



UNIVERSIDAD DE QUINTANA ROO

División de Ciencias Políticas y Humanidades

English-Spanish translation of two chapters from the book "Hitler, triumphant" by Matthew Moses, an analysis of the procedures employed.

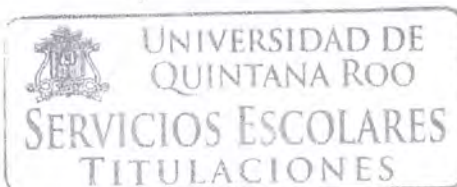
**TRABAJO MONOGRÁFICO
En la Modalidad de Traducción**

**Para obtener el grado de:
LICENCIADO EN LENGUA INGLESA**

**Presenta
WENDY DEL ROCIO OSORIO ARANA**

Asesores:

**M.T.I Argelia Peña Aguilar
M.C. Alessio Zanier Visintin
M.C. Amparo Reyes Velázquez**



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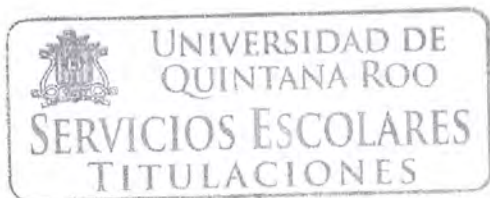
Asesor: 
M.T.I. Argelia Peña Aguilar

Asesor: 
M.C. Alessio Zanier Visintin

Asesor: 
M.C. Amparo Reyes Velázquez



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I would like to dedicate this to my parents, supervisors, teachers and friends without whom it was almost impossible for me to complete my monograph project.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

During centuries mankind has been looking for a way to communicate with one and other. A way to exchange ideas and thoughts, but it was not easy at all since many languages and dialects surround them. They need to find a way to talk between them. People who can understand both languages. Here it is when translators took an important place in history.

This fascinating profession is known as translation and it is the term for turning words from one language into their equivalents in another tongue. (Finks, 1997). What we did not know at that time is that this little job would change the history course; translation makes us interact with people from the other side of the world, to know their customs, their traditions and their own history. Our curiosity guide us to do things that seems impossible.

Nowadays, translation still being an important tool for business, for book authors, for anyone. Beyond all this cultural enhancement, translation is very essential to anybody in order to acquire knowledge, to expand our expectations, to know how people think and learn how to interact with them, to know more about our world and the multiculturalism around us.

Learning a second language give us the opportunity to open our minds, but learning how to translate from one language to another give us the chance to build a bridge between two nations and cultures.

The purpose of this project is to offer to Spanish speakers a precise translation of the chapters: Reactions to Hitler's Policies; the March to War: Early diplomatic triumphs; and Austria and Czechoslovakia from the book "Hitler, triumphant" by Matthew Moses.

The book contains the history of the crossing of Hitler affecting not only Jew people but also political country systems. This book shows another face that just few people knew about Adolf Hitler and what was happening during his government. The translation of this text will help people who are interested in history as well as students of the same field.

In the process of this project, some methods and techniques as well as steps will be taken into consideration, after that, an analysis about the translation will be attached to compare the different methods and techniques were used by doing this project.

Justification

Since we are able to communicate with our parents, we start to develop our mother tongue, we are ready to express what we want or what we need. But one of the most important things for any person is that we are ready to go to school. To learn more deeply about the things around us. Thousands of textbooks have been printed daily in multiple languages. Even though English is not the most spoken language in the world, the majority of textbooks are printed in this language and then those books are translated into different ones.

Nevertheless, textbooks are not good enough for students; in order to learn more about some specific subjects, a student must make she/he own research through different platforms. In a non-English speaking country, this extra work can be quiet difficult to accomplish, especially on certain subjects which requires more information than others for instance history, unfortunately some pdfs or websites do not count with a translation.

Some teachers look for extra information or activity but the pages are only in English. This project is to help those people (teachers and/or students) who are looking for some extra information about Hitler's life. This is the case of the pdf book "Hitler, Triumphant" by Matthew Moses, a book written only in English with no translation available, a book about Hitler's past.

Objectives

The book “Hitler Triumphant” is based on Hitler’s life, his plans to take certain cities and how he made people believe in him. The pressure that some countries felt with Hitler, how some organisations tried to protect their own nations against Hitler and Hitler’s reaction to this upcoming disagreement.

The importance of this project is to provide a better understanding as well as to obtain the attention of students who are not interested in this subject because of the lack of comprehension. Most of these kinds of texts are written in a complex language that might be found difficult for them to understand.

One objective for this project is to demonstrate my abilities to translate an kind of text from English to Spanish as well as from Spanish to English in some specific occasions, making evident the different methods and techniques a translator uses to make a good work and to show the skill variations in a translated text.

The main objective is to provide an adequate Spanish version of the original text, so the person who requires the translated text will not have any trouble when it comes to read it.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

History of translation:

Language is what makes us human beings, it is an essential key of communication and distinguish us from other species. Before the use of language, humans basically depend on signs, symbols or sounds to communicate between them, but gradually these sounds started having a meaning to represent certain things, evolving into a complex pattern of vocal expression called speech. It is said that at the beginning there was only one language, these people settled in the land of Shinar. The citizens wanted to build a tower whose top is in the heavens. According to some biblical scripts, God came down to look at the city and tower, and confounded their speech, they could not understand each other and the construction was never completed. And that is how different languages appeared on earth. “Therefore its name is called Babel, because there the Lord confused the language of all the earth; and from there the Lord scattered them abroad over the face of all the earth”. (Genesis 11:4-9). The first translation texts are about religion and belongs to the Old Testament into Greek in the 3rd century BC. Saint Jerome, also known as the patron saint of translation, produced a Latin Bible in the 4th century AD. And thanks to the Rosetta stone, the Egyptian hieroglyphics could have been translated by Thomas Young, Jean François Champollion and others. Those were the first translation steps, “Translation is the expression in another

language (target language) of what has been expressed in another (source language) preserving semantic and stylistic equivalences”. (Dubois, 1974). Nowadays, with the use of technology, many applications have appeared to make translations a little bit easier, nevertheless each translator has its own style, and translation varies from country to country. “The translator’s task is much harder than that of the original author”. (Savory, 1957)

Translation techniques:

Jean-Paul Vinay born on 18th July, 1910 and Jean Darbelnet born in November 1904, both were from Paris; their most important work is *Stylistique comparee du Français et de l’anglais* and was published in 1958. This two French scholars explored the linguistic aspects of translation. Vinay and Darbelnet posited that there were seven main processes or procedures at work during any given translation.

Direct translation

Borrowing

The source language word is transferred directly to the target language.

Karma is a very powerful force.	El karma es una fuerza muy poderosa.
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Calque

It is a strategy to borrow the SL expression or structure and then transfer it in a literal translation. Calque is a special kind of borrowing, it has the same influence on the enhancement of cultural integration.

Hot dog.	Perro caliente.
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Literal translation

A word for word translation. It is a translation strategy used most common between languages of the same family and culture.

Good morning.	Buenos dias.
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Oblique translation

Transposition

The method involves replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message. It is the process where parts of speech change their sequence when they are translated.

Hand knitted (noun + participle).	Tejido a mano (Participle + adverbial phrase.)
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Modulation

Refers to a variation of the form of the message, obtained by a change in the point of view. It consists of using a phrase that is different in the source and target languages to convey the same idea.

Te lo deajo.	I leave it to you; but it sounds better as You can have it.
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Equivalence or Reformulation

It refers to a strategy to describe the same situation by using completely different stylistic or structural methods for producing equivalents texts. It is to express something in a completely different way, for example when translating idioms or advertising slogans.

Jack of all trades.	Estuche de monerías.
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Adaptation

It refers to a method used in those cases where the type of situation being referred to by the source language message is unknown in the target language culture. It is a shift in cultural environment. This is a very common technique for the translation of titles of movies, books, and the like.

Despicable me.	Mi villano favorito.
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Vázquez Ayora (1977) uses the term *operative technical procedures*, although sometimes he refers to them as the translation method. He combines the SCFA prescriptive approach with the Bible translators, descriptive approach and introduces some new procedures.

Reduction/ Omission

It consists of omitting some elements of the text in order to avoid redundancy or even misleading. The translator synthesizes or suppresses a source language information item in the target language text, mainly when that information is considered unnecessary.

The lady knocked the door, she entered the room and then she walked away without saying a solid word.	La señorita golpeó la puerta, entró y se alejó sin decir nada.
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Amplification

It is used when the translator uses more words in the target language than in the source language to express the same idea.

It's up to you.	Eso depende totalmente de usted.
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Compensation

It can be used when something cannot be translated, and the meaning that is lost is expressed somewhere else in the translated text.

In Spanish we have <i>tu</i> and <i>usted</i> .	In English is only <i>you</i> .
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CHAPTER III

Methodology

The text named Hitler, Triumphant is published by Matthew Moses at Smashwords; the book itself is about Adolf Hitler's life, as the author mentioned, there are hundreds of books about Hitler's life, but none of them focus on what this man was capable to do.

The book is divided by chapters, so in this occasion my translation will start from the chapters Reactions to Hitler's Policies to the March to War: Early diplomatic triumphs; Austria and Czechoslovakia.

The first topic narrates how the Third Reich affected many Jews and the way how so many countries tried to find a solution about this problem; how many associations tried to talk with Hitler in order to rethink about his actions and the way Hitler wanted to show his authority looking down others.

The second topic, Early diplomatic triumphs, shows how Hitler preferred to break an old alliance with China to get a more modern and powerful alliance with Japan.

The third topic, Austria and Czechoslovakia, is about the way Hitler pressured Austria into unification with Germany and tried to make a triumphant entry into Vienna and then a war of aggression to destroy Czechoslovakia and the entire disadvantage he had in making such as risky decisions only to show his power and authority.

Instruments:

The tools that will be used for this translation project are listed below:

Dictionaries:

- Cambridge Dictionary: With clear definitions and useful study extras, this monolingual dictionary can help you on your way to becoming a confident, natural-sounding English speaker. (Also it provides the pronunciation on both British and American accent with the International Phonetic Alphabet).

- Oxford Dictionary of English: This is an English-Spanish or bilingual dictionary. It gives you the word in your target language and shows you the different ways to use the word with some examples as well as explaining some interesting grammatical notes.

- Thesaurus: This is a good tool when it comes to translate. A thesaurus is nothing more than a dictionary of words in which shows you synonyms and antonyms and helps you to avoid repeated words in your translation work.

Other sources:

- Linguee: “Linguee is a unique translation tool combining an editorial dictionary and a search engine with which you can search billions of bilingual texts for words and expressions”. If after consulting dictionaries and thesaurus you still doubting on your translation, this on-line website can provide examples on how others had translated the word or phrase in which one can get stuck.

Steps for Translation:

To start translating any type of text, there are some rules and/or steps to follow, in order to approach what the original text want to express. Therefore, techniques, methods and certain steps should be taken into account for a better accuracy. “A translation can never equal the original; it can approach it, and its quality can only be judge as to accuracy by how close it gets”. (Rabassa, 1989)

“The aim is to focus not on results, that is, on the end product of the translation process, but on the process itself”. Carrové S. M. (1999)

According to the website LanguageLink, a translation project should have the following steps.

1. Project Review
2. Template Building/ Translation Preparation
3. Glossary Development
4. Translation
5. Copy Editing
6. Translator/ Client Review
7. Formatting
8. Quality Control/ Proofreading
9. Final Translator Review

So, to start the project I needed to read the complete text in order to have a background of the chapters. Then, the translation paragraph by paragraph should be next, consulting proper names, names of countries, cities, institutions and parties for their equivalents in Spanish as this is a paramount task in a text full of historical facts.

