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Searchlight through the Blackout.

Mann, Erika

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Searchlight through the Blackout
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Erika Mann

even War - 3 weeks after my return from E.
In your presence
Ladies and gentlemen, - it is quite an adventure to stand here
before you, - my first American audience after my return from Eng-

land, - a few days ago. After the truly adventurous, the perfectly phan-
tastic and ^{the} utterly extraordinary to which one gets so swiftly accustomed,
the normal appears to be strange and unbelievable. Every morning in Lon-
don, as a matter of fact, the silence that followed the hellish concert
and the "all clear" seemed incredible and rather unnatural to us. The
noise that had been going on for ten hours, - almost without any inter-
vals, had been so terrific, that one refused to believe in the reality
or durability of the peace, that was to prevail for at least two hours
from then on. One felt like a ^{an invalid} patient who has been given some soothing
drug relieving him from his pains and feverish nightmares but who knows
that all will return, exhausted, a bit suspicious, but quite happy,
nevertheless he enjoys the silent peace between two battles.

I left America for England on August 20th, 18 days for the beginning of the actual
"Blitzkrieg" over London. I went for two reasons: first: I desired to
talk to the Germans in these grave and decisive hours. The country of
my birth had ~~established herself as the enemy of~~ established herself as the enemy of
every day ^{with} mankind and it became more difficult to continue and differentiate be-
tween "Germany" and "Nazi-Germany", - between the German people and Mr.
Adolf Hitler. The Germans, - so I keenly felt, - must be told that the
last, - the very last moment had come for them to prove to the world

On August 20th

I left America, - I left lovely California for England. ~~HH~~ The Nazi-Blitzkrieg, announced for August 15th at the latest had not yet started. But could it not start at any moment? And, as many promises as Mr. Hitler had broken in the past, - his predictions as to the fates of his victorious entries into conquered countries had been pretty correct, - so far.

On spite of this Although I am neither a soldier, nor a war correspondent *had not even* and although I ~~had~~ never lived in England for any length of time, I most ardently desired to go there, for two reasons: First I wanted to talk to the Germans. They must be told the truth about the essence and nature of this war, - *while* ~~This war~~ was not, - as they possibly believed, - a war like any other, - *but which* ~~it~~ was the defensive struggle of civilized humanity against the evil, the wicked, the antihumane, ~~the wholly barbarian,~~ *which* ~~it~~ was the struggle of the better against the utterly bad. Did they wish to continue and fight and die for the utterly bad against the better? This I must ask the Germans. I must tell them why in this war Hitler represented the utterly bad and England represented the better. I did not, of course, flatter myself that I could possibly convince the Germans *or* and win them over by a series of radio-speeches. Still I desired to do my share by at least shedding some tiny ray of light into the total blackout that had ~~HHH~~ prevailed in the country of my birth for seven and a half years.

Second, I longed for some more light myself. The collapse of France had left me in some kind of blackout. Like ~~HHH~~ *most* honest democrats all over the world I had kept on asking myself whether it was democracy that had failed in France. Was democracy unable to meet the assault, - was democracy doomed? *Ha* ~~England, of course was holding fast, - England was~~

by no means was
It almost seemed so and this tragic event, the collapse of France /
the first ^{sign in this direction} ~~phenomenon~~ to indicate democracy's doomsday. Other disasters
had preceded ~~it~~. How many democratic failures, - how many democratic
betrayals, ^{had occurred} ~~how many crimes of omission~~ ^{had been witnessed} had been committed before our
very eyes? How much ground ^{had been lost} ~~lost~~ how much prestige had been
^{lost} ~~lost~~? And now France, - democracy's last stronghold on the continent ^{France} ~~had~~
gone. England, of course, was holding fast, - England was

fighting on. But was there any real proof that England would continue to do so if things got really bad? And, above all, would it be possible for England to remain a true democracy while fighting for her life and national independence? There had been much talk over here about the dangers inherent in any war. Well meaning people as well as Nazi-sympathizers and communist fellowtravellers had been constantly warning of these dangers. "War is no solution" they cried, - "while fighting fascism you are bound to go fascist yourself. Free speech will have to be curtailed, the freedom of the press will, of course, have to be abolished, dictatorship will have to be accepted, - the people will have to be robbed of all of their democratic rights. And in the end nobody will know what he is fighting for.

There was something terribly convincing in such warnings. But ~~HEHEHEH~~ as they said in so many words that democracy was doomed one way or another I refused to let them convince me. Could I, however, be quite convinced of the contrary?

I had to know, - I had to find out,

get hold of, - it didn't seem very wise for me to appear in England at the precise moment for which Mr. Hitler had announced his arrival there. For how many promises he had broken in the past, - his predictions with regard to the dates of invasions had always proved to be correct. My friends and my family kept on asking: "What is this trip meant to be anyway? A race between yourself and the "Fuehrer". Do you want to see who is going to arrive first, eh?" This was annoying.

So I left for England, not, of course
~~I went after all, - not, of course, without at least having~~
followed the advice of my friends to get myself a nice supply of tea, chocolate and Coffee. For although ~~I had never believed~~ any of the German "News" about "blockade England" I still thought it clever to take along a few things that might be lacking and would please my English friends. On the other hand I failed to commit myself to ~~do much~~ do much journalistic work from over there. I was afraid that it would prove to be impossible to report the truth the whole truth and nothing but the truth about ~~a~~ *and* from a country at war, where censorship had to be strict and where it would become even stricter with the situation growing more dangerous and precarious every day.

