

## **Verbundkatalog Kalliope**

### **Peace and Democracy Speech.**

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Peace and Democracy Speech.

The other day I found in a New York paper a short ~~item~~ <sup>note</sup> which I felt to be shocking and horrifying. It reads as follows:

Suicide follows a German Letter. A letter from her son in Germany came yesterday for Mrs. Erna Pfeiffer, sixty six, of 788 Jersey Avenue, Jersey City. - At 5 P.M. today she climbed to the roof of the four-story apartment house and jumped to her death. Her husband, Frederic, told police that the letter describing conditions in Germany seemed to have made her feel worse. *she had been in it for a while*

...The dreadful story seems significant....Something must be wrong in our world...Something is poisoning the very air we are breathing...

Freud speaks about the Unbehagen in der Kultur = the uneasiness of the modern culture...Fascism is threatening and killing not only its

direct victims...~~The~~ The mere existence of Fascism is spoiling and ruining everything we like and are proud of; every moral value, every spiritual notion becomes doubtful, problematic and even dangerous since Fascism is misusing it...

The conditions of our life are becoming more and more intolerable...  
No Peace - no war... *valley who know peace...* ~~Peace by blackmailing doesn't deserve this name...~~

...Everywhere one can feel this "un-easiness", this tension, this fatalistic waiting for awful things to come...

*All of you who feel...* Exiles of course, especially sensitive....Their position getting almost hopeless...One country after the other closing its frontiers...  
A dramatic incident like the Cuba *tragedy of the German Jews - not admitted* ~~affair~~ makes still a headline - while *with every a migration* ~~while~~ tenthousands of other tragedies, not less terrible, remain unknown

...Those German Jews, praying for some place where they could rest, if only for some weeks....the scene has *opened* ~~great~~ and moving dramatic style - the style of the Old Testament, the Bible... (Fortunately, some <sup>European</sup> countries received them...Little Holland - where so many of them already are settled - has the honor of having started... ~~made me kind of proud. Lived in Holland for years. Had passport ect.)~~

However, not all of the men and women, waiting at the Cuba coast will see friendly Amsterdam, beautiful city of Bruxelles... Suicide. ~~dangerous~~

*Some of had committed them didn't have brain patients. Linnin*

Many among us ~~are familiar with the dark hours and~~ have to overcome weary moods. It ~~even~~ may even happen that one of our comrades - a brave fighter and noble mind - breaks down. I am thinking, for instance, of the tragic case of my great friend Ernst Toller. He fought against ~~the~~ Infamy in all its forms, because he had a profound and enthusaistic belief in the good in man. Deep inside, I am sure, he believed in the victory of his great simple ideals - Justice, Liberty, Peace... But time and again, there came those dark hours, those sinister weeks, until at last there came the darkest hour of them all . and a New York hotel room became the scene of the tragedy...

Many ~~of us~~ are families with the dark hours, ~~and many moody~~  
temptation. - Varied ways of suicide. ~~A man can say, just because he is moody.~~  
many of us of us to overcome many

trough with life...That's the way Karel Capek died...I saw him some weeks before...He was finished....On the other hand: Toller - my great friend - wasn't "tough with life" by any means...Wanted to go on fighting...~~He couldn't.~~ He fought against infamy in all its forms because he had a profound belief in the good in man. It was never merely a party or political group with which he identified himself. He was never a dogmatist. His political thinking was often - although not always - guided by Marxism; but first and foremost he was a revolutionary by instinct. His militant enthusiasm was placed in the service of the greatest and simplest ideas: freedom, justice, peace...

Today one may ask: if he believed so passionately in humanity and its better future - what drove him into suicide? - Ah, it is a long story. In trying to tell it one would have to go into much detail, and in the end there would still remain something dark and un-resolved: the terrible secret which man takes into his grave...

Let infamy triumph: "One less who dared to fight for truth and justice!"

