

Verbundkatalog Kalliope

Fifth column.

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F i f t h C o l u m n .

Some time ago gave lecture
Ladies and gentlemen, - ~~one week ago~~ I ~~presented~~ the ~~main~~
which deliver I spoke
I am to ~~talk~~ to you, at a small eastern place, to a very nice
all of whom public *under stage*
cultured audience ~~which~~ were members of the library in which
answered I ~~presented~~ appeared. I told them about the Fifth column in

seven countries, - I tried to explain the real meaning of the
term F.C. and I gave them many of my own personal experiences
with the proud representatives of that ^{truly} international organisation.
When I had closed and we had entered the question period,
my first questioner happened to be ^{a middleaged} lady in the back ^{ground} of the
auditorium, of whom I could not ^{see} ~~see~~ much more than her sparkling
eyeglasses and the equally sparkling America-First-bottom dis-
played on her chest. I should like to quote for you the little
conversation we had, - the lady and ~~myself~~, - for I ~~presented~~
consider it to be enlighteneing.

Said the Lady: in your address you have repeatedly mentioned
"the enemy". Now shouldn't ^{not} one first of all give a clear defini-
tion of who or what is supposed to be the enemy?"

I tried to explain that we were living in a ~~free~~ democracy and
that anyone who ^{se} ~~presented~~ admitted goal was the destruction
of democracy on earth could and should be called an enemy.

But the lady was not satisfied. "Thats nothing but british ~~propa~~
propaganda" she said, - "you should go to Germany and see ^{for yourself} how
wonderful it is there, - really, - you should go."

The lady spoke without any trace of any foreign accent.

So she said

But, she had been in German, - ³ two years ago, - she had spent two lovely, loevely weeks there right on the spot and she repeated, - "you too, should go, and you ^{and see} would talk differently", although I had seen more than I had wanted to see ly". I pointed out ~~that~~ that, ~~it would not be quite im-~~ possible for me to see very much at this time, - for I would be shot on the border. But here the lady ^{produced} ~~had~~ a scornful little laughter. "Goodness," she cried, - "I know only too well, - that your and your family have not been loyal to your country. I interrupted ~~by~~ and remarked that it was ~~only~~ only by being disloyal to Mr. Hitler's regime that one could possibly be loyal to Germany, - but she would not listen, - "you have been very disloyal, - she repeated, - and yet at your father's birth-place in Hildesheim, - they are still honoring him as a great German ^{has} ~~fighter~~ ^{the Hildesheim} by showing a bust of him in townhall."

She sounded honest, as she spoke. Yet, - not only have my fathers books been burned in Germany, ^{and} his belongings confiscated, ~~not only~~ not only has he been deprived of his citizenship and ~~he~~ with his whole family ~~had~~ been declared a traitor and condemned to death, - ~~but~~ but ^{he} ~~his~~ was never born in Hildesheim, - nor anywhere near there, - he has never been ^{in Hildesheim} ~~there~~ and there has never been a bust of his in the Hildesheim-Townhall.

I explained this, both to the lady and to the audience and I added that I was quite pleased with this particular questioner, - for it seemed to me that she served as a perfect example

achieve is hardly less dangerous. They achieve confusion, - they achieve ^{bewilderment and} disunity among ^{their opponents and future victims, whom they consider to be their} ~~those whom they~~ ^{beneficiaries} enemies and the, - were they not confused and disunited, - they could never defeat.

It is common knowledge today that Mr. Hitler could never have taken Norway, - that Holland ^{and Belgium} would never have fallen the way they did, - that France could never have been defeated the shameful way it was, - without the splendid services rendered to Mr. Hitler by the respective Fifth Columns in those countries. But even if, within those countries, there would have been a clear understanding of the existence, essence and nature of these Fifth Columns, - Mr. Hitler's job wouldn't have been such an easy one.

Let us examine the concept of the Fifth Column ~~was~~. What, ~~we~~ - just what exactly does it mean? Who is a Fifth columnist? - The history of the term ~~was~~ itself gives a pretty clear ^{explanation} ~~answer~~. ~~REMEMBER~~ ^{all} You know that when Franco's general Mola marched at Madrid with four columns, ^{of Italians and fascists, Spanish, assisted by Germany and Italy} he declared: "I am marching at Madrid with Four columns, - but I have got a fifth within Madrid, - and it is that Fifth Column ~~was~~ with whose help I shall conquer."