Once the translation is done, I will send the translated text to the supervisors for a review. They will compare and check both texts (English and Spanish) and every doubt or mistake will be pointed out.

After that, the text will be sent to me for correction, and I will revise the specific errors and I will correct them. Then, I will send the text one more time to the supervisors for another review, if there still are mistakes, the supervisors will indicate it again for another correction.

The next step is to correct those mistakes, at this point; the text should be almost done or done if there are no more comments on the part of the professors. Once the supervisors have approved the translated text; I will send the text to the professor who requires this specific translated text for a check-up. If he has doubts, the text will be change accordingly one more time.

The final step in the process is the one related to the identification of the procedures used in the elaboration of this translation task. At this stage, a deep analysis to determine why some techniques were utilised or not will be done.

CHAPTER IV

Reacciones a las políticas de Hitler

Gran Bretaña, Francia, Italia y la Liga de las Naciones condenaron rápidamente el rearme alemán. Sin embargo, después de las afirmaciones de Hitler respecto a que Alemania estaba interesado en la paz, ningún país tomó acción alguna para detener este desarrollo y el rearme alemán continuó. Más tarde, en marzo de 1935, Hitler llevó a cabo una serie de reuniones en Berlín con el Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores Sir John Simon y Eden, durante las cuales él evitó, exitosamente, las invitaciones británicas para la participación alemana en un pacto de seguridad regional destinado a servir como un equivalente europeo oriental del pacto de Locarno. Al mismo tiempo, los dos ministros británicos evitaban formar una alianza con Hitler. Durante sus conversaciones con Simon y Eden, Hitler utilizó por primera vez lo que él consideraba la brillante táctica de negociación colonial: ofrecer a Simon regresar a la Liga de las Naciones y exigir a cambio el retorno de las ex colonias alemanas en África.

Los asuntos internos resultaron ser más problemáticos. A partir de abril de 1935, el desencanto de como el Tercer Reich se había desarrollado en la práctica, en contraposición de lo que habían prometidos muchos en el Partido Nacional Socialista Obrero Alemán (NSDAP, por sus siglas en inglés) o conocido, coloquialmente, como Partido Nazi, especialmente el *Alte Kampfer* (Viejos Combatientes, aquellos que se unieron al partido antes de 1930 y los que fueron a ser los más fervientes antisemíticos en el partido), y el SA (*Sturmabteilung*, una organización paramilitar del Partido Nazi) que arremetía contra la minoría judía de Alemania como una forma de expresar sus frustraciones contra un grupo que las autoridades usualmente no protegían. En la base del partido, había descontento debido a que en los dos años del Tercer Reich, y a pesar de innumerables promesas por Hitler antes de 1933, ninguna ley había prohibido el sexo o matrimonio entre judíos y alemanes. Un informe de la Gestapo (contracción de *Geheime Staatspolizei*: “Policía Secreta del Estado”) en la primavera de 1935 declaró que la base del NSDAP podría “poner en marcha una solución al problema judío, por nosotros desde abajo, y la cual, posteriormente, el gobierno podía continuar.” Como consecuencia, los activistas del NSDAP y la SA, comenzaron con una gran ola de asaltos, vandalismo y abusos en contra de los judíos- alemanes.

El 18 de junio de 1935, el Acuerdo Naval Anglo-Alemán (AGNA por sus siglas en inglés) fue firmado en Londres, el cual permitía incrementar el tonelaje alemán permitido hasta en 35% más de los de la marina británica. Hitler llamó a la firma del AGNA como “el día más feliz de su vida”, puesto que él creía que el acuerdo marcaba el inicio de una división entre la alianza anglo-franca y un golpe impresionante de legitimidad a la Liga de las Naciones, lo que él había premeditado en el *Kampf*. Este acuerdo había sido hecho sin consultar a Francia o a Italia, debilitando directamente así a la Liga de las Naciones y colocaba al Tratado de Versalles sobre el camino de la irrelevancia.

En el verano de 1935, se informó a Hitler que debido a la inflación y la necesidad de usar divisas para la compra de materias primas para el rearme de Alemania, solamente habían disponibles 5 millones de *Reichmarks* para el gasto militar y había necesidad urgente de alrededor de 300, 000 *Reichmarks* al día para evitar la escasez de alimentos. En agosto de 1935, el Dr. Hjalmar Schacht advirtió a Hitler que el número de violencia antisemítica interfería con el funcionamiento de la economía y, por ende, con el rearme. Tras las quejas del Dr. Schacht, más los informes de que el pueblo alemán no aprobaba la ola de violencia antisemítica y la continua tolerancia policiaca, éste estaba perjudicando cada vez más la popularidad del régimen. Hitler ordenó detener las “acciones individuales” en contra de alemanes- judíos el 8 de agosto de 1935. Desde la perspectiva de Hitler, era imperativo contar con nuevas leyes antisemitas como premio de consolación para aquellos miembros del partido que estaban decepcionados con la orden de Hitler del 8 de agosto, sobre todo, porque de manera reacia, Hitler había dado la orden de detenerse por razones pragmáticas y simpatizaba con los radicales del partido. La reunión NSDAP anual celebrada en Núremberg en septiembre de 1935 se llevó a cabo con el fin de presentar la primera sesión del *Reichstag* (Parlamento alemán), la cual había sido realizada en esa ciudad desde 1543. Hitler había planeado hacer que el *Reichstag* aprobara la bandera Suástica del NSDAP como la bandera oficial de los *Reich* alemanes, además de dar un discurso importante para apoyar la inminente agresión italiana en contra de Etiopía. Hitler creía que la agresión italiana abría muchas oportunidades para Alemania.

En el último minuto antes de que el mitin del Partido Núremberg comenzara, el Ministro alemán de Relaciones Exteriores, Baron Konstantin Von Neurath, convenció a Hitler para que cancelara su discurso alabando a Italia por su voluntad en cometer agresión. Neurath convenció a Hitler de que

su discurso era muy provocativo para la opinión pública en el extranjero, pues éste contradecía sus mensajes de “discursos de paz”, por lo tanto, dejó a Hitler con la repentina necesidad de otro tema más del *Reichstag* en Núremberg, aparte del de la ley de la bandera del *Reich*. El 13 de septiembre de 1935, Hitler ordenó, apresuradamente, a dos funcionarios, el Dr. Bernhard Losener y Franz Albrecht Medicus del Ministerio Interior, volar a Núremberg para comenzar la redacción de las leyes antisemitas que Hitler presentaría ante el *Reichstag* el 15 de septiembre. Hitler tuvo que presentar dos leyes antes del *Reichstag* en las que se tuvo que prohibir el sexo y el matrimonio entre judíos y alemanes; el empleo de las mujeres alemanas bajo la edad de 45 años en los hogares judíos, y privar a los “no alemanes” de los beneficios de la ciudadanía alemana. Las leyes de septiembre de 1935 son comúnmente conocidas como las “Leyes de Núremberg”.

En octubre de 1935, los alimentos comenzaron a racionarse. Hitler, con el fin de evitar la escasez, de mala gana, ordenó recortes en el gasto militar. En la primavera de 1936, Hitler ordenó 60 millones de *Reichmarks* en divisas para ser usadas para comprar aceite de semilla para los agricultores alemanes, en respuesta a las solicitudes de Richard Walther Darré. Esta decisión ocasionó unas cuantas quejas por parte del Dr. Schacht y del Ministro del Campo de Guerra, Marshal Werner von Blomberg, aludiendo que sería imposible lograr un rearme mientras las divisas se desviaban para evitar la escasez de alimentos. Dado a los problemas económicos que afectaban su popularidad a principios de 1936, Hitler sintió la urgente necesidad de un triunfo en política exterior como una manera de distraer la atención pública de la economía.

En marzo de 1936, Hitler violó nuevamente el tratado de Versalles al reocupar la zona desmilitarizada en Renania. Gran Bretaña y Francia no hicieron nada para evitarlo. Él fue más osado. En julio de 1936, la Guerra Civil Española comenzó cuando el ejército, dirigido por el general Francisco Franco, se rebeló contra el gobierno del Frente Popular elegido. Después de recibir un llamado de ayuda del general Franco, en julio de 1936, Hitler envió tropas para apoyarlo. España sirvió como un terreno de prueba para las nuevas fuerzas alemanas y sus métodos. Al mismo tiempo, Hitler siguió con sus esfuerzos para crear una alianza Anglo-Alemana.

En agosto de 1936, como respuesta al crecimiento de la crisis de la economía alemana por causa de las presiones por el rearme, Hitler emitió el “Memorándum del Plan de Cuatro Años” en el que se indicaba a Hermann

Göring llevar a cabo el Plan de Cuatro Años para tener estable la economía alemana para la guerra dentro de los próximos años. Durante la crisis económica de 1936, el gobierno alemán fue dividido en dos facciones, por un lado (la llamada facción del “mercado libre”) centrándose en la figura del presidente Hjalmar Schacht del *Reichsbank* y el excomisionado de Precios, el Dr. Carl Friedrich Goerdeler, pidiendo la disminución de los gastos militares y alejarse de las políticas autárquicas, y por el otro, la facción de Göring solicitando lo opuesto.

Entre los que apoyaban la facción del “mercado libre”, estaban algunos ejecutivos de empresas líderes de Alemania, en particular Hermann Duecher del AEG (Asociación general de electricidad), Robert Bosch del Robert Bosch GmbH (literalmente significa “sociedad con responsabilidad limitada” en el derecho mercantil alemán), y Albert Voegeler del Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG (compañía de aceros). Hitler dudó, durante la primera mitad de 1936, antes de tomar partido con la facción más radical en su nota del “Plan de Cuatro Años” de agosto.

Los historiadores han debatido sobre la importancia del *Memorándum* que Hitler escribió, pues él tenía fobia a la escritura, y rara vez escribía, lo cual indica que tenía algo, particularmente, importante que decir. El “Memorándum del Plan de Cuatro Años” predicaba una lucha apocalíptica máxima, entre el “judeo-bolchevismo” y el Socialismo Nacional Alemán, el cual requería un esfuerzo total de rearme sin importar los costos económicos. En el *Memorándum*, Hitler redacta:

Desde el principio de este siglo, el cual lucía muy prometedor, el *Reich* ha sufrido probablemente la más sangrienta y peligrosa era de la civilización. Y de tanta sangre y muerte surgió el Comunismo, una fuerza nacida del Este que pretende convertir a todos en esclavos y extinguir la creatividad del alma humana. Nosotros, como los portadores de la llama de la civilización, debemos mantenernos fuertes en contra de la horda que espera en nuestra frontera oriental. Debemos sufrir de privación para prepararnos para el conflicto más grande que jamás hayamos peleado. Y si no nos preparamos, entonces nos consumiremos y el *Reich* desaparecerá en el olvido. No dejaré que eso suceda.

Hitler pidió a Alemania tener, en los próximos cuatro años, “el primer ejército” del mundo en términos de poder de combate y, por consiguiente, “el nivel de desarrollo de nuestros recursos militares *no puede ser demasiado grande, ni demasiado rápido*” y el papel de la economía fue el de apoyar a la

“reafirmación de Alemania y a la extensión de su *Lebensraum* (Espacio vital)”. Hitler luego escribió que, dada la magnitud de la próxima lucha, eran irrelevantes las preocupaciones expresadas por los miembros de la facción del “libre comercio” como Schacht y Goerdeler, respecto a que Alemania se estuviera yendo a la quiebra por el actual nivel de gasto militar. Hitler escribió que:

“Sin embargo, aun contando con un buen equilibrado patrón general de vida de una nación, como debe ser, en determinados momentos habrá ciertos trastornos del equilibrio a expensas de otras tareas menos vitales. Si no tenemos éxito en colocar al ejército Alemán lo más rápidamente posible como el primer ejército del mundo... entonces ¡Alemania perderá!” y “La nación no vivirá para la economía, para los líderes económicos o para las teorías económicas o financieras; todo lo contrario, las finanzas y economía, líderes económicos y teorías, todos deben servir incondicionalmente en esta batalla de reafirmación de nuestra nación.”

