

**STUDIEN UND TEXTE ZUR SOZIALGESCHICHTE  
DER LITERATUR**

**Herausgegeben von  
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**Band 18**



Walter F. Peterson

The Berlin Liberal Press  
in Exile:

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1933–1940

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Seul Journal  
 de combat  
 contre l'hitlerisme  
 pour la liberté et les  
 Droits de l'Homme

# Pariser Tageszeitung

Chefredakteur: GEORG BERNHARD

Telefon: GARNOT 77-00

Nach 8 Uhr abends: PROVINCE 15-00

Das Kampfblatt  
 gegen  
 den Hitlerismus, für  
 die Freiheit und die  
 Menschenrechte

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Nr. 1  
 1. Jahrgang

# Einheitsfront gegen den Verrat!

## Die Stimme der anständigen Menschen

## WIR KLAGEN AN!

Von Freunden unseres Blattes, von  
 führenden Persönlichkeiten der Emigra-  
 tion und von vielen maßgebenden Orga-  
 nisationen sind uns eine ganze Reihe von  
 Sympathieerklärungen zugegangen, die  
 beweisen, dass unser Scheitern nicht nur bei  
 unseren eigenen Gesinnungsgenossen,  
 sondern darüber hinaus bei allen recht-  
 lich fühlenden und anständig denkenden  
 Menschen Verständnis und Anerkennung  
 findet.

### Viel Glück und Erfolg!

Das alte „Pariser Tageblatt“ ist tot.  
 Es lebe die neue „Pariser Tageszeitung“!  
 Für die vielen, die sich heute in  
 Frankreich für Deutschland interes-  
 sieren, scheint es mir notwendig, darauf  
 hinzuweisen, dass die Schreibweise in  
 dem neuen Blatt weniger tendenziös  
 sein muss, als es die heutige offizielle  
 und öffentliche deutsche Presse ist, denn  
 eine andere existiert legal dort nicht.  
 Im Namen der Liga für Menschen-  
 rechte und aller unzähligen Gegen-  
 sätze des Faschismus und der Rassen-  
 theorie, dieser Schande der Menschheit,  
 wünsche ich dem neuen Organ viel  
 Glück und Erfolg.

Victor Basch,  
 Präsident der französischen Liga  
 für Menschenrechte.

### Götzebs täuscht sich!

Das „Pariser Tageblatt“ in seiner  
 bisherigen Gestalt ist den Nazis und na-

### Feine Verbündete!

Liebe Kollegen und Freunde!  
 Der Anschlag der nationalsozialisti-  
 schen Brunnenvergifter gegen die Tages-  
 zeitung der deutschen Emigration konn-  
 te nicht ausbleiben. Ihrer Wachsamkeit  
 und Ihrer Entschlossenheit ist es zu ver-  
 danken, dass dieser Anschlag missglück-  
 te. Wie hoch unsere Gegner die Arbeit  
 der für Frieden, Freiheit und Gerech-  
 tigkeit kämpfenden Emigration einschät-  
 zen, wie sehr es ihnen darum zu tun ist,  
 diese Emigration zu kompromittieren,  
 das beweist die Tatsache, dass sie sich  
 nicht scheuen, sich der Handlungsdien-  
 ste eines Herrn Poljakow zu bedienen.  
 Die deutsche Emigration möge daraus  
 lernen, dass die nicht nur vom Hass ih-  
 rer nationalsozialistischen Gegner be-  
 droht ist, sondern auch von jenen ge-  
 weissenlosen Geschäftsmachern, die jede-  
 mits bereit sind, uns an den Meistbie-  
 tenden zu verkaufen.  
 Wir danken Ihnen, liebe Kollegen und

Freunde, für Ihr umsichtiges und ent-  
 schlossenes Handeln und beglückwün-  
 schen Sie aufs herzlichste zur Gründung  
 der „Pariser Tageszeitung“, die die  
 Emigration in ihrem Kampf für Friede,  
 Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit unterstützen  
 soll.

Die deutschen Schriftsteller in der  
 Emigration haben zu ihnen das Ver-  
 trauen, dass Sie bei der Neugründung  
 der Zeitung, die an die Stelle des Ta-  
 geblatts treten soll, alle Garantien verlan-  
 gen, durch die es ein für allemal den  
 Schmolsen und ihren verbündeten Pol-  
 jakows unmöglich gemacht wird, ihren  
 Anschlag auf die Sicherheit und das  
 Ansehen der deutschen Emigration zu  
 wiederholen. Unserer kameradschaftli-  
 chen Mitarbeit können Sie immer sicher  
 sein, wenn es um den Kampf für ein  
 würdigeres Deutschland geht.

Mit kollegialen Grüssen  
 Schutzverband  
 Deutscher Schriftsteller.  
 Ernst Leonhard.

## Das Sprachorgan der geeinten deutschen Linken!

Die letzte Nummer des freien „Pariser  
 Tageblatt“ hat folgende Erklärung ver-  
 öffentlicht:

Wir sehen uns gezwungen, unsere Les-  
 ern und der Öffentlichkeit von folgen-  
 den Tatsachen Kenntnis zu geben:

- 1) Der Verleger des „Pariser Ta-  
 geblatt“, Wladimir Poljakow, hat vor  
 etwa sechs Tagen im Deutschen  
 Konsulat, 2, rue Huysmans, mit  
 Dr. Schmolz, dem Leiter der Pres-  
 se- und Propaganda-Abteilung der  
 Deutschen Botschaft in Paris und  
 Sonderbeauftragten zur Ueberwach-  
 ung der deutschen Emigration,  
 verhandelt.  
 2) Im Anschluss daran erfolgte die  
 Kündigung des Chefredakteurs des  
 „Pariser Tageblatt“ Georg Bern-  
 hard, der nämlich ein solches Kongres-  
 sen in Amerika weilte.  
 3) Dem Geschäftsführer des Verlages  
 ist ebenfalls von dem Verleger Pol-  
 jakow mit der Erklärungsbedingung  
 worden, dass ein neuer Chefredak-  
 teur und ein neuer Geschäftsführer  
 die Leitung des Blattes überneh-  
 men werden.  
 4) Der Verleger Wladimir Poljakow  
 hat ferner erklärt, der neue Chefredak-  
 teur werde einen anderen Kurs in  
 der Zeitung einschlagen und sich  
 gegenüber Hitler und dessen Be-  
 standigen loyal einstellen.  
 Nachdem die Redaktion von diesen  
 Tatsachen Kenntnis erhielt, hat sie sich  
 an sofortiger Arbeitseilegung ent-  
 schlossen.  
 Dies ist daher die letzte Nummer des  
 freien nazi-feindlichen „Pariser Ta-  
 geblatt“. Ab morgen, Freitag, den 12. Juni  
 1936, erscheint unter Mitwirkung der

len wäre. Plötzlich war bei dem Ver-  
leger Wladimir Poljakow aber eine Sin-  
 nesänderung festzustellen, deren Grund  
 sich uns später enthüllen sollte. Er ent-  
 zog sich jedenfalls jeder Festlegung.  
 Zur Vorbereitung des jüdischen Welt-  
 kongresses war Georg Bernhard nach  
 Amerika berufen worden. Am 28. Mai  
 trat er die auf vier Wochen berechnete  
 Reise, im Einvernehmen mit dem Ver-  
leger, an, der ihn sogar noch hat, auch  
 die Interessen des Verlages drüben wahr-  
 nehmen. Dies hinderte Poljakow je-  
 doch nicht, wenige Tage nach seiner Ab-  
reise, Georg Bernhard den Kündigung-  
brief nach New York zu schicken.

