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Two Germanys.

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Two Germanys.

Just a few days ago, we had an experience which was strange - and somewhat significant. We received a letter, addressed to the whole Mann-family - so as we would be one single person - , and sent from some minor German city, via certain friends in Switzerland. The letter - typewritten and without any signature - looked quite mysterious to us. It said something about an old Mr. Maccauly, who was in pretty bad state of health. "An operation on his back might be necessary", we read - without understanding a word. - Who was old Mr. Maccauly, anyhow? There was nobody called Maccauly among the people we knew. It was, indeed, a confusing letter.

Some days later, a volume of Maccauly's historical works arrived in our home, at Princeton N.J. This didn't make the matter very much clearer. It was just an ordinary book; we couldn't find anything in it... Suddenly, I got the idea: Maybe, there is something hidden, in the back of the book, and the operation, which old Mr. M. so badly needs, is supposed to be done to the book. (It seems I would have a certain chance to ~~earn~~ earn my life as a detective - if writing and lecturing shouldn't pay any longer...) - Well - : we pulled off the back of the book - and, really, what we found there was a tiny little paper, very thin and extremely carefully folded.

A sort of a poem was written on the thin little piece of paper - which had made so long a journey, almost around the the world, before it reached us. It was a "Message of a German, to the Civilized World": It ~~cried~~ cried out:

"We - the German people - are suffering! We are deeply disappointed! Our hearts are filled with fear and with shame. Life without liberty is a nightmare. We want you to know how dreadfully we suffer. We warn you! Be aware! You still enjoy your liberty - this precious good! Keep it! Protect it! Defend it! Fight for it - if it should be

necessary! Don't take a chance! Don't trust: It can't happen here! It can happen everywhere! You must be strong, firm and courageous - otherwise you will lose your freedom, as we lost ours! - And when you think of us - the citizens, the victims of the Third Reich - think of us with pity - not with disgust nor with hatred! There are men in Germany who really deserve the hatred and the disgust of the world - I admit it; I know it - , and the horrible fact is that just those men have all the power. That doesn't mean, that all the German people are behind them or approve of everything, ~~they leaders~~ do. On the contrary; most of us are ashamed, are desolated. - There are two ^{points} ~~things~~ which people in the Democratic countries should realize, ~~above all~~: that Nazism, and its allies, are not just a danger for certain political or racial groups or certain countries, but that they ^{are} threatening the whole world, Christianity and our entire civilisation; and - as the other main-point -; that Hitler and Germany are not identical. There are two Germanys"

... This was the message which we found, with amazement, in old Mr. Mauccaully's opened back. Beneath the text, there were a few other lines, written with a different typewriter, and reading as follows: "This message I am sending you is the last will of a German man who was not a Jew nor a Bolshevist. He was killed in a Concentration Camp, in summer 1938. People ~~abroad~~ should read, what he had to tell them - before he died. His words express what million of Germans are feeling."

.... Millions of Germans - : isn't he ~~exaggerating~~ exaggerating a little, ^{to us} ~~our~~ unknown ^{not: law} ~~correspondent~~ in the Third Reich? - I know: that is the way most of you ^{are} ~~feel~~ ^{ing} about it - and I am able to understand your scepticism. I guess, you would like to ask me this simple question: If your so-called "other Germany" should be really so strong - how is it pos-

sible, that the Nazis remain in power? Could they keep their position, could they go on - against the majority of the people?

I may answer you, that it seems to be utterly difficult, almost impossible, to make any kind of a successful opposition, against a modern Totalitarian State. ~~What~~ The organisation of modern Dictatorship is so much stronger, than the ~~people~~ ^{wishes} or the fears of the people. Who would dare to say a word against the ruling clique, since it might ~~mean~~ ^{have} Concentration Camp or Death as its consequence?

You believe this, and you knew it before. But you keep asking me. (I know you would like to do so: I can see it in your faces.) - All right, then - you say - , now, it may be too late to make opposition. But - if it is true that most of the Germans are intelligent, civilized, and liberal people - : how could they permit Hitler to establish himself, as their leader, their dictator? - They wanted him, after all. They elected him, they greeted him as the Messiah... And I could not deny it. Really, there were Germans, who believed in Hitler with burning love, enthusiasm, fanaticism. They really thought, he, the Führer, and nobody else, could save them, ~~and~~ ^{and} was able to make them happy.

Let me confess you: it was always somewhat difficult for me, to understand those compatriots of mine. There is a certain amount of stupidity, which remains repulsive - for my personal feeling, at least - , and which, besides, is simply terrifying - : even if one should be able to explain the reasons, which confused the people's minds. - Germany lost the war, she was poor, humiliated, unhappy. The German Republic was weary; it didn't have the political leaders it needed; its most popular representative was a reactionary old Prussian General, Herr von Hindenburg. Was he the ~~the~~ fit man to defend the deadly threatened Democracy? He was much too old - to begin with. To tell the truth: when he was

electd as President of the Republic, for the second time, he was already senile, and did not realize, what was going on. However, ~~and~~ the old General had certain instincts - and they were definitely ~~opposed to~~ ^{opposed to} any kind of Democratic ideal. Besides, he had friends ~~who were owners of the big Prussian land estates, and he had a very active sons, and, finally, he had, as his most intimate adviser, Herr von Papen and advisers, who abused the old General's fame and popularity for their own aims - which happened to be selfish and not very clean. They wanted Hitler to ~~have~~ get the power, because they thought, he would rule with them, the Prussian reactionaries, and would, above all, protect their big fortunes and land estates. Hindenburg, influenced by those men, called Hitler - not the German people did call him: this is a fact, not ~~well~~ known enough in the other countries. I mention and emphazise it, because it takes a part of the responsibility from the German people as a whole. It was, once more, one special class, one group, one clique, which was guilty and responsibly for the tragedy which started: the Prussian squires - fatal to the German nation, on so many historical occasions.~~

...A certain clique - very cleverly active, in the background - called Hitler, at a moment, when he was not at all on the climax of his popularity. The last elections, in 1932, had meant a quite embarrassing failure for the Nazi Party. Nobody gave him a serious chance, for the time being. His reactionary protectors felt: We have to help him to power now - or it might be too late altogether. They acted fast and effiently - :don't they regret it, by now? I bet, they feel deeply sorry, for what they did. When Hitler was all mighty, it turned out, that wasn't, by any means, the "M a n of o r d e r", the protector of conservative ideals or interests, the boll-work against Bolshevism. Professor Borgese, the great Italian exile, living in this country,

says, in his important book, "The March of Fascism", about Mussolini: "He is neither a Nationalist, nor a Socialist; he ~~is~~ is an Anarchist, and nothing else." - This statement is true, as far as our Führer is concerned, as well. He will disappoint everybody, who tries to come to good term with him, to get advantages out of him - by making concessions to him. He is nobody's friend, as he is absolutely and thoroughly selfish - ; Mussolini, who happens to have the same kind of character, knows it. The Prussian conservatives didn't know it yet, in 1932 and 1933; they had ~~to~~ had to pay dearly for ~~that~~ the mistake they had made. The most active and most cynical among them, Herr von Papen, the most intimate friend of General Hindenburg, is in disgrace to-day, perhaps in prison, in any case - : definitely out of the game... He did more for Hitler, maybe, than anybody ~~at~~ else. It doesn't pay.... The British Conservative, - Mr. Chamberlain and his powerful set - could make the same dreary experience - if they don't change their attitude, before it will be too late.

The German nation, however, has had its experiences with its leader - and six years is a pretty long time - I can assure you, especially when one has to live under a Dictatorship. - Yes: they allowed him to come to power. They didn't call him; but it is a fact that they accepted him - without any resistance; important parts of the German population even with enthusiasm. I hate to admit it - it seems shameful to me. They hoped; they believed; they were ignorant; they were worned out by the difficulties of the economical depression - ; they still suffered from the humiliations of the lost war, of the Versailles-treaty; they were confused by the tremendous propaganda of the Nazi party, which worked with a great deal of cynical ability - whereas the liberal or radical parties of the Weimar Republic made mistake after mistake. All this is true, and ^{it} ~~all this is true~~ explains, up to a certain degree, the attitude of the German people, in 1933, when Hitler

came to power. But, still, it remains a horrible and shameful thing to admit: That there wasn't any open resistance, whatever, when the Dictorship was established.

And, in spite of all this, we keep saying: There are Two Germanys. Hitler does n o t represent the nation. - Isn't it a mere caprice, a sort of an idée fixe of a disappointed patriot, who cannot ~~decide~~ decide to give up his last illuions?

No - Ladies and Gentlmen - I d o n ' t have any illuions, as far as my tragic homeland is concerned. - The other day, after a lecture on the "Two Germanys" I delivered - an American woman stepped into my room, and would say: "Well - I enjoied your speech!" (This was ~~pure~~ ^{which was an out. Gengul face, by all way.} politness - one could see it, watching her angry face.) "But, after all" - she continued - "I begin to get a l i t t l e tired of that kind of talk. Two Germanys? - There is just o n e , as far as I can see - and it looks somewhat alarming to me. During the world war, we here, in this country, were told: Not the German people are our enemies - by no means. It is only the Kaiser, and his wicked Generals, who are threa- tening the civilized world. We believed it, and when the Kaiser, finally, was off, and became a harmless private old Gentleman, sitting around in Holland, we were definitely relieved. 'Now, this famous "other Germany", the peaceful and civilized one, finally may show up - :that is what we hoped, when the horrible war was over. - There we are! ~~Wasn't~~ Wasn't the Kaiser charming and reliable, compaired with your Führer?" - "M y Führer?" I dared say, slightly offended. - "Well..." the impatient lady would say. "It is y o u r Führer, as well - since you happen to a German." - "I am from the o t h e r Germany", I remarked - but quite timidly, with a little voice - so she didn't hear it. - "It seems to me, the Germans l i k e this kind of dangerous leaders, they are fond of them - that's all. After all, every nation ~~gets~~, in the long run, gets the leader it wants - and it deserves..."