El 25 de octubre de 1936, el Conde Galeazzo Ciano, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores del dictador fascista, Benito Mussolini, declaró una alianza entre Alemania e Italia. El 25 de noviembre del mismo año, Alemania concluyó el Tratado AntiKomintern con Japón. Para fortalecer las relaciones con Japón, Hitler se reunió con el hermano del emperador Hirohito, el Príncipe Chichibu, en Núremberg en 1937. Sin embargo, la reunión con el Príncipe Chichibu tuvo consecuencias mínimas, puesto que Hitler rechazó la petición japonesa de detener los envíos de armas alemanas a China o retirar a los oficiales alemanes que servían con los chinos en la Segunda Guerra Mundial Chino-Japonesa. Tanto los militares como los *Auswartiges Amt* (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores) se opusieron firmemente en poner fin a la alianza alemana informal con China que había existido desde la década de 1910, y presionaron a Hitler para evitar ofender a los chinos. Tanto el *Auswartiges Amt* como los militares, argumentaron a Hitler que, teniendo en cuenta que los problemas de divisas afectaban al rearme alemán, y el hecho de que varios acuerdos económicos Chino-Alemanes proporcionaban a Alemania con materias primas; sin ese acuerdo, Alemania acabaría comprando con valiosas divisas las materias primas, por lo tanto era insensato establecer una alianza con Japón, puesto que esto traería como resultado inevitable el final de la alineación Chino-Alemana.

A finales de 1937, aumentó la actitud beligerante de Hitler hacia los poderes de Europa. En septiembre de 1937, en una charla con el diplomático

suizo Carl Jacob Burckhardt , Alto Comisionado por la Ciudad Libre de Dánzig en la Liga de Naciones, Hitler protestó por lo que él consideraba interferencia británica en la “esfera alemana” en Europa, y por puro egoísmo estaba bloqueando los planes alemanes.

El 5 de noviembre de 1937, en la Cancillería del *Reich*, Adolfo Hitler celebró una reunión secreta con La Guerra y Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores y los tres directores de Servicio, la cual fue grabada en el Memorándum Hossbach, y en el que se declararon sus intenciones para la adquisición de “espacio habitable” (*Lebensraum en alemán*) para las personas alemanas. Ordenó a los asistentes a hacer planes de guerra en el Este antes de 1943, con el fin de obtener el *Lebensraum*. Hitler declaró que los minutos de conferencia debían ser considerados como su “testamento político” en caso de su muerte. En el *Memorándum*, Hitler fue grabado diciendo que se había alcanzado tal estado de crisis en la economía alemana y que la única manera de detener la grave disminución de los niveles de vida en Alemania, era embarcándose en un futuro cercano en una política de agresión para apoderarse de Austria y Checoslovaquia. Por otra parte, Hitler declaró que en la carrera armamentista contra Francia y Gran Bretaña significaba que el momento de la acción debía ocurrir antes de que éstos obtuvieran el liderazgo permanente.

Las intenciones de Hitler descritas en el Memorándum Hossbach llevó a fuertes protestas, por parte del Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, el Baron Konstantin von Neurath, el Ministro de Campo de Guerra, Marshal Werner von Blomberg, y el comandante general del ejército, Werner von Fritsch, ya que argumentaban que cualquier agresión alemana en Europa Oriental estaba destinada a provocar una guerra con Francia, debido a que el sistema de alianza francesa con Europa Oriental (el llamado *cordon sanitaire*). Si una guerra franco-alemana estallaba, Gran Bretaña estaría más que lista para intervenir antes de arriesgarse a la posibilidad de una derrota francesa. La agresión, en contra de Austria y Checoslovaquia, iba a ser la primera de una serie de guerras localizadas en Europa Oriental, lo que aseguraría la posición de Alemania en Europa antes del enfrentamiento final con Gran Bretaña y Francia.

Fritsch, Blomberg y Neurath argumentaron que Hitler perseguía un riesgo extremadamente alto en su estrategia de guerras localizadas en Europa Oriental, lo cual seguramente causaría una guerra general antes de que Alemania estuviese lista para dicho conflicto, y le aconsejaron a Hitler que esperara hasta que Alemania tuviese más tiempo de rearmarse. Neurath,

Blomberg y Fritsch no tenían objeciones morales respecto a la agresión alemana, más bien se oponían a la cuestión de sincronización, determinando el mejor momento para llevar a cabo la agresión.

A finales de noviembre de 1937, Hitler recibió como invitado al Lord del Sello Privado británico, Lord Halifax; él estaba visitando Alemania aparentemente, como parte de un viaje de cacería. Al hablar de cambios en la frontera de Alemania, Halifax le dijo a Hitler que: “Con el paso del tiempo, todas las cuestiones caen en la categoría de alteraciones posibles en la orden europea. Entre estas cuestiones estaban Dánzig, Austria y Checoslovaquia. Inglaterra estaba interesado en ver que cualquier alteración podría suceder a través de una evolución pacífica y que los métodos que podían causar disturbios de largo alcance deberían de ser evitados.” Significativamente, Halifax dejó claro en sus declaraciones a Hitler – Aunque no está claro si Hitler comprendió la importancia de esto o no – que cualquier posible cambio territorial debería ser realizado pacíficamente, y que Gran Bretaña no tenía compromiso de seguridad en Europa Oriental más allá del Pacto de la Liga de Naciones, pero que no toleraría cambios territoriales por medio de la guerra. Hitler parece haber mal entendido las observaciones de Halifax, pues Gran Bretaña se haría a un lado mientras él proseguía con su estrategia de guerra limitadas en Europa Oriental.

Hitler no estaba feliz con las críticas de Neurath, Blomberg y Fritsch respecto a sus intenciones expresadas en el Memorándum Hossbach y, a principios de 1938, afirmó su control político militar y de Relaciones Exteriores a través del Caso Blomberg-Fritsch, y la rescisión del Ministerio de Guerra y la sustitución por el OKW (Alto Mando de la *Wehrmacht*), asumiendo el rango, papel y título de *Oberster Befehlshaber de Wehrmacht* (Comandante Supremo de las fuerzas armadas).

La marcha a la guerra

Primeros triunfos diplomáticos

En febrero de 1938, Hitler finalmente terminó con el dilema que atormentaba a la política alemana del lejano oriente: si continuar con la alianza informal chino-alemana que había existido desde 1910 con la República de China o crear una nueva alianza con Japón. Hitler escogió terminar la alianza con China para ganar una alineación con el más poderoso y moderno Japón. En un discurso ante el *Reichstag*, Hitler anunció el reconocimiento alemán de Manchukuo y renunció a la reclamación alemana sobre las ex colonias en el Pacífico de Japón. Hitler ordenó el cierre de envío de armas a China, y ordenó la retirada de todos los oficiales alemanes adjuntos al ejército chino. En represalia por acabar con el apoyo alemán a China en su guerra contra Japón, el Generalísimo Chino, Chaing Kai-shek, canceló todos los acuerdos económicos chino-alemán, privando a los alemanes de materia prima, como el tungsteno que los chinos les habían proporcionado previamente. El final de la alianza chino-alemana aumentó los problemas del rearmamento alemán, puesto que ahora los alemanes estaban forzados a usar su oferta limitada de divisas para comprar materia prima en el mercado abierto.

Austria y Checoslovaquia

En marzo de 1938, Hitler presionó a Austria para su unificación con Alemania y el 14 de marzo hizo su entrada triunfal en Viena. Después, intensificó una crisis sobre los distritos Sudetes de habla alemana en Checoslovaquia

El 3 de marzo de 1938, el embajador británico Sir Neville Henderson se reunió con Hitler y en nombre de su gobierno presentó una propuesta para un consorcio internacional con el fin de gobernar una gran parte de África (en donde a Alemania le sería asignado un papel de liderazgo) con la condición de que Alemania nunca recurriría a la guerra para modificar fronteras. Hitler, que estaba más interesado en el *Lebensraum* Europa Oriental que en participar en consorcios internacionales, rechazó la oferta británica, usando como pretexto su deseo de devolución de las ex colonias alemanas en África al *Reich* y su rechazo

a un consorcio internacional que domine África Central. Además, Hitler afirmó que era algo totalmente indignante que Gran Bretaña quiera imponer condiciones sobre la conducta alemana en Europa como precio para territorios en África. Hitler finalizó la conversación al decirle a Henderson que él preferiría esperar 20 años para la devolución de las antiguas colonias que aceptar las condiciones británicas para evitar la guerra.

El 28 y 29 de marzo de 1938, Hitler llevó a cabo en Berlín una serie de conferencias secretas con Konrad Henlein de los Sudetes Heimfront (Frente Interno), el más grande de los partidos étnicos alemanes de los Sudetes. Durante las reuniones Hitler-Henlein, se llegó a un acuerdo en el cual Henlein buscaría un pretexto para una agresión alemana en contra de Checoslovaquia reclamando a Praga una mayor autonomía para los alemanes de los Sudetes, algo que Praga nunca podría razonablemente aceptar. En abril de 1938, Henlein le comunicó al Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Hungría que “lo que sea que el gobierno checo ofreciese, él siempre elevaría aún más las demandas... quería sabotear un acuerdo por todos los medios ya que éste era el único método para deshacerse de Checoslovaquia rápidamente.” En privado, Hitler consideró que el problema de los Sudetes era algo insignificante, debido a que sus verdaderas intenciones era usar el problema de los Sudetes como una justificación tanto en casa como en el extranjero, es decir, crear una guerra con el fin de destruir a Checoslovaquia, con base en la autodeterminación y en la negación de Praga a aceptar las demandas de Henlein.

Los planes de Hitler implicaban un masivo incremento de la presencia militar en la frontera checoslovaca, ataques propagandísticos implacables sobre los supuestos malos tratos de los habitantes de los Sudetes, y finalmente, “incidentes” entre los activistas del *Heimfront* y las autoridades checoslovacas con el fin de justificar una invasión que destruiría rápidamente a Checoslovaquia en solo unos cuantos días de campaña antes de que otros poderes pudiesen actuar. Ya que Hitler deseaba que la cosecha de otoño llegara lo más rápido posible y completar el tan llamado “Muro del Oeste” para vigilar la Renania. El día de la invasión se programó para finales de septiembre o principios de octubre de 1938.

En abril de 1938, Hitler ordenó que el OKW comenzara a preparar los planes para el Fall Grün, el nombre en clave de una invasión en contra de Checoslovaquia. La tensión de Europa aumentó con la Crisis de Mayo que tuvo lugar del 19 al 22 de mayo de 1938. La Crisis de Mayo de 1938 fue una falsa

alarma ocasionada por rumores, según los cuales Checoslovaquia iba a ser invadida el fin de semana de las elecciones municipales en ese país, hubo falsos reportes de movimientos de importantes tropas alemanas a lo largo de la frontera de Checoslovaquia justo antes de las elecciones, el asesinato de dos alemanes por la policía checoslovaca, y las observaciones muy belicosas de Ribbentrop a Henderson cuando este último le preguntó si efectivamente se había agendado dicha invasión para el fin de semana, lo que llevó a una movilización parcial checoslovaca y a firme advertencias de Londres en contra del movimiento alemán contra Checoslovaquia antes de que se dieran cuenta que ninguna invasión estaba planeada para esos días. A pesar de que ninguna invasión fue planeada para mayo de 1938, se creía en Londres que tal movimiento estaba considerado en Berlín, llevando a dos advertencias el 21 y el 22 de mayo en las que el Reino Unido iría a la guerra con Alemania, si Francia se involucraba en una guerra con Alemania. Hitler, por su parte, en palabras de un asistente, era demasiado “furioso” con la percepción de que estaba siendo obligado a retractarse debido a la movilización checoslovaca y a las amenazas desde Londres y París, cuando, en realidad, no había nada planeado para ese fin de semana. Aunque ya habían sido redactados planes en abril de 1938 para una invasión a Checoslovaquia en un futuro cercano, la Crisis de Mayo y la percepción de una derrota diplomática reforzaban a Hitler en su curso elegido. En las secuelas inmediatas de la Crisis de Mayo, Hitler ordenó una aceleración de la construcción naval alemana, más allá de los límites del AGNA, y el “Memorándum Heye”, redactado de acuerdo a las órdenes de Hitler, consideraba a la Marina Real como el principal opositor de la *Kriegsmarine*.