I arrived in London on August 27th. The custom officials laughed at my little food-supplies and wondered whether I intended to open a shop over ~~here~~ *there*. But since, consequently, I was given my food-rationing booklet I still felt that there was nothing to ~~be~~ *indeed* be funny about. Very soon, however, I discovered that food was plentiful, - that your ration-cards allowed you more than you could possibly eat and that you were not even asked to produce your food-cards in any hotel or restaurant be it chic or modest. Butter is the one scarce thing in England. You don't get more than a lump as tiny as a hazelnut with *every meal,*
~~each meal~~

But then there are all sorts of fats besides. So far there has even been cream. Recently the food-ministry announced that, - sad as this was, - ham had to be rationed from now on. They hastened, however, to add, that this rationing did not apply to ham-sandwiches.

Alright, then, I had been mistaken ^{about} ~~as for~~ the food-situation. But important as it was that England ^{was} ~~should~~ not ~~be~~ starving, - the British navy rules the seas, - ~~that~~ we had always known and the fact that she was not blockaded did not in itself furnish any part of the answer to our question: is democracy doomed?

How about the freedom of the people, - how about freedom of speech, freedom of the press? How about social progress, social justice and the maintenance of all the rights for which this war was supposedly fought and which might be actually endangered by it?

Ten rather quiet, rather peaceful days, - the days between August 27th and September 7th were allotted ~~to~~ me during which to investigate these vital questions. The result of my investigations was partly encouraging partly disquieting. What I found out was the following: there existed an almost incredible amount of freedom. The daily press was of course partly government controlled and unable to get any ^{important} news save from government controlled sources. But even the dailies carried editorials of amazing frankness. All kinds of criticism, warnings, and suggestions were brought forth, - members of the government, and even of the war-Cabinet were vulnerable to attacks, ^{every-} ~~any-~~ body spoke his mind ~~without restriction~~. And the magazines and weeklies ^{were} ~~seemed of~~ an even ^{less} restricted character. With utter ⁱⁿ ~~sincerity~~ and a complete lack of fear young English writers, economists and political philosophers discuss and analyze the meaning of this war, -

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to that end.
the goal to which it must lead and the means to be employed
They point out the dangers and chances and urged
that the best be made of the latter. I was startled with the frankness
displayed by my friends wherever they met, - in restaurants, in the
streets, in the airraidshelters. Obviously there was nothing to be afraid
of and you could deal with all sorts of controversial prob-
lems without ever getting yourself into trouble. No doubt: if
freedom of the press and freedom of speech were at all essential for
the maintenance of democracy, - democratic England was doing well.
What else had I wanted to know? Right: How about social progress?
How about that bottomless abyss between the upper and the lower clas-
ses of which Mr. Hitler was talking such a great deal and which
if it actually continued to exist or even deep-
ened might very well endanger the outcome of this war?

For you cannot successfully fight a war of liberation if your own people
are being exploited by your own ruling classes. In particular you cannot
successfully fight win any modern war if your own people, - your lower middle-classes, - your
industrial workers, - your men on the street do not feel it
to be their war as well as yours. It is not your trained and sworn armies
any longer who will decide its outcome. It's the civil population of your cities,
ties, - it's every man, woman, and child in your country who will *lead to* make
either *defeat or victory* win or lose. They must know what they are fighting for and they
must be convinced that whatever they are asked to suffer, it will be
worthwhile.

Did the English people, - did the people of London feel that
way? Most of them did, - but there were still quite a few who did not.

By the end of August bombings had occasionally occurred. But it had been mostly the industrial centers of the midlands and the docks of the harbors that had been hit. The poor had suffered while the rich ~~had~~ ^{for seven years} been spared. Besides: ^{and a grace} the people had been told that the enemy could be appeased and that under no circumstances must he be fought. How could they suddenly grasp the fact that he must be fought and under no circumstances be appeased? "as the enemy as terrible, as ^{un}human, as irreconcilable as they were now told he was? When I said that the result of my investigations was partly disquieting ~~it~~ ^{existed at that time} it was this I meant to convey. There ~~was~~ a certain lack of hatred of the ^{Nazis} ~~enemy~~, - a failure to recognize ~~them~~ ^{deadly} as the enemy of mankind which startled me, although I should have ^{known} ~~known~~ ^{the} ~~its~~ sources ^{of this failure}.

On September seventh, shortly after five o'clock, - the sirens had sounded about half an hour ago, - the Nazis opened their "Blitzkrieg" on London. It was quite strange, - for although the raid did not in the beginning ~~seem~~ ^{much} seem to differ from its predecessors, - it became clear at once: this is it, - this is the real thing. The sky was clear and pale. ^{But} From the roof of the big appartement house where I happened to spend this particular afternoon we saw swarm after swarm of planes crossing over the city while ~~the air was filled by~~ ^{while} the air was filled by terrific noise and, almost at the same time, huge clouds of smoke appeared in the east.

~~while~~ ^{while} Dawn came, - but the sun didn't seem to have ~~had~~ ^{but} set in the west, the eastern sky ~~seemed~~ ^{but} seemed bathed in the flames of another sunrise.

