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The German Opposition and The Nazi Soviet Pact. I. II.Version.

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The German Opposition and The Nazi Soviet Pact.

By Klaus Mann.

I am not going to discuss the attitude nor the actual chances of the anti-Nazi opposition within the Reich. The men and women who risk their lives to fight Hitlerism, inside Germany, act and think under very special psychological and practical laws. ~~Besides, it becomes more and more difficult to keep any permanent contact with those varied German underground movements since the war has started. We still receive in-~~ formations; we have certain signs and symptoms, some of them being very promising. We know that dissatisfaction is growing, that the war is unpopular, even - or above all - with the "old Nazi fighters". We also know that the Stalin-Hitler agreement has a double effect upon the different oppositional groups, as it intensifies and, at the same time, ~~confuses the anti-Nazi feelings and activities. We may hope, or may be-~~ lieve, that those dispersed, un-organized forces and tendencies even- tually will find and strengthen each other - or even that this deci- sive process of unification, under the tremendous pressure of the dictatorship, ~~already~~ ^{has begun} ~~is beginning.~~

While the brave antagonist of the hated régime, ^{inside} ~~within~~ the country itself, have to face the actual dangers and must do the real job of preparing the revolution, the political exiles have the crucial task to clarify the situation theoretically, to create, ~~by the means of thinking and discussing,~~ the moral and intellectual basis for a German Democracy to come. There are, among the German refugees, some brilliant thinkers and many very talented writers, but only few gifted and trained politicians *. The point of the matter is that we do not possess any man, who really would deserve the designation of a political leader. We do not have a Thomas Masaryk, nor can we boast of any "new Lenin" within our ranks.

~~however, the political German exiles represented something like an~~

~~impressive unit, at certain historical moments. During the Civil War in Spain, for instance, all of us, including the liberal Catholics, wanted and propagated the victory of the Loyalists, and all of us, without a single exception, were in sympathy with Benesh's Czechoslovakia, and were profoundly disgusted with the Munich Peace. This kind of unanimity, however, does not exist anymore since the beginning of the present war - or, to be more precise, since Herr von Ribbentrop flew to Moscow.~~

The People's Front - the broad, comprehensive concentration of all ~~the~~ anti-Fascist forces - has never been a political reality with the German exiles. It was ^{for six years,} keenly wished and propagated by the communists and by many independent intellectuals, while the Social Democrat and Catholic party leaders, together with certain conservatives and liberals, obstinately refused to collaborate with any adherents of the Kremlin. Now, of course, since Stalin and Hitler seemingly made friends, those traditional foes of the People's Front policy noisily exclaim, with a sort of embittered triumph: "We are not ^{a bit} surprised as we always knew this would happen! We realized, from the beginning, that Stalin is at least as bad as Hitler, and that his followers misused the sacred notion of Democracy as a propaganda trick, for the sake of their own bloody aims." - The communists, on the other hand, reply with contempt and anger: "The policy of the People's Front was doomed to fail, ^{since} ~~as~~ it was stubbornly and permanently ^{sabotaged} ~~boycotted~~ by the capitalists, including the so-called Social-Democrats - just as the enlightened Soviet conception of Collective Security, the Litvinoff policy, was betrayed by the so-called Democracies." - It is impossible to deny that both of these versions contain a certain portions of truth, and that both of them are one-sided.

The situation is complex and has many different aspects. Just because

the problems we have to deal with, happen to be so utterly involved, I consider it as useful or even necessary to state very clearly my own point of view. I have never been a communist ^{or} a Marxist, but I was for the political collaboration with the communists, up to the end of August 1939. I used to believe in the anti-aggressive, anti-Fascist, pacifist foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This may have been very naïve; however, I never was quite naïve enough to assume that the communists, all of a sudden, had discovered their burning love for Democracy. But I considered them intelligent enough to realize that their deadly enemy was Fascism, and that Democracy was their natural ally.

My personal experiences and disappointment, as far as the Soviet Union and the Third International are concerned, are very similar to those which Vincent Sheean has so frankly admitted and so intelligently discussed. I am ^{absolutely} ~~hundred percents~~ against the new Soviet policy. I am deeply shocked about the recent acts of Stalinist aggression, and I am disgusted with the hypocritical, fantastic and impertinent nonsense Mr. Molotov offers as explanation of his evil deeds. I am absolutely for the Democracies - which I don't ~~entitle~~ "the so-called...." - ; I desire the plain victory of Britain and France. This does not mean, however, that I have become an admirer of Mr. Chamberlain, nor that I confound Mr. Churchill with a holy man. I merely and simply think that Britain and France are doing, at this moment, what we wanted and expected them to do for seven years: they actually defend European civilization against Nazi aggression. Therefore it strikes me as ~~very~~ hypocritical and shocking ~~to~~ if anyone "discovers", just now, that the French and British Empires ^{owe} ~~owe~~ their existence to nasty "imperialism". I am for the Allies, not because of their imperialism but in spite of it. I am for them, in short, because they make an heroic effort to smash Hitlerism, the arch-enemy of our civilization, and finally because they proclaim as

their war-aims the organization of stable peace and a better order in Europe.

It is hard for me to remain quiet and patient whenever faithful Stalinists confirm me that England is "at least" as rotten as Nazi Germany, and that Daladier's France is ^{even} ~~still~~ a little worse, ~~with Monsieur Sene still being imprisoned.~~ German communists, to be sure, hardly would talk that way. Their position is especially delicate, even tragic. Their hatred of Hitler is genuine, and they never could make their peace with any Nazi government. The idea that Hitler himself could establish something like a German national bolshevism, must horrify and confuse them. For they flatly deny that there possibly could exist such a thing as "bad socialism"; that there ever could be a State that is "socialist" and, at the same time, ^{nationalistic and} ~~immoral, aggressive, and humanitarian.~~ Their obstinate overestimation of the purely economic angle - this most dangerous element of the Marxian philosophy - is the actual source of most of their mistakes and crimes. They indentify, naïvely and erroneously, the interest of the Kremlin ^{with} ~~and~~ the very notions of "good", "progressive" and "human". ~~They are in fact much more orthodox than and narrow-minded than are the more intelligent Catholics. French and German Catholic intellectuals openly and bitterly admitted that the Holy Father, who is not infallible in the political sphere, made a mistake when he helped the general Franco against the atheistic Loyalists - while the communists, including the German comrades, stubbornly refuse to admit that their Holy Father is mistaken at all when he helps the Führer against the capitalistic democracies.~~ The German comrades make desperate efforts to save their anti-fascist face, by confirming that Stalin really is Hitler's most dangerous foe. They are apparently unable to grasp the fact that a ~~crash~~ ^a clash between Stalin and Hitler, even it will eventually occur, would mean just another

struggle between two greedy dictators - an event without any moral significance.

The German communists, at this historical moment, have a final chance to liberate themselves from the traditional Russian guardianship, which is responsible for the tragic failure of the German radicals, ~~from 1919 up to 1933~~ ^{interlude} ~~period~~ 1933. Are they going to return, after the hectic ~~period~~ of the People's Front, to that sterile, anti-democratic attitude of sinister isolation, which eliminated their influence in the faraway times of the Weimar Republic?

I am afraid there are ^{again} German communists who hate ~~once more~~ the Social Democrats much more intensely than they ever hated the Nazis - while certain liberals and conservatives loathe the communists much more than they loathe the devil. I know former ~~but~~ communists, liberals, conservatives and Social Democrats among the German exiles, who keep on talking and acting like regular Red-Baiters. Their traditional battle-cry, repeated now with a new fervour, is: "Der Feind steht links!" - "The enemy stands to the left!" ~~This fanatical abhorrence of everything that is "red", or just slightly pink - an abhorrence which did not start but reached its peak climax with the Nazi-Soviet agreement - has, in~~ ^{often} ~~many cases,~~ very complicated and not always very sound reasons. It ~~is~~ shows a quite hysterical and morbid character in the cases of certain ex-communists, resentful former members of the Third International, who apparently are tortured by a genuine persecution mania and inclined to see a "Soviet Agent" on every street corner.

A few days after the conclusion of the Berlin-Moscow Pact, a German Social-Democrat, living at New York, ^{questioned} ~~wrote to me:~~ asked me, briefly and harshly, ~~me~~ : 'What do you think about the new Agreement? Do you like it or not? Your answer ^{has to} ~~must~~ be Yes or No!' He generously suggested I might explain, in a special paragraph, the reasons of my saying "Yes or No". - The situation, at that moment, was still more confused and unde-

cided then it is to-day, and I myself was in a state of bewilderment and depression. Besides, I didn't like the "Yes or No" trick. Therefore I refused to make a statement, and just wrote a very polite, somewhat evasive private letter - which, by the way, did not contain a single word in favour of the Soviets. However, this insignificant note of mine was published, first of all in the New York organ of the German Social Democrats. Later it was reprinted by "Der Neue Vorwärts", official paper of the German Social Democrat Party in Paris, and, at the same time, by "Das Neue Tage-Buch" (Paris/Amsterdam), an independent weekly edited by the gifted political journalist Leopold Schwarzschild. Herr Stampfer, the editor of Der Neue Vorwärts, just remarked that I had for ever betrayed "the cause of freedom and a better Germany", since I did not behave like a nice boy and had wickedly refused to say "Yes or No", as the teacher had expected me to do. My old friend Leopold Schwarzschild, however, went still further. I have known him for many years and I have written many dozens of articles for his magazine. It was only recently that I got somewhat estranged from him. For this minor self-styled dictator ~~does~~ not allow anybody to express any opinions he ~~does~~ not share. My mild criticism of his anti-red hysteria had made him furious. His malicious, often very un-fair remarks against everybody he considered "red", were frequently quoted and praised by the Nazi press. Consequently the communists, on their side, denounced him as a "Nazi agent" - which obviously was a nasty thing to say about a man, who has done more than most people to warn a lukewarm world of the Nazi danger. I used to defend Mr. Schwarzschild against his radical foes, privately and in public. Yet I had the misfortune to become the victim of his frenzied lust for revenge. I was ~~seriously~~ called, in Mr. Schwarzschild's weekly, "an old Soviet agent who finally has shown his genuine face" - : thus are the very words of an anonymous "New York correspondent", who signed his amazing nonsense cowardly with three little stars.

This was so absurd that it almost had the character of a silly joke. Yet I could not laugh, since I felt our situation was somewhat too serious for grotesque ~~little~~ escapades of that kind. ^{Therefore} ~~consequently~~ I considered it necessary to ^{compose} ~~write~~ a long, detailed Reply, explaining that I am not a Soviet agent and never have been, neither directly nor indirectly, neither consciously nor sub-consciously. I don't know as yet, at this moment, whether or not my old friend, liberal Herr Schwarzschild, will be inclined to publish the self-defense of a man, who was meanly calumniated in the same paper ^a ~~the~~ contributor of which he used to be for ten years.

