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ARMY TALKS



What's Wrong with the Germans?



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EUROPEAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS, UNITED STATES ARMY

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ARMY TALKS :—The PURPOSE of ARMY TALKS is to help American officers and enlisted personnel become better-informed men and women and therefore better soldiers.

ARMY TALKS are designed to stimulate discussion and thought, and, by their very nature, thus may often be controversial in content. They are not to promote or to propagandize any particular causes, beliefs or theories. Rather, they draw upon all suitable sources for fact and comment, in the American tradition, with each individual retaining his American right and heritage so far as his own opinion is concerned.

THEREFORE, the statements and opinions expressed herein are not necessarily verified by, nor do they necessarily reflect the opinions of, the United States Army.

THE SOURCE OF MATERIAL must therefore be made clear at each discussion. All written material appearing in this publication has been written and edited by uniformed members of the Army and/or Navy, except where it is stated that a civilian or other outside source is being quoted.

Preparation

Reasons for the Topic: What's wrong with the Germans? This is a question we all should be thinking about and attempting to answer. If we can answer this question we shall know why we are fighting this war and what we are fighting for. Why has Germany been the aggressor in three great wars in the life-span of man? Why has Germany glorified war and lavishly concentrated her contempt and vituperation on peace-seeking peoples? Why has Germany sought to make virtues of what we think are sins against the highest instincts of humanity? Why has Germany taught her youth to hate, to torture, to murder—to take pride in the bestial instincts of human nature?

Because it is of the greatest importance that we seek answers to these questions, this topic has been chosen for this issue of ARMY TALKS.

Preparation for Discussion: Study the pamphlet carefully, making pencil notes in the margins or underlining words which you may later wish to use as sign-posts and reminders. Then make a brief outline of the three or four main points which you choose to stress, under which you may jot down subordinate points, or facts you wish to present. The topical headings in the text constitute a possible outline, but it is not advisable to attempt to cover them all.

Choice of Topics: Choose carefully the topics you may wish to emphasize and subordinate or omit the others unless they come up naturally in the course of the discussion. One of the most certain pivot points of discussion will be whether the national characteristics of the Germans are the result of heredity or environment, or both.

Divisions for Discussion: The discussion may well be broken into divisions as follows: the reasons and sources of German militarism; the German attitude towards the western democracies; the German delusion of being a "wronged nation" and the myth of "race superiority"; the German ambition to conquer the world; what must be done to change the German attitude; and the responsibility of every man to assess the danger and work for a cure.

Presentation of Topic: This is a most controversial and challenging topic. There will probably be as many ideas as there are members of the group, and many of the opinions will be based on hearsay and prejudice. It is important that the discussion leader take as objective, factual and straightforward an attitude toward the topic as possible. There is a great lack of information and straight-thinking in the minds of most of us on this topic. It is the primary purpose of this issue of ARMY TALKS to stimulate serious thought about a subject which should concern each of us deeply now and will demand the best thinking of us all at the close of the war, if we are to win the peace.

Introduction

*"No one is wise enough to know what is wrong with himself
let alone know what is wrong with a lot of other people."*

HERBERT AGAR.

THE greater portion of the present pamphlet is opinion ; the balance is an effort to explain a great variety of facts. There is, however, much left for discussion.

How many times have we heard the familiar saying, "History repeats itself"? As far back as the dawn of history, men have retarded progress through greed, lust, and their lack of concept of the true values of human society. Of all the so-called "great leaders," none have goose-stepped so close to global domination as has Adolf Hitler. Never has any other one man sponsored so many and such varieties of atrocities.

These pages were not prepared with a view to disseminating any particular political view or creed, rather they are presented solely as a basis for thought and discussion. We must know our enemies if we intend to subdue them, and to retrieve for the vanquished peoples of the world their rights, their once inalienable heritage. Just as we should be well supplied with material and equipment before an important military operation, we must possess an adequate supply of knowledge of our enemy in order to properly govern and to correct, when necessary, what is found after that operation has been completed successfully.