I spent parts of this night of of the night to

A few days later Winston Churchill, ^{wearing that} his familiar round hat ^{smoking} and ~~HHHH~~
^{thick} the familiar ^{Page} cigar appeared in ^{in order} London ~~east~~ to investigate the dam-
age and ^{to} talk to the people. Many of those who gathered around him
were utterly unhappy. Their houses gone, their wives, children, or hus-
bands dead, - buried ~~under~~, - pulverized into nothing. Yet they chee-
red and this cheering had nothing ~~to~~ do with the kind of "spontaneous
jubilation" ordered in Nazi Germany by Dr. Goebbels and looked after
by the Gestapo. There was no Dr. Goebbels and there was no Gestapo.
This demonstration was spontaneous, - in ~~HHHHHHH~~ the face of their
ruined homes the people shouted, - "Hay, - Winnie, - stick to it, - we can
take it" And Winston Churchill who is not exactly a sentimental man
waved at them, - while big tears ^{were} ~~HHH~~ streaming ^{ed} down his cheeks.
^{As I would not be able to guess} Although I am not sure of it, - I ~~HHHHHHHHHHH~~ that even my old woman, -
the taxi drivers mother ^{was a mong those} ~~HHHHH~~ whose faithful devo'-
tion, ~~HHHHH~~ whose confidence and unpretentious ^{bravness} moved ~~HHH~~
hard boiled Winnie to tears.

It was this scene, - and that other one, presenting the royal couple
in ~~the~~ East of London, - after Buckingham Palace had been bombed, which
I discussed with my German radio-listeners in ~~my~~ my next speech.
For the King and the Queen, - just ^{like} as the prime minister, visited their
people ^{down there} and were received ~~HHH HHHH~~ friends ^{as} ~~HHHH~~ than ^{rather} ~~as~~ rulers. ^{they} One chatted
^{they have commun} one exchanged experiences. ~~HHHH~~ Churchill, as well as their Majesties
were accompanied by a few civilian friends and collaborators, - there ^{was}
no reason ^{to} why they should have surrounded themselves by soldiers to
protect them.

and America are ~~being~~ ^{being} referred to by the Nazis as the Plutocracy, while Mr. Hitler's third Reich is supposed to be a peoples-State and he himself is the peoples leader, - der Volksführer. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{yet} Your peoples Leader, - I reminded my German listeners ^{own} journeys through his own peoples-state in an armoured train. Upon his arrival at the Brenner-Pass ^{has is met by} another armoured train carrying his friend the duce ^{to} the place of the rendezvous. Red carpets are being spread so that both the peoples-leaders should not besmirch their precious feet. They confer in complete secrecy. Neither the German nor the Italian People must know what has been decided about their lives and deaths. Then, after having described ^{his} Churchill's visit to London ~~east~~ as a matter of contrast, - I asked whether anybody in Germany would ^{possibly} dare to call the Volks-Führer "Adi". Even if anybody would wish to call him so, I seriously doubt, - ~~I added.~~ ^{Blair - glory} England which is called ^{by her Enemies} a Plutocracy ^{a democracy} has been ^{for a long time,} rather an imperfect democracy, - but a democracy just the same. Now, during the hours of her trial, - she is developing more and more towards true democracy, - towards the true peoples state. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ And even if we did not know this, - even if the laws passed by the government this summer ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{did} not prove it, even if the close and productive collaboration between labour and the conservative party ~~was~~ ^{was} not evidence enough, - the battle of London is evidence enough. The resistance offered by this brave, ^{suffering,} comradely, victorious city a kind of resistance ~~XX~~ ^{constitutes} which ~~was~~ ^{has} something new in history, - would ~~have~~ ^{have} never been possible were it not for the fact that every auxiliary fireman, every little shop-girl on night duty as a warden, - every worker in the aircraft factories, - ~~XXXX~~

^{any longer} ^{was} ⁶
knew ^{this} that ~~HH~~ was neither a ~~phib~~, nor a imperialistic war, - nor ^{and} a war for the protection of the ineterests of the ruling classes. The ruling classes knew very well why they hesitated for such a long time to enter this war, - they knew very well, - that, in the words of Lord Halifax, - the world that would emerge in the end, would be ^{utterly} ~~HHH~~ different from what it used to be before. The ^{English} ~~English~~ people know that this is ^{They know too} ~~their~~ war, - ~~the peoples war~~ ~~HHH~~ and that the peoples of Europe (including Millions of people ^{of} ~~in~~ Germany) , - yes, that the people of the United States of America are counting on their ^{that they} ~~victory~~, - ^{are} ~~are~~ hoping and praying for this victory which will liberate the world from evil. ^o Hoping and praying.

Ladies and gentlemen, - I do not wish to picture for you the battle of London as I have witnessed it. One gets so easily into the telling of horror tales on the one hand and of examples of superhuman heroismus on the other, - ^{all of} ~~which~~ ^{besides} sound unbelievable and ~~conventional~~ ~~besides~~. We have heard them in connection with loyalist Spain, - with Finland, - ^{so many other brave people} ~~with what do I know~~. But ^{that} much is certain: never in history has a city endured what London is ~~asked~~ ^{is} to endure, - never in history has e city endured anything of that kind with ~~less~~ pretention, less pseudoheroic ~~gestures~~, - ~~HHHHHHHH~~ There is no talk in London about honor ~~HH~~ and the word fatherland does not even exist. ^{we} We have got to stick it out ^{the} say the people and, with their particular love of ~~understatement~~ which is so much more than a matter of form or taste, - they add, - ^{it's} it's pretty disgusting, - but , - as it must be done we'll do it. //

I walked through the streets of London almost every night.