Was hatte sich inszwischen abgespielt?  
 Der Verleger Poljakow hatte einen  
 Geldgeber gefunden, mit dem niemand  
 konkurrieren konnte: Goebbels! Und  
 nun kam es zu folgenden Szenen im „Pa-  
riser Tageblatt“:  
 Zunächst versuchte Herr Poljakow,  
 sich unbequemes Kette zu entledigen.  
 Er eröffnete dem Geschäftsführer, er  
 müsse seinen Posten verlassen, da er zu  
 einem hohen Preise Käufer gefunden  
 habe, die verlangten, dass die Ge-  
schäftsleitung wie auch die Chefredak-  
tion neuen Leuten ihres Vertrauens  
 ausgeliefert werden müssten. Poljakow  
 teilte bei dieser Gelegenheit ferner mit,  
 er habe Georg Bernhard bereits gekün-  
digt. Der neue Chefredakteur beabsich-  
tete, den Kurs des „Pariser Tageblatts“  
 entsprechend zu ändern. Die neuen  
 Herren wollten vor allen Dingen dafür  
 sorgen, dass nicht mehr so scharf gegen  
 Hitler geschrieben würde. Man muss  
 vielleicht auch die guten Seiten am Na-  
tionalsozialismus anerkennen und sich  
loyaler zum Dritten Reich einstellen.  
 Der Schlüssel zu allen diesen Vor-

gehen Gewinn davonzugren. Es war vor-  
auszusehen, dass Poljakow alles versu-  
chen würde, uns zu hindern. Wir konn-  
ten Drohungen erwarten, wir konnten  
Lockungen erwarten. Eines konnten wir  
nicht erwarten: Verrat aus den eigenen  
Reihen!

Nichts ist ausgeblieben. Poljakow hat  
uns gedroht, er hat uns zu locken ver-  
sucht. Er hat in seiner Bedingungslos  
abgestritten, was er vorher gesagt hat,  
 bald zugegeben, was er eben noch ab-  
stritt. Er hat uns Vermittler gesandt, er  
hat uns Angebote gemacht. Wir haben  
uns nicht beirren lassen. Aus den Rei-  
hen der Redaktion ist niemand wankend  
geworden, von allen Seiten sind uns  
Sympathiebeweise zugegangen, die wir  
an anderer Stelle des Blattes veröffent-  
lichen.

Die geistigen Führer der Emigration  
haben sich für das Blatt der Freiheit er-  
klärt.

Und doch ist der Verrat aus den eige-  
nen Reihen nicht ausgeblieben. Ein  
Mann, den wir früher zu unseren Ge-  
nungsfreunden zählte konnten, hat sich  
Wladimir Poljakow zur Verfügung ge-  
stellt.

DER VERRÄTER HEISST  
 RICHARD LEWINSOHN (MORUS).

Wir geben zu, dass wir — als wir dies  
Nachricht hörten — unsere Ohren  
nicht trauen wollten. Unsere erste Idee  
war, Lewinsohns guter Glauben müsse  
getäuscht sein. Wir begaben uns sofort  
in die Druckerei. Wir erholten zunächst  
aus Richard Lewinsohn-Morus, wie er  
durch eine Hintertreppe zu flüchten ver-  
suchte. Schließlich gelang es uns, ihn  
zum Stehen zu bringen.  
 Es werden ihm alle rechtlichen Be-



**TO MY PARENTS**

## Preface

Research for this study began in the fall of 1976. At that time, I was an exchange student from the State University of New York at Buffalo studying at the *Technische Hochschule* in Darmstadt. The project was first conceived as a biography of Georg Bernhard whose life and publishing career spanned three distinct historical epochs in German history: the last years of the Wilhelmian Empire, the Weimar Republic, and the Third Reich. After consultation with Professor Karl Otmar Freiherr von Aretin, Director of the *Institut für Europäische Geschichte*, Mainz, and Professor Georg G. Iggers, it became apparent that a study concentrating on Bernhard's work in emigration would contribute to the ongoing studies of the political, journalistic, and literary work of the German emigration from Nazism being conducted in the two Germanies, Austria, France, and the United States. Once the shift in emphasis from Bernhard to Bernhard in emigration had been made, the next step, that is the decision to conduct a study of the German liberal daily edited by him, came easily. This was not true, however, for the research and collection of archival material.

At Professor von Aretin's suggestion, I telephoned Professor Arcadius Gurland, an émigré who during the first seven years of the Third Reich had lived in France and for a brief period contributed to the *Pariser Tageszeitung*. Upon learning of my decision to concentrate on the émigré daily, he responded ominously, "that means opening a can of worms." The implications of his statement only became apparent in the course of the following months and years.

One major primary source for the study has been the *Pariser Tageblatt – Pariser Tageszeitung*. The paper is available almost in its entirety in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, as well as in the *Deutsche Staatsbibliothek* in East Berlin. Liselotte Maas' *Handbuch der deutschen Exilpresse 1933–1945*<sup>1</sup> provides a complete listing not only of the location of the paper but also of its contributors. With the exception of a few missing issues, the paper is also available on microfilm.

The three major archives for material treating the history of the paper are the *Zentrales Staatsarchiv* in Potsdam, the *Archives Nationales*, and the *Archives de Préfecture de Police* in Paris. I am greatly indebted to these archives and their staffs. In acknowledging this debt, however, I feel it essential to present two short anecdotes concerning the material available at the *Zentrales Staatsarchiv* in Potsdam and at the *Archive de Préfecture de Police* in Paris.

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<sup>1</sup> Liselotte Maas, *Handbuch der deutschen Exilpresse 1933–1945*, 3 vols. (Munich and Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1976–1981).

An article dated 6 July 1940, hence twenty-two days following the *Wehrmacht's* occupation of Paris, appeared in the *Deutsche Presse*.<sup>2</sup> From it I learned that the files of the paper had fallen into the hands of the occupying troops. Presumably this material along with the private papers and possessions of many of the emigrants were then transported to Berlin where they were studied. A similar account is found in Gershom Scholem's edition of his correspondence with Walter Benjamin. According to Gershom Scholem, Benjamin's papers following their confiscation by the Gestapo wound up in the archive of the *Pariser Tageszeitung*. A decree of February 1945 authorized the destruction of virtually all confiscated files and papers. The archive of the *Pariser Tageszeitung* escaped this fate through "an act of sabotage" committed by its curator. After the war, the *Tageszeitung* files were taken to the Soviet Union where they remained for some fifteen years. In 1960 the captured documents were given to the German Democratic Republic and placed in the *Zentrales Staatsarchiv* in Potsdam.<sup>3</sup> The collection is an extremely rich assortment of the business and professional transactions of the paper and its circle. Georg Bernhard's private papers (*Nachlaß*), also located in Potsdam, cast light on his professional and political life. Since the inventories of these collections were not shown to me, it is difficult to judge how complete they are and if any material was withheld.

Accession to archival material directly related to the *Pariser Tageblatt – Pariser Tageszeitung* and its circle is more problematic in France. An extremely relevant file located at the *Archives de Préfecture de Police*, "dossier 513," dealing with the *Pariser Tageszeitung* and the "German journalists residing in France prior to 1939 (reports 1940–1941)," was for all practical purposes closed to me. During my first visit to this archive, I had noticed by pure chance that this particular dossier included papers relating to Walter Ulbricht, Albert Norden, and Willi Münzenberg. At that time I was told I needed special permission to see them. After I had obtained what appeared to be authorization to consult the file, I revisited the archive. This time "dossier 513" was within easy reach of the archivist. A brief look at the file revealed that the papers on Ulbricht, Norden, and Münzenberg had been removed. When I inquired how this was possible, the archivist at first denied they existed and then insisted my authorization only enabled me to see those papers remaining in the file. France's rules governing access to archival holdings probably explain the case. While it is doubtful that studying the contents of this file would have altered the narrative or interpretation of the present study, they might have clarified several of the still uncertain points relating to Ulbricht's and Münzenberg's interest in the émigré daily. The situation is important to recall, however, when citing files located at the *Archives de Préfecture de Police*: one cannot be sure if one has received the file in its entirety and on what basis – or for what reason – it might have been censored.

---

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction and Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> Gershom Scholem, ed., *Walter Benjamin – Gershom Scholem – Briefwechsel 1933–1940* (Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp 1980), pp. 7–8.

