

Verbundkatalog Kalliope

Union Now. <Preliminary title!> Tentative Story Line for a Motion Picture, in collaboration with Erika Mann and Clarence K. Streit.

**Mann, Klaus
Mann, Erika
Streit, Clarence K.**

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Union Now.

(Preliminary title!)

Tentative Story Line
for a Motion Picture

by

Klaus Mann,

in collaboration with
Erika Mann and Clarence K. Streit.

Was the present war inevitable?

That is the question millions of people in Europe, in America, in fact everywhere in the world are asking today. Even more imperative is their question: What will become of Europe - what will become of the world, once this war is over? A definitive solution of these problems is being demanded - and eagerly awaited: a genuine solution, once and for all. This is felt distinctly everywhere, strongest possibly in America. Millions of Americans are asking themselves today: Why did we send our troops to France, in 1917? Why did we decide the issue of the last war? Was it all in vain? Will Europe never settle down in peace? - Such doubts are today assailing numberless people. More important than anything else is the formulation of positive, constructive plans for a new organization of the world.

The purpose of this picture is not alone to depict the confusion in European conditions; nor to prove, once more, the guilt of some individual or group who may have been primarily responsible for such a state of affairs. Our film will strive to give dramatic form to a concrete suggestion for a Federation of European States, representing a basis and prerequisite for a later, more comprehensive international organization. Technological development has long

since stamped European nationalism and the institution of petty European states as anachronism. Moreover, they are highly dangerous anachronisms, for they inevitably lead to war after war, and eventually must bring about the self-destruction of Europe. This has long been comprehended by the majority of rational and civilized Europeans, as well as by the majority of ~~Germans~~ the German people, who today are suppressed and abused by the Nazi dictatorship.

We intend to show that this realistic ideal - the ideal of a European Federation - was actually on the verge of becoming a reality at a definite moment in history. But this moment, which was necessary and right, was grievously disturbed by the strengthening of German nationalism and the establishment of a Nazi dictatorship. At the same time, the best Germans have always known - and know more clearly today than ever - that the Third Reich can merely be an interlude, an ignominious episode in the history of the German people.

The action of the picture starts with a short Historical Prologue representing a condensed survey of a family's history through the centuries by showing some significant moments. -

First picture: At the end of the Thirty Years War, ^{- around 1650 -} when Germany is in a deplorable state of impoverishment and complete ruin, one member of the family decides to emigrate to the United States, "Land of the Unlimited Possibilities", while his brother prefers to settle somewhere in East Prussia, near Königsberg. They say goodbye to one another. They want to start a new life.

We follow, with a few parallel scenes, the different developments ^{m/} of the American and the Prussian branch of the family, (always recognizing the relationship between the estranged cousins thanks to some minor corporeal character - the peculiar form of the lower lip or the nose.) - We may watch the representative of the American

branch, in the early 17 th. Century, settled in New England or New Jersey, striving for liberty, making with his fellow-citizens his own state - while the Prussian cousin serves some petty German prince as an officer. Fifty years later, we see the American as he reads aloud to his family the Declaration of Independence; his Prussian relative has become a soldier of Frederick the Great. (The pictures of that Prussian king and George Washington may be shown as contrasts.)

- Another parallel (or contrast) scene: The American cousin is shown as one of the soldiers on guard when Lincoln gives the Gettysburg address. The Prussian, meanwhile, ~~he~~ has made his career as a lieutenant of Prince Otto von Bismarck. (Contrast: Lincoln-Bismarck; the American and the German Constitutions.)

The next historical "parallel scene" presents the two estranged cousins in 1914. The Prussian cousin, Herr von B., is enthusiastic about the outbreak of the War; sings patriotic songs ect. - while his remote relative ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ New York, Mr. B., seems worried and sorrowful. In 1917, however, the situation has changed. Mr. B. has gone to Europe, as ^{a private} ~~an ordinary soldier~~, "to make the world safe for Democracy." Captain von B. is at home, for some days on leave. We see him playing with his two little boys, Bruno and Ernst, and talking with his wife, Marie-Luise, an ~~austere~~ austere Prussian lady, daughter of a general. The Captain, after two-and-a-half years of active war service, begins to question the necessity of war in modern times and the truth of nationalistic slogans. His wife, however, an ardent patriot, contradicts. She firmly believes in Germany's mission "to rule the world." There is a rather violent discussion between the Captain and his wife. Bruno and Ernst watch the frightening scene without understanding it - : Ernst is sitting in his mother's lap, while Bruno stands close to his father.

The discussion of war and war aims goes on, some weeks later, between Captain von B. and his comrades, somewhere on the Western front. The Captain declares that, in his opinion, Germany ^{is doomed to} ~~has lost~~ the war since the United States has joined the Allies. His fellow-officers keenly ~~contradict~~ ^{disagree}. He moves away from them. Seated on his camp stool, he starts to jot down a few notes in his diary. His comrades laugh at him; but he justifies his scribbling by saying that his diary means a lot to him.

"I want my two boys to read it when I am no longer here. For I have a feeling that I shall never get out of this gruesome war alive..."

Shocked at the vehemence of this outburst, the other officers warn him against putting on paper the confused, fantastic, even seditious ideas he occasionally utters. Otherwise, he might get into trouble... To this the Captain replies that he is no longer afraid of anything. More essential to him than anything else is that his sons should be informed of his thoughts and ideas after his death. In his opinion, this war is a ghastly anachronism, a European civil war. This insight has come to him, a Prussian officer, through his horrible experiences at the front.

"From now on," he declares to his amazed colleagues, "any sacrifices we make can only be purposeful if the war leads to a unification of ~~all~~ all European states, to a closer collaboration between Europe and America, and, consequently, to a permanent peace." He adds that the United States of America should serve as a model for a torn Europe...

While he is talking, the infernal artillery fire starts up again and drowns out his pleading, warning voice. As a momentary vision, we see, on the other side of the front, the Captain's unknown American

cousin, Mr. B. , among the soldiers of the American artillery, shooting against the German lines...

Two years later: Berlin, 1919. We are in the home of Captain B. who has met a hero's death. In the living room his picture, framed in mourning black, occupies a prominent place on the wall. We watch Frau von B. reading her late husband's diary. She is shocked, puzzled, disgusted. She considers to burn the rebellious notes; but a remnant of natural piety prevents her from doing so. She hides the diary in the desk. Then she calls her sons, Bruno and Ernst, two half-grown lads. She explains to them, in a solemn little speech, that they always must venerate their father's memory; that the Captain ardently believed in the final victory of the Fatherland, up to the last moment of his life; that Germany did not really lose the war but was meanly betrayed by "the red criminals" who have made this horrid revolution; and that it is the boys' sacred duty to revenge their father's death and Germany's humiliation upon the diabolic enemies, "inside our own country and abroad."

The older son, Ernst, obviously is convinced and inspired by his mother's appeal. Bruno, however, reacts quite differently. He, too, had idolized his father and had loved him dearly. But he asks himself: Was his death inevitable? Did it have to be? And he takes an oath: It shall never happen again!

The developments of the contrasting tendencies and temperaments of the brothers is shown in a few short, characteristic episodes. First we see them as pupils in a reactionary Prussian military academy. There, the instructors preach the gospel of revenge upon the French, the "arch-enemy", and upon "perfidious Albion", "faithless Italy", and America, "country of the dollar-crazy business men, ruthlessly exploiting the European tragedy." The cadets - most of

them are sons of officers - enthusiastically approve of these preachments. There are only two among them - young Bruno and another lad with whom he had made friends - who feel doubts and qualms. This other boy, Karl, is the son of very poor people, and cherishes vague though vehement revolutionary ideas. The two friends have lengthy, secret conversations, discussing with a great deal of naïveté and passion the fundamental problems of Peace, Social Justice ect. One of the instructors surprises them at one of their nocturnal meetings. He has to chide them; but he turns ^{out} to be a nice enough, very understanding young fellow himself. He comes from the French part of Switzerland, and is active in the military academy as a teacher for the French language. The two lads explain him what they were discussing, and the young teacher ^{grows} ~~gets~~ interested. He ^{invites} ~~asks~~ them to have hot chocolate with him, on Sunday afternoon, and in a little Konditorei, all three of them - Bruno, Karl, and the young Swiss teacher - continue the interrupted discussion. As for the young teacher, he firmly believes in the idea of the United States of Europe. He thinks, little Switzerland - where people of four different nationalities are living and working together peacefully - may serve as a pattern to a Europe that is exhausted, almost ruined by a senseless war. Both his young listeners agree, although Bruno feels the future international organization should be more comprehensive, world-wide, not limited to Europe alone - while Karl emphasizes the principal significance of the social angle. Before they separate, the young teacher implores them not to repeat anything he had said to their fellow-~~me~~ cadets. "You know how reactionary and narrow-minded people are in this institute! I would lose my job if they ~~know~~ ever find out what I'm thinking about their nationalistic slogans..."

Bruno and Karl conceal their new friendship with the young instructor. But one day, in a sentimental mood, Bruno confides to his

brother the thrilling secret. (They have just received a letter from ~~her~~ their mother, with a photo of their father's enclosed.) Ernst, however, denounces his brother, his friend Karl and the Swiss instructor to the Colonel, ~~the~~ highest authority of the military academy. This is the scandal. The two boys as well as the teacher have to leave the institute without delay.

Frau von B. is furious. This means shame and humiliation to her dignified family - ect. She intends to punish her wicked son by sending him to a much more severe school, somewhere in East Prussia. The boy, however, escapes; reaches Hamburg - and gets a job as a dish washer on one of the German liners. He did not succeed in ~~establishing~~ finding out where his friend Karl had gone. The last word he received before sailing, comes from the Swiss teacher, who wires him from Geneva: "~~Be courageous~~ Courage! The world is open to you..."