All this, of course, sounds very much like "storm in the tea cup". My personal quarrels with Mr. Schwarzschild are utterly unimportant. Yet they ^{may} have a certain symptomatic significance. For they obviously show how far those, who are possessed by the anti-red mania, may be ready to go. They keep on slandering people and organizations, thus deliberately deepening the abyss which already exists between the varied anti-Nazi groups.

The disunion of the different left and liberal parties has led to the final collapse of the Weimar Republic. ~~Is it~~ Must this sinister German tragedy be repeated, once more? Will the New German Democracy be ruined, even before it was born, by senseless discussions, senseless quarrels and senseless hatred? - ~~Those endless and senseless arguments and quarrels are not just going on between Stalinists and anti-Stalinists, to be sure; but also between the varied liberal and democratic fractions.~~ The other day, I received a ^{fairly} ~~very~~ stimulating and instructive paper, entitled "Inside Nazi Germany", "published by the 'Friends of the German People's Front in London'. On its front page I found the following remarks:

"According to Press reports a 'German National Council' has recently been formed at Zurich. Neither its programme nor its representatives have anything in common with the German democratic movement. This Council is led by two former Nazis, Dr. Otto Strasser and Dr. H. Rauschning, and has neither influence nor connection with the democratic, anti-Nazi

opposition...Anyone who agrees to a dismemberment of Germany...has failed to learn anything from history."

Thus left-wing journalists accuse men like Rauschnig and Strasser of a lack of national feelings - which certainly is most surprising and a trifle perverted. The whole discussion of a future "dismemberment" or division of the Reich is a striking symptom of the unfortunate confusion in our ranks. For it obviously would be wiser to leave so delicate a decision to those, who will actually possess the power to decide, if and when the decisive moment will come...I don't think it is of our business to demand from the division of Germany, as several exiles very clumsily and tactlessly keep on doing; nor should we exclaim, already by now, our abhorrence of so remote a possibility. It depends on countless, unpredictable circumstances whether or not such an incisive measure eventually will be advisable and practicable. Far more significant than the problem of how to change the European frontiers, is the other problem of how to change the European spirit and, above all, the spirit and attitude of the Germans.

There is a dangerous tendency among German radicals to over-emphasize the distinction between the German people and the Nazi régime. All of us know, or should know, that Hitler does not represent the entirety and certainly not the best elements of the nation. Yet it is absurd to pretend that the Germans were the innocent victims of Nazi terror, and must not be beaten but merely liberated. The same Marxists who have ridiculed and attacked, for so many years, the very conception of nationalism, now have seemingly changed into ardent patriots. What they actually are longing for is a powerful, fully armed Reich, allied with a still more powerful Soviet Union. Their supreme wishdream obviously is to see Germany ruled by a Berlin branch of the GPU, instead of the Gestapo. The "liberal" or conservative red-baiters, on the other hand, are prepared to accept any kind of a government as long as it is anti-socialistic. They apparently would love to swear obedience to Fritz Thyssen, the houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg, and the general Brauchit

Sch.

All of this would be most depressing and discouraging - if we would not know that there exist other forces, in exile as well as inside the country - :young, #progressive, truly democratic forces. We can notice, however, an unfortunate tendency among the "professional politicians" in exile to eliminate, once more, the influence of those more youthful and more spiritual elements, just as the Weimar Republic used to deny to the intellectuals any kind of participation in the public affairs. The stubborn and blind belief in the miraculous abilities of the "Fachmann" - the expert - represents another fatal feature of the national German character... Yet we may hope and trust that this time, considering the crucial seriousness of the situation, the vital task of building and inspiring the New German Democracy won't be entirely left to those professionals, who have not been so very successful ten years ago.

The German people must find back to the community of European nations. In order to do so we must not fraternize with Asia nor with the most reactionary elements of the Western Democracies or with our own ancien régime. We don't need any "new ~~Metternich~~ Metternich" as we did not have any Napoléon. Nor do we want any Napoléon since we did not have any revolution but a dreary, bloody anarchy. What we need and want is real Democracy which guarantees order, freedom, and the peaceful collaboration with all other nations. The essential topic of all of our discussions must be, from now, ^{on} this delicate and inspiring notion of the coming European Democracy. All of us should participate in this great, decisive conversation. Everyone who is of good will and honest intentions, is welcome.

II. Version

The German Opposition and the Nazi Soviet Pact.

By Klaus Mann.

I am not going to discuss the attitude nor the actual chances of the anti-Nazi opposition inside Germany. The men and women who risk their lives to fight Hitlerism, within the Reich, act and think under special psychological and practical laws. While they have to face the real dangers and must do the actual job of preparing the revolution, we, the political exiles, have the crucial task to clarify the situation theoretically, thus creating the moral and intellectual basis for a German Democracy to come. There are indeed, among German refugees, some brilliant thinkers and many very talented writers, but only few gifted and trained politicians. In fact we do not possess any man who really would deserve the designation of a political leader. We do not have a Thomas Masaryk nor can we boast of any new Lenin within our ranks.

The People's Front - the broad, comprehensive concentration of all anti-Fascist forces - has never been a political reality with the German exiles. It was, for six years, keenly wished and propagated by the communists and by many independent intellectuals, while the Social Democratic and Catholic party leaders, together with certain liberals and conservatives, obstinately refused to collaborate with any adherents of the Kremlin. Now, of course, since Hitler and Stalin seemingly made friends, those traditional foes of the People's Front noisily exclaim, with a sort of embittered triumph: "We are not a bit surprised as we always knew this would happen! We realized from the beginning that Stalin is at least as bad as Hitler, and that his followers misused the sacred notion of Democracy as a propaganda trick, for their own bloody aims." - The communists, on the other hand, reply with contempt and anger: "The policy of the People's Front was doomed to fail, since

it was stubbornly sabotaged by the capitalists, including the so-called Social Democrats - just as the enlightened Soviet conception of Collective Security was betrayed by the so-called Democracies." - It is impossible to deny that both of these versions contain certain portions of truth, and that both of them are one-sided.

The situation is complex and has many different aspects. There are many problems and questions involved, and there are many different ways to answer them. What we need, however, is not an interesting discussion but a clear solution. To take sides in a ~~complicated~~ struggle always means to simplify complicated matters. Yet we must take sides, we are forced to do so.

By explaining my own point of view, I hope to express, more or less precisely, the ideas and convictions of many among my fellow-exiles. I have reasons, indeed, to believe that the majority of them feels approximately the same way I do, although there exist minorities, either reactionary or radical, who noisily exclaim quite different opinions.

I have never been a communist nor a Marxist, but I was for the political collaboration with the communists, up to the end of August 1939. My personal experiences and disappointments, as far as the Soviet Union and the Third International are concerned, are very similar to those which Vincent Sheean ^{has} so frankly admitted and so intelligently discussed. I am absolutely against the new Soviet policy. I am deeply shocked about the recent acts of Stalinist aggression, and I am disgusted with the hypocritical, fantastic nonsense Mr. Molotov offers as an explanation of his evil deeds. I am entirely for the Democracies - which I don't entitle the "so-called"... I desire the plain victory of France and Britain. This does not mean, however, that I have become an ardent admirer of Mr. Chamberlain nor that I confound Mr. Churchill with a holy man. I merely think that Britain and France, at this moment, are doing what we wanted and expected them to do for seven years; they defend European

civilization against Nazi aggression. This remains the truth even if the two Democracies went into the war not for ideological reasons but in order to defend protect their national independence and their empires. I am for the Allies not because of their imperialism but in spite of Munich and in spite of Spain. in spite of it, I am for them, in short, because they make an heroic effort to smash Hitlerism, the arch-enemy of our civilization, and finally because they proclaim as their war aims the organization of stable peace and of a better order in Europe.

It is hard for me to remain quiet and patient whenever faithful Stalinists confirm me that England is "at least" as rotten as Nazi Germany, and that Daladier's France is even a little worse. German communists, to be sure, hardly would talk that way. Their position is particularly delicate, even tragic. Their hatred of Hitler is genuine, and they never could make their peace with any Nazi government. ~~They keenly want to see Hitlerism beaten, not by the Allies but by Soviet Russia.~~ The idea that the Hitler-Stalin alliance may last, and that the Führer himself eventually could establish something like a National Bolshevism, must horrify and confuse those unhappy comrades. For they flatly deny that there possibly could exist such a thing as "bad communism"; ~~that~~ that there ever could be a State which would be socialistic and, at the same time, nationalistic, immoral and despotic. Their obstinate over-estimation of the purely economic angle - the most dangerous feature of the Marxian philosophy - is the actual source of most of their mistakes. They identify, naïvely and erroneously, the imperialistic interest of the Kremlin with the very notions of "good", "progressive" and "human". But while the Third International cynically and openly abandons the anti-fascist ^{la} ~~so~~lgans, the German branch, as circumstances are, must make a desperate effort to save its anti-fascist face, by confirming that Stalin really is Hitler's most dangerous foe. They are apparently unable to grasp the simple ~~fact~~ ^{truth} that a crash between Stalin and Hitler,

even if eventually it will occur, wouldn't mean a thing but just another struggle between two greedy dictators - an event without any moral significance.

The German communists, at this historical moment, have a final chance to liberate themselves from the traditional Russian guardianship which is responsible for the tragic failure of the German radicals, from 1919 up to 1933. Are they going to return, after the hectic interlude of the People's Front, to that sterile, anti-democratic attitude that eliminated their influence in the faraway days of the Weimar Republic? - I am afraid there are, again, German communists who hate the Social Democrats much more intensely than they ever hated the Nazis, while certain liberals, conservatives, Social Democrats and former communists among the exiles loathe the communists more than they loathe the devil, and keep on talking and acting like regular red-baiters. Their traditional battle-cry, repeated now with a new fervour, is: "Der Feind steht links!" - "The ^enemy stands to the left..."

