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Pullman Cars, a Great Country,

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By Klaus Mann.

This ^{is} ~~was~~ the third winter I ^{have} spent in the U.S. since I left Germany, in 1933. I ^{can} begin ^{now} to feel at home in this country. I have seen ^{already} (pretty) many parts of America. What ^{parts} [are the regions], however, I know most intimately? Manhattan, between Lexington- and Eighth Avenue, from 14 ^{St.}th. up to 70th Street - and the Pullman Cars. Brooklyn and Newark are mysterious places, exceedingly far away. Friends of mine happen to live somewhere up ^{west} town, 230th Street, (West). A charming neighbourhood - they keep saying - , and the air, of course, is so much better than in town. They are good enough to ask me for ^{dinner} [supper]. I ^{can't} (couldn't) refuse, as I am devoted to them. I take the Up-Town-Express, Seventh Avenue, ^{Exp.} as they told me to do. By some sinister coincidence, finally I arrive in the Bronx.

I am furious; not only because it wasn't my intention to pay a visit to the Bronx, on that afternoon, but, (above all), because I feel (myself) like an idiot, a halfwit, a fool, and an ignorant foreigner. I enter a little bar, as I think it may be a good idea to have a Scotch and Soda. "Believe ^{it} (me) or not," I say to the bartender, "this is ^{my} (the) third winter [I spend] in New York City, and still I make mistakes like that. I intended to go to ^{west} [the] 230th Street, (West) - and here I am!" - The bar man doesn't seem ~~to be~~ surprised. He suggests: "Take it easy! Some folks from Europe are not so very bright." - I am eager to defend myself, and the honour of the Europeans altogether. "I ~~Could~~ find my way to San Francisco or New Orleans, though," I boast. Quite obviously, he doesn't take me seriously. "I bet you ~~Could~~!" His laughter sounds somewhat offending to me.

I bet I ~~Could~~! - I like the long trips through this tremendous country. I never feel bored or tired, on a train. I am fond of Pullman

Cars. They are utterly cosy, very "gemuetlich", indeed, and the coloured porters are so very friendly and efficient, half ^{like nurses} (nurse-like) half like good-old-uncles ^(like), and a little like ^{kind} (well-tempered) ^{teachers}, too. When you smoke a cigarette in your lower berth - which definitely is forbidden - they may tell you: "I hope you won't set my car in fire, Sir!"

It's very pleasant. But better than everything else is to look through the window ^{while} (when) the train is ^{moving} (running). It is wonderful to watch the country - these ^{great} wide lands which ^{rush past} (move along) like a film. It doesn't make much difference to me whether the country happens to be ^{beautiful} (pretty) or ugly. ^{9 am} It impressed (me) by certain qualities which are not (just) merely aesthetic ones. Why does it have the power to excite me and to confuse me, and to make me happy, sometimes? Perhaps, just because it is so great, so enormous, so wide, apparently endless - and so very empty...

Yes, it is astonishingly empty, in many (of its) parts - : that was what impressed and bewildered me more than anything else when I was here, the first time (in my life), ten years ago. You can travel in this country, for hours and hours, almost for days, without seeing anything but wide ^{plains} (plane), wild ^{country} (land). There is nothing but earth - no people, no villages, even no animals - (: just Earth. It is a very dry sort of earth, (for many miles,) a kind of desert, I know. But, still, it is Earth, "The Good Earth" - : I ^{find} (feel) myself ^{drifting into a sort of} (seduced to certain) Chinese state of mind (moods), when I am looking through the window of the ^{moving} (running) train.

And, yet, the atmosphere is not [quite] Asiatic. I feel (the) productive ^{activity} (tension), ~~even~~ coming from the big centres, like electricity. I (feel) ^{can sense} the future, ^{the amazing} (and I present incredible) activities which are going to ^{transform} (change) these waste plains - ~~these~~ tragically lost, today, under ^{blanket of} (icy snow) ^{scorched under a blazing sun} (or burning heavens) - ; I feel possibilities, chances, things to come, since there is room, and human beings to use it. And I cannot remember without shuddering dear old Europe - beloved Europe, my homeland -

3- ^{for very long}
where one cannot travel (around for a little while) without ^{arriving at} (reaching) ^{for anyone}
some unnecessary frontier - which certainly is most disturbing, but
for some people even a nightmare.

'What a relief', I think, looking dreamingly through the window.
'Room - there is room... plenty of it... This train will ^{speed} (run) along
for hours, night will fall over a land which is empty - still empty.
Finally, at midnight or so, we shall reach some big city, and there
won't be any control of our passports, (before arrival) nobody is going
to ask silly questions - we just arrive, that's all. And still we'll
be in the United States of America, and people will talk their American
English. Some of them look happy, (they show the smiling of well doing
men); other (ones) have a sorrowful ^{mien} (air). They have (got) their troubles,
all right. Nobody among these people, however, would proclaim the
"Decline of the Western World", and none of them would ^{believe} (think) that
our entire civilisation should be destroyed - better today than
tomorrow - , for the sake of sadistic instincts and some dangerously
confused ideals of "heroism". People over here certainly are not in-
clined to be made fools of by that kind of ^{violent} (vociferous) rubbish they
get away with, "on the other side", in Europe.

..."What is it like, America?" European friends keep asking me.
"Is it a pleasant country? Are there good openings there? Are the
people friendly?" - And I would reply, very positively: "The land
is more pleasant, the openings are better, the people friendlier than
we are accustomed to in Europe."

People in the States have more understanding, (more) sympathy, and
(more) respect (than folks, at home in Europe), for our way of life, the
life of people who have lost their home ² ~~lands~~ and their livings for
the sake of their convictions or their race. The word 'emigrant', which
even sounds a little ^{aspiratory} (suspect) in Europe, is (here) a title of honour, ^{here}
and our American hosts (first) expect us to prove worthy of it.