At New York, the Statue of Liberty welcomes him - and then, a bench in Central Park; poverty... He walks around, looking for a job; we see him starving, almost in despair. Finally he meets a fellow of about his own age, and makes friends with him. He has the same name as Bruno, and turns out to be his remote cousin: the representative of the "American branch." (The/ two young men also have in common the minor family-character - ~~lower-lip-like~~ the peculiar form of lower lip or nose.) - Tom B. introduces his new friend, Bruno von B., to his family. Through Tom's father, Mr. B., - whom we have seen, many ~~years~~ ago, on the Western front - Bruno gets a job. He falls in love with Tom's sister, Florence, who is a bright girl, attending sociological and political courses. She intends to become a journalist, and as time goes on we can watch, through the medium of her conversations, her ~~me~~ reading and observations, the major developments of world/ affairs during those post-war years. Florence disapproves

(of America's not-joining the League of Nations,
of the Versailles Treaty, and foretells a new and threatening increase
of German nationalism as a consequence of the defeat. Mr. B. asks:
"Why, then, did we go to Europe? We hoped for a better world, at the
end of this horrid war..."

Bruno, meanwhile, has re-established certain contacts with his
European friends. He has even made peace with his mother and his
brother Ernst, who praises in his letter the "new patriotic spirit"
of German youth. We see a few characteristic episodes of Ernst's
development. After having finished his training in the military
academy, he joins various semi-military organizations, such as the
"Black Reichswehr" ect. Though he is only a youth, he takes part in
the battles in the Baltic. Later he participates in the anti-French
sabotage acts in the Ruhr, and later - with other young nationalists -
becomes mixed up in a murder plot, the victim of which is Minister
Walter Rathenau. The mild judges of the Weimar Republic, however,
condemn Ernst von B. merely to one year in a fairly comfortable
fortress. - As for the young Swiss teacher, he has become a devoted
and active follower of the Pan-European movement. He gives special
courses to propagate his ideal. We see the young instructor passion-
ately and thoroughly expounding to his students the idea of a
Federation of European States. By means of maps he shows that
European frontiers were never stable, never permanent demarcations,
but were always in a state of flux and change. - "It is the special
mission of a conquered, guilt-laden Germany," - he says - , "to set
the magnificent example of renouncing its own national egoism in the
interest of a far more comprehensive goal." - The zealous speaker
then quotes from several German classics to prove that the greatest
minds have always occupied themselves with the idea of a League
of European States.

He welcomes the League of Nations - and, especially, Germany's

~~joining~~
joining this institution - as a first step toward a more comprehensive organization. He attends some of the great meetings at Geneva, where he listens to the conciliatory speeches of Aristide Briand and Gustav Stresemann. The final overcoming of the traditional antagonism between France and Germany seems to be well under way. There are good reasons for being hopeful and optimistic...

Karl, on his turn, has become a militant, radical communist. He, too, is in correspondence with his old pal Bruno. Karl assures, in his letters as well as in his speeches, that the only possible solution must come from the Bolshevistic revolution. The class struggle is the one decisive factor in world history, while the political rivalry between "imperialistic states" means only a secondary consideration. Karl worships Lenin and his follower, Stalin, as Ernst von B. and his comrades worship the leader of German nationalism and racial intolerance, Adolf Hitler.

In Germany, after the death of Gustav Stresemann, the nationalistic, anti-European movement steadily becomes stronger and more menacing. Hitler's star is in the ascendant. The friends of civilization, peace and freedom sense the seriousness of the situation. They fully realize: Now is the time to act - or everything will be lost! Union now - or the catastrophe cannot be averted!

Bruno's Swiss friend and several other men in political and intellectual spheres organize a large meeting at Berlin to publicize the idea of a European Federation and to make it comprehensible to the masses. They keenly invite Bruno and his young American wife, Florence, to join this conference. They especially want Florence von B. to appear as a representative of the American youth. Her presence at the Berlin meeting would prove - the Swiss teacher writes - that the young people in the U.S. realize the crucial importance of the

European problem and are willing to collaborate on its solution.

The young couple hesitate: Can they refuse so urgent an invitation? Florence has a nice position on a big New York paper. But her boss flatly declines to send her as a special correspondent to the Paneurope conference: the event, in his opinion, does not have enough "news value." Bruno, however, urges her to accept. As for him, he is willing to give up his job for the sake of this trip which seems most important to him. He feels that, just now, very much if not everything is at stake, for Germany, for Europe, for the world. He declares, emphatically: "I cannot go on living here, and making some money and having a good time, while 'on the other side', in my old country, matters of decisive significance are going to be decided..." Florence agrees. Her father, however, definitely disapproves of their plan. His great disappointment of the European developments have led him, more and more, to a strictly isolationist attitude. "Those European troubles are not of our business!" etc. He thinks America should not get involved anymore in European affairs. "They have fooled us once - that's enough! May they make their Pan-europe - if they can - , or may they go to the dogs. I am not interested..." Florence has to remind him of the fact that his own family, too, came from Germany, centuries ago. Finally the young people succeed in persuading him. He agrees to their voyage - although half-grudgingly - and even gives them some money; for he wants "the children" to make a nice tour through Europe, - : "since you insist on visiting that crazy, doomed continent..." Brother Tom sees the young couple off. He would like to come along with them. But his sense of duty - and his father's will - oblige him to stick to his job. He is a sober, realistic, average young American^{m/}, who hardly shares the keen interest his sister and brother-in-law ~~were~~ taking in world affairs. Yet he admires his sister, and defends her point of view against the father.

~~I guess those confused European matters really are pretty important to~~

The young couple tour Europe on a sort of belated wedding trip. Bruno shows his wife London, Paris, Vienna, and Rome; the beauties of Southern France, the Swiss mountains, and the Bavarian lakes. They visit Holland and the Scandinavian countries before going to Berlin. The grandiose, immeasurably rich and vari-colored panorama of the European scene passes before our eyes. Bruno says enthusiastically:

"All this multiformity is really an historical, a cultural and a geographical unity. The various parts of Europe would not lose their national character if they were united. But if unification is postponed much longer, all the nations of Europe will collapse in a common catastrophe. The mortal enemy of European civilization is rigid, egoistic, anachronistic nationalism."

Bruno and Florence arrive ~~in~~ at Berlin, just in time to attend the great meeting. We witness, in their company, several gatherings; hear delegates from various countries; see the joyful reaction of the Berlin crowd. The French speaker assures that there are no bitter feelings toward Germany anymore in his country. The spokesman of a group of Scandinavian workers declares that the social problem can only be solved within a framework that includes all Europe. This is an opportunity for Karl, the communist - who is among the listeners - to heckle the speaker, emphasizing his own point of view, the class struggle... The intelligent workingman, however, insists on the primacy of an international organization which should precede any attempt of creating a new social order.

Florence's appearance and the warm, honest speech she delivers, make the strongest impression. She brings the greetings and ardent wishes from her American friends, and assures her audience that the progressive, intelligent circles in the U.S. are very keenly concerned with European affairs and the crucial problem of European unification. A speaker from the audience wants to know why America

had failed to join the League of Nations. Florence tries to explain the American trend toward Isolation, created by bitter disappointment about the moral failure of the World War. "But a younger generation tries to overcome this sterile bitterness," she exclaims. "We believe in international solidarity as we have grappled this essential truth: that Peace and Civilization are indivisible. A new catastrophe in Europe would inevitably produce political and social chaos all over the world. We have realized that the inspiring principle of Union Now is the only possibility to save civilization - this principle understood in its double sense: meaning that 1.) the European States must establish some sort of Union among themselves; 2.) that the United States of America and Europe have to come to a closer collaboration."

Florence's message has a stimulating and encouraging effect upon the participants of the meeting.

What goes on behind the scenes of this Congress is even more significant. Conferences on the establishment of a European customs union, a strong international judiciary, and a supra-national army have already gone much further than the public is aware of. The initiators of the Congress are in discreet communication with certain members of the German Republican government and with representatives of the progressive elements in the army. Delegates from other governments and religious organizations arrive; (the religious angle, the Christian element in this internationalistic ideology may be strongly emphasized.) Experts confer. We see airplanes come and go; approval given to this and that; telephone conversations between different European capitals; negotiations carried on at the conference table; maps, statistics, figures... The great idea seems near realization; the dream is about to be fulfilled. Utopia becomes almost reality.

Florence, meanwhile, has a phone conversation with the chief editor of her New York newspaper; (the very man who considered the Paneurope

meeting "poor news.") Now, however, Florence's inspired eloquence - and the imposing facts she has to offer - convince him that this is really "a big affair", and deserves not merely ~~all kind of~~ great publicity but even the actual help of the American people. He comes in contact with other influential men in New York and Washington. Bankers, senators, labour leaders, bishops, the presidents of great clubs and organizations get interested. The joyful, hopeful excitement in the European centers seems to be contagious: It swiftly spreads over the Atlantic...

Suddenly, the frightening picture of the "Führer", of the nationalistic agitator, breaks in upon the scene. He does not agitate for Europe, but for an autarchic "Greater Germany", and for the revenge for the lost war. He incites and lies and bewitches the masses. Many of the youth, especially, are intoxicated by his fantastic promises. Among the most enthusiastic followers of the "Führer" is Ernst von B. We recognize him in the black uniform of an S.S. trooper.

break
Under Ernst's command, a group of S.A. and S.S. troopers brutally ^{up} the last, solemn meeting of the Paneuropean Conference. Paradoxically - and yet logically enough, Karl and his communist comrades join the Nazi mob in disturbing the gathering. The orthodox left wing radicals and the Nazis fight side on side, against those who stand for the ideas of Peace and Democracy.

Thereupon, the brothers, Ernst and Bruno, have a violent quarrel. Their words and their voices express their mutual hatred and contempt. In the course of Ernst's long, passionate tirade - (he is by no means to be presented as a dumbbell or a brute) - , he brings forth all the arguments and ~~and~~ slogans in favor of his nationalistic ideology. No less passionately does Bruno advance his convictions and hopes. At length, Florence gets mixed up in the quarrel. Her brother-in-law, Ernst, insults her and the land of her birth. "Those greedy business men

in the United States," - he shouts - , "have only one interest in Europe's tragedy - to make money out of it..." His outburst of hate reaches a climax when he applies to her what Hitler said about America in "Mein Kampf." He finally dares the prophecy that in America, too, matters will change, and the idea of the totalitarian, authoritarian State will come out victorious, all over the world. "We have our agents everywhere, even in the United States. Powerful organizations, such as the Bund, are constantly working, agitating for us. Your rotten, decadent Democracy is doomed. The future belongs to the Germanic race and to Adolf Hitler."

