

EIRSpecialReport

Schiller—the poet of freedom for the defense of the West

by Helga Zepp-LaRouche

We publish here the keynote presentation of Helga Zepp-LaRouche to the Second International Conference of the Schiller Institute, held in Wiesbaden, West Germany on Sept. 22. The speech is translated from the German.

We have come to one of the turning points in history, when very great decisions are made, and the greatest issues of mankind are at stake. We have reached a point at which not only are borders being redrawn, but entire empires are supposed to be newly divided, and we could lose the entirety of human civilization because of the illusions of those involved. Perhaps we will only lose Western civilization, but that is certainly no consolation, for humanity would be thrown back some 3,000 years.

As things have turned out, this second international conference of the Schiller Institute here in Wiesbaden has become a decisive point of crystallization for the battle over these great issues. For you are not the only ones who are engaged in the subjects we will be discussing here, ladies and gentlemen: Many of those who rule this world, who, of course, would have preferred to do their business behind closed doors, are also at work, while the Schiller Institute was the only force to kindle the debate around the issues that are so crucial for our future.

And so, we can be quite confident of having the unusual honor that no small number of centers of power on the planet will be following this conference with the greatest attention.

In the last weeks of preparations for this conference, we have run up against the not surprising realization, that Moscow considers the efforts of the Schiller Institute and especially this conference to be the most important threat to its own plans. Just at the time that the Soviet Union sees itself within grasp of its ultimate goal, the decoupling of Western Europe from the United States, the Schiller Institute sets a powerful counterpoint for the rescue of the Alliance, and especially for a regeneration in content of the Western Alliance!

Since Moscow has recognized the catalyzing effect of the entire idea of the Schiller Institute, that we are actually in the process of bringing together the best



The Second International Conference of the Schiller Institute in Wiesbaden, West Germany, held under the banner "For the strengthening of the Western Alliance." Helga Zepp-LaRouche is seated, center.

republican forces of the United States, Western Europe, Ibero-America, indeed the entirety of the free West, under a new impulse in the spirit of the American Revolution and the humanist ideals of the German classical period, precisely for this reason, Moscow has muscled all the levers and points of influence

been told by various well-informed sources, Moscow reportedly made it a condition of the forthcoming meeting between Reagan and Gromyko, that the U.S. administration avoid any public association with the Schiller Institute!

But the list of people among the decoupling faction in the West that have marched to the front against this conference is considerable, too. As we can prove, the U.S. State Department attempted to prevent the success of this conference, along with the U.S. embassy in Bonn, the West German foreign ministry and—against the explicit policy of U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger—the undersecretaries in the Pentagon, Fred Iklé and Richard Perle, along with McGeorge Bundy representing the entirety of the Eastern Establishment, and, not least, Lord Carrington. And look at the rumors circulating, look at how many people were put under pressure, how overburdened the telephone lines have been, how many people were set into motion!

The 'New Yalta' deal

What is the explanation for this extraordinary show of force, just what is the raw nerve that we have hit directly on target?

The reason which gave the impetus to the founding of the Schiller Institute is a now obvious, unmistakable reality: The

"New Yalta" agreement between the Soviet Union and the oligarchical forces around Carrington and Kissinger, according to which the spheres of influence of the superpowers in the world should be redistributed, has gone into its full operational phase. While the infamous article by Henry Kissinger, published in *Time* magazine on March 5, was only the first barrage, the decoupling Kissinger appealed for is now in an advanced stage of development, namely that Western Europe is supposed to be sold out to the Soviet Union, according to this group's plans.

The chorus of voices of those who view NATO and the Western Alliance as a thing of the past is myriad. There are those, like McGeorge Bundy, the uncrowned chieftain of the Eastern Liberal Establishment, who voiced the opinion during a public meeting recently in Baltimore that the West could get along fine with a Soviet occupation of the Federal Republic of Germany, but that it would be a hollow victory, of no great import even for the rest of Europe. There are those who openly talk about letting "the old, used up and pessimistic Europe" drop, like [former Montana Senator] Mike Mansfield or former Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, and others who are offering the same American disengagement in various other delphic packages. This group includes Vernon Walters, who claims that the United States would have to withdraw troops from Western Europe in order to credibly show Western Europe that America is committed to fight the communists in Central America.

Last but not least are those representatives of the New Yalta in influential positions in public office, who think it is now opportune to pay lip-service to the Western Alliance, at

least for the next few weeks, and who are meanwhile using the power of their offices to turn the decoupling of Western Europe into practical reality, in direct and indirect agreement with Moscow. Among these people are Fred Iklé and Richard Perle in the Pentagon, Arthur Burns at the U.S. embassy in Bonn, and Lord Carrington in NATO.

A further dangerous step toward consolidation of the New Yalta agreement was taken during Carrington's recent trip to the United States, at meetings in the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies and in the context of Kissinger's founding of the "Grand Strategy Forum." Here additional moves were agreed upon, among them another push by Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) to negotiate for a quick withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe this year, as well as the proliferation of studies of the military options of the United States once the decoupling has been accomplished.

President Reagan, Defense Secretary Weinberger, Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson, and part of the U.S. military do not understand what the game is. It was urgent after the recent Soviet maneuvers that NATO Supreme Commander Gen. Bernard Rogers warned, and repeatedly so, that any conventional attack by the Soviet Union against Western Europe would be answered with the full nuclear potential of the U.S.A. Under the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), the American nuclear umbrella still represents the only effective deterrence. As long as President Reagan, and the combination of Defense Secretary Weinberger and General Abrahamson are in power, Moscow will surely think twice before starting a global nuclear war.