We are confronted with the most formidable military machine of all time, so complete, that almost all of the 80 millions of Germans are accounted for somewhere on its rolls. So at this point it is wise to apply the methods used by a boxer between the "10-second signal" and the bell: to carefully study, analyze and scrutinize the possibilities, peculiarities, and the weaknesses of the challenger.

ARMY TALKS



EUROPEAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE GERMANS?

WE have proved one thing in America: the German problem is not a racial problem; it is not a problem of blood. When a German family moves to the United States, and lives there for a generation or two, it produces as good citizens as a family from any other stock. Wendell Willkie is an outstanding example; so in the old days was Carl Schurz.

The trouble can't be blood, or inheritance. It must be surroundings. There must be something deeply wrong with the way Germans are brought up at home.

Some day the Germans will be grateful because we have shown that their sins are not the result of their race. After the repeated miseries which they have inflicted on the world during the last two generations, people might be pardoned for thinking there is something wrong with Germans *as such*, that they are an inferior race and must be treated as an inferior race. The American experiment has shown this is not true. In

the future the Germans will thank us for having provided such proof; but today they hate us with a special violence.

Today they are still insisting that the world must regard them as a

superior race, a *Herrenvolk*, and the American experiment makes this idea as ridiculous as the other. If we have shown that the Germans are as good as the rest of the people who make up our country, we have also shown that the rest of the people are as good as the Germans. This is why Hitler has lavished upon the United States the best of his abuse, calling us a "mongrel nation," a degenerate race whom he would drag down more easily than any of his other major enemies.

The Importance of This Question

Then what is wrong with the Germans? If it isn't their blood, if it isn't something they have inherited from a savage past, what is it? Each of us must have our own clear answer to this question, for otherwise we cannot hope to know why we were unable to avoid the war, why the war had to happen. If we don't know that, we can't answer the question "Why are

we fighting?"

And if we can't answer "Why are we fighting?" we can't answer "What are we fighting for?"

The two questions are by no means the same, but the second can't be answered without relation to the first.

Herbert Agar, author of this issue of ARMY TALKS, served in the U.S. Navy during the last war, was a foreign correspondent, and later edited the Louisville, Ky., "Courier-Journal." He is the author of several books on American history. Holding the rank of Lieutenant-Commander, U.S.N.R., he is at present on inactive duty as a Special Assistant to the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James's.

Before trying to discuss the problem, what is wrong with the Germans, let us remind ourselves of two things: first, that there really is something exceedingly wrong with them; and second, that the recognition of this fact does not absolve the rest of us from blame for the present state of the world.

The violence of the Germans today, the contempt for their neighbors, the belief in the theory of a master race, the belief that war is a good thing, the further belief that when Germans are at war they have a right to use any form of terrorism and destruction against any part of the population of their enemies: these things are not new. They have existed for a long time in Germany. They have existed in other nations as well, just as they exist in Japan today. But they have died out over most of the world. They have not died out among our enemies. If we are to understand these bad elements in the German tradition, we must not fool ourselves that they were invented by the Nazis.

This Nonsense Is Not New

In 1808 the philosopher Fichte, one of the leaders of Prussian thought, was writing: "Though military force must be its instrument, it (German civilization) would prevail because of its own intrinsic superiority over all other forms of civilization. This superiority exists independently of the military weapon which insures its triumph. It is rooted in the eternal order." And again, "Neither law nor right exists except the right of the strongest."

In 1869, the famous historian and political philosopher von Treitschke wrote: "That war should ever be banished from the world is a hope not only absurd, but profoundly immoral.

It would involve the atrophe of many of the essential and sublime forces of the human soul and transform the globe into a vast temple of egoism."

In 1891 the All-German League announced: "We must raise higher the banner of Pan-Germanism. . . . The nation must know *why* for decades to come they will have to prepare with increasing exertion to arm themselves and fight." Ten years later a similar group was stating: "Germans alone will govern; they alone will exercise political rights; they alone will serve in the army and navy; they alone will have the right to become landowners. . . . However, they will condescend so far as to delegate inferior tasks to foreign subjects subservient to Germany."