Florence is shocked, disgusted, bitterly disappointed with the Germans. She had come to Germany with the best intentions ⁱⁿ ~~of~~ the world, and then - this reception! (Frau von B. even refuses to meet her daughter-in-law: "Americans have killed my heroic husband. I don't want to shake hands with one of them...") - Florence, in a spasm of bitterness and grief, finally cries out: "They're nothing but Huns - that's the truth..." Bruno earnestly defends his country. Not everyone is like his violent brother and his ignorant mother; and even they act from sincere conviction. But millions of others are politically more mature. "Don't you remember the radiant faces, the enthusiastic shouts at our Congress? And by patient work, millions of others can be educated to espouse the rational and the good. Especially in Germany we must campaign for our ideals..." And he persuades her to remain with him in Berlin. She obtains ~~the~~ her chief's agreement to work in the German capital as a second correspondent of the New York paper - while Bruno finds a job as a minor, poorly paid secretary of the Berlin branch of the Paneuropean Organization. He specializes himself as a public speaker, addressing, above all, the poor and the youth.

They remain in Berlin while the fate of Germany is ~~dis~~astrously

sealed. Tirelessly, the young people warn German workers, German students German mothers that "National Socialism" will spell their doom. We witness crashes between them who courageously preach their pacifistic, international gospel, and the incited adherents of aggressive nationalism^m.

Florence has a vehement argument with her own mother-in-law, whom she ^{meets} in some women's club. ~~she addresses~~ Frau von B. first ignores that the target of her bitter attacks happens to be her own daughter-in-law. She weeps with shame and horror when she finally finds it out.

- As for Bruno, he has ardent discussion and fights not only with his Nazi foes, but also with left opponents. His old friend Karl chides him as "a traitor of the revolutionary cause, a dangerous reactionary, a wicked semi-Fascist," ect. "Would I get a job through your wonderful Paneurope?" shouts Karl. Whereupon Bruno calmly replies: "Probably you would." Karl, however, insists that radical socialism, "the dictatorship of the proletariat" is the only sound and lasting solution. And, using almost exactly the same words Ernst von B. had used, he promises: "We shall change the world! Rotten, decadent Democracy is doomed..." Instead of the "chosen Germanic race" he considers "the proletariat" is the coming ruler. He loathes the Nazis; however, he shares with them the furious hatred of Democracy. Occasionally, Nazis and Communists fight side on side, as they did when they tried to break up the Paneurope Conference. On other occasions, however, they are fighting against each other. Florence's cables to her New York paper become increasingly sorrowful and alarming. The cruel truth is that Germany is on the edge of a civil war... ^(in New York) Old Mr. B. cannot help feeling a sort of embittered satisfaction and gloomy triumph when he studies his daughter's pessimistic Berlin dispatches. "Didn't I tell her, things would turn this way? There it is, her magnificent Paneurope! A dirty mess - that's what Europe is, in reality. Fortunately, we Americans have nothing to do with it. ~~Head-ache!~~" And we better keep out when they get into trouble again, over there..."

Finally, on January 30, 1933, Florence has to cable the decisive news of Hitler's sensational rise to supreme power. Brother Ernst, in his attractive black uniform, is radiantly happy as he marches along in the torchlight parade in ^{honor} ~~order~~ of the new Chancellor. Frau von B. shouts "Heil Hitler", with millions of other German men, women, and children. She is exceedingly proud of having a son "among those brave lads of the S.S." For the first time since 1918, she is really happy.

So on thereafter - at the very night when the Reichstag burns - the wave of terrorism begins. Bruno's name appears on the black-list. His brother, in a sudden mood of generosity, warns him that he is to be arrested. (Bruno has left the United States just a year before the date of his becoming a citizen. Consequently he is still considered a German subject. ~~The same~~ This is true also for his wife, who has become a German citizen "by marriage.") At the last moment, both of them manage to escape. Karl, however, is arrested by Nazi authorities; with utmost courage and patience he stands tortures and scorn from sadistic ruffians. In all his agony, he thinks of Lenin, Stalin, the Third International, the future dictatorship of the proletariat - as a Christian martyr, tortured by Roman soldiers, may have thought of Jesus, the Mother of the Lord, the Saints, and the promised paradise.

Bruno and Florence are homelessly errant through the countries of Europe. Bruno could return to America, and his wife very urgently wants him to do so. But he feels that his place is near the frontiers of Germany, where so many of his friends are suffering ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ concentration camps. He wants to watch and - if possible - to influence the events and developments within the Third Reich. He is eager to keep his contacts with the German anti-Nazi underground movement. It is Karl who smuggles out of the camp some sensational and horrifying news about Nazi methods and Nazi aims. Bruno and ~~Ernst~~ have seemingly found

Karl

a new moral ground for political collaboration. The profound abhorrence of Hitlerism they have in common, connects, once more, the former friends, the former foes...

Florence ~~was~~ lost her job with the New York paper, as her boss had decided: "There are too many horror stories in the American papers. It becomes a bore, in the long run. No news value." - They are poor. For a while, they enjoy the hospitality of Bruno's old friend, the Swiss teacher. They happily live in his little house on the Lake of Geneva, near that Palace where Briand and Stresemann used to discuss a better future of Europe... They are not allowed, however, to stay in Switzerland longer than a few months. We see them in Prague, in Amsterdam, in Paris, doing humble work, sometimes even starving. Florence shares, without ever complaining, bitterness and hardships of exile. Her father ceased to send her money, after having implored her to come back. Even Tom, her brother, is upset and angry about her stay in Europe. He advises her: "Come back, and bring Bruno along! There is plenty work for both of you in this country. We have our own difficulties, our own hopes. Why do you waste your time and energy in Europe?" But she answers him: "I understand - and I appreciate your point of view. I realize the tremendous significance of American affairs. I cannot believe, however, there will be peace on earth and a solid hope for a decent life, unless we succeed in establishing peace and lasting order in Europe."

Finally Bruno finds a job in a provincial French university, as a teacher for the German language. Florence is active in the same institute, lecturing on English and American literature. They make friends with several colleagues; especially with a young Frenchman, professor of history; an Italian exile, and an Englishman. These four representatives of the major European nations and the American woman form something like a miniature league of nations. Sometimes, the Swiss teacher shows up, and participates in their zealous discussions about the future

European State, its relations to America, the most promising means to avoid ~~the~~ war, to fight Hitler ect. Again and again, Bruno has to hear and to answer this question: "How is it possible that the German people accept and tolerate this monstrous régime?" Bruno tries to explain that many Germans, if not the majority of them, suffer under the Hitler dictatorship; but that any attempt of revolution is doomed - as long as Hitler has and ruthlessly uses the actual power, the weapons. But the others insist: "Those men who wear the uniforms and use the weapons - they are human beings too, after all. What do they feel, those S.A. and S.S. men, those Reichswehr soldiers and boys from the Hitler Youth, when they get orders to persecute helpless Jews, to commit atrocities against political, religious, or political minorities?" Then Bruno hardly knows what to answer. For he is puzzled, alarmed, perplexed himself -: What do they feel? - And he thinks of his brother...

Ernst has made a nice career in the Third Reich. At the same time he has begun to see things as they are. The first joyous intoxication is over. We see his disappointment and dissatisfaction gradually and steadily mounting. His only comfort is that the "Führer" himself doesn't know about all the evils that exist. That is why, in ~~August~~ ^{summer} 1939, he is still convinced there will be no war. For Hitler had promised to achieve by peaceful means everything that a "Greater Germany" may need. Yet he goes through a crisis of doubts and qualms. In the company of Karl - who had been released from the concentration camp as he faked being converted to Nazism - he listens to the illegal news broadcast by the "Freedom" radio station - which he had never bothered about previously - , and learns a number of things. Frau von B. , however, surprises the two young men while they are hearing the forbidden news. She definitely disapproves of such dubious doings, and reminds

her son of "what he owes to the memory of his heroic father." The legend of the Captain's ardent patriotism and military glory still dominates the family life...

The Berlin-Moscow Pact comes as a tremendous shock to Frau von B. and her son as well as to Karl. They are depressed and bewildered, though for different reasons. Karl, for the first time in his life, feels certain qualms about Stalin's supreme wisdom and reliability - while mother and son, for the first time, begin to waver in their faith in Adolf Hitler's mission. For Frau von B. had regarded the "Führer", above all, as a formidable bulwark against the "red danger", that "Jewish-Asiatic conspiracy of beastly murderers" - Bolshevism... How can she grasp the confusing news of the Soviets, all of a sudden, being the Reich's friend and ally?

While the German troops are on the march to Poland, Ernst and his friends think it is merely a "policing expedition", not a European war. The declarations of war ~~from~~^{by} France and England are at first concealed from the German people. The realization that Nazi-Germany is at war with the civilized world belatedly reaches ~~reaches~~ the people and strikes home like a thunderclap. Ernst von B. is ordered to the West Front to fight against the French. He obeys without enthusiasm. Even his patriotic mother feels sorrowful. She recalls certain utterances she had heard, many years ago, from her husband when she saw him, for the last time... She regrets having told so many lies to her sons about the father's attitude and convictions. Perhaps he was not so very much mistaken, after all... What did he really believe in? Wasn't there something like a diary or last will, found among his belongings? She searches the dusty drawers. She finds the diary. And she reads...

The night before he has to leave for the West Front, Ernst surprises his mother in the Captain's studio - which was not used for

for a long time. She tries to hide the compromising document - too late; he has seen it. He spends his last night at home reading his father's warnings and the prophecies.

This is the beginning of Ernst's transformation.

In France, meanwhile, Bruno is in an overwhelming dilemma. As a pacifist and Pan-European he despises war; as a German, the idea of fighting his own country-men is almost unbearable. Yet he also realizes what the war is about and what must be its aims. He has long known that lasting peace in Europe and the world cannot be organized so long as Hitler remains in power. After a few hours of painful wavering, he makes up his mind and leaves his modest home to walk to the city hall. He has decided to put himself to the disposal of French authorities, as a soldier or for any other sort of job they may consider adequate for him. While he rushes through the streets of the small French town, however, some people recognize him, and they ~~scream~~ shout at him: "Sale boche! Voilà le sale boche!"