But if Mondale should win the election, which is highly unlikely, but cannot be totally ruled out, or if Kissinger becomes a dominant influence in the next [Reagan] administration, the withdrawal of U.S. troops would be a *fait accompli*. The 250,000 U.S. soldiers who are here with their families, are currently the guarantee that the United States is serious about defending Western Europe. If these troops were withdrawn, it is highly unlikely that the U.S.A. would react to a Soviet attack. Moscow would then have the choice between a relatively low-risk military operation, or the total Finlandization of Western Europe, where Western Europe would be degraded to the status of an East bloc satellite.

Paralysis in Washington

The greatest problem, which could turn out to be a fatal problem, is the total paralysis of the administration over the course of the election campaign up to Nov. 6. Reality has been declared tabu for the time being; neither the debt crisis in Latin America nor the crisis of the domestic banks, nor the beginning of an agricultural crisis, with the ensuing food shortages in the United States, not to speak of the real military dangers, can be discussed, because such subjects do not fit in with the desired image of a President who wants to be reelected—or at least, that is what his advisers claim.

The degree to which reality is blocked out of the Reagan administration has reached clinical proportions. In addition, most of the original conservative, patriotic team around Reagan, for example, press spokesman James Brady or the former National Security Adviser William Clark, have been driven away over the last year by various operations, and instead a regular palace guard, consisting of James Baker III and Michael Deaver, has hermetically sealed off President Reagan, so that many of his most loyal supporters and friends no longer have any direct access to him.

In the meantime, people in the Reagan camp are consoling themselves that at the moment the only thing that counts is Reagan's reelection, and that after November Reagan will solve all of the problems.

In certain circles of the Eastern Establishment, however, it is taken for granted that Reagan will be reelected, but that this second Reagan administration will be completely controlled by the Establishment, and the cabinet will be occupied by the present members of the palace guard. Kissinger, especially, is supposed to get an influential position, either as Secretary of State or as special envoy between East and West for disarmament negotiations, so to speak with the title of "Mr. Yalta." One of the reasons why the decoupling faction is so enraged, is that they also see this conference as a real threat to Kissinger's comeback.

In any case, it is not in the cards for President Reagan to have the opportunity, after his reelection, to seriously solve any problem, not to speak of initiating a "Manhattan Project"-style crash program for the implementation of the Strategic Defense Initiative. Instead, the option which is foreseen is that Reagan and his closest political advisers can be hit at any time with an Abscam type of financial scandal. The Watergate of the second Reagan administration will make the Watergate of Nixon look like a kindergarten birthday party.

We have the so-called Kissinger Commission for Central America to thank for the fact that the United States presently has fully worked out plans for military operations in Central America. Not only General Gorman, a close confidant of Kissinger's and chief of the U.S. forces in the Caribbean, but also former NSC head Richard Allen and State Department roving envoy Vernon Walters are forcing such a military operation for the near future, and the think tanks of the Eastern Establishment have managed to condition a large part of the Republican Party and President Reagan himself into believing that immediately after the elections a dramatic clean-out operation against communist forces in Nicaragua, possibly El Salvador, and probably even in Mexico, has to be carried out.

The latter, unfortunately, is one of the most probable options that the New Yalta group intends to use to get the decoupling of Western Europe from the United States really rolling. That real provocations, coordinated with Moscow, are to be the pretext for sending U.S. troops to Central America, and then lead to a partial withdrawal of U.S. troops from

the Federal Republic of Germany, is just what Vernon Walters has already announced.

If the Soviet Union were to exploit this moment, either to launch a full-scale Berlin crisis or a conventional attack against Schleswig-Holstein in northeastern Germany, what would the reaction be of a—Kissinger-controlled, of course—U.S. administration?

Oh, certainly the harshest words of protest would fly

“The situation in the Federal Republic has been described by Western observers for some time as hopeless, and if we were to take the official reactions to this conference as a yardstick, one might well come to that conclusion. But the Schiller Institute has gotten it into its head that it is going to turn the rudder around.”

around, perhaps there would even be threats of military retaliation measures and ultimatums, but would the United States under Henry Kissinger’s aegis really use its strategic nuclear forces for the sake of Schleswig-Holstein? This is not only doubted by many in the United States, but also in Western Europe, and especially in the Federal Republic of Germany, given the American behavior around the building of the Berlin wall and after the Cuban Missile Crisis.

If we look at the situation in Western Europe, it becomes clear how much the Western Alliance is hanging by a silken thread. The situation in the Federal Republic has been described by Western observers for some time as hopeless, and if we were to take the official reactions to this conference as a yardstick, one might well come to that conclusion. But the Schiller Institute has gotten it into its head that it is going to turn the rudder around.

One thing is certain, in any case, and that is that a coalition between the Green Party and the Social Democrats (SPD) would pull the Federal Republic out of NATO.

Since President Mitterrand was in Moscow in June, and made a global agreement which not only involved a deal with Libya for all of North Africa, but also included breaking off German-French discussions for strengthening joint defense—which means nothing other than the fact that France, in the case of a superpower confrontation, would strike out on a “third way”—France has dropped out as a pro-Western factor.

If we listen to Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti’s latest utterances, that “pan-German” tendencies represent the greatest danger to peace in Europe, which in no way are all that different from the propaganda emitted by Radio Moscow, then the extent of the already existing crisis between Europe and the United States becomes clear. And we have not even mentioned the corresponding events in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Norway.

It takes no great force of imagination to recognize how, in this already very tense situation, a military operation by the United States against Nicaragua, a country with which France has very close relations, or a series of similar developments, could become the trigger for a final break. The Western Alliance is hanging by a silken thread!