In addition to the *Zentrales Staatsarchiv*, *Archives Nationales*, and the *Archives de Préfecture de Police*, extensive use was made of archival material in Europe and the United States. The holdings of the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* in Munich, *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis* in Amsterdam, *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* in Marbach a.N., and *Archiv der sozialen Demokratie* in Bonn have been consulted. Information concerning the Third Reich's surveillance of the activities of the German refugees in France was obtained from the files of the *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes*, Bonn and the *Bundesarchiv*, Koblenz. The staff at the *Deutsche Bibliothek – Abteilung Exil-Literatur Literaturarchiv* was particularly useful in providing a wealth of suggestions and useful documentary material on the *Pariser Tageblatt* affair. Sybil Milton, formerly chief archivist at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York City, alerted me to the existence of Ernst Feder's unpublished diaries at the LBI. Sundry information concerning Bernhard's contacts with the leaders of the World Jewish Congress was obtained from the files at the World Jewish Congress in New York City, American Jewish Archives of the Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio, and the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Massachusetts. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the staff members of these archives and institutions.

One of the exciting aspects of conducting research on this project entailed numerous interviews with those connected or familiar with the running of the paper and the German emigration to France. Unfortunately, repeated entreaties to interview the sole surviving editor of the paper, Kurt Michael Caro, first remained unanswered and then were culminated in 1978 by a short note. After forty years his memory of the facts and events surrounding the paper was "no longer reliable." Moreover, he added, since that time, "my life has assumed a completely different direction, and the German emigration has lost every interest to me." Mr. Caro died one year later.

Fortunately, not all people shared his reticence. Private interviews with Mrs. Gerda Ascher-Misch, the late Professor Arcadius Gurland, Mr. Max Diamant, Mr. Hans Sahl, the late Mr. Norbert Muehlen, the late Dr. Henry Paechter, and Mr. Herbert Landsberger provided useful information and suggestions. Special thanks must be given to Professor Léon Poliakov, who over the years has shown an active interest in the study and generously assisted me in my research.

Several grants enabled me to conduct the research and complete the writing of the dissertation. The Graduate Resources Access Development Project of the Graduate Student Association of the State University of New York at Buffalo enabled me to travel to Germany to accept an exchange fellowship from the *Technische Hochschule* in Darmstadt. A Fulbright-Hays Travel Grant and Fellowship afforded me the opportunity to continue my research in Germany.

Many individuals contributed to this study. The generosity and assistance given to me by Professor Karl Otmar Freiherr von Aretin, Director of the *Institut für Europäische Geschichte*, Mainz, made it possible for me to embark on the research and assisted in making its publication a reality. The member's of the Institute's

staff, Dr. Hugo Lacher, Dr. Ralph Melville, and Klaus Scharf, provided a constant flow of information. Mr. Peter Th. Walther through his broad historical knowledge and critical mind significantly expanded the perspective of the subject. I am also extremely grateful to Professors Harold L. Poor, Rutgers University, and Walter Struve, City College of New York, for their careful reading of the manuscript and their invaluable suggestions. Dr. Konrad Feilchenfeldt's initial interest in the manuscript helped make its publication possible. Dr. Ursula Langkau-Alex's exact and painstaking reading of the thesis and her factual as well as organizational suggestions on how to improve it significantly assisted me in revising the dissertation for publication. And Dr. Karl-Heinz Pütz and Mr. Steven T. Pothen provided invaluable technical assistance. Without the intellectual inspiration and friendship of Professor Georg G. Iggers, the present study might not have been conceived.

Yet despite all the intellectual encouragement and moral support, I remain solely responsible for all defects, be they in content, interpretation, or style.

The footnotes include rather extensive and cumbersome citations. At the request of the editors, only lengthy quotations included in the text and not readily accessible to the reader have been reproduced in the original German. The émigrés' French and American typewriters, as well as the typesetter used for the *Pariser Tageblatt – Pariser Tageszeitung*, did not have the German  $\beta$  or the letters  $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$ , and  $\ddot{u}$ . Hence, quotations have been edited to bring them into harmony with contemporary German usage. Due to the various ways of transcribing the publisher's name, i.e., Vladimir or Wladimir Poliakov, Poliakoff, Poljakoff, Poliakow, I have chosen Léon Poliakov's transcription of his father's name: Wladimir Poliakov.

## Abbreviations

A	<i>Abendausgabe</i> (evening edition)
AdK	Akademie der Künste-Archiv, Berlin (West)
AJA	American Jewish Archives of the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
APP	Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris
ASD	Archiv der sozialen Demokratie, Bonn
BA	Bundesarchiv, Koblenz
Bd.	<i>Band</i> (volume)
Bl.	<i>Blatt</i> or <i>Blätter</i> (leaf or leaves of unpublished printed matter)
BT	<i>Berliner Tageblatt</i>
BVZ	<i>Berliner Volkszeitung</i>
Comintern	Communist International
DBF	Deutsche Bibliothek – Abteilung Exil-Literatur, Frankfurt/M
DDP	<i>Deutsche Demokratische Partei</i> (German Democratic Party)
DFP	<i>Deutsche Freiheitspartei</i> (German Freedom Party)
DLM	Deutsches Literaturarchiv/Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Marbach a. N.
DNVP	<i>Deutschnationale Volkspartei</i> (German National People's Party)
DSP	<i>Deutsche Staatspartei</i> (German State Party)
DVP	<i>Deutsche Volkspartei</i> (German People's Party)
FZ	<i>Frankfurter Zeitung</i>
GStA	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (West)
IFZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich
IISG	International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam
ISK	<i>Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund</i> (International Socialist Militant League)
KPD	<i>Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands</i> (German Communist Party)
KPD-O	<i>Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands – Opposition</i> (German Communist Party – Opposition)
LBI	Leo Baeck Institute, New York City
M	<i>Morgenausgabe</i> (morning edition)
NA	National Archives, Washington, D.C.
NL	<i>Nachlaß</i> (private papers)
PA AA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Bonn
PRO	Public Records Office, London
PT	<i>Pariser Tageblatt</i>
PTZ	<i>Pariser Tageszeitung</i>
RDP	<i>Radikal-Demokratische Partei</i> (Radical Democratic Party)
S.	<i>Seite</i> (page)
SAP	<i>Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei</i> (Socialist Workers' Party)
SCPC	Swathmore College Peace Collection, Swathmore, Pennsylvania
SDS	<i>Schutzverband deutscher Schriftsteller</i> (Association of German Writers)
Sopade	SPD (Office of the SPD's Executive Committee in exile)
SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
VUD	<i>Vereinigung Unabhängiger Demokraten</i> (Union of Independent Democrats)
VZ	<i>Vossische Zeitung</i>
WJC	World Jewish Congress Archives, New York City
ZStAP	Zentrales Staatsarchiv der DDR, Potsdam



## Introduction: Beginning at the End

“TO YOU WHO WISHED TO BE GUARDIANS! –  
A VISIT TO THE *PARISER TAGESZEITUNG* –  
THE ‘GERMAN EMIGRATION’ WORKED HERE”

This headline appeared in the *Deutsche Presse*, the bimonthly journal of the National German Press Association (*Reichsverbandes der deutschen Presse*) in July 1940. The article begins, “this account is being written on a machine whose keys were last touched by agile dirty Jewish fingers, on a typewriter which accidentally fell into our hands as a welcome addition to our equipment in the newspaper office of the infamous emigrant press the *Pariser Tageszeitung*.”<sup>1</sup> Written eleven days after the Franco-German Armistice went into effect, the article not only celebrates the German victory over the French Third Republic but likewise marks the triumph of the Nazi propaganda Goliath over the David-like emigrant press.

The victors, the article continues, wanted to call on the “gentlemen” who in this small, “run-down house” located “between two hotels of questionable character” on a narrow sidestreet off the Boulevard Haussmann “abused the French government’s hospitality in order to agitate against the Third Reich.”