This is too much, he can't stand it. He spent his life by fighting German nationalism - and this is the response! He collapses, cries, ~~speaks~~ ^{talks} of suicide. This time it is Florence who has to comfort him - as he comforted her when she was insulted, in Berlin. "You have to take it," she says. "It's just a misunderstanding. They are ignorant people, and they are embittered, furious because they must go to the war. They wanted no war - they loathe it. But German aggressiveness forced them to leave their wives and children... They forget that there is another Germany, and that people like you represent it." She reminds him of the promise he once made her, that Europe must be free and united like the United States of America. "That is the severe path that leads to our great goal."

Encouraged and comforted by his wife, he remains calm and quiet, even when the French officials appear to arrest him. There is order from Paris - they explain - to arrest every German citizen in France, at least for the time being... But his friends from the university succeed in liberating him, already after 24 hours. They have given their words of honour to the authorities that Bruno is a reliable, liberal man, and not a German spy. Moreover, the French professor, who has good connections in Paris, ~~has~~ obtains a special permit for Bruno to join an International Legion in the French army, where Germans in principle are not admitted. We see Bruno in the uniform of a French poilu; Florence in the white costume of a nurse.

He is seriously wounded in a battle with the Germans. With a few comrades he takes refuge in a bullet-riddled peasant hut hidden in a small thicket. The little group is an International Society of motley types. There is a Frenchman, an Englishman, a Czech, an Italian, a Pole, a Spaniard, a Russian - all volunteers. Some of them are wounded; all are exhausted,

They welcome enthusiastically the arrival of Florence, who has succeeded in finding out her husband's hiding place, half by good luck, half led by the instinct of love. The soldiers greedily drink the tea and the wine she offers them; while they are relaxing and chattering - in many different idioms - Bruno is busy reading the letters Florence had just received from "home" - from America. Her father, this time, seems to be impressed and touched by his daughter's courage and determination - although he still disapproves of her opinions. Yet he wishes her the best - and so does brother Tom, who adds that he admires her and fully understands her point of view. "Perhaps you are right," he writes. "I guess ~~you are~~ there is really something at stake, in this war, which concerns all of us."

One of the soldiers suddenly sees a troop of Germans approaching. He and his comrades are about to shoot when the Germans wave a white flag. They are deserters. Ernst and Karl are among them.

The hostile brothers, the estranged friends meet again; and for the first time in their lives, they understand each other. They talk - and it is Ernst who says things his father has thought and written twenty three years ago. Bruno asks him: "How did you discover these truths?" And the brother shows him their father's diary, which he has cherished as a talisman. The brothers crouch low on the shell-torn earth, and they start to read - slowly at first; each to himself; then their voices are heard in unison. About them crowds the groups of international soldiers. Fundamentally, they ~~are~~ all have the same hopes, the same aims, the same future. For their aims and their hopes to be fulfilled, tyrants and demagogues must be destroyed. Karl declares

"I confess that I was mistaken. It is not one class or one country that ^{can} ~~should~~ lead mankind to happiness; but the good will, the peaceful collaboration of all countries, all classes." - Says Ernst von B. :
"I was mistaken. There are no chosen races or chosen leaders. There only are human beings. They should stick together..."

Towards the end of the picture, we see a vision of a happier future, emerging from a flood of tears and blood. The reasonable, necessary Union finally is established, between the different European States and between Europe and America. For mankind is undoubtedly destined to advance towards ever larger, broader, more comprehensive groupings: from jungle hordes to a World Republic.

The late Prussian Captain quoted in his diary a striking word he once found in a book by the English author H.G. Wells:

"Nationalism as a God must follow the tribal gods to limbo.

Our true nationality is mankind."

51
6
THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Tentative Story Line
for a Motion Picture

by

KLAUS MANN

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This is a tentative, fragmentary outline of a film dealing with the theme of a United States of Europe. The fundamental thought, as well as many details of this sketch are based on conversations I have had with my father. Thomas Mann has often expressed enthusiasm at the potentialities of such a film; and he would co-operate in and lend the moral authority of his name to such an undertaking. Furthermore, there are a number of works which deal profoundly with the problem of a Pan-Europe. But the constructive suggestions they contain have not been taken into consideration in this outline. I may mention, for example, the books of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, founder of the Pan-Europe movement, and "Union Now", a very substantial contribution by the American, Clarence K. Streit.

The last movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony would furnish an impressive musical motif for the proposed Pan-Europe film.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Was the present war inevitable? That is the question millions of people in Europe, in America, in fact everywhere in the world are asking today. Even more imperative is their question: What will become of Europe, once this war is over? A definitive solution of the problem of Europe is being demanded - and eagerly awaited: a genuine solution, once and for all. It is necessary to conquer Hitler, but that is not enough. This is felt distinctly everywhere, strongest possibly in America. Millions of Americans are asking themselves today: Why did we send our troops to France in 1917? Why did we decide the issue of the last war? Was it all in vain? Will Europe never settle down to peace? - Such doubts are today assailing numberless persons. More important than anything else at this time is the formulation of positive constructive plans for a new organization of the world.

The purpose of this picture is not alone to depict the confusion in European conditions; nor to prove the guilt of some individual who may have been primarily responsible for such a state of affairs. Our film will strive to give dramatic form to a concrete suggestion for a Federation of European States, an idea perennially

fascinating and as yet unfulfilled, and to make that idea plausible to a world public. Technological development has long since stamped European nationalism and the institution of petty European states as anachronisms. Moreover, they are highly dangerous anachronisms, for they inevitably lead to war after war, and eventually must bring about the self-destruction of Europe. This has long been comprehended by the majority of rational and civilized Europeans, as well as by the majority of Germans. Our picture will aim to show that the majority of the German people who today are suppressed and abused by a Nazi dictatorship, are indeed willing and capable of becoming active members of a European family of nationals. We intend to show that this realistic ideal - the ideal of a European Federation - was actually on the verge of becoming a reality at a definite moment in history. But this movement, which was necessary and right, was grievously disturbed by the strengthening of German nationalism and the establishment of a Nazi dictatorship. At the same time, the best Germans have always known - and know more clearly today than ever - that the Third Reich can merely be an interlude, an ignominious episode in the history of the German people and of Europe. The aggressiveness of the Hitler regime has led to catastrophic events which will not retard the development of a United Europe, but perhaps even hasten its realization.

The Am. relation, on the 11th
11th, 1914-18.

- 4 -

The action of the picture starts with a scene in the first world war of 1914-18. On a hilly lookout somewhere at the front, or in some other exposed position, a few German officers are conversing during a short lull in hostilities. They are discussing the war situation. One of them, Captain von Z., moves away from his comrades. Seated on his camp stool, he starts to jot down a few notes in his diary. His comrades laugh at him; but he justifies his scribbling by saying that his diary means a lot to him.

"I want my two sons to read it when I am no longer here. For I have a feeling that I shall never get out of this gruesome war alive..."

Shocked at the vehemence of his outburst, the other officers warn him against putting on paper the confused, fantastic and unpatriotic ideas he occasionally utters. Otherwise, he might get into trouble...To this the Captain replies that he is no longer afraid of anything. More important to him than anything else is that his sons should be informed of his thoughts and ideas after his death. In his opinion, this war is a ghastly anachronism, a European civil war. This insight has come to him, a Prussian officer, through his horrible experiences at the front.

"From now on," he declares to his amazed brother officers, "any sacrifices we make can only be purposeful

if the war leads to a unification of all European states and consequently to a permanent peace." He tells his comrades that the United States of America should serve as a model for a torn Europe. "My wife is an American!" he exclaims proudly. His comrades caution him: "Be careful! Possibly America too will soon be among our enemies..." He replies: "Then Germany is lost..." And in a low voice he adds: "But perhaps the collapse of the German Empire may mean the beginning of a new Europe..."

While he is talking, the infernal artillery fire starts up again and drowns out his pleading, warning voice.

Two years later: Berlin, 1919. We are in the home of Captain von Z., who has met a hero's death. In the living room his picture, framed in mourning black, occupies a prominent place on the wall. In front of the picture: his two half-grown sons, Ernst and Bruno, with their American mother.

From the conversation of the young sons, we learn that during the war the family had suffered many unpleasantnesses because of their mother's descent. The older son reacts to this - the foreign blood of his mother - and to the death of his beloved father and the defeat of the Reich, with a tremendously heightened and intensified

sense of nationality. He is filled with a passion for revenge, the need to avenge the death of his father and thus wipe out the disgrace of the family (his non-German mother's blood) as well as that of his country.

The younger son, Bruno, reacts quite differently to the same set of circumstances. He, too, had idolized his father and is now profoundly moved by his death. But he asks himself: Was this inevitable? Did it have to be? And he takes an oath: It shall never happen again!

This gives rise to the first childish quarrel between the brothers. Their mother tries to reconcile them.

The development of the contrasting tendencies and temperaments of the brothers is shown in a few short, characteristic episodes. First we see them as pupils in a reactionary Prussian military academy. There, the instructors preach the gospel of revenge upon the French, the "traditional enemy", and upon "perfidious Albion", etc. The cadets, most of them are sons of officers, enthusiastically approve of these preachments. Young Bruno alone is beset with doubts that grow stronger as time goes on. He is impelled to put them into words when one of the military instructors states point-blank in class: the purpose of all training and education is to prepare for another war. At that, Bruno openly rebels and gets

into a quarrel. He becomes involved in a vicious fist-fight with a number of his fellow pupils. His brother Ernst calls him to account and says that through his behavior he has disgraced the memory of their father's heroic death.

Bruno runs away from the military academy. His mother then sends him to a progressive gymnasium in Berlin. One of the teachers at this modern school is a convinced pacifist and a believer in Pan-Europe. Wounded in the war, the instructor had experienced the horrors and recognized the futility of war. Bruno is fascinated by the personality and the ideas of this teacher. But at home, where the pictures of Bismarck and the Kaiser still decorate the walls, he nevertheless has twinges of conscience. He wonders what his father would say to all this?

Bruno locks himself in his father's study, gazes at the picture of the departed a long time. Then the lad rummages through the drawers of his father's desk, finds his last testament - the diary written at the front. Eagerly Bruno reads on and on and discovers full confirmation of the words his favorite professor had uttered that very morning. His mother surprises him as he is reading. After reprimanding him gently because of his indiscretion, she supports him in the ideas, that are

beginning to take form in his mind. "I have never talked to you about these things," she tells him. "I had to be reticent, I didn't want to influence you. I love Germany as my second home, in spite of all the terrible things I have experienced here...your father was always a good German, but in the end he, too, became a good European..." And she tells the lad about his father and the change he had undergone. Before the war she had been in America with his father and there it was he learned to understand what strength is derived from unison. And she tells him about her native country, America..." Europe must become like that also!" vows the son of the Prussian officer.

