

IV Interviews with Judge Lindsey (Denver Colorado) with ~~Prof. ...~~ University, February 1916.

[Diese Aufzeichnung, in der ich mehrere Gespräche mit Herrn L. zusammenfasste, wurde von Zimmermann gelesen u. ohne Correction gebilligt.] Sie soll baldigt Roosevelt übermittelt u. von Herrn Lindsey, nahem Freunde R.'s diesem mündlich erläutert werden. Roosevelt, dessen Präsidentschaftskandidatur für diesen Herbst Freund R. sehr eifrig betreibt, gilt in Bezug auf Deutschland für "lebhaftig" - wohl um das "progermanische" Note, das auf etwa 25% der gesamten Wählerzahl veranschlagt wird zu gewinnen. Wie dem sei, jedenfalls ist Roosevelt darüber der Meinung, dass "an Heftigkeit der Fantasie wie fortwährender Kraft der Willens, kleiner gleich ist." [Dieses ist freigegeben, freilich.]

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1) Russia pushes forward to Constantinople originally by reasons of religion, to - day by economic reasons as the big export of grain goes through the straits. Russia is bound to export enormous quantities of agricultural produce to pay the interests of her enormous government loans. Russia is the greatest debtor, the world history has ever seen. Since Japan and England drove her out of Eastern Asia, where she had the ambition to establish a Pacific Empire, Russia pressed the much stronger upon Constantinople. The consequence was the organisation of the Balkan States by Russia, which was primarily meant to crush Austria-Hungary, - this state being the chief hindrance in Russia's march to Constantinople.

2) At the time of Bismarck, Germany had no life-interest in the Balkans, but even Bismarck already guaranteed the integrity of Austria-Hungary against Russian aggression, as Austria - Hungary is the only natural ally which Germany has in the world. Under William II Germany went farther and defended the integrity of Turkey against Russia, as Turkey is the only market for raw - in the neighbourhood of Germany materials, upon which Germany can draw independant of England's sea supremacy. Besides Turkey gained more importance for Germany, as the possibility of an Anglo - German conflict appeared on the political horizon. Germany is able only through the way of Asiatic Turkey to exercise some pressure upon the Suez Canal, upon which Greater Britain depends not less than Germany upon the free access through the British Channel to her own shores.

3) When Russia came to know that - as a Russian statesman expressed it - Russia's way to Constantinople only went via the "Brandenburger Thor" in Berlin, Russia decided in the year 1909 to prepare a war for 1916, when she hoped she would be fully armed and she made great loans for that purpose in France. The outbreak of the war was precipitated not only by the crime of Sarajewo, as Americans generally think, but also by the imminent German - Anglo understanding, the outlines of which were accepted by England as well as Germany in spring 1914. If that agreement, which satisfied both sides equally, had been signed, Asiatic Turkey would have mostly fallen into the sphere of German interest and the hope of Russia to rule at Constantinople would have been lost for ever. Therefore Russia was bound to make the war at once before the German - Anglo agreement came into force and eventually lead to the German - Anglo Alliance.

4) Though the war with Russia was inevitable, the war with France seemed to be evitable. Well-informed Germans hoped until the last hour that France would stand aside, and the German government offered to France neutrality on a basis honourable to both sides. But France followed Russia into the disaster as she is by far the biggest creditor of Russia, bound to the fate of her debtor who owes her more than five billions dollars. Besides the idea ruled to avenge 1870/71 and get back Alsace - Lorraine which lived in the depth of the French soul, never forgotten, though Alsace is a German speaking country and of Lorraine only a small

part (about 200000 of inhabitants) speak French as their mother tongue. Practically the revenge idea["] concerns not so much the lost provinces but["] the ambition of France to remain at least the leading power of Continental Europe. For she has lost the claim to be a leading power^{"world"} in the world at Waterloo, and at Paschoda under the pressure of the British fleet.

- 5) As to England commercial rivalry was the chief reason why Edward VII made it the chief purpose of British politics to meet the "German menace", which only existed in the English imagination. It was he who brought about a truce with Russia, England's hereditary enemy, and tried to encircle Germany as the world knows. For that purpose England spent almost twice as much annually for armaments as Germany, and yet she accused her all the time of militarism. But on the other hand there were British patriots enough who wanted a sincere understanding with Germany. They pointed to the fact that Germany had become since 1912 the largest buyer of British wares, even purchasing more from England than the Indian Empire. These people went in for the German - Anglo agreement, mentioned above and hoped that with the adherence of the United States the three Teutonic nations were going to feder^{or} and pacify the world. Could there be any more promising conception of human future? But when the war of Russia and France with Germany had come to the outbreak, the leading statesmen of England found themselves bound by the lines of British policy since Edward VII. Besides I hear from very well informed sources a chief reason for England of backing the

Franco - Russian allies was the fear that in the course of that war Germany might get hold of Calais and so dominate the Channel, the war proving ^{also} ~~in this~~ in this respect to be ^{about the straits of the sea.} a struggle ~~for naval predominance.~~

6) The invasion of Belgium by Germany was a very welcome pretext for the English government to stir up public opinion in their country. That it was nothing but a pretext is proved by the Entente violating the neutrality of Greece, whose Ionian islands were under the same guarantee of international neutrality as Belgium was. Also the so-called Belgium atrocities were nothing but a bluff, meant for agitating the public opinion in England as well as in the neutral states. Germany does not understand as well as England to handle the world's public opinion, (her language being more that of facts than of words.) Germans believe that the German soldier is a good-natured and a well-educated man, in any case better educated than his opponents as school statistics prove, - and for that reason not inclined to any unnecessary cruelty. On the other hand there happened dreadful atrocities, mutilations of wounded German soldiers by the Belgian civilians of which not a few nurses, who cured these poor people, could be witnesses, - their names being at the disposal of any neutral investigator. As long as these contradictory statements are not cleared up, any neutral who sticks to justice, will abstain from judgment.