There was a great deal of truth in everything she had said - it was embarrassing and depressing; still, I had to admit it.

I was silent, for quite a while - feeling it was impossible to convince her were not quite as thoroughly bad, as all that.

Should I tell her, how active the secret opposition in Germany still is - in spite of all the dangers involved? As a matter of fact: the "underground-mouvement" becomes stronger and stronger - we have our informations - which certainly are authentic. From time to time, we meet, in Paris, Zürich or New York, some of those brave and daring conspirators, ~~who actually risk their~~ - Catholics, Protestants, Socialists or Conservatives - , who actually risk their lives for their faith. They seem to be more hopeful now than ever before, since 1933. - It may be surprising, and almost paradoxical, that opposition, within the Reich, is rapidly growing, while Hitler has so many brilliant triumphs on the field of international politics. It is obvious: people are not interested, any longer, in annexations. What do they care, whether or not the Führer will get parts of Russia or of France? They are tired. Too much excitement, too much propaganda becomes a bore, in the long run. Above all, they are deeply afraid of the coming war - : they didn't forget the last one altogether. All they care for, is a decent life, and a certain amount of freedom. Hitler and Goebbels arranged new persecutions against the racial and religious minorities - not only, because they really hate them and are eager to get their money; but, above all, in order to cheer up the spirit of the population. People will like the horrifying performance - the Führer thought - : just like his more elegant colleagues, the Roman emperors, had calculated, when they gave order to kill the Christians to amuse the mob, in the circus. This time, the dictator was definitely mistaken. The majority of the people was deeply disgusted - all the observers, coming from

the Reich, assure ~~me~~ this.

They are disgusted, all right - but they don't protest - or: they don't protest openly. Is it possible, to explain this shameful silence, ~~only~~ ~~by fear~~? or to excuse it? Certainly: not everybody is fit to become a martyr - like certain German religious or political leaders or fighters, Pastor Niemöller, and all the others, suffering in Concentration Camps for their convictions - ~~it isn't everybody~~ the average man isn't strong enough for such a fate. - But if they would ~~rebel~~ rebel, their outbursts of anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish feelings were not "spontaneous", by any means. What could the dictator do, if the reaction of all his people a g a i n s t those persecutions would be spontaneous, strong, and overwhelming? - He couldn't face it; it would actually mean his end.

How can I explain to my foreign friends that strange lack of political temperament, which, unfortunately, is such a significant, ~~important~~ feature, in the character of the Germans. - ~~There is one kind of event~~ May I mention just one especially important historical fact? - Germany never had a revolution. France, America, Russia, even

Especially in Italy, Spain, Holland, Switzerland and the revolutionary spirit which they have.
England had revolutions, which changed and determined the fate of these nations. In German history, however, such an event doesn't exist. What happened there, in 1918, was not a revolution, but a dreary ~~and~~ ^{in 2nd A.D. period} consequence of the defeat. There wasn't anything, what I would call revolutionary enthusiasm. The German people didn't like their new Republic. Their political instincts were not developed, were not mature. They were not prepared to enjoy and to love their new liberty - which was given to them as the result of a lost war - ; they were not ready, to face Democracy.

I mentioned the astonishing lack of political temperament in the German character. I may add, there is an absolute absence of any political instinct, or ~~and~~ of any kind of t a l e n t, as far as politics are concerned. This statement might seem surprising and even

paradoxical to many of you. Why - the Germans, to highly gifted and productive on various fields, should be talentless, when it comes to politics? - Besides, they seem to be pretty successful, as far as politics are concerned - for the time being, at least. - Yes, they have sensational successes, at this moment - impossible, to deny it. Maybe, ~~this kind of~~ ^{these} achievements are a little too sensational, there is too much noise about them, the whole matter looks somewhat hectic to me. During the World War, too, Germany became greater and greater, the Generals cried: Victory! Victory - , and, suddenly, nobody expected the disaster which was bound to come. Permit me to admit certain slight doubts, concerning the s o l i d i t y of those colossal German successes. There are certain giants who look terrific, but who are really much weaker and less dangerous, than ~~they~~ they pretended to be. - Will the Great, Greater and Greatest Germany last for ever? - Wait and see!

It is always somehow embarrassing to watch noisy persons, and it makes it a little suspicious. A man with a sound self-confidence does not shout. Why does Herr Hitler ~~that~~ talk with such a terrifying voice - even when he is praising peace - h i s peace, the Pax Germanica? Already the Kaiser made everybody nervous, with his loud ways, his hectic arrogance, his aggressiveness. His follower, the Führer, surpasses him.... ~~at least~~ as far as shouting is concerned, at least.

Is there a lack of self-confidence in the German character - : this most complex, most strangely combined national character? - Very definitely: the Germans - as a nation, a political community - are suffering from a m i n o r i t y - c o m p l e x - if you may allow me, to use the scientific term, invented by Siegmund Freud. The Nazis have good reasons to hate this most brilliant old man - now in exile. They dislike him, because they feel his power to see through them. People with a strong minority-complex hate everybody,

who has enough psychological knowledge, to analyse and to understand the authentic reasons of their arrogant behavior. The fear of psychology is a bad sign - every doctor knows it - :something must be wrong, the patient is afraid to learn the truth about himself. He prefers to hide his own mental weakness, by means of shouting and boasting.

A man who happens to be not active by nature, - and who really like it better to dream and to speculate, rather than to act - ~~does~~ sometimes does foolish things, yes, he even would commit a crime - just in order to prove that he is not "a sissy". - Did you ever hear about "over-compensation?" Well - it is another psychological term Siegmund Freud brought up. The extreme Nationalism of the Germans, their ^{boundless} ~~almost hysterical~~ ambition, is nothing but such an "over-compensation." - Don't believe we are dreamers! Don't think we are sissy! On the contrary! We are going to have the most terrific army on earth - and much more planes than all the other countries ~~combined~~ combined! We are altogether, the most terrific nation ever known! The hegemony in Europe? That's nothing! ~~We are~~ We are ready to rule the world - :believe it or not! Heil Hitler! Vorwärts marsch!.....

....So what? - Thus sounds almost made! A person, uttering such words, and emphasizing them with excited gestures, must be out of his mind: the over-compensation of the deplorable minority-Complex has ~~all~~ all the symptoms of a nervous crisis. - Unfortunately, it is quite likely to become the crisis of our entire civilisation...: if nobody is going to stop and to cure the most dangerous patient.

The "o t h e r G e r m a n y" - the non-hysterical, the sound and intelligent Germans have the task and the duty to call their nation to reason. It has to keep silence, for the time being, under the merciless Dictatorship. ~~Maybe~~ Perhaps, this means a sort of punishment to the German intellectuals, to our creative minds. They made many ~~respect~~ mistakes, they, too, are guilty, in many respects. -

Yes; this other Germany - spiritually highly developed and most creative - is guilty, too - not actively so, but in a passive way. And I am not speaking just about our generation, but the German classics as well. They have always been too haughty, and too entirely concerned with their own dreams and speculations. There were magic dreams, and most profound speculations - we must admit it. The world owes them wonderful things, miracles of beauty and wisdom. This unpolitical German mind created Dürer's and Holbein's paintings, the music of Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms; Goethe's Faust, Hölderlin's poems, the philosophy of Kant and Schopenhauer, Nietzsche's prophecy, the perfect beauty of Stefan George's verses, the sweet and powerful melody of Rainer Maria Rilke's lyrical prayers.

It is absolutely intolerable to hear the Nazis pretending that all those great minds were nothing but the precursors of the Hitler-movement. As a matter of fact: none of our really distinguished spirits ever preached racial or religious tolerance, nor extreme Nationalism. All of them desired and demanded that Germany be a peaceful member of the community of people. Immanuel Kant wrote "Das Traktat vom ewigen Frieden." (The Treaty of Eternal Peace.), and anticipated the idea of the League of Nations. - Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, the inaugurator of the epoch of classic German literature, wrote the song of songs of Tolerance, in his "Nathan der Weise." (It is worthy to mention that Lessing's best friend was the German-Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn.) - Goethe, whose comprehensive spirit was at home in the culture of all nations and all regions, coined the beautiful word "Weltbürgertum" ("Citizenship of the World.") - The motive thought in the works of Friedrich Schiller is the idea of Freedom, and the historical event which had the deepest and most lasting influence upon him, was the French revolution. - Heinrich Heine's most beautiful ambition was to be a "good European". And this

is exactly what Friedrich Nietzsche wanted to be - in spite of all his somehow confusing glorification of "force" and the beauty of the "blond beast". This was nothing but the fascinating caprice of a genius - who happened to be a nervous professor, tortured by most disagreeable head-aches. It really was another "over-compensation" - you see. But the "good European" meant to him something very substantial, very much alive. The "superman", whose coming into being he desired and whose praises he sung, was not a Germanic barbarian, but a man of the Western World, of good manners, and of certain moral principles. The "blond beast" had various qualities, just of the kind to make Professor Nietzsche sick. Why was his criticism against Germany altogether, and especially against Bismarck's Young Reich so violent and so bitter? Because the "blond beast" was ruling there - : although not yet the "superman". Nietzsche's "superman" is supposed to be a G e n t l e m a n - : handsome and well-trained, like a young Greek of the best period; cultured and witty, like a Frenchman of the old grand style; profound, honest and serious, like a German philosopher - before he wrote cheap little articles for daily papers and became a member of Goebbels' "Reichskultur-Kammer." - You see; Nietzsche was quite pretentious, as far as his "superman" was concerned...

