send information to the Government and look after refugees.

Sir John continued :-

"It is not a compliment to any Government that there is granted an exequatur... If our Consul gets the Exequatur... it might be called a de facto recognition of German authority... I might remind the House that this difficulty has arisen before. The British Consul in Abyssinia from the very early stages of the Italian invasion received the Italian Exequatur long before there was any question of de jure recognition. The same thing, I am informed, was true of Austria." (Hansard, 4 s., vol. 347, pp. 2;755-6.)

Hence Sir John stated officially not only with regard to Abyssinia and Czechoslovakia, but also expressly referring to Austria, that the withdrawal of the Legation and its replacement by a Consul to whom the Exequatur has been granted signified only de facto and not de jure recognition.

It can therefore not be contended that the international position of Czechoslovakia essentially differed from that in Austria in so far as the legal point of view was concerned. Particularly should stress be laid upon the question of the Austrian Government's consent to the annexation. It seems worth recalling the wording of the agreement concluded between Herr *Hitler* and the President of the Czechoslovak Republic Mr. *Hacha*, on March 15th, 1939. After some introductory passages this agreement runs:—

"The Czechoslovak President declared that in order to secure final pacification he placed the destiny of the Czech people and country with confidence in the hands of the Führer of the German Reich." (Cf. the quotation in *Hansard*, 4 s., vol. 345, p. 883.)

Summing up, it may be stated that the annexation of Austria by Germany has not been recognised by the British Government de jure, but merely de facto. This means the recognition of the fact that Germany had obtained control over Austria. Such a recognition does not create a legal obligation to consider Austria a part of Germany.

#### FACTS OF POLITICAL IMPORTANCE.

ISREGARDING the legal elements, the political importance connected with the annexation as an act of statecraft stands in the foreground of contemporary political thought. It is not a question of paramount importance whether an organisation sprung up or created during the emigration should or should not receive official recognition by the British Government. But it is a matter of grave importance whether the aims of the Austrian Movement for Freedom, as laid down in the declaration of the F.A.M., will be acknowledged by the Allied Governments as part of their policy.

Clause 1 of the declaration upon which the organisations united in the F.A.M. have agreed runs as follows:—

"To prevail upon the British Government to refuse to recognise the forcible annexation of Austria."

The juridical state of things as set forth above shows that the arbitrary annexation of Austria was acknowledged by British legislation only de facto, but not de jure. But what cause should in the present state of the war withhold the British Government from giving the explicit declaration that the annexation of Austria was brought about by force and through violation of existing treaties and international principles? What cause should hinder the Allies officially from pronouncing that they are decided to abolish this flagrant violation of the law by the restoration of Austria's independence? Mr. Churchill has repeatedly clarified his attitude towards the problem of Austria's restoration. He, in contrast to his predecessor, availed himself of the first opportunity after his accession to office, and that with the authority emanating from his high position, to insist that Austria in point of law had not become a Germany territory. On several occasions he classed Austria amongst the nations and countries forcibly outraged and annexed by Germany.

The Prime Minister, on February 18th, 1942, gave solemn verbal expression to his approval of the restoration of a free and independent Austria. The occasion was the handing over by Sir George Frankenstein of a war-effort-donation from a circle of emigres closely connected with the Austria Office. Mr. Churchill said:—

"It is not without deep emotion that I attend this simple ceremony. Here we see the heart of Austria, although trampled down under the Nazi and Prussian yoke. We can never forget here in this island that Austria was the first victim of Nazi aggression. We know that happy life which might have been led by scores of millions in Central Europe. We remember the charm, beauty and historic splendour of Vienna, the grace of life, the dignity of the individual; all the links of past generations are associated in our minds with Austria and with Vienna. You, your Excellency, you were Austrian Minister here before violent aggression cast your lawful Government down, you are here the link with us between the dark past, the haggard present, and what I still believe to be the glorious future. We shall struggle on and fight on.

"The people of Britain will never desert the cause of the freedom of Austria from the Prussian yoke. We shall go forward. Many long miles have to be marched and many leagues at sea to be covered by ships; many millions of miles of aeroplane-flights will be accomplished; great, hard effort from large masses of human beings—but we have three-quarters of the human race upon our side. Only our own follies can deprive us of victory, and in the victory of the Allies free Austria, held Austria, shall

find her honoured place."

This demonstration permeated with deep sentiment and warm sympathy for the Austrian people was given a hearty reception by the people of Great Britain and those living far beyond her borders, for on that very same day the ether communicated this weighty pronouncement to the World, and was enthusiastically received by all free individuals. It was before this event that the United States had unequivocally manifested their attitude towards Hitler's usurpation of power over Austria by qualifying Austrians living in U.S.A. as "friendly aliens."