^{machine} This was not particularly sensible ^{from} ~~from~~ my part but you have got ^{so} ~~so~~ heavily to rely on your ~~HHHH~~ guardian angel ^{any} ~~any~~ and I was too eager to

V "more over" 12a

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to see and to learn ~~to~~ to stay at home and hide ^{from} before Mr. Goerings obedient heroes. I have watched the firmen^e, - the police and the civil wardens. How they did their jobs without as much as ever mentioning the dangers surrounding them. Remember: fires are being started mostly for the purpose of illuminating the targets. Wherever ^a fire ~~is~~ ^{might be faint} ~~raging~~ High explosive bombs are likely to fall. ~~HHH~~ And yet with the greatest ^{handclause} ~~matter of course~~ people are standing in the midst of the ~~HHHH~~ deadliest dangers. Bombs are being dropped all about them. The ~~y~~ won't even move. But it ^{has} ~~is~~ not only those who actively participate in fighting the fires, rescuing the wounded and dead, or those men behind the anti-Aircraft-guns and the ~~harsh~~ ^{heroical} spotters on the roof of London who inspired my amazed and almost incredulous admiration. Every elevator-boy, - ^{ev} every waiter, - every announcer in the B.B.C. is equally admirable. And their calmness, their noble ~~and~~ ^{and} contentful pity for the enemy who has turned barbarian, - are actually contagious. I do not know ^{what} ~~who~~ I personally would have acted ^{and reached} ~~in~~ any other surroundings. Probably I ^{would} ~~would~~ have been frightened or at least nervous.

I was neither frightened, nor nervous. I was proud and happy to be there. I remember how ^{usually} ~~once~~, - during a day raid (to which we ^{releasing and} ~~didn't~~ pay much attention) I was ^{releasing and} ~~timing~~ a speech in the B.B.C. We were in one of the third-floor studios, - and I described to my German listeners the effect of the indiscriminate Bombing of London. ^{indeed} Hitler was ^{virtually} ~~very~~ much mistaken, - I asserted, - if he thought he could ~~frighten~~ the ENGLISH TO DEATH. The English could not be ~~HHHHH~~ frightened; - ^{though} ~~al~~ though the bombs did a great deal of harm and killed a ^{many} ~~great deal~~ of human beings, - they would not achieve

so far is still comparatively small (compared with
The damage done ~~so far is still comparatively small~~ so far is conside-
the fury and persistence of the assault). Yet it is noticeable everywhere
~~There is hardly any street in the centre of London~~
where nothing at all has happened. Time bombs are sitting everywhere, -
streets are being blocked, - houses evacuated. In certain sections of the
city most of the shop windows have been ~~blown in~~ but everywhere
posters can be seen "business as usual", "open as usual". One
shop that had been particularly badly damaged, its door having been
smashed
in as well displayed a poster saying "a little more open than
usual". This was undeniably true. ~~the~~ the
by which the owner
Everybody passing by appreciated the joke.
The neighboring house ~~had been~~ completely destroyed. But the Union Jack
was waving
from the ruins making them look like the remnants of a fortress
just conquered by the British.

It was very dark on the streets through which I
walked, - or, rather, - it was supposed to be very dark. For in many a
night huge fires were raging at three or four different points, -
turning the night into a sinister redish day.

their aim. At this moment a big huge thing whistled down nearby. We could not yet judge whether it was to hit our building,- or one of the neighboring houses. Both of us,- the B.B.C. man with his stop watch and myself went down flat in a hurry. When the bomb had fallen, ~~HHHHH HHHHHH~~ our building ~~HHHHHHH~~ swayed like a tree in a storm and our windows ~~H~~ were on the breaking point. ~~HHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHH~~ ~~HHHHHH~~ We jumped ^{so} on our feet,- the B.B.C. man looked at his stop-watch and said with his quietest voice,- "go ahead,- we lost 5 seconds." I went ^{on} ahead, telling the Germans that their bombs couldn't frighten us a bit. Everybody would have done this. Everybody would have been ashamed to show any trace of fear or nervousness in the presence of a ^{courage} ~~braveness~~ which took itself for granted and was not in the slightest proud of itself. *

And yet this ^{courage} ~~braveness~~ in the face of death is small compared with that other ^{courage} ~~one~~ that endures the sadness and the undiscrivable discomfort of ~~the life this war~~ ^{ed by these human} afflicts on those who fight it. ^{directly} ~~this war~~

One Million Londoners are sleeping in subway stations every night. One Million people. Men and women, children in the arms of their mothers, children alone,- old people, sick people, ~~HHHHHHHHH~~, - all of them breathing the thick, heavy, exhausted air,- all of them being awakened by every train roaring into the station,- all of them miserable beyond words. But never never have I heard a disgruntled word from any of those sleepers. ^{He} "I have got to stick it out",- "it's disgusting,- but as it's got to be done,- we'll do it".