We wanted once and for all to have a look at their workroom; for even though they were insignificant creatures, under the guise of ‘German emigrants,’ they succeeded in carrying out a far-reaching campaign to incite the French people and to cloud so-called public opinion of the real Germany.<sup>2</sup>

From the perspective of the German emigrants, the above commentary could have been taken as a compliment, since it attributes more influence to their paper than it actually possessed. And in the final analysis, it says more about the “Nazi mentality” than it does about the emigrant daily the *Pariser Tageszeitung* and its forerunner the *Pariser Tageblatt*.

The rapidity and totality of the military and moral defeat of France astonished the victor and the vanquished alike. Once the offensive began against the Low Countries and northeast France on 10 May 1940, the divisions of the Third Reich proceeded through France like a knife through soft butter. By 9 June the Germans stood within forty miles of the French capital, and shortly after the break of dawn on the morning of the fourteenth, the citizens of Paris awoke to see the *Wehrmacht* entering the city. Three days later France sued for an armistice and the nation

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<sup>1</sup> Wilfred von Oven, “‘Ihr, die ihr wolltet Hüter sein!’ Besuch in der ‘Pariser Tageszeitung’ – Hier wirkte die ‘deutsche Emigration,’” *Deutsche Presse. Zeitschrift des Reichsverbandes der deutschen Presse* (6 July 1940), pp. 135–136. See Appendix A. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the German are by the author.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

heard “a thin voice” that “sounded like a skeleton with a chill,”<sup>3</sup> the Hero of Verdun and Premier Marschal Henri-Philippe Pétain, announce that it was necessary to stop fighting.<sup>4</sup> At 6:50 P.M. on 22 June General Huntziger representing the Pétain government signed the armistice. The “strange defeat” had been finalized.

Among the clauses of the agreement which caused the French delegation a moment’s consternation was paragraph 2 of article 19 referring to the extradition of the German refugees in France. In the course of the negotiations, the French requested that the paragraph be deleted, claiming it to be “dishonorable on account of the exercise of the right of asylum. . . .”<sup>5</sup> *Révanche* for 1918 coupled with a fanatical, vindictive hatred of the German emigrants led General Keitel to reject emphatically any alteration of this point. In response to the French objection, the Chief of the High Command recalled the painful memories of “the deep insults inflicted in 1918 by the Allies upon the German officer corps in the extradition question.” After this digression, he then went directly to the point stating that the clause “applied to the greatest warmongers, the German émigrés, who had betrayed their own people, and had driven another [people] to disaster, and that the extradition of this category of persons . . . must be insisted upon at all costs.”<sup>6</sup> In its final form, the provision read:

The French government is obligated to hand over upon demand all Germans in France, in the French possessions, colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories who are named by the German government.<sup>7</sup>

Among those heading the list to be “surrendered on demand” were not only the political opponents of the Reich but the editors and so-called coffeehouse literati of Weimar, the “guardians” of the “other” Germany who had run the emigrant press.

Little time was lost by the occupying authorities in tracking down the whereabouts of the wanted or locating their former residences. A special detachment of the German foreign office, authorized to locate French archival holdings (and one can assume documents belonging to the emigrants), accompanied the first German troops into Paris.<sup>8</sup> In most cases, however, the émigrés had already fled the city or been interned in camps established by the French government immediately after the outbreak of hostilities. Allowing for the Nazi press’s falsification and exaggeration of events, it is nevertheless possible to reconstruct from the article in the *Deutsche Presse* the ensuing witchhunts after 14 June 1940.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Koestler, *Scum of the Earth* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941), p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> William Shirer, *The Collapse of the Third Republic. An Inquiry into the Fall of France in 1940* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), p. 872.

<sup>5</sup> Unsigned memorandum, 22 June 1940, *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918–1945*, Series D, vol. IX, doc. no. 521, p. 664.

<sup>6</sup> Unsigned memorandum, 22 June 1940, *ibid.*, doc. no. 522, p. 667.

<sup>7</sup> German-French Armistice Treaty, 22 June 1940, *ibid.*, doc. no. 523, p. 675.

<sup>8</sup> Eberhard Jäckel, *Frankreich in Hitlers Europa. Die deutsche Frankreichpolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1966), p. 308.

The office of the *Pariser Tageszeitung* was located without any difficulty. Berlin remained well-informed of the location of the paper and its staff. Sometime between 15 June and 7 July a special detachment visited the house off the Boulevard Haussmann. The concierge “shuffled” over to the callers who asked for the key. After “many words [and] many gestures,” the visitors were led to understand that “the gentlemen [had] altogether cleared out, so and so in such and such a place [had] the key.” After a drive across Paris, they experienced the “same performance.” Moreover, they learned that “the alleged holder of the key [had] scurried off and passed it on to a third co-religionist.” At that point the detachment made a decision to about face and were soon “standing in the stale-smelling house off the Boulevard Haussmann.” An ax from their jeep was brought, “three blows and the door open[ed].”<sup>9</sup>

The Nazi representatives who visited the office of the *Pariser Tageszeitung* found it in absolute disarray. The article discribes in perverse, anti-Semitic terms their find as well as the names of the so-called clique of warmongers. “Thick dirt on all tables, chairs, and shelves over which many newspapers, manuscripts, and pieces of writing lay strewn in wild haste. They tried to take what they could, but the Jewish fear of the Germans made them forget all caution. So it turns out that we have found mountains of informative material about the work of Jewish emigrants in France.”

In the eyes of the war correspondent the émigré journalists’ work place “is just as dirty and wretched as the intellectual products which were bred here. These are no longer the elegant, shining editorial rooms of leather and varnish which had earlier stood at the disposal of the Jews in Berlin, Vienna or Prague. Here one can’t find the superficial pomp which the Jewish parvenus once so loved.”<sup>10</sup>

And who worked here in this “primitive,” “wretched” setting? Who were these “guardians”? Who made up the *Pariser Tageblatt* circle? Georg Bernhard, the former “King of Kochstraße,”<sup>11</sup> headed the list, followed by Carl Misch, Kurt Caro, Alfred Kerr, and Paul Westheim. Fritz Wolff procured the funds, although “the private accounts of Bernhard and Wolff have unfortunately disappeared.”<sup>12</sup> “Who were the other spiritual molders of the paper? A quick look at the honorarium list, only a few names, and one can clearly see”:

Berendsohn, Bertolt Brecht (known as the ‘Threepenny-boy’), the fine Frau Castonier from London, Schalom Ben-Chorin with residence in Haifa, Dreyfus, Ehrenstein, Epstein, [Moritz] Goldstein, Leonhard Frank . . . , Karl Loewy, Paul Marcus, the fine brothers Balder and Rudolf Olden, and lastly the ‘Mirror Man’ Franz Werfel. . . . Like a ghost the nebulous, distant past, these names conjure up the figures of a former German ‘literature,’ a literature which we have ungrudgingly left to our French neighbors.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> von Oven, “Ihr, die ihr wolltet Hüter sein!” *Deutsche Presse* (6 July 1940).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden* (Amsterdam), 22 February 1944; press cutting, Archives of the Wiener Library.

<sup>12</sup> von Oven, “Ihr, die ihr wolltet Hüter sein!” *Deutsche Presse* (6 July 1940).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

The war correspondent not only incorporated into his article a vivid – albeit lurid – account of the events immediately following the fall of Paris, but he also mirrored the Nazis’ deep-seated anti-intellectualism and neurotic hatred for the former cosmopolitan literati of the Weimar Republic. The spiritual delineation between “Nazi culture” and “emigrant culture,” the struggle as it were over the essence of the “real Germany,” is clearly drawn. France as the harbinger of these “figures of a former German ‘literature’” – so the article implies – had brought ruin upon itself by admitting them. The “ungrateful” guests misused the hospitality shown them by “traitorously” agitating for war against their former fatherland. In the despised period of the *System-Republik* – to use National Socialist jargon – these “parvenus” were able to thrive, as well as cloud and corrupt the “true” German essence. First driven out of Germany after the “National Socialist Revolution,” and then living in Paris under the most vermin-like conditions only to be driven out again, these “would be guardians” of *Kultur* had been finally exposed.