Through these two pronouncements the restoration of Austria has become one of the Allies' war-and-peace aims, an undoubted declaration of policy, though not yet pragmatically set down. All the various forms of equivocation of the period preceding the war, and during the first months of the war, may be regarded as things of the past. The recognition of the fact that Austria claims pride of place as the first victim of national-socialist imperialism has become the inalienable property of public opinion in Great Britain. We ask again: what is there to prevent Great Britain from expressly and determinedly saying that the annexation of Austria took place with brute force, under violation of existing treaties and international principles, and that therefore atonement must be made for this breach of law and justice?

#### THE SO-CALLED PLEBISCITE.

I do not shut my eyes to the fact that even in this country there are still undercurrents and opinions which do not want to handle this problem in the unconditional manner in which it was set forth by Churchill's preconceived ideas of law and justice. I consider it advisable not to pass over these objections, but, on the contrary, to elucidate them as far as feasible. Voices are still heard which quote the so-called Plebiscite as proving that the Austrian people, with bewildering unanimity, declared in favour of the "Anschluss" on 10th April, 1938. We, ever since the existence of the Austria Office, considered it our sacred duty to unmask this fake plebiscite as a gigantic fraud to which the uninformed have fallen unsuspecting victims. Dr. Emil Muller-Sturmheim, General Secretary to the Democratic Union affiliated to the Austria Office, has in his most excellent pamphlet entitled, "99.7% A Plebiscite under Nazi Rule," unravelled the satanic and vile background of this Nazi-crime. The methods of the Spanish Inquisition are mere bungling in comparison to the net of terror, intimidation, lyingpropadanda and outright swindle practised as a definite system by Goebbels and his Gestapo henchmen.

Persons who still doubt are urgently recommended to become acquainted with the contents of this small brochure.

Do these sceptics allow their consciences to ignore *the fact* that in the days of February and March 1938 savage Nazi agitation in Austria was countered by a 'strongly united front of all antinazi Austrian patriots? Do they not know that the mass of the workers, outlawed since 1934 by the ill-starred political actions of the Dollfuss - Starhemberg - Schuschnigg system, unconditionally joined Schuschnigg's appeal for the preservation of Austria's independence? Do they not know that it was solely Hitler's entry, accompanied by tanks, aeroplanes and the mighty display of his armed forces which put an end to the patriotic movement of the Austrian people?

The incorporation of Austria into the German Reich was initiated by the entrance of German armed forces into Austrian territory. Afterwards it was contended that the German forces had entered Austrian territory on request of the Austrian Government, represented by the Federal Chancellor (sic) Dr. Seyss-Inquart, for the purpose of maintaining public order and safety

in Austria. This allegation contradicts the facts. The German forces crossed the Austrian frontier on March 11th, 1938, between 9 and 10 p.m., at which time Dr. Seyss-Inquart had not been appointed federal chancellor, so that he could not have wired before that time the request to send armed forces. And if he caused the entry of the German army he acted in violation of the Austrian Constitution then in force.

There is no doubt that a considerable part of the Austrian population fell a victim to national-socialist propaganda. The dissolution of the social-democratic party and of the Trade Unions which took place in 1934 greatly facilitated and promoted the nazification of the Austrian people. But the erstwhile followers of Nazidom in Austria are greatly disillusioned today. From all confidential reports reaching our quarters, whether from left or right, the indubitable fact emerges, that almost all are thoroughly disgusted with foreign domination, all striving towards the one political aim: Put an end to this unbearable alien domination, back to the independence of Austria!

#### SPECIAL AUSTRIAN SABOTAGE.

In spite of the endeavours of the regime to cast a veil over the current events of the country, it cannot prevent indications of far-reaching sabotage and passive resistance from appearing, even in their own official announcements. In a speech by Baldur von Schirach to the workers of the famous arms producing Stevr factories he bitterly complains of the mighty far-spreading "go slow" movement rampant in many a place of production. In a similar manner Dr. Jury, Gauleiter of Lower-Austria, addresses the workers of the important manufacturing centre of Wiener-Neustadt. The two men threaten an unscrupulous liquidation of all saboteurs, and one often hears the words: "Heads will have to roll." The peasants are reproached with food-hoarding, and are threatened with the gallows; they are likewise upbraided with disobedience of the regulations governing field-cultivation and with non-compliance with the regulations for corn- and graindelivery. The illegal slaughter of cattle grows more and more frequent. Last autumn the destruction of the oil-tanks on the banks of the Danube was reported. The premises of the wellknown firm of motor-engineers, Messrs. Urban and Brevillier,

were destroyed by fire, one hundred railway carriages being destroyed. In a Vienna factory producing grenades a strike broke out recently. There have been acts of sabotage in Linz during which several sections of the Goering-works were gutted by fire. Likewise in some other workshops in Linz there was sabotage by the wilful adulteration of oil, whereby output stopped for a whole week.