That's where the expression comes from and the story contains a clear definition.: Fifth columnists are people who are willing in one way or another to deliver from within their country to the enemy from without. By no means need a Fifth columnist be paid by the enemy from without. ^{Above all he needn't command the enemy} ~~He need not even hate or dislike his~~ ^{to be the enemy, - but his sympathies lie with the enemy of} country. He may be an "idealist" in some queer sense. What makes him a Fifth Columnist is the fact that his sympathies ^{lie} ~~are~~ with the enemy-side and that he is acting according to these sympathies.

To use, - as it is being done ^{quite frequently} ~~in the past~~, - the word term Fifth-Columnist simply as an insult ^{people with whom we disagree} against ~~those~~ ^{those} who ~~is~~ ^{are} of a different opinion, is, of course erroneous and helps creating exactly the kind of confusion the real Fifth-Columnists want to ^{create} produce. ^{This kind of}

~~CONFIDENTIAL - TWO DO NOT TALK~~
~~EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT THE FIFTH COLUMNISTS ARE THE ENEMY OF THE UNITED STATES~~
Communism is not new. It has manifested in common in the many times and currents. We have war many about this. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT THE FIFTH COLUMNISTS ARE THE ENEMY OF THE UNITED STATES~~
We have made fun of it - yet we ~~have~~ let

We may consider people whose opinions differ from ours to be silly mistaken, - or even dangerous. But as long as they do not deliberately work towards the victory of an enemy from without ^{we may call them} ~~they are~~ just that and nothing more. *R. J. J. J. J.*

I never forget Betatrix Lilly when she appeared in a Broadway-show a few years ago. A second show within the show was produced on the stage, - Hamlet, if I am not mistaken, - and B. Lilly was in the audience up there. She could not find her seat, stepped into one row, stepped out again, - rushed into another ~~one~~, - kept on standing in the middle of the crowd, talking loudly and sillily and disturbing everybody. Finally someone said, quite politely, "please, ^{at} adame, couldn't you possibly sit down and be quiet?" She turned ~~to~~ ^{at} him with an incomparable air of contempt and said nothing but "Comunist". Comunist ^{of course} was "the" word ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ at that time. Today she would have to say "Fifth Columnist" in order to be ^{topical} up to date.

Foreign spies are not Fifth Columnists. In America you have got to be an American to be worthy of that hohnorary title. ^{V. J. J. J. J.} You will, of course, collaborate with ~~FIFTH COLUMN~~ Foreigners, - or with other ~~Americans~~ connected with foreigners.

just as Mr. Gurnsey, the ~~the~~ scandal
so delivered Norway to the Nazis,
~~has~~ ~~is~~ an Norwegian, ^{Prussian} Nordal
is a Prussian and as any
Fifth Columnist will always
be a citizen of the country
in which. As a Fifth Columnist,

To be quite topical, however, we shall have to consider ^{the fact} that great and important changes have taken place with regard to the entire fifth-column phenomena. These changes concern above all the continent of Europe where the fifth column, - the antidemocratic fifth-column is shrinking, steadily, indeed where it is today on the verge of disappearing.

Why,? How did this come to pass? Quite simply: with the exception of ^{Spain} Switzerland, ^{and unoccupied France} Sweden, Portugal and Turkey, Europe has been conquered by the enemy; ~~He has done so~~ ^{conquered} after He has done so with the help of his international fifth columnists who, however, having played their part in the destruction of their own countries ceased to be important as soon as that destruction was finally completed. The vast majority of their countrymen who had considered them to be patriotic idealists, ^{nowadays, however, if incited} as long as the enemy ~~had~~ for whom they worked had not yet taken possession of their land, now ~~have~~ grasped their real nature; hated and despised as traitors and agents they ~~now~~ enjoy their "official" positions in the shadow of the Fuehrer while the revolutionary glamour which once used to be theirs has shifted towards those ~~the~~ true revolutionaries who work, suffer and die for the liberation of their respective nations.

It is only where the enemy is not yet all-powerful, where his efforts are still in a preparatory stage, where he is still ~~busy~~ busy infiltrating and undermining a nation that ~~his~~ his Fifth-column is of real importance, and it must be admitted that ~~all~~ ^{this disgusting species of men} the Americas ~~seem~~ ^{are today the} to be ~~the~~ most fertile ground for Fifth-columnism today. Only a few days ago the American Chief of Staff, General Marshall warned ^{us} bluntly of the imminent danger of ~~all-out~~ sabotage against American defense ~~industry~~.

In many instances you will not even realize that a clear cleancut
exists
connection between you and the enemy from without. But as long as you
either
are working for him, or with him, ^{you} ~~the~~ are a Fifth Columnist and should be
treated accordingly.