En la conferencia del 28 de mayo de 1938, Hitler declaró que era su “inalterable” decisión “noquear a Checoslovaquia” para el primero de octubre del mismo año, lo cual- explicó-significaba asegurarse el flanco oriental “para avanzar en contra de Occidente, Inglaterra y Francia.” En la misma conferencia, Hitler dijo que Gran Bretaña no se arriesgaría a una guerra hasta que el rearmamento británico estuviese completo, Hitler presentía que sería entre 1941 y 1942, y Alemania en una serie de guerras debía eliminar a Francia y a sus aliados en Europa en el intervalo en los años de 1938 a 1942 mientras que el rearmamento alemán aún estaría a la cabeza. La determinación de Hitler de seguir con el *Fall Grün* en 1938 provocó una crisis mayor en la estructura del comando alemán. El Jefe del Estado Mayor, el General Ludwig Beck, protestó en una larga serie de Memorándum que el *Fall Grün* empezaría una guerra

mundial en donde Alemania perdería, y presionó a Hitler para aplazar la guerra. Hitler llamó a los argumentos de Beck en contra de la guerra “*kindische kraftberechnungen.*”

El 4 de agosto de 1938, se llevó a cabo una conferencia secreta del ejército en donde Beck leyó su reporte. Ambos estuvieron de acuerdo en que debían hacer algo para prevenir un cierto desastre. Beck quería que todos renunciaran, pero nadie más lo hizo excepto él. Sin embargo, su reemplazo, el General Franz Halder, simpatizó con Beck y juntos conspiraron con algunos generales principales, el almirante Wilhelm Canaris (Jefe de Inteligencia Alemana) y Graf von Helldorf (Jefe de la policía de Berlín), con el fin de arrestar a Hitler en el momento en el que diese la orden de invasión. Pero el plan solo funcionaría si tanto Francia como Gran Bretaña dijeran al mundo que pelearían para preservar Checoslovaquia. Esto ayudaría para convencer a los alemanes que una derrota segura le esperaba a Alemania. Sus agentes fueron interceptados por los oficiales de la Gestapo, puesto que los tres hombres estaban bajo observación por órdenes de Hitler. Tras el descubrimiento de su complot por derrocarlo, Hitler arrestó y ejecutó a los tres hombres.

A partir de agosto de 1938, llegó a Londres la información que Alemania ya había empezado a movilizar a los reservistas, junto con la información filtrada por los elementos antiguerra en el ejército alemán en donde la guerra había sido programada para septiembre. Finalmente, como resultado, y especialmente de la presión diplomática de los franceses y especialmente de los británicos, el presidente checoslovaco Edvard Benes develó que el 5 de septiembre de 1938, el “Cuarto Plan” por una reorganización constitucional de su país, que aceptaba la mayoría de las demandas para la autonomía de los Sudetes hechas por Henlein en su discurso en Karlsbad de abril de 1938, y amenazaba con privar a los alemanes de un pretexto por su agresión. Inmediatamente el *Heimfront* de Henlein respondió a la oferta del “Cuarto Plan” con una serie de enfrentamientos intensos con la policía checoslovaca, que culminaron con fuertes enfrentamientos a mediados de septiembre que llevaron a la declaración de la ley marcial en ciertos distritos de los Sudetes. En respuesta a la amenazante situación, a finales de agosto de 1938, el Primer Ministro británico Neville Chamberlain había concebido el Plan Z, es decir, volar a Alemania, encontrar a Hitler, y después trabajar en un acuerdo que pudiera terminar con la crisis. El 13 de septiembre de 1938, Chamberlain ofreció volar a Alemania para discutir una solución para la crisis. Chamberlain decidió

ejecutar el Plan Z en respuesta a una información errónea suministrada por la oposición alemana, según la cual la invasión estaba destinada a empezar en cualquier momento después del 18 de septiembre. A pesar de que Hitler no estaba contento con la oferta de Chamberlain, accedió a ver al primer ministro británico porque si rechazaba la oferta de Chamberlain confirmaría la mentira a sus reiteradas afirmaciones que él era un hombre de paz empujado con relucencia a la guerra por la imposibilidad de tratar con Benes. En la cumbre de Berchtesgaden, Chamberlain prometió presionar a Benes para que acepte las demandas expresadas, abiertamente, por Hitler de aceptar que los Sudetes se unieran a Alemania, a cambio de una promesa reluciente de Hitler de posponer cualquier acción militar hasta que Chamberlain le diera una oportunidad para cumplir su promesa. Hitler estuvo de acuerdo en el aplazamiento esperando que Chamberlain fracasaría en asegurar el consentimiento de Praga a la transferencia de los Sudetes, y, según se supo, se llevó una decepción cuando la presión franco-británica aseguró exactamente eso. La charla entre Chamberlain y Hitler, en septiembre de 1938, fue difícil por sus diferentes conceptos de cómo Europa debía verse. Para Hitler, como pretexto para la guerra era utilizar los problemas de los Sudetes, mientras que para Chamberlain, una solución pacífica.

Cuando Chamberlain regresó a Alemania el 22 de septiembre para presentar su plan de paz por la transferencia de los Sudetes en una cumbre con Hitler en Bad Godesberg, la delegación británica estaba disgustada al ver que Hitler rechazó sus propios términos que había presentado en Berchtesgaden, y que ahora no eran aceptables. Para poner fin de una vez por todas a los esfuerzos de paz de Chamberlain, Hitler ordenó que los Sudetes fueran cedidos a Alemania, a más tardar el 28 de septiembre de 1938, sin ningún tipo de negociación entre Berlín y Praga, y sin comisiones internacionales para supervisar la transferencia, por lo tanto, no había plebiscitos en los distritos hasta después de haberse llevado a cabo dicha transferencia. Alemania, por otra parte, no renunciaría a la guerra como opción hasta que todas las reclamaciones en contra de Checoslovaquia, por parte de Polonia y Hungría, estuviesen satisfechas. Los diferentes puntos de vista, entre los dos líderes, se simbolizaron de la mejor manera cuando a Chamberlain se le presentaron las nuevas demandas de Hitler. Él protestó, ya que había presentado como un ultimátum, y Hitler respondió que su documento en donde tenía sus nuevas demandas llevaba como título “Memorándum”, y de ninguna manera podía ser un

ultimátum. El 25 de septiembre de 1938 Gran Bretaña rechazó el ultimátum de Bad Godesberg, y empezó los preparativos para la guerra. Para subrayar este punto, el asesor industrial del gobierno británico, Sir Horace Wilson, estrecho colaborador de Chamberlain, fue enviado a Berlín para informar a Hitler que si los alemanes atacaban Checoslovaquia, entonces Francia honoraría su compromiso como lo requería la alianza Franco-Checoslovaca de 1924, y “después, Inglaterra se sentiría obligada por honor a ofrecer asistencia a Francia.”

Inicialmente, Hitler decidido a continuar con el ataque planeado para el primero de octubre de 1938, cambió de opinión entre el 27 y 28 de septiembre, y propuso aceptar la sugerencia y la intermediación de Mussolini para una conferencia que se celebraría en Múnich con Chamberlain, Mussolini y Daladier para discutir la situación Checoslovaca. La causa por la que Hitler cambió de actitud no está del todo clara, pero es probable que la combinación de amenazas Franco-Británicas, y especialmente, la movilización de la flota británica, finalmente lo convencieron de lo que sería el resultado más probable del *Fall Grün*. Lo que hizo lucir a Hitler como el agresor fueron los horarios para el traslado del supuesto *Casus Belli*. La opinión de sus asesores de que Alemania no estaba preparada ni militar ni económicamente para una guerra mundial; las advertencias de los estados que Hitler veía como posibles aliados, como Italia, Japón, la Unión Soviética, y Hungría, que éstos no lucharían en nombre de Alemania, y señales muy visibles que la mayoría de los alemanes no estaban entusiasmados sobre la posibilidad de una guerra. Además, Alemania carecía de suministros de petróleo así como de materias primas indispensables (las plantas que producían petróleo sintético para el esfuerzo bélico de Alemania aún no estaban funcionando), y era altamente dependiente de las importaciones extranjeras. La Kriegsmarine comunicó que, en caso de guerra con Gran Bretaña, no podría romper el bloqueo británico, y ya que Alemania casi no tenía reservas de petróleo, sería derrotada sencillamente por la escasez del mismo. La Secretaría de Economía le dijo a Hitler que Alemania solo tenía 2.6 millones de toneladas de petróleo a su disposición, y la guerra con Gran Bretaña y Francia requeriría 7.6 millones de toneladas. A partir del 18 de septiembre de 1938, los británicos negaron enviarle suministros de metales a Alemania, y el 24 de septiembre el Almirantazgo prohibió a los barcos británicos navegar hacia Alemania. Los británicos detuvieron el buque *Invershannon* que contenía 8,600 toneladas de petróleo para Hamburgo, y esto inmediatamente causó un

problema económico en Alemania. Debido a la dependencia de Alemania del petróleo importado (en los años '30, 80% del petróleo alemán venía del Nuevo Mundo), y a la posibilidad de que la guerra con Gran Bretaña implicaría un bloqueo que cortarían a Alemania el abastecimiento de petróleo, los historiadores han argumentado que la decisión de Hitler de cancelar el *Fall Grön* fue debida a las preocupaciones sobre el problema del petróleo.

El 30 de septiembre de 1938, una conferencia de un día fue llevada a cabo en Múnich con la presencia de Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier y Mussolini que llevó al Acuerdo de Múnich, que cedió a las demandas ostensibles de Hitler de entregar a los distritos de los Sudetes a Alemania. Ya que Londres y París ya habían aceptado la idea de una transferencia del territorio disputado a mediados de septiembre, la Conferencia de Múnich incluyó principalmente discusiones de un día sobre preguntas técnicas acerca de cómo la transferencia de Sudetes se llevaría a cabo, e incluyó concesiones relativamente menores por parte de Hitler de que la transferencia se llevaría a cabo en un periodo de diez días en octubre, supervisada por una comisión internacional, y Alemania esperaría hasta que los reclamos de Hungría y Polonia fueran arreglados. Al final de la conferencia, Chamberlain hizo que Hitler firmara una declaración de amistad Anglo-Alemana, a la cual Chamberlain dio gran importancia y Hitler no en absoluto. Aunque Chamberlain estaba muy satisfecho con la conferencia de Múnich, llevando a su infame afirmación de que había asegurado la “la paz para nuestro tiempo”, Hitler estaba, privadamente, furioso por haber sido “engañado” sobre la guerra que estaba desesperado por tener en 1938. Como resultado de la cumbre, Hitler fue el Hombre del Año de 1938 en la revista estadounidense “Time”.