We see the progressive young instructor passionately and thoroughly expounding to his students the idea of a Federation of European States. By means of maps he shows that European frontiers were never stable, never permanent demarcations, but were always in a state of flux and change. In an exciting talk he presents moral, economic and political arguments in support of the unification of all European peoples in a League of States. Only by the formation of such a League can permanent peace be established.

"It is the special mission of a conquered, guilt-laden Germany to set the magnificent example of renouncing

its own national egoism in the interest of a far more comprehensive goal."

The zealous instructor then quotes from several German classics to prove that the greatest minds have always occupied themselves with the idea of a League of European States.

In contrast to this is Ernst's training in the spirit of a militant nationalism. At the military academy, the young German Republic is venomously attacked; the "Dictate of Versailles" is constantly held up to the young students as a national dishonor which must be expunged by another war.

Ernst joins several semi-military nationalistic organizations. Hardly past adolescence, he is admitted to the "Black National Defense Organization"; and though he is only a youth, he takes part in the battles in the Baltic.

Bruno has studied economics and political science. With a few comrades who share his point of view, he organizes several democratic, Pan-European student groups. Many of the young people become enthusiastic supporters of the idea; others disapprove of it and reject his thesis. Consequently, there are many lively and passionate debates and discussions.

In connection with the condensed biography of the

two brothers, we should briefly outline the development of Germany and of Europe during this period- perhaps in "March of Time" style. We should begin with the occupation of the Ruhr by the French army (1923) and the inflation period, take in Locarno, and end the sequence with Stresemann and Germany's re-entry into the League of Nations. The destiny of the two brothers, Ernst and Bruno, is largely shaped and determined by political events. Thus, Ernst von Z. takes part in the anti-French sabotage action in the Ruhr, and later - with other young nationalists - becomes mixed up in a murder plot, the victim of which is Minister Walter Rathenau. Bruno, on the contrary, offers his services to the democratic Republic. He becomes a journalist, travels to Geneva, where he meets Briand and Stresemann. And here he experiences one of the solemn moments in his life: with the French Foreign Minister he discusses the idea of a Pan-Europe and the possibilities of its practical realization.

Bruno is finishing his studies at the Sorbonne in Paris. We become familiar with the ideas and the point of view of various types of Frenchmen. Many of them are ready for reconciliation with Germany and desire a unification of all European states. Others, on the contrary, cannot forget what the Germans had done to them during the war and let Bruno feel their aversion to

everything German. In Paris, Bruno meets a charming young French girl and becomes engaged to her.

The young couple tour Europe on their wedding trip. Bruno shows his bride the beauties of Southern France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Switzerland. The grandiose, immeasurably rich and vari-colored panorama of the European scene passes before our eyes. Bruno enthusiastically says to his wife:

"All this multiformity is really an historical, a cultural and a geographical unity. The various parts of Europe would not lose their national character if they were united. But if unification is postponed much longer, all the nations of Europe will collapse in a common catastrophe. The mortal enemy of European civilization is rigid, egoistic, anachronistic nationalism."

In Germany, meanwhile, after the death of Stresemann, the nationalistic, anti-European movement steadily becomes stronger and more menacing. Hitler's star is in the ascendant. The friends of civilization, peace and freedom sense the seriousness of the situation. They fully realize: Now is the time to act - or everything will be lost! Union now, or the catastrophe cannot be averted!

Bruno's friends and several other men in political

end intellectual spheres organize a large meeting to publicize the idea of a European Federation and to make it comprehensible to the masses. We witness several gatherings, hear delegates from various countries, see the joyful reactions of the Berlin crowds. One of the speakers, a Swiss, points to his own country, in which three different nationalities live peacefully and productively with one another, as a prototype of a federated Europe. The spokesman for a group of workers declares that the social problem can only be solved within a framework that includes all Europe. The American delegate, introduced by Bruno's mother, plays a special part in all these proceedings. He was in the war from 1917-1919 and since then takes a rather sceptical view of Europe and the European future. "These Europeans will never learn..." is his opinion. At last Bruno's enthusiasm and the mother's intelligent persuasiveness convince him; he had known the latter as a young girl and had been fond of her. He contacts the most important political, business and social groups behind him in his own country. The hope of obtaining such significant protection from America has a stimulating and encouraging effect upon the participants to the meeting.

What goes on behind the scenes at this Congress is even more significant. Conferences on the establishment of a European customs union, a strong international

Judiciary, and a supra-national army have already gone much further than the public is aware of. The initiators of the Congress (Bruno among them) are in discreet communication with the members of the German Republican government and with representatives of the progressive elements in the army. Ambassadors, delegates from other governments, arrive; experts confer. We see airplanes come and go; approval given to this and that, telephone conversations between different European capitals, negotiations carried on at the conference table, maps, statistics, figures...The great idea seems near realization; the dream is about to be fulfilled. Utopia almost becomes reality.

Suddenly, the picture of the "Fuehrer", of the nationalistic agitator, breaks in upon the scene. He does not agitate for Europe, but for an autarchic "Greater Germany", and for revenge for a lost war. He incites and lies and bewitches the masses. Many of the youth, especially, are intoxicated by his promises, and actually believe that he will give them a true "national socialism". Among the enthusiastic followers of the "Fuehrer" is Ernst von Z. We recognize him in the black uniform of an S.S. trooper.

Under Ernst's command, a group of S.A. and S.S. troopers brutally break up the great "Europe" peace

meeting. Thereupon, the brothers have a violent quarrel. Their words and their voices express their mutual hatred and contempt. In the course of Ernst's long, passionate tirade (he is by no means to be presented as a dumbbell or a brute), he brings forth all the arguments in favor of his nationalistic ideology. No less passionately does Bruno advance his convictions and hopes. At length, Bruno's wife, the young Frenchwoman, gets mixed up in the quarrel. Her brother-in-law, Ernst, insults her and the country of her birth. His outburst of hate reaches a climax when he applies to her what Hitler said about the French in "Mein Kampf". (My Battle).

In a heated discussion between Bruno and his wife following the quarrel of the brothers, we learn how shocked and bitterly disappointed she is with the Germans. She had come to Germany with the best intentions in the world, and then - this reception! "Ils sont les boches, voila tout!" ("They're nothing but Huns, that's all!") Bruno earnestly defends his country. Not everyone is like his brother; and even he acts from sincere conviction. But millions of others are politically more mature.

"Don't you remember," he asks, " the radiant faces, the enthusiastic shouts at the recent Congress? And by patient work, millions of others can be educated to

espouse the rational and the good. Especially in Germany, we must campaign for our ideas!..." And they both remain in Berlin.

They remain in Berlin while the fate of Germany is disastrously sealed. Tirelessly, the young people warn German workers, German students, German mothers that National Socialism will spell their doom.

January 30, 1933. - Brother Ernst, in his attractive S.S. uniform, is radiantly happy as he marches along in the torchlight parade in honor of the new Chancellor, Adolf Hitler. Soon thereafter - the burning of the Reichstag and the ensuing wave of terrorism. Bruno's name appears on the black-list. He is to be arrested. At the last moment, he manages to flee with his wife. The mother follows them.

Bruno makes his home in Paris, becomes a naturalized French citizen. But he remains true to his Pan-European convictions, to his faith in a "Better Germany", although at the moment the barbarians are in power there.

At the French school where Bruno now teaches, he warns the children against hating the German people, and spreads before them the beauties of German culture. On the other hand, he warns French politicians and intellectuals against seeking to make a compromise or coming to an understanding with Hitler. Any such understanding is out of the question. Hitler's will to

conquer will always unsettle and disrupt the European community. And the community of Europe is and remains the goal. But before than can be achieved, Hitler must fall. The world must oppose him vigorously.

With his former teacher, a poor emigré, whom Bruno meets in a Paris café, he works out the details of a plan for the creation of a New Europe after Hitler's downfall. The smashing of the Reich- which is essential - will only be the first step. Instead of a National German State, which has always revealed itself as a disrupting factor, there will be a loose federation of several German states. The Federation of European States will then follow.

"To change frontiers is not essential", is Bruno's idea, "but it is essential to deprive them of their present significance..."

Meanwhile, Ernst has attained high rank in the Third Reich; at the same time he has begun to see things as they are. The first joyous intoxication is over. We see his disappointment and dissatisfaction gradually and steadily mounting. His only comfort is that the "Fuehrer" himself doesn't know about all the evils that exist. Ernst, who has long since lost faith in the integrity of the regime, still believes in Hitler's word. That is why, in August 1939, he is still convinced there will be no war. Hitler had promised to achieve by peaceful

means everything that a "Greater Germany" may need. While the German troops are on the march to Poland, Ernst and his friends think it is merely a "policing expedition", not a European war. The declarations of war by France and England are at first concealed from the German people. The realization that Nazi-Germany is at war with the civilized world belatedly reaches the people and strikes home like a thunderclap. Ernst von Z. is ordered to the West Front to fight against France; unwillingly he obeys. We sense that he is about to undergo a great transformation.

Through English leaflets and news broadcast by the "Freedom" radio station - which he had never bothered about previously - he learns a number of truths. For the first time he now understands how despicably he has been deceived for many years past. His dull mistrust of the Nazi regime flames into unbridled fury. With several comrades he organizes a conspiracy. One of them recalls that Hitler has often advised them to get in touch with the advance guard of the enemy. They resolve to make a "peaceful" excursion to the French lines.

In Paris, meanwhile, Bruno is in an overwhelming dilemma. As a pacifist and a Pan-European he despises war; as a German, the idea of fighting his own countrymen is almost unbearable; but he is a French citizen,

the father of a French child, and an instructor in a French school. And he also knows what the war is about and the aims of the war. He has long known that lasting peace in Europe and the world cannot be organized so long as Hitler remains in power.- His mother reminds him of the promise he once made her, that Europe must be free and united like the United States of America. "That is the severe path that leads to our great goal", she tells him. - We see Bruno in the uniform of a French poilu.