- Such are the howls rising from the Nazi press. It is frightening and almost incredible that there should be Americans - even though but a few isolated cases - who join in this chorus of Infamy. Toller loved America - loved it perhaps more than any other country since he had to leave Germany. He had many friends here. His death means a bitter loss, not only for us European exiles but also for his American comrades.

Yet, it was an American - Mr. George E. Deatherage, national commander of the Knights of the White Camellia - who had the audacity to declare publicly that he and his ilk were responsible for Toller's suicide. The fact that Mr. Deatherage is wrong is of small account. It is unlikely that T. ever knew of the existence of the Knights of the White Camellia. His concern over the growth of antisemitism in

this country could hardly have been as deep as his faith in the sound moral forces of this great Democracy. The sinister Knights did not murder Ernst Toller; the enormity lies in the fact that they boast of having murdered him. - Mr. Deatherage announces that "Toller was the first in a wave of suicides similar to that which followed the occupation of the Sudetenland and the seizure of Vienna."

I want to tell him: "You are mistaken, Sir Knight of the Camel-  
lie! Your diabolic wish shall not be fulfilled! You are right only in one respect: Toller can be an example to us! He was a fighter - let that be the example! The fact that he has also become a victim and a martyr should only confirm our resolution in the struggle.

There won't be any suicide wave among the antifascists - exiles or not ~~Mr. Deatherage~~. The tragic case of Toller - especially complicated and involved, by many circumstances... It is not a representative case...

A certain amount of optimism becomes a moral duty. By the way: not an actual reason for being hopeless... Conditions won't last as they are... Something has to happen, has to change -: everybody is feeling it, the "man on the street" as well as the politician... and the man on the street, perhaps, feels in a stronger and clearer way...

On the other hand: we have to remain realistic - which means:

skeptical... *But it is*  
~~I don't think it is realistic~~ to think history is going to repeat itself... There won't be "another Munich" - Hitler has had the big chance of ruling Europe with the British Tories... He has spoiled it... Didn't want it... *Didn't accept the offer made to him...*  
~~Is he doesn't want to share anything with anybody~~  
...After Munich: the programs - which made him un-popular once more, almost as much as the 30 th. of June, 1934. And then, the annexation of

C.S.R.

He doesn't want to share anything with anybody. Ger Prussian reactionaries made experience (Papen, Hugenberg ect.); British Tories made the same exp.; his And his Fascist allies? - They don't trust each other.. Mussolini knows Hitler as both of them have the same kind of character... ~~Only~~ Yet Hitler happens to be the boss of the stronger army and the richer country...

Little story, significant:

Hitler Mussolini Franco. Had dreams.

F. God came and promised to me half of Europe..

M. God promised me three quarters of Europa...

H. Funny - I ~~don't~~ don't remember having promised anything to anybody..

In Italy - Gestapo ruling. - Axis un-popular - people coming from there confirm... "Under Mussolini it was better..."....Nazis privately call Il Duce "District leader of Italy"...

This is encouraging...Italy wouldn't be a reliable ally.

And Spain ?? - I was there. Barcelona, Madrid... *(H told: "You won't know..." "They did not..."* The spirit...the suffering

Negrin, Del Vayo told me: Spanish people would rebel if Franco ever should try to lead them into war...Loyalist leaders are right...

Is there Peace in Spain? - NO. - Franco kills a man every nine minutes...cannot think of it without shuddering...

On the other hand: may be forced to enter war...His planned trip to Rome proves how dependant...

*Wave of patriotism going through*  
Unrest everywhere...Poles decided to resist...Prisoners collecting many...Even peaceful little Switzerland; Holland... Austria. Article in "Völkischer Beobachter" - H.'s paper - admits: no enthusiasm at Vienna. People cold toward Nazism - even when Hitler arrived triumphantly. - Salzburg. Palace of Archbishop given to S.S. - Doesn't make popular

although the Vatican apparently doesn't mind...