It took the European ~~RM~~ Democracies a long time before they
realized that there was such a thing as the Fifth Column, - moreover, that
the Fifth Column constituted a decisive ^{element} ~~success~~ within the plans of the
enemy. And they refused to listen to people who did realize it, -
^{democratic Germany}
to ~~those~~ who knew all about it and whose knowledge was based on
personal experineces. ~~THESE~~ The
refusal to listen went so far that, - after
~~THESE~~ having suffered a few painful rebukes, those few well-informed
people would not dare use their knowledge any longer, out of a- justifi-
fied, - fear not to be taken serious^{ly} any longer, even in connection
with their more modearte, - more "believable" statements, ^{concerning the Nazi}
~~menace~~.

Dr. Hermann Rauschning, for instance, kept his book "The Voice
of Destruction" the first draft of which had been completed as early as
in 1936, hidden away in his drawer, till after the occupation of Norway,
when ~~THE~~ its prophecies had become true and obvious to everyone.
Dr. Rauschning had been told by Mr. Hitler how the "Fifth column" would be
used, how much he relied on this secret weapon, and how amazed the world
would be to le-arn ^{of its existence} ~~the situation~~. After he had left the "third Reich" Dr.
Rauschning tried in vain to convince others of the deadliness of that
weapon and of the necessity to counterattack in time. "Too phantastic"
said the European statesmen, - "too childiish, - too cheap and silly".
~~They should have known that it was precisely the phantastic, childiish, cheap~~
~~and silly element~~

industries and already now hardly one week passes without some mysterious disaster taking place the causes of which ^ecannot be determined.¹

Last week

congress

Mr. Frank Bohn, Chairman of the German American ~~CONGRESS~~ for Democracy

announced in Detroit that more than two hundred Gestapo Key-men were busy blowing up powderfactories with their own hands? By no means; busy in this country, busy teaching and employing native Fifth-columnists ^{can't be misled} who may even believe to be good patriots.

Many of those Quislings whom I met in seven European countries between 1933 and 1939 were more stupid than they were wicked. In this connection it may serve us to remember a little saying we used to quote in Germany before Hitler came to power. '... *eh*. Now this still holds true ~~WHENEVER~~ for all fifth columnists be it here or anywhere else.

It is our good fortune that both Russia and England seem to be pretty fifth-colum-free, ~~WHENEVER~~ while our, the democratic fifth column on the continent is growing steadily. To encourage and help the growth of our fifth column ~~WHENEVER~~ is one of our main tasks.

*which I'd rather
call by a more
honorable name*

Fifth
Column

Holland

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And people like Rauschning who knew that nothing could be too phantastic and too cheap for Nationalsocialism,- who had been told so by someone quite competent namely by Mr. Hitler,- had to resign ~~themselves~~ himself. We all had to resign ourselves ,- while we all knew what was bound to come. It was not necessary to have been ~~even~~ informed about his plans by the Fuehrer himself. I personally have never chatted and conversed with the wicked man,- and never in my life ~~had any contact with him~~ will. It was sufficient for me ~~to observe his activities and the activities of his creatures~~ to watch his activities and the ~~at~~ activities of his creatures,- in Germany first,- then all over Europe,- in order to ^{foresee} ~~know~~ with agonizing clarity what was going to happen.

But,- you may ask,- how about Germany? Certainly the German Republic has not been destroyed by Fifth Columnists? Well, let us look at our definition. "Fifth columnists",- we have said,- are people who deliver from within their country to the enemy from without. Hitler-remember,- was not only the enemy of German democracy,- he was also an enemy from without. His being an Austrian has always been significant and always will be. Those traitors to the German Republic who made him a ^{German} ~~German~~ by ^{illegally conferring upon} ~~giving~~ him the title of a prussian Regierungsrat were among the leading Fifth columnists in the Reich. To Hitler, then, the enemy from without, German Democracy and eventually the whole of Germany ^{has been} ~~was~~ delivered, by German Fifth Columnists. And in Germany, as well as in all other countries that followed suit, the loyal, well-meaning democratic ~~population~~ ^{to a large, to a considerable} population, was too unsuspecting, too skeptical, too civilized, if you want, to grasp the unbelievable in time.

Years before Hitler came into power Nazi-keymen ^{in Germany} had been smuggled into all kinds of important positions. They were in schools and universities,- in the broadcasting corporations, the telephon, and telegraph-agencies. They spied ^{upon} ~~in~~ the theatres and publishing-houses,-

they were chauffeurs and butlers in the houses of influential Republicans. The prepared ^{black and white} lists, took down conversations, - ~~WHEN~~ they tried to seduce their surroundings and, ^{when} seduction failed, ⁱⁿ fell back on threats and blackmail.