...Yes, we had "good Europeans", good citizens of the world, among our great poets and philosophers - : I emphasize this with pride. And, still - it wasn't enough. They were isolated, they didn't have any pedagogical influence upon the nation - and, fundamentally, they were not very eager to get a more intimate - physical or mental - contact with the masses. All of them were individualists, were aristocrats. The great German literature never was popular with the people. They used to sing Heine's "Loreley" - before it was forbidden, of course - ; but who read his enlightening prose? - They knew two or three poems by Schiller, maybe even some of his plays. But the most important works of Goethe are actually almost unknown. "Don't be sad about it," he once told a friend

who complained the lack of enthusiasm in Germany, toward Goethe. "Don't be sad - what I write, n e v e r will be popular..." - It seems he was almost proud of it - ; it was the somehow melancholy pride of the aristocrat who feels: The masses cannot understand me...

How strange - : to compare Goethe with Shakespeare - the two greatest poets mankind ever produced. What a difference between them! How could I imagine, Shakespeare uttering such a sentence, in which pride and resignation are so strangely mixed? Shakespeare - who wrote not only f o r the theater, but actually o n the theater - was eager to impress, to win the masses; his great ambition was, millions should laugh and cry about his jokes and about his laments - : millions, all over the world, and for centuries. And they laughed, they cried - they are still laughing and crying...: whereas, among the many many volumes Goethe produced, there are just two or three, read, to-day, by more than a few hundred people.

He foresaw it; he didn't care.

No - it was not the ~~ambit~~ intention of our greatest minds to impress ^{or} to influence the masses. Their pedagogical ambition was weak; their scepticism ~~was~~, as far as social problems are concerned, was profound; and politics were just repulsive to them. "A dirty business!" - They were right, I guess - up to a certain degree. Still - maybe it was just t h e i r duty to ~~help~~ make this business a little cleaner... However, that is exactly what their best colleagues tried to do in France, for their own country as well as for the world. All the great French authors - Voltaire and Rousseau, Victor Hugo and Zola - were fighting, bravely and without any aristocratic reservations, ag~~o~~ainst social evils; gainst injustice and suppression; struggling for a better future of mankind. They described the society, in order to make it better. So did Balzac, Flaubert, and Maupassant. They became realists, because they were idealists. Her interest was primarily

social - whereas the German authors, almost entirely, were concerned with the individual. Balzac and Stendhal create the epic of a whole society - "la comédie humaine", the human comedy - ; Faust - Goethe's hero and self-portrait - seems to be alone, talking only to God, to the Devil, and, sometimes, a few words to a little girl, whose life he is going to ruin. - Was Goethe - friend and ~~minister~~ official of a German Prince - ever disturbed by injustice? As a matter of fact, he felt that a certain amount of injustice was necessary, in order to protect order - which was precious to him, above all. His royal solitude was never disturbed by the screams and tears of those who suffer. He was not inclined a bit, to arrise public scandal, by appearing, suddenly, before a tribunal, in order to cry: "J'accuse!"

"I accuse!" - : a French author had cried it out, - with such a rage, such a power, that the world will never forget it. Emile Zola could not stand the one injustice, committed the Jewish officer, Dreyfus. He cried: "J'accuse!" - and the world listened...

Now it is our ~~time~~ time, our turn, to accuse, to fight, to defend our most precious goods against the merciless enemy. Is the world prepared to listen, to understand? Or did mankind change, since the far-away days of the Drayfus-Affair? Are people less interested, to-day, in certain values, than they used to be, in the comparatively civilized epoch of the late Nintheenth Century? Or, else, are our voices weaker than Emile Zola's powerful word?

Probably, our voices are much too weak. The "other Germany" - which we represent - doesn't have a great deal of training, as far as accusing or fighting are concerned. We have to learn it. The School we are going through is awfully hard - for us, in exile, ^{Cytil Lander} and for our comrades, within the Reich.

Do you still remember the Message which I read to you, in the beginning? It told us a terrible story about suffering. But it included

another story which is less obvious, less dramatic, but even still more important.

The crucial experience which is the Third Reich will change and develop the minds of many many Germans. The "other Germany" - the Germany of creative spirit - begins to understand that it has to give up his "splendid isolation" - which was a very dark isolation, sometimes - , and that it must make friends with the masses which were misled and ignorant. S t a t e and S p i r i t - so tragically separated from each other, through all of the German history - have to find, ~~to~~ each other, after all. - The German State - finally reconciled with the German Spirit - what is it going to ^{be} look like? ~~What is it going to be?~~ - Not the Bolshevism - : the ^{of} fear, that after Hitler's fall Bolshevism would be inevitable in Germany, is just childish; the Nazi-propaganda made it up, in order to confuse the world, and to break its resistance. - After Hitler's fall, we will have the German Republic - a state, which really deserves this fine name. We will have the Democracy - and our people, finally educated ~~by~~ , finally mature, will love ^{it}, keep it, protect it.

Civilisation has its disagreeable qualities; Barbarism, however, is worse. The Germans know it. We are told, there is a new fashion, now becoming popular with the young people in Germany: to be civilized. In a country where Barbarism is ruling, it becomes almost revolutionary to like civilisation...

It becomes revolutionary, as well, to understand and realize, once more, the importance and beauty of certain spiritual and moral values - such as the conceptions of Freedom, or Sympathy and ~~neighbourly~~ love for one's neighbour. Youngsters in Democratic countries may think, ideals of this kind are a little old-fashioned and almost dull. Tolerance and comprehensive understanding was all right for our grandfathers; the furious intolerance, the brute aggressiveness of

they may feel.

modern Fanaticism is much more thrilling, more fascinating, more up to date.

Are there young people who feel and think in this way? - How mistaken they are!...The ideas of Freedom and Sympathy are still the basis of our social and individual life - renouncing them, means; to destroy our existence as human beings, and nothing else. ~~Don't think it would be adventurous, to live without freedom - "for a change"~~

The Nazis hate really Christianity more than anything else; more than Socialism, more than the Jews. And they know perfectly why they do so. Christianity gives to mankind its supreme dignity. It teaches: Ye are all equal in the sight of God. You belong to one community, one family - since the Saviour, Jesus Christ, died for all of us.

The Totalitarian State, the extreme Nationalism must for ever fight against Christianity and against Democracy - which means nothing but the political manifestation of Christianity -. These high conceptions have, as their last aim, to connect the human beings - whereas Fascism wants to separate them from each other. The logical consequence of Fascism is war - in the near future, or in the long run; the logical consequence of Christianity and Democracy is Peace - peace in our time, peace in honour, peace for ever.

We - the representatives of the Other Germany - who are travelling homelessly through the countries to-day, have an important task: To convince you, that German Reich, once more, may become a good, industrious, reliable member of the Family of Nations. All decent Germans wish and hope for this.

Two Germanys.

Just a few days ago, we had an experience which was strange - and somewhat significant. We received a letter, addressed to the whole Mann-family - so as we would be one single person - , and sent from some minor German city, via certain friends in Switzerland. The letter - typewritten and without any signature - looked quite mysterious to us. It said something about an old Mr. Maccauly, who was in pretty bad state of health. "An operation on his back might be necessary", we read - without understanding a word. - ~~Who was old Mr. Maccauly,~~ ^a ~~anyhow~~ There was nobody called Maccauly among the people we knew. It was, indeed, a confusing letter.

Some days later, a volume of Maccauly's historical works arrived in our home, at Princeton N.J. This didn't make the matter very much clearer. ~~It was just an ordinary book; we couldn't find anything in it.~~ ... Suddenly, I got the idea: Maybe, there is something hidden, in the back of the book, and the operation, which old Mr. M. so badly needs, is supposed to be done to the book. (It seems I would have a certain chance to ~~earn~~ earn my life as a detective - if writing and lecturing shouldn't pay any longer...) - Well - ; we pulled of the back of the book - and, really, what we found there was a tiny little paper, very thin and extremely carefully folded.

~~A sort of a poem was written on the thin little piece of paper - which had made so long a journey, almost around the the world, before it reached us. It was a "Message of a German, to the Civilized World"; It ~~our~~ cried out:~~

"We - the German people - are suffering! We are deeply disappointed! Our hearts are filled with fear and with shame. Life without liberty is a nightmare. We want you to know how dreadfully we suffer. We warn you! Be aware! You still enjoy your liberty - this precious good! Keep it! Protect it! Defend it! Fight for it - if it should be

^{then,}
sible, that the Nazis remain in power? Could they keep their position, could they go on - against the majority of the people?

I may answer you, that it seems to be utterly difficult, almost impossible, to make any kind of a successful opposition, against a modern Totalitarian State. ~~What~~ The organisation of modern Dictatorship is so much stronger, ^{wishes} than the ~~fears~~ or the fears of the people. Who would dare to say a word against the ruling clique, since it might ~~mean~~ ^{have}

^(as its responsibility)
Concentration Camp or Death ^{as} its consequence?

You believe this, and you knew it before. But you keep asking me. (I

k n o w you would like to do so; I can see it in your faces.) -

All right, then - you say - , now, it may be too late to make opposition.

But - if it is true / that most of the Germans are intelligent, civilized, and liberal people - ; how could they permit Hitler to establish himself, as their leader, their dictator? - They w a n t e d him, after all. They elected him, they greeted him as the Messiah... And

I ^{cannot} ~~could~~ not deny it. Really, there w e r e Germans, who believed in Hitler with burning love, enthusiasm, fanaticism. They really thought, h e , the Führer, and nobody else, could save them, ^{and} ~~and~~ was able to make them happy.