There are many people in Europe who cannot (get) ^{themselves} rid of (hackneyed) (and grim) ideas that human relations in America are 'cold' and 'business-like'; that Cash means everything, and so on. (Most unfortunately, ^{unfortunately} In this wicked world of ours, money plays a decisive part everywhere. Besides, there are ~~pleasant~~ (everywhere) pleasant people and (less) ^{un}pleasant people, ^{everywhere} decent folks and bounders. I do not ^{particularly} (even) mean (to say) that pleasant people in the U.S. are in a greater majority than elsewhere. What is true is that people are less irritable and (less) embittered, (and) hence less suspicious. As Americans generally enjoy life more than Europeans, they are less ^{anxious} (concerned) to hurt and humiliate their fellow-men. Crudity we may meet: infamy is rare.

[People in this country may have silly prejudices, and some of them may harbour fantastic ideas.] The spontaneous and ^{widespread} ~~reaction~~ indignation, [however,] caused in America by the brutalities of the Fascist régimes was a ^{reaction -} moral (event, above all) - ~~much~~ much more so than a (purely) political one - , and it proved, once more, that certain basic (cal) and sacred notions and values are more alive here and have a sounder reality than anywhere else. People, it seems to me, feel and ^{more naturally and vigorously here} act (here more vigorously and naturally) than in Europe. They are less skeptical, weary, resigned. If that is a question of the 'naïveté' and the youthfulness of the Americans, then it is America's youthfulness that I love.

Whenever Americans (would) ask me the inevitable question: "Now, tell us - how do you really like our country?", I am glad to answer, quite frankly and honestly: "I love it. I enjoy being here."

Occasionally, I make the acquaintance of men or women whose curiosity is somewhat difficult to satisfy. They ^{mercilessly persist in} (go on) asking questions, (absolutely mercilessly). "You are not supposed to be polite - really not! - What do you dislike in America? Tell us about that, it will be most interesting! Certainly there are plenty of things

^{consider}
~~consider~~ which you (think) disgusting, or at least very disagreeable." -
I don't like to answer. It is a ^{appalling} (dreadful) German habit to criticize every-
thing in other countries. ~~Even~~ some of the refugees, - who are not really
Germans, any longer - keep on doing so. In France, they ^{have been dubbed} (got the nickname)
"les bei-uns", ^{because} as they like to emphasize, in a ^{manner utterly lacking good taste,} (most tasteless manner), that
"bei uns" - "in our homeland" - the trains are ^{faster} (more rapid), the books more
interesting, the movies more thrilling, the food more refined, the girls
more attractive and much more elegant than at any other place. I remember
"les bei-uns", and I say, reluctantly: "Well, I just like it, that's all."

- But ^{my} (the) American friends ^{refuse to desert} insist, as a matter of fact, they (are on the
point ~~of~~ ^{of} getting angry). ~~There must be certain things you despise!~~ they insist,
"Go on - don't be a coward! Tell us the truth, we can take it!"

I hesitate for another ^{moment} (little while); finally, I have to admit: "Well,
of course, you know - ~~you may understand...~~ there are certain ~~little~~ minor
things... a few national habits which seem somewhat surprising to a fo-
reigner... He has to get accustomed to them, that's all... For instance,
I don't care very much for apple pie with cheese - as a matter of fact,
it makes me quite sick. And hot coffee with ice water, and fish with string
beans I don't like very much either... And, sometimes, it makes me a little
sad to see young couples ^{flirting} (having their flirts) in a Ford car - they should
^{find} ~~by~~ (nicer places, and) more convenient ^{places} (ones), for ^{their little pleasures} ~~that kind of business~~ ^{escapades}.
~~... and people over here spend too much of their time in drug~~
~~stores, I feel... Many of them have luncheon in such places, and their~~
~~dinner as well... I prefer the little bistros, in Paris, or the modest~~
~~cafés [houses] in Vienna and Budapest... it's just a habit, I guess - pro-~~
~~bably pretty foolish..."~~

My American friends seem to be highly amused. "Go on, go on!" they de-
mand keenly. "What else do you dislike?"

I continue, partly against my own will. "There is a certain lack of tra-

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dition, you see... Things are a bit too new over here. I (wouldn't realize) ^{don't notice} it so much in the big cities; but I ^{am aware of} (feel) it when I am driving ⁱⁿ (through) the country. In Switzerland, (or) in the South of France, in Austria or (else) in Italy, it ^{is} (means) fun to make excursions. There are lovely ^{little} places, ^{everywhere} all around. What ~~a~~ good time ~~we had when~~ we used to have when we stopped in some village, and had our meal in a Ratskeller... whereas here, there aren't any authentic villages, nor Ratskellers, just ~~a~~ dreary Main Streets (and some) ^{with} garages, (and) movie theatres, (and) a drug store where you can get Coca Cola, and a dark little bar where you could have gin or whiskey... "

~~I felt I had gone too far, already, - as I realized that my remarks had a slight touch and flavour of the bad "bei uns"-spirit. Wasn't there a certain amount of nationalism in my sentimental utterances about cosy cellars and charming old villages? It was not precisely a German nationalism, but an European one - which wasn't very much better, nor more intelligent.~~

In a way, I expected my American friends to reply sharply: "Well - why don't you return to your sweet Continent since you are so much in love with its ancient beauties?" - But they did not ~~pronounce~~ ^{utter} anything of this kind. On the contrary, they looked a little sad, when they said slowly: "You are right, (we guess)... Our villages are ~~pleasant and cozy~~ kind of dreary..."

I added, with an embarrassed haste: "There are most picturesque spots, in this country also, of course. In New England, for instance, or in the South, or in California..."

"It's perfectly all right," they said. They were not offended at all. They were good patriots, [and they were] proud of their country; but they were not touchy in that hysterical European fashion. They were nice folks. [Just some] Business people from the Middle West.

...I had ^{many} [the] opportunity to ^{meet} [get contacts to many] men and women of ^{all types and classes:} [the most different kind. I met] club women and labour people, priests and

professors, students and journalists, business men and authors, rabbis and clergymen, college girls and politicians, snobs and sham prophets and a few really gifted personalities. I enjoyed the hospitality of various clubs, ^{and} universities, ^{colleges} and organisations. ^{Being a} I have to ^{lecturer - among other things - I am constantly moving about.} rush around quite a lot, since I happen to be a lecturer - it is one of my jobs. ~~I have to confess it, after all~~ Sometimes, I make ^a joint appearances with my sister, Erika ^(Mann); on other occasions, I ^(show up quite by myself.) appear alone.