No, such a danger does not exist, insist the Kremlinologists and spokesmen of the New Yalta. For months they have been producing volumes of information and proliferating, with some success, the political line that the Soviet empire is so weakened and on the verge of collapse, that the corrupt and factionally fragmented leadership could not dare launch an attack against Western Europe, because all of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the entire East bloc would revolt and overthrow the Moscow leadership. And it seems as though the palace guard has succeeded in making this analysis plausible to President Reagan, as his repeated references to the invalidation of the old Yalta agreement and new hopes for a “rollback” indicate.

The Soviet imperial drive

This thesis of the crumbling Soviet empire, which, you will recall, has been prognosticated by Kissinger and Sonnenfeldt for a number of years for the year 1985, is not only very dangerous, it is the material out of which world wars are made. If history has proven anything, it is that it is highly suicidal to bet everything on the idea that the aggressor, the expansionist adversary, will collapse as a result of his internal weaknesses.

Such a line becomes totally irresponsible if it not only denies the real danger, but also risks the lives of countless people in the East bloc. For the West has no serious policy of liberating the populations of the East bloc—no one has doubted that since the uprisings in Hungary in 1956 at least.

Certainly, there exist tensions between Moscow and various forces in the East bloc, that much is obvious; but to conclude from that that Moscow is collapsing not only ignores the character of the present Soviet system, but also its capability of launching large scale deception maneuvers, among which one can count the whole drama of the supposed trip of East German chief Erich Honecker to Bonn.

And that brings us to the crux of the matter: What is the character and intention of the Soviet Union, and from what standpoint must we consider this intention as a threat, and from which standpoint can we live with this threat?

Now, most of you know that the clear position that the

Schiller Institute has taken on this issue has earned us a flood of slanders, and we have been called an almost inflationary number of names, like "cave men," the way *Izvestia* puts it, which was only the most perverse, because the slander was aimed at our support for beam weapons, the most developed technology, and not clubs. So I would like to tell you that all of the slanders against the Schiller Institute say much more about the enemy, and not very much about us. Because, as far as the evaluation of the Soviet Union is concerned, there is indeed a criterion of truth.

No one who takes the trouble of looking at the evidence can deny that the Soviet Union is in the midst of a large-scale preparation for war, following the years of so-called détente policy and the conclusion of the SALT and ABM treaties, which gave the Soviet Union superiority in almost all fields of conventional and nuclear weapons systems, up to a superiority of 3 or 4:1.

It became clear during the most recent maneuvers in July, which were the largest since the Second World War, that the Warsaw Pact has achieved not only a very close coordination of its command structure, but that the focus of the maneuvers was a surprise attack, without prior mobilization, against Western Europe. This surprise attack would destroy the tactical nuclear capability of NATO, using an optional combination of land, air and marine units combined with massive Spetsnaz sabotage actions. The discussion in the literature of the Soviet general staff, which puts the emphasis upon the priority of nuclear weapons in the same surprise attack orientation, must absolutely be included in this picture.

Not only does the full military mobilization of the economy, where the absence of military vehicles in the harvest was only one of the most spectacular measures, speak for itself. Only a dreamer can misunderstand the propaganda of Moscow: Reagan is no new Hitler, as Moscow claims, and also no war hawk—the Reagan administration will spend 7% less than Carter on its military budget. The Bonn government harbors no revanchism or militarism, nor has it the intention to annex East Germany. If one really wanted to tell the truth, one could only accuse Bonn of loss of sense of reality, of impotence, naiveté, and mediocrity. No, this revanchism campaign against the Federal Republic has one purpose, which any alert observer can recognize immediately: to provide the excuse for a possible military attack against the West.

No, it is often argued, the Soviets hardly need to move militarily, since the West will anyway soon fall into their laps. Of course, Moscow would prefer to bring the Federal Republic, Western Europe and finally the whole world under its hegemony; but it is also determined to sacrifice the Federal Republic and even East Germany, if necessary. It should be clear to anyone who doesn't want to be totally blind that Moscow is preparing both options. Naturally they would prefer the modern Neville Chamberlains serve them up the whole world piece by piece, on a silver platter; but the fully mobilized war machine is exactly the means by which to generate the terror needed to make the West capitulate.

Moscow thinks it is near its goal, the achievement of Soviet hegemony over the world, within which the U.S.A. is to be reduced to a third-rate power restricted to the Western Hemisphere, while the Soviet Union enjoys hegemony over all of Europe, Africa, and Asia.

The dynamic involved has very little to do with what left-wing students think of as Communism. The Soviet Union is ruled by an oligarchical elite, whose cultural matrix derives from the tradition of the Byzantine theocracy and the racist, imperialist doctrine of the Russian Orthodox Church, of Moscow as the Third and Final Rome, the center of a new world empire. Seen in this way, it makes perfect sense why Moscow supports the worst, most reactionary movements, whether separatist, ecologist, or fundamentalist. This is just a reflection of the imperialistic strategy to break up the rest of the world into small regions, which never can develop sufficient strength to challenge the dominant power.

Germany and Western culture

But what is obviously the most difficult thing for most people to understand, is the striking fact that the Soviet Union, from the beginning of its existence, and today more than ever, sees Germany as the key to the attainment of world hegemony. As soon as the Soviet Union has brought the Federal Republic under its power, whether by a limited military operation or a capitulation in the style of Egon Bahr, Horst Ehmke, and Oskar Lafontaine ["decouplers" from Germany's Social Democratic Party—ed.], Europe's back is broken: Without the Federal Republic, Western Europe is impossible to defend. Notwithstanding the high level of blindness to this fact in the West, the actual calculation of the Soviets is very simple: When the West European industrial and labor power potential is added to that of the Warsaw Pact, Moscow achieves such unbeatable economic power—and hence, military power—that world dominion becomes assured.