~~Let me confess you: it was always somewhat difficult for me, to understand those compatriots of mine. There is a certain amount of stupidity, which remains repulsive - for my personal feeling, at least - , and which, besides, is simply terrifying - : even if one should be able to explain the reasons, which ^{why} ~~became~~ ^{with} ~~confused~~ the people's minds. -~~ Germany lost the war, she was poor, humiliated, unhappy. The German Republic was weary; it didn't have the political leaders it needed; its most popular representative was a reactionary old Prussian General, Herr von Hindenburg. Was he the ~~man~~ fit man to defend the deadly threatened Democracy? He was much too old - to begin with. To tell the truth; when he was

elected ~~the~~ President of the Republic, for the second time, he was
already senile, and did not realize, what was going on. However, ~~and~~
the old General had certain instincts - and they were definitely
~~afforded to~~ ^{opposed to} any kind of Democratic ideal. Besides, he had friends
~~who were owners of the big Prussian land estates, and he had a very~~
~~active sons, and, finally, he had, as his most intimate adviser, Herr~~
~~von Papen and advisers, who abused the old General's fame and popu-~~
~~larity for their own aims - which happened to be selfish and not~~
~~very clean.~~ ^{Those people} They wanted Hitler to ~~have~~ get the power, because they
thought, he would rule with them, the Prussian reactionaries,
and would, above all, protect their big fortunes and land estates.
Hindenburg, influenced by those ~~men~~ ^{dangerous friends}, called Hitler - ~~not~~ the German
people did call him: this is a fact, not ~~well~~ known enough in the ~~world~~.
~~other countries~~ I mention and emphasize it, because it takes a part
of the responsibility from the German people as a whole. It was, once
more, one special class, one group, one clique, which was guilty and
~~more than all the other ones~~ ^{the "Prinkers"} responsibly for the tragedy which started: the Prussian squires,
fatal to the German nation, on so many historical occasions.
...A certain clique - very cleverly ^{although carefully} active, in the background - called
Hitler, at a moment, when he was not ~~at all~~ ^{any longer} on the climax of his
popularity. The last ^{free} elections, in 1932, had meant a quite embarrassing
failure for the Nazi Party. Nobody ^{was giving} ~~gave~~ him a serious chance, for the
time being. His reactionary protectors felt: We have to help him to
power now - or it might be too late altogether. They acted fast
and efficiently - ^{if} don't they regret it, by now? I bet, they feel deeply
sorry, for what they ~~did~~ ^{have done}. When Hitler ^{became} ~~was~~ all mighty, it turned out,
that ^{he} wasn't, by any means, the "Man of order", the protector
of conservative ideals or interests, the boll-work against Bolshevism.
Professor Borgese, the great Italian exile, living in this country,
^(now)

says, in his important book, "The March of Fascism", about Mussolini:
"He is neither a Nationalist, nor a Socialist; ^{but} ~~he is~~ an Anarchist,
and nothing else." - This statement is true, as far as our Führer is
concerned, as well. He will disappoint everybody, who tries to come to
good terms with him, to get advantages out of him - by making conces=
sions to him. He is nobody's friend, as he is absolutely and thoroughly
selfish - ; Mussolini, who happens to have the same kind of character,
knows it. The Prussian conservatives didn't know it yet, in 1932 and
1933; they had ~~to~~ ~~had~~ to pay dearly for ~~their~~ the mistake they
had made. The most active and most cynical among them, ^{a certain} Herr von Papen,
the most intimate friend of General Hindenburg, is in disgrace to-day,
perhaps in prison, ^{and, anyway,} ~~in any case~~ ~~definitely~~ out of the game... He did
more for Hitler, maybe, than anybody ~~at~~ else. It doesn't pay... ~~the~~ ^{Even}
British Conservatives, ^{had to understand this, not too} Mr. Chamberlain and his powerful set - ~~could~~
~~at any late~~ - ~~although not TOO LATE, as all~~
~~make the same dreary experience - if they don't change their attitude,~~
~~of us hope....~~
~~before it will be too late.~~

The German nation, however, has had its experiences with its leader -
and six years is a pretty long time - I can assure you, especially
when one has to live under a Dictatorship, ^{or in exile.} - Yes; they allowed him
to come to power. They didn't call him; but it is a fact that they
accepted him - without any resistance; important parts of the German
population even with enthusiasm. I hate to admit it - it seems shame=
ful to me. They hoped; they believed; they were ignorant; they were ^{exhausted} warned
~~at~~ by the difficulties of the economical depression -; they still
suffered from the humiliations of the lost war, of the Versailles-
Treaty; they were confused by the tremendous propaganda of the Nazi
party, which worked with a great deal of cynical ability - whereas
the liberal or radical parties of the Weimar Republic made mistake
after mistake. All this is true, and ^{it} ~~all this is true~~ ^{may} explain, up to
a certain degree, the attitude of the German people, in 1933, when Hitler

(astounding)

took down the

~~came to~~ power. But, still, it remains a horrible and shameful thing to admit; That there wasn't any open resistance, whatever, when the Dictorship ~~was~~ established. *it is.*

And, in spite of all this, we keep saying: There are Two Germanys. Hitler does not represent the nation. - Isn't it a mere caprice, a sort of an idée fixe of a disappointed patriot, who cannot ~~decide~~ decide to give up his last illuions?

No - Ladies and Gentlmen - I don't have any illuions, as far as my tragic homeland is concerned. - The other day, after a lecture on the "Two Germanys" I delivered - an American woman stepped into my room, and ~~would say:~~ *said to me* "Well - I enjoied your speech!" (This was ~~y~~ pure politness - one could see it, watching her angry face.) *with was an out. of going face. by the way* "But, after all" - she continued - "I begin to get a l i t t l e tired of that kind of talk. Two Germanys? - There is just o n e , as far as I can see - and it looks somewhat alarming to me. During the world war, we here, in this country, were told: Not the German people are our enemies - by no means. It is only the Kaiser, and his wicked Generals, who are threatening the civilized world. We believed it, and when the Kaiser, finally, *(a half comic half melancholy figure)* was off, and became a harmless private old Gentleman, sitting around in Holland, we were definitely relieved. 'Now, ~~that~~ famous "other Germany", the peaceful and civilized one, finally may show up - : that is what we hoped, when the horrible war was over. - There we are! ~~Wasn't~~ *Wasn't* the Kaiser charming and reliable, *(wasn't he almost a fascist?)* compared ~~with~~ *to* your Führer?" - "M y Führer?" I dared say, slightly offended. - "Well..." the impatient lady would say. "It is y o u r Führer, ~~as well~~ *also* - since you happen to be a German." - "I am from the o t h e r Germany", I remarked, - but *and softly* quite timidly, ~~with a little voice~~ *(Bridget, I lost it...)* - "It seems to me, the Germans l i k e this kind of dangerous leaders, they are fond of them - that's all. After all, every nation ~~has~~, in the long run, gets the leader it wants - and it deserves..."

(type of)

There was a great deal of truth in everything she ~~had said~~ ^{revised} / it was embarrassing and depressing; still, I had to admit it.

I was silent, for quite a while - feeling it was impossible to convince ~~that the Germans~~ ^{rotten} her / were not quite as thoroughly ~~bad~~ ^{rotten} as ~~all that~~ she presumed.

Should I tell her, how active the secret opposition in Germany still is - in spite of all the dangers involved? As a matter of fact: the

"underground-movement" becomes stronger and stronger - we have our informations - which certainly are authentic. From time to time, we

meet, in Paris, Zürich or New York, some of those brave and daring

conspirators, ~~who actually risk their~~ - Catholics, Protestants, Socialists or Conservatives - , who actually risk their lives ^{in lack of conviction} for their ~~faith~~.

They seem to be more hopeful, ^{just} now than ever before, since 1933. - It

may be surprising, and almost paradoxical, that opposition, within the

Reich, is rapidly growing, while Hitler has so many brilliant triumphs

on the field of international politics. It is obvious: people are not

interested, any longer, in annexations. What do they care, whether

or not the Führer ^{conquer} ~~will get~~ parts of Russia or of France? ^{People} ~~they~~ are ⁱⁿ sick

tired. Too much excitement, too much propaganda ⁱⁿ becoming a bore, in the

long run. Above all, ^{men and women are} they are deeply afraid of the coming war, ~~they~~

~~didn't forget the last one altogether~~. All they care for, is a decent

life, and a certain amount of freedom. Hitler and Goebbels arranged

new persecutions against the racial and religious minorities - not

only, because ^{the Führer} they really hate them and ^{the government was} eager to ~~get~~ their money;

^{the main purpose of the program was} ~~but, above all, in order to cheer up the spirit of the population.~~ ^{draw} ^(confiscate)

People will like the horrifying performance - the Führer thought -:

just like his more elegant colleagues, the Roman emperors, ^{or} had calculated,

when they gave order to ^{kill} ~~kill~~ the Christians ^{in order} to amuse the mob, ~~in the~~

~~circus~~. This time, the dictator was definitely mistaken. The majority

of the people was ^{just} ~~deeply~~ disgusted - all the observers, coming from

the Reich, assure ~~it~~ this.

They are disgusted, all right - but they don't ^{show it} protest, ~~or they don't~~
~~protest openly~~. Is it possible, to explain their shameful silence, ~~merely~~
~~they are not~~? or to excuse it? Certainly: not everybody is fit to be-
come a martyr - like certain German religious or political leaders ^{and}
fighters, ^{had become} Pastor Niemöller, and all the others, suffering in Concentration
Camps for their convictions - ~~it isn't everybody's~~ The average man
isn't strong enough ^{to meet} such a fate. - But if they would ~~rebel~~,
Their outbursts of anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish feelings were not
"spontaneous", ^{as everybody knows} by any means, ^{have we} what could the dictator do, if the reaction
of all his people ^(But) against those persecutions would be spon-
taneous, strong, and overwhelming? - He couldn't face it; it would actually
mean his end.

