

Verbundkatalog Kalliope

Who will rule Germany?

Mann, Klaus

Nutzungsbedingungen

Bei zahlreichen Dokumenten auf monacensia-digital.de sind die Urheberrechte bereits abgelaufen. Sie sind gemeinfrei und dürfen ohne weitere Rücksprache mit der Monacensia weiterverwendet werden.

Bei den Dokumenten, bei denen noch Urheberrechte bestehen, müssen für eine Weiterverwendung stets die Rechteinhaber*innen angefragt werden sowie eine Publikationsgenehmigung der Monacensia eingeholt werden. Das Zitatrecht bleibt hiervon unberührt.

Zur Erteilung einer Publikationserlaubnis wenden Sie sich bitte an:

Monacensia im Hildebrandhaus
Literaturarchiv
Adresse: Maria-Theresia-Straße 23, 81675 München
E-Mail: monacensia.literaturarchiv@muenchen.de

Terms of use

The copyrights for numerous documents on monacensia-digital.de have already expired. They are in the public domain and may be reused without further consultation with Monacensia. In the case of documents for which copyrights still exist, the copyright holders must always be contacted for further use and publication permission must be obtained from the Monacensia. The right to quote under copyright law remains unaffected by this. To obtain permission for publication, please contact:

Monacensia im Hildebrandhaus:
Literaturarchiv
Address: Maria-Theresia-Straße 23, 81675 München
E-Mail: monacensia.literaturarchiv@muenchen.de

Who will make Germany?

Some weeks ago - just a
few weeks before he ~~went~~
was to return to
England - I had
the position of spending a
full hour in a with
H. G. Wells.

— He had asked me to
~~if I wanted to have~~
a cup of tea with
him The whole
set-up - : impression
and slightly weird

The house of his friend,
the great banker...

(Elevator, decorated
with Oriental arties...)

Old servant —

nothing and nobody
any old — including

H. C. W. — Grand

old man of world

litwafuse.

But how lively! how
sparkling! ...

Spoke about WAR — :

"The bombardments —

slightly disturbing ...

A nuisance — there

Those Germans —

must be something

about them ...

{ Nasty idea that they

aren't they

Have a cup of tea

T.E.A — delicious.

So were sandwiches.

Conversation too —

"Your Sandwiches are delicious in a way ..."

"My Sandwiches are delicious in a way ..."

"Your Sandwiches are delicious in a way ..."

"My Sandwiches are delicious in a way ..."

"Most horrible people, indeed"

— "Have another cup of
tea" —

Delusion of grandeur —

— all of them

And ~~WHAT~~ have
they accomplished,
really?

No literature —
compared with English.

Painting — absolutely
appalling ...

Philosophy — com (posed) ...

(Nothing about music ...)

Refugees too ...

It now says thing like this.

[Story of exiles,
guest in English

home. — No limits
with luncheon. —

The red berries.]

Refugee talk about

the "Common future."

....." German always

German

sick and tired of
it

Have it ["What we need is a
new world - not a
new one!"] they caused trouble.

plenty of trouble.

Should find their
place, a few all

Should adapt themselves."

[Next day, he ~~stare~~
talked differently]

..... I felt slightly
apprehensive ... yet,
could not quite disagree.

Am often fed up myself.
That Trentonia enigma

— rather sickening —

On the other hand —
Dinner, Goethe, Kant,
Brethorn, Prattis,
..... What an abundance
of beauty! wisdom!

-8 + 16

Remember a not —
by Harald Nicholson:

"The G. character
of one of the
finest but most
disturbing developments
of human nature."

agoing = in Gang

-96-

There have been attempts
of this kind —
even before the present
war started ...

Summary in Decision
Condorhase — Ka Pwgi

(half Japanese — half
very mixed — Ennotan
blood ...)

His Pan — Ennotan — ...

— including Rmooia —
Great Britain.

During Brian —
Stassen — period:
not so far from
healing ...

-27-

Pending the War -

Proclamations of ~~statesman~~
British statesman:

French - British Union.

Anglo - American - Union.