I had my own little adventure with those red-baiting gentlemen - a grotesque and dreary ^{kind of an} experience which I may ~~not~~ be allowed to mention although it certainly is insignificant in itself. - A few days after the conclusion of the Berlin-Moscow Pact, a German Social Democrat, living in New York, questioned me, briefly and harshly: 'What do you think about the new Agreement? Do you like it? Your answer has to be Yes or No!' - The situation, at that moment, was still more confused and undecided than it is to-day, and I myself was in a state of bewilderment and depression. Besides, I didn't like the "Yes or No" trick. Therefore I refused to make a statement, and just wrote a polite, somewhat evasive private note - which, by the way, did not contain a single word in favour of the Soviets. However, it was published first of all in the New York organ of the German Social Democrats, and, a few weeks later, in Der Neue Vorwärts, official paper of the German

Social Democratic Party in Paris, and finally in Das Neue Tage-~~blatt~~
Buch(Paris/Amsterdam), an independant weekly edited by the gifted
political journalist Leopold Schwarzschild. Herr Stampfer, editor of
Der Neue Vorwärts, curtly remarked that I had for ever betrayed "the
cause of freedom and a better Germany", since I did not behave like a
nice boy and had wickedly refused to say "Yes or No" as the teacher
had expected me to do. My old friend Schwarzschild, however, went still
further. I have known him for many years and have written dozens of
articles for his magazine. It was only recently that I got somewhat
estranged from him. For this self-styled minor dictator and fanatical
"liberal" does not allow anybody to express any opinions which he
does not share. - I was called, in Mr. Schwarzschild's weekly, "an old
Soviet agent who finally has shown his genuine face". Thus are the
amazing words of an anonymous "New York correspondent". Even the Nazis
have never dared to pronounce so fantastic an insinuation against me.
That dubious champion of "liberalism", however - Herr Schwarzschild -
obviously has less common sense and less moral inhibitions than even
Paul Joseph Göbbels. In serious times, ~~however~~, even indecent jokes
and absurd escapades ~~of that kind~~ may have serious consequences. There-
fore I considered it necessary to compose a detailed Reply, explaining
that I am not and never have been a Soviet agent, in no sense of the
word, neither directly nor indirectly, neither consciously nor sub-con-
sciously. I don't know yet, at this moment, whether or not Mr. Schwarz-
schild will be inclined to publish the self-defense of a man, who was
meanly ^{caricatured} ~~caricatured~~ in the same paper ~~the~~ a contributor of which he
used to be for a decade.

All this, of course, sounds very much like "storm in the tea cup".
The minor incident, however, clearly shows how far those among my fellow-
exiles, who are possessed by the anti-red mania, may be ready to go.
Since they don't hesitate to defame persons like myself, whose reputa=

tion happens to be fairly solid, - what can the others expect who are more helpless or more exposed? In fact, the hysterical liberals keep on slandering people and organizations, thus deliberately deepening the abyss which already exists between the varied anti-Nazi groups. Especially in France they ruthlessly denounce all of those whom they consider red, or not quite anti-red enough. The position of the German refugees in Paris - which anyway is not an easy position as circumstances are - becomes tragically confused through the mean intrigues among the exiles themselves. On the other hand, the communists also are responsible for certain unpleasant events that have happened. How can they expect to be treated as friends and allies of the Democracies, since they ~~approve~~ approve - or at least, ~~refuse~~ refuse to disapprove - of Stalin's anti-democratic aggressiveness? - The shameful truth is that both of the radical groups, left or right, among German exiles behave just as badly as possible.

The disunion of the different anti-Fascist groups and parties has led to the final collapse of the Weimar Republic. Must this sinister tragedy be repeated, once more? The other day, I received a fairly stimulating and instructive paper, entitled "Inside Nazi Germany", "published by the Friends of the German People's Front in London". On its front page I found the following remarks:

"According to Press reports a 'German National Council' has recently been formed at Zurich. Neither its programme nor its representatives have anything in common with the German democratic movement. This Council is led by two former Nazis, Dr. H. Rauschning and Dr. Otto Strasser, and has neither influence nor connection with the democratic, anti-Nazi opposition..."

And why are those Friends of the German People's Front in London so definitely against the author of "The Revolution of Nihilism" and against the active leader of the anti-Nazi Black Front? Do they dislike both of them because they consider them not progressive, not socialistic enough? - No; what they hold against them is, surprisingly enough, their "lack of patriotism". For, in the opinion of the Friends

of the People's Front, "Anyone who agrees to a dismemberment of Germany ...has failed to learn anything from history."

The whole discussion about a future "dismemberment" or division of the Reich is a striking symptom of the unfortunate confusion in our ranks. For it obviously would be wiser to leave so delicate a decision to those, who will actually possess the power to decide, if and when the decisive moment comes...I don't think it is of our business to demand from the Allies the division of Germany, as some exiles very clumsily and tactlessly keep on doing. Nor should we exclaim, already by now, our abhorrence of ~~the~~^{so} remote a possibility. It depends on countless unpredictable circumstances whether or not such a incisive measure will be advisable and practiceble. Far more essential than the technical problem of how to change the European frontiers, is the other problem of how to change and to improve the European spirit and, above all, the spirit and attitude of the German people.

All of us know, or should know, that Hitler does not represent the entirety and certainly not the best elements of the German nation. Yet it is absurd to pretend that the Germans merely were the innocent victims of Nazi terror. The same Marxists, however, who have ridiculed and attacked in exaggerated terms, for so many years, the very conception of nationalism, now have seemingly changed into ardent patriots. What they actually are longing for is a powerful, fully armed Reich, allied with a still more powerful Soviet Union. Their supreme wish-dream obviously is to see Germany ruled by a Berlin branch of the GPU, which would work still more efficiently than even the Gestapo. The "liberal" or conservative red-baiters, on the other hand, are prepared to accept any kind of ~~the~~ government, after Hitler's fall, as long as it is solidly anti-socialistic. They apparently would love to swear obedience to Fritz Thyssen, the houses of Hohenzollern and Habsburg, the Bank of England, Monsieur Tardieu and the general Brauchitsch, under the only

condition that no Soviet ambassador will be admitted at Berlin.

All of this would be most discouraging and depressing - if we would not know that there exist other forces, in exile as well as inside the country - ,young,progressive, truly democratic forces. What we need - and now more urgently so than ever before - is the collaboration and concentration of those good Germans who really deserve the honorable names of good Europeans and good Democrats. This new and most timely conception of the People's Front excludes only those who are hopelessly reactionary, half mad with malice and wicked lust for revenge, and those others who remain for ever dependant on the dubious interests and tactics of the Kremlin.

The German people must find its way to the community and coming Federation of European nations. In order to do so we must not fraternize with Asia nor with the most reactionary elements of Western Europe or with our ~~own~~ own compromised ancien régime. We do not need any "new Metternich" as we did not have any Napoléon. ~~we~~ ^{Nor} ~~we~~ ^{we} do ~~not~~ want any Napoléon since we did not have any revolution but a dreary, bloody anarchy. What we need and want is real Democracy which guarantees order, freedom, social progress, and the peaceful collaboration with all other nations. The essential topic of all of our discussions and speculations, hopes and preparations must be and must remain this delicate and inspiring notion of the coming European Democracy.

I. Version

By Klaus Mann.

I am not going to discuss the attitude nor the actual chances of the anti-Nazi opposition within the Reich. The men and women who risk their lives to fight Hitlerism, inside Germany, act and think under very special psychological and practical laws. ~~Besides, it becomes more and more difficult to keep any permanent contact with those varied German underground movements since the war has started. We still receive in-~~ formations; we have certain signs and symptoms, some of them being very promising. We know that dissatisfaction is growing, that the war is unpopular, even - or above all - with the "old Nazi fighters". We also know that the Stalin-Hitler agreement has a double effect upon the different oppositional groups, as it intensifies and, at the same time, ~~confuses the anti-Nazi feelings and activities. We may hope, or may be-~~ lieve, that those dispersed, un-organized forces and tendencies even- tually will find and strengthen each other - or even that this deci- sive process of unification, under the tremendous pressure of the dictatorship, already ^{has begun.} ~~by now is beginning.~~

While the brave antagonists of the hated régime, ^{inside/} ~~within/~~ the country itself, have to face the actual dangers and must do the real job of preparing the revolution, the political exiles have the crucial task to clarify the situation theoretically, to create ~~by the means of~~ ~~thinking and discussing/~~ the moral and intellectual basis for a German Democracy to come. There are, among the German refugees, some brilliant thinkers and many very talented writers, but only few gifted and trained politicians *. The point of the matter is that we do not possess any man, who really would deserve the designation of a political leader. We do not have a Thomas Masaryk, nor can we boast of any "new Lenin" within our ranks.

~~However, the political German exiles represented something like an~~

~~impressive unit, at certain historical moments. During the Civil War in Spain, for instance, all of us, including the liberal Catholics, wanted and propagated the victory of the Loyalists, and all of us, without a single exception, were in sympathy with Benesh's Czechoslovakia, and were profoundly disgusted with the Munich Peace. This kind of unanimity, however, does not exist anymore since the beginning of the present war - or, to be more precise, since Herr von Ribbentrop flew to Moscow.~~

The People's Front - the broad, comprehensive concentration of all ~~the~~ anti-Fascist forces - ^{, for six years,} has never been a political reality with the German exiles. It was ^{a bit} keenly wished and propagated by the communists and by many independent intellectuals, while the Social Democrat and Catholic party leaders, together with certain conservatives and liberals, obstinately refused to collaborate with any adherents of the Kremlin. Now, of course, since Stalin and Hitler seemingly made friends, those traditional foes of the People's Front policy noisily exclaim, with a sort of embittered triumph: "We are not ^{a bit} surprised as we always knew this would happen! We realized, from the beginning, that Stalin is at least as bad as Hitler, and that his followers misused the sacred notion of Democracy as a propaganda trick, for the sake of their own bloody aims." - The communists, on the other hand, reply with contempt and anger: "The policy of the People's Front was doomed to fail, ^{since} ~~as~~ it was stubbornly and permanently ^{sabotaged} ~~boycotted~~ by the capitalists, including the so-called Social-Democrats - just as the enlightened Soviet conception of Collective Security, the Litvinoff policy, was betrayed by the so-called Democracies." - It is impossible to deny that both of these versions contain ~~a~~ certain portions of truth, and that both of them are one-sided.

The situation is complex and has many different aspects. Just because

the problems we have to deal with, happen to be so utterly involved, I consider it as useful or even necessary to state very clearly my own point of ^{view}. I have never been a communist ^{Mane of the kind ... Never mind it} or a Marxist, but I was for the political collaboration with the communists, up to the end of August 1939. I used to believe in the anti-aggressive, anti-Fascist, pacifist foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This may have been very naïve; however, I never was quite naïve enough to assume that the communists, all of a sudden, had discovered their burning love for Democracy. But I considered them intelligent enough to realize that their deadly enemy was Fascism, and that Democracy was their natural ally.