Fifth column activities in Germany as well as anywhere else ~~showed two different faces, -~~ showed two different faces, - one open and one veiled face.

~~Those~~ Those who openly admitted being Nazis, - who paraded on the streets, broke up meetings and provoked rows, seemed so uncivilized, noisy, stupid and rude, that one wouldn't have expected so elaborate a system of espionage, of "peaceful penetration" discrete bribery and skilful seduction to be connected with them. "Those Nazi-boys" democrats all over Germany used to say, - "are pretty disgusting in their stupid brutality, - but they couldn't possibly be dangerous. They are shouting too much. Barking dogs don't bite."

And even now and even here, - the bad manners and barking voices ^{let's say} of the members of the German American Bund are apt to convince many Americans of the harmlessness of this ^{Fifth Column} ~~Nazi-front~~-organization which, however, represents only one side of the ^{Nazi} Fifth Column in this country; - it becomes ^{more} dangerous ^{quietly} through its collaboration with the ^{more American} more refined, and less obvious among its sympathizers and backers.

How can one recognize this quieter, more refined and less obvious type of Fifth Columnist? What are the symptoms to be watched?

~~From the very beginning the Nazi-Fifth-Column made use of two trends which existed, - to some degree, - in every country: it made use of the nationalistic feelings of people on the one hand, - and of the racial differences among people on the other.~~ From the very beginning the Nazi-Fifth-Column made use of ^a ~~two~~ trends ^{which} ~~which~~ existed, - to some degree, - in every country: it made use of the nationalistic feelings of people on the one hand, - and of the racial differences ^{abused those feelings} ~~among people on the other.~~ ^{for its own Nazi purposes}

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Nationalism,- super-nationalism as an instrument ^{in the hands} of the enemy ~~from~~ without ,- it sounds strange. ~~XX~~
~~For~~ Yet ~~the~~ this instrument has been used by the enemy on an international ^{Pan-Nazi} scale. The ^{concepts} irreconcilable contradiction between the ~~words~~ international and Nazism (or Fascism) did not seem to cause any disturbance in the minds of people. International Nazism is just as impossible a combination of words as international nationalism,- indeed it is the same combination of words. But Hitler who has never bothered with reason abused the nationalistic feelings in all countries for his purely international purposes. Even in Austria, where later on the "Anschluss" was openly demanded by the Austrian Nazis,- it was first of all Austrian Nationalism that made the party flourish. And while ^{at that time} it was easy for all democratic governments to deal with communism,- communism being a clearly international ^{revolutionary} movement , designed to abolish all boundaries , to destroy the sovereignty of states and to create the world state of the working classes,- it was not at all easy to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ limit, or even forbid Nazi-activities,- as they were, allegedly, ardently national, as all Nazis claimed to adore nothing but their own country and as they also claimed to be a bullwark against communism. For these reasons the governments as well as the upper classes in all countries looked at Nazism with a certain benevolence. They wouldn't believe that Nazi-Nationalism was nothing but a ~~fake~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ fake, that Nazi-nationalism in Austria in Techechoslovakia, in Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ would deliver each of those countries to the enemy from without.

Among the Nazi-Fifth-Columnists in those countries many may have actually believed, that it was Mr. Hitler's only and unselfish

concern to make their respective countries happy, - to have them participate in the blessings he had already given to Germany; by no means did all of them wish to give up their national and cultural independence. On the contrary they ^{hoped} ~~may~~ to strengthen and to improve ^{their} ~~the~~ ^{independence and peace} ~~it~~ by their collaboration with the enemy from without. What a strange, what a bewildering psychology. Could ~~it~~ they have known better? Was not the fact that they were dependent, - financially and ideologically on the dictator of a foreign country ~~enough~~ sufficient evidence ~~enough~~ for their error? It was not. ^{Many} ~~"the"~~ people do not like to think too clearly, - ^{many} ~~the~~ people are not too fond of reason. And Mr. ~~Hitt~~ Hitler's contempt of reason is one of the strongest links ~~between~~ him and ^{many} ~~the~~ people in many countries.

Above all when times become difficult, - and they have been difficult for ^{quite some} ~~many~~ years, - it is ^{kind of} ~~the~~ ^{comforting} ~~agreeable~~ to be carried away by something ^{seemingly} ~~stronger~~ than ^{one's wishes to call} ~~it~~ - by something irresistible, ^{and} something inevitable. ~~Why bother~~ Why bother with thinking why not just swim along, calling the dirty waters one ^{has thrown oneself into} ~~the wave of the future~~ "the wave of the future"?

