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After Hitler - What?

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"After Hitler - What?"

[Family.]

Sometimes American friends would ask me this simple question:

"Why did you and your family leave Germany, in 1933, when Hitler came to power? - After all, you are not Jewish," those friends remind me, "and you never have belonged to any radical party. So why didn't you stay at Munich - where you used to have such a lovely home - and went on writing books or poems or literary essays?"

And I have to admit: I am not a Jew, I never belonged to any political party nor did my father or any other member of my family. Still, exile was a matter-of-course for all of us. There couldn't be any hesitation: we had to leave our country since Hitler had become its master. The air in our country was poisoned; we just couldn't breathe it any longer. This is the simple truth: it was not fear of persecution that drove us away; but fear ~~to~~ suffocate by breathing the poisoned air ...

For we knew what Naziism means - we knew it even before the Nazi dictatorship was established in our country. We had the opportunity in Munich, to watch Hitler's dubious career. We realized, from the beginning, that Naziism is not just threatening certain political, racial or religious groups; but that it is endangering and attacking the entirety of our civilization. ~~and Christianity~~ ~~We realized it would eventually lead to war. Even then knowledge was not the main reason...~~

Not because we disagreed with certain principles.

I guess it must be extremely hard, for foreigners, to grasp what Naziism really means. Even the enemies of Nazidom in other countries presume, that Hitler and his followers are a sort of fanatics, who are pursuing certain idea or ideals with a great deal of consistency and zeal. - This is a basical mistake. For the Nazi leaders ~~don't~~ have neither ~~&~~ any consistency nor any ideals. The characteristic feature of Hitler and his gang is the absolute lack of constructive aims. ~~There is~~ They love and want POWER - as such and for its own sake. Their dynamics is violent, but empty. They don't have any convictions. As a matter of fact, they have nothing but that intoxicating Lust for Power.

The rest is mere propaganda trick.

Their anti-capitalism - a lie. (Financed by heavy industry.)

Their anti-Bolshevism - also a lie. (Moscow pact.)

Their defending Christianity - a lie. (They keep persecuting it.)

Their struggle against Christianity - another lie. (Don't dare to be consistent; besides, not interested in spiritual or moral values whatsoever...)

Anti-French - in "Mein Kampf." Now - anti-British, while Hitler kept saying, Britain best friend...

The friendship with Italy, the Axis policy - another lie...

Even the racial slogan - although a certain primitive, barbarian antisemitism is perhaps the most sincere feeling... However, the whole notion of "Arian" - swindle. Japanese recognized as Arians; willing to make business with Jews - if they need them...

Could go on that way.

Hermann Rauschning found the proper formula:

The Revolution of Nihilism.

They are willing to betray everything for the sake of power. ~~They~~

A) a matter of fact.
They have betrayed almost everything...

All this we knew and understood. That is why we left.

Besides, we didn't have any doubts:

Hitler means WAR.

His empty dynamics made the catastrophe inevitable, it had to come.

...Warned European friends, in the years of 1933/34/36... Warning voiced un-popular, without influence...

We hardly could believe ourselves. We still hoped, something would happen; would prevent the madman from plunging the civilized world into the massacre...

This war - which we expected for a long time - ~~has~~ still has something unbelievable... It certainly is very different - not only from all the other war history has witnessed up to now; but also from anything written and military experts have predicted...

*Life of the
G. 1901-1945*
Education and Diplomacy
the art and the sports
the highway and the
moving picture
the - the last time.

3) First of all, our instinctive abhorrence of Nazidom - :mainly esthetical reasons. - The vulgar shouting of ^{seemed more potpourri than really dangerous} Hitler's speeches. Went to his Munich meetings - for fun. ^{not thinking} Did consider him worthy of our serious consideration...After all, we thought: certain limits...Germans have had dreary experiences with their Kaiser, now sitting around in Holland, half comic half melancholy...Kaiser, however, cultured compared with Hitler. His style, ^{now could write...} No foreigner can judge...Unspeakable vulgarity. Full of mistakes. (Feuchtwanger has proved: 25 mistakes on a single page of "Mein Kampf".) - Somebody who kept writing so rotten a prose, could not be anything but a rotten politician... (He says: "I am a great artist..." "Nudes and Ruins..." Freud could explain...)

Yes, indeed, we used to be definitely more interested in cultural affairs than in politics - :today I think too definitely so...Typical attitude for German intellectuals - :unfortunately...

Our family - :a typical German cultured middle class family - in many respects.

My Father: descended from old Patrician family, from Lübeck. - Ancestors were sea captains or merchants of old Hansa City - described in "Buddenbrooks". Mann family belonged to oldest inhabitants of this free city. It was a dignified, proud North German family - perhaps already little over-cultivated. The only non-nordic element in it was: that my grandfather Mann brought his bride home from Spain. Beautiful, musical. Probably it is due to this foreign grandmama, that patrician family suddenly blossomed out into the phenomenon of art - not only in the person of my father, but also in that of his brother, Heinrich Mann, and finally also in the more delicate person of a younger sister, who was an actress and died young...

4)
My mother was born in Munich, although her family came from Berlin.
Her father, ^{Privy Counselor} A. Pringsheim: noted mathematician - one
of the most important: quality which remains mystery to ignorant grand-
children, can only be gaged by innitiated... What I can judge: that he
is most brilliant old gentleman; very witty; ~~collect~~ his collection
of old Italian majolica most impressive; (a nightmare of my childhood:
to break-to-pieces one of those precious vases...) - and that he
makes most delicious champagne cup... Left ~~at~~ Munich, where he had spent
70 years of his life, only few weeks ago. 90 years old; with my grand-
mother: 86 years... Could announce his arrival. (No connection between
Germany-Switzerland.) Fell under the train. Nothing happened. Those old
fellows - amazing... (I would have been killed...)

Our mother: quite remarkable... Everybody thinks own mother to be extra-
ordinary. My mother - I insist - really IS. - 6 children. Difficulties
during the War... Last one was born when civil war was going on in
Munich, after unsuccessful Soviet experiment...

My father's secretary & business adviser; keeps reading what the whole
family writes; does not write herself; (original!!); good driver;
good hostess....ect.

Typical German family - : everyone knows what it is like... Gemütlichkeit
(untranslatable. "Cosy" - not quite the same...) Sentimental... Impor-
tance of festivals. (Christmas with Lebkuch; huge tree, candles beaming
...) Eastern; mother hiding eggs; sometimes so well hidden that they
never were found again...

Father reading to us. (Goethe, Tom Soyer, Tolstoi...)

Music. (Grammophon. Wagner, Tschaikowsky, Verdi... No Jazz...)

Lazy - but not too much so.
Daily life. School. - / Father's pedagogical influence: his own example.

His own consciencioness way of living and working...