My personal experiences and disappointment, as far as the Soviet Union and the Third International are concerned, are very similar to those which Vincent Sheean has so frankly admitted and so intelligently discussed. I am ^{absolutely} ~~hundred percents~~ against the new Soviet policy. I am deeply shocked about the recent acts of Stalinist aggression, and I am disgusted with the hypocritical, fantastic and impertinent nonsense Mr. Molotov offers as explanation of his evil deeds. I am absolutely for the Democracies - which I don't ~~entitle~~ "the so-called...." - ; I desire the plain victory of Britain and France. This does not mean, however, that I have become an admirer of Mr. Chamberlain, nor that I confound Mr. Churchill with a holy man. I merely and simply think that Britain and France are doing, at this moment, what we wanted and expected them to do for seven years: they actually defend European civilization against Nazi aggression. ^{This situation is terrible, even if the two Democracies went into the war not for ideological reasons but in order to protect the French and British Empires} Therefore it strikes me as ~~very~~ hypocritical and shocking ~~if~~ if anyone "discovers", just now, that the French and British Empires owe their existence to nasty "imperialism". I am for the Allies, not because of their imperialism but in spite of it. I am for them, in short, because they make a heroic effort to smash Hitlerism, the arch-enemy of our civilization, and finally because they proclaim as

their war-aims the organization of stable peace and a better order in Europe.

It is hard for me to remain quiet and patient whenever faithful Stalinists confirm me that England is "at least" as rotten as Nazi Germany, and that Daladier's France is ^{even} ~~still~~ a little worse, ~~with Monsieur Giono still being imprisoned.~~ / German communists, to be sure, hardly would talk that way. Their position is especially delicate, even tragic. Their hatred of Hitler is genuine, and they never could make their peace with any Nazi government. The idea that Hitler himself could establish something like a German national bolshevism, must horrify and confuse them. For they flatly deny that there possibly could exist such a thing as "bad socialism"; that there ever could be a State that is "socialist" and, at the same time, ^{nationalistic,} ~~immoral,~~ ^{and} ~~aggressive, anti-humanistic.~~ Their obstinate overestimation of the purely economic angle - this most dangerous element of the Marxian philosophy - is the actual source of most of their mistakes and crimes. They indentify, naïvely and erroneously, the interest of the Kremlin ^{with} ~~and~~ the very notions of "good", "progressive" and "human". ~~They are in fact much more orthodox than and narrow-minded than are the more intelligent Catholics. French and German Catholic intellectuals openly and bitterly admitted that the Holy Father, who is not infallible in the political sphere, made a mistake when he helped the general Franco against the atheistic Loyalists - while the communists, including the German comrades, stubbornly refuse to admit that their Holy Father is mistaken at all when he helps the Führer against the capitalistic democracies.~~ The German comrades make desperate efforts to save their anti-fascist face, by confirming that Stalin really is Hitler's most dangerous foe. They are apparently unable to grasp the fact that a ~~crash~~ ^{crash} between Stalin and Hitler, even it will eventually occur, would mean just another

struggle between two greedy dictators - an event without any moral significance.

The German communists, at this historical moment, have a final chance to liberate themselves from the traditional Russian guardianship, which is responsible for the tragic failure of the German radical ~~action~~ from 1919 up to ~~1932~~ 1933. Are they going to return, after the hectic ^{interlude} ~~period~~ of the People's Front, to that sterile, anti-democratic attitude of sinister isolation, which eliminated their influence in the faraway times of the Weimar Republic?

I am afraid there are ^{again} German communists who hate ~~the~~ the Social Democrats much more intensely than they ever hated the Nazis - while certain liberals and conservatives loathe the communists much more than they loathe the devil. I know former communists, liberals, conservatives and Social Democrats among the German exiles, who keep on talking and acting like regular Red-Baiters. Their traditional battle-cry, repeated now with a new fervour, is: "Der Feind steht links!" - "The enemy stands to the left!" ~~This fanatical abhorrence of everything that is "red", or just slightly pink - an abhorrence which did not start but reached its ~~peak~~ climax with the Nazi-Soviet agreement - has, in many cases, very complicated and not always very sound reasons. It shows a quite hysterical and morbid character in the cases of certain ex-communists, resentful former members of the Third International, who apparently are tortured by a genuine persecution mania and inclined to see a "Soviet Agent" on every street corner.~~

^{often}
A few days after the conclusion of the Berlin-Moscow Pact, a German Social-Democrat, living at New York, ^{often} ~~wrote to me~~ ^{questioned} me, briefly and harshly: 'What do you think about the new Agreement? Do you like it or not? Your answer ^{has to} ~~must~~ be Yes or No!' He generously suggested I might explain, in a special paragraphe, the reasons of my saying "Yes or No". - The situation, at that moment, was still more confused and unde-

^Yet it is typical example for double-faced tactics

cided then it is to-day, and I myself was in a state of bewilderment and depression. Besides, I didn't like the "Yes or No" trick. Therefore I refused to make a statement, and just wrote a very polite, somewhat evasive private letter - which, by the way, did not contain a single word in favour of the Soviets. However, this insignificant note of mine was published, first of all in the New York organ of the German Social Democrats. Later it was reprinted by "Der Neue Vorwärts", official paper of the German Social Democrat Party in Paris, and, at the same time, by "Das Neue Tage-Buch" (Paris/Amsterdam), an independant weekly edited by the gifted political journalist Leopold Schwarzschild. Herr Stampfer, the editor of Der Neue Vorwärts, just remarked that I had for ever betrayed "the cause of freedom and a better Germany", since I did not behave like a nice boy and had wickedly refused to say "Yes or No", as the teacher had expected me to do. My old friend Leopold Schwarzschild, however, went still further. I have known him for many years and I have written many dozens of articles for his magazine. It was only recently that I got somewhat estranged from him. For this minor self-styled dictator, ~~do~~ ^{and fanatical "liberal"} not allow anybody to express any opinions he ~~do~~ not share. My mild criticism of his anti-red hysteria had made him furious. His malicious, often very un-fair remarks against everybody he considered "red", were frequently quoted and praised by the Nazi press. Consequently the communists, on their side, denounced him as a "Nazi agent" - which obviously was a nasty thing to say about a man, who has done more than most people to warn a lukewarm world of the Nazi danger. I used to defend Mr. Schwarzschild against his radical foes, privately and in public. Yet I had the misfortune to become the victim of his frenzied lust for revenge. I was ~~publicly~~ called, in Mr. Schwarzschild's weekly, "an old Soviet agent who finally has shown his genuine face" - : thus are the very words of an anonymous "New York correspondent", who signed his amazing nonsense cowardly with three little stars.

This was so absurd that it almost had the character of a silly joke. Yet I could not laugh, since I felt our situation was somewhat too serious for grotesque ~~little~~ escapades of that kind. ^{Therefore} ~~consequently~~ I considered it necessary to ^{compose} ~~write~~ a long, detailed Reply, explaining that I am not a Soviet agent and never have been, neither directly nor indirectly, neither consciously nor sub-consciously. I don't know as yet, at this moment, whether or not my old friend, liberal Herr Schwarzschild, will be inclined to publish the self-defense of a man, who was meanly calumniated in the same paper ^a ~~the~~ contributor of which he used to be for ten years.

All this, of course, sounds very much like "storm in the tea cup".

My personal quarrels with Mr. Schwarzschild are utterly unimportant. Yet they ^{may} have a certain symptomatic significance. For they obviously show how far those, who are possessed by the anti-red mania, may be ready to go. They keep on slandering people and organizations, thus deliberately deepening the abyss which already exists between the varied anti-Nazi groups. ^{Especially in Fr. they unthinkingly denounce all of those whom they consider not, or not nearly, as anti-red enough. The position of the German people is not enough. The disunion of the different left and liberal parties has led to the final collapse of the Weimar Republic. ~~Is it~~ Must this sinister German tragedy be repeated, once more? Will the New German Democracy be ruined, even before it was born, by senseless discussions, senseless quarrels and senseless hatred? - These endless and senseless arguments and quarrels are not just going on between Stalinists and anti-Stalinists, to be sure; but also between the varied liberal and democratic fractions.}

The other day, I received a ^{fairly} ~~very~~ stimulating and instructive paper, entitled "Inside Nazi Germany", "published by the 'Friends of the German People's Front in London'". On its front page I found the following remarks:

"According to Press reports a 'German National Council' has recently been formed at Zurich. Neither its programme nor its representatives have anything in common with the German democratic movement. This Council is led by two former Nazis, Dr. Otto Strasser and Dr. H. Rauschning, and has neither influence nor connection with the democratic, anti-Nazi

The little incident, however, (that) even the anti-red mania, they since they don't know, they like myself, we from to be possibly misled,

~~The responsibility for certain complications~~
On the other hand, the comm. ~~at the~~
~~are responsible for certain complications~~
~~development~~, who ~~unabashedly~~ defend
the St. policy, ~~make~~ ^{also} ~~are~~ ^{responsible}
for certain complications even that
has happened. How can they expect
to be treated as friends of the
Democracy, since they oppose —
or at least, refuse to disapprove,
— of Russian anti-Democratic
aggression? The terrible truth
is that the both of the radical
wing among German ^{exist} ~~exist~~ ^{behave}
just as badly as possible ...

opposition...Anyone who agrees to a dismemberment of Germany...has failed to learn anything from history."

Thus left-wing journalists accuse men like Rauschning and Strasser of a lack of national feelings - which certainly is most surprising and a trifle perverted. The whole discussion of a future "dismemberment" or division of the Reich is a striking symptom of the unfortunate confusion in our ranks. For it obviously would be wiser to leave so delicate a decision to those, who will actually possess the power to decide, if and when the decisive moment will come...I don't think it is of our business to demand from ^{the AM.} the division of Germany, as several exiles very clumsily and tactlessly keep on doing; nor should ^{we} be exclaim, already by now, our abhorrence of so remote a possibility. It depends on countless, unpredictable circumstances whether or not such an incisive measure eventually will be advisable and practicable. Far more significant than the problem of how to change the European frontiers, is the other problem of how to change the European spirit and, above all, the spirit and attitude of the Germans.

There is a dangerous tendency among German radicals to over-emphasize the distinction between the German people and the Nazi régime. All of us know, or should know, that Hitler does not represent the entirety and certainly not the best elements of the nation. Yet it is absurd to pretend that the Germans were the innocent victims of Nazi terror, and must not be beaten but merely liberated. The same Marxists who have ridiculed and attacked, for so many years, the very conception of nationalism, now have seemingly changed into ardent patriots. What they actually are longing for is a powerful, fully armed Reich, allied with a still more powerful Soviet Union. Their supreme wishdream obviously is to see Germany ruled by a Berlin branch of the GPU, instead of the Gestapo. The "liberal" or conservative red-baiters, on the other hand, are prepared to accept any kind of a government as long as it is anti-socialistic. They apparently would love to swear obedience to Fritz Thyssen, the houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg, and the general Brauchit ^{sch.}

All of this would be most depressing and discouraging - if we would not know that there exist other forces, in exile as well as inside the country - : young, progressive, truly democratic forces. We can notice, however, an unfortunate tendency among the "professional politicians" in exile to eliminate, once more, the influence of those more youthful and more spiritual elements, just as the Weimar Republic used to deny to the intellectuals any kind of participation in the public affairs. The stubborn and blind belief in the miraculous abilities of the "Fachmann" - the expert - represents another fatal feature of the national German character... Yet we may hope and trust that this time, considering the crucial seriousness of the situation, the vital task of building and inspiring the New German Democracy won't be entirely left to those professionals, who have not been so very successful ten years ago.