Para apaciguar a Hitler, Gran Bretaña y Francia dejaron Checoslovaquia a la merced de Hitler. Aunque Hitler profesó felicidad en público sobre el logro de sus demandas ostensibles, en privado estaba determinado en tener una guerra la próxima vez, asegurándose que las futuras demandas de Alemania no se aceptarían. Desde el punto de vista de Hitler, una paz gestionada por Gran Bretaña, aunque extremadamente favorable a las ostensibles demandas alemanas, era una derrota diplomática que probaba que Gran Bretaña debía terminar como potencia para permitirles perseguir sus sueños de expansión oriental. Después de Múnich, Hitler sintió que Gran Bretaña no se apartaba para facilitar las ambiciones continentales alemanas, por tanto, se había convertido en una amenaza mayor. Hitler expresó su decepción sobre el Tratado

de Múnich en su discurso del 9 de octubre de 1938 en Saarbrücken, cuando se lanzó contra los antiapaciguadores conservadores Winston Churchill, Alfred Duff Cooper y Anthony Eden, a quienes Hitler describía como una facción belicista antialemana, que atacaría a Alemania a la primera oportunidad y que podía llegar al poder en cualquier momento.

En el mismo discurso, Hitler declaró: “Nosotros los alemanes no vamos a tolerar tal interferencia. Gran Bretaña debería cuidar sus propios asuntos y preocuparse por sus propios problemas.” En noviembre de 1938, Hitler ordenó lanzar una gran campaña antibritánica criticando con vehemencia a los británicos de ser “hipócritas” por mantener un imperio mundial, mientras buscaban bloquear a los alemanes en sus intentos para adquirir su propio imperio.

En noviembre de 1938, en un discurso secreto a un grupo de periodistas alemanes, Hitler notó que estaba siendo obligado a hablar de la paz como una meta, con el fin de alcanzar el nivel de rearmamento “que era un requisito esencial...para dar el siguiente paso.” En el mismo discurso, Hitler se quejó de que su propaganda de paz de los últimos cinco años había sido muy exitosa, y era hora de que el pueblo alemán sea sometido a la propaganda de guerra. Hitler declaró: “es evidente que dicha propaganda de paz llevada a cabo durante una década tenía su lado riesgoso, porque fácilmente induciría a las personas a llegar a la conclusión de que el gobierno actual se identifica con la decisión y la intención de mantener la paz bajo toda circunstancia,” y en cambio llamó a un nuevo periodismo que “tenía que presentar ciertos acontecimientos de la política exterior de tal manera que la voz interna de la misma gente lentamente empezaría a clamar por el uso de la fuerza.”

En enero de 1939, Hitler ordenó a Bouhler y al Dr. Brandt implementar el programa de Acción T4: “De ahora en adelante todo recién nacido con discapacidad, todo niño con discapacidad física o mental, y todos los adultos discapacitados serán liquidados.”

A finales de 1938 y comienzos de 1939, la crisis económica causada por problemas de rearmamento, especialmente la escasez de divisas extranjeras fuertes que se necesitaban para pagar las materias primas que Alemania no tenía, junto con los reportes del Göring de que el Plan de Cuatrienal estaba irremediablemente atrasado, forzó a Hitler en enero de 1939 a ordenar con relucencia mayores recortes: la Wehrmacht vio sus asignaciones de acero reducidas en un 30%, de aluminio en un 47%, de cemento en un 25%, de caucho

en un 14% y de cobre en un 20%. El 30 de enero de 1939, Hitler hizo su discurso: “Exporta o muere”, en donde clamase por una ofensiva económica alemana, para incrementar las participaciones en divisas extranjeras de Alemania para pagar las materias primas como el hierro de alta calidad que se necesitaba para materiales militares. El discurso “Exporta o muere” del 30 de enero de 1939 es conocido también como “El discurso de la profecía” de Hitler:

“Una cosa que me gustaría decir en este día para que sea memorable para muchos y también para nosotros los alemanes: en el curso de mi vida he sido muy a menudo un profeta, y he sido generalmente ridiculizado por ello. Durante el tiempo de mi lucha por el poder mis profecías fueron ridiculizadas. Aun así aquí estoy, mandatario de Alemania, su salvador como juré que sería. Hoy seré profeta una vez más ¡Si alguien debería interponerse con el ascenso de Alemania y desafiar el lugar que le corresponde en esta tierra, entonces juro que los golpearé y los haré impotentes para las generaciones venideras! ¡Las injusticias de la Gran Guerra serán desechas!”

Hitler ordenó al ejército de Alemania entrar a Praga el 15 de marzo de 1939, y desde el castillo de Praga proclamó a Bohemia y Moravia protectorados alemanes. En parte, la razón por la cual Hitler violó el Acuerdo de Múnich al tomar la mitad de Checoslovaquia en marzo de 1939, fue para obtener recursos checoslovacos y ayudar con la crisis económica.

SOURCE TEXT



**Das Großgermanisches Reich
der Deutschen Nation**

Hitler, Triumphant

Published by Matthew Moses at Smashwords

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Reactions to Hitler's Policies

Britain, France, Italy and the League of Nations quickly condemned German re-armament. However, after re-assurances from Hitler that Germany was only interested in peace, no country took any action to stop this development and German re-armament continued. Later in March 1935, Hitler held a series of meetings in Berlin with the British Foreign Secretary Sir John Simon and Eden, during which he successfully evaded British offers for German participation in a regional security pact meant to serve as an Eastern European equivalent of the Locarno pact while the two British ministers avoided taking up Hitler's offers of alliance. During his talks with Simon and Eden, Hitler first used what he regarded as the brilliant colonial negotiating tactic, when Hitler parlayed an offer from Simon to return to the League of Nations by demanding the return of the former German colonies in Africa.

Domestic issues proved more problematic. Starting in April 1935, disenchantment with how the Third Reich had developed in practice as opposed to what been promised led many in the NSDAP, especially the *Alte Kämpfer* (Old Fighters; i.e., those who joined the Party before 1930, and who tended to be the most ardent anti-Semites in the Party), and the SA into lashing out against Germany's Jewish minority as a way of expressing their frustrations against a group that the authorities would not generally protect. The rank and file of the Party were most unhappy that two years into the Third Reich, and despite countless promises by Hitler prior to 1933, no law had been passed banning marriage or sex between Germans and Jews. A Gestapo report from the spring of 1935 stated that the rank and file of the NSDAP would "set in motion by us from below," a solution to the "Jewish problem," "that the government would then have to follow." As a result, NSDAP activists and the SA started a major wave of assaults, vandalism and boycotts against German Jews.

On 18 June 1935, the Anglo-German Naval Agreement (AGNA) was signed in London which allowed for increasing the allowed German tonnage up to 35% of that of the British navy. Hitler called the signing of the AGNA "the happiest day of his life" as he believed the agreement marked the beginning of a split between in the Anglo-Franco alliance and an impressive blow to the legitimacy of the League of Nations he had predicted in *Kampf*. This agreement had been made without consulting either France or Italy, directly undermining the League of Nations and put the Treaty of Versailles on the path towards irrelevance.

In the summer of 1935, Hitler was informed that, between inflation and the need to use foreign exchange to buy raw materials Germany lacked for rearmament, there were only 5 million *Reichmarks* available for military expenditure, and a pressing need for some 300,000 *Reichmarks*/day to prevent food shortages. In August 1935, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht advised Hitler that the wave of anti-Semitic violence was interfering with the workings of the economy, and hence rearmament. Following Dr. Schacht's complaints, plus reports that the German public did not approve of the wave of anti-Semitic violence, and that continuing police toleration of the violence was hurting the regime's popularity with the wider public, Hitler ordered a stop to "individual actions" against German Jews on 8 August 1935. From Hitler's perspective, it was imperative to bring in harsh new anti-Semitic laws as a consolation prize for those Party members who were disappointed with Hitler's halt order of 8 August, especially because Hitler had only reluctantly given the halt order for pragmatic reasons, and his sympathies were with the Party radicals. The annual NSDAP Rally held at Nuremberg in September 1935 was to feature the first session of the *Reichstag* held at that city since 1543. Hitler had planned to have the *Reichstag* pass a law making the NSDAP Swastika flag the flag of the German *Reich*, and a major speech in support of the impending Italian aggression against Ethiopia. Hitler felt that the Italian aggression opened great opportunities for Germany.

At the last minute before the Nuremberg Party Rally was due to begin, the German Foreign Minister Baron Konstantin von Neurath persuaded Hitler to cancel his speech praising Italy for her willingness to commit aggression. Neurath convinced Hitler that his speech was too provocative to public opinion abroad as it contradicted the message of Hitler's "peace speeches," thus leaving Hitler with the sudden need to have something else to address the *Reichstag* in Nuremberg, other than the *Reich* Flag Law. On 13 September 1935, Hitler hurriedly ordered two civil servants, Dr. Bernhard Lösener and Franz Albrecht Medicus of the Interior Ministry to fly to Nuremberg to start drafting anti-Semitic laws for Hitler to present to the *Reichstag* for 15 September. On the evening of 15 September, Hitler presented two laws before the *Reichstag* banning sex and marriage between Germans and Jews, the employment of German women under the age of 45 in Jewish households, and deprived "non-Germans" of the benefits of German citizenship. The laws of September 1935 are generally known as the Nuremberg Laws.

In October 1935, in order to prevent further food shortages and the introduction of rationing, Hitler reluctantly ordered cuts in military spending. In the spring of 1936 in response to requests from Richard Walther Darré, Hitler ordered 60 million *Reichmarks* of foreign exchange to be used to buy seed oil for German farmers, a decision that led to bitter complaints from Dr. Schacht and the War Minister Field Marshal Werner von

Blomberg that it would be impossible to achieve rearmament as long as foreign exchange was diverted to preventing food shortages. Given the economic problems which were affecting his popularity by early 1936, Hitler felt the pressing need for a foreign policy triumph as a way of distracting public attention from the economy.

In March 1936, Hitler again violated the Versailles treaty by reoccupying the demilitarized zone in the Rhineland. When Britain and France did nothing, he grew bolder. In July 1936, the Spanish Civil War began when the military, led by General Francisco Franco, rebelled against the elected Popular Front government. After receiving an appeal for help from General Franco in July 1936, Hitler sent troops to support Franco, and Spain served as a testing ground for Germany's new forces and their methods. At the same time, Hitler continued with his efforts to create an Anglo-German alliance.

In August 1936, in response to a growing crisis in the German economy caused by the strains of rearmament, Hitler issued the "Four-Year Plan Memorandum" ordering Hermann Göring to carry out the Four Year Plan to have the German economy ready for war within the next four years. During the 1936 economic crisis, the German government was divided into two factions, with one (the so-called "free market" faction) centering around the *Reichsbank* President Hjalmar Schacht and the former Price Commissioner Dr. Carl Friedrich Goerdeler calling for decreased military spending and a turn away from autarkic policies, and another faction around Göring calling for the opposite. Supporting the "free-market" faction were some of Germany's leading business executives, most notably Hermann Duecher of AEG, Robert Bosch of Robert Bosch GmbH, and Albert Voegeler of Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG. Hitler hesitated for the first half of 1936 before siding with the more radical faction in his "Four Year Plan" memo of August.

Historians have argued that the importance of the memo, which was written personally by Hitler, can be gauged by the fact that Hitler, who had something of a phobia about writing, hardly ever wrote anything down, which indicates that Hitler had something especially important to say. The "Four-Year Plan Memorandum" predicated an imminent all-out, apocalyptic struggle between "Judeo-Bolshevism" and German National Socialism, which necessitated a total effort at rearmament regardless of the economic costs. In the memo, Hitler wrote:

Since the beginning of this century, which offered such promise, the Reich has

suffered through perhaps the bloodiest and most dangerous age of civilization. And from so much blood and death arose Communism, a force born of the east which seeks to turn all into slaves and extinguish the creative soul of man. We, as the bearers of the flame of civilization, must stand strong against the horde that waits upon our eastern border. We must suffer hardship in preparation for the greatest conflict we will ever fight. For if we do not prepare, then we will be consumed and the Reich pass away into oblivion. This I will not let happen.