And it is by no means only the poor who are seeking ~~HHHH~~ refuge in the subway-stations of London. Those stations are deep,- they offer real security and the wealthy ~~and well-to-do~~ ^{as well} go there,- they lie next to the very poor. Cards-games are being arranged,- bottles with tea are going ~~on~~ around,- discussions are taking place.

And what had seemed disquieting to me in those early ~~HH~~
peaceful, and almost forgotten days of the end of August, ~~has~~ disappeared
completely. "The west" has been bombed just as ruthlessly as the east.
Buckingham palace has not been spared, St. Paul's Cathedral has been
made the enemy's target. This enemy must be fought, - he must be defeated
he must be rendered harmless ~~for~~ now and ever, - he cannot be appeased, -
he is irreconcilable, he is the enemy of mankind. In this conviction
and in the determination to win and to free mankind from the curse,
the British people and peoples are united as they have never been be-
fore. What they endure is superhuman.

But nobody can expect ~~infinite~~ human beings to ~~HH~~ remain superhuman for ever. There exists a limit, ⁴⁵ - a physical limit, ^{which can only be extended} ~~which~~ ^{has actually already been} ~~which~~ ~~HH~~ surpassed by moral and spiritual forces. ~~Even~~ ^{extended} These forces, however, must be constantly reinforced, - ~~they must be strengthened and helped in order to remain~~ ^{extended} alive.

Have we said that the world is hoping and praying for the survival of these forces, ² - that the enslaved peoples of Europe, - that the United States of America are hoping and praying for England to win? ^{said so, it is the truth} ~~HHHH~~ We have, - and ^{from} ~~HHHH~~ to know this, ^{great} is doubtelss a certain consolation ^{more} for every man woman and child in Great Brittain. ~~Nere~~ has been done. 50 destroyers have been sold to England and I am told that America

This is, quite generally, the attitude of the English people. I am, for instance, quite convinced that the people of poor, lovely, devastated Coventry will not have reacted differently when disaster struck them. I visited Coventry only a few weeks ago, marveled at the grace and solemn beauty of the 14th-Century-cathedral and ^{at} the enchanting little houses and Inns ~~that~~ that were even older, some of them having been built in the tenth century. But admiring those treasures in stone was not the ~~real~~ ^{actual} purpose of my visit. I wanted to see the factories, - I wanted to learn about general conditions in this important little center, - about air-raid-~~pre~~cautions, emergency-stations and the work of the WVS (women's voluntary services) who happen ^{ed} to be particularly active in Coventry.

Coventry was a very overcrowded city indeed, - first because of its rapidly expanding industries, - second owing to the influx of ^{some} ~~a~~ few thousand evacuated people from London. Impossible to get a room at any hotel or boarding-house, - even on any ordinary day. The balloon-^{over C.} barrage was about as dense as was that over London but I knew only too well that neither balloons nor anti-~~Aircraft~~ guns can do more during night-raids, but keeping ~~the~~ Mr. Goering's heroes at a considerable height. There is no real ^{defense} ~~protection~~ against high raiders, - once they have broken through the defense-belt of a city. But while London was having its subway-stations and, after all, hundreds of real deep-shelters besides, Coventry did not seem adequately equipped. Of course there were lots of brick-shelters; but those small and flimsy surface-cages didn't ~~offer~~ not, according to my experiences, offer any real protection, - certainly not against direct hits, - but even nearby explosions would most likely blow them up.

So far there hadn't been ant too serious attacks on C. But ^{almost proudly} ~~Almost~~ proudly the people would show you a few damaged places and, if you happend to come from London they would almost enviously explain: of course, this is not the real thing, - but still, - for C. it is quite impressive.

They had been ^{movingly} ~~been~~ preparing for "the real thing" the people of C. Most of their ^{more} ~~solidly~~ built churches had been turned into surface-shelters and first-aid-stations, - most of Coventry's women had registered with the W.V.S. whose services, - cantine-work, sick-bed-~~arrange-~~ ^{and} ~~ments,~~ night-wardens-services were functioning perfectly. They were on the alert, - they were waiting. Well, - they have not been waiting in Vain. Last ~~THURSDAY~~ ^{Friday} 's disaster ^{has brought} ~~changed~~ their cheerful, industrious place ~~into~~ ruins, I do not yet know how many of my friends had to be listed among the ^{one} ~~thousand~~ casualties of that night. But I do know that the spirit of the city of Coventry will not have been broken.

The spirit, - the spirit of fighting democracy, - our own spirit, - for no true democate, - no free and decent human being will fail to ^{identify his life with} ~~share in his mind~~ the hopes, ^{and} ~~sorrow~~ hardships, ~~and~~ the sadening sacrifices and the proud feelings of victory of the British people. What is this "spirit" to achieve, - what must be its ^{real} ~~aim~~, its final objective? All of us know its immediate aim ; we also know that this immediate aim must and will be ^{achieved} ~~reached~~. Democracy must and will win this war, - of this I am firmly convinced. But our winning ~~at~~ ^{the} ~~war~~ does not yet ~~guarantee~~ ^{to follow} in itself guarantee our winning a peace, as has been sadly proved in 1918. How can we win the coming peace?