The odd thing about it is, ^{that} I enjoy lecturing. It doesn't bore me at all - although it might be a horrible bore to the people who have to listen. Many of my more distinguished ^{colleagues} have a very haughty attitude toward ^{lecturing} the lecture business. ~~to make myself~~ "If a fool of myself, (by) addressing ^(ignorant) club women?" they would exclaim. "Never!" They are utterly delicate and just too sensitive by nature. I am not. It gives me a sort of thrill to win an audience. People who attend lectures have a definite inclination to sleep or to cough - it is the same ^(thing) everywhere. ^(on earth.) It is an exciting task - and not an easy one - to keep them awake, and ^(to keep them) silent.

I ^{go wherever} rush to every place where my fatherly agent ^{sends} (wants) me. ^(to go.) He ^{will} say to me: "In X, a town in the State of Y, the Quakers have asked to hear you ^{give a} little speech. They have a ^(school there, and there is a) lecture for the pupils ^{in the school there} every Monday evening." - "That's fine," I ^(would) reply. And I present myself to the Quakers.

They receive me ^{Cordially.} ^{Being} nicely. As they are ^{And} opposed to war, they are opposed to the Nazis. As they know me to be antagonist and victim of the Nazis, they receive me with courtesy and even kindness.

Sometimes Erika and I get our little surprises. At a men's club in the Middle West where one of us had to make an after-luncheon speech, a little troupe of acrobats performed its turn before the speaker came on - very nice girls and boys in pink tights. They did the most

astonishing tricks; the gentlemen were delighted. Later, the listened to ~~the~~ ^{our} address with the most flattering attention. *Klaus F. ...*

The "question period", after the lecture, the so-called discussion, too, was unfamiliar at first. In time they became as indispensable to the lecturer as they seem to be to the public which insists upon them. Something new always crops up during the discussion, ^{even though} (while) the lecturer knows his ^{subject} (own speech) ^{fairly} (pretty) well beforehand and can hardly hope for surprises. Sometimes I am ashamed of not knowing the answer to simple, vital questions and have to bluff a bit, merely to have something to say. ~~In almost every discussion somebody gets up and asks: "When will Hitler fall?" or: "What will happen in Germany when Hitler has fallen?" The only honest answer to such a question would be: "My good friends, if only I would know..." Instead one struggles to look intelligent.~~

I take lecturing quite seriously - almost as seriously as writing, although not precisely in the same way. I have (got) a sort of idée fixe in my mind: that I have something like a real message to deliver to my American audiences; that I have a few things to say which are worth ^{hearing} (while) (to listen to). I feel every anti-Nazi-German, every German who left his homeland by conviction - and not merely because he was forced to do so - should be allowed and prepared to express his opinions and feelings to people in other countries - ^{that means} if he has (got any) brains to think with, and the ability to ^{put} (bring) his thoughts into (decent) words. They should explain to their hosts what Nazism really means; they should warn ~~them~~ them, (should) beg them to be aware; they have to show them how horrifying danger ^{already} has become. ~~already~~. The refugees - victims of Nazi-barbarism themselves - have the authority and the moral right, even the duty, to cry to their American friends: "~~Be aware!~~ Defend yourself! Don't take it ^{easy} ^{lying down}! Don't be optimistic! Don't say: It can't happen here! That's just what we used to say - and here we are! The evil is mighty, it is efficient, and even clever, in its cheap, degenerated way! It is active

everywhere - here too! Believe us, friends: here too! We know that evil. We watched its growing, its rising, we had to see how it became stronger and stronger, and finally almost ^{all-powerful} (allmighty). We didn't start fighting early enough - ~~that~~ is our tragedy. Don't repeat our mistakes...."

It isn't a very pleasant message; still, we have to deliver it, it is our sacred duty. But it is not the only one. We have to make clear, ^{as well,} that there is another Germany; we have to prove it, by our mere presence, by the way we talk, by every gesture, by every thought we express. We must emphasize, again and again, ^{that} Hitler does not represent the German Nation. Opposition to the Fuehrer and his horrible tactics is growing in our country - we know it, we have informations. The Germans accepted a Nazi dictatorship, because they were ignorant, and believed (in) his untruthful promises - just ^{as} (like) certain British statesmen believed in them. The overwhelming majority of the German people ^{are} (is) bitterly disappointed, by now. They don't want (the) war. They are terribly afraid of it. Very few people in our country approved of the hideous programs, ^{last} in November, 1932. Most of them were disgusted, and profoundly ashamed.

There ^{are no} (aren't any) Nazi-like ^{Tendencies} (elements or trends) in the great tradition of German culture and spiritual life. All the men we are really proud of were not ^{merely} ~~men~~ "great Germans" but "great Europeans", as well: Goethe and Lessing, Kant and Schiller, Beethoven and Hölderlin, and, in a more complicated, somehow paradoxical way, even Nietzsche. None of them was a nationalist. The classic epoch of our literature begins with Goethe's statement that a "world-literature" - ^{(a more-than-national,} an international culture - ~~it~~ should come into being, and that it was the task of ^{the Germans,} ~~this generation to create it,~~ to ^{set on} give the inspiring example. ^{This happened a} [This could happen] hundred years ago. Today, a man who would dare say such a daring thing, would have to suffer for it in ^a Concentration camp.