As a work of propaganda and National Socialist “enlightenment,” the article seeks to justify the measures taken against the Jewish, cosmopolitan intelligensia. It portrays the stereotype of the ugly, wandering, Jewish intellectual devoid of culture, self-esteem, and pride. He is depicted as a selfish, corrupt, homeless figure, unwanted by all nations. “They had been tossed out everywhere. Nobody wanted them.”<sup>14</sup> The article is a revealing example of the captive press’s conception of the Jews, literati, and emigrant, a trinity epitomized by the detested organ of the emigrant community the *Pariser Tageblatt* and its successor the *Pariser Tageszeitung*.

The exiled journalists in Paris associated with the *Pariser Tageblatt* – *Pariser Tageszeitung* and the other emigrant publications were used by Goebbels’s propaganda machine to epitomize the alien, cosmopolitan traditions of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and bourgeois liberalism. Many of these writers had been used by right-wing publicists during the Weimar Republic to symbolize the anti-German currents they regarded indicative of liberalism. Figures such as Alfred Kerr, the biting theater critic for the *Berliner Tageblatt*, its editor-in-chief, Theodor Wolff, as well as Georg Bernhard of the *Vossische Zeitung*, were particularly singled out. At the time of the ill-fated Hitler Putsch in November 1923, wall posters went up in Munich declaring the “leading scoundrels” of 9 November 1918 “outlawed” and making it the duty of every German to hand over to the “national government,” dead or alive, “Ebert, Scheidemann, Oskar Cohn, Paul Levi, Theodor Wolff, Georg Bernhard, and their helpers and helpers-helpers.”<sup>15</sup>

The left-liberal intellectuals and so-called free-thinkers ranked disproportionately high on the “blacklists” and first expatriation lists.<sup>16</sup> The journalist and

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Wilhelm Hoegner, *Die verratene Republik. Geschichte der deutschen Gegenrevolution* (Munich: Isar Verlag, 1958), p. 319.

<sup>16</sup> Alfred Kantorowicz, *Politik und Literatur im Exil. Deutschsprachige Schriftsteller im Kampf gegen den Nationalsozialismus* (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1978), pp. 94–95. Kantorowicz lists the names and party affiliations of those on the first expatriation lists.

frequent contributor to numerous exile publications Alfred Kantorowicz commented in reference to the book burnings of 10 May 1933 that:

the major thrust of this destructive act was not directed against the Marxists or Communists . . . but rather against the bourgeois free spirits. Once can call them the 'left-literati' – also the 'homeless-left,' contributors to Carl von Ossietzky's *Weltbühne*. On the first lists of books to be burned and banned are to be found only a few Communist writers, whereas Sigmund Freud, pacifists such as Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster, liberals such as Georg Bernhard, Alfred Kerr [and] Kurt Tucholsky . . . [were] listed everywhere.<sup>17</sup>

The loosely defined, highly individualistic liberal-left were more problematic to the National Socialists than either of the Nazis' two most immediate and better organized political adversaries on the Left. Firstly, the renown many of these figures enjoyed in and out of Germany, a reputation established through the nature and quality of their work, could not be erased overnight.<sup>18</sup> And secondly, because of their very lack of political organization and their characteristic critical independence – even when affiliated with a political party – they loomed as an intangible foe. It was easier to suggest that the communists and socialists were part of a Marxist world conspiracy, but more difficult with the left-liberals who stood at odds with not only the Right but maintained a critical distance to the parties of the Left as well. The potential strength of these liberals rested on their intellectual challenge to Nazism and their claims in exile to represent the "real" or "other" Germany.

The book burnings marked the attack against the representatives of the Enlightenment and ideas of 1789 by the forces of the anti-Enlightenment. One Munich paper wrote a week after the first fires that the struggle was "directed against the symptoms of disintegration of our thought and life style which is inseparably tied to art":

That is to say against the asphalt literature which is written predominantly for the man in large cities in order to strengthen him in his alienation to the world around him and to the *Volk*, and to uproot him fully from any community. It is the literature of intellectual nihilism.<sup>19</sup>

The left-bourgeois journalists were included in this condemnation. Theodor Wolff's and Georg Bernhard's works were thrown into the pyre with the following dedication:

Against the alien (*volksfremd*) journalism of democratic, Jewish coinage, for the responsible, conscious cooperation in the work of national reconstruction! I commit to the flames the writings of Theodor Wolff and Georg Bernhard.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>18</sup> Erika Martens, *Zum Beispiel. 'Das Reich.' Zur Phänomenologie der Presse im totalitären Regime* (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1972), p. 22. Martens uses this reasoning to explain the government's relative tolerance of the bourgeois press.

<sup>19</sup> "Die Schwarze Liste," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, 18 May 1933 as reprinted in Joseph Wulf, *Literatur und Dichtung im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963), p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> "Die Rufer," *Neuköllner Tageblatt*, 12 May 1933 as reprinted in *ibid.*, p. 46.

Alfred Kerr received similar “honors” when his works were offered to the flames because of their “arrogant murdering of the German language”<sup>21</sup> and Heinrich Mann’s because of “decadence and moral decay.”<sup>22</sup>

In the pages of the *Pariser Tageblatt – Pariser Tageszeitung* the representatives of this so-called intellectual nihilism and alien journalism were assembled. For Goebbels the core of the writers around the paper must have served as a constant reminder of those “Jewish parvenues” whom he believed had denied him recognition in the twenties.<sup>23</sup> And the existence of the paper symbolized the continuation of an intellectual tradition completely antithetical to the tenets of National Socialism. Therefore, the pillage of the office housing the *Pariser Tageszeitung* can be viewed as the logical continuation of the 10 May 1933 autodafé – another “triumph” over the “guardians” of the abhorred ideals of bourgeois humanism, cosmopolitanism, and the liberal press.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>23</sup> According to one biographer, Goebbels felt himself excluded from Germany’s cultural life by the Jews who permitted only “their people” to come to the fore. He reportedly submitted articles to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, but these were all rejected by “the Jew” Theodor Wolff. In 1924 he applied for a position as an editor with the *Berliner Tageblatt* but was likewise turned down; see Helmut Heiber, *Joseph Goebbels* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1962), pp. 39–40. Similarly, Kantorowicz interpreted the book burnings as an act of personal revenge by the “frustrated literat Goebbels”; Kantorowicz, *Politik*, p. 260.

## CHAPTER I

# The Character and Politics of Left-Liberal Journalism in the Weimar Republic: A Portrait

### The *Pariser Tageblatt* Circle

Despite claims made by Goebbels's propaganda machine, a circle of left-bourgeois intellectuals, writers, and journalists espousing a well-defined, clearly structured program with commonly accepted dogmas did not exist either during the Weimar Republic or in the years in emigration. The intellectual temperaments, political idiosyncrasies, and keen individualism of those journalists and creative writers who fall under this broad rubric inhibited any such formation. Rather there existed various groups of intellectuals centered around one or another publication.

Traditional left-liberal papers such as the prestigious "big three" – the *Vossische Zeitung*, *Berliner Tageblatt*, and *Frankfurter Zeitung* – or the more progressive papers such as the *Berliner Volkszeitung* and *BZ am Mittag*, to name but a few, were political and intellectual rallying points for one group of journalists who can be labeled as "humanist intellectuals." Jenoe Kurucz in his study *Struktur und Funktion der Intelligenz während der Weimarer Republik* attributed to the humanist intellectuals an adherence to the belief in the right and dignity of freedom of thought and a rhetorical defense of pluralistic democracy based on pragmatic argumentation. "They justified their standpoint," wrote Kurucz, "with the thesis that individual social groups, like society at large, could only exist in the modern world if the traditional emotional values were brought under the control of reason."<sup>1</sup>

No consensus existed, on how to establish the desired rule by reason or on how to preserve the liberal democratic order. Consequently, the humanists tended to be divided into two broadly defined groups. On the one hand, there were those such as Theodor Wolff, editor-in-chief of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, who were more analytical in their politics and favored cool, deliberate reason over heated political controversy. And on the other hand, there were the more leftist-oriented humanists such as Georg Bernhard of the *Vossische Zeitung* and Kurt Caro of the *Berliner Volkszeitung*. Entirely sympathetic to the traditional humanist principles and ideals of liberalism, they advocated a more unconventional and pragmatic political approach in order to preserve liberalism. Instrumental in the creation of the Weimar Constitution and loyal to its precepts throughout the fourteen years of the Republic, the humanist intellectuals remained largely without any immediate political influence.