In 1905 Professor Joseph Reimer, a well known and respected writer, said: "Our race with its culture is superior to all other nations and races of the earth. . . . Our civilization has reached a height where it incomparably excels and dominates that of all the nations of the earth."

And the great von Bülow, Chancellor of the Kaiser's Reich, announced: "To the hypocritical French slogan of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, we oppose our Prussian realities of Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery."

And They Really Believed It

The Germans not only have talked like this; they have lived like this. In the eighteenth century Frederick the Great both preached the aggressive spirit and applied it in deeds. He was one of the most ruthless war-makers of the modern world.

Then came the period of French aggression under Napoleon, during which the Germans were the victims. It is worth noting that the French soldiers who served and worshipped Napoleon at least thought they were taking freedom and the ideas of the

French Revolution to a backward world. They were used and betrayed by a power-mad conqueror. I am not trying to make the Napoleonic wars look pretty. But it has not been part of French teaching, of French national belief, that civilization can be refreshed by being bled white.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Prussians were ready to start again on the conquest of their neighbors. They fought the Austrians; they fought the Danes; they fought the French. They built the unity of their First Reich on Bismarck's "blood and iron."

Then they had their marvellous years of industrial and technological expansion. From 1871 to 1914 they astonished the world with their progress. And all the time they were sword-rattling, and threatening, and building greater armaments. It is absurd to say they were a "have-not" race. They could have accomplished anything in a world of peace. But they did not want a world of peace. In their own words, they wanted "world dominion or downfall." So the first great German war of devastation was precipitated in 1914.

They Still Do Believe It

What is all this but the ravings of Adolf Hitler in an earlier form? When Hitler put his troops into the Rhineland in 1936, killing the Locarno Treaty and making the present war inevitable, his Gauleiter Wagner said: "Anything which benefits the German people is right; anything which harms the German people is wrong."

The national hymn of the Kaiser's Germans, when we fought them 25 years ago, was "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt." (Germany, Germany over everyone, over everyone in the world.) The Nazi hymn today ends on this line:

"Denn heute gehört uns Deutschland und morgen die ganze Welt." (For today Germany belongs to us and tomorrow the whole world.)

It is the same old Germany, miseducating its youth with a barbarous creed, teaching children to set their hearts on war, booty, piracy and the lust for power, on the huge excitements of blood and terror, marches and victories, until (as their hymn says) "the decaying bones of the world tremble, even though all must fall in ruin."

Only Germans Believed It

It is true that other nations (all nations perhaps) have produced people capable of writing such stuff; but the Germans alone in the modern Western world have produced people capable of reading and believing it, capable of acting on it.

In Germany it has not been cranks and unimportant little people who made such statements; it has been leading scholars, statesmen, and soldiers. It has been men in a position to warp the mind of youth, to deprive it of all knowledge of the existence of a moral law other than the will of a Leader. Hence the brownshirt bullies looting in the streets, the secret police torturing information out of a broken body, the concentration camp starving the soul, the blood of murdered hostages poisoning the earth. These horrors are not accidents of the Nazi system. They are the essence of the system. And the system itself is nothing but a mad exaggeration of the type of false teaching listed above, which has been going on in Germany for more than a century.

Before asking, how could an intelligent and hard-working and talented people such as the Germans get like this, we should remind ourselves again

that the sins of the Germans do not excuse us for allowing this second German war within a generation. This is not a war for land or money, like the little limited wars of the nineteenth century. This is a war to settle whether our civilization has a chance to live.

If our enemies win they will destroy our world, tear up its roots, and substitute a world of piracy, of pure power, where "neither right nor law exists except the right of the strongest." It had been obvious for some time that this war against our world was coming. Yet not a single one of the now United Nations was willing to face the fact.

We were all so anxious to be comfortable that we almost succeeded in being dead. Nation by nation we refused to believe what we did not want to believe. We refused to believe that we had to impose upon ourselves the harsh task of preparing to prevent the murder of our world. No nation was any wiser than its neighbor. No nation has the right to point the finger of scorn, except at itself.