The Germans have betrayed their own fine tradition - the tradition of ^a tolerant, ^{all-} embracing, cosmopolitan spirit - : it is painful but necessary

to admit it. It ^{may} ~~might~~ be difficult to excuse the German people altogether;
~~as matter of fact, it would be senseless and even unfair to try to do~~
~~such a thing.~~ They are guilty, in many respects. The intellectuals, the
 "better Germans", ^{draw all} ~~above all~~, are responsible for the moral and mental
 degeneration of their own nation. The so-called "un-political" attitude
 of the German intellectual élite is ^{mostly responsible} ~~the deepest cause~~ for our tragedy -
 which ^{threatens} ~~is likely~~ to become the tragedy of European civilisation. We had
 (the) Reformation, instead of a Revolution. The "interior life" - "das
Gewissen" - was liberated by Luther's deed; but (the) social conditions
 remained ^{as before} ~~like they used to be~~. (The) ^{have} ~~Great~~ Germans always ^{considered} ~~felt~~ it (was
 somehow) beneath their dignity to ^{be concerned about} ~~consider~~ social problems and necessi-
 ties. ~~Only the Jews are exceptions, such as Heinrich Heine and Karl Marx.~~

~~The fellows of that haughty attitude are most distasteful and most~~
 (Consequently,
~~claiming~~ ^{politically} ~~the~~ Germans are less educated (as far as politics are concerned,
 than any other people on earth. Their complete lack of political instinct
 (or) knowledge is ^{disquieting} ~~utterly disturbing~~, ^{since} ~~as~~ it is combined with their well
 known technical efficiency. As a group, they are a ^{menace} ~~(catastrophe)~~. Goethe, in his
 cool, objective manner, has formulated it as follows: "The thought of the
 German people, so admirable as individuals, so despicable as a whole, has
 often caused me bitter pain... Germany is worthless, but each individual
 German is worth very much, and yet Germans believe the contrary..."

"Germany is worthless..." : it is horrible to admit that the greatest
 man Germany ever produced had to draw such a cruel conclusion. ^{Must} ~~Has~~ it
 to be the final conclusion, the last word? ^{Must} ~~Have~~ matters ^{as} ~~to~~ remain ^{like}
 they are? ^{Can't} ~~Could~~ ^{be} ~~it~~ they change? ^{Can't} ~~Could~~ ^{be} they improve?...
 These ^{and} ~~are~~ involved questions, complicated topics ^{are} ~~are~~ not very easy to cover,

^{for} ~~These~~ ^{American} ~~audience~~, bothered and tortured by the simply question: Is there
 going to be war, or not?

I try my best to simplify problems which ~~really~~ are exceedingly com-
 plex. I try to explain that Germans, as a political group, as a nation,

are suffering from a most painful "inferiority complex"; that their aggressiveness, their arrogance, their imperialistic greed are nothing but dangerous symptoms of the pathological "over-compensation". After the ~~last~~ war, during the fourteen years of the Republic, this lack of self-confidence, ^{on} ~~assumed~~ ^{got} the character of an acute disease, of a fever. ~~Now, the "over-compensation" is threatening.~~ Are people ^{any} happier, in the Reich, ^{with} since they have ^{got} their shouting, sham Messiah? - By no means! They are suffering, more than ever (before). They ^{have} begun to realize that they are humiliated, dishonoured, more than ever. Germans do enjoy sufferings, strangely enough. But there are certain limits, even for them. This limit is nearly reached. Hitler ^{must} ~~has~~ to fall.

Am I over optimistic?

~~So I fool my public by expressing hopes, beside the fears and warnings?~~ - I don't think so, ^{because} since my hopes are realistic, and as I have sound reasons for them. ^{am certain} I am convinced that the German race will emerge from its present tragic experience with a new outlook. ~~that the German people after the dreadful experience it is going through won't be quite the same as it was before.~~

~~it is going to change; we have signs and symptoms which prove that it started changing, already.~~ ^A ~~that~~ ^{has} people that never really understood what Freedom means, will appreciate the value of Liberty, ^{since} ~~which~~ ^{it,} it had to miss, for so many years. ~~that is completely.~~ The Germans will be mature enough to face Democracy, to enjoy it, to love it - after all ^{the} those abject humiliations they had to endure. The "better Germans", the intellectuals, will understand that culture cannot exist ^{cannot} and ~~couldn't~~ be creative, in the long run, without Freedom and social justice. The Third ^{Reich} - which is ^{Hitler's (?)} boasting of ~~his~~ tremendous strength and power - ^{has no} doesn't have any authentic reality. ^{Suddenly} ~~It~~ ^{will} ~~will~~ vanish like a nightmare. We will have the First German Republic, and it is going to be a real one. ^{republic.}

"Friends!" I exclaim, "it seems ~~to be~~ foolish, to make any prophecies, in ^{those} ~~these~~ uncertain times of ours. Still, I dare ^{predict} ~~foretell~~ you: the Third Reich ^{will not} ~~won't~~ last, (for a long period). Its own 'dynamic' principle makes its ^{fall} ~~end~~ inevitable, in the near future. The better Germans - the decent ones

are forced to be
who have to keep silence now - are waiting for the day of ~~their~~ libera-
tion + which is ^{coming} (going to come). ~~Some of them are actively preparing it,~~
~~some of them are even fighting for it. All of them are hoping for that~~
~~Day. It will bring Peace, not only to the Germans, but to the world."~~ - /

A part of my audience seems to be impressed; the other ~~one~~ remains
sceptical. And the discussion begins.

Usually, there are two groups of people within an audience, ^{usually attempts} one of
them being definitely the minority. This minority is ^{usually} inclined to ^{justify} excuse
the German people ^{thoroughly} - without defending, of course, Nazis horrors.
They call the Treaty of Versailles ~~entirely~~ responsible for the whole mess
in Europe, ~~and~~ especially for the alarming events in the Reich. They ^{try to} ~~try to~~
^{draw} ~~take~~ me into ^a sort of ruthless cross-examination, with the obvious purpose
to prove that my judgement, ^{of} concerning Germany, ^{is} was influenced by ^{prejudices} (prejudices),
prejudices and inspired by the wicked instinct of revenge. "I have studied
in Heidelberg," one of them may say. "I know the Germans. They are good
people, very clean, and extremely ^{capable} able. The Treaty of Versailles is guilty,
not the German character nor their "inferiority complex", as you call it.
France is responsible. She has ^{pursued} ~~made~~ a rotten policy. Hitler came to power,
because....", and so on.