The German people must find back to the ^{its way} ~~community~~ ^{and coming Federation} of European nations. In order to do so we must not fraternize with Asia nor with the most reactionary elements of the Western Democracies or with our own ancien régime. We don't need any "new ~~Metternich~~ Metternich" as we did not have any Napoléon. Nor do we want any Napoléon since we did not have any revolution but a dreary, bloody anarchy. What we need and want is real Democracy which guarantess order, freedom, and the peaceful collaboration with all other nations. The essential topic of all of our discussions must be, from now, this ^{on (delicate and inspiring)} ~~very~~ ^{notion} topic of the coming European Democracy. All of us should participate in this great, decisive conversation. Everyone who is of good will and honest intentions, is welcome.

What we need, is ^{and now more so} ~~collaboration~~ ^{collaboration} / ~~concentration~~ ^{concentration}, the union of all those who are good Europeans and good Germans. This must ^{amongst} ~~be~~ ^{an} ~~conception~~ ^{conception} of the People. Those who are excluded only those who are hopelessly reactionary or for whom dependant on the ^{debts} ~~debts~~ interests and actions of the ~~German~~ ^{German}.

Hitler's War means the disaster for
G.; H.'s fall will be the
deliverance of the G. people.

[Münzenberg meth.]

"With H. the most shameful period
of G. history reaches its end.
After him, the only solution for
the German people will be a social
system that permits to overcome
the horrible economic and cultural
consequences of these years
years, and which adapts, within a
European Federation, in the peaceful
solution of international problems;
the system of a liberal and
socialistic State." ["Zukunft",
"Novemb. 24, 39"]

The communists pretend: French officials,
inclined to collaborate only with the
most reactionary elements — ; Kautsky,
Stalin, H. B. B. B., H. B. B. B.
On the other hand: Münzenberg

Federation.

Problem of division of Reich.

The German Opposition and the Nazi Soviet Pact.

By Klaus Mann.

anti-N. Opp. in exiles. y. the position is different.
I am not going to discuss the attitude nor the actual chances of the anti-Nazi opposition inside Germany. The men and women who risk their lives to fight Hitlerism, within the Reich, act and think under special psychological and practical laws. While they have to face the real dangers and must do the actual job of preparing the revolution, we, the political exiles, have the crucial task ^{of clarifying} to clarify the situation theoretically, thus creating the moral and intellectual basis for a German Democracy to come. There are indeed, among German refugees, some brilliant thinkers and many very talented writers, but only few gifted and trained politicians. In fact we do not possess any man who really would deserve the designation of a political leader. We do not have a Thomas Masaryk nor can we boast of any new Lenin within our ranks.

and Alwe assisted, for a certain while, a certain co-operation of opinions.
Al political G. within, inside Al
The People's Front - the broad, comprehensive concentration of all anti-Fascist forces - has never been a political reality with the German exiles. It was, for six years, keenly wished and propagated by the Communists and by many independent intellectuals, while the Social Democratic and Catholic party leaders, together with certain liberals and conservatives, obstinately refused to collaborate with any adherents of the Kremlin. Now, of course, since Hitler and Stalin ^{have} seemingly made friends, those traditional foes of the People's Front ^{noisily} exclaim, with a sort of embittered triumph: "We are not ~~a~~ bit surprised; ~~as we~~ ~~always knew this would happen!~~ We realized from the beginning that Stalin ^{was} is at least as bad as Hitler, and that his followers ~~misused~~ the sacred notion of Democracy as a propaganda trick, for their own bloody aims." ^{equal} The Communists, on the other hand, reply with contempt and anger: "The policy of the People's Front was doomed to fail, since

The "5-to-11" you - 20" - original

it was stubbornly sabotaged by the capitalists, including the so-called Social Democrats - just as the ~~enlightened~~ Soviet conception of ~~Collective~~ Security was betrayed by the so-called ~~Democracies~~." ~~It is im-~~ possible to deny that both of these versions contain certain portions of truth, and that both of them are one-sided.

The situation is complex and ~~has many different aspects~~. There are many ~~problems and questions involved, and there are many different ways of answering~~ ~~to answer~~ them. What we need, however, is not an ~~interesting~~ discussion but a clear solution. To take sides in a ~~complicated~~ struggle always means to simplify complicated matters. Yet we must take sides, we are forced to do so. *D. Vassilopoulos*

By explaining my own point of view, I hope to express, more or less precisely, the ideas and convictions of many among my fellow-exiles. I have reasons, indeed, to believe that the majority of them feels approximately the same way I do, although there exist minorities, either reactionary or radical, who noisily exclaim quite different opinions.

2 I have never been a Communist nor a Marxist, but I ~~was for~~ ^{favoured} the political collaboration with the Communists, up to the end of August 1939.

Trotsky
K. P.
S. P. D.
Catholic
Liberal
Catholic
Communist
Pro-Soviet
Fascist
My personal experiences and disappointments, as far as the Soviet Union and the Third International are concerned, are very similar to those which Vincent Sheean ^{has} so frankly admitted and so intelligently discussed.

I am absolutely against the new Soviet policy. I am deeply shocked, ^{say} about the recent acts of Stalinist aggression, and I am disgusted with the hypocritical, fantastic nonsense Mr. Molotov offers as an explanation, ~~of his evil deeds~~. I am entirely for the ~~Democracies~~ - which I don't entitle the "so-called". ~~by~~ I desire the plain victory of France and

Britain. This does not mean, however, that I have become an ardent admirer of Mr. Chamberlain nor that I confound Mr. Churchill with a holy man.

I merely think that Britain and France, at this moment, are doing what we wanted and ~~expected~~ ^{would} them to do for seven years; they ^{are} defend European ^{just}

civilization against Nazi aggression. This remains the truth even if the two Democracies went into the war not for ideological reasons but in order to ~~defend~~ protect their national independence and their empires. I am for the Allies not because of their imperialism but in spite of Munich and in spite of Spain. ~~in spite of it,~~ I am for them, in short, because they make an heroic effort to smash Hitlerism, the arch-enemy of our civilization, and finally because they proclaim as their war aims the organization of stable peace and of a better order in Europe.

It is hard for me to remain quiet ~~and patient~~ whenever faithful Stalinists ^{insist} confirm me that England is "at least" as rotten as Nazi Germany, and that Daladier's France is even a little worse. German communists, to be sure, hardly would talk that way. Their position is particularly delicate, even tragic. Their hatred of Hitler is genuine, and they never could make their peace with any Nazi government. ~~They keenly want to see Hitlerism beaten, not by the Allies but by Soviet Russia.~~ The idea that the Hitler-Stalin alliance may last, and that the Führer himself eventually ^{would} establish something like ^{sort of} a National Bolshevism, must horrify and confuse those unhappy comrades. For they flatly deny that there possibly could exist such a thing as "bad communism"; ~~that~~ that there ever could be a State which would be socialistic and, at the same time, nationalistic, immoral, and despotic. Their obstinate over-estimation of the purely economic angle - the most dangerous feature of the Marxian philosophy - is the actual source of most of their mistakes. They identify, naïvely and erroneously, the imperialistic interest of the Kremlin with the very notions of "good", "progressive" and "human". But while the Third International cynically and openly abandons the anti-fascist ^{or} slogans, the German branch, ^{is making} as circumstances are, must make a desperate effort to save its anti-fascist face, by ^{insisting} confirming that Stalin really is Hitler's most dangerous foe. They are apparently unable to grasp the simple ~~fact~~ ^{truth} that a clash between Stalin and Hitler,

even if eventually it will occur, wouldn't mean ~~anything~~ but just another struggle between two greedy dictators - an event without ~~any~~ moral significance.

The German Communists, at this ~~historic~~⁴¹ moment, have a final chance to liberate themselves from the traditional Russian guardianship which is responsible for the tragic failure of the German radicals, from 1919 up to 1933. Are they going to return, ~~after the hectic interlude of the People's Front~~, to that sterile, anti-democratic attitude that eliminated their influence in the faraway days of the Weimar Republic? I am afraid there are, again, German Communists who hate the Social Democrats much more intensely than they ever hated the Nazis, while certain liberals, conservatives, Social Democrats and former Communists among the exiles loathe the Communists more than they loathe the devil, and ~~keep on talking and acting~~ like regular red-baiters. Their traditional battle-cry, repeated now with a new fervour, is: "Der Feind steht links!" - "The enemy stands to the left..."

I had my own little adventure with those red-baiting gentlemen - a grotesque and dreary ^{kind of an} experience which I may ~~be~~ be allowed to mention although it certainly is insignificant in itself. A few days after the conclusion of the Berlin-Moscow Pact, a German Social Democrat, living ⁱⁿ New York, questioned me, briefly and harshly: 'What do you think about the new ~~agreement~~? Do you like it? Your answer has to be Yes or No!' The situation, at that moment, was still more confused and undecided than it is today, and I myself was in a state of bewilderment and depression. Besides, I didn't like the "Yes or No" trick. Therefore I refused to make a statement, and just wrote a polite, somewhat evasive private note - which, ^{known} ~~by the way~~, did not contain a single word in favour of the Soviets. However, it was published ^{promptly} ~~first~~ ^{of all} in the New York organ of the German Social Democrats, and, a few weeks later, in Der Neue Vorwärts, official paper of the German

X | Social Democratic Party in Paris, and finally in Das Neue Tage-Buch (Paris/Amsterdam), an independent weekly edited by the gifted political journalist Leopold Schwarzschild. Herr Stampfer, editor of Der Neue Vorwärts, curtly remarked that I had for ever betrayed "the cause of freedom and a better Germany", since I did not behave like a nice boy and had wickedly refused to say "Yes or No" as the teacher had expected me to do. My old friend Schwarzschild, however, went still further. [I have known him for many years and have written dozens of articles for his magazine. It was only recently that I got somewhat estranged from him. For this self-styled minor dictator and fanatical "liberal" does not allow anybody to express any opinions which he does not share. -] I was called, in ^{his} Mr. Schwarzschild's weekly, "an old Soviet agent who finally has shown his genuine face". ^{There printed as} These are the amazing words of an anonymous "New York correspondent". Even the Nazis have never dared to pronounce so fantastic ^{charge} an insinuation against me. [That dubious champion of "liberalism", however - Herr Schwarzschild - obviously has less common sense and less moral inhibitions than even Paul Joseph Göbbels.] In serious times ~~however~~ even indecent jokes and absurd escapades ~~of that kind~~ may have serious consequences. Therefore I considered it necessary to compose a detailed ^{long} reply, explaining that I am not and never have been a Soviet agent, in ~~no~~ ^{any} sense of the word, ^{or} neither directly ^{or} indirectly, neither consciously nor sub-consciously. I don't know yet, at this moment, whether or not Mr. Schwarzschild will be inclined to publish the self-defense of a man, who was ^{to which he had contributed} ~~meanly calumniated in the same paper~~ ^a ~~the~~ a contributor of which he used to be for a decade.