Are there any definite, constructive ideas on "our",- the democratic part,-as for the new world-order "we" mean to create? Mr. Hitler,- as anyone knows,- has very definite plans,- be they good or bad,-: he knows what he is after. He wants to conquer and rule the world,- and has already given more than one clean cut example of what he means when he says "ruling." ^{Denmark} ^{Norway} Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, Belgium and ~~France~~ France have been made parts of his "new European order",- and the enslaved peoples of those countries ~~know~~ ^{its} ^{and essence.} ~~have not been left in doubts as for~~ ^{the} nature ~~of this order~~ ^{Even} ~~the~~ ^{the} Germans themselves know what this order means,- for they, ^{the master-race} ^{at the same time} too, have been completely enslaved, although they have been ~~made~~ made the slave -drivers of others .I do not believe that any single country or nation ~~is~~ ^{or ever prospered} is,-or ever could be,- happy under Hitler. Nor do I believe that peace could ever be restored if Hitler should remain in power. ~~That is why he cannot really win this war.~~ Technically speaking he might make us loose, - which would not, in this strangely unprecedented imply ^{For} case, that he would have won. There would follow a period of constant fighting ^{civil} ~~and~~ wars and revolutions would never cease to disturb the "new order" and in the end a ruined world would have to ~~restart~~ restart from the bottom and to rebuilt civilisation which would have been destroyed.

Allright, then,- Mr. Hitler cannot win this war and he most certainly cannot win a peace based on "our",- the democratic defeat. But ~~can we win a peace,~~ can we win a peace,

based on his defeat? The answer is :yes. For the very developpements that will bring us victory will help us to continue and to safeguard what we have conquered. What are these developpements? They are de-
truly
veloppements of a revolutionary kind which will not only alter and
better conditions within ^{our} individual ^{democratize} countries, - but which will also
change and
greatly improve the ~~relationship~~ ^{democratize} relation-ship of countries ^{between} ~~among~~ each
others. In order to win this war democracy will have to undergo certain
changes, - as has been already proved in England. In order to win this
war, the attitude of one country towards another will have to be
equally revolutionized, - as has already ^{been} proved, - for instance, - by
Britains ^{indefatigable}
~~the~~ revolutionary offer to France which, had it been accepted, would
have created an entirely new and certainly better relationship between
the two great European democracies. In order to win this war England
must become the sincere and unselfish ~~liberator~~ ^{liberator} of the countries
that ^{fell} ~~have been~~ victim to Hitlers "New Order ". In order to win this
war against evil, democracy must ~~prove to be "good"~~
~~it must not only conquer the enemy but also its own weaknesses and the~~
outworn notions that have made it weak.

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All this does not, of course, ^{imply} ~~imply~~ that we ~~shall~~
shall automatically win the coming peace, by winning the war, - that we
just ought to
~~we~~ sit down and not worry. We must worry, - we have got to worry a
great deal. But we need not be pessimistic, & ^{our} ~~our~~ cause is the right
one and by ~~persistently~~ ^{persistently} honestly, fearlessly, consistantly persuing it,
^{lasting}
victory will be ours.

.....

What, I Miss. Henry party
mean, - 7. and then 2. 10. 10.
allied, shall, 25. 2. 10. 10.
real plan, - and a better order, -
a better a more decent world.
Hill, - 12. 10. - of this 10. 10. 10.
secured.

Searchlight

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countries.

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The enemy is strong and it is later than we think. Let's not betray ourselves, - if England falls, - democracy will be doomed all over the world. For the world has become small and handy by the achievements of human genius and will either be a democratic world or its very contrary. If England falls democracy will be doomed, - not because it merited

[Amidst
pages
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Searchlight through the blackout

Erika Mann

Ladies and gentlemen,- it is quite an adventure to be with you today. Only a few days ago I came back home from England. The ^{by air} trip took me exactly four weeks and two days. Half a day I was en route between somewhere in England and Portugal,- 4 Weeks I was waiting in Lisbon,- and one day and a half I spent on the magnificent Yankee-Clipper. I shall never forget my first evening in Lisbon. During the flight I had made the acquaintance of an Englishman who was on his way to Canada ^{to work there for} where he was being sent by the British Board of Trade. He was a middle-aged ~~type~~ of friendly businessman, matter of fact and unromantic. His home was in Birmingham. He had not been outside of England ever since the outbreak of the war. He had ^{two little girls} two kids, aged 2 and four,- they were alright, thank you, ~~HHHHH~~ ^{food} food was really not all too good any longer. His wife was doing her best to get the kids what they needed and he himself, though he was quite fond of food, ^{most of his own} gave them his butter and jam-ration s,- for, after all,- they had to grow, while he was already big enough. The gentlemen's name was Stanhope. I was pleased to note that Mr. Stanhope ~~HHHHHHHHHH~~ checked into the same hotel as I; not that I was so particularly fascinated by his ^{modest} regular, unassuming ~~HHHHH~~ appearance,- ~~BHH~~ I was simply looking forward to seeing him eat. How delighted he must be with his first neutral,- his first peace-time-meal. When I stepped out on the little balcony, adjoining ~~BHH~~ the restaurant of our hotel, Mr. Stanhope was already there. In order not to

of 1940, the months of the battle of Britain and the Battle of London, I had had ample opportunity to study and to admire not only the boundless courage and toughness of ~~HHHHH~~ the Londoners, but also the amazing strength of ~~their~~ ^{the} nervous systems in the face of death and total destruction, I realized this time, - during the comparatively peaceful months ^a spent there, ~~HHHH~~ ¹ the depressing effect of the blackout. Not as if people had complained, - by no means. However, the one example I have given you, the example of hungry, foodloving Mr. Stanhope who forgot to eat, so excited was he about the lights of Lisbon, will I think, suffice, to show you the significance of the blackout which is more than just physical darkness, but at the same time seems to symbolize the spiritual darkness in which the enemy of mankind has chosen to shroud our world.