How can I explain to my foreign friends that strange lack of political
temperament, which, ^{most} unfortunately, is such a significant, ~~important~~
feature, in the character of the Germans. - ~~There is one kind of~~
~~event~~ May I mention just ~~one~~ especially important historical
^{only a Reformation, which liberated the religious life, but did not change}
fact? - Germany never had a revolution. France, America, Russia, even ^{the 20th}

^{Even in Italy, Spain, Holland and Switzerland the old spirit was strong, in certain}
nations. In German history, however, such an event doesn't exist. What ^{happened}
happened there, in 1918, was not a revolution, but a dreary & consequence
of the defeat. There wasn't anything, what I would call revolutionary
enthusiasm. The German people didn't like their new Republic. Their
political instincts were not developed, were not mature. They were
not prepared to enjoy and to love their new liberty - which was given
to them as the result of a lost war - ; they were not ready, to face
Democracy.

I mentioned the astonishing lack of political temperament in the
German character. I may add, there is an absolute absence of any
political instinct, or ~~and~~ of any kind of talent, as far as
politics are concerned. This statement might seem surprising and even

paradoxical to many of you. Why - the Germans, to highly gifted and productive on various fields, should be talentless, ^{it} ~~when~~ it comes to politics? - Besides, they seem to be pretty successful, as far as politics are concerned - for the time being, at least. - Yes, they have sensational successes, at this moment - impossible, to deny it. Maybe, ^{these} ~~this kind of~~ achievements are a little too sensational; there is too much noise about them, the whole matter looks somewhat hectic to me. During the World War, too, Germany became greater and greater, the Generals cried: Victory! Victory! - ~~and, suddenly,~~ ^{no} ~~nobody~~ expected the disaster which was bound to come. Permit me to ^{admit} ~~admit~~ certain slight doubts, concerning the ^{recent} ~~solidity~~ of those kolossal German successes. There are certain giants who look terrific, but who are really much weaker and less dangerous, than ~~they~~ ^{they} pretended to be. - Will the Great, Greater and Greatest Germany last for ever?

- Wait and see!

It is always somehow embarrassing to watch noisy persons, and it makes ^{everybody} ~~us~~ a little suspicious. A man with a sound self-confidence does not shout. Why does Herr Hitler ~~talk~~ talk with such a terrifying voice - even when he is praising peace - his peace, the Pax Germanica? ^{and to annoy the world,} Already the Kaiser ~~made everybody nervous~~, with his loud ways, his ~~hectic~~ arrogance, his aggressiveness. His follower, the Führer, surpasses him.... ~~at least~~ ^{an element of self-distrust} as far as shouting is concerned, at least.

Is there a lack of self-confidence in the German character - : this most complex, most strangely combined national character? - Very

definitely; the Germans - as a nation, ^{as} a political community - are suffering from a ^{inferiority} ~~minority~~ - complex - if you may ^{psychological,} ~~allow me, to use the scientific term, invented by Sigmund Freud.~~ ^{made popular by S. FREUD.}

The Nazis have good reasons to hate this most brilliant old man - now in exile. They dislike him, because they feel his power to see through them. People with a strong ^{inferiority} ~~minority~~-complex ~~hate~~ ^{dislike} everybody,

who has enough psychological knowledge, to analyse and to understand the authentic reasons of their arrogant behavior. The fear of psychology is a bad sign - every doctor knows it - ; something must be wrong, ^{if} the patient is afraid to learn the truth about himself. He prefers to hide his own mental weakness, by means of shouting and boasting.

A man who happens to be not active by nature, - and who really ^{would like much} ~~like it~~ better to dream and to speculate, rather than to act - ~~does~~ sometimes does foolish things, ^{yes}, he even would ^{my} commit a crime - just in order to prove that he is not "a sissy". - Did you ever hear about "over-compensation?" Well - it is another psychological term Siegmund Freud brought up. The extreme Nationalism of the Germans, their ^{boundless} ~~almost hysterical~~ ambition, is nothing but such an "over-compensation." - ^{they would not} ~~Don't~~ believe we are dreamers, ^{exclaim} ~~Don't~~ think we are sissy! On the contrary! We are going to have the most terrific army on earth - and much more planes than all the other countries ~~together~~ combined! We are ~~altogether~~, the most terrific nation ever known! The hegemony in Europe? That's nothing! ~~It is the~~ We are ready to rule the world - ; believe it or not! Heil Hitler! Vorwärts marsch!.....

.... ~~So what?~~ - Thus sounds ~~almost~~ made! A person, uttering such words, and ^{underlining} ~~emphasizing~~ them with excited gestures, must be out of his mind: the over-compensation of the deplorable ^{inferiority} ~~minority~~ Complex has ~~the~~ ^{pathological} ~~all~~ all the symptoms of a ~~serious~~ crisis. - Unfortunately, it is quite likely to become the crisis of our entire civilisation...: if nobody is going to stop and to cure the most dangerous patient.

The "o t h e r G e r m a n y" - the non-hysterical, the sound and intelligent Germans have the task and the duty to call their nation to reason. It has to keep silence, for the time being, under the ^{ruthless} ~~merciless~~ Dictatorship. ~~Maybe~~ ^{Maybe} Perhaps, this means a sort of punishment to the German intellectuals, to our creative minds. They made many ~~respects~~ mistakes; they, too, are guilty, in many respects. -

modern Fanaticism is much more thrilling, more fascinating, more up to date.

Are there young people who feel and think in this way? - How mistaken they are!... The ideas of Freedom and Sympathy are still the basis of our social and individual life - renouncing them, means; to destroy our existence as human beings, ~~and nothing else. Don't think it would be adventurous, to live without freedom - "for a change"~~

The Nazis hate ~~really~~ Christianity more than anything else; more than Socialism, more than the Jews. And they know perfectly ^{well} why they do so. Christianity gives to mankind its supreme dignity. It teaches: Ye are all equal in the sight of God. You belong to one community, one family - since the Saviour, Jesus Christ, died for all of us.

The Totalitarian State, the extreme Nationalism must for ever fight against Christianity and ^against Democracy - which means nothing but the political manifestation of Christianity -. These high con-
ceptions ~~have~~ ^{want} as their last aim, to connect the human beings
~~Does it not~~ - whereas Fascism ~~wants~~ to separate them from each other. The logical consequence of Fascism ~~is~~ is war - in the near future, or in the long run; the logical consequence of Christianity and Democracy is Peace - peace in our time, peace in honour, peace for ever.

We - the representatives of the Other Germany - who are travel-
ling homelessly through the countries to-day, have an important task:
To convince you, that ^{the} German Reich, once more, may become a good, indu-
strious, reliable member of the Family of Nations. All decent Germans wish and hope for this.

Disunion of varied anti-Nazi groups and parties led to final collapse of Weimar Rep. Must avoid repetition of fatal mistakes...

Yet - essential differences of opinions we have to face...

...All agree about ONE point:

Hitler has to fall.

Even German Communists consider him World Enemy Nr. One. (Contrast to American Communists - :Chamberlain more dangerous...)

Disunion begins with discussion of Peace.

....Communist Patriotism (after having ridiculed...) - :their aim:

Strong Germany, allied with Soviet Union.

.....Problem of an eventual division of the Reich...

Propagated only by some individual writers.

(Emil Ludwig; Werfel...)

No Party... *hadn't dared to recommend...*

But: liberals, conservatives - virtually all of us, with exception of Communists, trust Allies... (Rauschning; Strasser; Social Democrats, Catholics - ect.)

Dream of a Better Europe...: more realistic...

Some Federation, Unification.....: some kind of European State...

Even the Nazis admit.... (Papen's Istanbul interview...)

What kind of Europe!!!

...Look at C.S.R., Poland... "Inferior peoples", "minderwertige Rassen".... (as they used to treat the natives in Africa.)

..... Sometimes I hear decent people, who don't like war, wondering, whether a Nazi victory would after all be so tragic. They try to think of it as a more or less logical alternative *to* the "anarchy" and disorganization of the Europe of the past 25 years....

X Well - if barbarism is the contrast of anarchy...

Whole population shifted as if they would be armies, in order to wipe out the cultural as well as the political boundaries that divided the

the conquered states from each other and from Germany...And the Jewish problem is being solved...

15000 intellectual leaders - shot to death, in Poland...

Villard's authentic reports. (Most trustworthy man...Told me he knew more...)

Recent Report of the Polish ~~Resistance~~ "Hland":
"Nazis are exterminating Church."

.....German hegemony - not the order but the chaos.

.....True Alternative:

Allied Victory - or Chaos.

For German victory only would mean - beginning of another struggle

Hitler doomed anyway....

Germany versus Russia... (while in case of Allied victory -

Stalin would withdraw into Asia...)

.....Good chances for Allied victory.

German opposition - one hope. But - military defeats necessary...

Otherwise - Army would not abandon Hitlerism; no hope without army.

.....Italy's dubious neutrality; (the Pope...making Mussolini's policy - rather anti-Nazi...; Poland...)

Russia's dubious friendship...: Stalin has suffered a humiliating loss of prestige; unrest in Moscow...: perhaps exaggerated; yet....

Magnitot Line - :impregnable - as Siegfried Line...

Holland?..... (General staff hesitating...)

Switzerland?... (Fierce resistance...I know Swiss people...their mountains....worse than Finland...)

Air Attacks? (Reprisals....)

.....

Yet - too much optimism dangerous...

German may win the war. (I don't believe it - BUT....)

Carefully prepared for armed conflict....People accustomed to low standard of life...Accustomed to obey...Must consider possibility...

Allied Victory - :likely, but by no means matter of course...

Persecutions, like in dark ages. Profanation of the Holy Sacrament etc.

Ma

Italian exile say: will join German troops!