7) x/ At the beginning of the war, Germany's situation seemed desperate. She had to fight against an overwhelming majority of enemies. This struggle will recall one day to

posterity the drama of Marathon and be not less famous in future history. But after a ~~year~~ war of one year and a half Germany has never been economically so strong and so firmly knitted together as she is now. Her military situation has improved during the last year in a marvellous way. She gets stronger the longer the war goes on. The war stimulates inventions, - she extracts now nitrates literally from the air, and if our English cousins will give us the time to prolong the war, we hope that the very difficult problem of artificial rubber shall be solved and the food for the cows, the import of which the English have cut off, will be supplied by organic chemistry

(Hefekulturen). *1,800,000 prisoners of war are at present in Germany, most of them applied to some production, especially agricultural work - and help us to overcome the danger of starvation with which England threatens us.*

- 8) Every intelligent American, who travels now with an open eye in Germany, will agree, that Germany can wait easily until her opponents come in to accept a just and durable peace. That goal can be attained, as Germany is not a conquering nation, but only wants freedom for her own evolution, freedom for the smaller nations, especially those of Eastern Europe, trodden down by Russian despotism, - freedom of the seas. But the freedom of the seas so much talked of, cannot be built up by paper and paragraphs but by Germany's proving invulnerable and not to be crushed by the most formidable alliance of enemies which history has ever seen.

- 9) Nobody could foretell what the conditions of the coming peace may be, as the military situation is changing by the lapse of time and on the whole changing in favour of Germany. But in one point all Germans agree: the present war in its outcome will be a great success of pacifism, for in any case there

will be a peace - alliance between Germany and Austria - Hungary, which makes war impossible for all time between these two powers and which might outgrow by and by to an economic alliance of Middle - Europe. Other nations of Europe might, if they like, apply to enter into this newly organized peace - combination, which intellectual Germans view as the germ of the coming " United States of Europe". All Germans hope, that by the coming peace, the Balkans will be pacified in a definite manner, Bulgaria growing up to be one of the great powers of Europe, inheriting the position, Turkey has lost luckily for herself by the last Balkan War. The Serbian nation will find her national development within the boundaries of Austria - Hungary, to which even before this war two thirds of the Serbian nation belonged. Americans never ought to forget, that Austria - Hungary practically is the agglomeration of many different nations, who find there the possibilities of their own cultural evolution (*led by German thought and Magyar statesmanship.*)

- 10) Germany does not want to rule in Turkey, but she hopes, that Turkey will reform herself and be one of the great powers of the world. She will be an ally not a master, - and Germany believes, the Mahomedan world is waking up to a great future of her own by renewing the religious thought, which is the back - bone of Mahomedan culture. Germany does not want any commercial preference in the Turkish Empire, only wants open door for all. But she never will make peace, before the integrity of the Turkish territory is not restored by England and Russia.
- 11) As Russia has by a recent law deprived the two millions of German farmers, who have lived and worked in Russia since more than one century, of their estates, Germany hopes by the

peace to gather her sons, daughters and children, who wander now without homes through the immense space of Russia, and to settle them on some suitable land in her neighbourhood. There is no doubt that Kurland, a country of old German traditions though a Russian province, and very thinly populated, will be the best place for this colonisation. Germany promised freedom to Poland, but the way how to organize it, is an open question left to the future.

- 12) Germany is absolutely firm on the point, that a mere status quo in Belgium is impossible, as Belgium, in future left free from any German influence, would be open to the military and economic organisation by England and France and would be a perpetual threat on our most vulnerable frontier near the big centres of German industrial life. The Imperial Chancellor at the last session of the Reichstag asked for some material securities against that danger. Antwerp before the war was the centre of exportation of German industrial produce and is practically the great harbour at the mouth of the Rhine, where German commerce dominated. Germany, for the sake of her children's future, will not give up that position, she held before the war. A good many Germans hope to strengthen it by a custom - union. On the other hand the intellectual leaders of the Flemish nation, ^{hope that their nation,} ~~which is~~ so famous in the world's history by the greatness of its art and which was suppressed by French influence during the last centuries, will be restored by that war to her own life. Germany cannot but follow the same line, ^{for} as the Flemish nation, so nearly akin to the Germans, and Flemish peasants and German soldiers understand each other without difficulty. Therefore the German government in Belgium

decided, to reorganize the university of the town of Gent on the basis of the Dutch language, which 98 % of the population of that town and its neighbourhood talk.

13) So the outcome of the war will be a continuous line from the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth of the Euphrat, ^{Antwerp!} which ^{Basra!} will be traversed in a few years hence with a sleeping-car in 8 days, binding together Orient and Occident.

14) Nobody will suffer less by that "German line" than the British Empire, which a strong and saturated Germany would be glad to uphold.

15) As our Emperor has said, Germany has no other aim than to fulfill her world mission by the work of peace in "science, in economics and in art", in ^{friendship} ~~free competition~~ and on equal terms with the other great cultural powers of the world. The last meaning of this so much misunderstood "German Kultur" could be described by the following words: mankind tried to realize the freedom of the individual by so-called free competition, - mankind failed, as the stronger trampled down the weak. Germany tries to realize the freedom of mankind by social organisation, which puts as well the strong as the weak to the places, where they can use best their faculties, and hopes to surpass the strong individual, represented by the best type of Englishman, by the stronger organisation of the social whole.