<sup>1</sup> Jenoe Kurucz, *Struktur und Funktion der Intelligenz während der Weimarer Republik* (Cologne: Grote, 1967), p. 60.

The radical-democratic journals offered possibilities for the more left-wing activists. For many, Siegfried Jacobsohn's *Schaubühne*, renamed *Weltbühne* in 1918, served as a spiritual home.<sup>2</sup> Similar in style, purpose, and political content was Stefan Grossmann and Leopold Schwarzschild's *Das Tagebuch*. In addition, Maximilian Harden's *Die Zukunft*<sup>3</sup> (1892–1922) and Karl Kraus's *Die Fackel*<sup>4</sup> (1911–1936), especially in their early years, offered intellectual inspiration and rhetorical models for these intellectuals. Characteristic of the activists was the heterogeneity of their programs and proposed solutions. At the same time, they shared a basic awareness of the structural shortcomings and injustices of the existing social order and the Weimar constitution. Through revolutionary action and consciousness, an appeal to both the intellect and individual will, the handicaps to the establishment of a socially just and humanistic society were to be overcome.

Although lacking an organized political front, the activists were spiritually united by their utopian ideals, the often emotional appeal of their argumentation, and their radicalism. Characteristic notions shared by many were anti-fascism, anti-militarism, a detestation of the halfhearted, compromised social democracy of Weimar, and the belief in the possibility of establishing a new order ruled by humanistic principles and based on social, economic, and legal equality. The abundance of cultural-political journals afforded them ample opportunity to espouse their "unique" ideas with the like-minded. But like the humanists, the activists also remained outsiders to the Republic's political machinery.

Despite general ideological differences and petty animosities, the humanist intellectuals and activists very often worked side by side. For a short time, individuals from these in no way mutually exclusive groups participated in or supported the founding of the German Democratic Party (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei*; DDP), seeing in it the sought-after social and intellectual awakening.

None of the left-bourgeois journalists wrote solely for one paper or journal. Some contributed to the radical democratic journals while others were closely affiliated with either of the traditional Berlin publishing houses of Ullstein or Mosse. Journals such as the *Tagebuch*, *Weltbühne* or Kurt Hiller's *Aktion* offered a forum for the left-liberals' more outspoken critical sentiments than the tolerant, more tradition-bound bourgeois press. In fine, the field for their intellectual out-

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<sup>2</sup> For a study of the *Weltbühne*, see Istvan Deak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals. A Political History of the Weltbühne and Its Circle* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968). Also refer to Alf Enseling, *Die Weltbühne. Organ der intellektuellen Linken* (Münster: Verlag C.J. Fahle GmbH., 1962). Likewise see the small booklet commemorating the reissuing of the *Weltbühne* by Axel Eggebrecht and Dietrich Pinkerneil, *Das Drama der Republik* (Königstein/Ts.: Athenäum Verlag, 1979). On Kurt Tucholsky and the *Weltbühne* refer to Harold L. Poor, *Kurt Tucholsky and the Ordeal of Germany, 1914–1935* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968).

<sup>3</sup> Harry F. Young, *Maximilian Harden. Censor Germaniae. Ein Publizist im Widerstreit von 1892–1927* (Münster: Verlag Regensburg, 1971).

<sup>4</sup> Wilma A. Iggers, *Karl Kraus. A Viennese Critic of the Twentieth Century* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1967).

pourings was as wide as it was qualitatively varied, and the range of journals and newspapers in Berlin alone assured the writers of the intellectual Left a suitable market for their endeavors.

Although the left-liberals (both humanists and activists) did not advance a well-defined, coherent political program, there were several common denominators which identified them. To a greater or lesser degree, all espoused the belief in the establishment of a just society based on socialist and humanist principles which recognized and protected both the individual and individualism. At the same time, they steadfastly maintained a critical distance to the established parties of the middle and Left. Consequently, they have been labeled as idealists and dreamers in reference to their political, social, and economic ideas.<sup>5</sup>

Many admired French cultural and political traditions, especially the Enlightenment and French Revolution, and hoped that the newly established Weimar Republic would at long last introduce these principles into German political and cultural life. Not unaware of the excesses of the Russian Revolution, many were apt to overlook such extremes in favor of a better socialist tomorrow which they believed the revolution would eventually create. As political and cultural independents, the left-liberals were also supportive of a political union between the competing workers' parties and did not automatically exclude cooperation with the Communists. In short, political, cultural, and intellectual independence characterized – and at times stigmatized – the left-liberal mentality.<sup>6</sup>

The journalists and creative writers associated with the *Pariser Tageblatt* and later the *Pariser Tageszeitung* came from that side of the political spectrum identified with either the left-liberalism of Theodor Barth<sup>7</sup> and later Friedrich Naumann's social-liberalism, the revisionism of Eduard Bernstein, or the broadly defined ideological program of the Independent Socialist Party (*Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei*; USPD).<sup>8</sup> Not surprisingly, some were also closely linked to the German Communist Party (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*; KPD). These journalists belonged to the Republic's humanist and/or left-wing activist intelligentsia.

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1968), p. 74. For an interpretation of the role liberals and left-liberals played in German history seen from the perspective of the historians and political scientists in the German Democratic Republic, refer to Dieter Fricke et al., *Deutsche Demokraten: Die nichtproletarischen demokratischen Kräfte in der deutschen Geschichte 1830 bis 1945* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981).

<sup>6</sup> For a study of left-liberal literary figures and their thought in the Weimar Republic, see Dieter Mayer, *Linksbürgerliches Denken. Untersuchungen zur Kunsttheorie, Gesellschaftsauffassung und Kulturpolitik in der Weimarer Republik (1919–1924)* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1981).

<sup>7</sup> Ernst Feder, *Theodor Barth und der demokratische Gedanke* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1919).

<sup>8</sup> Curt Geyer, *Die revolutionäre Illusion. Zur Geschichte des linken Flügels der USPD*, ed. by Wolfgang Benz and Hermann Graml, *Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, Nr. 33 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1976).

The advent and repressive course of Nazism after January 1933 provided the catalyst for the mutual engagement of a politically varied group of journalists and creative writers with a paper which in its format, style, and editorial composition at times resembled the often spurned liberal press of the Weimar era. Many of the independent Left must have shared Kurt Hiller's wonderment at finding themselves linked with the controversial Georg Bernhard, often a *bête noire* for the Left as well as the Right. "When in exile," Hiller bemused, "one sits with the strangest characters in one and the same boat."<sup>9</sup> The *Pariser Tageblatt – Pariser Tageszeitung* circle can be labeled a "negative cohesion" insofar as those individuals associated with it came together not so much as a result of a positive political program commonly held but rather as a result of their spiritual and physical exclusion from the Third Reich and their shared and expressed antipathy against that régime. Emigration threw them together, and it should not be forgotten that many lent their name and services to the *Pariser Tageblatt – Pariser Tageszeitung* for the very mundane reason that at the time there was no other liberal emigrant daily – and only a limited number of liberal independent political-cultural journals. Hence, the writers of the *Pariser Tageblatt* denote a circle in the sense of their avid anti-fascism and the tenacity of their belief in a radical-liberalism.

The editorial staff of the emigrant daily and many of its regular contributors were closely linked to the traditions of Berlin liberal journalism. In emigration these individuals sought under extremely different material, political, and psychological circumstances to uphold and update the traditions of liberal Weimar journalism. Emigration compounded the task. And although many of the intellectual traditions were carried over into emigration, so too were the kaleidoscopic breadth of political-cultural traditions and the factionalism characteristic of Weimar politics and the liberal press.