Nezi Victory - would threat Civilization in its entirety. Therefore:
this country vitally interested too.

This does NO⁺ mean - :the Americas should or will renounce their
policy of Neutrality. - But Isolation - :un-realistic; *immoral.*

Civilization is indivisible.

Chaos in Europe would involve Chaos here...

Isolationists would do well to talk less of the sins of British-French Imperialism - which are well known - , and to think more of
the probable impact upon American security and American Democracy
of a victory of German, Japanese and Russian Imperialisms over Anglo-French Imperialism...

Too much talk about Munich... I don't underrate neither the
stupidity nor the significance of that historical crime...

Without Munich - no Russian-German Pact...

However - :leading men in Paris and London changed mind...Realized:
no collaboration with German Imperialism possible - if they ever
thought it was....

No phoney war - but a very serious and decisive one...
I get impatient whenever I have to listen to frivolous talk...

...French hesitate to sacrifice another generation...; to start
inhuman bombardment of open cities.

.....Foes of Allies - either radicals, or fascists - p figure France, (Ludov.)

Britain half as blood-thirsty Imperislists, who want to destroy Germany;
half as weakish cowards who don't dare to attack...

Both version erroneous.

....Allies declared war to Hitlerism - not to People. This meant
more than merely a gesture...But - it becomes more and more difficult
to keep this distinction between nation and leaders...Every day the
Germans follow their Führer...

*Cynical Impatience. Wait and see!!
Daladier
"see what was too!"*

use anything... How - Belisla ... *III Anecdote about Gaisist*

are any

I thought and speculated a great deal about the Problem of

Germany's guilt or innocence.

Kept asking myself: Are the Germans Nazis?

*Problem of
collective responsibility
of German people.*

I know: there is another Germany... On the other hand: there are elements
in German character which made Nazi atrocities possible...

Just wrote book on this topic Will E - so vital to the world...

"The Other Germany."

Tried to analyse this most involved national character... this tragically
confused history... I found: no truly great German adhered to principles
as preached and practised by Nazis... (Goethe - the great European...)

- On the other hand: fatal separation between people and intellectuals;
the blind belief in the general; the lust to obey; the lack of political
instinct; consequently - the political inferiority complex. The greed
for power - boundless, romantic...

Motto: "The German character is one of the finest but most inconvenient
of human nature." (Harold Nicholson.)

New York Times:

"Everybody admits that Germans make very good soldiers. Is it within
the capacity of the German people to make successful citizens?
German leaders have shown, again and again, that they can build
magnificent armies. Can German leadership build an enduring state?
...A people cannot go on forever blaming its enemies. In Frederick's
time and Bismarck's time the enemy was France. In Wilhelm's time and
Hitler's time the enemy is Great Britain. The question is bound to
arise whether the real foe of the German nationhood is not Germany
itself - the eternal German soldierdom which can... overrun and
stamp down and crush, but which cannot find a national way of life."

.....That's it -: the Germans must find a national way of life
which would not manifest itself as aggression against other nations.
This is the central problem...

The German people must find their way to community of European nations

- which does not assume that they have to renounce their national character; but ^{on the contrary} ~~rather~~ - that they must find back to their own finest ^{Germany, worthy to call itself homeland of Goethe, Schopenhauer, Wagner} traditions.....They must overcome Hitler as one overcomes

a disease.....Nobody else can perform this task but the Germans themselves. For - foreign powers can defeat Germany; but Germany has to liberate itself...

.....No reason for Optimism. Many dangers involved...even after Hitler's fall....Hitlers fall - :merely the prerequisite...

Many things have to change...

Mistakes of Versailles must be avoided. (Main mistake: to ruin Germany economically - while allow her to re-arm...)

France may might be too anxious to guarantee her security; humiliating Germany - thus stirring up new nationalism...

England might adhere to his traditional policy of the Balance of Powers - strengthening German Nationalism, once more - :against France? - against Russia??

(Some observers believe - :England with Germany - Crusade against Russia...Not likely. Hard to get people into another war...France wouldn't want a powerful Germany, and a weak Germany would not be an ally against Russia...Questionable whether the English fear of Russia still as strong as it used to be....)

.....Optimism senseless, as I have said. - Fatalistic pessimism still worse. - Must be faithful and patient.

I believe, faithfully and patiently - :Other Germany exists - in spite of abhorrent facts which seemingly prove contrary - ; I believe France and England will win - and I don't mean Chamberlain-Daladier; for those two countries too must change in order to become fit for the tremendous task they will have to face. - It will be a tremendous task - the reorganization of Europe. Must be done - not only for the sake of Europe but also for the sake of civilized world. No Peace on earth

without Peace in Europe....

We didn't know real Peace, for quite a while. ~~Before the~~ During the last decade - no Peace. Think of China, Abessynia, Spain,...

Appeasment with Hitler - or Göring!! - would not mean Peace but only a truce between two wars...

What we need and want - in Europe, in this country, all over the world - is the real Peace - Peace in Honor; Peace not only in our time but also for our children and ages to come.

Not Armistice but Education in light of war!

The German mission which has been so greatly distorted and exaggerated - can there be any doubt what it is?

The land of Europe's middle, the ^{in the world} mediator, between North and South, East and West, has no mission to rule, but the more profound, more noble mission to unite and to reconcile.

All the Germans need to do, is to find themselves, and they will find their way to Europe.

They are not to deny but to fulfill their national character. X

The German people need no instruction about their conduct and their mission. Let them but listen to the noble voices that spring, and always sprung, from their own midsts! Let them follow the eloquent counsel of their own great, the enthusiasm of their own music, the wisdom of their own philosophers!

The gulf that separates Germany from Europe, is the same that always kept apart our people from their best sons, their own poets and thinkers. Once they bridge the one gulf, the other one, too, is closed. A Germany worthy to call itself the home of Goethe and Beethoven, cannot fail to fulfill its creative function in the community of nations.

All of us know, that there can't be Peace in the world as long as Peace is not soundly and solidly established in Europe. And we also ^{realize} know that no European Peace ever will be lasting, without the voluntary and joyful collaboration of the German People.

Russian Reality - joke
[Leningrad.]

Not up to date any more.
For: (Finland) undoubtedly

is a triumph - although
by no means a very
honorable one.

[By the way: case
of Finnish communist
leader, Kanninen,
pross how dangerous,
a friend Stalin is...
Reported to be shot.]

The evil task the
beautiful motion
of Peace gradually
gets ... "Peace"
Apprentice, Spain,
America, C. S. D.,
Poland, Finland ...

Hitler favours this
kind of peace ...
~~the~~ every thing nearly
quiet as in a No
war year ...
resistance ...
His idea of European
future ...

Yugoslavia was
dominated by
German ...

He won't have it.
y, doomed.

Even if Allies don't
win. But they will.

Finland — a bad setback.

Yit — : should not be
exaggerated. — 19 16 / 17
was infinitely worse ... I
But:

Even if they would
not win — :

No Hitler - Europe.

But:

Endless struggles
among dictators;

civil wars;

chaos.

Only Germany,
France: if prot.
realizing they can't
win war.

Alternative :

Chaos —

on ...

No

"

new

Verzöger.

^{Original}
Tendency toward more
permanent organization.

Federation has to be
created —: after H.L. fall.

Impossible: to suggest
or annihilate 80

millions. (Practical
point of view —:
let alone moral
considerations)

Federation — not
annihilation.

Federation insoluble
probation.

Germans must take
it. — We, representatives
of the explains necessity of
to mixed composition.

~~On May 1st 1941~~ ^{9 June 1941}
One might say, of ~~course~~ ^{generally accepted},
that there are two sorts
of France, as it will be:
an ~~old~~ ^{barbaric} one, and a
civilized one — and two
of sorts of England, of
U.S.A. etc.

Yet, in the case of
Germany, this distinction
between — or rather this
split into two ~~unequal~~
different parts, ~~has~~ is
especially obvious, and
a growing. The abyss,
separating Hitler from
Goethe Conversations:

Rambohm's
"Destruction"

Erkman
"Constantine" ^{or} "wisdom"

"The German character is one of the finest but most inconvenient developments of human nature." *I am kind of amazed and with a when I read this, thinking for some time*
~~I am quoting this sentence from a very brilliant and instructive article~~
~~which The N.Y. Times was originally by~~
by the British diplomat and author Harold Nicolson. ~~The essay, which is~~
entitled "The Biggest Factor: The Home Front", was published in the ~~N.Y.~~ N.Y. Times, ~~of last Sunday...~~

It is a significant fact, that a man like Harold Nicolson, who has lived in Germany, knows and likes the German people and is familiar with our literature, has become an official speaker and influential personality in England - ~~the~~ in the very country that was forced to go into war against Germany... A phenomenon of a similar promising and encouraging kind is Monsieur Jean Giraudoux's appointment as Minister for Information in France. For this distinguished playwright and novelist is an old and experienced friend of the "Better Germany". As a matter of fact, the problem of the relation and productive tension between France and Germany is one of the essential themes of his literary work. ~~He has dramatized it in one of his most effective and, at the same time, most honest plays which is called "Siegfried"...~~

Men like Giraudoux and Nicolson - both of them being influential public figures in their own countries - obviously believe in Another Germany - which is not represented but suppressed by Hitler. - It seems the majority of the French and English people *feel the same way* ~~are sharing these feelings of~~ their intellectual leaders. We have ~~plenty~~ *many* of indications which prove that there is not any blind hatred of the German people in England or France - although, of course, there is a great deal of abhorrence of Hitler and Naziism.

"2 Germanys" Extreme expression: "Voice of Reason" - German - Catholic/Protestant."
The Allies have made it absolutely clear, that they declared War against Germany's tyrants, and not against the German people. The distinction between the German Nation and the Nazi Regime ~~has been the subject of~~ *again and again, was*

official emphasis. It is in point of fact the basis of French as well as British propaganda.