5)

We grew up, and began to have our own interests. - Erika wanted to become an actress, and parents had no objection to that. (Had been charming in amateur performance of "As you Like it", in the role of Viola; few years later: engaged by Max Reinhardt, at the famous Detusches Theater, Berlin. - I, for my part, began writing at the age of 13, at when if was 15, had already written at least 25 dramas....which I cannot remember without shuddering...Brother Golo, scientific, by nature most strictly methodical...As a very young man, in Heidelberg, already wrote essays on Hegel, Marx ect; published in most exacting magazines... Three younger ones: predestined to musical career. Michael promises to become a really good violinist; two girls very earnestly play the piano...

It was not until the year 1930/32 that young people of our stamp began to realize that there was no occasion to laugh at the Nazis...that there were elements in the character of the German people - a very strangely mixed character - that responded to the impudent and untruthful propaganda...; that there were people who believed in promises; thought Hitler was saviour of the Nation...

Heinrich Mann was the first of the family to write against Nazis with deep and warning seriousness in important articles.

In the last years before....my father exposed himself...in a way... endangering his life. One lecture, especially - "Deutsche Ansprache" - ^{Adressen} - gave occasion to demonstration for and against him...Took stand against Hitler and extreme nationalism...Advised his nation to make peace with democracy; appealed to intelligence of compatriots, not to be made fools of by Nazi propaganda...

Erika, almost murdered...when she recited poem against war...Nazis entered the hall; w tried to beat her up. Nazi paper wrote: "...instead

of a human face, she has got something that looks almost like a face..." Erika made trial against them. Had to appear before the court. Could prove he face was fairly human indeed...Nazis had to pay...

I too expressed my opinion in articles, speeches...

7)
Erika had re-opened Pfeffermühle, with even greater success than it had had in Munich... 1000 performances, in Zürich, Amsterdam, Prague, Bruxelles ect. - I myself was active as editor of "Sammlung". (Literary magazine; Amsterdam; the 3 "protectors"... Others who wrote for my magazine: Stefan Zweig, A. Zw., Hemingway, Emil Ludwig, Lewis, Ernest Toller... ect. Heinrich Mann published one great political article after the other; essays appeared in German and French - both of which languages my uncle masters...

His name on the first list of those who were expatriated.

My own name: on the second list. (As ^{editor} ~~editor~~ of "Sammlung" and author of novel "Journey into Freedom" I had earned the honor of being

recognized as enemy... Emil Ludwig wired: "Congratulations for joining the Legion of Honor of the Third Reich..."

Erika appeared on third list.

Finally: my father. Hadn't dared for quite a while - fearing public opinion abroad. His clear stand against Nazis made any compromise impossible. ^{Th. M. was declared...} His books forbidden.... Degree of Honorary Doctor, Bonn, taken away... Father answered Dean of University. Open Letter created sensation. Widely read in Germany itself. People went to Camps ect...

Erika married W. Auden. Got British. - ^{got} ~~if~~ Dutch ^{fantasy for foreigner} paper - : generously given by Hague government. Then: whole family became citizens of ~~Czech~~ Czechoslovakia.

We were thankful, at that moment, to be citizens of that truly Democratic country. - I always liked C.S.R. Spend great deal of time in that ^{fine} city of Prague - before it was invaded by Nazi hords... Cultural life, most stimulating. Little Republic - founded by a great intellectual - : Th. Masaryk. That's maybe why intellectuals feel so much at home... Know friend and successor: Pres. Benesch. Never

8)
will forget visit in his studio, in the Haradschin. Wonderful view,
over roofs, churches, bridges... Benesch: serene, intelligent, modest;
optimistic. "Time is working for us." - Was he mistaken? - I certainly
thought he was, after Munich - and when I saw him, once more, here in
Chicago... Today, however, I am not so convinced anymore that he was
entirely wrong... News from C.S.R. - most alarming and tragic; ~~Nazis~~ Nazis
seem ruthlessly decided to oppress or even to destroy elite of that
fine nation... ^{But promising as well...} Students screaming "Freedom"; throwing Hitler busts against
henchmen... Czechs have experience in waiting, preparing rebellion...
It might be that German Revolution will start at Prague... C.S.R.
is going to play essential role in new Europe. I dare foretell that
I will visit Benesch, once more, in the Haradschin...

Kept on being active in Europe as long as possible. Warned people:
not to trust any Nazi promises. Told them own experiences. Tried to
convince them: compromise not only immoral but useless... Warning
voices, at that time, not very popular in Europe... Europe: approaching,
rapidly, the catastrophe...

In 1936 - Erika and myself moved to America; half a year later -
parents and sisters followed. (I had been in this country before -
in 1928, when I was kid; my father, on several lecture tours, since
1934.) But now we made permanent home. working: Goethe; Mozart IV,
Princeton. Headquater - like Munich; Küssnacht. Father connected with the
University. (Lecturing on Goethe, Freud, Wagner ect.) ^{Einstein, morph board...} - Erika: lecturing,
writing; "School for Barbarians", success. Auden also living here...

- I myself: lecturing and writing too. - Several books in trans=
lation, published, years ago. Now - with E. - "Escape"; dealing with...;

in preparation: "The Other Germany". (Modern Age.) Writing in English.
Fun and adventure... Still make mistakes... Will improve...

9) Feel at home. Will become citizens. Participate, more and more, in American Life. The "promises of American life" give us new hopes...

Youngest sister just married G.A. Borgese (Chicago University.) - Ceremony in little Princeton church. - Nice symbol: representative of the "Other Italy"... Auden made poem; printed in special private edition.

International little party: Italian bridegroom - German bride; English poet; American friends, English and Austrian friends...

Family gets more and more international. Mentioned British and Italian brothers in law. A third one: Hungarian... (Art historian, living in London.)

- Younger brother: married to Swiss girl... Other brother: not married as yet. In Zürich; editing philosophical and political periodical, "Mass and Wert". - What kind of brides will will we choose? Perhaps fine Chinese and Finish?.... Rather prefer an American girl...

~~All of us concerned with cultural affairs, and with politics as well.~~

Yes, a family that used to be exclusively interested in ~~old~~ cultural affairs, has changed into something like a political group... Although ^{try to remain faithful to old German traditions} we did not renounce any cultural ambitions. But: realized that the two spheres - cultural/political - are connected; that culture must perish if politics get immoral, criminal, opposed to spiritual values - as they did in Germany.

Are grateful for Peace we enjoy in this country. However, deeply concerned with dramatic European developments. - Consider situation serious; not hopeless. - Reasons: Allies understand, new Peace must be different. (No "other Versailles". New organization of Europe...) - Hitler - :

doomed... Don't want to discuss military or diplomatic situation. (New weapon. Danger. Answer will be found...)
(Mines; Siegfried Line impregnable?... More essential: German spirit in side Germany. Keep contacts; have informations; hope for Revolution -

before complete military defeat...)