Some people are not at all worried about this perspective. [Saarbrücken Mayor] Mr. Lafontaine, for example, stated recently that it would not be so bad to live under the same system as East Germany. And at the Leipzig Fair, no less, [SPD parliamentary caucus chairman] Mr. Ehmke declared that the time had finally come to overcome the division of the working class—which in plain words means, submission to Moscow's rule.

Now, if you follow out the consequences of this proposal, how will the world look in 30 or 50 years? Assuming that the planned division and defeat of the West doesn't lead to World War III, which is hardly to be taken as given, then the entire world would be plunged over the next decades into a hell of hunger and epidemics in the southern hemisphere, and into a cultural New Dark Age. Compared to the conditions which would then exist in Western Europe, the present situation in Poland would seem a paradise. The German language would become a dead language like Latin. Given the negative birth rates, hardly any Germans would be left. The former "Nation

of Culture” would have lost all vitality in the new system, just like all the other nations of Europe.

In one or two generations, China, whose population would have reached one and a half billion people, would probably be the only problem for the Soviet empire. At the point, at the latest, the next catastrophe would hit. But the world would long have been a sad place. For, however much the various cultures of this earth possess this or that advantage, the disappearance of Western culture from the Earth means not only that the jewel of human creativity would be squandered, but also the loss of the only philosophical tradition within which a rigorous definition of truth is possible. The world would literally be cast back to the pre-Socratic, pre-Christian mystical world view.

But, what is the reason why only a small part of the population has even an approximate grasp of this danger, apart from a reasonable faction in the Western military who sees the Soviet menace from a purely military standpoint?

The problem is that far too many people are no longer a part of the culture we are about to lose; they no longer even know it. A large section of the population of the West, in America just as in Europe, no longer partakes of Western European culture, but has long since fallen victim to the same Gnostic world outlook which underlies the present Soviet thrust for world hegemony.

The moral crisis of the West lies in the fact that most people are concerned, not with our freedom, our nation, and the truth, but only with themselves. Whoever only cares about his private life, who cynically just thinks about his or her personal career, his or her personal advantage—that person’s soul has become too small for the great issues of mankind. The mental wasteland of our television society can be characterized epistemologically as follows: Only a few people accept the individual search for truth as their passionate task, in the way Friedrich Schiller described the philosophical mind in his lecture on Universal History.

Instead, a mass of Gnostic cults has spread, in which concepts such as truth and development have no place. Here instead are various confused visions of a dualistic world view, of the eternally recurring cycle and a personal indifference to the coexistence of light and darkness.

“Survival, not development” is the central preoccupation of mankind, according to all the environmentalist movements, the Club of Rome, the systems analysts and so forth, through to the various spiritualistic groupings, from believers in parapsychology to the countless fundamentalist religions.

Although these cults always pop up with new faces and names, they always come down to nothing but the same old “back-to-nature” current, the old “Mother Earth” cult, in which local mythologies are interwoven with the cyclical, pre-Christian world view and from which every variety of “motherland feelings,” of romantic navel-contemplation and racist blood-and-soil ideologies spring up.

This is the same garbage which Nietzsche revived. And just as before, the basis for the Gnostic outlook is a deep

cultural pessimism, a complete lack of belief in the perfectibility of man. It makes not the slightest difference, from this standpoint, whether one lives in a West dominated by Gnostic, oligarchical elites, or a Soviet empire dominated by Gnostic, oligarchical elites. If one has no culture, one has nothing to defend. For this Mr. Lafontaine is the best example.

Schiller’s concept of freedom

The Schiller Institute is so named, because for us, as for our great poet, there is no higher value than the republican freedom of the individual in a world of sovereign republican nation-states.

Schiller’s life and work, his plays, poems, historical and philosophical writings, are a fiery appeal for human freedom, a heroic attack on every form of tyranny which degrades citizens to mere subjects. Undaunted by the arbitrary power of the absolutist oligarchy of his time, he illuminated the schemes and inhumanity of the leading regimes, who exploited the national divisions and feudal separations for their own benefit. With astonishing insight, he uncovered the tricks of the contemporary oligarchy, and what means of thought control they sought to exercise over their subjects, from the manipulations of magicians described in the “Ghost-Seer,” to the Jesuits, from the centuries-old Inquisition in all its forms to the Freemasons—in brief, no means of spiritual subjugation remains unexamined in Schiller’s works.

One can imagine the fear of God which the oligarchs of his time experienced when they read his works, if we use the standard of the reactions of today’s decoupling faction: With what furor they react as we rally in our struggle for freedom under the banner of Friedrich Schiller!

Thus, in his 1787 ode “To Joy,” Schiller wrote more than a wonderful hymn to the potential of human society; the last stanzas of the final chorus run:

Festen Mut in schwerem Leiden,
Hülfe, wo die Unschuld weint,
Ewigkeit geschwornen Eiden,
Wahrheit gegen Freund und Feind,

Männerstolz vor Königsthronen—
Brüder, gält es Gut und Blut—
Dem Verdienste seine Kronen,
Untergang der Lügenbrut!

(Let these solemn words be spoken:
Firm resolve where Evil strike!
Oaths that shall remain unbroken,
Truth to friend and foe alike!

Pride before imperial power—
Cost us, brothers, what it may—
Truth in her triumphal hour,
Falsehood on its final day!)

And, in the poem "The Evil Monarchs," we read:

Berget immer die erhabene Schande
Mit des Majestätsrechts Nachtgewande!
Bübelt aus des Thrones Hinterhalt,
Aber zittert für des Liedes Sprache,
Kühnlich durch den Purpur bohrt der Pfeil der Rache,
Fürstenherzen kalt.