More important - perhaps decisive - : spirit of the people in ~~C.S.R.~~  
C.S.R. - Not surprised since I know that country...(Citizen)...Remember that fine city of Prague...Always knew: population would not remember...Perhaps Benesh was right being optimistic...Remember hour in his studio...Castle...View (the very castle where Hitler...) "Time is working for Democracy..." (Before Munich) He seemed to be mistaken. Perhaps he is not...

Letters from Prague. People helping the Jews. German soldiers embarrassed, feeling like hated foreigners - which they actually are... Czech people patient...Have experience in waiting "for the day"...

News about Czech Legion in Poland - perhaps of high importance...

Hitler never met a people who did not yield...All he knows to do: sending Herr Himmler - experienced sadist...Relations <sup>not likely to</sup> ~~would~~ improve that way... *To establish "order" Synagogues in flames*

Benesh's Brother. Yesterday, the news about his flight to Poland.

Remember conversation with him in American Middle West..."WHY shouldn't I...? After all, I am a Czech..." - "I am a German..." - Perhaps, he was less naïve than he tried to appear; had his reasons...  
...Hitler may have great surprises with C.S.R.

Spirit of the French and British people has changed. - News from Paris. Was there during September Crisis. Then nobody realized...

They do realize by now...They know their existence is deadly threatened...Domestic argues still serious; but in the background, for the

time being. Not correct to call Daladier "another Brüning"...~~Anti~~

Anti-Nazi-feeling unifying Nationalists and Radicals...Even De ~~la~~

Rocque...Everybody in France wants Alliance with Soviet Union; feels

it to be of vital interest for France... The only choice with

*is left: between the final abdication of the Democracies - the abdication "for good": which would mean the hegemony of Fascism over Europe; probably over the world - or else the ~~former~~ former Peace Front - which <sup>probably</sup> ~~certainly~~ would NOT mean WAR, but Hitler's fall...*

Other less promising aspects of international situation...Pro-Nazi groups continue their way...Yugoslavia with the Axis (although there is resistance...Strange speech, the other day, of the Yugosl. Minister at Paris...) Hungary...absolutely dependant... *still strong*

Above all: Skepticism about Ruling English Class. - Chamberlain and his friends. *The men who made Munich* Did they really change? - Do they really want? - Uneasiness about is. *in this country* My opinion: They did change. Realized Empire endangered.

(Story at Munich: Ribbentrop... "Look, he is signing"... ) - Realized ~~Hitler~~

Hitler is NOT the "Man of order"; not the protector of conservative of ideals and interests...not the "Bollwork against Bolshevism"...

Finally have ~~noticed~~ noticed the anarchistic, destructive element. *Not in the hands of the British* *Willing to advance* *changing* *for anybody.* *Popular in London: "It takes much more... H. takes account... "Historical..."* to collaborate even with Moscow... I think that Stalin is prepared to

collaborate with them... Many of us were shocked by Litwonow's fall... Did not mean ~~Soviets~~ Soviets wanted "isolation". There isn't any isolation. Soviets clever enough to understand... German victory in the West would threaten Soviets...

~~"Another Munich" - new Appeasement would actually mean the final surrender abdication of the Democracies; end of the Empire.~~

~~It won't come It is not likely to come - although we should remain skeptical as long as Chamberlain-Bonnet remain in office...~~

Most important fact:

Mood of people within the Reich.

All of our informations confirm: Opposition growing. *New spirit among German people, who do not want war.* Don't want war.

Nobody. Are afraid... Can Hitler risk it? - He certainly would prefer

"peaceful conquests" *On any day:* ...Blackmailing... He has to conquer... Desperate economical condition. *Financial arrangements* Some loan wouldn't do it... He needs more-

much more anyway than anybody would give to him... ~~Tension between~~

~~Poland-Third Reich growing... Weekend incidents at Danzig almost~~

His position is rather complicated and dangerous...Stopping the re-armament would mean:millions of new un-employed..On the other hand:without stopping it,not hope for concessions from the Democracies...<sup>even not financial</sup>The economical point not the only one. That famous "Dynamic Principle" has a reality...He has to move;needs it in every respect - for his own nerves , and because the basic element of his whole régime is the adventure,the danger,the catastrophe...Peace would make Nazism un-necessary...  
Many different groups ~~is~~ opposed to the régime.