These and many other examples manifest the unrest by which the "Hitlerian inner front" is being destroyed in Austria. The most inveterate sceptic may gather from these symptoms that Austria's population in an ever-increasing measure sees its only chance of recovering its independence in the defeat of Hitler and everything for which he stands.

#### AUSTRIA'S MILITARY FRONT.

We have heard of late that in solving the Austrian problem the service rendered to the Germany Army by Austrian soldiers must not be lost sight of, as they are fighting within the German Army against the Allied Powers. But how can Austrian soldiers escape the military duty enforced upon them? The hour of open rebellion has not struck yet. Critics should realise what a hard task, nay, how impossible it is, to resist the iron grasp of army discipline. Desertion to the enemy may well mean certain death. Moreover, Austrian army-groups commanded by German officers and German non-commissioned officers, are seldom, if ever, admitted to the fighting front in a community of their own, but are controlled by German troops in well-calculated flanking positions.

Despite these difficulties the true sentiments of the Austrian soldier find their expression in many a remarkable episode. We learn from the reports of a member of the Greek Government, Dr. E. W. Tsuderos, that Austrian soldiers garrisoned in Greece, because of their well-meaning and kindly attitude, stood out in pleasant contrast to the harsh and inhuman treatment of the population at the hands of German soldiers. Dr. Tsuderos bestows the highest praise on the demeanour of the Austrian. In Norway this same Austrian soldier forms the most unreliable element within the German garrisons in that country. In Serbia platoons, several hundred strong, mostly Austrians, deserted to the heroic

guerilla-fighters of General Mihailovitch. In France dozens of Austrian soldiers were placed against the wall and shot by firing-squads for their friendly political association with the rebellious French population. At this very moment (May 16th) Moscow wireless reports that the Germans were forced to disband some Austrian divisions because they refused to go into battle. Austrian prisoners of war in Russia, in a radio-proclamation directed to the Austrian people and the Austrian soldiers still serving, have unequivocally enunciated the true sentiments of the Austrian soldiers forcibly driven to serve in the German army. These are the true facts of the enthusiasm displayed for the war by the Austrian soldiers and the Austrian civil population. The malevolent only will bring forward arguments of reproach against the Austrian soldier for fighting against the Allies, thereby warding off our endeavours for truth and deliverance.

#### POLITICAL MACHINATIONS.

The future of Austria must for several essential reasons be firmly and indubitably secured. Nobody in his senses would expect the Allied Nations to allow the survival of Greater Germany (the incorporation of Austria into the German "living-room" would mean a structure which is exactly that of Greater Germany). but there are various alternative suggestions which, in the interests of clarity, should be disposed of without further delay. There are, for instance, talkers who sponsor the idea of creating a Sudeten-form of a state. A "Catholic Bayaria" combined with the catholic Austrian Alpine Lands is the basis of similar groups of peoples, with the Wittelsbach dynasty preferred before the Habsburg pretendership. It is needless to say that the Austrian people will have nothing to do now nor at any future time with such products of fancy. The provisions of the Atlantic Charter, guaranteeing the self-determination of nations, render the realisation of such puerile combinations quite illusory.

The same thing may be said about aspirations for the restoration of a Greater Austria, though it must be emphasised that such a suggestion has never been raised in Great Britain. But there are some spokesmen in the United States who favour it. Only a complete misunderstanding of the meaning and composition of the Austrian Movement for deliverance from the Nazi yoke and of the right of self-determination, as exemplified in the Atlantic Charter, could mislead anyone to believe in a restoration of Greater Austria.

The most efficacious means by which to destroy all Pan-German or Greater Austrian ideas would be an official declaration by the Allies of the restoration of Austria's independence within her frontiers of 1938. The restoration of Austria is essential to the firm establishment of peace in Central Europe. The presence of Germany on Austrian territory would be undesirable for Czechoslovakia, for Yugoslavia, and for Hungary. It must be refused by these three states both on strategic and economical grounds. There can be no divergence of opinion on this point. Taking all the foregoing reasons into account we cannot see why an official declaration about the restoration of an independent, democratic Austria should not be in harmony with the present stage of the war.

