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"Equality". (Speech.)

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"Equality" (Speech)

Antisemitism has done more than any other crime ever committed by the Nazis, to make the Hitler-regime hated and despised all over the world... As a matter of fact, at certain moments I felt that the Jewish ^{angle} was somewhat over-emphasized whenever Naziism was discussed or attacked. I have known moderate liberals who apparently felt, that the Hitler-dictatorship really would ^{not} be ^{so} bad, if only it would renounce its antisemitic follies... And I must admit that this kind of talk always was shocking and alarming to me... For: Naziism is not bad merely ^{ly} because of its insane antisemitism; but it is, antisemitic, because it is thoroughly rotten.

Antisemitism is nothing but the most striking - I may say: the ^{obvious and} most "picturesque" - symptom of a complex attitude which is abominable in its entirety.

The Germans never were an especially antisemitic people. The position of the Jews in Germany ~~extra~~, before Hitler, certainly was better than it used to be in Zzarist Russia or the Balkan countries. The disgusting antisemitism of the Nazis represents neither a spontaneous outburst of national feelings, nor is it merely a fixed idea or private mania of Mr. Hitler. Nazi antisemitism is nothing but the most primitive and most brutal expression of a barbarian hatred and intolerance, which is directed not only against the Jewish race or the Jewish religion, but also, and above all, against Christianity and Democracy, against Truth and Justice - in short: against the basic notions and values of our Civilization. When Hitler and his gang kept on shouting: "The Jews are the cause of all evil!" - what they actually meant was this: The cause of all evil is the old-fashioned spirit of reason, tolerance, progress, and brotherly love. - They ^{cried} out: Germany must fight and ^{must} (destroy the Jews! - But they really meant

eliminate everything and everybody that is considered as "foreign" - as "artfremd", to use the ugly Nazi expression... Intolerance is the supreme Law of the jungle; ~~tolerance~~ without tolerance civilization must perish... How could civilization go on existing if everybody would be inclined and allowed to kill or to beat up everybody else, whose race or nose or opinion he dislikes for some reason?

The fight for Tolerance is a fight for Civilization. Consequently the fight against Hitlerism is a fight for Civilization.

~~...I fully realize that there seemingly is a paradoxical element in my statement. For how can we ^{be} "tolerant", ~~as we have to be~~ while we have to fight any other convictions, principles or people?~~

The simple fact that Tolerance nowadays is forced to fight Intolerance may be seemingly paradoxical but is not actually so. For ^{as} it is obvious that the very notion of Tolerance is dangerously threatened, nobody can deny that it has to defend itself, just as every moral or spiritual value must defend itself whenever it is ^{seriously} endangered.

~~By defending itself~~

We must adapt our attitude to the new circumstances.

Can there be such a thing as "militant tolerance"? - If it does not exist as yet, we will have to create it. For otherwise Tolerance itself would be doomed...

The problem of Tolerance involves many of the other vital problems ~~we~~ we have to face. - Can Democracy defend itself without betraying its own principles? Can a Pacifist take sides in a struggle, without giving up the basic ideal of pacifism itself?

Thus are just variations of one comprehensive problem - which also embraces the problem of ~~the~~ Tolerance in an Intolerant period...

Problems and questions of this kind are most complex and have many different aspects. I don't think there is any general solution, any ~~clear~~ perfect answer. The solution should be practical rather than theoretical - and the practical solution, in each different case, depends on many circumstances, many nuances... Whether the practical solution, in each individual case, is ~~good~~ ^{right} or ~~bad~~ ^{wrong}, depends, above all, on the spirit in which it was conceived and accomplished.

All this is, ~~definitely~~ ^{always, rather much more} a question of balance and tact, of common sense and moral instinct, than it is a problem of dead principles.

...Have tolerant people the moral right or duty to condemn other people for their opinions and tactics? Yes, indeed - :if those opinions and tactics threaten the national or international ~~commonwealth~~ ^{security} and mean an open insult to human dignity and reason.

People who believe in Tolerance and Democracy - which actually means the same ^{thing} - must, under certain circumstances and conditions, ~~be~~ be prepared to ~~accept~~ ally themselves with other forces or groups, who fight the common enemy - even if those other forces and groups went into the fight not exclusively for moral reasons, ^{even} and if their own attitude is not purely moral. - The cruel truth is that in politics - and it is the political sphere I am entering - ~~nothing was ever done, nothing was ever achieved by exclusively moral intentions.~~ ^{nothing} The conception of the minor evil ~~which we have to accept~~ contains a certain amount of truth - although it can be dangerously confusing if misused in a naive or malicious way...

I want to be as precise and clear as possible.

The present European War is certainly not primarily a moral event. Yet it may have, or could have, decisive moral consequences.

The British and French ~~are not defending~~ the notion of Tolerance;

did not go to war in order to
fight

but by defending their national independence and their national wealth, they actually are fighting in the interest of higher moral values. Therefore it strikes me as hypocritical or naive 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 ~~finally~~ ^{to stop aggression} make an heroic effort to smash Hitlerism, the arch-enemy of civilization, and finally because they proclaim as their peace-aims a better order in Europe.

The victory of the Allies does not guarantee yet the establishment of a better and sounder order on the Continent; but there isn't chance for any new order ^{to come} unless the Allies win.

~~The fall of Hitler is not an end,~~

Tolerant people - as myself happen to be one, by nature, education and principle - tolerant people had to ~~receive~~ ^{take} many cruel lessons and had to go through many hard experiences, before we realized that the Spirit of Tolerance ~~must be~~ is compatible, under certain circumstances, with the Spirit of Fight - while it is for ever incompatible with the cowardly spirit of compromise.

I am longing for the peaceful days to come, when we will be allowed, once more, to concentrate our forces on the constructive task of building a better and sounder world - while at this moment we have against an aggressor, who is monstrously to defend a world that is only comparatively good. ^{evil}

How gratefully we will enjoy a future time, when Tolerance will not have to limit itself in order to protect itself - but will the natural basis and ruling feeling of social and individual life... The other day, I heard little story.... German Mother.....:

"Just say - Thank God".....

That's the way we will feel - :not because we hate him so much; (he as a person is not really worthwhile wasting feelings on him...) But because his mere existence prevents us from devoting our time

-6- *human*
and strength completely to those duties and occupations that alone
really count:

In short -:

Aggressive Intolerance, in every form and disguise, is
intolerable, for it prevents us from being as tolerant
as we would like to be.