## The German Democratic Party and the Left-Liberals

For the creative writers of the German liberal-left, the collapse of the Wilhelminian system and the birth of the Weimar Republic foretold a new political and cultural beginning. The time had seemingly arrived for those critical scholars, artists, and journalists of the independent Left who during the last years of the empire had been kept on the periphery of Germany's political scene. In the hours immediately following the Kaiser's abdication and flight from Germany, a group of leading industrialists and lawyers met together at the house of Dr. Theodor Vogelstein. The group expressed their desire for the creation of new liberal party to replace what they considered to be the compromised and antiquated existing Progressive People's Party (*Fortschrittliche Volkspartei*; FVP), and the National Liberal Party

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<sup>9</sup> Kurt Hiller, *Leben gegen die Zeit*, vol. I: *Logos* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1969), p. 131. Volume II of Hiller's autobiography, *Eros* (1973), concentrates on the author's emotional life.

(*Nationalliberale Partei*; NLP). By the afternoon of 10 November Theodor Wolff's support had been enlisted, and the influential editor-in-chief of the *Berliner Tageblatt* set about the task of collecting "a group of uncompromised personalities" and drafting the party proclamation which appeared six days later in his paper.<sup>10</sup> Among the circle Wolff assembled were several highly respected colleagues from the publishing world, including Dr. Rudolf Mosse, Dr. Martin Carbe, Otto Nuschke, Dr. Emil Faktor from the *Berliner Börsencourier*, and Hellmut von Gerlach.

Wolff's idealistic proclamation and the founding of the DDP were indicative of the euphoria following the Kaiser's abdication. Many shared Paul Westheim's admonition against the "muzzling of the spirit" and his call for the immediate cessation of government interference with art. "All censorship must cease" and creative writers and poets "... must never again be threatened with imprisonment because of their work." Writing in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the art critic and later regular contributor to the *Pariser Tageblatt – Pariser Tageszeitung* asserted:

For all those who see in an unhampered spiritual life a source of national vitality, the demands of the day can only be: Down with all preference and patronizing, an end to suppression of *Geist* and art! ... The people are of age both in thought and in emotion. They can decide for themselves which form of intellect [*Geist*] and which form of art appears suitable to them.<sup>11</sup>

For the left-liberals, progress and change were to be accomplished not by the complete destruction of the old order but through evolutionary social and economic development in accord with man's reason and practical needs.

Strikingly absent from the discussions concerning the founding of a new liberal party were the Ullstein firm and its director Georg Bernhard. This was the result of no oversight on the part of Wolff and the others. Particularly onerous to many on the Left was Bernhard's initial support for Admiral Tirpitz in regard to the question of unlimited submarine warfare.<sup>12</sup> And although Bernhard eventually rejected Tirpitz and the government's annexationist claims, he remained on the

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<sup>10</sup> Werner Stephan, *Aufstieg und Verfall des Linksliberalismus 1918–1933* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), pp. 13–17, passim. See also Dieter Fricke, chief ed., *Lexikon zur Parteiengeschichte. Die bürgerlichen und kleinbürgerlichen Parteien und Verbände in Deutschland (1789–1945)*, vol. 1: Alldeutscher Verband – Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte (Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1983), pp. 576–582.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Westheim, "Gegen die Knebelung des Geistes," *Frankfurter Zeitung* (FZ), 8 Nov. 1918, A, p. 1: "Die Forderung des Tages für alle, die in einem ungehemmten geistigen Leben eine Quelle der Volkskraft sehen, kann nur die sein: Weg mit aller Bevorzugung und Bevormundung, ein Ende mit jeglicher Bedrückung des Geistes und der Künste! Das Volk ist mündig, auch im Denken und Fühlen. Es mag selbst entscheiden, welche Art Geist und welche Art Kunst ihm angemessen erscheint."

<sup>12</sup> Within the Ullstein firm itself, Bernhard's stand during the war encountered significant opposition. But over the objections from other Ullstein papers such as the *Berliner Morgenpost*, *Berliner Abendpost*, the *BZ*, and the *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung*, the headstrong director pursued his own course; see Emil Herz, *Denk ich an Deutschland in der Nacht* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag, 1951), pp. 275–276.

firing line for his earlier views. Against the backdrop of the reshuffling in the German cabinet and appeals for an armistice in October 1918, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* wrote that despite his democratic leanings, Bernhard “for the past four years had engaged mainly in pan-German sabre-rattling, and like a political oddity, he had hopelessly and unpardonably got himself stuck in a political labyrinth.”<sup>13</sup> In an effort to deflate these criticisms, Bernhard responded in his editorials by emphasizing the need to concentrate on the tasks of the present rather than the “squabbles of the past.”<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, for many of the humanist intellectuals, not to mention the activists, the initial support given by Bernhard to the war and his role as go-between for the press and military during the war,<sup>15</sup> raised serious doubts and suspicions as to his sincerity and reliability.<sup>16</sup>

Despite such criticism, the need for a new liberal party did not escape Bernhard who quickly threw his support behind the DDP. Three days prior to Wolff’s draft in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the editor of the *Voss* outlined in a lead article the paper’s position on the political events of the preceding days. He acknowledged that a new political system had been established and committed his paper’s support to the German republic. This republic, Bernhard emphasized, had to be based on the broadest possible social foundation. Although “the revolution had been essentially carried out by the soldiers and the Social Democratic Party,” the middle class had to be included and willingly participate in the new state. By *Bürgertum* Bernhard understood not only the *Mittelstand*, employers, and brainworkers (*Geistesarbeiter*) of the bourgeoisie, but “all those workers and office personnel who do not adopt the same stance as the Social Democratic Party’s program.” In planning for the future, Bernhard cautioned that esteem for the individual had to be preserved in the new social order. “The value of free initiative must be defended and emphasized because only through such initiative can maximum productiveness be attained for Germany’s future economic productivity.”<sup>17</sup>

In Bernhard’s estimation, the success of the new party depended upon liberal unity. The revolution offered liberals a new chance to establish such unity.<sup>18</sup> He therefore expressed the hope that the proclamation published in the *Berliner Tageblatt* would mean not only the creation of a new party per se, but that it would also carry with it the compulsion to unify the discredited existing liberal parties.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Editorial, “Frankfurt 11. Okt.,” FZ, 11 Oct. 1918, A. See also Werner Becker, *Demokratie des sozialen Rechts. Die politische Haltung der Frankfurter Zeitung, der Vossischen Zeitung und des Berliner Tageblatts 1918–1924* (Göttingen, Zürich & Frankfurt: Musterschmidt, 1971), p. 120.

<sup>14</sup> Bernhard, “Zur Klarstellung,” VZ, 12 Oct. 1918, M. See also Bernhard, “Schuld oder Schuldige,” VZ, 28 Oct. 1918, M.

<sup>15</sup> Gotthart Schwarz, *Theodor Wolff und das Berliner Tageblatt. Eine liberale Stimme in der deutschen Politik 1906–1933* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1968), p. 42, n. 16.

<sup>16</sup> Deak, *Weimar Germany’s Left-Wing Intellectuals*, p. 68.

<sup>17</sup> Bernhard, “Demokratie,” VZ, 13 Nov. 1918, M.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Lothar Albertin, *Liberalismus und Demokratie am Anfang der Weimarer Republik* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1972), p. 59.

But for the idealistic initiators of the proclamation of 16 November, no compromises were to be made with the past. Participants in the creation of the party had to be completely clean of any annexationist heritage or similar unseemly connections to the recent war. Later the way could be opened to those previously excluded, as long as it transpired without fanfare or claims to future party leadership.<sup>20</sup> Wolff's conception of the party differed from that advocated by the editor of the *Vossische Zeitung*. Wolff, the eternal moralist, the resplendent humanist, believed it possible to create a party from scratch.<sup>21</sup> Gustav Stresemann skeptically regarded Wolff's creation, correctly questioning its life-expectancy.<sup>22</sup> Faced by these doubts and the rebuffs from the circle around Wolff, Stresemann announced in December 1918 the creation of the German People's Party. Bernhard's hopes for a broadly based, unified liberal party were shattered.