Hitler called for Germany to have the world's "first army" in terms of fighting power within the next four years and that "the extent of the military development of our resources *cannot be too large, nor its pace too swift*" and the role of the economy was simply to support "Germany's self-assertion and the extension of her *Lebensraum*." Hitler went on to write that given the magnitude of the coming struggle, that the concerns expressed by members of the "free market" faction like Schacht and Goerdeler that the current level of military spending was bankrupting Germany were irrelevant. Hitler wrote that: "However well balanced the general pattern of a nation's life ought to be, there must at particular times be certain disturbances of the balance at the expense of other less vital tasks. If we do not succeed in bringing the German army as rapidly as possible to the rank of premier army in the world . . . then Germany will be lost!" and "The nation does not live for the economy, for economic leaders, or for economic or financial theories; on the contrary, it is finance and the economy, economic leaders and theories, which all owe unqualified service in this struggle for the self-assertion of our nation."

An Axis was declared between Germany and Italy by Count Galeazzo Ciano, foreign minister of Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini on 25 October 1936. On 25 November of the same year, Germany concluded the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan. To strengthen relationships with Japan, Hitler met in 1937 in Nuremberg Prince Chichibu, a brother of emperor Hirohito. However, the meeting with Prince Chichibu had little consequence, as Hitler refused the Japanese request to halt German arms shipments to China or withdraw the German officers serving with the Chinese in the Second Sino-Japanese War. Both the military and the *Auswärtiges Amt* (Foreign Office) were strongly opposed to ending the informal German alliance with China that existed since the 1910s, and pressured Hitler to avoid offending the Chinese. The *Auswärtiges Amt* and the military both argued to Hitler that given the foreign exchange problems which afflicted German rearmament, and the fact that various Sino-German economic agreements provided Germany with raw materials that would otherwise use up precious foreign exchange, it was folly to seek an alliance with Japan that would have the inevitable result of ending the Sino-German alignment.

By late 1937, Hitler's belligerent attitude toward the powers of Europe increased. In a talk with the League of Nations High Commissioner for the Free City of Danzig, the Swiss diplomat Carl Jacob Burckhardt in September 1937, Hitler protested what he regarded as British interference in the "German sphere" in Europe, which for pure selfishness was blocking German plans.

On 5 November 1937, at the Reich Chancellery, Adolf Hitler held a secret meeting with the War and Foreign Ministers and the three service chiefs, recorded in the Hossbach Memorandum, and stated his intentions for acquiring "living space" *Lebensraum* for the German people. He ordered the attendees to make plans for war in the east no later than 1943 in order to acquire *Lebensraum*. Hitler stated the conference minutes were to be regarded as his "political testament" in the event of his death. In the memo, Hitler was recorded as saying that such a state of crisis had been reached in the German economy that the only way of stopping a severe decline in living standards in Germany was to embark sometime in the near-future on a policy of aggression by seizing Austria and Czechoslovakia. Moreover, Hitler stated that the arms race meant that time for action had to occur before Britain and France obtained a permanent lead in the arms race.

Hitler's intentions outlined in the Hossbach memorandum led to strong protests from the Foreign Minister, Baron Konstantin von Neurath, the War Minister Field Marshal Werner von Blomberg, and the Army Commander General Werner von Fritsch, that any German aggression in Eastern Europe was bound to trigger a war with France because of the French alliance system in Eastern Europe (the so-called cordon sanitaire), and if a Franco-German war broke out, then Britain was almost certain to intervene rather than risk the chance of a French defeat. The aggression against Austria and Czechoslovakia were intended to be the first of a series of localized wars in Eastern Europe that would secure Germany's position in Europe before the final showdown with Britain and France. Fritsch, Blomberg and Neurath all argued that Hitler was pursuing an extremely high-risk strategy of localized wars in Eastern Europe that was most likely to cause a general war before Germany was ready for such a conflict, and advised Hitler to wait until Germany had more time to rearm. Neurath, Blomberg and Fritsch had no moral objections to German aggression, but rather based their opposition on the question of timing – determining the best time for aggression.

Late in November 1937, Hitler received as his guest the British Lord Privy Seal, Lord Halifax who was visiting Germany ostensibly as part of a hunting trip. Speaking of changes to Germany's frontiers, Halifax told Hitler that: "All other questions fall into the category of possible alterations in the European order which might be destined to come about with the passage of time. Amongst these questions were Danzig, Austria and Czechoslovakia. England was interested to see that any alterations should come through

the course of peaceful evolution and that the methods should be avoided which might cause far-reaching disturbances." Significantly, Halifax made clear in his statements to Hitler—though whether Hitler appreciated the significance of this or not is unclear—that any possible territorial changes had to be accomplished peacefully, and that though Britain had no security commitments in Eastern Europe beyond the Covenant of the League of Nations, would not tolerate territorial changes via war. Hitler seems to have misunderstood Halifax's remarks as confirming his conviction that Britain would just stand aside while he pursued his strategy of limited wars in Eastern Europe.

Hitler was most unhappy with the criticism of his intentions expressed by Neurath, Blomberg, and Fritsch in the Hossbach Memo, and in early 1938 asserted his control of the military-foreign policy apparatus through the Blomberg-Fritsch Affair, and the abolition of the War Ministry and its replacement by the OKW, assuming the rank, role and title of the *Oberster Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht* (supreme commander of the armed forces).

The March to War

Early diplomatic triumphs

In February 1938, Hitler finally ended the dilemma that had plagued German Far Eastern policy: whether to continue the informal Sino-German alliance that had existed with the Republic of China since the 1910s or to create a new alliance with Japan. Hitler chose to end the alliance with China to gain an alignment with the more modern and powerful Japan. In an address to the *Reichstag*, Hitler announced German recognition of Manchukuo and renounced the German claims to the former colonies in the Pacific held by Japan. Hitler ordered an end to arms shipments to China, and ordered the recall of all the German officers attached to the Chinese Army. In retaliation for ending German support to China in its war against Japan, Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek canceled all Sino-German economic agreements, depriving the Germans of raw materials such as tungsten that the Chinese had previously provided. The ending of the Sino-German alignment increased the problems of German rearmament, as the Germans were now forced to use their limited supply of foreign exchange to buy raw materials on the open market.

Austria and Czechoslovakia

In March 1938, Hitler pressured Austria into unification with Germany and made a triumphant entry into Vienna on 14 March. Next, he intensified a crisis over the German-speaking Sudetenland districts of Czechoslovakia.

On 3 March 1938, the British Ambassador Sir Neville Henderson met with Hitler and presented on behalf of his government a proposal for an international consortium to rule much of Africa (in which Germany would be assigned a leading role) in exchange for a German promise never to resort to war to change the frontiers. Hitler, who was more interested in *Lebensraum* in Eastern Europe than in participating in international consortiums, rejected the British offer, using as his excuse that he wanted the former German African colonies returned to the *Reich*, not an international consortium running Central Africa. Moreover, Hitler argued that it was totally outrageous on Britain's part to impose conditions on German conduct in Europe as the price for territory in Africa. Hitler ended the conversation by telling Henderson he would rather wait 20 years for the return of the former colonies than accept British conditions for avoiding war.

On 28–29 March 1938, Hitler held a series of secret meetings in Berlin with Konrad Henlein of the Sudeten *Heimfront* (Home Front), the largest of the ethnic German parties of the Sudetenland. During the Hitler-Henlein meetings, it was agreed that Henlein would provide the pretext for German aggression against Czechoslovakia by making demands on Prague for increased autonomy for Sudeten Germans that Prague could never be reasonably expected to fulfill. In April 1938, Henlein told the foreign minister of Hungary that "whatever the Czech government might offer, he would always raise still higher demands ... he wanted to sabotage an understanding by all means because this was the only method to blow up Czechoslovakia quickly." In private, Hitler considered the Sudeten issue unimportant; his real intentions being to use the Sudeten question as the justification both at home and abroad for a war of aggression to destroy Czechoslovakia, under the grounds of self-determination, and Prague's refusal to meet Henlein's demands. Hitler's plans called for a massive military build-up along the Czechoslovak border, relentless propaganda attacks about the supposed ill treatment of the Sudetenlanders, and finally, "incidents" between *Heimfront* activists and the Czechoslovak authorities to justify an invasion that would swiftly destroy Czechoslovakia in a few days campaign before other powers could act. Since Hitler wished to have the fall harvest brought in as much as possible, and to complete the so-called "West Wall" to guard the Rhineland, the date for the invasion was chosen for late September or early October 1938.

In April 1938, Hitler ordered the OKW to start preparing plans for Fall Grün, the codename for an invasion of Czechoslovakia. Further increasing the tension in Europe was the May Crisis of 19–22 May 1938. The May Crisis of 1938 was a false alarm caused by rumors that Czechoslovakia would be invaded the weekend of the municipal elections in that country, erroneous reports of major German troop movements along the Czechoslovak border just prior to the elections, the killing of two ethnic Germans by the Czechoslovak police, and Ribbentrop's highly bellicose remarks to Henderson when the

latter asked the former if an invasion was indeed scheduled for the weekend, which led to a partial Czechoslovak mobilization and firm warnings from London against a German move against Czechoslovakia before it was realized that no invasion was intended for that weekend. Though no invasion had been planned for May 1938, it was believed in London that such a course of action was indeed being considered in Berlin, leading to two warnings on 21 May and 22 May that the United Kingdom would go to war with Germany if France became involved in a war with Germany. Hitler, for his part, was, to use the words of an aide, highly "furious" with the perception that he had been forced to back down by the Czechoslovak mobilization and the warnings from London and Paris, when he had, in fact, been planning nothing for that weekend. Though plans had already been drafted in April 1938 for an invasion of Czechoslovakia in the near future, the May Crisis and the perception of a diplomatic defeat further reinforced Hitler in his chosen course. In the immediate aftermath of the May crisis, Hitler ordered an acceleration of German naval building beyond the limits of the AGNA, and in the "Heye memorandum," drawn at Hitler's orders, envisaged the Royal Navy as the principal opponent of the *Kriegsmarine*.

At the conference of 28 May 1938, Hitler declared that it was his "unalterable" decision to "smash Czechoslovakia" by 1 October of the same year, which was explained as securing the eastern flank "for advancing against the West, England and France." At the same conference, Hitler expressed his belief that Britain would not risk a war until British rearmament was complete, which Hitler felt would be around 1941–42, and Germany should in a series of wars eliminate France and her allies in Europe in the interval in the years 1938–41 while German rearmament was still ahead. Hitler's determination to go through with *Fall Grün* in 1938 provoked a major crisis in the German command structure. The Chief of the General Staff, General Ludwig Beck, protested in a lengthy series of memos that *Fall Grün* would start a world war that Germany would lose, and urged Hitler to put off the projected war. Hitler called Beck's arguments against war "*kindische Kräfteberechnungen*."

On 4 August 1938, a secret Army meeting was held at which Beck read his report. They agreed something had to be done to prevent certain disaster. Beck hoped they would all resign together but no one resigned except Beck. However his replacement, General Franz Halder, sympathized with Beck and together they conspired with several top generals, Admiral Wilhelm Canaris (Chief of German Intelligence) and Graf von Helldorf (Berlin's Police Chief), to arrest Hitler the moment he gave the invasion order. However, the plan would only work if both Britain and France made it known to the world that they would fight to preserve Czechoslovakia. This would help to convince the German people

that certain defeat awaited Germany. Their agents were intercepted by Gestapo officers as the three men had been under observation per Hitler's orders. With the discovery of their plot to overthrow him, Hitler had the three arrested and executed.