One of the main problems, of course, will be the function and the attitude of the German Nation within an European State ~~of the kind we are hoping for.~~

We used to say - and keep still saying - :

X There is another Germany, Hitler does represent the German Nation.

There wouldn't be any hope for lasting European Peace - unless there is really another Germany existing...

We also said: The Germans don't want the war. And I still say it...

X ~~The fact that they did not revolt against Hitler, up to now, only shows~~

~~how strong the fear is; (the terror of Gestapo; that monstrous Himmler...)~~

~~how ignorant they are. For days they didn't realize war had started,~~

~~Leaders didn't dare to inform them. Soldiers thought they were sent to~~

~~manoeuvres; were bewildered when captured by French. - Until the last~~

~~moment: desperate hope for Peace... When war had to be admitted: hostile~~

~~silence... No enthusiasm at all. No pride about so-called victory~~

~~in Poland. Troops, crossing Berlin coming from the east: no enthusiasm.~~

~~Only when mistakenly Peace was announced by broadcasting... Then: crying~~

~~and laughing with happiness. Drinking liquor... Disappointment. Gloomy~~

~~mood again.~~ V. Boni Mangoldt Communists did not forget...

~~We have informations... Women, furious about food rationing... remembering~~

~~last war... Sabotage in factories... Troubles in C.S.R., Vienna, Graz...~~

~~English leaflets are making impression... Serious symptoms: Götzel - in~~

~~disgrace; Fritsch - executed or murdered... Amag - 7 figures: 1000 a day...~~

~~This other Germany - although terribly patient and confused with these~~

~~eventually will wake up. I still hope and trust it will not wait until the~~

~~day of military defeat...~~

~~The Germans only have to find themselves - their own fine traditions -~~

~~and they will find, once more, confidence and respect of Europe and the~~

~~world.~~ Communists' death, Gustav...

Bloemberg's marriage - Henderson thinks...

R. Bloemberg in the future growing...

No wild thinking. There are admission
Enthusiasm - perhaps! - among certain groups of young people. 11)

Ignorant. Don't remember anything "before" Hitler... Propaganda:
exaggerated. Too many victories - : was the same thing during last
war. Victory!...: suddenly lost... Now, the same game. If Göbbels an-
nounces: "Twenty planes shot down...": may ^{be} four of them... (English
tactic, just the opposite. Under-statements. If Winston Churchill

Plenty of prop still listen to foreign radio stations, in spite of
informs us: "Two German submarines sunk..." I guess: "probably 4..."
Opposition - growing. Information. new death - finality.

Must make distinction: Dissatisfaction - active opposition.

Dissatisfaction - : for political and, above all, economical reasons.

Food-rationing - : bad beginning. Unpopular, especially with women.

Remember last War. (So do I. All that Ersatz-stuff... "Buterol",
German chocolate - reminds me...
greenish colour...) - Don't expect supplies from Russia. Have

been told: Russians starving... "Physical condition."

Anecdote about German Mother. "Thank God." Herl Hunger.
Read's Digest.

Stalin - anecdote
For political reasons. Russian Pact - confusing...

Industrialists. Fritz Thyssen in Switzerland.... (Helped H. to power.)

Generals. Complicated. Bismarck's old idea. On the other hand...

Perhaps "nationalist-bolshevist" group - not very influential...

Most of them: conservative. - The case Fritsch. - The case Blomberg.

(Killed?... Watched him in Switzerland... "Nothing that comes from
Berlin!!") - Rumours about Split between Hitler and Army. Did

not allow him to invade Holland... May be true... Ribbentrop
not popular with General staff. Tension. Army Party still strong.
How long?

Within Party. Anti-Russian. Göbbels embarrassed. - Super-Gestapo

to watch on old Nazis. - The Munich Bomb - not staged. Not British
either. Göring?? Don't believe. - Old Nazis. Waiter (Schankbursch)

of the Munich Bierkeller.... Hitler, not thinking of old comrades
Vulgar - reminds of old comrades not far away

Strasser ... thinks : Gestapo. Perhaps.
But in what sense...

Mystical anti semitic.
British anti semitic.
Nazi him. Dr. E. L. W.

12)
said, when informed: "Glück muss der Mensch haben." (...must by lucky.)
Quite. How long does it last?

Working men. Called "soldiers of the Home Front". But: wages are going down. - Former Communists - not fooled. More against Hitler - than for Stalin. (And may have doubts as to whether St. really is For H.)
Have seen each other.

Religious. Niemöller. Catholics - : Austria; Munich.

Monarchists. New chances...: Habsburg; Hohenzollern. Talk in Paris and London. Duff Cooper's interview. - Otto Habsburg - nice fellow. Friends have seen him. Realizes Schuschnigg's mistakes regarding labor people. - Louis Ferdinand Hohenzollern, happens to be liberal... Friend met him in Italy. Studied Marx. Wrote grandfather, Doorn... Worked Detroit. (Speaks "Fordian", instead of Oxfordian English..)

However - Family has bad reputation. Am against it. Ridiculous:

X 4 years war to get rid of them. Other war to re-establish...

Romantic attraction - it's Democracy - more likely. (Kaisersheim - 7.2.1939)

Austria. France promised independence. Lippman pointed out how important... *[Have mentioned before...]* 50 010 impressions: sounds fantastic

Czechoslovakia. Unrest admitted. Student shot - screamed "Freedom!" *to death (Haber H. - 1939)*

Think a great deal of Prague... Visit to Benesch, Haradschin.

Optimistic. "Time working for us." Was he mistaken? - Will visit him again...

Underground. Conditions change; but active. Leaflets help. (Story.)

Revolution must start before defeat. What are they waiting for?

Fear. (Gestapo.) - - - Lack of political temperamt, imagination.

(German character.)

Other Germany MUST awake - before too late. All Germans need to do is to find themselves, and they will find their way to Europe. Let them but listen to the noble voices that sprung, and always have sprung, from their own midst! The gulf that separates Germany from Europe, is the same that always kept apart our people from their best sons: poets, philosophers...

13)
~~Once they~~

Once they bridge the one gulf, the other one too is closed.
A Germany worthy to call itself the home of Goethe, cannot fail to fulfill its creative function in the community of nations.

We are hoping and praying for this - ^{because} ~~not~~ we ~~are~~ ^{would be} so very eager to return to our homeland, after Hitler's fall. (As a matter of fact, we are not decided at all as to whether or not we ever will return to Germany...) No - our keen interest in Germany's future fate is not selfish nor is it merely nationalistic. We keep hoping and praying for the liberation - or rather: for the awakening - of that "Better Germany" - simply because we ~~have understood~~ know - that there can't be any lasting Peace in the world, without permanent Peace in Europe. And that Europe cannot find its way to Peace, unless Germany finds her way back to Europe *and to Christian Civilization.*

*

After Hitler - What?