Now, of course, a skeptical observer may object: "Very well! But this noble reserve of London and Paris ~~was~~ is based solely on the hope, that the Germans might quickly rebell against their Hitler and send him packing. Should your compatriots delay this fine action too long, the delicate distinction between "nation" and "regime" will be quickly forgotten, by the statesmen as well as by the masses. - And besides," our skeptical observer may add, "even now, at this early moment of the present war - by no means all Englishmen, and certainly not all Frenchmen, recognize this famous distinction between the German people and the Nazis..... You may recall, that even before the outbreak of the war, there was a most revealing debate on this interesting subject in the Paris press. - The distinguished journalist and politician Henri de Kerillis - one of the most passionate French patriots and a declared enemy of the ^{fatal} Munich Pact - said in the newspaper "L'Epoque", of July 18, 1939: "No more illusions about Germany! The Hitler phenomenon is not, as some believe, a historical accident. It is the fateful expression of German evolution..... For this reason those, who wish to make a distinction between the German people and their government at any cost, are profoundly ⁱdeceiving themselves...." And this is how Monsieur Kerillis sums up his opinion: "Verdailles was too mild! After the next war, Germany must be destroyed!" [End quote.]

I take the liberty of interrupting the skeptic - who has prepared so charming quotations to convince me, that there ^{is no} ~~wasn't any~~ "Other Germany", and that the most intelligent Frenchmen realize there is ^{no} ~~is~~ ^{whatsoever} difference between the Nazi Dictatorship and the German people.

- I too can recourse to quotations. Since you, dear Mr. Skeptic, have learned the editorials of the French newspapers by heart, perhaps you have not yet forgotten the text of that long reply, with which

(for instance, too)

Monsieur Léon Blum, leader of the French Socialist Party, in his own newspaper, "Le Populaire", wrote, that the absolute condemnation of the Germans in their entirety - as recommended by Monsieur Kerillis - constituted "inverted racism". The Germans - he said - are neither a chosen people, nor a damned one. Tactics and morality, intelligence and justice demand, that a clear distinction be made between the Nation and the Dictatorship. In conclusion Monsieur Blum remarked: "To declare, that there is no difference between Hitler and the German people, merely means: binding the Germans more closely to Hitler!"

...The public discussion ^{in France} on the subject of the "Two Germanys" - "Les Deux Allemagne" - was most stimulating and significant. One of the

most interesting contributions came from the famous Austrian writer Franz Werfel, who published an article, entitled "Les Deux Allemagne", in a liberal weekly, published by German refugees at Paris. Mr. Werfel took the view, that ^{there are} in fact "Two Germanys" ~~are existing~~; but, in his opinion, the actual frontier between the two kinds of Germany ~~was not~~

^{has nothing to do with} the moral or cultural standard of the German people; the whole problem, as Werfel sees it, is not a psychological or ethical matter, but, above all, a geographical issue. For Mr. Werfel thinks, that all the bad trends and dangerous influences - all the tendencies toward aggressive natio-
nalism and barbarian militarism - are coming from the northern part of Germany, and, ^{to be more precise} more especially, from Prussia. He predicts, that the Western and Southern parts of Germany - with Prussia isolated and powerless - gradually will ^{develop to} ~~become~~ the centres of a new Germanic Civilisation that would be truly Democratic, colourful and mellow and really European, in the best ^{and comprehensive} sense of this word. Austria, Bavaria and ^{according to TP: say Werfel -} the Rhine-Land, those Catholic countries, are the "Other Germany" - while Prussia is the wicked & enemy, the aggressor. The real ^{boundary} ~~frontier~~ of that "Other Germany" - he says - is the "Limes" - which ^{is} the historical line where the army of the Roman Empire was stopped by the Germanic ^{ancient}

tribes. - The Latine Civilisation - the ^{ancient} ~~antis~~ culture that came from the Mediterranean - is the source and eternal basis of all European Culture: the Austrian poet declared. The Southern ^{and} Western parts of Germany accepted that ancient civilisation, while Prussia ^{stubbornly} refused to do so. Therefore, Berlin is keeping an anti-European, ^{narrow} aggressive spirit - while Vienna is an European capital, a super-national Center, where the charms of the French style-of-life are mingling with an atmosphere that is partly characterized by its trends toward the European East, the Balkans, and which has, on the other hand, an Italian flavour and even a mysterious little Spanish touch - since the Imperial family of Habsburg, that ruled Austria, ~~also~~ was established at Madrid and Toledo as well. When Frederic II., Prussia's great and sinister King, was fighting Maria Theresia, the motherly and lovely Empress of Austria, the "wicked Germany" actually was attacking the "good one" - just as to-day ~~the~~ barbarian Prussia is ruling and suppressing Munich, Vienna, Prague and Cologne.../

....Without any doubt, there is a good deal of Truth in all of this. ^{Notwithstanding} ~~But~~, I feel the poetical Austrian patriot ~~is~~ ^{is} simplifying the issue, and, at the same time, ~~is~~ ^{is} confusing it. - It certainly would be easy to prove, that ~~the Nazi~~ it is somewhat un-fair to call the Nazi-movement an especially Prussian phenomenon, since it actually has started in Bavaria; (the beautiful city of Munich still enjoys the ^{dubious} honor ~~has~~ you know - of being the "Capital of the Movement"....); ^{called by H. Hitler} ~~that~~ ^{and} Herr Hitler himself ^{happens to be} ^{by birth} ~~is~~ an Austrian. The first lessons in Antisemitism he got from the Mayor of Vienna, a man by the name of Lueger. ^{H. Hitler} ~~It~~ ^{was} ~~this~~ ^a gentleman who succeeded in making himself popular, by surprising utterances such as this: "It is of my business to decide, who is a Jew and who is ~~not~~ ^{is} not a Jew..." ~~For he liked drinking beer, even with Jewish citizens, provided they were successful businessmen and amusing fellows...~~ Mr. Lueger's attitude ^{seems to prove} ~~may show~~ that even antisemitism in Austria was not quite so grimly serious a matter as in Prussia. (Nothing ~~quite~~ ^{There are people who insist}

thoroughly serious in Austria. Classic wisecrack: "In Germany conditions are serious but not hopeless - while in Austria, they are hopeless but not ^{quite} very serious...)

However - when Nazi-Dictatorship was established in Austria - although by force and against the will of the majority of the people - things looked pretty serious, ^{indeed} and the new antisemitism didn't have the comparatively harmless character ^{it used to have at} of Mr. Leuger's time... We are informed, that in the Concentration Camps young Austrian S.A.- and S.S. men acted in a ~~even~~ ^{even} more ruthless manner than their German ^{fellows} colleagues... and the anti-Catholic and anti-semitic terror in Vienna and the other Austrian cities certainly ^{is at least as horrid as} ~~has not been milder nor more civilized than~~ in any north-German capital...

...No, I don't think it is wise or fair: to over-emphasize the purely geographical angle... The Other Germany ^{The N. G. W. ...} exists ~~everywhere~~ in all the parts and regions of the Greater Germany..., and so does the ^{evil} ~~bad~~ German spirit, the Nazi-spirit, the anti-European spirit of aggressiveness...

People abroad keep asking:

Is the Nazi-Spirit really rooted in German history and German character?

Is the Nazi-philosophy an authentic part of the German thinking?

....No. For a very simple reason: there isn't any such thing as a Nazi philosophy. Nazidom does not have roots in German history or German thought - as it doesn't have any roots whatever.

Foreigners figure: Nazis - fanatics of certain ideas... Basic mistake.

Nazis don't have any ideas nor do they have any constructive aims.

Only thing they care for: POWER. Are neither conservative nor revolutionary. Neither anti-capitalist nor pro-capitalist. (- Lust ^{of} for power as such. Empty dynamics. No convictions; just slogans; just propaganda - vociferous - and empty... Rauschning found formula:

Revolution of Nihilism. (Title of book...)

Bullmark against Bolshevism - / Allies of Bolshevism /
but perhaps already considering new anti-Bolshevik propaganda.
The same is true regarding Christian religion....

No - Nazi-movement doesn't have roots in German soul - as it doesn't
^{as}
It is NOT a fatal ^{or} ~~fatal~~ ^{expansion} of German revolution - a, Kewiki, H...
possess any roots at all. Absurd idea: men like Frederic the Great
or Bismarck - forerunners of Hitler, Göring and Göbbels...

But, of course - : certain qualities and trends of German National
character made Hitler's ^{rise} ~~coming~~ to-power possible; allowed him to
become what he is...

Many ways of explaining Nazi-successes - before Third Reich was es-
tablished. Lost war; Crisis ^{Mistake of Republic.} - : not enough... People believed in empty,
often even ^{absurd} ~~crash~~ promises... WHY?

Difficult to make plain to non-Germans:

I Absolute lack of political instinct in German character.
I Lack of political temperament.

Gifted in various fields. Hopeless if it comes to politics. (Just
as people who are born deaf or ^{color-} blind or un-musical...)

^{Know} ~~Know~~ it themselves, in the bottom of their hearts... Consequently:

Inferiority-Complex. - Its over-compensation: Nationalistic hysteria.

Element of self-distrust. Cannot enjoy Freedom...

Never had a Revolution - : significant! Important function of revo-
lution in history of France, England, America - even of small countries,
the Netherlands, Switzerland.... Not in Germany. Luther's Reformation,
instead.... 1848 - unsuccessful.... 1918: not a Revolution, but dreary
consequence of military defeat... ^{Unhappy history. United as a}

^{Needed WAR against France - and Bismarck.}
^{Needed leaders.} (Freud would find: infantile complex...) Eager to
obey.... Finally, they became the victims and the tool of a gang of
criminals and madmen...