He is seriously wounded in a bitter battle with the Germans. With a few comrades he takes refuge in a bullet-riddled peasant hut hidden in a small thicket. The little group is a Pan-European Society of motley types. There is a Frenchman, a Czech, a Pole, an Italian, a Spaniard, a Russian - all volunteers. Some of them are wounded; all are exhausted.

One of them spies a troop of Germans approaching. He and his comrades are about to shoot when the Germans wave a white flag. They are deserters. Ernst is among them.

The hostile brothers meet again; and for the first time in their lives, they understand each other. They talk - and it is Ernst who says the things his father had thought and written eighteen years before. Touched

by the amazing similarity, Bruno shows Ernst their father's diary, which he has cherished as a talisman. The brothers crouch low on the shell-torn earth and start to read - slowly at first, each to himself; then their voices are heard in unison. About them crowds the group of international soldiers. Fundamentally, they all have the same hopes, the same aims, the same future. For their aims and their hopes to be fulfilled, tyrants and demagogues must be destroyed.

Towards the end of the picture, we see a vision of a happier future: a picture of the United States of Europe in peaceful competition with the other great nations of the world - with the Republics of North and South America, with the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union, the Asiatic powers. In a more distant future, all these nations, educated in the ways of peace, at last converge towards one mighty Federal Union. For mankind is undoubtedly destined to advance towards ever larger, broader, more comprehensive groupings: from jungle hordes to a World Republic. H.G. Wells, the English author, formulates what all highly developed intellects have long understood:

"Nationalism as a God must follow the tribal Gods to limbo. Our true nationality is mankind."

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Tentative Story Line
for a Motion Picture

by

KLAUS MANN

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This is a tentative, fragmentary outline of a film dealing with the theme of a United States of Europe. The fundamental thought, as well as many details of this sketch are based on conversations I have had with my father. Thomas Mann has often expressed enthusiasm at the potentialities of such a film; and he would cooperate in and lend the moral authority of his name to such an undertaking. Furthermore, there are a number of works which deal profoundly with the problem of a Pan-Europe. But the constructive suggestions they contain have not been taken into consideration in this outline. I may mention, for example, the books of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, founder of the Pan-Europe movement, and "Union Now", a very substantial contribution by the American, Clarence K. Streit.

The last movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony would furnish an impressive musical motif for the proposed Pan-Europe film.

I. Fantasy

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

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for a Motion Picture

by

KLAUS MANN

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The last movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony would furnish an impressive musical motif for the proposed Pan-Europe film.

Our picture will aim to show that the majority of the German people who today are suppressed and abused by a Nazi dictatorship, are indeed willing and capable of becoming active members of a European family of nationals. We intend to show that this realistic ideal - the ideal of a European Federation - was actually on the verge of becoming a reality at a definite moment in history. But this movement, which was necessary and right, was grievously disturbed by the strengthening of German nationalism and the establishment of a Nazi dictatorship. At the same time, the best Germans have always known - and know more clearly today than ever - that the Third Reich can merely be an interlude, an ignominious episode in the history of the German people and of Europe. The aggressiveness of the Hitler regime has led to catastrophic events which will not retard the development of a United Europe, but perhaps even hasten its realization.

The action of the picture starts with a scene in the first world war of 1914-18. On a hilly lookout somewhere at the front, or in some other exposed position, a few German officers are conversing during a short lull in hostilities. They are discussing the war situation. One of them, Captain von Z., moves away from his comrades. Seated on his camp stool, he starts to jot down a few notes in his diary. His comrades laugh at him; but he justifies his scribbling by saying that his diary means a lot to him.

"I want my two sons to read it when I am no longer here. For I have a feeling that I shall never get out of this gruesome war alive..."

Shocked at the vehemence of his outburst, the other officers warn him against putting on paper the confused, fantastic and unpatriotic ideas he occasionally utters. Otherwise, he might get into trouble... To this the Captain replies that he is no longer afraid of anything. More important to him than anything else is that his sons should be informed of his thoughts and ideas after his death. In his opinion, this war is a ghastly anachronism, a European civil war. This insight has come to him, a Prussian officer, through his horrible experiences at the front.

"From now on," he declares to his amazed brother officers, "any sacrifices we make can only be purposeful if the war leads to a unification of all European states and consequently to a permanent peace." *V Siehe II.*

While he is talking, the infernal artillery fire starts up again and drowns out his pleading, warning voice.

Two years later: Berlin, 1919. We are in the home of Captain von Z, who has met a hero's death. In the living room his picture, framed in mourning black, occupies a prominent place on the wall. In front of the picture: his two half-grown sons, Ernst and Bruno, with their *American* mother. ~~She is a native of Alsace, of mixed German and French ancestry. Her maiden name is obviously French.~~ *descent.*

From the conversation of the young sons, we learn that during the war the family had suffered many unpleasantnesses because of their mother's descent. The older son reacts to this - the *foreign* ~~mixed~~ blood of his mother - and to the death of his beloved father and the defeat of the Reich, with a tremendously heightened

and intensified sense of nationality. He is filled with a passion for revenge, the need to avenge the death of his father and thus wipe out the disgrace of the family (his ~~mother's~~ ^{non-German} French blood) as well as that of his country.

The younger son, Bruno, reacts quite differently to the same set of circumstances. He, too, had idolized his father and is now profoundly moved by his death. But he asks himself: Was this inevitable? Did it have to be? And he takes an oath: It shall never happen again! / To the others, he says:

~~"The French cannot be so vile, for mother's relatives are also French."~~

This gives rise to the first childish quarrel between the brothers. Their mother tries to reconcile them.

The development of the contrasting tendencies and temperaments of the brothers is shown in a few short, characteristic episodes. First we see them as pupils in a reactionary Prussian military academy. There, the instructors preach the gospel of revenge upon the French, the "Traditional enemy", and upon "perfidious Albion", etc. The cadets, most of whom are sons of officers, enthusiastically approve of these preachments. Young Bruno alone is beset with doubts that grow stronger as time goes on. He is impelled to put them into words when one of the military instructors states point-blank in class: the purpose of all training and education is to prepare for another war. At that, Bruno openly rebels and gets into a quarrel. He becomes involved in a vicious fist-fight with a number of his fellow pupils. His brother

Ernst calls him to account and says that through his behavior he has disgraced the memory of their father's heroic death.

Bruno runs away from the military academy. His mother then sends him to a progressive gymnasium in Berlin. One of the teachers at this modern school is a convinced pacifist and a believer in Pan*Europe. Wounded in the war, the instructor had experienced the horrors and recognized the futility of war. Bruno is fascinated by the personality and the ideas of this teacher. But at home, where the pictures of Bismarck and the Kaiser still decorate the walls, he nevertheless has twinges of conscience. He wonders what his father would say to all this?

Bruno locks himself in his father's study, gazes at the picture of the departed a long time. Then the lad rummages through the drawers of his father's desk, finds his last testament - the diary written at the front. Eagerly Bruno reads on and on and discovers full confirmation of the words his favorite professor had uttered that very morning. Siehe III.)

We see the progressive young instructor passionately and thoroughly expounding to his students the idea of a Federation of European States. By means of maps he shows that European frontiers were never stable, never permanent demarcations, but were always in a state of flux and change. In an exciting talk

he presents moral, economic and political arguments in support of the unification of all European peoples in a League of States. Only by the formation of such a League can permanent peace be established.

"It is the special mission of a conquered, guilt-laden Germany to set the magnificent example of renouncing its own national egoism in the interest of a far more comprehensive goal."

The zealous instructor then quotes from several German classics to prove that the greatest minds have always occupied themselves with the idea of a League of European States.

In contrast to this is Ernst's training in the spirit of a militant nationalism. At the military academy, the young German Republic is venomously attacked; the "Dictate of Versailles" is constantly held up to the young students as a national dishonor which must be expunged by another war.

Ernst joins several semi-military nationalistic organizations. Hardly past adolescence, he is admitted to the "Black National Defense Organization"; and though he is only a youth, he takes part in the battles in the Baltic.

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In connection with the condensed biography of the two brothers, we should briefly outline the development of Germany and of Europe during this period - perhaps in "March of Time" style. We should begin with the occupation of the Ruhr by the French army (1923) and the inflation period, take in Locarno, and end the sequence with Stresemann and Germany's re-entry into the League of Nations. The destiny of the two brothers, Ernst and Bruno, is largely shaped and determined by political events. Thus, Ernst von Z. takes part in the anti-French sabotage action in the Ruhr, and later - with other young nationalists - becomes mixed up in a murder plot, the victim of which is Minister Walter Rathenau. Bruno, on the contrary, offers his services to the democratic Republic. He becomes a journalist, travels to Geneva, where he meets Briand and Stresemann. And here he experiences one of the solemn moments in his life: with the French Foreign Minister he discusses the idea of a Pan-Europe and the possibilities of its practical realization.

Bruno is finishing his studies at the Sorbonne in Paris. ~~There he makes the acquaintance of a few of his mother's relatives. Some of them live in Paris, others in the provinces.~~ We become familiar with the ideas and the point of view of various types of Frenchmen.

Many of them are ready for reconciliation with Germany and desire a unification of all European states. Others, on the contrary, cannot forget what the Germans had done to them during the war and let Bruno feel their aversion to everything German. In Paris, Bruno meets a charming young French girl and becomes engaged to her.

The young couple tour Europe on their wedding trip. Bruno shows his bride the beauties of Southern France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Switzerland. The grandiose, immeasurably rich and vari-colored panorama of the European scene passes before our eyes. Bruno enthusiastically says to his wife:

"All this multiformity is really an historical, a cultural and a geographical unity. The various parts of Europe would not lose their national character if they were united. But if unification is postponed much longer, all the nations of Europe will collapse in a common catastrophe. The mortal enemy of European civilization is rigid, egoistic, anachronistic nationalism."

In Germany, meanwhile, after the death of Stresemann, the nationalistic, anti-European movement steadily becomes stronger and more menacing. Hitler's star is in the ascendant. The friends of civilization, peace and freedom sense the seriousness of the situation. They fully realize: Now is the time to act or everything will be lost! Union now, or the catastrophe cannot be averted!

Bruno's friends and several other men in political and intellectual spheres organize a large meeting to publicize the idea of a European Federation and to make it comprehensible to the masses. We witness several gatherings, hear delegates from various countries, see the joyful reactions of the Berlin crowds. One of the speakers, a Swiss, points to his own country, in which three different nationalities live peacefully and productively with one another, as a prototype of a federated Europe.