a a
All this, of course, sounds very much like ^a "storm in the tea cup".
The minor incident, however, clearly shows how far those among my fellow-exiles, who are possessed by the anti-red mania, may be ready to go.
Since they don't hesitate to defame persons like myself, whose reputa=

X
tion happens to be fairly solid, † what can the others expect who are more helpless or more exposed? In fact, the hysterical liberals keep on slandering people and organizations, ~~thus~~ deliberately deepening the abyss which already exists between the varied anti-Nazi groups. Especially in France they ruthlessly denounce all of those whom they consider red, or not quite anti-red enough. The position of the German refugees in Paris - which anyway is not an easy position as circumstances are - ^{has} become tragically confused through the mean intrigues among the exiles themselves. On the other hand, the ^{in exile} Communists ~~also are~~ responsible for certain unpleasant events that have happened. How can they expect to be treated as friends and allies of the Democracies, since they ~~approve~~ approve - or at least, ~~refuse to disapprove~~ - of Stalin's anti-democratic aggressiveness? † The shameful truth is that both ~~of the~~ radical groups, left ^{and} ~~or~~ right, among German exiles behave just as badly as possible.

what?

The disunion of the different anti-Fascist groups and parties ~~has~~ led to the final collapse of the Weimar Republic. Must this sinister tragedy be repeated, once more? ~~etc.~~ The other day, I received a fairly stimulating and instructive paper, entitled "Inside Nazi Germany", "published by the Friends of the German People's Front in London". On its front page I found the following remarks:

"According to Press reports a 'German National Council' has recently been formed at Zurich. Neither its programme nor its representatives have anything in common with the German democratic movement. This Council is led by two former Nazis, Dr. H. Rauschning and Dr. Otto Strasser, and has neither influence nor connection with the democratic, anti-Nazi opposition..."

And why are those Friends of the German People's Front in London so definitely against the author of "The Revolution of Nihilism" and against the active leader of the anti-Nazi Black Front? Do they dislike ~~both of~~ them because they consider them not progressive, not socialistic enough? † No; what they hold against them is, surprisingly enough, their "lack of patriotism". For, in the opinion of the Friends

of the People's Front, "Anyone who agrees to a dismemberment of Germany ...has failed to learn anything from history."

The whole discussion about a future "dismemberment" or division of the Reich is a striking symptom of the unfortunate confusion in our ranks. [For it obviously would be wiser to leave so delicate a decision to those, who will actually possess the power to decide, if and when the decisive moment comes...] I don't think it is of our business to demand from the Allies the division of Germany, as some exiles very clumsily and tactlessly keep on doing. Nor should we ^{announce} ~~exclaim~~, already by now, our abhorrence of ^{the} remote a possibility. It depends on countless unpredictable circumstances whether or not such a incisive measure will be advisable and practicable. Far more essential than the technical problem of how to change the European frontiers, is the other problem of how to change and to improve the European spirit and, above all, the spirit and attitude of the German people. Decision: Spirit!!!

All of us know, or should know, that Hitler does not represent the entirety and certainly not the best elements of the German nation. Yet it is absurd to pretend that the Germans merely were the innocent victims of Nazi terror. The same Marxists, however, who have ridiculed and attacked in exaggerated terms, for so many years, the very conception of nationalism, now have seemingly changed into ardent patriots. What they actually are longing for is a powerful, fully armed Reich, allied with a still more powerful Soviet Union. Their supreme wish-dream obviously is to see Germany ruled by a Berlin branch of the GPU, which would work still more efficiently than even the Gestapo. The "liberal" or conservative red-baiters, on the other hand, are prepared to accept any kind of government, after Hitler's fall — as long as it is solidly anti-socialistic. They apparently would love to swear obedience to Fritz Thyssen, the houses of Hohenzollern and Habsburg, the Bank of England, Monsieur Tardieu and the general Brauchitsch, under the only

There are many others, either organized in
parties or independent, who feel - as I do
myself - that the most immediate and
most urgent task is to get rid of H.
He must be beaten. The Allies must
win the war. Instead of lamenting about
an "unfair peace" which the Allies
may voluntarily dictate, we should do our
best to create, among our own people,
the psychological and political conditions

that would enable the victors to
make a decent and lasting arrangement.

condition that no Soviet ambassador will be admitted at Berlin.

All of this would be most discouraging and depressing - if we would not know that there exist other forces, in exile as well as inside the country - , young, progressive, truly democratic forces. What we need - and now more urgently so than ever before - is the collaboration and concentration of those good Germans who really deserve the honorable names of good Europeans and good Democrats. This new and most timely conception of the People's Front excludes only those who are hopelessly reactionary, half mad with malice and wicked lust for revenge, and those others who remain for ever dependant on the dubious interests and tactics of the Kremlin.

The German people must find its way to the ~~community~~ and coming Federation of European nations. In order to do so we must not fraternize with Asia nor with the most reactionary elements of Western Europe nor with our ~~own~~ own compromised ancien régime. We do not need any "new Metternich" as we did not have any Napoléon. ~~Now~~ ^{we} do not want any Napoléon since we did not have any revolution but a dreary, bloody anarchy. What we need and want is real Democracy which guarantees order, freedom, social progress, and the peaceful collaboration with all other nations. The essential topic of all of our discussions and speculations, hopes and preparations must be and must remain this delicate and inspiring notion of the coming European Democracy.

Schwartzwald — before he was —
An occupation army for four
years, his education the G. people
Running a former Navy, indeed;
but so are naval com. I personally
know.

And when it came to the question of
Cy. all of us, without any exception,
felt sympathy with the Czech people and
bitterly disappointed of the
unpleasant resolution they had to make.

The question of empire.

Has England invaded
Austria and Cy.
Has H. ever been a
tool of Chamberlain?

The com. want H. to fall,
but they don't want the
Allies to win, as it is the
victory and triumph they wish for.
They say the Allies want to destroy the
Reich in order to establish a multitude of
tiny Germ. republics that would be reactionary
and at once powerless.

The position of the G. comm., at this
historical moment, is fast ~~on~~ being an
They assume that Stalin ~~still~~ keeps on
"anti-fascist", and that he ~~is~~ Hitler's most
dangerous enemy, while Chamberlain - according
to this & somewhat inspiring theory -
does not really dislike the Nazis and is
really preparing the "war-trade" agreement with
Soviet. Most of the G. comm. ~~the~~ are
numerously convinced that Britain will
eventually accept a pact or some ~~sort~~ of
Germany as an ally against Soviet Russia.
A comrade who has played a leading part
in the Spanish civil war, wrote me ~~the~~ looking forward
other day, from London, "I am ~~hoping~~
for the day when you will enter Berlin, side
on side with the Red Army."

The attitude and the dubious tactics, however,
of Soviet experienced red-baiters among G. refugees,
makes it very hard if not impossible for the
communist to change their own attitude and
to admit this ~~error~~. There are in one ~~dark~~
certain liberals, ~~communist~~ and former communists
who loathe the ~~communist~~ ~~at~~ more intensely
that they ~~could~~ ~~have~~ the Nazis.

The most active and most hysterical one among them,
is L. S., ~~the~~ ~~gifted~~ ~~political~~ ~~journalist~~ and the author
of the weekly "D. N. T. B." (Paris / A.).
He used to be a highly gifted political journalist &
the most able one, perhaps, ~~in~~ the German
opposition ~~former~~. His talent and his moral, however,
were actually ~~ruined~~ ~~by~~ ~~his~~ ~~anti-Soviet~~
obsession. He has ~~rather~~ ~~abused~~ L. F. as a ~~weak~~
and H. N. as an ~~halfwit~~, since both of
them admitted themselves as
admirers of the P. F.

The Association of German A. Writers, for
instance, was denounced as a group of Soviet
agents by D. NDB. and ~~see~~ a So. Dem. paper.
~~The Honorary~~ The Ass. includes most of the
G. anti-Nazi writers, ~~being~~ ^{now} live in this
country, men like M. G. Pommer, Prof. G.
T. Mich. ~~President~~ The Nassauan writer O. M. G.
is the President, The M. A. Honorary Pres.
Mr. F. ~~the~~ ^{the} periodical of the Californian branch.
~~To call them in~~ to ~~insure~~ ^{insure} that all
of these ~~German~~ liberals really were tools
of the German politician, it is absolutely
and certainly a very foolish thing to do.
How S. ^{to be sure} did not have to
repeat the same mistake

Find P_{red} — Nickel (Pb)

[~~Quadrant~~ Quadrant]

"Der Sozialistische Kampf",
Ganzheitlich
[früher Druck]
[anti - druck S. P. D.]
[1. bis 10. 1914]

S. A. S. — Ran
↓
national
Beloning
[man hat G. ö. ö. ö.]
A - L. - G. H. G. G. G.
/ 4. G. G. G. H. G. G.
an — Ran S. P. D.
mit Ran, an
A. S. P. D. W. G. G. G.

V. N. A. S. — Do

S. A. S. — Ö. G. G. S. P. D. S. P. D.
D. S. P. D. — Früher [Stah Stah]
[Stah Stah]

M. S. P. D. — Ein

"Unw. W. S.", T. S. P. D. (Mod Un St.)
(Früher St.)

With S. P. D. [unclear] [unclear]
Elv - Anti - to KU man.

that R. had exposed G. in the most radical
way, by telling, or rather by confirming,
the amazing ^{story} of the R. fire, ~~including~~
As to Otto Skarow, he left the Marx party because
he felt H. not to be socialistic enough.
His last book dealt with Th. M. who is not exactly
what one may call a dictionary
revision are allowed to be published

what one might
whose ~~opinions~~ writings are allowed to be published
in F.D. — The papers of the Social Democrats and
various other left or liberal groups are still
admitted as well. — W. M., for instance,
who I used to be the most influential
G.W. Comm. for many years, keeps on editing
his weekly by the name of ^{some far extreme}
in Paris. It is true that M. has turned against
"D.Z." But it is true that M. has turned against
D.Z.