Sometimes, American friends ^{would} ask me ~~this simple question~~: "why did you ^{and your family} ~~really~~ leave Germany when Hitler came to power?" - And ^{always} ~~surprisingly enough~~, this ~~simple and natural question~~ sounds to me surprising and even a bit ~~con-~~
~~fusing~~ I try to explain: "Well, ^{to them you see} - it was a matter of course... How could we stay in our country any longer, since Hitler had become its master? ... we had to leave, that's all. My father and mother, and my sister Erika, and my ^{and my father's brother, H. M., who also is a writer, ...} four younger brothers and sisters, and I myself ~~we~~ just had to leave..."

The American friends, however, insist: "But ~~we~~ we still can't see quite the reason. You are not Jewish, and, as far as we are told, never have ^{ever} linked with any political party." - I have to admit: "That's ^{correct} ~~right~~, I never belonged to any political group or party, nor did my father or any other member of our family. As a matter of fact, all of us used to be much more interested in cultural matters than in political affairs - I mean, of course, before Hitler came to power..." ^{was leading peaceful life in Munich, Bavaria.}

And the American friends keep on questioning: "So what could ~~possibly~~ ^{was leading peaceful life in Munich, Bavaria.} ~~have~~ ^{was leading peaceful life in Munich, Bavaria.} ~~happened~~ ^{was leading peaceful life in Munich, Bavaria.} to you, after all? - WHY did you have to leave... You had such a nice home in Munich, they remind me with sympathy..." ^{was leading peaceful life in Munich, Bavaria.}

Yes, we had a nice house in Munich, but how could one enjoy a lovely villa ^{was leading peaceful life in Munich, Bavaria.} ~~if it happens to be situated in a city where the air is poisoned...~~

And this is what we felt: the air was poisoned in Germany since the Nazis were ruling ~~the~~ the country... we knew Hitler: we had watched his dubious career, which has started in Munich. ^{And then, gradually, we came to realize what Nazism means}

- even before the Nazi-dictatorship was established. We understood that Nazism is NOT just attacking ^{certain} ~~specific~~ political or religious groups; that it is threatening not only the Jews or the Catholics or the Socialists. We knew already then, in 1933 - as we know it now - that Hitler is attacking and threatening the entirety of our culture; that he is, and always will remain, the arch-enemy of everything that ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~worthwhile~~

last - for power...

we love and admire in life... This seems utterly simple to me, and still, people sometimes get somewhat surprised/when I tell them: ^{by A.D.}

We left Germany in 1933, and ~~lost~~ lost everything we possessed - not because we had to fear persecutions; but because we could not breathe the German air any longer...

Besides, we didn't have any doubts, that Hitler, in the long run, will mean - : WAR. - ^{For} War was, from the very beginning, the only aim of his policy, of his economical and educational system. The sport and the school, science and art, technic and diplomacy - all of them had ~~to serve the~~ ~~to serve the~~ to serve as means for the national preparation of war. - - -

While we were living in France, Switzerland, Holland and other European countries - ^{during} in the years from 1933 ~~had~~ to 1936 - we tried to warn our ^{foreign} friends, privately and in public. We told them, again and again: Hitler means - war. If he remains in power, war must and will become inevitable... Warning voices, however, were not very popular nor influential, at that time, in Europe...

Finally, in 1937, we left our second home, in Zürich, Switzerland - and all of us, the whole crowd, moved to America, ~~there~~... My ~~little~~ sister Erika and myself had been here once before, in 1928. But then we still ^{had been} curious, superficial kids. ^{almost two years later} When we came back, as exiles, we were much better prepared to appreciate and to admire America as a place, where the notion and the value of Freedom still has its vital significance...

Peace - it's wonderful - : more especially a peace that is not the result of a wicked "Peace Offensive" and doesn't have the dubious aim of stabilizing the spoil of the aggressor, ^{and of postponing the next war}

When I came to this country for the first time, in 1928, as a ^{casual, impulsive} ~~very young~~ kind, I liked it for its scyscrapers and its varied other charms, and because I felt New York City to be a swell place, and I thought Hollywood was most fascinating, and Boston most dignified, and Washington D.C. most impressive.

And when I returned to this country, several years later, in 1936, as an exile from Nazi Germany - after having ^{as an ex-ile} already lived in several European countries for three years - I admired America as a place where the notion and the value of Freedom still has a vital significance, while on the European Continent, ~~at that moment~~, this very ~~same~~ ideal was openly denied, or else hypocritically betrayed in secret.

16) And now, at this present moment, a new gratitude is deepening and intensifying my feelings toward this continent and this people: it is the simple, human gratitude for peace I refer to. Here we must not be afraid of raid raids, nor of military censorship, nor of the nationalistic hysteria.

~~We still enjoy a civilization that goes on working smoothly and conveniently. That means a lot - as a matter of fact, it means everything. For we don't appreciate the full value of civilization before it is badly endangered by the introduction of a new piece of machinery.~~

Here we ^{are allowed to} still receive the news from all parts of the world, and have the possibility of discussing them and of drawing our hopeful or dreary solutions. We here are definitely better informed about the European events than the scared and nervous people in ^{the damned streets of} Paris and London ^{let alone the} ~~unhappy inhabitants of Berlin who get nothing but lies/~~

I always admired the foreign correspondents of the great American papers

and radio-services, and I feel some of those remarkable fellows are among the finest types this country has produced. ^{now Alca Selzer} All of us gained their skill, their clear intelligence and even their courage. During the crisis of September 1938 - and we ^{are} ~~ages~~ ^{5 years ago} impressed by the brilliant job they ~~did~~ ^{are doing now.} during the troubled days preceding the outbreak of war.

~~I never will forget the historical night from September 2 to Sept. 3 - when the British Ultimatum to Germany was expiring - still 15 minutes, and then a little music - I ~~have~~ always will remember those soft dreamy tunes - and still 15 seconds, and then - the decision, and Mr. Chamberlain's voice which calmly and slowly declared: "We are in the State of War with Nazi Germany..." And: "Mr. Henderson ^{has} orders to ask for his passports..." I got especially excited about that touch with Mr. Henderson and his passports, as I always have read in historical books that this is supposed to be the last and decisive gesture: if the ambassador has to ask for his passports...: the last civilized gesture, so to speak, before the guns will start roaring. Besides, I feel it to be an impressive fact that the ambassador has several passports to his disposition, while ordinary folks, such as myself, nowadays would be quite satisfied if they would possess just ONE of those precious documents...~~

~~Well, he asked for his passports, ^{about a time (in Berlin and Vienna)} and we knew it long before the people had any idea about what was going on, and then we listened to the King of England, and to Monsieur Daladier, and even to Herr Hitler. And since then, I am spending an important part of my day by ~~studying the papers and~~ listening to the broadcasts - just as you are doing it, I presume...~~

I learned a great deal of things, of course, when I was listening to the American broadcasts, and much more eagerly so than I used to do it, in peaceful times... I had to hear, again and again, all the details concerning Alca Selzer, which is supposed such a help for anyone who is suffering from "The-morning-after"-misery - , and I got very familiar with the great advan-

1. After Hitler's death: 1. Version - I

pages of Lucky Strikes Cigarettes - which I like anyways -, and of the new Packard car - which I couldn't afford anyways...