I emphasize how very pleased I ~~was~~ ^{am} that the gentleman is so very
fond of the German people, as I ^{am} happen to be a German myself. ~~Consequently,~~
~~But I also claim some knowledge of the German character.~~
~~ly, I may have some knowledge, too, as far as the German character is con-~~
~~cerned.~~ I ~~don't~~ ^{dis} agree with the gentleman. The Treaty of Versailles ^{fails to} ~~doesn't~~
explain the revolting phenomenon of the Nazi Reich - which, most unfortu-
nately, has ^{deep} ~~its~~ roots, very deeply, in ~~(certain parts and elements of)~~ the
German soul itself.

The next speaker, on the contrary, ^{believes} (feels and says) that I was much too
soft and mild, and that ^{my argument was confused} (I have made too many confusing words), since the
problem in question ^{is} (happens to be) as simple as it is horrible. "The Ger-
mans are hopeless," ^{declares} ~~the~~ speaker ~~proclaims~~. ^{This time the speaker is a woman,} It is a ~~very~~ ^{female speaker,} ~~speaker,~~
(second)

change, and she is one of the frank and honest type. "They are bad, altogether. - ~~of course~~ There are exceptions, of course," she admits politely. "But they ^{lack} don't have any influence. During the World War, I didn't ~~quite~~ believe all those abominable stories, about ^{German} children ^{troops} they used to kill in Belgium. I begin, ^{now that} to think most of them were true. At that time, too, there was a great deal of sentimental talk that we ^{were} did not really fight ⁱⁿ the German people, ^{only} just the Kaiser and his wicked generals. Well, finally we got rid of Wilhelm ^{who is} now sitting around in Holland, a ~~half~~ comic, ~~half~~ melancholy figure. But wasn't he a gentleman and almost a pacifist, compared ^{with} to the Fuehrer? - It seems to me that the Germans are very fond of their tyrants, they want them, they need them. There isn't any "other Germany" - it ~~just~~ doesn't exist, it is ^{only an} (another) illusion, (that's all), - Why should we bother to liberate the Germans, since ~~they~~ obviously ^{they} enjoy being slaves? - If they should dare to threaten our interests - then, of course, we would have to defend ourselves!"

^{A very eloquent and sensible lady}
(A very smart lady, and pretty eloquent). I think she ^{errs} (makes a mistake) ⁱⁿ by saying that the Germans are hopeless. On many other points, however, I agree with her. Of course, it is not America's business - nor the job of any other country - to "liberate" Germany. ^{But} Nobody intends to do so, ^{on the contrary,} by the way. If the other countries ~~really~~ would defend their own interests, they would ^{help} the German opposition, ~~as well~~. It is almost impossible for the anti-Nazi Germans to work ^{successfully} against the hated régime ^{to Hitler.} in a successful way, as long as the great democracies ^{continue to} keep on yielding. The newest turn in the British policy, the sensational end of "appeasement", will ^{opposing} strengthen ~~very~~ ^{definitely} the oppositional forces within the Reich. The first country ^{which} ~~is going~~ will refuse to become Hitler's victim, ^{which} ~~who~~ will ^{will} (be ready to) defend its ~~(own honour and)~~ life and independence, ~~is going to save and to liberate Germany, as well,~~

The German opposition and all the countries threatened by Hitler are natural allies.

lash

It certainly is a delicate job ~~to do~~ to assure people that their abhorrence of Nazidom is justified, ~~and~~ sound, and helpful; and, on the other hand, to warn them not to permit their anti-Nazi feelings to turn into purely anti-German tendencies, ~~(as they were frequent, and probably inevitable), during the war.~~ ~~There might be certain reasons for being against Germany altogether.~~

Perhaps, it would be more convenient for ^{the} civilized world, if that ~~tragic~~ ^{but tragic} and highly gifted people ~~would not exist.~~ ^{did} ~~But~~ mankind would be somewhat poorer, ~~(then, and culture would be less colourful).~~ ^{without them.}

It is pointless, however, to figure out what the world would look like without Germany, since she is there, and ~~pretty~~ ^{very much} intensely so, too. Therefore, I don't think it very reasonable to call sixty - or eighty - millions people "Huns" - which doesn't change the picture very much.

Above all, it doesn't make disappear Germany from the map. Another defamation of the German people, as a whole, would just have the effect of intensifying their inferiority complexes - which means that new "over compensations" would be bound to follow... The whole dangerous game could re-start, once more.

~~Are the Germans Huns?~~ ~~Of course, they are not.~~ Some of them are wicked, or brutal, or stupid, or very stubborn; many among them are ignorant, some other ones may be ~~eccentric~~ ^{eccentric}, ambitious or cruel; the majority, ~~however,~~ ^{but} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~consists of~~ ^{as everywhere else.} ~~are just industrious decent folks, a few ones are even good.~~

The Germans didn't ~~invent~~ ^{not conceive} Fascism, ~~nor was it established in the Reich first of all.~~ Fascism, as a phenomenon, is international, and, therefore, ~~is~~ ^{only} an international danger. It is not just German Fascism we have to fight - although "National Socialism" is the most revolting variation of of a hideous pattern.

It is not Germany which has to be destroyed, ~~it is~~ ^{but} Fascism. ~~Destroying~~ ^{Destroying} ~~Struggling~~ ^{Struggling} ~~Fascism and Nazism~~ ^{actually means} ~~fighting~~ ^{fighting} Germans, as most of them apparently are Nazis, ~~for the time being.~~ ^{today.} ~~On the other hand, it means as much as to serve to the better.~~

~~It all depends on the spirit behind the fight and the indignation.~~
~~But~~ Is it an anti-German ~~feeling~~, or ~~is it~~ an anti-^{Nazi}~~German~~ feeling? That is the decisive question. ~~Even~~ Even the strongest anti-Nazi-feelings are perfectly compatible with an absolute faith in the "Other Germany". The simple and striking fact is that there wouldn't be any hope for the future of Europe, if one could not have any hope for Germany's future. ~~fact.~~

"After Hitler - What?" This question is alarming people all over the world. Doktor Göbbels, of course, in his well known fast and smart manner, has an impressive answer: ~~to the disturbing question~~ "After Hitler - the Chaos!" he declares - and, strangely enough, many people seem to take it seriously.

After Hitler - the chaos, ~~no~~ But why?