D. Z. Com. Party. He did not betray, however,
the ^{definitely} ~~in his~~ ^{com. Party} ~~consideration~~.

his realistic consideration.
There is, the problem and the demand
which is much more essential than the technical
question of how to change the position of
G. The U. S. G. could and would O. G.
accept a even the division of this ~~part~~
it is carried out in the same and
spirit of European reconciliation and
with the admitted purpose of preparing
the necessary F. of the E. St.
any longer; the F. House
is not

with the
the necessary F. of
Mr. R. does not exist any longer; the F. himself
has destroyed it. The G. E. he created is not
the R. the libwals of 1848 & used the dream
of.

~~The American Social Democrats are not~~
~~in any good terms with~~
The Social D's ~~possibly~~ want to go for
the maintenance of Greater Germany
as the conception of an Anglo-German
"Anshien" always for separated an essential
element of their political tradition.
The leader of the American party, Otto
Kammler who ^{used to be} ~~would be~~ ^{reconciling} and in exile,
Anshien and the ^{German Republic} ~~the~~ ^{the} union between
transferred ^{with success} ~~to the~~ Third Reich.
His spiritual ~~followers~~ ^{the} ~~general~~ G. D.,
who has been active in the S. D. W.,
~~follow~~ faithfully follows his father.
In his paper "...." (T.), he attacks
all those who keep on propagating an
independent Anshien; for instance, the
Prince Stahmsberg. There are rumors that
mediation between the two ^{as a} ~~and the~~
socialistic elements.
On the other hand there exists, paradoxically
enough, a certain agreement between the
Gov. Com. and the Am. monarchist, as
both groups think Anshien should be separated
again from the Reich.
Mr. Otto Kammler, editor of the S. D. paper "Der N. V."
in Paris, has announced that we need, above
all, a "people's army"; and the Communists
apparently share this wish.

For there readily exists any correspondence
between the varied opinions of the different
groups. ~~None of~~ Not a single one of us
in the ^{majority} leaders, to be sure, has now pronounced
that a ~~decision~~ of the Runt would be advisable
or tolerable. The attention that R. or S. has
both & being ^{new} nationalistic, ^{new}
made such a statement, ^{is} ~~simply~~ ^{untrue}.

~~There~~ ~~the~~ Some liberal or conservative
ambassadors, however, ~~had~~ ^{have} ^{not} ^{yet} ^{been} ^{discussing}
recommended the ~~disposition~~ ^{and} ^{total} ^{disarmament} of the Runt
as the only reasonable solution, ^{(after}

H. J. Park. The Am. Soc. for and North
F. W. declared that there was indeed
something like a "little Germany"

mainly America and "Catholic Prussia."
Prussia, therefore, should be isolated and
politically ^{which} ^{is} ^{the} ^{European} ^{Germany} ^{to} ^{come}
of a "European Germany" to come.

There are many shades of ideas, ^{who} ^{still}
competitions. The Trotskyist, who still
has his own paper by the name of "
Under Whose" are not interested in any party
but in the world revolution. How S. has expressed
his opinion, already before he was shocked, that
what G. really needs was an occupation
army, ^{which} ^{would}
finally "educate" our nations. (Thus he
preached in an article, entitled "The Day After,"
published in his own magazine.)

1)

I am not going to discuss the ^{state}~~actual~~ position nor the actual chances of the anti-Nazi & opposition within the Reich. The men and women who fight Hitlerism inside Germany, as well as those who think under psychological and practical laws, ~~that are hard to understand~~. Those now it becomes more and more difficult to keep a permanent contact with those named G. "undogmatically". We must since he was here, has had certain symptoms, we have information, we have symptoms, and if you follow them up they are very promising. We know that dramatic factors are going on, that he was unpopular, even as above all - with the "old fighters". But it is difficult to analyze as to desirable the political or intellectual tendency which forms the spiritual basis of the opposition inside Germany. At the same time the fact that many different oppositional trends are intertwined. We may hope, or believe, that these forces, under the domination of the German people, eventually will find and ~~the dictatorship~~, eventually will find and ~~the dictatorship~~, eventually will find and ~~the dictatorship~~.

While the antagonists of the hated gas regime within the country have to face the actual danger and to do the actual job of preparing the revolution, the rulers have the eternal task to

We also ~~are~~ inform know that the St. - 14.
agreement had a double effect ~~on~~ upon
the said oppositional groups; for ~~on the~~
it ~~strongly~~ intensifies and, at the
same time, confirms the anti-Navy
feeling and activation inside C.

2) clarify the situation theoretically...
There are many gifted people among the
German exiles — writers, scientists, artists,
musicians... Very few political talents;
no political leader, no ~~mass~~ Trotsky,
no Lenin... How ^{have been} ~~typical~~ ^{typical} German!!
— However, there ~~was~~ ^{have been} encouraging
signs. The People's Front, during the
Spanish Civil War, ~~for~~ All of us,
including the liberal Catholics, wanted and
without any ^{exception} ~~propagated~~ ^{propagated} the ~~loyalty~~ ^{loyalty} ~~white~~ ^{white} ~~rom~~ ^{rom}
of us actually ~~sighed~~ ^{sighed} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~there~~ ^{there}
has been to achieve this aim ~~without~~ ^{without} ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~exception~~ ^{exception},
as all of us ^{with C.F.R. and profoundly} ~~sympathized~~ ^{sympathized} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~unanimity~~ ^{unanimity} ~~does not exist anymore~~ ^{does not exist anymore}
~~has been~~ ^{has been} ~~boastful~~ ^{boastful} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~disappeared~~ ^{disappeared}
the Munich Peace. This ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~disappeared~~ ^{disappeared}
since the war began — or, to be more
precise, it ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~lost~~ ^{lost} with the N.-R.
agreements.

The People's Front ~~for~~ the broad, comprehensive
concentration of ~~anti-~~ ^{anti-} ~~Fascist~~ ^{Fascist} ~~forces~~ ^{forces} ~~with the~~ ^{with the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Catholic~~ ^{Catholic} ~~the~~ ^{the}
a political reality, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Catholic~~ ^{Catholic} ~~the~~ ^{the}
it was ~~kindly~~ ^{kindly} ~~recommended~~ ^{recommended} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~by~~ ^{by}
propagated ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~communists~~ ^{communists} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~by~~ ^{by}
most of the liberal intellectuals,
while the ~~total~~ ^{total} ~~Catholic~~ ^{Catholic} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~Social-~~ ^{Social-}
Democrat ~~+~~ ⁺ ~~fasty~~ ^{fasty} ~~had~~ ^{had} ~~never~~ ^{never} ~~troubled~~ ^{troubled}
the adherents of the Kremlin. Now, of course,
since St. — H. made friends, the ~~traditional~~ ^{traditional} ~~extremist~~ ^{extremist}
and ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~III~~ ^{III} ~~German~~ ^{German} ~~mostly~~ ^{mostly} ~~exclusion~~ ^{exclusion},
with a host of embittered triumph:

However, ~~at certain moments~~ the G. political
exiles has formed something like a unity,
at certain historical moments.

3)

We always knew ~~something~~ ^{this} would happen! We are not a bit surprised, as we always realized that St. ~~was~~ ^{was} as least as bad as H., and that his followers ~~started~~ ^{misused} the sacred notion of ~~Demits~~ ^{as a twisted and demagogic slogan} for their own bloody aims. — The communists, on the other hand, reply with contempt and anger: Of course the policy of the P. & F. ~~was doomed to fail~~ ^{as it was stubbornly} ~~had to be a failure~~ ^{the capitalists} and permanently boycotted by ~~the~~ ^{the} gentlemen who depend on the II. International ~~as on the Holy Father~~ ^{as} the ~~enlightened~~ ^{conception} Soviet ~~policy~~ ^{policy} of collectivization, the Lissimov ~~time~~ ^{policy} was coldly betrayed by the so-called "Democratic" ~~Spain and Manchuria~~ — It is impossible to deny that both of these statements contain extreme positions, of truth, and both of them are one-sided.

The situation is very ~~involved~~ ^{complex} and has many different aspects. Just because the ~~situation~~ ^{problems} we have to deal with, happen to be so utterly involved, I ~~think~~ ^{state} it might be more necessary to ~~explain~~ ^{state} my own point of view, ~~very clearly~~ ^{now a transit} and ~~thoroughly~~ ^{now a transit} ~~my~~ ^{my} ~~now~~ ^{now} ~~was~~ ^{was} a communist, but I was for the collaboration with the com. up to end of August 1939. I used to be for the People's F. I ~~believed~~ ^{believed} used to believe in the anti-aggression, anti-fascist

4) foreign policy of the S.U. I have never been
quite naive enough to assume that the com.
all of a sudden, had discovered their
longing for for the Democrats. But I
considered them ~~com~~ intelligent enough to
realize that this deadly enemy was
Fascism, and that they needed Democracy
to defend their own interests. — My
personal experience and disappointments, as
had at the S.U. and the III Inter. as
concerned, are very similar to those
experienced and ~~no~~ unambiguously
frankly admitted and ~~no~~ unambiguously
disavowed. I am a 100 percent against
the new S. policy. I am disgusted with
their ~~aggressive~~ acts of aggression and
still more with the hypocritical
fantasies ~~which~~ ^{which} they ~~try~~ ^{try} to
explain ~~this~~ ^{this}. I am absolutely for
the Democracies — which I refuse to
call the "so-called" ~~one~~ ^{one} for I am
for the victory of ~~E.~~ and F.
This does not mean, however, that I
have become an admirer of Mr. Ch.,
or that I confuse W. Ch. with a ~~socialist~~
holy man. I merely think that ~~E.~~ and
F. are doing, at this moment, what
we wanted and expected them to do for
next year: they actually are defending
European civilization against ~~N.~~ ^{N.} aggression.
~~I don't examine the reasons which forced~~
~~them to do so. The essential fact is~~
~~that they are doing so. Therefore I consider~~

5 it ~~to be~~ as hypocritical and shocking as
"discovery", just now, that the ~~Empire~~ Bd. and
"F. Empires" owe their existence to imperialism.
I am for Bd. and F., not because of "their
imperialism" but in spite of it; I am for them
because they make an effort to smash H. and
asserting of civilization, and ~~because~~ ^{rather} because they
proclaim as their war-aim the organization
of a stable peace and a better order in
Europe.

It is hard for me to ~~discuss~~ ^{remain} patiently with
Socialists ~~who~~ ^{who} tell me that E., after all,
is at least "as rotten as N. G.", and
D. with France even a little worse. They ~~should~~
with G. G. being surprised, and
I am an agent of the
Comité de Foreign if I dare to hint
that in Moscow or Berlin he would have
been thousands to death. - German comm.,
to be sure, hardly would take that way
... This position is especially delicate, even
 tragic. They hate H., and now could make
this peace with a Nazi government. They
declare St. to be H.'s most dangerous enemy
- which is partly true, although on a ~~very~~ ^{rather}
indirect way ... ~~that would they react~~
if H. would socialize the heavy industry.
If Nazi would turn Bolshevistic,
They ~~are~~ ^{simply} unable to admit that
there possibly could be such a thing
as "bad socialism"; that there now
could ~~be~~ ^{exist} a state that would be
"socialist" and, at the same time,

They don't have any ~~understanding~~ ^{understanding} for the fact that the clash between
St. and H. even if it with eventually occur, would be just
another struggle between two dictators, without
any moral significance.