(Hinted at by Churchill
himself ...)

Groups and
Intellectuals.

H. G. Wells

Harold Lasker:

"Where are we going
from here?"

("Babbling
the Dawdling
Woodpecker")

Other plans and schemes,
in this country:

most widely publicized

UNION NOW,

Chambers H. Street.

(... excluding ^{for the time being} all
countries without

Democratic tradition:

the South American

Republics, Russia,
Italy, Germany, etc.

— Advantages.

Dangerous implications.

(Coalition of Have -
Nations...)
Washington
II. volume:
Union Now With Britain

-29-

Others stick to old
Pan - European pattern:

Alfred M. Bingham,

"The United States
of Europe."

III European ^{group} _(or district.)

More comprehensive

visions: (Ambitious proposal
of discussing future
shape)

City of Man.

(First man: festu —
signed by Lewis
Nikola,
Borgers,
and others)
Th. M.

Aiming at World -
Federation...

— (Special committee
to discuss details
involved ...)

— Aim to the
reasonable and
inspired vision

of H. G. Wells,

(His remarkable

pamphlets —
"The Right of Man",

etc.)

Realistic approach.

World Federation — cannot
be formed but gradually

First step:

international air commission

- controlling the production
~~and~~ of planes — :
to avoid future air
wars *

There is one thing
all these schemes have
in common :

The father and ethos
of international
collaboration. {

— Has to replace
father and ethos of
nationalism — or
civilization will
perish.

The greatest strength
of nationalism is
the emotional loyalty
it can arouse.

This emotional
loyalty is to be
transferred into
the reasonable
enthusiasm of
~~not~~ a global
solidarity — :

The material and
necessary solidarity
of civilized human
beings.



The sensible notion of
these progressive mind
has at least
ONE thing in common
with Hitler's
boastful program:
the conception of
the vast living-
spaces ^{which means} the
end of ~~the~~ petty
nationalism.

In both versions:
The unification of
Europe — only
a starting point:

in Hitler's scheme —

a starting point for

further aggression;

(for it is obvious that

what he calls a "United

Europe" would ^{actually} be a

Europe dominated by

the Nazis — and that

this Nazi

would try to bring about

the other continents...)

the tool for further destruction;

the progressive scheme, too

the United States of Europe

are nothing but a
~~not~~ prerequisite and starting
point as well.

From the very beginning,
that European Federation
must collaborate with
the other continents —
above all with these
United States.

— The vast amount
of reconstruction that
will be necessary, could
now be accomplished
without the ~~American~~
help of America.

Countless difficulties
involved :

the problem of the
different languages;
[but example of it
Switzerland that it
can be overcome ...]

~~the German problem:~~
~~general distrust ...~~

~~But, Germans may
have learned quite
a few things;
may find back to
their own noble
traditions~~

Who will rule Germany
if Hitler is defeated?

— I don't think, really,
that this is ~~the~~ a
pertinent question
to ask. — The crucial

question, rather:
Will Germany find, at
last, her place and
function within a
new world order?

However, Germany's rôle
and function within any
future European community
will be highly important.

One thing is certain:

No lasting peace
without a voluntary
and constructive
collaboration of
the German people.

-39-

The question ^{as to} ~~of~~ who —
what groups and what
individuals — are likely
to come to power in
Germany, after the
fall ~~before~~ of Hitler,
is, therefore, of
utmost importance

— even if we accept
the ^{main} thesis (as I do
wholeheartedly ...), that
the ^{national} independence of ~~the~~ ^{more restricted}
European states will ~~be~~ ^{be} what
be ^{allow} ~~more~~ than if ^{was} ~~was~~ to be
before its
programming

Possibility of Communist
Dictatorship. Not likely:

Germans tired of dictatorship
("LIBERTY" would
be the slogan of any
post-Hitler government.)

; religious opposition
— one of the elements that
will be instrumental in

overthrowing Nazis:
Catholics + Protestants
opposed to Comm. as

to Nazism.
by Pact; Soviets — compromised
Stalin's imperialist
adventures
etc.