In 1938 the French and the British would not see. In 1940 the Norwegians and the Dutch and the Belgians would not see. In 1941 the Americans would not see. If the nations of Europe were closer to the disaster, we Americans had the advantage of more time and more horrible examples to ponder. Let us all remember that such a negative shortsightedness can be a positive active evil.

We Failed in Duty

No amount of German or Japanese violence or treason could have forced this present horror if we, the nations who believe in civilization, had been vigilant to preserve it. It was our duty to save what we had inherited, to seek to improve it, and to hand on to

our descendants something better than the half-ruined world which surrounds us today.

We failed in our duty; therefore, while inquiring what is wrong with the Germans, why they should repeatedly rise up to assail our world, let us remember that they could not even threaten its defeat if the present allies had been prepared to stand together in its defence. Our Axis enemies very nearly destroyed us one by one, which is what they intended.

The Double-headed German Tradition

Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of the American magazine Foreign Affairs, writes: "Nazi behavior is not a flash in the German pan, but the reflex of an old strain of endemic barbarism, methodically kept alive and developed. . . . There is a strange German world of mystification where, if we are able to enter at all, we find ourselves groping and bemused. . . . Since things have no clear intellectual basis they can have no issue except reckless and violent action or dreams of action that result from frustration and end in perversion and self-abasement. . . . So goes the hateful ring, from the Nibelungen world of mists and scaly dragons and horns of mead to the beer halls of Munich and the bloody mud of the Ukraine, and back again."

This is no mere war-time exaggeration. This is a solemn and frightening truth about the Germans. It is not the whole truth; if it were it might be less frightening. For this Germany of mists and scaly dragons, of exaltation in cruelty and blood, is the same Germany which contrived between 1871 and 1914 an industrial development which was one of the most remarkable technical achievements of the modern world. This alarming

combination of romantic badman and efficient business-man of sentimental music-lover and brutal oppressor, has long characterized Germany.

It is the same people who produce marvels in applied science or in music, and who sack Naples out of mere spite, or kill 30,000 civilians by bombing Rotterdam in wantonness after the Dutch had laid down their arms. There is a split personality at work which must be the result of the German national tradition, since it does not afflict the descendants of Germans who have left their country and settled in more healthy surroundings.

They Are Proud of Their Crimes

All nations, like all people, have a divided soul. They have within them great capacities for good as well as for evil. Most nations try to discipline themselves and to create traditions and institutions which tend to bring out the good and suppress the evil.

The American and the British Constitutions, for example, are designed to prevent despotic and irresponsible rule. And all the religious, cultural, benevolent associations and clubs and unions which we create are methods of reminding ourselves of our ideals and educating ourselves to live up to them. It is significant that no such associations are allowed in a totalitarian state.

Most nations try to hold up before themselves, as their national ideal, the best which they are capable of achieving. Even then, since they are peopled with human beings, they fall far short of their aims. But it is only the Germans who are proud of such failure.

The Germans—through the mouths of their acknowledged leaders in thought and in action—boast that their capacity for what we would call evil is as important as their capacity for what we would call good. War and cruelty and aggression keep alive the

virility of a people, they say, and civilization must decay unless it is renewed from time to time by brutal exaltations and blood baths.

As I have said repeatedly, we must not think that the German is by nature inferior to other people, or more savage than his neighbors. The German in Wisconsin does not feel that it is necessary to refresh his civilization from time to time in the blood of the citizens of Minnesota. But the German in Germany is forever a prey to that mad delusion, from which I infer that the German national tradition (which forms the minds of the children who grow up in Germany) is inferior, grossly and iniquitously inferior, to that of any other people in the modern Western world. We have to turn to Japan to find another national tradition which so debauches the minds of its victims.

Furthermore, there is in the German people, perhaps because of the way they have been mistaught and misled for generations, an almost primitive gullibility, a political naiveté, and a tendency to shun independent thinking. They are predisposed toward acceptance of the military; they expect to be led.