Besides and above all, however, I got a very vivid impression ~~about~~ of what-is-going-on in Europe, and ^y/don't mean just the actual events, but the spirit and attitude of the people, who are supposed to suffer and to fight; I mean the atmosphere and the mood in the big capitals of Europe, and the thoughts and hopes and speculations of the men and women... For some of those smart correspondents are authentic artists as well. They don't give you just the facts, but also what's behind the facts and behind the cables.

~~- and through L.M.W. and in the press, from B. friends -~~
Through the medium of their words, ^I got a very plastic picture of what Europe is looking like at this moment, and I got a clear conception of the character of this war - which certainly is very different not only from all the other wars mankind has ever seen; but also from the kind of war writers and military ^{experts} ~~analysts~~ had predicted.

In the past, wars used to start with a great deal of enthusiasm, with waving flags and waving handkerchiefs, with songs, tears and flowers. This time, War doesn't have this melodramatic appearance anymore; it looks like a hard and necessary duty rather than like an adventure or a cruel festival. ^{any} I not referring, of course, ~~to~~ to the people in Nazi-Germany, who are kept in ignorance and fear, - nor to the unhappy Poles who didn't have any reason or time for enthusiasm as they became ^{mu} ~~the~~ they victims of the most ruthless, most unjustified attack; but I am speaking about the people in France and England. They are showing a cold and serious determination rather than any noisy emotional patriotism. They didn't want war, as they happen to be civilized people who realize that War is not only an atrocity, but even an oldfashioned kind of atrocity, and a nightmarish anachronism. For it obviously is a paradoxical and abhorrent thing to do: misusing, for the sinister aims of destruction, the highly developed modern technique, which is supposed to make

human life safer, more comfortable and more colourful. - And this is exactly the way the civilized French and English people are feeling about this war: they think it to be a dreary anachronism and a catastrophe, and no special reason for waving handkerchiefs and singing songs. And still, they realize it had to be; it was inevitable - and now one has to face it.

The European Democracies, in September 1939, only had the choice between the risk of war - and ~~the final surrender, the~~ complete abdication. For "another Munich" would have meant - and still would mean - the actual end - not only of ~~English~~ British and French National Honor, but also the end of their national security, their independence, their safety, their wealth. ~~Peace is wonderful; but the Pax Germanica - or, to be more precise, the Hitler-Hussellin-Stalin-peace - would be nothing but anarchy, slavery and the final destruction of Europe.~~

The Democratic governments have, without any doubt, made very tragic mistakes during the last five years - the betrayal of Czechoslovakia and the Spanish Republic being the most fatal ones among them. All ^{of} these mistakes, however, had their source in the fundamental misunderstanding of Nazi-psychology and Nazi-ambitions. Many really patriotic men in France and England ~~such as the conservative, old French politician and writer Henri de Kerillis, or Winston Churchill~~ - many intelligent observers in this country, and finally WE, the German anti-Nazis in exile - who, after all, know something about Hitler's tactics and pretensions - have repeated it, again and again:

// It is not only immoral, it is, above all, completely useless to make concessions to Hitler; to hope for any compromise with him. For his word is worthless; his aggressiveness is boundless. Give him something - and he will ask for more! - ~~Show yourself firm and courageous - and he will break down, and soon he will fall and vanish.~~ He doesn't want to collaborate with anybody; he doesn't want to share his power with anyone. His aim is, and always will remain, to rule Europe in order to ruin it. - Thus we spoke, and the day finally came, when the governments in Paris and London understood that we were not mistaken. It was the very day, when Hitler marched into Czechoslovakia, and annexed Prague, just a few months after he solemnly had

promised, at Munich, not to do so. Then, even the most ardent friends of appeasement grasped, that there ~~will be~~ ^{won't be any} hope for Peace or Order or Human Progress, as long as the Public Enemy Nr. 1, Adolf Schicklgruber, alias Hitler, will remain being the master of Germany.

And then, a few months later again, when he threatened and openly attacked Poland, the question wasn't anymore: Danzig, or the Corridor, or Upper Silesia; the question ^{was} quite simply ~~was~~ this: Shall we - can we allow this man to dominate Europe? To transform the European civilization into something that would look half like the jungle, half like a Prussian barrack-yard - which certainly is not a very pleasant blending? - But the decision ^{that way} ~~was~~ already ^{him} made - and it was: NO - we won't allow this! We will not permit to ~~do~~

do go on that way!

- By defending Poland - they felt - we are defending our own existence

and dignity; by fighting for our own interests, we are fighting for the ~~at stake~~ ^{indeed, it is} ~~nothing other and nothing less at stake~~ but the heritage and the future interest of European civilization.

of Western culture: ~~which means - Christianity, and the ideas of Freedom and Law.~~

~~This may sound a little bit melodramatic and somewhat like a propaganda slogan. But I really think and believe, it is the simple and actual truth, and nothing but the truth. I am sure, what the "man in the street" in London or Birmingham felt, when he heard about Hitler's newest act of aggression - the invasion of Poland - ^{way} ~~he~~ quite simply this: "It's enough! quite obviously, that so-called Führer, down there in Berlin, is a liar and a pretty dangerous monstre, something like Count Frankenstein. He is threatening Europe. We have to get rid of him!"~~

"We have to get rid of him!" - this also was the general feeling in France, where the spirit of the people and its government so definitely had changed since the dreary days of September, 1938. - "We have to get rid of him. - Il faut en finir!"

"Il faut en finir!" This is the will and the decisions of the pacifistic Democracies who were forced to fight. - "Crush Hitlerism! Save Europe from Nazi-domination!" - These slogans certainly are strong, and convincing, genuine and simple. Probably they are the proper slogans for the beginning

of ^a/₁₀ war - which certainly is, as far as the Democracies are concerned, a war of defense, not a war of aggression. Consequently, no aggressive slogans are needed. However, the day must come, and is probably near, when people are going to ask for constructive formulas; for creative aims - instead of the purely negative one: to crush Hitlerism.

I was very moved, when I heard, the other day, while listening to one of the broadcasts from London, that over there not only the leaders and intellectuals, but also the simple men and women, are very deeply and keenly concerned with the essential question:

After Hitler - What?

^{shall}
What kind of Peace we have, whenever this war will be over?

How shall we organize Europe, when this horrible menace, that is called Hitlerism, finally will have vanished?...

Against what we are fighting - that's clear enough, those people keep thinking. The great problem, however, remains: For What? - For what are we fighting?