~~Despite the fact that it may be said today~~ ^{probably}
~~that~~ ^{that} Britain is ~~HHHHHHHH~~ the country where this spiritual darkness has its smallest chance, though I do not think that the defenders of Moskau ~~HHHH~~ ^{could possibly} feel that they live in spiritual darkness either. Wherever men fight, wherever they fight for a cause they know to be just and worthwhile and wherever they fight well, there will be some light left, even in the darkest blackout.

I went to England as a special correspondent for Liberty, P.M. and the Toronto Star, - but I also worked for the B.B.C.'s department for ~~HHHH~~ propaganda in Germany and enemy-occupied territories. About once or twice a week I spoke to the Germans. I told them that they were fighting, suffering and dying for a bad, an evil, a hopeless cause, a cause the rest of humanity would never permit to prevail. I spoke to them about the British and American determination to see this fight through to the end, no matter how long it might last and no matter what sacrifices it might ask for and I beseeched them time and again to bethink themselves and to spare the

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world including the german nation the mounting horrors of a prolonged war which in the end could have bit one result ,the destruction of Hitlerism from without,unless they preferred to shorten and modify the desaster by making an end themselves.

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No, it will not be impossible, it will not even be too difficult completely to reeducate the children of Germany, if only we realize this time, that the principle of Non-intervention which has proved to be such a ^{pathetic} ~~pathetic~~ failure in the political, military, and economic field is just as silly, dangerous and ^{im} ~~im~~permissible in the cultural and educational sphere.

in fact we shall have entirely to re-educate the J's.
he shall have to
it seems to me,
There exists an inclination in England, and, ~~in~~ also in this country, - an inclination to believe that, once the war will be won, the job will be done, - that we shall have to sign some sort of treaty and may then once again return to our own business. What, however, is our own business? Our business, Ladies and gentlemen, is a twofold one and one of its parts is as important as the other, both being just as important as anything could possibly be. We must a) win this war, - destroy Hitlerism and the war machines of the aggressor-nations, - and we must b) make sure, - quite sure, - sure beyond the shadow of a doubt, that there won't be another war in another 20 years. In order to avail ourselves successfully of this second part of our all-important task we have got to realize what we are up against, we mustn't dodge the facts, but face the music. Already we have had a slight, rather vague, extremely generally phrased indication of what will have to be done, ~~indicated~~ a hint given us by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill in the Atlantic Charter. The two statesmen say that, after this war, there will have to be unilateral disarmament. The Aggressor will have to be disarmed, while the peace-loving nations will have to ~~remain~~ remain strong enough in arms ~~as~~ to make future aggression utterly impossible. "Unilateral disarmament" the term contains more than would seem at first sight. For Unilateral disarmament cannot be achieved by

signing a treaty. It will have to be carried out and we shall have to look ~~after~~ ^{60.12.12 12.15} its being carried out. We shall have to control and supervise large parts of the German industrial output, we shall have to watch German production, we shall have to see to it, that ~~the~~ German sports club, ~~and~~ gymnastic schools are ~~not~~ sports-clubs and gymnastic-schools and are not the ~~carefully~~ ^{very} disguised instruments for the secret re-arming of Germany. At the same time we shall have to be careful not to hurt ~~the~~ and humiliate the Germans; we must try and render them harmless without heating them into new resentments and a new ~~desire~~ desire for war. The ~~assistance~~ assistance we shall have to give them economically will have to be generous and all we do will have to be done in the spirit of Friendship, understanding and cooperation. Once the war will be lost ~~to~~ ^{by} Mr. Hitler and his gang, - ~~we shall have got to convince the Germans that we do not hate them, that we do not wish to humiliate them, but that within the framework of a general system of security, we wish to make the appearance of another, a new Hitler, - be it in Germany or anywhere else. This last point is important. The re-organisation of the world must be undertaken on a general scale and Germany must by no means be the only country to be affected by it. Certain things, - so the international body which must constitute itself, will have to state, - certain things are asocial, they are damaging to the majority of men, and therefore ~~impermissible~~ ^{not} ~~impermissible~~ ^{are}, anywhere, at any time, under any circumstances, we are here to see to it, that they do not occur. Other things are necessary, they must be done for the sake of the greater part of humanity and we are here to see to it that they are ~~carried out~~ carried out everywhere. Thus German won't feel hurt, - thus she can't complain of~~