Centuries of Teaching

"The truth is," writes Raoul de Sales, "that whereas the individual Britisher or American—whether he is a decent citizen or not—belongs to an order of society which openly and constantly recommends law, moral discipline, tolerance, order and other *civilized* virtues, the German, unfortunately, has been submitted for centuries to a series of influences which have taught him that the great mission of Teutonic people is to overthrow the Western world, to rid themselves of its moral discipline, of its rationalism, and of its concept that there is a law above men."

Unless we keep this wicked teaching and this insane sense of their own superiority in mind, we find it hard to believe that the Germans hunt Jews like wild animals, and officially encourage people to maim or murder them as a patriotic act. Yet this is true.

We find it hard to believe that the Germans would attempt to solve the "Polish problem" by killing all Poles who might furnish leadership in the future, sending the women to brothels, and breaking the spirits of the remaining able-bodied men by semi-starvation so as to make them useful slaves. Yet this, also, is true.

It Really Happened

No matter how much we remember the vicious German tradition, we find it almost impossible to believe the destruction of Rotterdam after the Dutch had made peace, or the fire and death which have been visited on the captured towns of Russia. Or the day-by-day atrocity stories, many of which we know are true, since they are based on orders published by the Germans for the execution of hostages and other helpless civilians. The official German statements in occupied countries read like notes from a kidnapping gang to the victim's family, so it is not a mere figure of speech when leaders of the United Nations refer to the Nazis as gangsters.

All these "impossible" things are true. They were all predicted long ago by a few men who realized that a nation cannot teach its citizens that there is no difference between evil and good when it comes to the treatment of "inferior" foreigners, without provoking wild outbursts of evil. As a matter of fact, omitting the names of the towns which were killed, most of these unbelievable events were predicted in Hitler's book, *Mein Kampf*. He assumed that if he told us what he was preparing

to do to us we would be too stupid to believe him. He was right.

Another way of trying to understand what is wrong with the Germans is to compare their delusions of grandeur and their complaints of unjust treatment with the behavior of individuals with the same sort of delusions. It is doubtful whether a nation can ever be compared with accuracy to an individual, so it is not suggested that there is strict scientific accuracy to what follows. But the comparison may help us to understand one of the most perplexing and fateful problems in history.

Most people occasionally feel that they have been badly treated by someone, and they may either hit back, or, if that is not possible, they may complain to their friends. Ordinarily an incident of this kind is soon over, and the man cools off and goes back to his normal life, on friendly terms with most of the world. But sometimes a man has the habit of always being badly treated. He spends all his time brooding on his wrongs or whining about how people are plotting against him.

Enemies Are "Fools"

He may also feel that all these enemies are contemptible fools who are jealous of his superior powers, and that his business in life is to put them down. When he finds anyone who takes his complaints seriously, he moves in on his victim with more and more demands and accusations of injustice and neglect. The victim often gets to believe that it is all his own fault, and tries his best to be unselfish and generous, only to be met with fresh demands and more scolding and complaints. This habit of bullying and complaining, when pushed to the extreme, is recognized by doctors as a dangerous mental disease.

Mild cases are sometimes curable

under expert medical treatment, but the patient cannot be cured by simple kindness and sympathy, as these are just the qualities he seizes upon to feed his diseased habit.

Urge to Kill

In very bad cases the patient finally comes to believe that it is his duty to kill the people who refuse to recognize his wonderful qualities, and he is apt to begin with the sympathetic victim who has taken most of his complaints. Doctors need great courage to treat a bad case of this kind, as he is likely to try to shoot the doctor.

Time magazine, on September 13th, 1943, had this to say of Rudolf Hess, the man who was once Number 2 Nazi: "Before the war Hess . . . hoped to retire to the Bavarian Alps for rest and nerve repair. As the months of captivity passed in Scotland, he developed a persecution mania. 'They' were trying to 'choke me.' Sometimes when he said this his hands would fly to his throat and he would stagger backward screaming. A psychologist finally learned who 'they' were: the people of Europe. Screamed Hess: 'Like grass, they grow higher and higher. They think we are evil and they hate us. . . .'"