French and German Catholic intellectuals
openly and bitterly admitted that the
H. F. who is not infallible in the
political sphere, made a mistake when
he helped the op. Fs. - while the com.,
including the E. comrades, refuse to
admit that these H. F. is mistaken
at all, when he is helping the Fri'ers.

They are unable to grasp the obvious ^{fact} that St.
has betrayed the cause of anti-fascism, popular
and socialism, by adopting Nazi-means and
Nazi-aims.

6)

4)

character of Stalinism becoming obvious
— new hope that progressive forces may liberate
themselves from Russian guardianship ... The
central problem — who to combine Liberty
and Socialism — could be discussed
in a new way ...

No. — Communists — isolated, hostile,
as they ~~to~~ used to be from 19/33,
mark the basic springing of the P.'s Fr.

~~And the liberals? ... Red-baiting~~
~~The ...~~

✓ They actually hate the Social Dem. ^{much more} than
more than they hate H. — which ^{the} liberals
hate the communists ^{more} than
any body else. ^{Red-baiting} Their traditional
battle-cry: "Dev Fund (that's it)!"

("The Enemy stands to the Left.")
Liberals collaborating with deserters ex-
comm. to compromise nationalities, Catholics,
social-democrats. If they tell you: "It is
a ~~new~~ bloody monster", and you reply,
"Yes, it is a monster", they call you
a Soviet agent as you dropped the
word "bloody". This is really exaggerated.

"I have personal experience.
Few days after conclusion ... questioned
me — "Yes or no?" I was still confused,
shocked, bewildered ... Did not like the
"Yes or No" trick. Refused to answer,
in a quiet letter, which, by the way,
did not contain a single word in favour
of the Pact. I just explained the situation

The Germ. comm., at this ^{historical} moment, have a ^{final} chance to liberate themselves from the traditional R. gov., which is responsible for the failure of the German radical party, from 1919 up to 1933. Are they going to return to that sterile, anti-democratic policy of sinister isolation, which eliminated their influence in the faraway times of the W. R.?

This fanatical adherence of W. R. to that "red" or just slightly pink, has in many ways, very complicated and not always good relations of a psychological, racial or moral sort.

8) complicated; would like to discuss it; could not simplify Consequently I was called an "old S. agent" who has finally shown his real face. See! In a magazine, N. T. B., two of which I had been contributor for ten years ... It was absurd, almost funny ... Yet, situation arose ... Had to write a detailed reply, explaining that I never was ... neither directly nor indirectly, in no sense of the word. I don't know as yet, at this moment, whether or not my old friend, liberal Mr. Schw., may be inclined to publish the self-defense of an old ~~man~~ ~~contributor~~ who was contributor of the very paper, the contributor of which he used to be for a decade. Example, unimportant as such. But typical for ~~these~~ anti-red mania ... They are slandering people and organizations. In France, they are obviously the monopoly of publicity ... They are the judges ... The bringing people into the combination camp ... defining the abyss that opened between the saved anti-Nazi groups. The division of the different left and liberal positions shown in the ... All this sounds like "the may have left the tea cup." However, the disaster of the W. tragic consequences. This is the way R. how Krumpholtz Rep. was named ... For the division is not merely between communists on the one hand and the saved groups of liberals on the other hand; But between those anti-Stalinist groups as well ... Read in

9) new publication "Inside N. G." (London):

The crucial topic of discussion ... just one
of the points of controversy ...*)
I see danger, many of them. I see
the Stalinists, stubbornly sticking to
Russian Imperialism; I see liberals turning
reactionary, because of their abhorrence
of Stalin. I don't think there is anything
between the Kremlin and Otto of Habsburg
as the ~~Marx~~ son of Marx. This ~~is~~ certainly would be most depressing - if we
I hate to do what we call ~~the~~ ^{would not know}
German "to wash one's dirty laundry
before the people." That this most important
the dreary quarrels of refugees.
than a new scene - on a very old
one of the German tragedy -
which is the tragedy of a people
without a political instinct. It is still
time! The ~~same~~ confused situation still
could be classified, if both sides
are prepared to do the decisive step.
The ~~other~~ ^{other} forces, within the Reich and abroad.
At stake is ~~nothing~~ the future of
Germany, of Europe, of our West. Civil. -
nothing other and nothing else. And
our contribution is ~~greater~~ ^{greater}, monotonous
anguish. Oh shame! ... I still am for
the compromise anti-Fascist Front -
provided that of all of its members, the
"left wing" as well as the "right wing",
actually deserve the honorable name of
X ~~anti~~ Democrats.

work in action
The G. people must not
be claiming with Asia
and not with the
become a
movement

Not of our business. We may leave the decision to those who will have the power to decide. Since he too recommends the decision, ~~and~~ charging us with responsibility; also ~~junker~~ that decision would be a crime. If it has to be ~~it~~ it will be one task to explain the necessity to our compatriots. No use to advise the Allies: Don't be too mild! - And abroad too insist on full "equal right" for the G. people whenever they will be over there in a dangerous friendly manner exists too talk about the German line about blood-thirsty madness whom one has to annihilate - as if it would be possible to annihilate or only to control in the long run, 80 mil. of people! On the other hand, other groups are inclined to overemphasize the distinction between G's and N's. It is anyway absurd to deny that the responsibility or guilt of the G. nation ... One task: to prepare, spiritually and theoretically, the future G. Democracy; the reconciliation ... with Europe. The Europe we mean and want, should not be ruled by the Kremlin nor by the Bank of England. The G. political ~~exists~~ ^{one finds} seemingly are divided into ~~groups~~ ^{after H. J. Loh}; one which joyfully would accept a general European Parliament, of ~~Fifty~~ ^{the Hohenzollern} some thousand the general President, and another clique ~~that~~ would like to see while the GPU taking over the job of the Gestapo. ~~Both of them certainly don't look very promising.~~

Thm:

There is a dangerous tendency among G. left-wingers to say that we are not aware that we are radical. All of us, the G. people, must know the government. We should know, pick it. It does not represent of the G. nation, but it is ~~unlike~~ for foolish and just. The government ~~has~~ for G. people. The innocent victims of Negroes and white people must not be in the same way.

~~Comments~~

The G. people must find back
to the community of E. U.
You should do so we must
not fraternize with Africa nor
with the most reactionary elements
of the Western Hemisphere of
the American people. We don't need
any more of it as we did not have
any N. No. 10 we want
any N. since we did not have
a resolution but a deadly
bloody conspiracy. What we need
and want is that Democracy,
on a just, ~~solidary collaboration~~
with which ~~solidary collaboration~~
freedom and peaceful collaboration
with all of our nations.
The ancient topic of all of our
discussions must be the way
for motion of the community
E. U. The ~~community~~ ~~community~~
has ~~been~~ ~~been~~ ~~been~~ ~~been~~
should be welcome

Der N.-S. Park und die deutsche Opposition.

..... Sehen wir ab von der Opposition
im Lande. Sie steht nicht an dem
psychologischen und faktischen

Gesetz

Exist. Die deutsche Verfassung ist

die politische Grundstruktur.

..... Die deutschen Kommunisten
sollten ... Aber: kein Wort gegen

Stalin. Es ist das Beste — nicht

die Propaganda mit so grobem
Sinn Keine Mystik ist

orthodox. [Große politische
Freiheit der Katholiken: Mönche
müssen ... Hier: das absolute

Beste wird mit dem Judentum
eine imperialistische Fiktion

Gottmacht hastmässig identisch

fingiert ... I

Auf der andern Seite: "Der
Freund steht links ... " Der Ein-
Rasur, die blind und einfach
macht. Aber "Agenden."
Der Triumph der "Ich habe
es immer gesagt." Könnte
gokmückig machen. Nein ...
Personen links Verdächtigungen
niemanden. Woch kommen
lassen; ein Selbstverband ist
ein "Zugewandter", weil es
kann "Eckel'sung" gegen Stalin

.....
Hoffnungen: ein Regenwetter
der misopäthischen Linken
drückt die Trennung von Trotski.
..... Aber nur 20. Hall mit
beiden Seiten ... "Das andere
Deutschland" — : 20 wäre
die ungeheure Liebe verbleibt
gewesen, die wir gewinnen 1918-
33, von 1933/40 zu fassen best.
Bewusst sein die neue Tragödie ist
200 ? — Darf nicht sein!

Die deutsche Opposition und das Parth.

[Ausschnitt]

Emigration (Teilweise anti-Parth.)
L. Sch. ; S. P. P. ; Pragerberg ...
Teil starkbor - Stalin - ... Teil Volksober-
abwärtig ; geg. ... (verschiedene Meinungen)

Aber ...

Das Regime der Sozialung - ...

Opposition:
Präsidenten ... nach ...
... S. S. Prager ...
... Göttinger ... - Göttinger
[Verständnis: Göttinger ... - Göttinger
...]

Große Frage ...
... Verlust Stalin ...

... Krim ...
... Hille ? -

X Stalin, Parolen - im D. - ...
anti - Nazi ... (Erklärung dieser Parolen)
... Hille - ... Stalin ?

... Hoffnung ... Unabhängigkeit
des linken ...
... Stalin kann nicht ...
Schritt ...

The war against Hitler has to become a war for a New Europe — and this

(Ich war für die Einheit, froh ...)
Ich war der Ansicht — habe sie auch öffentlich
ausgesprochen —, dass es die S.V. und das III. Reich mosaikartig
oder fast sich einander gleich zu setzen. Haben
wir nicht gesehen, ... ja — und doch auch
wieder nicht ganz. Denn während das III. Reich
bei der Arbeit in der Wirtschaft, im ...
ich, haben wir in im Fall der S.V. nicht
einem mosaikartigen Verfall wegen ...
zu sein. (Symptome: Vom ...
für "Alexander Nessel" — "Potemkin")

Schön wir sind nur wir
nicht der religiösen ...
müßte Hwy statt ...
Krieg "Matraderman" wird
g- ... können ...

Ein ... Ensofä ...
Himmels ... wird nicht

wird der Zirkel der Un-
muthlichkeit ... Dies

allen bedeutet nicht, daß wir

nicht die ... Verdienste

der U.S.A. ...
Verdienste, die der ...
... und ...

"das gleiche" ad ab ...
haben.

Depositions R. V. —	1	50
Pullman tip		60
Division P. A. —		60
Alfred		4, 44
P. — Buffalo		

245/72