any humiliating discrimination employed against her, - thus, - we'll gradually
may build a new and lasting order.
Much will have to be done, - and quite some time will have to pass,
before we shall even be allowed to tackle this second part of our
task, which is twofold and tremendous. Its first part is still far
from being solved. For the moment being ~~our~~ ^{constantly} enemy, though suffering
the most staggering losses and bleeding from many wounds, ~~he~~ ¹ is
still on his way up, - at least apparently, though possibly not really.
~~we~~ ^{and} ourselves are still in a defensive position, which, as every
~~soldier~~ ^{you can} knows, is no good place to be in at times of war,
There has been much unrest in England during these recent months,
and quite some dissatisfaction has been felt and uttered, owing to
the fact that the gift from heaven, - these four months during which
~~the enemy has been~~ ^{has been} busy and more than just busy, ~~on our part~~
used to ~~strike~~ ^{by ourselves to} strike at him in the west. And it is by no means merely of
even mainly the workers and communists - influenced leftists in England
who've showed themselves disquieted and dissatisfied; in fact ~~the~~ ^{even}
~~despite war censorship~~ ^{despite} and their voluntary loyalty to ~~the~~ ^{complete}
the Churchill-Government, the entire British Press ~~has~~ ^{have} kept on raging
ever since the Nazi-invasion of Russia. "We are not doing enough"
they complain, - "we are not doing the one thing we ought to do for
our own sake, - we are not aiding Russia sufficiently, - we are not
doing enough!" The idea of invading Spain has been widely discussed.
As Spain is full of German "tourists" (and by the way, - you know that
) as Spain, - I said, is full of German tourists, and as Ger-
man submarines have been reported to operate from Spanish bases,
British intervention there would appear to be legally justified,

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surely no less than in Iran. Reports reaching London from various Spanish cities indicate that dissatisfaction and unrest are rapidly spreading all over Franco's domain and that a serious split exists between the phalangists and the army, and that the spirit of the Loyalists, many of whom are, of course, imprisoned, is unbroken.

It is mainly three groups of people who wish this or a similar step to be taken. They are newspapermen, airmen, and communists. HUEHHHH And, as you have heard, a few days ago, even Winnie Churchill's explanation of why nothing definite can be done right now, - why no "second front" can be established at the moment, has not sufficed to HUEHHHHHHHHH silence the general demand for more action.

Yet, - don't misunderstand me: nobody in Britain doubts for one moment that Hitler is going to be beaten, the two existing riddles being merely how and when. The most disgrunteled man I ^{have} met, happened to be an R.A.F. officer who had been in the war from the start, had participated in many of the present day-raids over France and seen many of his friends crash in flames. "Why don't we invade Italy, or Norway now, when he is busy in the east?" he asked! Two and a half million men are sitting about here in their uniforms. They are getting bored and are not becoming better soldiers that way. I promise you, if we were to wait for the army to win this war for us, we'll have to wait till 1950.

"Imagine any exhausted, seriously disgrunteled soldier in any other country! Is he not apt to say "if things don't change and change fast, we are licked"? But the British grumbler complains that if it comes to the worst, England will win in 1950.

(49)

Communism, strange, as this may sound does not seem to have gained any new ground in Britain. And the ^{general} desire, nay the demand, that Russia should be ^{helped} ~~helped~~ more effectively, has nothing whatever to do with any popular feeling in favor of Communism. It goes without saying that the comrades are doing their best to heat and increase such desire and stiffen such demands. Yet their, - the comrades' efforts towards the forming of a new popular front have so far failed entirely. Short as people's memory is, - it is not ^{as} short ^{as} enough to let them forget the ~~WW~~ years between August 1939 and June 1941. ~~WW~~ Russia was ~~then~~ ^{then} Hitler's partner. But while most thinking people including myself have always considered ~~the Russian agreement~~ ^{the Russian agreement} to be ~~with Nazi-Germany~~ both stupid and immoral, this agreement represented a piece of national russian policy ~~agoodagoodagood~~ ^{ous piece} a bad piece, a blunder, for which ^{today Russia not paying} she is dearly and generously paying; - the commintern, ^{as the communists} however, our own communists, the communists of France, England and America, have, during those two years ~~managed to lose most of the sympathies they possessed. For what they~~ ^{talked, written and fought for something which} said, wrote, stood and fought for had nothing whatever to do with the national policies of their respective countries but was mere treachery. ~~and I have hardly found~~ ^{that's why} and I have hardly found any inclination anywhere in England towards ^{political} a closer cooperation of the various parties ~~and groupings with the Communist party.~~ ^{perhaps} What I have found though out was a strong and genuine feeling of solidarity between Britain, ^{and} the enslaved democracies of the continent and their exiled governments in London on the one ^{hand} ~~side~~ and the great English speaking democracy beyond the ocean on the other.

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I have also found a great and growing
general concern with regard to the day
after.

And while I do not think that the British government themselves,
fully absorbed as they are by the tremendous task of the hour, ^{yet} are devoting
much thought and energy to the planning of a new world, ^{that new world is already} ~~being planned~~
playing an important part in the minds of the people. The people want
a better, a juster, a freer, a more decent world, - that's what they *are*
ready to die for, - and the odds are that they are going to get it in
the end.

(Weiter 17a)

Am I, - the stranger, the guest, ^{am I} going to far, - am I meddling in
other people's affairs? But there is only one affair, - the affair of
mankind and that is my affair as well as yours. Into the hands of Ameri
ca, into your hands the ^aaffairs of mankind have been placed. It's you
who have got to decide. And, according to your decision, democracy will
either die or lieve. It will be better, more perfect, more decent, and
more hopeful than ever before. It will be purified by suffering and a
victorious struggle, - if ^{you} we so decide. Ladies and gentlemen, - I beg you
from the bottom of my heart, - let's make the right decision,

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