Within a relatively short period, the political-intellectual trust responsible for the initial founding of the DDP faded under the growing shadow of the party machinery. The old guard, made-up of the other liberal elements which joined the DDP in November and December 1918, quickly gained the upperhand, and the influence of the original party founders markedly waned.<sup>23</sup> The "new men" of the DDP consisting of intellectuals, scholars, theoreticians – the humanist intellectuals – were anything but party bureaucrats. Consequently, the routine bureaucratic work and organization fell into the hands of the party apparatus, i.e., Otto Fischbeck and Hermann Pachnicke of the former Progressive People's Party and Robert Friedberg of the former National Liberal Party. Their years of experience, party connections, and influence in the various election districts helped to establish their control over the party and, at the same time, resulted in withholding party support from figures such as Max Weber, Georg Bernhard, and Hellmut von Gerlach.<sup>24</sup>

All three men had fallen into disfavor because of their political and intellectual stances. Max Weber's critique of party bureaucracy alienated many influential functionaries. In Bernhard's case, his francophilism and strong socialist-tainted proposals for economic reorganization were the major stumbling blocks to a proposed candidacy in Oppeln, Upper Silesia. Hellmut von Gerlach was completely ignored because of his advocacy as Prussian Under Secretary of State for a provisional settlement between Germans and Poles in Posen. Equally telling is the resignation of Alfred Weber from the party chairmanship and Wolff's gradual retreat into the background of party affairs and decisions.<sup>25</sup> The effect of this

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>21</sup> Wolfram Köhler, *Der Chef-Redakteur. Theodor Wolff. Ein Leben in Europa 1868–1943* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1978), p. 199.

<sup>22</sup> Bernd Söseman, *Das Ende der Weimarer Republik in der Kritik demokratischer Publizisten. Theodor Wolff, Ernst Feder, Julius Elbau, Leopold Schwarzschild* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1976), p. 95; see also Köhler, *Der Chef-Redakteur*, p. 198.

<sup>23</sup> Becker, *Demokratie des sozialen Rechts*, p. 251.

<sup>24</sup> Albertin, *Liberalismus und Demokratie*, pp. 77–78.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 78–79.

maneuvering meant that the original left-liberal inspirers of the party found no place on the DDP candidate lists for the National Assembly.<sup>26</sup>

In turn the papers and publishing firms of the democratic press assumed a critical distance from the party they had originally helped to create. Although sympathetic to the goals and *Weltanschauung* of the German Democratic Party, the left-liberal press, in contrast to the party press of the Communists, Socialists, and Centrists, never became its official mouthpiece. Firstly, the papers published by the Ullstein and Mosse concerns and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* represented the left-wing of the DDP.<sup>27</sup> As the DDP moved further to the Right in the months following its creation, the relationship between the democratic oriented press developed into a “love-hate partnership.”<sup>28</sup> Both the party and its loosely affiliated press became locked in a political tug of war over party policy with neither side being particularly successful in winning over the other. Secondly, such a situation would have been contrary to its own commercial strength and the traditions of the liberal press as they had evolved in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* along with the Ullstein and Mosse publications stood by the party “only in principle” and, as the party’s business director Werner Stephan observed, “in many cases [they] advanced their own point of view.”<sup>29</sup> Ideological dogmatism was antithetical to the essence of the left-liberal press. Rather than positing the answer to a particular problem, it strove through dialectical discussion and the presentation of facts to effect a rational course of action. Tolerance accompanied by a broad spectrum of opinion and information characterized the manner of presentation.<sup>30</sup>

## The Myth of a Jewish Press

To its adversaries the liberal press, tied as it was to the rise of the mass press, evoked hostile, modernistic, urban associations. The success of the publishing concerns of Mosse and Ullstein can be attributed to commercial developments in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the eyes of the threatened lower *Mittelstand*, these changes were perceived as the end of small, independent business, the destruction of artisans, the promotion of mechanized production, and

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<sup>26</sup> Refer to Werner Fritsch and Heinz Herz, “Deutsche Demokratische Partei,” in *Die bürgerlichen Parteien in Deutschland. Handbuch der Geschichte der bürgerlichen Parteien und anderen bürgerlichen Interessenorganisationen vom Vormärz bis zum Jahre 1945*, vol. I, chief editor Dieter Fricke (Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1968), p. 306.

<sup>27</sup> Becker, *Demokratie des sozialen Rechts*, p. 256.

<sup>28</sup> Köhler, *Der Chef-Redakteur*, pp. 139–140.

<sup>29</sup> Stephan as cited in Hartmut Schustereit, *Linksliberalismus und Sozialdemokratie in der Weimarer Republik* (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1975), p. 229.

<sup>30</sup> Michael Bosch, *Liberale Presse in der Krise. Die Innenpolitik der Jahre 1930 bis 1933 im Spiegel des “Berliner Tageblatts,” der “Frankfurter Zeitung” und der “Vossischen Zeitung”* (Frankfurt/M. & Munich: Peter Lang GmbH., 1976), p. 300.

ultimately unemployment. Viewed from the perspective of the educated, the liberal mass press epitomized creeping political and cultural progressivism, egalitarianism, democratization, internationalism, and the sovereignty of rationalism.<sup>31</sup> Antipathy toward the mass press went hand in hand with the anti-urbanism, anti-modernity, and anti-Semitism of the late nineteenth century. Since three of Germany's major publishing concerns were founded by Jews, it was easy to apply the myth of Jewish wealth and power over political and cultural areas to the emerging liberal press.

Repeatedly, right-wing writers and journalists alluded to the alleged power of these firms. "The Jewish newspaper," wrote Wilhelm Stapel, an unsung ideologue of National Socialism, "had developed in connection with Jewish democratic journalism and *Literatentum*. The three famous centers were the publishers Sonnemann, later Simon, in Frankfurt, Rudolf Mosse in Berlin, and the Ullstein brothers also in Berlin."<sup>32</sup> For Stapel these firms and their publications were responsible for the dissemination of anti-German, anti-*völkisch* literature. Moreover, they prevented more "German" writers, i.e., Ernst Jünger, from receiving just recognition.<sup>33</sup> Claims of this nature stemmed largely from a sense of frustration and "cultural despair." Outside of these three publishing firms, little Jewish capital was to be found in the trade, and in essence they were neither larger nor politically and culturally more dominating than the rightest Hugenberg concern.<sup>34</sup>

A substantial number of the prominent journalists at the Ullstein and Mosse publishing houses who later went into emigration were either Jewish or of Jewish descent.<sup>35</sup> But, as Hermann Ullstein has emphasized, "it is absurd to maintain, as so many people did, that this handful of men could have put a Jewish imprint on a firm with a staff of 10,000. Jews or no Jews, they had always felt German at heart and had fought, as valiantly as any 'Aryan' for Germany's greatness."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Margret Boveri, *Wir lügen alle. Eine Hauptstadtzeitung unter Hitler* (Olten & Freiburg im Breisgau: Walter-Verlag, 1965), p. 18.

<sup>32</sup> Wilhelm Stapel, *Die literarische Vorherrschaft der Juden in Deutschland 1918 bis 1933* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlags-Anstalt, 1937), p. 18. For a study of Stapel, refer to Heinrich Kessler's *Wilhelm Stapel als politischer Publizist. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des konservativen Nationalismus zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen* (Nuremberg: Lorenz Spindler Verlag, 1967).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> Oron J. Hale, *The Captive Press in the Third Reich* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> It is useful for our purpose to adopt Hans-Helmuth Knütter's broad definition of a Jew and Jewish as anyone "who professes Judaism. At the same time one can speak of Jewish descent for those baptized and assimilated Jews who broke off their ties to Judaism but as before [were] still classified as Jews by the anti-Semites"; Hans-Helmuth Knütter, *Die Juden und die deutsche Linke in der Weimarer Republik 1918–1933* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971), p. 20.

<sup>36</sup> Hermann Ullstein, *The Rise and Fall of the House of Ullstein* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943), p. 27.