~~An American rises and, with dry humor, expresses his amazement that the "clever Europeans" have not yet been able to accomplish what the Americans have fortunately long since achieved.~~ The spokesman for a group of workers declares that the social problem can only be solved within a framework that includes all Europe. ✓ Siechi
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What goes on behind the scenes at this Congress is even more significant. Conferences on the establishment of a European customs union, a strong international judiciary, and a supranational army have already gone much further than the public is aware of. The initiators of the Congress (Bruno among them) are in discreet communication with the members of the German Republican government and with representatives of the progressive elements in the army. Ambassadors, delegates from other governments, arrive; experts confer. We see airplanes come and go; approval given to this and that, telephone conversations between different European capitals, negotiations carried on at the conference table, maps, statistics, figures... The great idea seems near realization; the dream is about to be fulfilled. Utopia almost becomes reality.

Suddenly, the picture of the "Fuehrer", of the nationalistic agitator, breaks in upon the scene. He does not

agitate for Europe, but for an autarchic "Greater Germany", and for revenge for a lost war. He incites and lies and bewitches the masses. Many of the youth, especially, are intoxicated by his promises, and actually believe that he will give them a true "national socialism". Among the enthusiastic followers of the "Fuehrer" is Ernst von Z. We recognize him in the black uniform of an S.S. trooper.

Under Ernst's command, a group of S.A. and S.S. troopers brutally break up the great "Europe" peace meeting. Thereupon, the brothers have a violent quarrel. Their words and their voices express their mutual hatred and contempt. In the course of Ernst's long, passionate tirade (he is by no means to be presented as a dumbbell or a brute), he brings forth all the arguments in favor of his nationalistic ideology. No less passionately does Bruno advance his convictions and hopes. At length, Bruno's wife, the young Frenchwoman, gets mixed up in the quarrel. Her brother-in-law, Ernst, insults her and the country of her birth. His outburst of hate reaches a climax when he applies to her what Hitler said about the French in "Mein Kampf." ("My Battle").

In a heated discussion between Bruno and his wife following the quarrel of the brothers, we learn how shocked and bitterly disappointed she is with the Germans. She had come to Germany with the best intentions in the world, and then - this reception! "Ils sont les boches, voila tout!" (They're nothing but Huns, that's all!) Bruno earnestly defends his country. Not everyone is like his brother; and even he acts from sincere conviction. But millions of others are politically more mature.

"Don't you remember," he asks, "the radiant faces, the enthusiastic shouts at the recent Congress? And by patient work, millions of others can be educated to espouse the rational and the good. Especially in Germany, we must campaign for our ideas!..." And they both remain in Berlin.

They remain in Berlin while the fate of Germany is disastrously sealed. Tirelessly, the young people warn German workers, German students, German mothers that National Socialism will spell their doom.

January 30, 1933. - Brother Ernst, in his attractive S.S. uniform, is radiantly happy as he marches along in the torchlight parade in honor of the new Chancellor, Adolf Hitler. Soon thereafter - the burning of the Reichstag and the ensuing wave of terrorism. Bruno's name appears on the ~~blank~~-list. He is to be arrested. At the last moment, he manages to flee with his wife. *✓ Side V.*

Bruno makes his home in Paris, becomes a naturalized French citizen. But he remains true to his Pan-European convictions, to his faith in a "Better Germany," although at the moment the barbarians are in power there.

At the French school where Bruno now teaches, he warns the children against hating the German people, and spreads before them the beauties of German culture. On the other hand, he warns French ~~French~~ politicians and intellectuals against seeking to make a compromise or coming to an understanding with Hitler. Any such understanding is out of the question. Hitler's will to conquer will always unsettle and disrupt the European community. And the community of Europe is and remains the goal. But before that can be achieved, Hitler must fall. The world must oppose him vigorously.

With his former teacher, a poor emigre, whom Bruno meets in a Paris cafe, he works out the details of a plan for the creation of a New Europe after Hitler's downfall. The smashing of the Reich - which is essential - will only be the first step. Instead of a National German State, which has always revealed itself as a disrupting factor, there will be a loose federation of several German states. The Federation of European States will then follow.

"To change frontiers is not essential," is Bruno's idea, "but it is essential to deprive them of their present significance..."

Meanwhile, Ernst has attained high rank in the Third Reich; at the same time he has begun to see things as they are. The first joyous intoxication is over. We see his disappointment and dissatisfaction gradually and steadily mounting. His only comfort is that the "Fuehrer" himself doesn't know about all the evils that exist. Ernst, who has long since lost faith in the integrity of the regime, still believes in Hitler's word. That is why, in August 1939, he is still convinced there will be no war. Hitler had promised to achieve by peaceful means everything that a "Greater Germany" may need. While the German troops are on the march to Poland, Ernst and his friends think it is merely a "policing expedition", not a European war. The declarations of war by France and England are at first concealed from the German people. The realization that Nazi-Germany is at war with the civilized world belatedly reaches the people and strikes home like a thunderclap. Ernst von Z. is ordered to the West Front to fight against France; unwillingly he obeys.

We sense that he is about to undergo a great transformation.

Through English leaflets and news broadcast by the "Freedom" radio station - which he had never bothered about previously - he learns a number of truths. For the first time he now understands how despicably he has been deceived for many years past. His dull mistrust of the Nazi regime flames into unbridled fury. With several comrades he organizes a conspiracy. One of them recalls that Hitler has often advised them to get in touch with the advance guard of the enemy. They resolve to make a "peaceful" excursion to the French lines.

In Paris, meanwhile, Bruno is in an overwhelming dilemma. As a pacifist and a Pan-European he despises war; as a German, the idea of fighting his own countrymen is almost unbearable; but he is a French citizen, the father of a French child, and an instructor in a French school. And he also knows: what the war is about and the aims of the war. He has long known that lasting peace in Europe and the world cannot be organized so long as Hitler remains in Power. - We see Bruno in the uniform of a French poilu. Siedle VI,

He is seriously wounded in a bitter battle with the Germans. With a few comrades he takes refuge in a bullet-riddled peasant hut hidden in a small thicket. The little group is a Pan-European Society of motley types. There is a Frenchman, a Czech, a Pole, an Italian, a Spaniard, a Russian - all volunteers. Some of them are wounded; all are exhausted.

One of them spies a troop of Germans approaching.

He and his comrades are about to shoot when the Germans wave a white flag. They are deserters. Ernst is among them.

The hostile brothers meet again; and for the first time in their lives, they understand each other. They talk - and it is Ernst who says the things his father had thought and written eighteen years before. Touched by the amazing similarity, Bruno shows Ernst their father's diary, which he has cherished as a talisman. The brothers crouch low on the shell-torn earth and start to read - slowly at first, each to himself; then their voices are heard in unison. About them crowds the group of international soldiers. Fundamentally, they all have the same hopes, the same aims, the same future. For their aims and their hopes to be fulfilled, tyrants and demagogues must be destroyed.

Towards the end of the picture, we see a vision of a happier future: a picture of the United States of Europe in peaceful competition with the other great nations of the world - with the Republics of North and South America, with the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union, the Asiatic powers. In a more distant future, all these nations, educated in the ways of peace, at last converge towards one mighty Federal Union. For mankind is undoubtedly destined to advance towards ever larger, broader, more comprehensive groupings: from jungle hordes to a World Republic. H.G. Wells, the English author, formulates what all highly developed intellects have long understood:

"Nationalism as a God must follow the tribal gods to limbo. Our true nationality is mankind."

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Was the present war inevitable? That is the question millions of people in Europe, in America, in fact everywhere in the world are asking today. Even more imperative is their question: What will become of Europe, once this war is over? A definitive solution of the problem of Europe is being demanded - and eagerly awaited: a genuine solution, once and for all. It is necessary to conquer Hitler, but that is not enough. ^T More important than anything else at this time is the formulation of positive constructive plans for a new organization of the world. ^W

The purpose of this picture is not alone to depict the confusion in European conditions; nor to prove the guilt of some individual who may have been primarily responsible for such a state of affairs. Our film will strive to give dramatic form to ^{a concrete suggestion for} ~~the solution of the idea of a~~ Federation of European States, an idea perennially fascinating and as yet unfulfilled, and to make that idea plausible to a world public. Technological development has long since stamped European nationalism and the institution of petty European states as anachronisms. Moreover, they are highly dangerous anachronisms, for they inevitably lead to war after war, and eventually must bring about the self-destruction of Europe. This has long been comprehended by the majority of rational and civilized Europeans, as well as by the majority of Germans.

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"From now on," he declares to his amazed brother officers, "any sacrifices we make can only be purposeful if the war leads to a unification of all European states and consequently to a permanent peace."

While he is talking, the infernal artillery fire starts up again and drowns out his pleading, warning voice.

Two years later: Berlin, 1919. We are in the home of Captain von Z, who has met a hero's death. In the living room his picture, framed in mourning black, occupies a prominent place on the wall. In front of the picture: his two half-grown sons, Ernst and Bruno, with their mother. ^{American} She is a native of Alsace, of mixed German and French ^{descent.} ancestry. Her maiden name is obviously French.

From the conversation of the young sons, we learn that during the war the family had suffered many unpleasantnesses because of their mother's descent. The older son reacts to this - ^{foreign} the mixed blood of his mother - and to the death of his beloved father and the defeat of the Reich, with a tremendously heightened

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Two years later, Berlin 1919. We are in the home of Captain von Z., who has met a heroic death. In the living room his picture, framed in a simple black, occupies a prominent place on the wall. In front of the picture his two half-grown sons, Ernst and Franz, stand with their mother. The name is written below the picture: Ernst and Franz von Z.

Ernst is a tall, slender young man with a serious expression. Franz is a smaller, rounder boy with a mischievous grin. They are both dressed in simple, dark clothing. The mother stands between them, her hand resting on Ernst's shoulder. The picture is set in a simple black frame.

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What goes on behind the scenes at this Congress is even more significant. Conferences on the establishment of a European customs union, a strong international judiciary, and a supranational army have already gone much further than the public is aware of. The initiators of the Congress (Bruno among them) are in discreet communication with the members of the German Republican government and with representatives of the progressive elements in the army. Ambassadors, delegates from other governments, arrive; experts confer. We see airplanes come and go; approval given to this and that, telephone conversations between different European capitals, negotiations carried on at the conference table, maps, statistics, figures... The great idea seems near realization; the dream is about to be fulfilled. Utopia almost becomes reality.

