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After Hitler - What?

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After Hitler - What?

Let us beware of undue optimism!

We must not indulge in wishful thinking.

Now, more than ever before, it behoves all of us to take a sober, realistic view.

~~It~~ A realistic view is not defeatism - quite the contrary. To undertake the tremendous chances ~~that~~ which our side - the side of the Democracies - has gained, almost over night, would be as fallacious as to underestimate the vast dangers still in store for us.

It is realistic to remain vigilant and determined in view of those enormous dangers, it would be certainly un-realistic to deny or to belittle the sweeping changes that have taken place during the last eight weeks.

No doubt, the invasion of Russia was Hitler's decisive blunder - our decisive chance. No matter how many spectacular strategic successes this gigantic campaign may yield for the Nazis - it is the beginning of ~~its~~ end.

Hitler's

Don't misunderstand me!....I have never be=

lieved that Hitler could win this war.

BUT: might have ruined the world
I daresay, indeed, that the very term "victory"

becomes meaningless and hollow when applied to Nazi Germany. For "victory" means, if anything the fulfilment of certain aspirations - territorial or political - , or the revenge of certain crimes or insults, or the triumph of certain ideas, the realization of a limited and specific program.

But Hitler has ^{no} Program; nor is he interested in ideas or limited territorial gains.

→ The fight against Bolshevism sounded like a "program": but Hitler has proven - ^{through} ~~his~~ his pact with Stalin - that he never took it seriously.

→ The unification of all Germans; - didn't care. ^(it was a trick to Smilingay. C.S.R.)

→ The conquest of Europe -: only a starting point...

→ The conquest of Europe and Africa? Only a manoeuvre to encircle the Americas or to launch his attack on the Asia...

His greed and aggressiveness can never be
satisfied as they are essentially and completely
boundless.

XX He wants nothing, ^{for} ~~as~~ he wants everything. XX

... To rule the world and to exterminate
the Jews - that's what his ambition really
boils down to.

It's too much - and, ^{again,} it's not quite enough.

To take Hitler for a fanatic - one of the most
frequent mistakes. Ideas mean ~~nothing~~ to him
nothing but contrivances for new aggression,
new destruction, ~~new~~ new aimless expansion...

..... Therefore:

the formula coined by Rauschning - more
valid than any other:

→ Revolution of Nihilism ←

.. He May try to hide this catastrophic, irra-
tional ^{impact of his policy,} ~~element~~ inherent in his character and
~~determining his policy.~~ But he can't - not in
the long run...

My way

our good luck that he is unable to disguise or to modify temporarily, his intrinsic nature. ~~if he could have done so~~ he might have ~~become the~~ brought about the end of our civilization.

Two chances to succeed:

September 1938.

First: Munich; alliance with a semi-Fascist England; (Chamberlain) to share the world with the British Tories.

Second: September 1939, the Pact with Stalin. Challenging our way of life, side by side with the Slavic dictator. Combined - they would have been invincible. Democracy ~~Christian culture~~ would have been doomed.

But he forfeited both historic opportunities.

That's why he is doomed.

The two mighty English-speaking democracies and the Russian colossus - too powerful an alliance, even for the murderous efficiency of the Nazi army, ~~Besides, we must not forget~~

astounding as it may be.
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this efficiency - astounding as it may be -
is constantly handicaped by the secret or open
resistance within the occupied countries -
among which certainly Italy - in some respects
even Germany herself must be counted.

Let us recapitulate the crucial developments
since the Fall of France - which marked the
climax of Nazi success:

The epic resistance of Britain - still the
back-bone of all Democratic efforts; *strategy.*

The weakening of Italy, in Africa and Greece;
The change of public opinion in this country
and the vast ~~p~~ scope of the American
defense effort;

The resistance of the Red Army - now lasting
for the ninth week;

The spread of unrest and secret opposition
in the Nazi-dominated countries, which may turn
out to be important allies of our cause.

*The spirit of rebellion - growing from
Norway to Bulgaria and Greece;
from Paris to Warsaw*

On the other side: virtual completion of
- technically ~~the~~
Nazi conquest of Europe through victory
in the Balkans and definite surrender of
Vichy. For even such countries as Portugal,
Sweden, Switzerland - more or less openly
dominated by Nazis.

(Friends tell stories about Lisbon...)

.... The alliance with Japan - seemingly
re-inforced... Yet, somewhat dubious asset.

Japan's attitude - ambiguous; her position,
both economically and strategically, deplorably
vulnerable...