The main problem:to unify them,to coordinate them...

The generals. Difficulties more serious than observers realize abroad.

The purges. - April 1 :more than thirty high officers,among them the commander of the air forces General Quade. - May 1 :the commander of the War Academy General of the Infantry Leibmann and other generals in disgrace. - Another general,von Metzsch,published very pessimistic book about the war chances....Rudolf Hess establishes office to control the general staff and to report to Hitler,who is very disturbed...

Certain circles in England hope:Putsch of the generals...Fascism without Hitler and antisemitism...

They forget:Labour people becoming more active...January 1939 :Doktor Ley demanding for 10 hours work a day.Passive resistance of Labour.

Star Actual strike. - until government declared:8 hours were really much better...Unrest everywhere.People killed and injured in the Saar country.In Düsseldorf:"Nieder mit Hitler!"Down with.....:for the first time since the Reichstag was burning...Bad signs....People realize: WHAT do we get out of all those conquests?...Comrades return from Spain;tell:800 killed;1400 injured...Why do we need Spain or the Ukraine....Are asking each other:"Must we conquer Brasil to get a decent cup of coffee?".....Bourgeoisie malcontent as well....~~So~~ So are the peasants...

~~(cannot stand still)~~ - 7- Reason: Unemployed population.  
- like a program...  
The habit... That famous "dynamic principle" has a certain reality...

More necessary than ever: Propaganda among the Germans themselves...

Telling them: - not anti-German, just anti-Hitler. - You will have a better future without him. Get rid of him!... Very clearly! Forget diplomatic routine, politeness! Approach them directly! Radio. - Underground.

There are possibilities... (Pamphlet zeigen!) - Many tricks... There are brave people... *Americans have done more than other people. Your anti-Nazi attitude impressed German.*

We try our best. Not enough. - Read about Ministry for Propaganda in England. Highly important. - Don't wait until it may be too late!

The next German Republic - the First one - should NOT be result of

another lost war. Before the war people have to understand... and finally the will act... *Up to now, two disturbing doubts: to destroy Germany, would ready to collaborate with H. - Or, the Germany.*

Firm attitude toward Hitler. Conciliatory attitude toward German people.

Should say: "We don't want to destroy Germany... But there won't be any peace as long as Hitler..." *Organized hostility...*

~~Hitler means the war since everybody is decided and prepared not to surrender, once more, to his boundless demands...~~ *Göbbels' most successful slogan: After Hitler - What? No chaos!*

The Germans may be stubborn and slow and ignorant... There are, however, simple matters everybody can grasp... There are vital things...

~~Hitler has to be stopped - without the catastrophe of a new world war.~~

~~The Germans themselves have the task to stop him - and you have the duty to help us in our struggle.~~

If the other countries will make it clear that they decided to defend their own interests, their independence and lives, against the aggressor the German people will realize that their Führer is going to lead them to the catastrophe; that he IS the catastrophe... I still hope and believe it won't be necessary for the Democracies to win another

*dead end war against G., as the G.'s themselves, who have been confused and misled for such a long time, finally must wake up. They will stop Hitler!*

Significant: doesn't dare to shout against Sovjet Union any longer...  
Only attacking Western powers..."Germany the have-not, the proletarian  
among the nations..."Does not impress. - Encirclement solgan rather fit  
to confuse nationalistâcally minded people...Not in the long run...  
Are bound to ask themselves: "Again? Once more? - Something must be wrong..  
.....P r o p a g a n d a : main task - propaganda within the Reich,  
among Germans...Germans have to decide their fate, and the fate of  
Europe