Starting in August 1938, information reached London that Germany was beginning to mobilize reservists, together with information leaked by anti-war elements in the German military that the war was scheduled for sometime in September. Finally, as a result of intense French, and especially British diplomatic pressure, Czechoslovakian President Edvard Beneš unveiled on 5 September 1938, the "Fourth Plan" for constitutional reorganization of his country, which granted most of the demands for Sudeten autonomy made by Henlein in his Karlsbad speech of April 1938, and threatened to deprive the Germans of their pretext for aggression. Henlein's *Heimfront* promptly responded to the offer of "Fourth Plan" by having a series of violent clashes with the Czechoslovak police, culminating in major clashes in mid-September that led to the declaration of martial law in certain Sudeten districts. In a response to the threatening situation, in late August 1938, the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain had conceived of Plan Z, namely to fly to Germany, meet Hitler, and then work out an agreement that could end the crisis. On 13 September 1938, Chamberlain offered to fly to Germany to discuss a solution to the crisis. Chamberlain had decided to execute Plan Z in response to erroneous information supplied by the German opposition that the invasion was due to start any time after 18 September. Though Hitler was not happy with Chamberlain's offer, he agreed to see the British Prime Minister because to refuse Chamberlain's offer would confirm the lie to his repeated claims that he was a man of peace driven reluctantly to war because of Beneš's intractability. In a summit at Berchtesgaden, Chamberlain promised to pressure Beneš into agreeing to Hitler's publicly stated demands about allowing the Sudetenland to join Germany, in return for a reluctant promise by Hitler to postpone any military action until Chamberlain had given him a chance to fulfill his promise. Hitler had agreed to the postponement out of the expectation that Chamberlain would fail to secure Prague's consent to transferring the Sudetenland, and was, by all accounts, most disappointed when Franco-British pressure secured just that. The talks between Chamberlain and Hitler in September 1938 were made difficult by their innately differing concepts of what Europe should look like, with Hitler aiming to use the Sudeten issue as a pretext for war and Chamberlain genuinely striving for a peaceful solution.

When Chamberlain returned to Germany on 22 September to present his peace plan for the transfer of the Sudetenland at a summit with Hitler at Bad Godesberg, the British delegation was most unpleasantly surprised to have Hitler reject his own terms he had presented at *Berchtesgaden* as now unacceptable. To put an end to Chamberlain's peace-making efforts once and for all, Hitler demanded the Sudetenland be ceded to Germany no later than 28 September 1938 with no negotiations between Prague and Berlin and no international commission to oversee the transfer; no plebiscites to be held in the transferred districts until after the transfer; and for good measure, that Germany would not forsake war as an option until all the claims against Czechoslovakia by Poland and Hungary had been satisfied. The differing views between the two leaders were best symbolized when Chamberlain was presented with Hitler's new demands and protested at being presented with an ultimatum, leading Hitler in turn to retort that because his document stating his new demands was entitled "Memorandum," it could not possibly be an ultimatum. On 25 September 1938 Britain rejected the Bad Godesberg ultimatum, and began preparations for war. To further underline the point, Sir Horace Wilson, the British government's Chief Industrial Advisor, and a close associate of Chamberlain, was dispatched to Berlin to inform Hitler that if the Germans attacked Czechoslovakia, then France would honor her commitments as demanded by the Franco-Czechoslovak alliance of 1924, and "then England would feel honor bound, to offer France assistance."

Initially determined to continue with the attack planned for 1 October 1938, Hitler changed his mind sometime between 27 and 28 September, and asked to take up a suggestion, of and through the intercession of Mussolini, for a conference to be held in Munich with Chamberlain, Mussolini, and Daladier to discuss the Czechoslovak situation. Just what had caused Hitler to change his attitude is not entirely clear, but it is likely that the combination of Franco-British warnings, and especially the mobilization of the British fleet, had finally convinced him of what the most likely result of *Fall Grün* would be; the minor nature of the alleged *casus belli* being the timetables for the transfer made Hitler appear too much like the aggressor; the view from his advisors that Germany was not prepared either militarily or economically for a world war; warnings from the states that Hitler saw as his would-be allies in the form of Italy, Japan, the Soviet Union, and Hungary that they would not fight on behalf of Germany; and very visible signs that the majority of Germans were not enthusiastic about the prospect of war. Moreover, Germany lacked sufficient supplies of oil and other crucial raw materials (the plants that would produce the synthetic oil for the German war effort were not in operation yet), and was highly dependent upon imports from abroad. The *Kriegsmarine* reported that should war come with Britain, it could not break a British blockade, and since Germany had hardly any oil stocks, Germany would be defeated for no other reason than a shortage of oil. The Economics Ministry told Hitler that Germany had only 2.6 million tons of oil at

hand, and that war with Britain and France would require 7.6 million tons of oil. Starting on 18 September 1938, the British refused to supply metals to Germany, and on 24 September the Admiralty forbade British ships to sail to Germany. The British detained the tanker *Invershannon* carrying 8,600 tons of oil to Hamburg, which caused immediate economic pain in Germany. Given Germany's dependence on imported oil (80% of German oil in the 1930s came from the New World), and the likelihood that a war with Britain would see a blockade cutting off Germany from oil supplies, historians have argued that Hitler's decision to call off *Fall Grün* was due to concerns about the oil problem.

On 30 September 1938, a one-day conference was held in Munich attended by Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier and Mussolini that led to the Munich Agreement, which gave in to London and Paris had already agreed to the idea of a transfer of the disputed territory in mid-September, the Munich Conference mostly comprised discussions in one day of talks on technical questions about how the transfer of the Sudetenland would take place, and featured the relatively minor concessions from Hitler that the transfer would take place over a ten day period in October, overseen by an international commission, and Germany would wait until Hungarian and Polish claims were settled. At the end of the conference, Chamberlain had Hitler sign a declaration of Anglo-German friendship, to which Chamberlain attached great importance and Hitler none at all. Though Chamberlain was well-satisfied with the Munich conference, leading to his infamous claim to have secured "peace for our time," Hitler was privately furious about being "cheated" out of the war he was desperate to have in 1938. As a result of the summit, Hitler was TIME magazine's Man of the Year for 1938.

By appeasing Hitler, Britain and France left Czechoslovakia to Hitler's mercy. Though Hitler professed happiness in public over the achievement of his ostensible demands, in private he was determined to have a war the next time around by ensuring that Germany's future demands would not be met. In Hitler's view, a British-brokered peace, though extremely favorable to the ostensible German demands, was a diplomatic defeat which proved that Britain needed to be ended as a power to allow him to pursue his dreams of eastern expansion. In the aftermath of Munich, Hitler felt since Britain would not stand aside to facilitate Germany's continental ambitions, it had become a major threat. Hitler expressed his disappointment over the Munich Agreement in a speech on 9 October 1938 in Saarbrücken when he lashed out against the Conservative anti-appeasers Winston Churchill, Alfred Duff Cooper and Anthony Eden, whom Hitler described as a warmongering anti-German faction, who would attack Germany at the first opportunity, and were likely to come to power at any moment.

In the same speech, Hitler claimed, "We Germans will no longer endure such interference. Britain should mind her own business and worry about her own troubles." In November 1938, Hitler ordered a major anti-British propaganda campaign to be launched with the British being loudly abused for their "hypocrisy" in maintaining world-wide empire while seeking to block the Germans from acquiring an empire of their own.

In November 1938, in a secret speech to a group of German journalists, Hitler noted that he had been forced to speak of peace as the goal in order to attain the degree of rearmament "which were an essential prerequisite ... for the next step." In the same speech, Hitler complained that his peace propaganda of the last five years had been too successful, and it was time for the German people to be subjected to war propaganda. Hitler stated: "It is self-evident that such peace propaganda conducted for a decade has its risky aspect; because it can too easily induce people to come to the conclusion that the present government is identical with the decision and with the intention to keep peace under all circumstances," and instead called for new journalism that "had to present certain foreign policy events in such a fashion that the inner voice of the people itself slowly begins to shout out for the use of force."

In January 1939, Hitler ordered Bouhler and Dr. Brandt to enact the Action T4 program. Henceforward all disabled infants born, all physically or mentally disabled children, and all disabled adults liquidated.

In late 1938 and early 1939, the continuing economic crisis caused by problems of rearmament, especially the shortage of foreign hard currencies needed to pay for raw materials Germany lacked, together with reports from Göring that the Four Year Plan was hopelessly behind schedule, forced Hitler in January 1939 to reluctantly order major defense cuts with the *Wehrmacht* having its steel allocations cut by 30%, aluminum 47%, cement 25%, rubber 14% and copper 20%. On 30 January 1939, Hitler made his "Export or die" speech calling for a German economic offensive, to increase German foreign exchange holdings to pay for raw materials such as high-grade iron needed for military materials. The "Export or die" speech of 30 January 1939 is also known as Hitler's "Prophecy Speech", coming from Hitler's "prophecy" issued towards the end of the speech:

"One thing I should like to say on this day which may be memorable for others as

well for us Germans: In the course of my life I have very often been a prophet, and I have usually been ridiculed for it. During the time of my struggle for power it was with laughter that my prophecies were met. Yet here I am, leader of Germany, its savior as I swore I would be. Today I will be once more the prophet. Should anyone stand in the way of Germany's rise and challenge our rightful place upon this Earth, than I swear I will smite them and render them impotent for well for us Germans: In the course of my life I have very often been a prophet, and I have usually been ridiculed for it. During the time of my struggle for power it was with laughter that my prophecies were met. Yet here I am, leader of Germany, its savior as I swore I would be. Today I will be once more the prophet. Should anyone stand in the way of Germany's rise and challenge our rightful place upon this Earth, than I swear I will smite them and render them impotent for generations to come! The wrongs of the Great War shall be undone!"

Hitler ordered Germany's army to enter Prague on 15 March 1939, and from Prague Castle proclaimed Bohemia and Moravia a German protectorate. At least part of the reason why Hitler violated the Munich Agreement by seizing the Czech half of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 was to obtain Czechoslovak assets to help with the economic crisis.

CHAPTER V

Analysis

This process consists of the application of the methods and techniques to convert the text from the source language into the target language, trying to express the same concepts and ideas of the original author.

The chapters had been translated into Spanish, taking into account to transmit what the author wanted to express in the source language into the target language and following the correct guidelines of a free translation.

The methods or techniques used for this translation were proposed by two French scholars, Jean-Paul Vinay (1910) and Jean Darbelnet (1904). They are borrowing, calque, literal translation, transposition, modulation, reformulation or equivalence and adaptation. Two other techniques or *operative technical procedures*, as he used to call them, are proposed by Vázquez Ayora (1977), whereby he combines the SCFA prescriptive approach with the descriptive approach known as reduction or omission and amplification. To make the translation more accurate in relation to the source language syntactic structure, lexis and the message were checked very carefully.

The analysis chart is focused to compare the applied techniques; on the left side is the original text (source language) and on the right side is the translation into the target language classified by the technique each example belongs to.

Borrowing

It is a technique of translation in which a word or expression is taken straight from another language. (Molina & Albir, 2002). This is to retain some “feel” of the source language. Also, it is used as a matter of style and is employed when a word is more suitable or known in the target language. I decided to use this technique because in some history texts the words Kampf and Reichmarks are used without translation.

