

*[Janning does not respond. Rolfe keeps trying.]*

Do you think I enjoyed being defense counsel during this trial? Do you? There were things I had to do in that courtroom that made me cringe! Why did I do them? Because I want to leave the German people something. I want to leave them a shred of dignity. I want to call a halt to these proceedings! If we allow them to discredit every German like you, we lose the right to rule ourselves forever! *[With emotion rising.]* We have to look at the future. We can't look back. *[Quietly. Indicating guard.]* Do you want the Americans to stay here forever? Do you want that? *[Trying to reach Janning.]* I could show you pictures of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Thousands and thousands of burnt bodies! Women and children! *[Indicates guard with a thrust of his thumb.]* Is that their superior morality? Where do you think they take us? Do you think they know? Do you think they have any concept of our problems?

*[Janning does not respond.]*

What can I say to you? What can I say to you to make you see?!

JANNING: There is nothing you can say.

SCENE: PALACE OF JUSTICE—COURTROOM

*[Janning sits on the stand.]*

HAYWOOD: Herr Janning, do you wish to make a statement before the Tribunal?

~~JANNING: I do.~~

~~HAYWOOD: Proceed.~~

JANNING: I wish to testify about the Feldenstein case because it was the most significant trial of the period. It is important not only for the Tribunal to understand it, but the German people. But to understand it, one must understand the period in which it happened. *[He tries to bring the period into words. It is not easy.]* There was a fever over the land. A fever of disgrace, of indignity, of hunger. We had a democracy, yes, but it was torn by elements within. There was, above all, fear. Fear of today, fear of tomorrow, fear of our neighbors, fear of ourselves. *[Pause.]* Only when you understand that can you understand what Hitler meant to us. Because he said to us: "Lift up your heads! Be proud to be German! There are devils among us. Communists, Liberals, Jews, Gypsies! Once the devils will be destroyed, your miseries will be destroyed." It was the old, old story of the sacrificial lamb. *[Seems to look inside himself. The words are hard to come.]* What about us who knew better? We who knew the words were lies and worse than lies? Why did we sit silent? Why did we participate? *[Pause.]* Because we loved our country! What difference does it make if a few political extremists lose their rights? What difference does it make if a few racial minorities lose their rights? It is only a passing phase. It is only a stage we are going through. It will be discarded sooner or later. "The country is in danger." We will "march out of the shadows." "We will go forward." And history tells you how well we succeeded! We succeeded beyond our wildest dreams. The very elements of hate and power about

Hitler that mesmerized Germany, mesmerized the world! [*Remembering with sardonic bitterness.*] We found ourselves with sudden powerful allies. Things that had been denied us as a democracy were open to us now. The world said go ahead, take it! Take Sudetenland, take the Rhineland—remilitarize it—take all of Austria, take it! [*Pause.*] We marched forward, the danger passed. [*Pause; simply.*] And then one day, we looked around and found we were in even more terrible danger. The rites began in this courtroom, swept over our land like a raging, roaring disease! What was going to be a passing phase had become a way of life.

[*There is a moment.*]

Your Honor, I was content to sit silent during this trial. I was even content to let counsel try to save my name. [*As he looks over at Rolfe.*] You have seen him do it. He has done it in this courtroom. He has suggested that the Third Reich worked for the benefit of people. He has suggested that we sterilized men for the welfare of the country. He has suggested that perhaps the old Jew did sleep with the sixteen-year-old girl after all. Once more it is being done out of love of the country. It is not easy to tell the truth. [*With emotion.*] But if there is to be any salvation for Germany those of us who know our guilt must admit it no matter the cost in pain and humiliation. [*Pause.*] I had reached my verdict on the Feldenstein case before I ever came into the courtroom. I would have found him guilty whatever the evidence. It was not a trial at all. It was a sacrificial ritual in which Feldenstein the Jew, was the helpless victim—

ROLFE [*making one last attempt to reach Janning*]: Your Honor, I must interrupt. The Defendant is not aware of what he is saying—he is not aware that—

JANNING: I am aware. I am aware. [*Turns to Haywood.*] My defense counsel would have you believe that we were not aware of concentration camps! [*Pause; cries out.*] Not aware? Where were we?! [*Pause.*] Where were we when Hitler began shrieking his hate in the Reichstag? Where were we when our neighbors were being dragged out of their houses in the middle of the night to Dachau? Where were we when every village in Germany had a railroad terminal where cattle cars were filled with children who were being carried off to their extermination? Where were we when they cried out in the night to us? Were we deaf, dumb and blind?!

ROLFE [*again on his feet*]: Your Honor, I must ...

JANNING: Maybe we didn't know the details. But if we didn't know, it was because we didn't want to know.

[*Hahn stands up.*]

HAHN: Traitor! Traitor!

HAYWOOD: Order! Order! There will be order! [*Losing his temper.*] Put that man in his seat and keep him there!

JANNING [*looking at Hahn steadily*]: I am going to tell them the truth. I am going to tell the truth if the whole world