You may object, that it is too early to discuss and to examine the possibilities of using and stabilising ~~the~~ ^{which} victory, ~~before~~ ^{is} this war ~~is~~ ^{just beginning} on its one decisive front, in the West. It is not certain at all - skeptical people ^{might} say, - whether or not the Allies will be able to win the war. Perhaps the victory will be Hitler's

X I tell you: No. Hitler will not win this war.

Making prophecies always is a naive and pointless thing to do - and in ~~all~~ troubled days, such as ours, it certainly becomes more naive and pointless than ever before. Besides, I am not a strategist, and I frankly

admit, that I don't really know, whether the Siegfried Line is impregnable, ^{if the German U-Boat will endanger the British,} or if the German air fleet in fact is so much more terrific than any other air fleet on earth. ~~I don't know either, why the collapse of Poland came~~

~~I don't know whether or not Atom Secret Weapons H. was referring to, actually exist - although I am inclined to believe, that there has never yet been any weapon, for which an effective answer has not been found.~~

sooner than even the German optimists and the French pessimists had foreseen. I don't think it is a very timely question to discuss - whether the Polish government is responsible for the catastrophe, or if the reason for this quick disaster rather is the simple and striking fact, that Poland did not possess ^{ade} anti-air-craft ^{standing enough} to meet the terrific German attack from the air, and even not sufficient air-fields, to receive the planes which the Allies would have been willing to send... However, one thing is certain: the Polish people themselves did what they could... fought most bravely... especially Warsaw population... I don't want ^{to examine now} the details nor the consequences of new Pact between Turkey and Allies... although I am convinced: signing of paper in Ankara highly important event; fury and open disappointment in Berlin prove significance... I don't want to discuss either the military tactics of the General Gamelin. I am sure, however, that Allies have sound reasons for postponing great Offensive in the West - reasons that ~~might~~ may be determined either from the psychological, military or economical angle.

... Sometimes I am surprised by bloodthirsty impatience of many people - eager to read thrilling headlines in papers... They get "bored", because the French are hesitating before sacrificing another generation of their youth... after having lost one generation in the last war... Those impatient people call war "phony"... "C'est une double de guerre..." "people call war "phony"... They are inclined to make cracks - such as this one: "Italy, Germany, Japan - fighting without declaring war; France and Britain - declaring war without fighting..." - quite funny; but certainly un-justified; more and more frivolous, considering the most recent events... One should not forget: this is a war of material rather than a war of spectacular offensives... The time is with the Allies, there can't be any doubt.

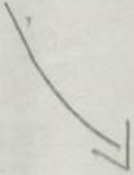
They are the stronger party - from the economical and, above all, from the German must win now - or never moral point of view. They can afford waiting... Are not interested in offensive. Will have more planes, a large fleet next year.

of course, This is not a "phony war" by any means; but a deadly serious one. It is Turkish fact means war, now...

Experts may debate, whether Germany will attack Maginot Line, or violate Holland or Belgium, or Switzerland; if Blizkenny has a chance, in spite of her weakness.

a great decisive struggle - and Hitler is going to lose it.

He is doomed, and he knows it himself. If he wouldn't know it; if he would see any chance to win the war against France and England - :why would he insist/, as he does, on his so-called "Peace-Offensive"? Nobody could believe that he offers Peace because he dislikes war and suddenly became an ardent pacifist... He realized, perfectly well, that this Peace Offensive is his last chance. Through years he kept winning his "bloodless victories" ~~through~~ by blackmailing with the threat of war. Now, he tries it the other way round:... ~~Everybody knows, however, that this~~
~~"Pax Germanica" he offers would look like...~~



~~Frangy of Ashunt - 7-10-40, London. Author - [unclear]~~

sooner than even German optimists and French pessimists had expected.

I openly declare that I am not in the position of judging the military tactics of the General Gamelin. I am convinced, however, the Allies must

have very sound reasons for postponing, up to now, the great spectacular offensive - reasons, which might be determined either by the psychological

angle, or else from the strategical point of view. Many people, who want to

read thrilling headlines in their morning paper, get kind of impatient;

they get witty, too, and remark jokingly:

"Japan, Germany and Italy fight without declaring war; England and

France are declaring war without fighting."

Very smart indeed - although, probably, not very just.

But: - disolom, considering things, what really counts is only this:

That Hitler is not going to win this war.

~~He is starting, or attempting, at this moment, to get away with~~

~~his old tricks of blackmail, threatening and cheating. It doesn't look~~

~~likely, however, that they will let him succeed this time. His shrewd~~

~~peace offensive will have failed - when it almost certainly will.~~

He is doomed, and he knows it.

Everybody who listened to Hitler's Reichstags-speech - the very day

when his motorized troops invaded Poland - got the horrifying impression:

This is a madman - and a madman in despair. His hysterical fury is growing -

as his self-confidence is weakening. He is in the psychological state of

a criminal, who has to realize that his cause is lost; so he decided to kill

and ruin as many human beings as possible, before going to hell himself.

- Isn't it remarkable, how long he insisted upon the dreary subject of

his death? It didn't sound very encouraging, when he declared, with his

hollow sinister voice, that his successor, Herr Göring, also might pass

away, and that Göring's successor, Herr Hess, also might disappear in the

near future. As a matter of fact, it was a speech for a funeral

rather than for the opening of a justified warfare... some days before,

"The condensed summary" (Chavril)

lack of
of
condemns
(was)

should not underestimate
that all this is at
happening: should
deadly serious, then of
happening: should
happening: should

if he would would know it: if he
would no longer for victory - he wouldn't
have insisted on Peace Official

Using for him a practicing revolver shooting...

~~The Führer apparently still was a little more optimistic. Then he said to Mr. Henderson, the Ambassador of Great Britain; "I am ^{not a politician, but an artist.} ~~living as~~ My intention is to retire, and to ~~live as~~ an artist again. Do you realize I am a great painter, Mr. Henderson?" - The ~~British~~ ambassador is repeating this most amazing declaration in the "Blue Book", which recently was published by the British government. Well - perhaps Hitler has had his wicked little ideas, too, when he emphasized his desire of painting still lives, instead of destroying real human lives. He expected, maybe, his English visitor, being a cultured person, would get scared with the idea, the Führer could create some pictures which would be as rotten as his politics, and the civilized world would give him Poland and even the Oil wells of Rumania, just in order to prevent him from painting... ^{Reproductions in LIFE. Nudes and Ruins. FREE D} ~~could probably explain...~~~~

In any event, the would-be-Napoleon of Berchtesgaden, ~~while he keeps threatening us with his imminent death or with the pictures he is going to paint,~~ seemingly is not any longer so very sure, that he will rule the world. ~~He wanted to conquer Europe by blackmailing, not by struggle.~~ Up to now, he had always carefully avoided any serious risk. The paradoxical fact is, that the only man, who alone is responsible for this war, did not really want it. His hope and calculation obviously was, to bluff the Allies into another appeasement. The pact with Moscow was supposed to be his master-trick, the smartest bluff of his entire career. He was convinced the Allies promptly and completely would break down, when and if he would come out with this tremendous surprise and cleverly staged coup de théâtre. He didn't succeed. The Berlin-Moscow agreement may have - or may not have - very far reaching historical consequences. For Hitler, ^{however} it means the beginning of the end.