The one thing Germans are profoundly fond of is order. The régime they have to endure, for the time being, has^{nothing}~~to do with~~ real order. It is a sort of over-organized anarchy - ~~a~~ quite original, still very revolting phenomenon. The Third Reich is the chaos: a threatened world begins to realize is, and the tortured Germans understood it, for quite a while.

The Fourth Reich~~es~~, on the other hand, will have to combine Freedom and Order. It will be the ~~Authoritative~~ Authoritative Democracy.

... ~~isn't it a crazy thing to do to dream of a future Reich, of a State not yet existing, while one is travelling through a country which does exist very definitely, and is great, and colourful, and very fascinating?~~ - I ^{ask}examine myself: I am homesick? - I am not, and I ^{have been}never ~~was~~ during all these years of exile. I ^{do}am not ~~in~~ love with Germany, certainly ~~not~~. I ^{not}don't need her. To tell the whole truth, I am ^{not}even ~~not so~~ very fond of her. I ~~don't~~ have ~~any~~ illusions, as far as my compatriots

are concerned. ^{Moreover,} ~~What I feel is this, very simply,~~ ^{that} ~~there is~~ ^{no} ~~any~~ necessity for the Germans to go ^{on} ~~on~~ for ever, alarming the world with their "Wille zur Macht" and their bad manners. Hitler may be the last outburst, the last horrid manifestation and personification of their worst trends and instincts. ^{Perhaps he is their} ~~He means a~~ punishment for many ~~the~~ crimes they have committed; and perhaps he ^{is the} ~~means a~~ cure. ~~It is time for them to become reasonable, after all, and to adapt themselves to civilisation, and common sense, after such a lot of profound "Kultur", "Weltanschauung" and actual barbarism.~~

...No ~~—~~, I am not homesick, by any means. I am not longing for the German forests nor ^{for} the romantic rivers nor for the ~~Gothic~~ little Gothic houses in narrow streets. I like Princeton ~~and~~ at least as much as old Heidelberg, ^{even with} including its picturesque castle. As a matter of fact ~~of fact~~, I ^{am} ~~feel~~ perfectly ^{happy} ~~well~~ where I am.

I am "at home", once more, in a Pullman car. There is the negro porter again, ~~very nurse-like and uncle-like~~, and there is the window, and the train ^{thunders on} ~~runs~~, and I keep looking through the window, and there is the ~~big~~ great country. I have strange thoughts, ~~in my mind~~, moving thoughts, grand feelings. - They ~~are~~ just are coming, are overwhelming me, I cannot help it. ^{Resist them}

This great country - ~~I feel~~ - and our new Germany, the Germany of the future, are going to understand each other; they will make friends, I am sure, they will like each other, and they will collaborate. What a fun and a joy it will be to show the beauties of the First German Republic to our American friends! I ^{am not} ~~am~~ exactly what one may call a ⁿardent patriot; but, I admit, it would make me ~~a sort of~~ proud to ~~act as~~ the host of American friends, in ^{future decent} ~~a~~ Germany. ~~the would be decent~~

My heart is filled with hopes and gratitude. The hopes and wishes are for Germany's future. And the gratitude is for the United States, because they ^{have given} ~~gave~~ me back some faith in the possibilities and good chances of mankind.

269/72



8 Pearl St.
Walk 2 blocks
to Municipal Court
on Tuesday election
Room 21
P.S. Library

C " Survey "

~~What are~~ This was the third winter I spent
in the U.S., since 1939. I began to feel & myself
at home in this country. I have seen many things
~~from~~ I know most intimately, - Manhattan,
between Lex. Av. and Eighth Av., between
30th and 60th Sts. - and the Pullman Car.
The Bronx and Brooklyn, already, are foreign
regions. A visit to Honolulu or Manoa means
fun & an excursion to the 236th Street,
West N.Y.C., is most adventurous. People who
live there "at the end of the world," are small
enough to ask me for a nice little supper.
I try to make it clear, "see the place, that
I can simply contain it." "Don't
too far!" my friends would say, quite
nervously. "Every child would find the way!
You just have the Up-Town Express, my
Ar... A, M happens to have a deplorably weak
character, I would answer: "O.K." I take
the M.-A.-V.-T.-Ex. I am going through
hours, the train is jammed, finally I find myself
agonies for 7/8 of an hour! What a strange place! Fairly
in the Bronx. Only, it wasn't
interesting, at a matter of fact. Only, it wasn't
my intuition at all to pay a visit to the
Bronx, just that afternoon. I am delighted i
may help me a little bar and A Scotch-and-Soda
without any pity, laughs quite a while before

Colorado Rockies, Haffner

Pr. H. m. m.

File, 2014 --

Summary
of people:

me, again and again. You can travel, in this country, for many hours, almost for days, without seeing anything but space, room, wide land, wilde land; nothing but earth - a very dry sort earth it seems to be, for many many miles; but, still, it is Earth, "the Good Earth". I feel myself taken by

This train will run ~~for~~ along how
 hours and hours, and night with fall,
 over a land which is empty - it is
 empty. Finally - at midnight, on
 go - we ~~will be~~ ~~are~~ going to
 reach some city - I have heard
 of many, but it is a ~~very~~ pretty
 important place, as far as I am
 told, and there won't be any
~~far~~ trouble of one party or
 before we arrive, nobody ever
 we wish arrive, that's all,
 there we are - and we are in
 the U.S.A., and the people would
 talk Am. English, and the ~~first~~
 of the ~~Hotel~~ ~~would~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~idea~~
 some of them look happy, others
 have a sad look, but the
 whole business doesn't look happy.
~~Nobody expects~~ They have got these problems,
 and rather bad ones, but the
 but nobody expects the "Decline
 of the Western World"; nobody thinks civilization
 was rotten, and on it and it should
 be ruined, as soon as possible, by
 the modern spirit of radium and
 hygienic medicine. No, Sir,

people are not inclined to be ^{made} fooled by
that kind of noxious rubbish.
because they ^{like to} emphasize, at ~~any~~ in a most
marked manner, that ^{the} "principle" — "in one
homeland" — the ^{same} are more "sapid",
the books more interesting, the food more
refined, the ^{food} more attractive and
much more elegant than ~~anywhere~~ at
any other place.