-41-

Bresides — a Comm. Germany
could now live in peace
with a non-Comm. world.

The aggression world
continue ... unless

the whole world becomes
communist at that
time — which is
very probable ...

(Did TROTZKI still
believe in world revolution,
the traditional sense?)

..... Comm. — as ~~an~~ a
bloody interlude; perhaps
with Göbbels and the
radical party
winning.

The same is true for
a regime of Göning
and the reactionary
wing.

Myterlude.

A transient moment in
the vast process of collapse
could not last — if
simply, because — if

Great Britain really wins,
it will get of Göning;
it — WAR GOES on,
unless England wins.

Another idea we may
as well skip:

Dictatorship of the
Riches which

as a whole.

Army was now a political.

Many different political
trends among generals
and younger officers

from socialistic to
strictly conservative -
monarchistic.

Monarchy - more serious
possibility. (NOT the

Hohenzollern - but
the Habsburgs of
Austria - W. M. 3-
part

Solution of this sort, however,
would have been much more
likely had the WAR ended
a year ago —

with a ~~new~~ Daladier and
Chamberlain as victors ...

(Especially in France,
pro-monarchist funds
have been strong ...)

— Churchill - Labor
government — less inclined
... : now would American
influence foster such ideas
...

The increasing importance
of English Labor
suggests a solution
in which the former
Social - Democratic Party
of Germany may play
a paramount role

~~Proposed by the~~

No repetition of Weimar.
Probably no Parliament
right in the beginning ...

More likely
sort of dictatorate —
including — Social Dem.

— Catholic —

— former Conservative,
who has turned liberal.

— former Nazi, who
has turned liberal.

Must have changed as
early as 1933

Otto Strasser

— brings us to question
of personal life . . .

Unaware, involved —

leaders of opposition
within the Russian

Exiles

Brenning is (na)
Bretschneider; Stampfer;

Ransdörfer; Montellier; Masaryk
Strasser. — leaders, a — Radomsky

[My wish problem. — How
many WANT to go
back. — Frederick and
plans of my different
type. — I
Go-between.

Problem of foreign control.

Occupation army
British government in Berlin

[For a while -
perhaps.]

Not in the long run.]

Necessity of economic

support.

(Mistake of Versailles -
to let Germany stand ...)

Wishful thinking?

— While Churchill predicts "crisis" within the next 90 days?

— Optimism — successful, even fatal.
— Defeatism — fatal

— "Waste of the Future" —
talk.

"Ymweithab" —

Ymfa thin.

Will be hard, but can
be done. - Should not be left
Communist armies and units
working for us.

Hunger is borderline permanent
opposition in occupied zones.
(Holland! Pamphlets ...)

opposition within radio
(Sakata E -)
listens -

Underground ...)

All this not sufficient
itself. - BUT: if
in Britain holds on in invasion
fails: America can help in
increases Italy techniques
~~factor~~ has to
blow

Weariness of German
people. — Not v. billions
as yet. Could come ...

... Am condemned :

Revolution — one night,
inconstitutions new — is it - downer Stoic.
As 1918 more dramatic.

Kaiser — had been next
to God; suddenly in

to Holland. Where will
And Friedrich Mother Story.
he be " God Sci "
Drunk.

They found it appropriate to use the slogan -
United States of Europe...

Von Papen, - that cunning old intriguer -
Nazi Ambassador to Turkey:

"England proposes a European commonwealth for the future. She has had ample time since the last war to establish it. Now it will be Germany's turn to look after this plan. It is quite clear what Germany is fighting for. It is to avoid the repetition of the tragedy of Versailles, and to build a better Europe. It is to do away, once and for all, with the necessity of European nations fighting each other twice a century to establish 'European equilibrium.' ..."

How convincing it sounds! - how reasonable!.
~~It almost sounds as if it were actually true...~~

"To build a better Europe..."

Ask the people in Poland, Norway and Holland, in Albania, Finland and Denmark - what it is like, this "Better Europe"...