(Let your tow'ring shame be hid from sight
In the garment of a sovereign's right,
From the ambush of the throne outspring!
Tremble, though, before the voice of song:
Through the purple, vengeance will, ere long
Strike down e'en a king!)

The poet for all nations

Friedrich Schiller, Germany's great republican poet, was born on Nov. 10, 1759, the son of a captain in the army of the duchy of Württemberg. Although in his 46 years of life he never traveled outside his native land, Schiller—the "patriot and world citizen"—is beloved by many nations and claimed by them as their "national playwright." His plays examine the struggle of each of the countries of Europe to overcome absolutist feudal privilege and establish republican nation-states.

Germany's love for Schiller is best expressed by Ludwig van Beethoven, who took the poet's ode "To Joy" ("An Die Freude") as the text for his Ninth Symphony, and intended for the opening recitative the words: "Let us sing the song of the immortal Schiller."

Although the young Schiller wanted to study theology after graduating from the Latin School in Ludwigsburg, the autocratic Duke Earl Eugen of Württemberg forced him to attend the newly established Military Development School from 1773 to 1780. It was there that Schiller wrote his first play, *The Robbers*. Its first performance in Mannheim in 1782 was a smashing success.

Enraged at the republican content of the young man's writings, the duke forbade him "from writing all comedies and poems," threatening him with imprisonment if he disobeyed. Schiller fled Württemberg for Mannheim, where he became Theater Director in 1783.

In 1785, he moved to Leipzig and then to Dresden, writing, studying philosophy, and beginning his historical studies. In 1788, he became a professor of history at Jena University, where he delivered his famous inaugural lec-

ture, "What Is World History and To What End Should It Be Studied?"—one of the greatest statements in world literature.

Again and again we hear the argument that Schiller was just a poet, that one should abstain from relating his work to the political problems of the present. Whoever argues in this way forgets that Schiller's poetical works and writings are probably the most highly political ever written in the German language down to this very day, and that Schiller himself characterized the attainment of true political freedom as the highest work of art. He referred directly to the political circumstances of his day, in a Germany split into 300 tiny oligarchical principalities, when he wrote in "On the Sublime":

Freedom in all of its moral conflicts and physical evils is for the noble soul an infinitely more attractive drama than prosperity and order without freedom, where the sheep patiently follow the shepherd, and the self-ruling will is degraded into becoming the sub-



Among Schiller's other best-known works are: *The Conspiracy of Fiesco at Genoa* (1783), *Intrigues and Love* (1784), *Don Carlos* (1787), *History of the Revolt of the Netherlands* (1788), *History of the Thirty Years' War* (1792), "The Cranes of Ibykus" (1797), *Wallenstein* (1800), *Maria Stuart* (1801), *The Maid of Orleans* (1801), *The Bride of Messina* (1803), *Wilhelm Tell* (1804), and the unfinished *Demetrius* (1804-05).

servient part of a clockwork mechanism. The latter makes man into merely a clever product and happy citizen of nature; freedom makes him into a citizen and co-ruler of a higher system, where it is infinitely more honorable to take the lowliest place, than to lead the ranks in the natural order.

Furthermore, every single drama written by Schiller deals with the great questions of personal freedom, and almost always with republican national sovereignty. From *The Robbers*, subtitled, "In Tyrannos," all the way to the unfinished *Demetrius*, Schiller's stage becomes a tribunal, before which the reckless whims of despots, the corruption of the powerful, and the suppression of human rights are judged.

In *Intrigues and Love (Kabale und Liebe)* he bitingly ridicules the sale of the Hessian youth into military service against the American Revolution. This earned him an immediate ban on the performance of the play. In *Don Carlos*, the Marquis of Posa, the "ambassador of mankind," pleads with the world ruler of the time Philip II, to restore "the lost nobility of man," to be himself a king among millions of kings, a truly republican idea. The appeal, "give them freedom of thought, Sire," became for all time the measure by which every system must be judged.

The *Maid of Orleans* led her people to victory against foreign oppression. Schiller could not stand to see this champion of the Idea of Freedom disfigured by the droolings of Voltaire. "What is innocent, holy, humanly good, if not the struggle for our fatherland?" says Joan. But, also, "Despised be the nation, which giveth not all, joyfully, for its honor."

The defense of freedom, of natural law against tyranny in *William Tell* addressed the political issue so directly, that the play was forbidden in the Third Reich.

The idea of republican freedom which Schiller defended is the essence of European civilization's contribution to human development.

The idea of the *Filioque*—anticipated by Plato and explicitly articulated in Augustinian Christianity—that the Logos, the will of God, proceeds both from the Father and the Son—allows man, through the gradual perfection of his knowledge, to grasp the lawfulness of universal creation in ever greater fullness. Truth is not particular knowledge at a given level, but man's capacity for creative thought, for the higher hypothesis, as reflected by the process of perfection of knowledge.

This divine spark is in each and every one of us; its development constitutes the essence of the individual personality, the individual soul.

The Judeo-Christian concept of the individual soul, which is missing in every collectivist totalitarian state, is the essence of Western civilization—the concept from which the idea of democratic republicanism, rooted in natural law, derives. Only this notion of the individual soul participating in the universal creative process can be the basis of the

concept of inalienable human rights, the idea of the inviolability of human freedom.