My first view on the N. G. is how G. who left
his country by conviction — not merely because
he was forced to do so — should be allowed
and should be willing to ^{express} his opinions
and thoughts to people in other countries —
For the G. in exile have two major
tasks and functions: they should
warn their hosts

The followers of that hungry, ~~at~~ a ^{kind of} ~~kind of~~
are most disastrous and most alarming.
The Germans are less educated, as has
as political are com. than other
people on the earth. As a point,
they are a catastrophe. G. in his book,
objective & manner, has formulated it.

~~Garten, auf dem schmalen Stück Strasse, von der aus es einen Meter tief~~

Try show best to be more original.

"What don't you like?"
 ... After having hesitated for a while. Brad Gorman
 habit of criticizing everything in other country;
 even some refugees do so; in France, they got
 the nickname "les bretons" - "in one homeland"
 saying that ~~by~~ the ~~waterway~~ train, the theatre
 - the food and the ~~waterway~~ train, the theatre
 and the beer is so much better.
 Finally, I admit that I don't especially care
 for apple pie with cheese, nor for fish with
 potato beans, nor for hot coffee with
 ice water.
 She insists: "And what else does disturb
 you?"

Every thing is a little new ... if you
 know what I mean. The lack of tradition.
 ... The big ~~is~~ town. I don't find it ...
 ... You know, in certain parts of G., or in Switz.
 ... Or in Australia, or in the South of France,
 in means ~~a sort~~ from the drive through the
 country. There are lovely places, every where I
 old villages, you see - all of them nicely built
 around the church. One has ~~been~~ bread and
 wine, in some old "Rathaus" - the
 very pleasant, indeed. Wherever we, there aren't
~~nothing~~ but any real villages; just some
 day, town, and many places, and many
 food cars ... and, besides, there wouldn't
 be any wine; just beer, or whiskey ...

She was an honest, one would notice it
at the first look - a little too honest,
perhaps, for my personal taste.

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NEW YORK

1.)

~~Miss Laura Hobbes~~

"You have a funny kind of an accent",
said the lady, I said.
"Unfortunately, I said.
My rounds, somewhat like French",
said the lady.
I said: "Well, that might be. I would
to live in France, for quite a while,
and I like it. I thought
she seemed to be astonished, and all."
Germans do dislike the display of
of them would like to display her?
"A. a. m. of it" was my answer.
"in a way." it is my favorite country,
strange. "She was bewildered and somehow
slightly disappointed, quite obviously. Germans are
happy," she remarked, "I thought for my."
The lady: "They certainly are," I admitted.
However, you talk about
the so-called Two G's, was just rubbish,
although it is an interesting way.
She didn't mean it in an interesting way.
Still, I couldn't help being a little shocked.
"Well..." I made a smiling and my smile was
for my rounds.

9.)

She was really a Jew, her eyes were
bright and gay, in a somewhat malicious
manner. She wasn't very young, 45 or 50
years old, maybe. She knew life. She wasn't
a fool.

"We had that kind of talk, during the
W. W.", she said, ^{rather} "angry". ~~It~~ ^{was} ~~not~~ of
about the better elements in the G. character,
and that we are not supposed to fight the
G. people, but fight the Kaiser and his
wicked generals. A lot of nonsense, that's
what it is. The world got rid of you
Kaiser — he is sitting around in H.,
by now, ... well, and did

nothing change? ~~They are~~ ~~not~~ at all!
Or, to be more precise, they have
turned to the worse. Wilhelm II.
was a gentleman, a cultured human
being and almost a pacifist, com-
pared to the Frick ... The Germans are just
fond of that type of leader ... That's
hopeless, she concluded. "How thoroughly

hopeless — I am sorry to say. The
Germans are nothing but ... She didn't
promise the bad worst she was thinking
of. She was too polite and too nice.
She blushed a little, and had a confused
little smile. She didn't want to offend me.
— "Just Hum?" It asked, very quietly.
She nodded. She looked almost ashamed,
as if I would have found out in decent
thought in her mind. — "Just Hum?"
she agreed. ~~The~~ After that, there
was a little silence.

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I couldn't show them really ...
 I try my best to explain the
 inferiority - complex of the G.
 nation, and to make it clear
 that there are ... always
 needs some overcompensation ...
 It is quite a delicate task:
 to warn the A. people not to
 underest. Negro danger, to have
 it wisely ... and, on the
 other hand, to defend the Gw. people
 ... Many among are good, as
 individuals. With they now make a
 decent community. Goethe said
 about them:

.....
The first witness is old gentleman,
white little beard, gentle but
determined.
..... I feel guilty, as if I would
be really a traitor, ~~small~~ wishing
around in foreign country,
making propaganda against
my homeland. That's the way
Dorzhiev G. would desire to
people of my ^{you} ~~land~~. The
old gentleman ~~with his~~ "The
Germans are fine people" very
noble people, indeed, ^{as} the imperial
always saying, ~~here~~ old
no more move his "least" I
should in Leningrad, he says.
"Do you know Dorzhiev? No. A
little fellow. And Mark,"

5.) I don't ask him the ~~other~~ simple
question: "Do you think the
G.I. would have discharged a
few years if they would have
been given dishonors? Did they
give a more generous peace to
the R.I. at P.L., in 1917?"
I don't ask him ask him
either: "Let the V.-T."
really still exist,
... I just say: "Glad you
like them Fine quality
without any doubt ..."

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manish! I was in Heidelberg, too,
and in Mayence, and I spent
seven months in Prague too. "
Why just seven months? - I
must think. And why just in
Pr. I think I happened to be in a
a dreary place. "I spent
with death, in winter", says
the gentleman. I know the
in English: "
German. They are clean people, and
exceedingly able. The Tr. of W.
has humiliated them. They had too
much too much. The Tr. of W.
is responsible for the whole
men in Europe."

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and inevitable in the
near future. The "New
Gov." is waiting for the
day of its liberation.
It is bound to come
in the near future.
And it will bring
peace, not only to
the E. but to the
world.