" . . . His head jerks; he listens anxiously for voices from corners; under cabbage leaves on his plate he hides pieces of meat he thinks have been poisoned. His only game is darts. He hurls them violently; then, when collecting his darts from the board, he is apt to duck, dodge, cower—expecting someone to throw a dart into his back."

This is the man who has boasted that his mind works like Hitler's.

Many simple-minded Germans have been taught by their leaders and by their school teachers that Germany is always unfairly treated, and that every

possible demand against other nations is only simple justice to their own noble qualities as the master race. After the last war the other nations acted like the well-meaning victim of any habitual whiner. They blamed themselves for Germany's unhappy state, and tried to pacify and appease her, only to be faced by more complaints and more demands, until finally Germany broke out in mass murder.

At first the Nazis murdered those of their own citizens who resisted the madness, then they began invading other countries, and now they are convinced that all the rest of us are insane criminals and they are the only defenders of right and justice.

No Cruel Peace

The everlasting whining about the Versailles Treaty is a case in point. The Treaty did not impose upon Germany a cruel peace. The Treaty may have been unwise in many of its attempts to solve the problems of Europe; but it put no hopeless burden upon Germany, as was shown by her rapid return to power.

In the same category of needless self-pity lie all the German complaints of being a "Have-not Nation." We hear no such complaints from the Scandinavians or the Swiss. The Germans, out of their alleged want and poverty, managed to build within a few years the most formidable and expensive military machine that had yet appeared on earth. If they had lavished a similar energy upon building their standard of life they might have led the world in social improvement. But they wanted to complain, as a prelude to the next burst of bullying.

What can we do about a country that has come under the control of a form of homicidal mania?

In the case of an individual who is always brooding over his wrongs, we ordinarily do nothing unless he goes

as far as actual murder. Then we try to catch him and put him in an asylum. We are now engaged in trying to catch Germany and tie her down. Then the question will face us, what to do with a country in the clutch of such a dangerous disease.

Sheep-like Millions

Between the active forces of madness and the active workers for sanity, there are millions of sheep-like Germans who have been brought up to obey whoever is in authority. They have not been trained to think for themselves. They just follow along, believing what the teachers tell them. Their confidence in their own rulers has been shaken by the disastrous results of the war. They were taught that might makes right, and that weaklings ought to be pushed out of the way, and now they find that the United Nations have most of the might, and the Germans are being pushed. This unexpected result confuses their simple minds, and the first lesson they have to learn is that on the basis of pure military force they are outclassed and bound to get more than they can give.

As soon as this lesson has been driven home by the invasion and occupation of Germany, the Prussian officers and the professors will begin crying that it was all a mistake, and that all they want is to be friends, now that they have got rid of Hitler and his gangsters, whom they never liked anyway. If we leave the Prussians, the big business men, and the criminal professors in charge, the next stage will be the whining game, just as after the first world war.

While the Generals plan the next war, and the business men build up fifth columns in other countries, the professors will tell the world how unfair everyone is to Germany. If we sympathize with them, they will bring up another generation of children to

right the wrongs of the Fatherland by another war.

The healthy elements in Germany will not be able to get control of the mass of the people unless the victorious nations help them. We cannot kill or castrate 80 million Germans because we are not homicidal maniacs ourselves, and the job would turn our stomachs. But if we do a careful and coolheaded job of treating this patient, like a doctor who tries to keep a man of the broody type from developing into a killer, the United Nations may never have to fight this war a third time.

We must catch the most dangerous teachers and planners of the next war and lock them up, and keep an eye on the country for a while to remove any new ones that may appear, so as to protect the common people from getting infected again. And we must give strong support to Germans who talk sense and act like decent and responsible folks.

We Dare Not Take Chances Again

Let us remember that until Germany is cured, until she accepts for herself the same disciplines that other civilized nations accept, we dare not trust her with power and we dare not become soft-hearted in the face of her self-pity. That would merely feed the disease.