~~If we try to explain the downfall and defeat of the European democracy we may say that they have fallen and have been defeated ~~not~~ not so much because ^{of} the overwhelming strength of the enemy from without but because of their own weakness, - and, in particular, because of the dangerous, vicious and ^{shortsighted} ~~kind~~ kind of nationalism they employed. Even comparatively small and helpless countries like ^{Austria} ~~Holland~~, Tschechoslovakia and Poland, - like Sweden, Norway and Denmark, like Belgium and Holland~~

~~People who in the name of "nationalism" and "nationalism" force~~
~~their countries to yield to the "inevitable", act, if not as Fifth-~~
~~columnists, so at least in complete accordance with the enemy's interests.~~
Realism or "naïfism"
People who in the name of "nationalism" and "nationalism" force
their countries to yield to the "inevitable", act, if not as Fifth-
columnists, so at least in complete accordance with the enemy's interests.

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could have saved their skins, their liberty and their democracies, if they would have stuck together, - if they would not have waited for Mr. Hitler to attack and devour them one by one, - but if they would have shown him that, by attacking one of them, - he would have to deal with all of them. The idea of the indivisibility of peace, - was, of course, a league-of Nations-idea and has been sadly sold out by that melancholy institution. It is also true that even England and France, although recognizing this indivisibility in principle, ~~never~~ ^{did not for quite some time} acted accordingly.

At any rate: it has ~~been shown~~ ^{become evident} that a nationalism ~~which~~ ^{looks across the boundaries of} its own country ~~in order to come to some terms with the enemy~~ ^{in order to come to some terms with the enemy} ~~is a dangerous thing~~ ^{is a dangerous thing} ~~and not in order to obtain security by collaboration with endangered~~ ^{and not in order to obtain security by collaboration with endangered} friends, - it has become evident, that such an isolationist nationalism will lead to the downfall of the nation in whose name it is being exercised, - and that it will work right into the pockets of the enemy.

and not in order to obtain security by collaboration with endangered friends, - it has become evident, that such an isolationist nationalism will lead to the downfall of the nation in whose name it is being exercised, - and that it will work right into the pockets of the enemy. ~~anyone who displays~~ ^{anyone who displays} ~~this kind of nationalism~~ ^{this kind of nationalism} ~~acts as~~ ^{acts as} ~~a Fifth-Columnist willingly and deliberately, at least in complete~~ ^{a Fifth-Columnist willingly and deliberately, at least in complete} ~~accordance with the wishes of the enemy from without.~~ ^{accordance with the wishes of the enemy from without.}

It may be said, therefore, that ~~this kind of nationalism~~ ^{anyone who displays} ~~acts as~~ ^{acts as} ~~a Fifth-Columnist willingly and deliberately, at least in complete~~ ^{a Fifth-Columnist willingly and deliberately, at least in complete} ~~accordance with the wishes of the enemy from without.~~ ^{accordance with the wishes of the enemy from without.}

A second symptom to be watched is Antisemitism. From the very beginning and in all countries, racial hatred has been ~~one of the main tools~~ ^{in the hands} ~~of the Nazi-Fifth-Column~~ ^{by spreading racial hatred} ~~and often succeeded in creating disunity, suspicion, and unrest~~ ^{create} ~~among the people.~~ ^{Any ardent antisemite is a potential Fifth} ~~Not only because his intolerance is~~ ^{in disaccordance with} ~~all the accepted~~ ^{all the accepted}

rules and standards of democracy, but above all because he, too, -
just like the isolationist-nationalist, is acting ^{precisely} ~~exactly~~ the way the
enemy wishes him to act. If I, - for some silly superstitious reason, or
another ~~would have~~ ^{had} ~~any~~ ^{antipathy} against the Jews, - I would certainly
try to overcome it, ^{at least} ~~at a time when I knew that I am doing Mr. Hitler an~~
important favor by feeling and talking ~~against~~ ^{the enemy of democracy and mankind} against ~~the Jews.~~

It has been a strange and agonizing experience to watch the
activities and rapid growth of the Nazi-Fifth-Column in seven different
countries, without ever being able to convince the governments and peoples
of those countries of the ~~dangerous~~ dangers coming from that side.
It was equally agonizing to gradually understand that no country would
ever learn from another, - ^{but} that they all insisted on repeating each others
deadly mistakes.

