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Ort-Speech.

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May I begin with two statements, both of them being, or seeming to be, somewhat paradoxical... First of all, speaking about and against the Nazis - the Jewish angel usually is over-emphasized... Many people used to think, or are still thinking, Nazism as an antisemitic movement. This isn't accurate - or it isn't sufficient. *actually is nothing but*

Antisemitism, racial intolerance altogether, just a striking symptom of barbarism..... For several reasons, Nazis made more noise about their antisemitism than about *their abhorrence of* Christian religion. They didn't dare, up to now, to attack Christianity officially; although their struggle against so-called "political Catholicism" means nothing but fighting Christianity... *Nazi* They hate religion - or: every religion which does not ~~accept~~ yield to Nazism... which pretends to be a "religion" itself... *adapting*

~~The antisemitic slogan is always is convenient... especially among people who are suffering from ~~inferiority~~ complexes as the Germans do... After the 1918 defeat, ~~minority~~ *this inferiority* complex of Germans had become like a fever, like a disease... ~~Somebody had to be found. The guilty one had to be found - we call it: "der Prügelknabe" - the boy who gets the scapegoat...~~~~

~~It had to be somebody within the country, and as Germans never like to accuse their generals - being fond of generals - they chose the Jews... Whatever happened: the Jew was responsible... The inflation, made by Thyssen, Krupp ect. - : the Jew; the Treaty of Versailles, occupation of the Ruhr:~~

the Jew...

The fact that Nazis used Antisemitic slogan turned out to be very effective... which does not prove that Nazism is exclusively - or mainly - an antisemitic movement... Nazism threatening not only certain groups or races or countries... but our entire civilisation...

Not only Jews should be afraid of Nazism and should fight it...

On the other hand: Jews should not make mistake by thinking just German

form of Fascism is dangerous for Jews... Fascism always will turn out to be antisemitic, ^{being the} since antisemitism is strongest, clearest symptom of barbarism, ^{and} and Fascism is barbarism..... I always was astonished when Jews defended Mussolini... ^{He is not antisemitic} "He is not antisemitic".... My feeling: Wait and see... Well - we have seen it... ^{always has been antisemitic}

The same thing in the case of Franco. Especially wealthy Jews - in sympathy with him, thinking the Loyalists were "Bolshevists" - which is untrue.

Franco has to become antisemitic, too... He ^{has} ~~should~~ already... Antisemitism is not a German specialty, but ^{belongs to} a quality of Fascism.

Fascism ~~is~~ antisemitic everywhere - Hungary ect. Would be so in this country; in France where antisemitic trends are increasing...

This brings me to second "paradoxical statement": ^{Antisemitic tendency} Germans not really antisemitic. ^{European East must move to. Russian Policy.} ~~Never were.~~ Before the war... antisemitic movements, never really popular... Ruling class tolerant... The Kaiser and his friends. (Rathenau; Ballin - his suicide...)

~~Theatrical, literary life.... Influence of Jews....~~

And to-day? ^{After the German down, propaganda against Jews made by the Nazis.} Everybody opposed to Nazi regime, especially friendly to Jews. Talking to a Jew - gesture against régime.... Especially in intellectual circles...

Jew told me: "Was never treated with so much politeness... almost embarrassing..." - Significant: "Stürmer" has to warn housekeepers, again and again, not to buy anything in Jewish stores.... Girls, not to ^{flirt} fool around with Jews... Why is it necessary? - Why ^{has} ^{is} it necessary to arrange thousands of meetings, before programs started, last November? ^{after German down, propaganda}.... Programs have been ^{most people disappointed} a failure... did not make régime more popular...

Solidarity of the oppressed ones.

^{Not only} In Germany. In C.S.R.

"Times" report: "Jews have never been so popular with ordinary Czech people as today, Sympathy and practical help are extended to these people, who are known and know themselves to be doomed."