~~It means his end - since now, after Herr von Ribbentrop's trips to Moscow, the last and most stubborn defenders of Nazidom in the other countries, have to realize, that Hitler certainly is NOT what he for such a long time and with so much noise pretended to be: the bullwork against~~

Quotation, Tabouin

Seeking reasons for his débâcle, one is reduced to the banal conclusion, that, to establish political hegemony, a minimum of political morality is necessary. Hitler lost that minimum.

He thought it possible, to ask German mothers, who had lost their eldest sons attacking "communism" in Spain, to fight capitalist states in the name of "National & Communism". This went obviously too far. There is a certain amount of immorality that leads to even more fatal mistakes, than sound moral principles ever could do. - Madame Geneviève Tabouis - the distinguished French woman journalist, who usually is very well informed - cabled this amazing story from Paris:

"During ^{the} interviews among Ciano - the Italian Foreign Minister - , von Ribbentrop and Hitler, in Berlin, the latter - Hitler - had no hesitation in asking Ciano to propose the following thesis to the democracies: 'The Führer asks nothing better, than to turn against Russia - an idea he has consistently held, but which the democracies have prevented him from accomplishing. Now that Poland is non-existent, it would be easy for him to attack Moscow. It is for the democracies to decide, whether they will enter into an accord allowing him carte blanche and armaments, necessary to attack the Soviets.'"

- In the circumstances, Mussolini not only refused to suggest any such an extraordinary program, but also to be associated with any Reich negotiations...

This most revolting item is highly significant in several respects. For it is typical - not only for ^{the} complete lack of any moral or political consistency in Hitler's character and tactics; but also, and above all, it is typical for the odd kind of "friendship" between Hitler and Stalin.

Everybody knows, that, up to now, Stalin has gained much more by Hitler's so-called "victory" in Poland than the Nazis did. It is no secret, either, that the new Communist Imperialism, from the Baltics and Scandinavia to the Black Sea, means an awful headache to the Führer and his advisers. It ~~has not been~~ a great comfort to Hitler, that Stalin, ^{too} ~~was~~ ^{is not} was losing

-Ja

something, when he sacrificed the principles and traditions of pure Marxism and its prophet, Lenin. The recent resurrection of Russian Imperialism and Integral Pan-Slavism is not very well compatible with the basic dogmas of Soviet philosophy... Stalin, at this moment, ^{looks to me} ~~is~~ ^{more} ~~like~~ ^{like} with a good old terrible Russian Czar, than ~~the~~ ^{the} the leader of an international, anti-imperialistic revolutionary leader. He scarcely can pretend any longer to be the protector and chief of the anti-fascist, labor-masses all over the world. He lost, to be sure, a great deal of international prestige and sympathy, while he was winning portions of Poland and strong influence in the Baltics... ^{The fact remains} ~~this, however, does not change the~~ ~~decisive fact - that~~ Hitler, for the time being, is absolutely at the merci of his ally Stalin, that he really has become Stalin's prisoner. ~~Leon Trotski obviously mistaken, when he said, in Life magazine, it was the other way round... Blinded by resentment, hatred...~~ In Europe, it is a frequent saying: "Stalin has won the war..." exaggerated, since the Allies ^{did not lose} ~~have not lost~~ it as yet... However, something true in it. For: Stalin - already by now - powerful enough to prevent Hitler from winning the war...

Little story, significant.

Hitler. Stalin. Emperor of Japan...

* Words - even worse than deeds. One may mean in explaining why partition of Poland was necessary. Mr. Molotoff's recent speech, however, is entirely unforgivable. Sickening speech, à la Göbbels - Ribbentrop. Yet disappointing to Nazis. No military Alliance.

Seriously: Hitler - who built up the Red Ghost in order to threaten the world - is responsible for the fact that, at present, a Russian Danger actually is existing. Stalin - who is described by the people who know him, as being a very ruthless but also a very careful man - had to keep quiet - until Hitler gave him the chance. Sovjet Russia, most probably, will become un-aggressive, once more, when and if Hitler will be defeated. Therefore, the theory, which for instance Lloyd George is propagating, ^{with Communists and F. A. I. S. H.} seems to me most illogical - the theory, I mean, that the Allies should make peace with Hitler as soon as possible and almost at any price, in order to prevent Stalin from expanding anymore. Peace on the Hitler-terms inevitably would mean another Hitler-victory - and, at the same time, a tremendous chance for Stalin. While the Allies would lose any influence in Central and Eastern Europe, Hitler and Stalin would be in the position of dictating their will to the Continent. It is not likely, however - as a matter of fact, it is almost impossible, that the Russian dictator would or could allow his German colleague to establish or to stabilize Nazi hegemony in Europe. For imperialistic as well as for ideological reasons an omni-potent Nazi-Germany must be a nightmare to the men in the Kremlin. Stalin, of course, does not like England; but he has much more reason to be afraid of Nazi Germany. If England and France are going to win the war, Stalin, almost certainly, would stop his aggression, satisfied with the great advantages he already has gained by now. A New German Republic, protected by France and England, would not have to fear Stalin's aggression - as, on the other hand, Soviet Russia would not have to be afraid of any attack from a changed, "post-Hitler"-Germany. As long as Hitler remains in power, Stalin will be actively and aggressively interested in European affairs. If Hitler vanishes, the Red Ghost also will disappear, and may ^(withdraw) ~~retire~~ into his own enormous, ^{when he belongs...} half-Asiatic kingdom... Hitler's immoral policy, Hitler's mere existence means to Stalin the big chance - indeed, it means to him almost the invitation, the necessity, to "bolshelize" Germany, to stir up civil wars all over Europe, to bring the Chaos, the destruction into the Continent.

Peace on the Hitler terms would mean: ~~Stalin 100.~~
End of Democracy. At A. U. S. to have the fight to the end - otherwise

Stalin will be the victor - while, after H. - defeat, S. A. would become, once more, a master side.
It is impossible to deny that Stalin's policy is not only seemingly very mysterious, but obviously very dangerous. It is a paradoxical policy too, as it is apparently anti-British, and at the same time it must turn out to be an anti-Nazi policy in the long run. For nationalistic and ideological reasons Stalin cannot and will not allow Hitler to establish his hegemony in Europe. Even if the Russian dictator seemingly should help his German colleague to victory, he finally would spoil the triumph of his so-called ally, by transforming it into something very different - into something that certainly would sweep away Hitler and his Nazi government.

That is why I said before so positively, and why I am repeating it:

Hitler will not win this war.