They would make me into a
host of even - examination
in order to prove that my
independent reasoning G.
was in fact by merely the
and inspired by the
which inspired
of them.

not followed and motivated by
the simple question:

Why my best to simplify
the problems which really are
exceedingly complex.
Why to explain that the
G. is improving as a pol. system
from the most painful i.e. - c. i.
always are eager to get
G. - c. i. that this aggression
will be international
good, the aggression it are
nothing but an own symptoms
of mark a high over-comp.

The N. - G. won't last for
a very long period. The
own "dynamic" is going
to make it

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The German didn't insist
Farr, nor was it established
in the P. I. first of all.
Farr is a pl. intw. and
probably an anti danger.
~~The base~~ It is not such
the Gw. took of Farr.
~~Gw.~~ we have no fight - a blow
N.S. ~~prob~~ in the most
resounding navigation of Farr

There might be reasons for
being against Germany
although that. Perhaps it would
be more sound. For the world
is that surprised and
highly gifted & would
not exist. That there
would be somewhat poorer,
thinner, and culture would
be less colorful. However,
~~this is~~ ~~this means~~ it is possible
to figure out what the
world would look like if
without G. — since the 20
is there, and pretty in the night,
1.00

(A.)

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I got contacts to many
different men and women of
the most different kind: club
ladies and students, priests
and professors, students and
journalists, bourgeois men and
mob, and to list them
I am wasting space and quite
a lot; because I am
lecturing — I have too
much to say. And I have too
much to say some more
concerning it. I enjoy my job;
I like lecturing; it's fun.
Many and I know have
a taste of a haughty attitude,
as far as lecturing is concerned.

Q.) "MA, a distance too far", they
would not. They are sensitive
and exceedingly delicate by
nature. I am not. I ~~have~~ love
to ~~the~~ the the ~~and~~ and the
people. ~~The~~ The ~~reader~~ reader, I have got the
odd ~~idea~~ idea ~~in~~ in my mind,
that I have to deliver a kind
of message to my audience.

.... MA is difficult to keep the G.
people — as a mass, it is
~~not so important~~ important to any man
as thing. The Germans are guilty,
in many respects. They have allowed
their leaders to commit dreadful
crimes, and they do most abominable
things themselves. The psychology of the
mass is very mysterious, nearly un-
reliable, in every country on earth
— and in G. ~~for~~ it is more so, perhaps,
than ~~any~~ any other. Complex questions,
involved problems...

me, again and again. You can travel, in this country, for many hours, almost for days, without seeing anything but space, room, wide land, wilde land; nothing but earth - a very dry sort earth it seems to be, for many many miles; but, still, it is Earth, "the Good Earth". I feel myself taken by

.... yet, I feel myself reduced to
 certain ~~frustrating~~ ^{frustrating} moods, when
 I ~~am~~ looking through the window
 of the running train. And, yet,
 the atmosphere is not what I would
 call Arid. I feel the productive
 tension, from the big centers, down
 in those desolate regions. I feel
 the future, and activities which
 are going to change that that
 waste plain, ~~that that~~
~~that that~~ - look, today, under
 cold or burning heaven - I
 feel possibilities, hope, chance -
 since there is ~~space~~ room, and
 human being too use it and
 without shuddering I can remember
 the old Empire - beloved Empire,
 my homeland -

That's why every body gets 26 reasons,
 and 26 reasons, and somehow he gets
 in a bit of feeling and doing.
 There isn't a room for all of them -
 which is a round reason too yet more.
 "What a relief!" I think, looking
 dreamingly through the
 window.

Germany. It all depends on the spirit behind the fight and the indignation. It all depends whether ~~the~~ people are feeling: 'To hell with Germany!' or else: 'to hell with Nazism!' It all depends

Must it be a crazy thing to do: to dream of a Reich of the future: of a shape not yet existing - while I am struggling through a con. which exists very much, and is great, and comfortable, and very fascinating?

.... I may be difficult to forgive, too frequent ... to tolerate ... reason is unreasonable ...

I examine myself:

Am I homesick? - I am not, and I never was, missing a place years of exile. I am not in love with G. I don't need her. Too full the whole world: I am then not too terribly fond of her. ~~Perhaps I won't go~~ I don't have any illusions, as I have as my arms are surrounded.

What I feel ^{very simply} is that the G. I. should
my necessity ~~that~~ the G. I. should
to go on, for now, alarming the
world by this "With no Natch" and
this bad manner, and ~~the~~
H. I. may be the last outbreak,
the lack of verifying man: publication
and personal relations of their
resolving to stand and ~~indicate~~
It is time for them to become reasonable,
after all, and to adapt themselves
to a little civilization ~~after~~ after
common sense, after having a lot of
profound "K." and actual bad behavior.

I am not longing for the G. I. home
nor for the view nor for the G. I. little
building in narrow streets. ~~I feel the same.~~
I do like Princeton N.Y. at least as
much as old H., incl. the a picturesque
"earth" as I make of fact, I follow
Pr. ... I feel perfectly well where I am.
I am at home, once more: in
a P. I. I look through the
window, ~~and my heart is filled~~
with ~~feeling~~ and ~~but~~ the feeling of
very kind to ~~lead over~~ and, ~~it is very hard~~
it is mixed with hope and prayer.

~~The future~~

I have funny thoughts in my mind -
moving thoughts. ~~A repeating thoughts~~
of good feelings - they are just coming,
are just overwhelming me, I
can't help it.

"This great C. - I feel - and the
new G.W., the G.W. of that future,
they will understand it each other,
and with time each other. They will
collaborate. What a big plan it
will be, when I am going
to show in the F. G. R. A.O.
our Am. friends... What a
summons from F. What a joy!

And my heart is going to
be a lot, and a

I am not what they would take a
patriot, but still it would make
be a rock of pride to play the
host of A. friends in a decent
G.W.

And my heart is a field with hope and
with great gratitude. The hope and wish
are for G. future. And I am
thankful to America
that it is like

And the to get. is for the
U. S. because they received
me, ~~to~~ and because they gave
me back ~~a~~ some confidence
in the possibilities and danger
of mankind.