We now know that in 1917 a part of the German High Command wanted to stop the war at once, making such terms as were possible, in order to save the army for the second German war against civilization. They knew they had lost the war they were then fighting; but they felt sure they could win the next one if they could save most of their army. They didn't get their way immediately but, even so, they gradually succeeded in fooling us and were ready for the Second German War 21 years after the end of the first.

There are doubtless Germans in the High Command to-day who know they

have lost this war and would make terms at once if they could save part of their army for the Third German War. They see that France couldn't stand the second attack. They must hope that England couldn't stand the third. If they could beat England in 20 years' time, Europe would be theirs. And as Hitler has always said, quite correctly, for an aggressive military race the mastery of Europe can now spell the mastery of the world, for America is strong, but not as strong as the rest of the world put together. It is no smaller ambition than this which the German military tradition has held before the mesmerized eyes of the German youth. Perhaps parts of Asia and the Pacific world would be left to the "honorary Aryans" of Japan; but soon they would fight it out, and the winner take all.

We Dare Not Forget

Don't let us forget it, when the Germans begin crying about the injustice of the next peace treaty, reminding us what good musicians they are and what good synthetic dyes they make, protesting that now they have got rid of the wicked Hitler they no longer have an unkind thought in their minds.

The old Nordic gods of violence may retire for a few years to Valhalla, gorged with blood. But they will be back for another helping in time to devour the best of the next generation unless we find ways to change the national tradition which has imposed a form of madness upon a large part of a great nation. It is not a new disease. It has been flourishing among the ruling and teaching classes in Germany for generations.

Same Disease in U.S.

It is not even a disease which is peculiar to Germany—a fact we should remember if we are to treat it wisely.

The only thing peculiar to Germany is the importance, and the number, of citizens afflicted with the disease. We have shirt organizations preaching hate in America just like the Nazis. But the healthy majority of the American people have not been overcome by these maniacs. In every country there are people who teach that their nation is called upon to rule the world and that "everyone else is doing us wrong." We do not need to become smug, or complacent about our own faults, merely because we recognize what is wrong with the Germans and what must be cured before we can hope for a sane world.

The better we recognize the German disease the less likely we are to catch it ourselves in a big way, and the more likely we are to be wise and strong and creative in handling the post-war German problem.

If we know what is wrong with the Germans we know why they had to make this war and why we are part of it. Americans should be proud that Hitler's Germany must hate us and seek to kill us. The more we know about that Germany the more clear it becomes that we could never have lived in the same world with it.

The Nazis understood this from the beginning. Since they wished to be world conquerors, they thought in world terms. And they saw that there could be no place in their world for the American idea.

The lines carved on the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor explain why they have to destroy us or be destroyed:

Send me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to
breathe free,

The wretched refuse of your teeming
shore,

Send these, the homeless, the
tempest-tossed, to me;

I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

There is the faith, first expressed on our continent in the Declaration of Independence, that all men, if they are given a chance, can enjoy the privileges and live up to the responsibilities which belong to the human soul. The Germans have thought otherwise.

One of Hitler's heroes—and one of the late Kaiser's—is the German philosopher Nietzsche. "The free man," according to Nietzsche, "is a warrior." And then he tells us that warriors "revert to the innocence of the beast of prey conscience, like jubilant monsters, who perhaps come from a ghastly bout of murder, arson, rape and torture, with bravado and moral equanimity as though merely some wild student's prank had been played."

These are not just words in somebody's book. These are deeds in Italy, deeds in Norway, deeds on the tortured plains of Russia.

The Man Who Taught the Nazis

Oswald Spengler, the historian, was another of Hitler's teachers. He might be called the John the Baptist of the Nazi movement. In the 1920s he wrote: "If I call a man a beast of prey, whom do I offend, man or beast? For the great beasts of prey are noble creatures of the most perfect type and without the hypocritical human morality born of weakness."