When Austria had fallen and had been incorporated into the Third Reich, -
when the Austrian Nazis themselves felt bitterly disappointed, when those
among them, whose Austrian nationalistic feelings had been sincere, - had
been thrown into concentration-camps, and when even those others whose
sympathies had always been with Nazi-Germany rather than with Austria had
been robbed of their powers, - when prussian troops dominated the country
when ~~and~~ Gauleiter Buerkel from the Rhineland was made the ruler of all Aus-
trians and when beautiful Austria with all of her personal charm, with all
of her traditions and her incomparable culture was nothing more than
the German "Ostmark", commandeered and exploited by Germans, - then, at long
last one might have had expected the ^{Nazi} Fifth-columnists all over the world
to realize what their foreign "Fuehrer" was after. Well they did not, -
~~they~~ realize this, - and they have not yet realized it ~~today.~~
Today.

~~either over here nor in any other country not yet occupied by the Nazis.~~

In order to explain this extraordinary lack of understanding on the part of the various Fifth columns it will serve us to remember a saying we used to quote in the very beginning of Nazi-Fifthcolumn-activities in Germany. We used to say: Decent, intelligent, and Nazi, - these three qualifications will never go together. Either you are decent and Nazi, - then you are not intelligent. Or you are intelligent and Nazi, - then you are not decent, - or else you are decent and intelligent, - then you are not Nazi. This is true for all Fifth columnists and ^{partly} explains the fact ~~that~~ ^{they} the Sudeten-Czech Fifth Columnists have ^{been able to} ~~not~~ draw a lesson from their Austrian friends, - why ~~the International Fifth Columnists have not learned anything from the~~ dreary ^s disappointed legion of its predecessors no fifth column has learned anything from the ~~the~~ legion of its predecessors

The Nazi-Fifth-Column has formed a dense ~~the~~ network all over the world. The dull and bureaucratic thoroughness ~~with which this~~ ^{with which this} ~~organisations~~ ^{organisations} has been built up ~~stands~~ stands in strange contrast to its phantastic and incredibly gangster like activities. ~~I should like to give you a few of my personal experiences with this species, - not because I consider them to be particularly significant or important, - but because they are typical and might have been~~ ^{made} made by anyone.

I left Germany in March 1933 and, by October 1933, re-opened in Zurich my little Anti-Nazi-Theater, - a literary-satirical revue called "The Peppermill" which I had founded in Munich. ~~When I~~ ^{have said} ~~had~~ Anti-Nazi-Theater but I'd like you to understand that it was only the ideals we stood for and the concepts we fought that made the "Peppermill" something like a political ^{enterprise} ~~undertaking~~. We stood in generally human terms for the ideals of democracy and we condemned in generally human terms the aims and methods of dictatorship. Yet we never mentioned any name or party, - never did we

really go political. We exclusively dealt with images, parables, fairy-tales and the like, - not so much in order to keep out of politics, - but rather out of a certain artistic discretion that believe in indirect effects rather than in the direct propagandistic approach. In spite of this, - but because of the great success we enjoyed from the very beginning the Swiss Nazi-Fifth-Column was taking a special interest in our little enter-~~prise~~ *prise-venture*.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ It was with the greatest amazement that we had to realize ^{in the summer of 1933} that there was such a thing, as the Swiss "azi-Fifth-column". This Nazi-party, the so-called Nationale Front had all the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ earmarks of our own Nazi-Party. There was the (which did not, however, refuse to collaborate with the one neighbor who ^{of necessity} extreme and violent nationalism, there was, of course, Antisemitism, - there was anti-alienism, - there was that familiar fake-socialism couped with bullwarks against the reds. All the trimmings were there, - not a single one was lacking. The National Front received their orders from Berlin, or, rather from the German Nazi-Gauleiter in Switzerland, and from the various German ^{living} district-leaders ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ⁱⁿ Switzerland as clerks in traveling-bureaus, as insurance agents, doormen, waiters, or restaurant-owners.

The Nationale Front would not, of course, have openly admitted their close cooperation with ~~the~~ ^{those} Nazi -agents, - but there existed full proof ^{of} for this collaboration and the National Front didn't even really deny it. In civil life the members of the national front had for the most part not achieved very much. Rich and lazy students and family sons on the one hand and the dissatisfied upsprings of the lower middle-classes on the other, - boys who did not quite know what to do with themselves, who longed for adventures and for somebody on whom to blame the emptiness of their lives formed the main body of the "movement". It should be remembered

of course, ~~that~~ Switzerland, being a very well run state with little unemployment and a high living-standard for practically every-one, did not furnish the most important tools for a rising of Nazism. It is for this reason that even today Mr. Hitler's chances for a peaceful penetration of Switzerland are comparatively poor.