Nowhere is that divine spark more gloriously celebrated than in Schiller, and it is no accident that Beethoven in his Ninth Symphony translated this particular poem into the most beautiful musical language:

Freude, schöner Götterfunken,
Tochter aus Elysium,
Wir betreten feuertrunken
Himmlische dein Heiligtum.
Deine Zauber binden wieder,
Was die Mode streng geteilt,
Alle Menschen werden Brüder,
Wo dein sanfter Flügel weilt.
Seid umschlungen, Millionen!
Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt!
Brüder—überm Sternenzelt
Muss ein lieber Vater wohnen.*

(A literal rendering of these lines, which however fails to capture their musical quality, might read: "Joy, fair godlike spark, / Daughter of Elysium, / We enter, fire-enraptured, / Heavenly one, into thy holy presence. / Thy enchantments bind anew / What custom has ripped asunder, / All men become brothers, / Where thy soft wings linger. / Be embraced, millions! / This kiss to the whole world! / Brothers—above the starry tent / must a loving Father dwell."—ed.)

That's it, joy is the spark of God, the divine spark in each of us! And is it not true that only the man who is good, as the republican concept of humanity defines good, is truly capable of experiencing joy? Joy over growth and development, over new discoveries, over creative powers, over the advancement of the human power of reason?

And is not this human joy in creativity the greatest challenge to those pathetic cultural pessimists with their boring cyclical theories of eternal recurrence, whose only capacity for joy is malicious glee and cynicism?

It is natural to think that Schiller's "Freude, schöner Götterfunken" ("Joy, fair godlike spark") is meant not only to call forth a pun on the concepts "Freude/Freiheit" = Joy/Freedom," but also an association with Benjamin Franklin, who through his inventions in electricity as well as his organizing of the forces for freedom in Europe, was known as the Prometheus of the 18th century. Prometheus was the symbol of human freedom: He brought the tamed fire, useful energy, down to Earth and challenged the formidable oligarchy of the Olympian gods.

* Joy, immortal incandescence, / Daughter of Elysium, / Breathing fire from thy presence, / To thy temple-ground we come! / Whom the world estranged from others / Thy enchantments reunite; / Kings and beggars shall be brothers / Where thy gentle wings alight. / Be embraced, ye millions! Gather / Unto ye the kiss we sent. / Far above the Firmament / Must there dwell a loving Father. (Translation into poetic lines by David Goldman)

Schiller and the American Revolution

It is one of the most fortunate developments in human history that the American Revolution and the creation thereby of the first democratic republic, together with the German classic period, not only marked the highest point of the history of civilization, but also contained in the combination of these two elements the key with which the gate to the Age of Reason can be opened.

When today the decouplers on both sides of the Atlantic claim that both Europe and America have undergone an irreversible shift in values, and that for this reason a common basis for the Western Alliance no longer exists, this is only true if both continents have abandoned their best traditions, their true souls. For the ideas of the German classics and the American Revolution were absolutely identical. Indeed, German culture was so integral a part of the American Revolution, that to the degree to which German culture was the dominant influence in America, to that degree the idea of a free republic was more nearly realized; while, to the degree to which German culture was undermined and suppressed, America drew further and further away from its republican values and became a tool of the British empire.

How completely the German classics embodied the same ideas as the American Revolution, is exemplified by the following quotations. In the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America of July 4, 1776, we read:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,

That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

It is exactly these "inalienable rights" in natural law, which are the issue of the "Rütli Oath" in *William Tell*, the

drama destined to inspire both the German Wars of Liberation and the patriots of the American Republic:

No, limits tyrannical power does have, / When the repressed seeks in vain for law, / When the yoke becomes unbearable—He reaches / into heaven for his courage, / And takes his grasp upon his eternal rights, / That wave above inalienable, / And as imperishable as the very stars—/ The old state of nature returns, / Where man stands proud to face his fellow man, / And as a last resort, where no other avails, / To him is the sword bestowed—/ That which we hold most dear we may defend / against Tyranny—We stand up for our country, / We stand by our wives, our children!

"Every single drama written by Schiller deals with the great questions of personal freedom, and almost always with republican national sovereignty. . . . Schiller's stage becomes a tribunal, before which the reckless whims of despots, the corruption of the powerful, and the suppression of human rights are judged."

The connection between the idea of republican freedom, and the ideal of humanity in German classical culture, was seen by the European and above all the British oligarchy as the greatest threat to their system. They refused even for a moment to accept the loss of their most important colonies and the spread of humanist ideas. During the Revolutionary War itself, Britain attempted through various agents to knock Washington out of the saddle. The whole 19th-century history of America is characterized by the continuing British attempts to reverse the American Revolution and especially to root out the growing influence of German culture in America. It took them about 100 years to accomplish this.

Although the political forms of a democratic republic had been achieved, as Franklin and Washington knew quite well, the final goal had not yet been reached. "Now you have a republic. Make sure you keep it," said Franklin. For in his works, especially in the *Demetrius* fragment, Schiller put forward the challenge that the true purpose of a great and courageous nation was only realized, when that nation, "free in the most sublime perfection of its power, obeys that which is beautiful in humanity." For Schiller, the state is

only complete when power and beauty are merged into one.

This ideal can only be attained through the improvement of the condition of society, and an improvement in the political domain is only made possible through the improvement of the individual. Better concepts, purer principles, and higher morals must be introduced to the citizenry. Freedom is only guaranteed when the noble and sublime in the individual resists every form of external, despotic force, and when our "moral independence" stands up despite all outside pressure, even if the individual's own life is put on the line.

Schiller writes in *On the Pathetic*: "For a moral resistance against suffering is absolutely required of man, a resistance which can alone allow the principle of moral freedom, the intelligence, to make itself known in it." Only this moral independence, then, constitutes freedom, only thus can man harmoniously develop all his inner powers, and only when the citizens of a nation have achieved this principle of freedom within themselves, have developed themselves into beautiful souls, for whom freedom, necessity, duty, and passion coincide, is a nation truly free and the humanistic culture of the republic fulfilled.