It may be that a detailed plan for the incorporation of the Austria of 1918 into a regional federation of all states in the Danube basin is still premature. There may be at present a lack of partners for contracts and agreements which will fit in only at the time of the future conclusion of peace. Within a democratic, independent and free Austria, however, there will always be found willingness for the incorporation into such a federal system. Austria, having equal rights in such a federation of states, will surely be willing to cede many an important right of her own sovereignty in favour of such a supreme entity, provided all other partners are ready to do the same. In doing so the traditional friendship and common interests of the Austrian people with those of Czechoslovakia will play a prominent part. Their common history and habits of life have left their traces and influence on the masses of working men and upon the middle-classes in Vienna and Lower Austria which to this day have not become extinct. A most valuable asset for a co-operation of democratic states in the Danube basin is the socio-political standard which has lived on uninterruptedly within the two states, despite the breakdown of the monarchy in 1918 and the subsequent separation.

But even if at the present moment no binding decisions can be made on this and many another problem, their abeyance should not be a hindrance to the question of Austria's independence.

#### IS AUSTRIA CAPABLE OF LIVING?

Little as it must be an aim for future Austria to assume an economic and political isolation, yet the economic vitality of Austria cannot be doubted. It is not the task of this publication to bring forward statistical evidence, but some figures may not be out of place.

The economic status of a country is exemplified by the

statistics of the Bank of Issue.

The Nationalbank of Austria provides us with the following figures:—

	Dec	Million So	
Circulation of Banknotes		913	827
Clearing Deposits		142	389
Gold and Foreign Exchange		202	416

The notable increase in the holdings of gold and foreign currency belies the theory that Austria could never close the gap caused by her adverse foreign trade balance. It proves, in fact, that the surplus of imports over exports was more than outbalanced by income from other sources, principally from the increased tourist traffic.

The development of foreign trade in Austria shows the following data:—

III I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I							1933.	1937.
					12/10/0	M	illion Schi	llings.
Imports	v.			**			1,148	1,461
Exports		***		1.525		5.5	774	1,230
Surplus of	Import	s over	Exports			4.4	374	231

The adverse trade balance was thus reduced gradually to only 231 million Schillings in 1937, whereas the returns from invisible exports (tourist traffic, banking, insurance, transit trade to the Balkans and Eastern Europe) amounted to approximately 330-340 a year, according to conservative estimates.

The total aggregate of production showed an equal improve-

ment.

Index of industrial and agricultural production 1929: 100.

31. Jan.	31 Dec.				
1933	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
58	68	73	85	92	103

Austria is prepared to join her neighbours in the endeavour to build up a community of free States in Central Europe. She will wholeheartedly join that community, not as a poor relation, but as a country whose mines, inexhaustible water-power, forests and other resources make her an important factor in the economic structure of the Danubian Basin. We trust that Austria's neighbours have by now realised what an independent Austria means for them. It means no more and no less than freedom for themselves. Freedom and a future unmenaced by the repetition of the events of 1934 and 1938.

Let it be stressed again that—irrespective of the proved fact that Austria as an economic unit is capable of living within a sensibly ordered world around her—isolation can never be the aim of an Austrian Movement for freedom.

#### THE RETURN OF THE TERRITORIES ANNEXED.

To come back to the starting-point of the present discussion:

The hour of rebellion has not yet struck for the Austrian people. Despite the unmistakable symptoms of profound discontent and restlessness amongst the Austrians as well as amongst the other oppressed peoples, everybody acquainted with the facts knows that an open resistance can only come after the military defeat of Hitler-Fascism. The period of waiting for that defeat most not be allowed to be one of idleness—the time must be filled with active preparation, particularly in the matter of propaganda.

To provide this propaganda with a clarified aim is the precondition of its efficacy.

Guarantee to the Austrian people that the military defeat of Hitler will mean the deliverance of Austria from a longhated alien domination! Encourage the Austrian people in their resistance through an explicit and unmistakable promise to re-establish their sovereignty and independence!

Give to the countless thousands who, despite all terroristic threats, search the ether for news of the free world. Give to these people fresh impulses and strengthened power of resistance.

Declare solemnly and officially that the annexation of Austria was a breach of law and justice, and that the Allies are determined to restore the independence of Austria!

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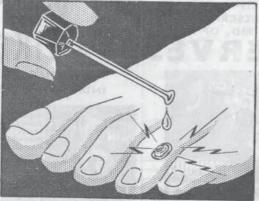
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