Look at Warsaw, Coventry and Rotterdam; at the blood purges in Bukarest, the trials in Moscow, the suffering of the Czechs -:

X there it is, that much-vaunted "better Europe!"

The "new Europe" of Dachau and Oranienburg and the Lipari Islands; the new Europe of gangsterism; the new Europe of madness...

~~Ask the people in Germany~~

And if you don't trust the testimony of the victims and the invaded people - ask the aggressors. Do THEY, at least, enjoy the new order?..... Ask the Italians..... Are their stunning defeats only caused by matchless prowess of the Greeks?..... Other elements involved. - Italians themselves, profoundly, thoroughly fed-up, worn out....:

- No military / Sit-down Strike.

disaster.

Attracting on
institutions

Germany

Trustworthy

- And if you think the Italians not ~~serious~~ enough -

ask the Germans...

Gloomy victors. No enthusiasm. Lethargy.
Dismay. Distrust. ~~WEARY~~
Not energetic enough - too dreary to rebell.
But the distaster would come - they may
even welcome it...

~~((MOTHER - story -
characteristic for mood...)))~~

Even more significant - :majority consider
ultimate defeat inevitable.

Remember last war.

Realize that Hitler's ambitions are even more
fantastic than the Kaiser's used to be...

moderate
They feel he goes to far; wants to rule the
world. ~~Slightly exaggerated.~~

~~Doomed to collapse...~~

Leaders tell them - plainly and shamelessly:

HITLER, "Voice of Distraction" - "My friend
Darré - Minister of Agriculture - : Race"

Slavery for the peoples conquered by
Germany;

X "must be treated as serfs and as such
will not be denied the blessings of il-
literary..."

Delightful sense of humor... (One sometimes
has the impression that those so-called leaders
have enjoyed the "blessings of illiteracy"
themselves...)

Yet, it goes rather far. Sounds slightly
exaggerated - a trifle hectic - : even to ears
accustomed to Nazi language...

*carry out the monster (and wild)
plans more*

Provided even that the Germans would be able
to follow their depraved rulers to the bitter
end - : would how about the rest of the world?
How about those "inferior races" - the including
the Americans???

they want to dominate
And even if all of them - including the
Americans! - would yield - : there still would

remain the other dictators - allies of today - rivals of tomorrow...

Mussolini - maybe reduced to utter insignificance... But Stalin? But Japan??

((STORY.))

established

The idea of a NEW ORDER, brought about by Hitler, is not only a nightmare but an absurdity.

We don't need go into the question of whether or not we would like that so-called NEW Order.

The point of the matter is that Hitler has nothing to offer that deserves the designation of an ORDER at all.

~~Most strikingly formulated by H.G. Wells~~

How could he be
a remedy as he
is ~~himself~~ the most violent
symptom and
manifestation of
our disease?

That is why a talk
of a "negotiated
peace with H." is
not only immoral,
but preposterous.
You can't make peace
with disorder.

Hitler's War -25- Aims - indeed!

There will be no "new order" except the one we are able to conceive and to create.

Ours is the task; ours, the responsibility; ours is the decision.

+++

I say "WE" and "OURS" - and I mean all those who are consciously and passionately opposed to retrogression and tyrannic anarchy - in short, to Fascism in all its forms and disguises.

It is neither fair nor logical to expect the British - only and exclusively the British! - to make up and formulate the future scheme of things. *may be the result of tomorrow's thinking*

True, all of us hope for a more precise and thorough declaration as to the British war aims.

For it is obvious that, in the long run, you can't fight - or, you can't fight successfully - for the sake of the status quo.

People want to know, not only against what they are fighting - which is plain enough in the case of the present war - ; but also, and above all FOR what they are supposed to risk their lives.

The recent events in Egypt have made it very clear that it pays to attack - particularly in modern warfare...

May British statesmen profit by that military lesson!

May they realize that it is advantageous - if not necessary - to risk the attack also in the realm of ideas.

The only thing that can help against the faked scheme of the so-called "new order" offered and praised by the Nazis, is a real New Order - a constructive plan, outlining in general terms, if not describing in detail, the shape of coming developments...