A new sense of solidarity which is showing itself - ; doesn't it mean great comfort to Jews in ^{the} ~~midst~~ of all their sufferings?

....I hope it ^{may} ~~hope~~ prevent Jews from turning toward a dangerous nationalism themselves. Very well able to understand this tendency - ^(to emphasize own nat. & racial) ~~their dig-~~ nity demands.... - ; but I feel it to be dangerous... ^(natural reaction and it is) in Palestine... They seem to agree with Nazis by saying: "I am Jew - nothing else..." No. A German Jew has too many German qualities... Jews have done too much for German

culture... The same is true if it comes to French English American Russian ^{young member of civilized human society} Jews... The worst danger of too much suffering and pain - : to become

selfish.... Solidarity with the oppressed ones should be a matter of course for the Jews - as it is a matter of course for every anti-Fascist to be actively opposed to any antisemitism.... I am disappointed sometimes if I have to notice that Jews admit they could reconcile themselves with Fascism ^{only} if Fascism would renounce antisemitism....

....In the discussions following public lectures, people ask question:

"Why doesn't Herr Hitler like the Jews?"

...Sometimes, I feel like answering: "Write a postcard to Berchtesgaden and ask him..." - Why doesn't he like them?... There is some idée fixe, rooted very deeply in his hysterical confused mind... Impressions of his early days - ^{my play an important factor} in the asylum in Vienna.... "The Jew the cause of all evil on earth".... Pathological superstition...: perhaps honest - the only honest feeling he has got...

The ^{Confidential} ~~most profound~~ reason:

Jews represent for him intelligence.

I have told you before: he dispises Faith - every faith which is not the faith in National Socialism... Hates intelligence still more... ^{how does}

Religious faith he regards as a competition . - The critical spirit - ^{he considers to be} as his deadly enemy.

He abuses Jews - and means the intellectuals - whom he calls "beasts of intelligence", Intelligenzbestien...

As a matter of fact, intellectual level of Jews in Germany higher than of average non-Jew... They did not "dominate" German culture - but they were a productive part of it. Especially as critics they discovered new talents... ^{of} Nietzsche said: "Only Jews understand me... for instance: Brandes, the Swedish professor - "; besides, he felt Heine to be greatest German poet... ^{Many people think mistakenly}

Exiles are not exclusively Jewish, by no means. But most of them are intellectuals. Culture was driven out. And the Jews belonged to the German culture.

^{M called this man excellent}
- "Escaped to Life" - although to a very complicated, involved kind of life...

Many Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals - writers or doctors or scientists

- work successfully abroad. Others have to change profession - for the time being. They find friends ^{and} - "for constructive help" - friends, so active as your generous group... Jews in Palestine or ^{at} other places prove that they are very well able to do simple work. (A friend, coming from Palestine, told me: "I found out Jews are poor business men, but excellent workmen, brilliant sportsmen, very fit for every kind of physical effort..")

- Still, the fact remains that they were persecuted as intellectuals.

.....The question "Will the Jews survive Dictatorship" - reminds me other question the PEN-Club wanted us to discuss... "Will Culture survive Exile"... I said: Question of vital importance - and slightly embarrassing.

^{to write in exile.}
Feel like being in the position of a very sick man whom somebody would ask

"Do you think you will succeed in remaining alive for another little

while?" - Sick man makes desolate effort to look optimistic... "I'll try

my best..." - Culture and Jews are threatened by the same ruthless enemy.

Both of them will survive - of course they will - both of them ^{having} experienced in pains... We are going through hard times - all liberal

people - and the Jews with us... It looks hopeless, at certain moments...

We have to face it... Have to remain active, helpful and ^{hopeful} brave... Must be patient... Enemy of culture seems to be strong - and is bluffing. We are stronger. Persecutions don't weaken us. Nietzsche: "Was mich nicht umbringt macht mich stärker." - "What does not kill me strengthens me."

Mathews are bound to change.

on the contrary...