^{NEVER}
Germans allowed intellectuals, creative minds to gain any political
influence. Trusted generals more than poets... Partly the fault of
German intellectuals themselves...

Yes: this other Germany - spiritually highly developed and most creative - is guilty, too - ; not actively so, but in a passive way. And I am not speaking just about our generation, but ^{about} the German classics as well. They have always been too ^(too detailed) haughty, and ~~too~~ entirely concerned with their own dreams and speculations. ~~There were magic dreams, and most profound speculations - we must admit it.~~ The world owes them wonderful things, miracles of beauty and wisdom. This unpolitical German mind created Dürer's and Holbein's paintings, the music of Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms; Goethe's Faust, Hölderlin's poems, the philosophy of Kant and Schopenhauer, Nietzsche's prophecy, ^{Wagner's magical drama} the perfect beauty of Stefan George's verses, the sweet and powerful melody of Rainer Maria Rilke's lyrical prayers.

It is absolutely intolerable to hear the Nazis pretending that all those great minds were nothing but the precursors of the Hitler-movement. As a matter of fact; none of our really distinguished spirits ever preached racial or religious ⁱⁿ tolerance, nor extreme Nationalism. All of them desired and demanded that Germany be a peaceful member of the community of people. Immanuel Kant wrote "Das Traktat vom ewigen Frieden." (The Treaty of Eternal Peace.), and anticipated the idea of the League of Nations. - Gotthold Efraim Lessing, the inaugurator of the epoch of classic German literature, wrote the song of songs of Tolerance, in his "Nathan der Weise." (It is worthy to mention that Lessing's best friend was the German-Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn.) - Goethe, whose comprehensive spirit was at home in the culture of all nations and all regions, coined the beautiful word "Weltbürgertum" ("Citizenry of the World.") - The motive thought in the works of Friedrich Schiller is the idea of Freedom, and the historical event which had the deepest and most lasting influence upon him, was the French revolution. - Heinrich Heine's most beautiful ambition was to be a "good European". And this

is exactly what Friedrich Nietzsche wanted to be - ^{notwithstanding} in spite of all his somehow confusing glorification of "force" ^{power} and the beauty of the "blond beast". This was nothing but the fascinating caprice of a genius ^{in reality,} - who happened to be, a nervous professor, tortured by most disagreeable head-aches. It really was another "over-compensation" - you see. But the "good European" meant to him something very substantial, ^{real} very much alive. The "superman", whose coming into being he desired and whose praises he sung, was not a Germanic barbarian, but a man of the Western World, of good manners, and of certain moral principles. ^{on the other hand, really} The "blond beast" had various qualities, just of the kind to make Professor Nietzsche sick. Why was his criticism against Germany ^{altogether}, and especially against Bismarck's Young Reich so violent and so bitter? Because the "blond beast" was ruling there - ; although not yet the "superman". Nietzsche's "superman" is supposed to be a Gentleman - ; handsome and well-trained, like a young Greek of the best period; cultured and witty, like a Frenchman of the old grand style; profound, honest and serious, like a German philosopher - before ^{they} he wrote cheap little articles for daily papers and became a member of Goebbels' "Reichskultur-Kammer." - You see; Nietzsche was quite pretentious, as far as his "superman" was concerned... ^{Conception of "Will. of Macht" - often with a touch of "Might makes Right" but proud stability of...} ...Yes, we had "good Europeans", good citizens of the world, among our great poets and philosophers - ; I emphasize this with pride. And, still - it wasn't enough. They were isolated, they didn't have any pedagogical influence upon the nation - and, fundamentally, they were not very eager to get a more intimate - physical or mental - contact with the masses. All of them were individualists, were aristocrats. ^{that lovely song} The great German literature never was popular with the people. They used to sing Heine's "Loreley" - before ^{it} was forbidden, of course - ; but ^{did} who read his enlightening prose? - The knew two or three poems by Schiller, maybe even some of his plays. But the most important works of Goethe are actually almost unknown. "Don't be sad about it," he once told a friend

who complained the lack of enthusiasm in Germany, toward Goethe. "Don't be sad - what I write, n e v e r will be popular..." - It seems he was almost proud of it - :it was the somehow melancholy pride of the aristocrat who feels: The masses cannot understand me...

How strange - :to compare Goethe with Shakespeare - the two greatest poets mankind ever produced. What a difference between them!

How could I imagine, Shakespeare uttering such a sentence, in which pride and resignation are so strangely mixed? Shakespeare - who wrote not only for the theater, but actually on the theater - was eager to impress, to win the masses; his great ambition was, millions should laugh and cry about his jokes and about his laments - :millions, all over the world, and for centuries. And they laughed, they cried - they are still laughing and crying...: whereas, among the many many volumes Goethe produced, there are just two or three, read, to-day, by more than a few hundred people.

He foresaw it; he didn't care.

T Ba.

No - it was not the ~~ambit~~ intention of our greatest minds to impress or to influence the masses. Their pedagogical ambition was weak; their

scepticism ~~was~~ as far as social problems are concerned, was profound and politics were just repulsive to them. "A dirty business!" -

They were right, I guess - up to a certain degree. Still - maybe it was just their duty to ~~help~~ make this business a little cleaner

...However, that is exactly what their ^{most distinguished} ~~best~~ colleagues tried to do in

France, for their own country as well as for the world. All the great French authors - Voltaire and Rousseau, Victor Hugo and Zola - were fighting, bravely and without any aristocratic reservations, against

social evils; ^{a/} against injustice and suppression; struggling for a better future of mankind. They described ^{and analyzed} the society, in order ^{to change it,} to

make it better. So did Balzac, Flaubert, and Maupassant. They became realists, because they were ^{Thurs} idealists. ~~For~~ interest was primarily

(fundamental)

social - whereas the German authors, almost entirely, were concerned with the individual. ~~Balzac and Stendhal created the epic of a whole society~~ -: "la comédie humaine", the human comedy - ; Faust - Goethe's hero and self-portrait - seems to be alone, talking only to God, to the Devil, and, sometimes, a few words to a little girl, whose life he is going to ruin. - ~~was~~ ^{highly} Goethe - friend and ~~minister~~ ^{highly} official of a German Prince - ~~never~~ ^{was alarmed} ~~disturbed~~ by injustice? As a matter of fact, he felt that a certain amount of injustice was necessary, ~~in order~~ ^{about all} to protect order - which was precious to him, ~~above all~~. His royal solitude was never disturbed by the screams and tears of those who suffer. He was not inclined ~~at all~~ ^{at all} to arrise public scandal, by appearing, suddenly, before a tribunal, in order to cry: "J'accuse!"

"I accuse!" - ^{great} is a French author ~~who~~ ^{did} ~~cried~~ it out, - with such a rage, such a power, that the world will never forget it. Emile Zola could not stand the one injustice, committed ^{to a} ~~the~~ Jewish officer, Dreyfus. ^{spellbound by violence and justice of his words} He cried: "J'accuse!" - and the world listened, ^{to pronounce the great indictment}

Now it is our ~~turn~~ time, our turn, to ~~accuse~~ ^{to fight}, to defend our most precious goods against the merciless enemy. Is the world prepared to listen, to understand? Or did mankind change, since the far-away days of the Dreyfus-Affair? Are people less interested, to-day, in certain values, than they used to be, in the comparatively civilized epoch of the late Nintheenth Century? Or, else, are our voices weaker than Emile Zola's powerful word?

Probably, our voices are much too weak. The "other Germany" - which we represent - doesn't have a great deal of training, as far as accusing or fighting are concerned. We have to ^{to improve} learn, ^{still harder} it. The School we are going through is awfully hard - for us, in exile, and for our comrades, within the Reich.

Do you still remember the Message which I read to you, in the beginning? It told us a terrible story about suffering. But it included

- 1 -

And now, at this crucial hour, it
is our duty to pronounce the great
indictment — although our voices
certainly are weaker than Zola's; while
the crimes and ~~abhorrent~~ outrages,
we have to expose, are infinitely
worse than the moral scandal of the
Dreyfus - affair.

A terrifying series of crimes, summed
by Nagis — beginning with the five
of the Richter and leading, as now
under programs, murders, persecutions
of minorities, violation of helpless neighbors,
— up to the recent atrocious in Poland,
matching ~~to~~ ^{what} everything now did before.

[Reports of Oswald Garrison Villard,
confirmed by the Cardinal.
Human being, jammed in
freight - car; freezing, starving
to death; travelling along with
body compressed; finally released
on open field — :]

~~Impossible~~ — : difficult, if
thing like this — :
not impossible to excuse.
Germans have done it, tolerated it.

And yet, we go on arguing:
There is another Germany.

In fact, have just published book
dealing with this most delicate,
most significant and involved topic
" The Other Germany. "

Becomes increasingly difficult to believe
on the face, with every day war
goes on.

Oh come: opposition.

[Mother - child - joke]
Food conditions, quite disposable.
Lack of oil, fat, coals.
Railway problem. " Hill Hanger.
Conservation, monasticism,
religion, opposition.
Working men, not looked.
Comparison about Russian
Part. [Industrialists.
Thymer. I

St. gained.
at St.'s
maw

Stalin - joke.

13a

He knew his Germans, he didn't have any illusions, as far as Germany is concerned, in his cool objective manner, he said: "The thought of the German people, so admirable as individuals so despicable as a whole, has often caused me bitter pain... Germany is worthless; but each individual German is worth very much, and yet Germans believe the contrary..."

"Germany is worthless" - what a cruel statement, made by the greatest spirit Germany ever produced! Is it thoroughly true? And even if it should be true - have matters to remain like they are, or like they used to be?

And if the Germans don't have any political instinct, nor common sense - isn't that the fault of the great German intellectuals?