Alas, how do we look today as measured against *this* standard! Where is moral independence, the unique mark of true freedom, in those who would rather lose Europe than a contact in some ministry? The cowards keep saying that the Schiller Institute is right in what it says, but one cannot stick one's neck out that way, one can't expose oneself to so much pressure! "Besides, influential people say that the Schiller Institute is very dangerous."

Dangerous for whom? Well, obviously for nobody except the Soviet Union, which sees the Schiller Institute as the only barrier to its plans for hegemony. One thing is certain in any case: If Europe is saved, in spite of everything—and the people in this room represent the hope that this can still be done—then the Schiller Institute will have played the decisive role.

Republicanism vs. the Holy Alliance

Looking back, we can say that Germany never came closer to the ideal of national freedom than in the period of the Wars of Liberation, in which Schiller's ideas were the most important influence, and which were a belated attempt at realizing his political goals. "Had he experienced the great German moment of the year 1813, he would have rejoiced at the spirit and courage with which our people fought and sacrificed," wrote Caroline von Wohlzogen, the sister-in-law and biographer of Schiller.

Against this explosion of longing for freedom in Germany, which brought us quite close to the goal of a republican revolution and attained a level of culture that was probably higher than any other nation had ever achieved, the entire European oligarchy conspired—the evil Castlereigh and despicable Metternich (who not for nothing are both heroes of Henry Kissinger), Talleyrand in his silk stockings, the oli-



In Schiller's *Don Carlos*, the Marquis of Posa pleads with King Philip II to restore "the lost nobility of man." Here Philip (right) is portrayed with his son, Don Carlos.

garchs of Venice and Genoa, of Switzerland, Prussia, and not least of Russia—to throw all Europe into the darkest reaction with the Holy Alliance.

Not only does the present "New Yalta" grouping utilize the model of the Holy Alliance (Kissinger's book, *Great Power Diplomacy*, is direct evidence for this); but the Congress of Vienna undermined the influence of the Prussian reformers in Russia, and prepared the way for the most violent ideological propaganda about "the Holy Russian race" and the thesis of Moscow as "Third and Final Rome."

The forces of the Congress of Vienna were not entirely successful, however. True, they succeeded in preventing German national unification, and the resulting disappointment of the German republicans would soon capsize into pessimism. But, while Wilhelm von Humboldt was overpowered by the Vienna intrigues, science flourished around the circles of Alexander von Humboldt and later in Berlin and Göttingen. These networks saved Lazare Carnot and French science from being suppressed. Germany then produced the most extraordinary scientists of the 19th century.

The intentions of the Congress of Vienna to smother the sparks of republicanism failed in another crucial respect. Following 1815 there was a tremendous wave of German

emigration to America. The role of German settlers in building the New World had already been substantial: The emigrants, often called "Latin farmers," were not only the most highly educated, had not only made up the largest contingent in the Revolutionary War, but it is even questionable whether the war against England could have been won without the German von Steuben, who became Inspector-General of Washington's army. Now, after the Congress of Vienna, a process of at least equal importance was set into motion.

The Germans in America

Indeed, many of the best minds, inflamed by the Liberation Wars with the republican desire for freedom, could not tolerate the reaction of the Holy Alliance. Having once tasted the sweet fruits of freedom, they experienced the weight of the nobility quite differently. Through the mediation of these emigrants, for whom Schiller was the champion of freedom, and through the already well-known Schiller translations produced by John Quincy Adams, the sixth President of the United States, the influence of German culture grew rapidly. Already by the third decade of the last century, the author of *Wilhelm Tell* was a beloved poet in America.

This enthusiasm over Schiller grew even more in the 1830s and 1840s, and when hundreds of thousands more emigrants arrived after 1848. These were mostly well educated, freedom-loving people who had experienced in their youth the ideals of classical literature, music, philosophy, and science. Exactly in this period, from 1850 to 1854, when the anglophile slave traders of the South threatened the unity of the Republic and almost completely took over the Democratic Party, there came a new wave of 700,000 German emigrants. These became the driving element in the opposition movement from which the Republican Party then grew, at the founding convention in Pittsburgh as well as in the election campaign of 1856.

As one witness to these developments wrote, "the moral commitment, the elevated sentiment and the enthusiasm of the masses" in that election were mostly due to German idealism, whose motive power was for the first time felt in American politics. "Its victorious, rejuvenating, and transforming power should show itself even stronger in the next election," the reporter continues. Yes, it was none other than the German-American Gustav Körner, who first recognized the purity of character and intellectual stature of Abraham Lincoln, who pushed through Lincoln's nomination for the presidency at the memorable convention in Chicago, and who thereby won over America once more to the principles of the American Revolution. A half million Germans joined the Union Army and contributed greatly to the Union victory.

The Schiller Festivals in America in 1859 were probably the greatest celebrations ever held for any poet. The German-Americans were quite conscious of the magnitude of the contribution they had chosen to make to their new homeland:

But our mission is to bring the deepest moral sense of joy into our lives in America, which so often de-

generates into bleakness or hysterical outbursts of mirth. Who was it then, who through tortuous mental struggles discovered and sang out the liberating, divine idea of true joy? Who but our German poets: Klopstock first, and then above all, Schiller? And who praised him so splendidly, with tongues never heard, as the salvation of humanity, as our Beethoven with his last Symphony?

Linked to the moral value of joy, however, is the German concept of moral pleasure. What struggles the German spirit went through, between the monastic tradition of immoral, hypocritical asceticism and the antique penchant for riotous lust, the inheritance of fallen empires, to finally discover through our great poet and thinker the true ideal of moral pleasure.