Suddenly, the picture of the "Fuehrer", of the nationalistic agitator, breaks in upon the scene. He does not

agitate for Europe, but for an autarchic "Greater Germany", and for revenge for a lost war. He incites and lies and bewitches the masses. Many of the youth, especially, are intoxicated by his promises, and actually believe that he will give them a true "national socialism". Among the enthusiastic followers of the "Fuehrer" is Ernst von Z. We recognize him in the black uniform of an S.S. trooper.

Under Ernst's command, a group of S.A. and S.S. troopers brutally break up the great "Europe" peace meeting. Thereupon, the brothers have a violent quarrel. Their words and their voices express their mutual hatred and contempt. In the course of Ernst's long, passionate tirade (he is by no means to be presented as a dumbbell or a brute), he brings forth all the arguments in favor of his nationalistic ideology. No less passionately does Bruno advance his convictions and hopes. At length, Bruno's wife, the young Frenchwoman, gets mixed up in the quarrel. Her brother-in-law, Ernst, insults her and the country of her birth. His outburst of hate reaches a climax when he applies to her what Hitler said about the French in "Mein Kampf." ("My Battle").

In a heated discussion between Bruno and his wife following the quarrel of the brothers, we learn how shocked and bitterly disappointed she is with the Germans. She had come to Germany with the best intentions in the world, and then - this reception! "Ils sont les boches, voila tout!" (They're nothing but Huns, that's all!) Bruno earnestly defends his country. Not everyone is like his brother; and even he acts from sincere conviction. But millions of others are politically more mature.

"Don't you remember," he asks, "the radiant faces, the enthusiastic shouts at the recent Congress? And by patient work, millions of others can be educated to espouse the rational and the good. Especially in Germany, we must campaign for our ideas!..." And they both remain in Berlin.

They remain in Berlin while the fate of Germany is disastrously sealed. Tirelessly, the young people warn German workers, German students, German mothers that National Socialism will spell their doom.

January 30, 1933. - Brother Ernst, in his attractive S.S. uniform, is radiantly happy as he marches along in the torchlight parade in honor of the new Chancellor, Adolf Hitler. Soon thereafter - the burning of the Reichstag and the ensuing wave of terrorism. Bruno's name appears on the black-list. He is to be arrested. At the last moment, he manages to flee with his wife. *Mr. H. W. must know.*

Bruno makes his home in Paris, becomes a naturalized French citizen. But he remains true to his Pan-European convictions, to his faith in a "Better Germany," although at the moment the barbarians are in power there.

At the French school where Bruno now teaches, he warns the children against hating the German people, and spreads before them the beauties of German culture. On the other hand, he warns French ~~French~~ politicians and intellectuals against seeking to make a compromise or coming to an understanding with Hitler.

Any such understanding is out of the question. Hitler's will to conquer will always unsettle and disrupt the European community. And the community of Europe is and remains the goal. But before that can be achieved, Hitler must fall. The world must oppose him vigorously.

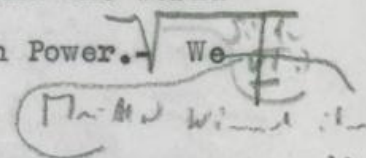
With his former teacher, a poor emigre, whom Bruno meets in a Paris cafe, he works out the details of a plan for the creation of a New Europe after Hitler's downfall. The smashing of the Reich - which is essential - will only be the first step. Instead of a National German State, which has always revealed itself as a disrupting factor, there will be a loose federation of several German states. The Federation of European States will then follow.

"To change frontiers is not essential," is Bruno's idea, "but it is essential to deprive them of their present significance..."

Meanwhile, Ernst has attained high rank in the Third Reich; at the same time he has begun to see things as they are. The first joyous intoxication is over. We see his disappointment and dissatisfaction gradually and steadily mounting. His only comfort is that the "Fuehrer" himself doesn't know about all the evils that exist. Ernst, who has long since lost faith in the integrity of the regime, still believes in Hitler's word. That is why, in August 1939, he is still convinced there will be no war. Hitler had promised to achieve by peaceful means everything that a "Greater Germany" may need. While the German troops are on the march to Poland, Ernst and his friends think it is merely a "policing expedition", not a European war. The declarations of war by France and England are at first concealed from the German people. The realization that Nazi-Germany is at war with the civilized world belatedly reaches the people and strikes home like a thunderclap. Ernst von Z. is ordered to the West Front to fight against France; unwillingly he obeys.

We sense that he is about to undergo a great transformation.

Through English leaflets and news broadcast by the "Freedom" radio station - which he had never bothered about previously - he learns a number of truths. For the first time he now understands how despicably he has been deceived for many years past. His dull mistrust of the Nazi regime flames into unbridled fury. With several comrades he organizes a conspiracy. One of them recalls that Hitler has often advised them to get in touch with the advance guard of the enemy. They resolve to make a "peaceful" excursion to the French lines.

In Paris, meanwhile, Bruno is in an overwhelming dilemma. As a pacifist and a Pan-European he despises war; as a German, the idea of fighting his own countrymen is almost unbearable; but he is a French citizen, the father of a French child, and an instructor in a French school. And he also knows: what the war is about and the aims of the war. He has long known that lasting peace in Europe and the world cannot be organized so long as Hitler remains in Power.  We see Bruno in the uniform of a French poilu.

He is seriously wounded in a bitter battle with the Germans. With a few comrades he takes refuge in a bullet-riddled peasant hut hidden in a small thicket. The little group is a Pan-European Society of motley types. There is a Frenchman, a Czech, a Pole, an Italian, a Spaniard, a Russian - all volunteers. Some of them are wounded; all are exhausted.

One of them spies a troop of Germans approaching.



He and his comrades are about to shoot when the Germans wave a white flag. They are deserters. Ernst is among them.

The hostile brothers meet again; and for the first time in their lives, they understand each other. They talk - and it is Ernst who says the things his father had thought and written eighteen years before. Touched by the amazing similarity, Bruno shows Ernst their father's diary, which he has cherished as a talisman. The brothers crouch low on the shell-torn earth and start to read - slowly at first, each to himself; then their voices are heard in unison. About them crowds the group of international soldiers. Fundamentally, they all have the same hopes, the same aims, the same future. For their aims and their hopes to be fulfilled, tyrants and demagogues must be destroyed.

Towards the end of the picture, we see a vision of a happier future: a picture of the United States of Europe in peaceful competition with the other great nations of the world - with the Republics of North and South America, with the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union, the Asiatic powers. In a more distant future, all these nations, educated in the ways of peace, at last converge towards one mighty Federal Union. For mankind is undoubtedly destined to advance towards ever larger, broader, more comprehensive groupings: from jungle hordes to a World Republic. H.G. Wells, the English author, formulates what all highly developed intellects have long understood:

"Nationalism as a God must follow the tribal gods to limbo. Our true nationality is mankind."



I thought we may re-write the story, more or less following
this pattern: *Star The Family Characteristic*

The "historical prologue" as you have it in mind.

We don't know, in the beginning, how the American branch of the family has developed in modern times. The German representative of the family, however, is the Prussian officer, father of the two lads. His wife, the mother of the boys, is not American as she was in the first version; but, on the contrary, the reactionary, over-patriotic Prussian type. So the "bad son" - Ernst - resembles the mother, while Bruno, the "good" one, rather favours his father.

The mother, of course, hides the father's pacifistic war diary from the sons. She is possessed by a cruel lust for revenge; educates the sons in a nationalistic spirit.

We may keep the story about the military academy. There Bruno meets the young teacher with the pacifistic, internationalistic ideals. He is a young man from the French part of Switzerland, active in the military school as a teacher for the French language. He has to conceal his progressive ideas. He makes friends with Bruno, and tells him about his convictions. Brother Ernst ~~hears~~ finds out what Bruno and the young teacher are secretly discussing: this is the scandal. The teacher as well as Bruno have to leave the school.

Mother is furious; intends to send Bruno to a more severe institut. Bruno runs away - to America.

We watch in a short, condensed way his journey: his working on the boat; arrival in New York, first look at the Statue of Liberty ect. His life in America - washing dishes, ect. - He meets a young fellow who has the ^{same} name as he himself: a remote cousin of the "American branch." - Flirt and friendship with the fellow's sister.

- Time goes on. Bruno has a job; marries the American girl - his remote cousin. He keeps, however, a certain contact with Europe, changing letters with the young Swiss teacher and even with his brother Ernst, who becomes involved, more and more, in the nationalistic German movements. (This might be the opportunity of giving an indirect account of European political events from 1921 up to 1930.)

Bruno, while he lives in the U.S., begins to ~~understand~~ ^{realize} that the principle of Union Now is the only possibility to save civilization - this principle understood in its double sense; meaning that

a.) the United States and Europe have to come to a closer collaboration. (He disapproves of the American not-joining the League of N.'s.)

b.) the European states have to establish some sort of union among themselves. - - - Discussion with his father-in-law, an American who has been as a soldier in France, is disappointed about Versailles ect.

(These discussion with an American of the isolationist type are important. Contrast between the two generations. The father's basically nationalistic conception. The younger generation believes in international solidarity: peace and civilization are indivisible.)

.... Bruno and his American wife make a trip to Europe, around 1930. They intend to propagate their political ideals in ~~Europe~~ Germany.

- The later parts of the story can follow more or less closely, the pattern of the outline, first version. (The English and French characters which we want to include, may be introduced without difficulty, in the last scenes.)

How do you feel about it? - I hope to get soon your new suggestions, corrections, additions ect.

Yours cordially,

K. Lewis
Lamm

Start: 30 years
was. — (Saxonia)
— One goes Prussia,
Other — U.S. Kenn
Prussia Königsberg
Frederick
Washington
[Minnick —
Lincoln.
Comparison of the
2 Compositions]
Nepoleon

U.S.

1. Early 17th century in
New England - or New Jersey
showing people making
own state.
2. About ~~time of~~ 1776 -
~~Washington~~ Decl. of
Independence
3. about 1789.
4. Scene showing our hero
one of U. soldiers on guard
when Lincoln gives
Gettysburg address