Target Language	Source Language
Hitler called the signing of the AGNA “the happiest day of his life” as he believed the agreement marked the beginning of a split between in the Anglo-Franco alliance and an impressive blow to the legitimacy of the League of Nations he had predicted in <u><i>Kampf</i></u> .	Hitler llamó a la firma del AGNA como “el día más feliz de su vida”, puesto que él creía que el acuerdo marcaba el inicio de una división entre la alianza anglo franca y un golpe impresionante de legitimidad a la Liga de las Naciones; algo que él había predijo en el <u><i>Kampf</i></u> .
In the summer of 1935, Hitler was informed that, between inflation and the need to use foreign exchange to buy raw materials Germany lacked for rearmament, there were only 5 million <u><i>Reichmarks</i></u> .	En el verano de 1935, se informó a Hitler que debido a la inflación y la necesidad de usar divisas para la compra de materias primas para el rearme de Alemania, solamente habían disponibles 5 millones de <u><i>Reichmarks</i></u> .

The first example is the word “**Kampf**” which comes from Old High German and means “field”. Nevertheless it was used as a proper name, especially during Hitler times. That’s the reason I preserved the *borrowing* technique and also because no one else has translated the word.

The second example is the word “**Reichmarks**” which was the currency in Germany from 1924 to 1948 and there is no Spanish translation: that is the reason of using *borrowing*.

Literal Translation

It is also known as word-for-word translation or formal correspondence, according to Liu Shaun. He established that “the translation aims to have as close as possible word-for-word correspondence between original source language of translation to the target language. This approach (when pursued in earnest) is often in contrast to semantic or free translation, although in some cases, it may produce less natural, awkward phrases.” In the process to use this technique, the target text should be completely understandable and should look natural.

Target Language	Source Language
Britain, France, Italy and the League of Nations quickly condemned German rearmament.	Gran Bretaña, Francia, Italia y la Liga de las Naciones condenaron rápidamente el rearme alemán.
At the same time, Hitler continued with his efforts to create an Anglo-German alliance.	Al mismo tiempo, Hitler siguió con sus esfuerzos para crear una alianza Anglo-Alemana.

This technique was used in both examples because they were simple sentences that fixed well into Spanish. There was no need to use other techniques. Literal translation was the ideal source for both cases. There were small changes, like the adding of articles in Spanish, which is necessary due the nature of this language.

Calque

According to Vinay and Darbelnet, it is a form of borrowing where the words are translated word for word. It is also known as loan translation which requires the use of literal translation to the equivalence of the term while the syntax is preserved. It requires to respect the syntactical structures of the target language. There is “structural calque” where the syntactic construction is new to the target language. According to J. Scott, “unlike a loan, which is a phonetic and morphologic adaptation, calque is a construction.” In the process of the translation, calque was a very rare technique to use due to the fact that certain names of institutions or places have now a translation in Spanish.

Target Language	Source Language
An international consortium	Consortio internacional

Modulation

“It is a variation through change of viewpoint, of perspective, and very often of category of thought introducing a clarification with respect to the original formulation.” (Vinay and Darbelnet). This little changes are justified when one translation results unsuitable, unidiomatic or in an awkward utterance even when it is grammatically correct if it fits better within the cultural context.

Target Language	Source Language
As a result , NSDAP activist and the SA started a major wave of assaults	Como consecuencia , los activistas del NSDAP y la SA comenzaron con una gran ola de asaltos
Under the grounds of self-determination	Con base en la autodeterminación

The modulation technique was used to give a better understanding. In the following examples this technique was used because the point of view of the message was changed. The first one say *as a result* which literary will be *como resultado*, nevertheless I rather prefer to use the phrase *como consecuencia* in order to give a better accuracy in the Spanish translation and also it looks more natural to say that phrase at the beginning of the sentence. As well as the other example *under the grounds* in Spanish will be *debajo del suelo o bajo la tierra* or something related with that idea but I decided to use *con base en* to give a more fluent sentence.

Adaptation

According to Bastin, adaptation is a set of translative interventions which result in a text that is not generally accepted as a translation but is nevertheless recognised as representing a source text. The translator decides to use this technique where in the source language that specific word or phrase does not exist due to culture factors. When this happens, the translator decides to make the most accurate translation possible. It is easy to notice this translation technique in advertisings and movie titles.

However, during the process of the translation, this specific technique was not used because in the case of certain names of parties or institutions, Spanish has a specific translation for those words and on the other hand, the words that could not be translated were used as borrowing techniques such as *Reich*, and *fall grün*.

Transposition

It consists of the replacement of one word class with another without changing the meaning of the original message. The transposed form is generally more literary in character. (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958). Summing things up, transposition means basically to change the grammatical category but without changing or modifying the meaning. One of the decisions to use transposition is whether the translation fits better into the expression or if it allows a particular touch of style to be retained. This technique can be clearly observed when in English there is a gerund or adverb and then it is translated into a verb.

Target Language	Source Language
And the SA into lashing out against Germany's Jewish minority	Y el SA que arremetía contra la minoría judía de Alemania
Hitler made his "Export or die" speech calling for a German economic offensive	Hitler hizo su discurso: "Exporta o muere" en donde clamase por una ofensiva económica alemana

In the first example, the word **lashing** is used as a participle, but in the source text it was changed with the word **arremetía** which comes from the verb arremeter and it is used as a pretérito imperfecto of the indicative in the Spanish language.

In the second example, the word **calling** is used as a gerund but in the source text it was changed with the word **clamase** which comes from the verb clamar and it is a pretérito imperfecto del subjuntivo in Spanish.

Equivalence

“It consists of representing the same situation in two texts (source and target language) using completely different stylistic and structural methods. Most of the time, equivalence is shown on phraseological collection of idioms, clichés, proverbs and nominal or adjectival phrases.” (Vinay and Darbelnet). In the following examples, the equivalence technique was used because we do have a specific Spanish translation for those specific words, the only thing to do in those cases is to look for the correct equivalence in Spanish, and it is easy to find in names of cities and titles.

Target Language	Source Language
Foreign Secretary	Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores
Foreign Minister	Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores
Anglo-German Naval Agreement	Acuerdo Naval Anglo Alemán
The League of Nations	La Liga de las Naciones
Treaty of Versailles	Tratado de Versalles

Reduction / Omission

Omission means dropping a word or words from the SLT while translating. (Ivacovoni, 2009.) Reduction is a technique which is use more often when you translate a text from Spanish to English. Nevertheless, Spanish tends to use this technique when the information is not quite relevant and certain words or phrases are very repetitive in one paragraph. This technique was used in the following sentences for different purposes: to avoid repetition of certain words mentioned in the text and to give a more fluent translation into Spanish. It makes the text to look more natural in the source language while unnecessary information is removed.

Target Language	Source Language
Historians have argued that the importance of the memo, which was written personally by Hitler, can be gauged by the fact that Hitler , who had something of a phobia about writing, hardly ever wrote anything down...	Los historiadores han debatido sobre la importancia del Memorándum que Hitler escribió , pues él tenía fobia a la escritura, y rara vez escribía...
<i>The minor nature of the alleged</i> Casus Belli being the timetables for the transfer made Hitler appear too much like the aggressor	Lo que hizo lucir a Hitler como el agresor fueron los horarios para el traslado <i>del supuesto</i> Casus Belli

Amplification

According to Vázquez Ayora “It consists of adding more words into the target text in order to make it clearer. Amplification or addition could be made for extra linguistic reasons or because of syntactic restructuring of sentences in the target language to make them more natural.” In the following examples, this technique was used to make the text more natural in Spanish and to expand the author’s idea. From the two last techniques of the analysis I could notice that between amplification and omission, amplification was more used during the translation process of the text.

Target Language	Source Language
Starting in April 1935, disenchantment with how the Third Reich had developed in practice as opposed to what been promised led many in the <i>NSDAP</i>	A partir de abril de 1935, el desencanto de como el Tercer Reich se había desarrollado en la práctica, en contraposición de lo que habían prometidos muchos en el <i>Partido Nacional Socialista Obrero Alemán</i> (NSDAP, por sus siglas en ingles)
When Britain and France <i>did nothing</i> , he grew bolder.	Gran Bretaña y Francia <i>no hicieron nada para evitarlo</i> , él fue más osado
In private, Hitler considered <i>the Sudeten issue unimportant; his real intentions</i> being to use the Sudeten question as the justification both at home and abroad <i>for a war</i> of aggression <i>to destroy</i> Czechoslovakia	En privado, Hitler considero que <i>el problema de los Sudetes era algo insignificante, debido a que sus verdaderas intenciones</i> era usar el problema de los Sudetes como una justificación tanto en casa como en el extranjero, <i>es decir, crear una Guerra con el fin de destruir</i> a Checoslovaquia

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

To be a translator is not an easy job. As in other formal translation tasks, and in order to be able to complete this work, I had to know more about the specific topic of *Hitler Triumphant*, I needed to have a background to get familiar with certain parties and countries mentioned in the text. To do this, it was necessary to use glossaries, thesaurus, dictionaries and other related websites to find the most accurate translation to certain terminologies and words, to sum up, I made an extensive research of very specific words and phrases to know their equivalences in Spanish. It was a requirement to read other books about the history of Hitler, but in the Spanish language, so as to discover how other authors had translated those specific names of institutions and parties. I also consulted many websites about the life of Hitler and topics related about him. It can be said now that this academic experience has made me a more knowledgeable person regarding this historical subject.

There were phrases and sentences that were challenging to translate, but fortunately, different kinds of techniques were useful in such difficult situations. These techniques or procedures are known as: borrowing, literal translation, transposition, equivalence, modulation. It was also crucial to use two other techniques known as omission and amplification. The amplification technique was used more than omission; this was probably due to the fact that, in order to convey some ideas in Spanish, there is usually the need to use more words to explain the same idea in English.

Through the process, it was observed that literal translation was one of the techniques that were used the most, and this is not surprising. Luckily enough, a great deal of parallel structures was found in English and Spanish. This is a

tendency when working with these languages when the formality of both texts is high. On the other hand, the adaptation technique is influenced by the culture of a country and by the situations that come up as part of that particular culture. History is based in facts, and because of this, resorting to the use of adaptation of situations in the text was not necessary. This technique is used mainly in fields of knowledge where cultural changes are of paramount importance, but this was not such case.

Calque was found once in the translated text, for the reason that some words were rather borrowed directly from German, such as *kampf*, *Reich*, *reichmark* and others, but they were not translated in Spanish, as these terms have been used as they are in historical texts.

The original text was written following a formal literary style, and that is why the majority of the sentences in English were in passive voice. Certain paragraphs were translated completely in the passive voice at first, even though in Spanish we tend to use the active voice more, instead of passive. After realising the mistake, many of these sentences were changed into active voice.

Similarly, as a result of the English language influence, I confused very often the use of capital letters in names of the week and months in Spanish. This is a common, but not a forgivable mistake when translating. Likewise, certain challenges in the order of sentences were encountered; this is a regular difficulty for the transfer of messages into Spanish since differences in the organization of words or ideas are present in both source and target languages. For example, the order adjective-noun or subject-verb in English is usually opposed to that of Spanish.

In addition, some translator's notes were added in order to be explicit on certain names of parties found in the source text, the translator resorted to this strategy because there was no one-to-one equivalence and the notes provided more detail for a better understanding.

During the whole process of this project I needed the opinions, suggestions, advice and points of view of my supervisors so as to obtain the best possible translation. Three supervisors, two specialised in English translation and one in Spanish, were of great assistance to achieve a deep analysis of the translation. Thanks to their aid in the development of this monograph study, a more meticulous work was accomplished, not only in consideration of the translation assignment, but the completion of the written work, in general. This experience has made me more curious, and I have become a better observer, and a better researcher.

In the process of translation, it was noticeable that one cannot translate without a deep review, it is impossible to have the accurate translation at once, it is needed to be checked multiple times to correct little details. Many filters had to be passed through until the final project was ready. To sum up, patience and love to the field are necessary to conclude the elaboration of a task of this type. Two qualities I have learned to acquire through this endeavour, and which have allowed me to present this work.

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