Anyway, - the national front existed and no sooner had we arrived in Zuerich and applied for a permit to work there, when they got busy on our case. The "Front"-paper warned the authorities ~~against~~ us. Certainly, - they said, - it was not in Switzerland's interest, to admit foreign artists who not only ~~HHHHH~~ would be a competition to all domestic enterprises in the field, but who were also apt to bring us into trouble with the government of a friendly neighbour-~~HHHHH~~. As we had left Germany in March 1933 and were therefore, obviously, on hostile terms with that friendly government, we'd better be carefully investigated before being allowed to appear on a Zuerich stage.

We were investigated, ^{and} - our show was considered to be ~~in~~ our own speciality and no competition to any Swiss theater; furthermore our presentations were unpolitical, - would not get Switzerland into trouble and ^{found} ~~had~~ the approval of both the ^{democratic} Swiss government and the ~~HHHHH~~ liberal ^{Swiss} press.

The "Peppermil" was a huge success and our little theatre was sold out every evening. The National Front kept on raging against us, - to no effect. More serious steps had to be taken. Where denouncing and raging ^{didn't} ~~doesn't~~ help - the front figure, ^d - threats ^{won't} ~~will~~ do. Consequently ~~one evening in my dressing-room~~ I received an envelope containing a pistol-bullet; the accompanying letter explained that this was one bullet to be sure, - but ^{that} more bullets were still in the ^{gun} ~~pistol~~ and that they'd reach me in time, though not through the mails. I handed the little ^{to} ~~present~~ over ~~the~~ police who were not, however,

able to detect the sender.

A few days later hell broke loose in our theater. On that evening the audience had seemed strange to us from the beginning. There were some leading frontists who were known to us, - and others whom we clearly identified as frontists, though we did not know them. Strange as this sounds, but Nazi-faces are alike all over the world. It is actually easier to ^{identify} recognize a Nazi than it is to identify an Italian, an American, a Frenchman. More decisively than the place of birth, or the so-called race is it or a Jew. For ~~the~~ the spirit that forms the body, or rather the face, if you will allow me to abuse the word spirit in connection with any Nazi-physiognomy.

There they were, - scattered all over the place and doubtlessly up to mischief.

They started their courageous demonstration by shouting; when they failed to intimidate either us or our audience, - they resolved to throwing chairs ^{and at those who appeared} at the stage, demolishing all furniture, and finally ^{started} shooting. A few people were injured, - ~~necessity~~ the police appeared and restored order for the time being. As a consequence of the incident the Peppermill was not immediately banned from Zuerich. Yet, ^e ~~since~~ ~~the~~ ~~brave~~ ~~gunners~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~National~~ ~~front~~ ~~were~~ ~~Swiss~~ ~~citizens~~ while those ~~from~~ they had attacked happened to be aliens, - we were never given permission to appear in Zuerich again.

I was sick at heart because of this experience and similar ones to follow. Was it not ^{ally} tragic ~~and~~ significant, I thought, that the Nazi-Fifth-column should have succeeded in driving out of the country a group of people who defended the very principles on which that country was built, - just because this group did not possess Swiss passports, - while they, - the Fifth column was made in Switzerland?

~~Yet~~ Yet the peppermill went on touring.

denounce and ruin our troupe. It was only after the Anschluss, when ~~HHH~~
~~HHH~~ the peppermill did not exist any longer, when I was in America
and the little ^{had returned to} gifted one ~~of~~ his native Vienna, that he openly boasted
about his achievements and ^{promptly} was given his own theatre as an award.

I feel confident, however, that in the meantime this theatre ^{too} will have
been ^{handed over} ~~given~~ to some German and that our friend ^{is} ~~is~~ just as disappointed ^{and disgraced}
to day as are all other Austrian Fifth columnists.