Joy and noble enjoyment, how could they live in our souls and shine into our daily lives, without the German conception of true freedom? Nowhere does the difference between German and Anglo-Saxon thought stand out more sharply than in their images of freedom.

It is most fascinating to study the contemporary reports of this period, because we see that they not only were conscious of the relation between freedom and joy, but knew the bitter opposition of England and the Anglo-Saxon ideology.

In 1894, the Chicago professor Göbel could assert:

And the educated German in America still reminds you joyfully that the entirety of American higher education, i.e., that of his English-speaking fellow citizens, is today under the influence of Germany. It is not only that there is not one truly solid educational establishment today in which the German language and literature are not taught, and in which the representatives of the various sciences have not benefited from specialized training in German universities; but also, in broader circles of the population the study of German is promoted with enthusiasm and devotion. This is not merely a matter of fashion; behind it, there is the suspicion or conscious knowledge, that only the German spirit can set free the highest aspirations of the American people and point the right way to further development.

He continued:

I mention all of this not to praise us Germans as Germans. But who can, in the face of the aforementioned facts, dare to call our American civilization Anglo-Saxon?

Designs of the British empire

This was one aspect of the development which panicked the British oligarchs, since they must have feared that they would lose their empire forever. The notorious racist Cecil

Rhodes had in 1877, at the age of 24, written that the British must found a super-secret society in order to set up a worldwide Anglo-Saxon empire, even if it were to take 200 years, just as the defeat by which America was lost in the American Revolution must be reversed. The new empire would reconquer America and occupy the rest of the world as a colony.

In the 20 years before the outbreak of the First World War, Great Britain intensified its effort to push this subversion to extremes and to harness America to its imperialistic plans. Accordingly, Britain saw in the influence of German culture its greatest obstacle, and began wilder and wilder anti-German tirades.

Economically, Britain had long since been beaten: America and Germany were the two strongest industrial powers, and even France, Russia, and Japan had surpassed Britain. The alliance between Hanotaux of France, German industry, and Russia's Count Witte was predominantly oriented to the economic theories of the Careys and Friedrich List, and had a Grand Design for the development of the whole Pacific. Had these tendencies been able to fully unfold, then the course of the 20th century would have run very differently.

But what Cecil Rhodes expressed in his "Last Will and Testament" was the same mind-set which was also shared by Lord Milner, Lord Roseberry, and many others. In England the Coefficients and the Roundtable were founded, a kind of crisis management group, which was supposed to solve the problems of the sinking empire. Bertrand Russell, H.G. Wells, and Alfred Mackinder worked out the concepts of geopolitics which finally led to the First World War. The same subversive operation was carried out in the United States under the name "New Commonwealth," which was financed by Rhodes; the National Civic Federation worked in parallel to it.

In the following period, England launched various destabilization operations, setting up Japan against Russia, which quickly led into the Russo-Japanese War. England likewise manipulated, from backstage, the Russian Revolution of 1905, as a result of which Count Witte was catapulted out of power in Russia; the Spanish-American War which not only drove a wedge between Germany and the U.S.A., but also served British interests; and the Boer War.

The Grand Design powers were destroyed, and developments took their course toward World War I. No historian today can maintain the theory that Germany alone was guilty and therefore that the Versailles Treaty was legitimate. Behind it were the oligarchical powers in all the participating countries, and the British had by no means the smallest share in that. The Second World War was in many respects merely the logical outcome of the first.

One of the drastic results of World War I, however, was the fact that the United States eventually, after an intensive campaign of the Anglophile imperialist powers, made the fundamental mistake of entering the war on England's side against Germany, which led to the first deep breach in German-American relations. A witch-hunt against everything

German set in, and German culture was rapidly displaced in America by pragmatism and positivism. This cleft between Germany and America was only aggravated by World War II and everything that ensued from it.

The role of the Schiller Institute

Therefore, there is no point of departure for a solution within the 20th century. We must go back to the concepts from which the American Revolution and the German Classics took off. Thus we must see to it that the "eternally inalienable rights of all men of this world" are guaranteed, that the absolute sovereignty of all nations is respected, and that as many nations as possible, and we hope someday *all* nations, will be organized as humanistic republics, which organize their foreign policy relations for the mutual benefit of all. In order to work in that direction, the Schiller Institute has adopted the name of "Institute for Republican Foreign Policy."

Let us enter into the solemn pledge to not only fight for the continuation and renewal of the Western Alliance—and if man but be of good courage, he can often achieve the seemingly impossible—but also to work to end for all time every form of imperialism, and that means above all that we must bring about a just world order that will make possible the urgently necessary development of the southern hemisphere.

But I am fully in accord with Schiller, that any improvement in politics is only possible through the improvement of the individual. We need nothing less than a new classical renaissance.

I therefore call for the Schiller Institute in the United States, in the Western European nations, Ibero-America, Asia, and Africa, and if reason triumphs, also in the East bloc countries, to be built up, alongside its existing tasks, as a cultural institute, organized somewhat along the lines of the model of the Berlin Academy of Sciences in the 19th century. This will make possible the interchange of the best products of Western culture, which can unify the different nations for the greatest challenges of humanity, and become a bulwark of freedom.

The next great step therefore should be the biggest Schiller Festival that has ever taken place, including the great celebrations of 1859, and precisely on Nov. 10 on the occasion of his 225th birthday, which we want to celebrate in all countries.

At the end of the 19th century, when the catastrophe had not yet run its course, a German-American wrote in the spirit of Schiller: "What can stop us, from creating here in the future a spiritual Greater Greece, except our indolence, which has never become conscious of what a bond has been entrusted to it?"

Now, the bond has been discovered, and if the human race should reach the only circumstance which is fitting for it, the Age of Reason, then we will have played a great role in that, thanks to our Schiller.