The establishment of the New Order makes
but little headway. Nobody wants it, really -
not even Hitler, who ~~drather~~ ^{much better} like to ascend
to heaven in a fiery glory - rather than
to organize Europe and the world. With ~~him~~
whom? With that worn-out bajazzo in Rome?
Or with that hideous old man in Vichy - that
dreary French version of the senile Prussian,

fails to get going

Squad of
Sabotage

Marshall von Hindenburg?

Or with the Japs? - whom the Germans have
always loathed?...

The don't trust each other.

Anecdote:

Mussolini. Hitler. Mikado.

Muss.: ...whole of Africa...

Japan:whole of Asia...

Hitler:don't remember...

De Gaulle -
assassin's
legendary
fate

Story in Vichy France!

... The Germanic Empire cracks - although

not yet quite a thousand years old...

Anti-Britain feeling in France. Paris

Don't the Germans feel it themselves?

They
thought
he cheated
Hitler:
but he
cheated
them.

Don't they begin to realize that they have
been fooled, exploited, humiliated, ruined by
a false prophet and morbid swindler?

..... The German opposition.....

Darlan's
speech

One of the most ticklish problems, indeed.

Many mistakes have been made in judging and
describing its influence... I, too, have been

wrong. Hoped for revolution
in the case of war....

But the Germans are strange people - particularly when it comes to politics...

Harald Nicholson quote.

The complete absence of any political vision, any political temperament is, perhaps, the most valid explanation for of the Teutonic enigma. They just are political half-wits - politically blind, as other people are colour- or tone-

In all earnest ^{they} mistook their Führer for a Wagnerian hero - Parsifal, with a moustache à la Chaplin...

Don't they begin to awaken?

Numerous stories, trust-worthy accounts: unrest here and there throughout the Reich; demonstration in view of trainloads of wounded ~~and~~ pouring in from the Russian Front... Reports from people who should know.

Wife of Chinese diplomate, arriving here.

Famine

food conditions. (She had ten times as many ration ^{and} cards at her disposal as German housewife....) People listening openly to forbidden

✓ No doubt, serious tensions among leaders - HESS - (did paint a toe - nails. Delightful detail! Chaplin picture!!)

broadcasts... etc.

Yet, we have been taught, by disappointing experiences, to be extremely cautious and sceptical with regards to such stories. May be true? But are they typical? Do they indicate a general change of mood? A real decline of public morale???

Have heard all this before.

Germans are amazingly patient, submissive, tenacious. Besides, used to poor food.

Scared by the inevitable consequences of a second major defeat...

There will be no revolution in Germany without spectacular military set-backs. ~~And even then~~

~~But~~ even if and when the German armies are considerably weakened - Revolution will pro-

bably start in the occupied countries - C.S.R.,

enabling British to land...
Norway, France, the Netherlands.

Or behind Poland... (Russian camp)
May seem futile to predict anything... Yet,

I daresay that, under such circumstances, the

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Shadow
story.

- most significant. Ambiguous

Germans would yield with surprisingly little resistance. Would accept the fait accomplie *School, Kaiser, Holland...* - as they did in 1918. Would let down and sacrifice their government.

For, if it is true that ^{there is no} ~~they are not in an~~ ^{spirit} ~~actively~~ revolutionary ~~need~~ - it is true as well that there is a complete lack of enthusiasm.... Infinitely weary.

Mother story:

Thank God...

Well, that's the way all of us would feel, I suppose...

..... And then? And if the nightmare is over?

After Hitler - what?

It was one of Goebbels' often-tested tricks to ask this question with ominous emphasis

- and to answer: After Hitler - the chaos.

..... But - why? There will be chaos as long as he remains in power. There might be

- their should be - there could be a New Order, once that he falls into the limbo, where he belongs...

Hitler's fall, to be sure, won't guarantee ^{in itself} the establishment of the New Order. But it is to bring about the conditions without which ^{feasible} ~~no~~ ^{materially} scheme can be carried out...

Hitler's defeat as such, not a goal but a ~~request~~ ^{prerequisite} the prerequisite.

As to the Goal itself...

*Long discussion
many formulas
start, etc.*
But it is only some days ago that it was announced in the most striking formulation, under the most dramatic circumstances.

It is, of course, the historic meeting between the two supreme leaders of democracy, Churchill and Roosevelt - "somewhere on the Atlantic" -

I am referring to.

The 8 Points
They summarize - as concisely and realistically as possible under the circumstances - what sort of a world it is the responsible statesmen visualize - after Hitler's fall.

There is nothing academic or Utopian about it.