After having enjoyed the Fifth Column in Germany, Switzerland,
Austria and tschechoslovakia we were hardly astonished to run into
the same befogged groups of international nationalists, - of patriots
in the service of a foreign tyrant, - in Holland and Belgium as well.
In Belgium use was being made of a natural split within the population
who were partly of ^{Latin} ~~French~~ ^{MA} partly of flamish-germanic stock.
And just as the ^{Tschie} ~~sudentens~~ ^{German} had sincerely believed that Hitler wanted
nothing but to make them free and happy, the Flamish Nazi party counted
on the Fuehrers plans for their liberation and ~~unselfish Christlike salvation.~~ ~~HHHHHHH~~

On the whole and everywhere the German Nazis were using ^{the} main-designs.
First: they created disunion in the countries whom they intended to
conquer once they were ripe; this disunion ^{was} ~~was~~ achieved by splitting the
~~HHHHHHH~~ peoples of those countries ^{various} ~~in~~ hostile groups on the basis of
racial differences, or of differences ^{of religion} of culture and language. ~~HHHHHHH~~
~~HHHHHHH~~ ^{whole way being fought by all groups by means of a} ~~some kind of constant war from within, -~~ ~~HHHHHHHHHHHHH~~ ^{paralyzing}
disorder prevailed in those countries. ^{resulted in those countries}

Second: they fostered in the ~~HHHHHHHHH~~ ^{nations} whom they intended to conquer, -
a desire for peace at any price and under all circumstances. While
persecuting, tortoring and killind ^{and while thinking of nothing but war} as traitors all pacifists at home,
^{as I have told you} the Nazis actually financed huge peace-organisations all over Europe.

~~Of this full proof is available.~~ And is it not easily comprehensible?
enable the Nazis
In order to ~~enable~~ to overrun a country ~~without finding any real resistance~~
without finding any real resistance, - that country must ~~be~~ - a) be
weakened by internal trouble, - it must ~~be~~ b.) be unwilling to fight.
~~To create these two indispensable conditions~~ To create these two indispen
everywhere outside of Germany
sable conditions is the main job of Fifth columnists all over the
world.

But it was only after the outbreak of the German-Russian
pact that the Communist Fifth Column and the Nazi-Fifth-column started
their most fruitful and splendid collaboration. France was the
first country to feel their combined ^{strength} ~~forces~~ and she has certainly been
beaten by ^{it} ~~them~~ far more decisively than by the mechanized German ^{forces} ~~armies~~.
~~We do not mean to say that there exists~~ We do not mean to say that there exists
anything like genuine friendship between the Nazis ^{and} ~~in~~ the communists.
But
Their common enemyship against democracy binds them closely together;
they are working towards the same goal, employing the same methods.
Even in England where the fifth column plays ^{but} ~~a~~ ^{minor} ~~part~~,
this common enemyship ~~is~~ functions. Both Nazi-and communist-sympathizers
are busy ^{trying to} ~~creating~~ the two conditions ^{essential for} ~~the~~ the downfall of democracy
~~is based~~: disorder, mistrust, ^{and} dissatisfaction, disunion among the people ^{on the one hand}
and ~~the~~ ^{on the other} between the people and their legal government, ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{of} that kind
of pacifist ⁱⁿ ~~feelings~~ ^{claims} that ought to be called nazifist ⁱⁿ ~~for~~ for it is exclu-
sively the Nazis who will benefit from ^{it} ~~them~~.

And in America? ~~What is the picture there?~~
~~How about the Fifth-columns over here, - do they~~

essentially differ from the ones over there? They do not differ at all.
It is exactly the same picture that ~~is~~ ^{pre} ~~sents~~ itself here.

And we would be well advised to be on our guard. Here, as well, as anywhere else, it is not your foreign spies and agents who ought to be dreaded most, - not even your ~~saboteurs,~~ ^{and} your trained Bridge-and factory blowers ^{of whom your authorities may take care} ~~represent the greatest~~ ^{the} menace. It is ^{the} ~~more~~ more discrete, ^{the} ~~less~~ less obvious, ^{the} ~~more~~ more American Fifth Column ^{ist} ~~activities~~ who should be watched and whose ~~names~~ should be pointed out to the American people. To do this is not the job of the F.B.I., - ~~nor is it~~ ^{nor is it} ~~it is not any government job,~~ ^{the government need attend to} - it is the job of any real American, - of any citizen loyal to this country, ^{and to the ideas it stands for.} Those Fifth columnists cannot be imprisoned, - they cannot be forbidden to talk and to carry out their contemptable mission. They are being protected by the democratic constitution which guarantees the right of free speech to ^{all its citizens.} ~~everybody~~. But they can be rendered harmless and their activities can be condemned to failure by you, the people. Only your watchfulness, your intelligence, ^{your sincerity} your determination, ^{and your militant decency} and your ~~courage~~ ^{must be fully employed} are needed, - but they are needed to their fullest extent. They ~~must be fully employed~~, if this country, - if democracy, - if christian civilisation is to survive the deadly assault, aiming at its total destruction. America, yours is a great, a crucial task in this hour of battle, - of this you are fully aware. America, yours is the decision. America, land of the future etc.