If the Allies don't win it - but I believe and hope they will win it! - the Chaos will win it, the destruction, the anarchy. There will even not be what the faithful communists may like to call the "European Revolution". We rather would witness: civil wars without aim and end; Asia invading Europe; darkness; and the jungle everywhere...

10
The real problem, therefore, is NOT:

Are the Allies going to win the war, or is Hitler going to win it?
The question actually is this:

Will the Allies win - or the Chaos?

And if the Allies win? - you may ask. Wouldn't this mean just another Versailles - only a more severe, a more cruel one?

I don't think so. I don't believe there must be - and I don't believe there will be another Versailles.
The new treaty, I hope and trust, won't be more severe nor milder than the last one; but: essentially different. - Yes, it will be more severe, if you want it - put it this way - since Germany should not be allowed to rearm secretly as she did before. And it will be milder as the defeated enemy should not be regarded as an enemy any longer, and should be ruined.

not

It might be that the first news about the successes of Submarines ~~flattered and excited~~ the German patriotism - up to a certain degree... People, however, skeptical about every report coming from their government. ~~Mistrust~~ ...suppose exaggeration.. (This technique of exaggeration, by the way, not invented by Nazis. During Last War: Victories... and the collapse came as an awful surprise... The English: opposite tactic... Rather inclined to make under-statements... If Germans say: 10 enemy air planes shot down - we presume: perhaps five of them... If Winston Churchill informs House of Commons: "At least a quarter of not the third part of German U-Boat-Fleet destroyed...": we believe it...)" War will end by Christmas... this round (Jan. 1945)...

Underground, going on. New Conditions. More dangerous - and more promising...: dissatisfaction growing. Food-conditions; rationing; men in the street, women in the kitchen say: "How can one win a war by starting it that way?" (People realize: Russia - even provided that she would want to do so - could not supply... Trade with Balkans States does not increase, since the Reich is unable to pay either in cash or in goods... Nobody eager to make business, under such conditions...)

Dissatisfaction, in varied circles...

Women. (Food rationing. Sons and husbands.)

Industrials (Bolshevism. Fritz Thyssen - who helped financing Hitler - went to South America. Now in Paris and London...)

Generals. (Always believed Germany was not in the position to risk European war. Always had warned... The purge. Blomberg's marriage - which Henderson thinks decisive... Slightly exaggerated. Would have found other pretext... However: Ribbentrop's influence growing...)

Blomberg's tragedy. Mussolini as dictator... Sauer-Gestapo, Ad. Hitler on old Nazis... Resistance within party itself. Gobblers in disgrace. S.A. purge...

And, finally, Pact did not win over the Communists... They did not fraternize with the Nazis, but continued underground their war of

Working men = "soldiers of the home front". Their wages are going down...

MOTHER Anecdote.

Complicated. Growth, conversation on the part of Russian. Conception of Revolution from above. National Bolshevism without Hitler.

Russian fact. Stalin gained; has won the war. Exaggerated. Significant Dream - Story.

What propaganda hardly can pass : the
absolute lack of any consistency, any
constructive aim of the Nazis.

Propaganda — Power — nothing else.

Limit for Power as such.

" Dynamic " — empty.

Reinforcing gave birth formula :

Resolution of the Nihilism.

The so-called "aim" — nothing
but pretext : "propaganda-slogan".

~~"Only the Germans ..."~~ : a lie.

~~(Annihilation of ...)~~

Anti-Judaism — lie. (Pact. And even
before...)

Anti-Capitalism — lie. (Financed by
heavy industry.)

Defending Christianity — lie. (Persecuted it.)

Anti-Christian — another lie. (Never dared
to deny Christianity although...)

Anti-French ("Der Kampf" — a track.)
And to-day : Hitler the anti
enemy : French with others ...)

The Axis — a lie.

Even the racial slogan ... (Japanese =

Arms. — Even the Anti-Semitic hobby -

"which perhaps" the most sincere one ...)

The Greater Germany ... : "Only German! ..."
L... (C.S.R. - Poland.)
German Problem. (The don't care.
"Look at Switzerland")
German Colonial Space. (Sacrificing
"Gaily Practice, the Tyrol (etc.)

With: - April
by Nadin

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A FAMILY AGAINST A DICTATORSHIP

MY FATHER AND HIS WORK

THE TWO GERMANYS

SCHOOL OF HUMANITY

(Democracy and the Youth)

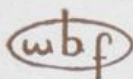
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a successful publication on the Houghton-Mifflin list, which tells the story of the German intellectuals in exile. They are now collaborating on a second book, to be published by Modern Age Books, Inc., which will answer the question, "Are the Germans Nazis?"

Prior to Hitler's rise to power, Klaus Mann lived in Germany, though he spent the time when he was not writing or acting in extensive travels in Europe, Siberia, the United States, Hawaii, Japan, China, and Africa. Since his voluntary exile from dictatorship, he devotes all his time to the fight for democracy. Without bitterness he delivers a message which is a vital one for our day—one in which all freedom-loving people have a definite stake.

JOINT LECTURES with ERIKA MANN

DICTATORSHIP'S CHALLENGE TO THE
DEMOCRACIES

CAN DEMOCRACY LIVE IN ISOLATION?
ARE THE GERMANS NAZIS?

5.7
"PRACTICALLY EVERYBODY," Dorothy Thompson says, "who stood for German culture is now a refugee." The Mann family, perhaps to a greater degree than any other person or group of persons in pre-Hitler Germany, was representative of the creative life of its nation and its time.

Outstanding in this noted family is Klaus Mann, who, at 32, has written travel books, plays, and novels, and also edited, from Amsterdam, what was one of the most significant literary reviews in post-war Europe. "Die Sammlung," around which many of the intellectual German exiles gathered, had as its English director, Aldous Huxley, and as its French director, Gide.

One of the most important younger writers of pre-Nazi Germany, Mr. Mann's writings include the novels, "Journey into Freedom," "Alexander," "The Fifth Child," "Mephisto," and "Symphonie Pathetique." "The Volcano," a novel dealing with international refugees, already published in German, will be translated into English in the near future. With his sister Erika, Klaus Mann wrote "Escape to Life,"

•
"It was indeed a splendid presentation which Klaus Mann gave our audience—so splendid that I hope the pleasure of repeating him on our program will be possible for us."—S. D. Schwartz, EMIL G. HIRSCH CENTER, Chicago, Ill.

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"Your talk was very inspiring and stimulating, and added tremendously to the fervor of the afternoon. . . . We sincerely hope that many more people will have the opportunity of hearing your message. It is indeed a clear and timely one." —Mrs. Leon Harris, WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT, N. Y.

•
"Klaus Mann gave us one of the best nights we ever had at the Forum. He kept a packed auditorium interested for over an hour in his main address, at the close of which he received a real ovation. He speaks English very well and has a charming personality." —David K. Niles, Director, FORD HALL FORUM, Boston, Mass.