In a year, or two, the same statesmen may be in a position to carry out their ^(just and) generous ~~scheme~~ scheme.

Significant that the event must be concealed from the German people. ~~Just a repetition of Wilson's 14 points...~~

Needless to say - untrue. For ^{formal consent} ~~Wilson's program~~ did not have the ~~making~~ of governments in France and Britain (as Walter Lippman pointed out...) ^{plan frustrated} ~~Wilson's~~ ~~betrayed~~ (.) by the ~~Germans~~ (who rejected his proposition early in 1918, when they still believed they had a chance to win;)

2.) by Lloyd George and Clemenceau;

3.) by the American Isolationists.

The latter are, indeed, responsible, for many things that occurred from 1919 to 1933 - as they prevented this country from joining the League of Nations.

Isolationist danger, again.

Other obstacles:

^{Immediate future - to win?}
Mistrust of Russia. Dubious partnership -

after the ^{disaster in the} ~~experiences~~ of Pact... Yet, I know

out of personal experience... People's Front

policy - ~~most~~ frustrated... Felt like somebody who has been ^{wanton} ~~foolish~~ fooled... Yet, necessities

create new conditions... Russia's double

Democracy - Fascism
face... Litvinov's concept of the Collective

Security... Russia's national existence at

stake. Not an affair of the Third International
but of the Russian nation... Limitation

Recent developments, in connection with of spheres of in-

Roosevelt-Churchill meeting, most encouraging.

(Conferences in Moscow, scheduled for the

immediate future...) (Collaboration may

Further obstacles: (after wars) affect the world's destinies

Japan's expansion...

Distrust of Germany. Discrimination

inevitable... (Halting in oceanic zone)

Aspirations of small nations to go back

to conditions status quo before Hitler...

Wilson's principles of self-determination
Worship of Versailles... To reconcile

their justified desire of independence

and necessary limitations of national

independence in general.... We now recog-

nize the political mistakes made by so

pure and inspired a statesman as Masaryk.

Dissolution of Austria-Hungary strengthened

Rich

X

Paramount problem - Germany herself...

Will she v ever again find her place within
a civilized community? Renounce her frenzied
pretensions? *Rel. of exiles: go. between...* Vast educational task. 1

Has to lead the Germans back to their own
nobler traditions... Have to recognize that
they can *gradually* gain a new sort of world-wide ~~activity~~
~~and~~ influence - a new dignity and power, if
they only give up that pernicious *Kaimin* chimera
of world domination...

May be possible if the whole trend of history
goes toward international collaboration -
as I think it will. National boundaries may
gradually be deprived of their vital signi-
ficance. The essential solidarity of all
human interests has become obvious, as
the dignity and prosperity of all men is
at stake in this titanic struggle.

Particularly so in a comparatively intimate
community as Europe... Hitler, with his own
loathsome means and for his horrid purposes,

has almost succeeded in carrying out what has been a Utopian dream so long... There are no independent nations left on the continent. Why could that state not be maintained, under different auspices?

....Indispensable: European money;

European police;

(centered with the League of Nations...)

which should be, by the way, preferably

not be quartered in Geneva again...)

Strong League, including, of course, U.S. and Russia.
.... General disarmament may follow the

disarmament of the defeated aggressors...

.... Thus the ground would be prepared for the coming of the only reasonable scheme - long-desired, much-discussed....:

the ~~some~~ the world-wide federation of democracies; the world state.

..... Wanted to be "sober, and realistic"...

Yet, in extreme situations like ours - the alternative is between absolute pessimism or determined confidence. The world is a tremendous process of transformation. ~~one~~

14a. 14 - Holy
Age old: Plato - Roman
Empire: almost
fulfilled; Kant: vision

One thing is certain:

in ten years from now the world (including this country, will look strikingly different from what we are witnessing now. In fact, ~~the~~ things will look decisively worse - by that time - or decisively better.

There will be a chaotic world where everything we've ever cherished rots and crumbles: a world of poisoned gas and vociferous lies and poverty and general decay - in short, there will be a Hitler-world - OR...

Well, the other world, the world after Hitler's fall, will be no paradise either. ~~No Golden Age stuff, in this century!~~ But it could be - it must be a comparatively decent place; a place where people have a chance to work and to achieve something and to have a certain modest minimum of fun. A world where the gangsters are the unpopular exceptions - not the rulers.

It's by no means the Golden Age I am invoking: the Golden Age is still far-away. But what be closer to us than we dare believe, is a Human Age - a world "where all men in all lands may live out their lives in Freedom."

X