Again, it isn't just words in a book. "I want to see again in the eyes of youth," cried Hitler, "the gleam of the beast of prey." And he put that gleam in the eyes of Nazi youth.

There is the issue. Everything we believe in they despise and call "hypocritical morality." Everything they believe in we despise and call barbarism. The world is too small to house both the "jubilant monsters,"

the "beasts of prey," and the men who salute the Statue of Liberty.

Oceans Too Small

We learned in a sorry hour at Pearl Harbor that the oceans are too small to contain these monsters. The men of all nations who believe that their fellow men have rights must overthrow the men who treat their fellow men as the lion treats the zebra.

We are fighting for that overthrow, which means we are fighting to win the chance to make our kind of world come true. It could never come true while the planet is cluttered up with beasts of prey.

And it won't come true, even after we have cleaned out the beasts of prey, unless we work for it with all our strength all the rest of our lives. We do not get liberty, and respect for our neighbors, and a world free from want and fear, by accident. And we do not get them merely by winning a war. What we do get by winning the war is assurance that our enemies will not build their world of slavery and pillage, plus a chance to build our own world of decency and freedom.

It is a noble war, because victory will not only prevent an abomination but create an opportunity for a noble future. Whether we take that opportunity is up to each one of us.

The hardest of tasks is to be a free man, living up to the obligations of freedom.* If we don't live up to our freedom we shall not long enjoy it. The "jubilant monsters" will return to earth somewhere, before too long, and will murder our civilization, unless we take advantage of the opportunity which we are now winning upon the field of battle.

* A later pamphlet will discuss this subject.

QUESTIONS FOR THE DISCUSSION

What do we really know to be true about the nature of the Nazis? Some quotations from "Mein Kampf" would help here. The quotations given in the body of the text are facts; that is, there is no doubt that the authors wrote these things. The Nazis have been largely responsible for starting three major wars in the past 70 years. Many of the brutalities of Nazis are true. There is no question about the torture and cold-blooded murder of thousands of homeless people.

What do you think are the chief reasons for the German glorification of War? For making virtues of what we think are vices?

What do you think of the thesis that German character is a result of teaching, culture, and tradition rather than inherited racial traits? Why?

Are there any good Germans? If so, how do you explain their permitting Hitler to rise to power? What are they doing now?

Can we hate the wrong Germany is doing without hating all the German people?

Special attention is called to the Feature Special Supplement of "Stars and Stripes" for Thursday, October 21: "Know Your Enemy," by Philip Bucknell. Quoting from the sub-head of this feature article: "The Nazi believes in what he is fighting for, and that belief, plus his strict training, makes him utterly ruthless, battle-wise and cunning; a hard, relentless fighter."

We are fighting for a way of life—a way of life of which free and open discussion of our problems is an essential part. It is imperative that we maintain the one, even while we must conduct the other.

Our way of life makes many demands upon each one who shares in it. The responsibilities and problems inherent in the democratic way of life will be the discussion in a forthcoming issue of ARMY TALKS. One of the greatest handicaps suffered by a democracy is the burden of the indifferent citizen who enjoys the privileges of that way of life, but is unwilling to assume the responsibilities which perform accompany it.

The initial talk should be brief and provocative, and carefully planned to draw out the interest and participation of the men. Discussion at its best is for all; it should be guided without being dominated.

This topic offers a good opportunity for follow-up with lectures by well-informed people in the off-duty time of military personnel. It is suggested that Special Service and Education Officers communicate with the Regional Secretaries of the Central Advisory Council for Adult Education in H.M. Forces. An agreement has been made with the British War Office that all procurement of civilian lecturers will be made through these Regional Secretaries.

It is suggested that discussion leaders make constant use of Vol. I, No. 1, of ARMY TALKS, the "Handbook for Discussion Leaders." Gradually leaders should discover a genuine satisfaction in leading informal discussions. This mission is so important that the best efforts of everyone are required for its accomplishment.

Requests for additional copies of future issues of ARMY TALKS should be made to your local Special Service Officer.

