

Verbundkatalog Kalliope

What the Germans have to fear[?].

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

What the Germans have to face

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

Harold Nicholson's sentence
as motto on the
frontpage of a book,
"The Other Germany",

Edika and I were working
on it in the summer of 1939.

Or rather
Enika, in Sweden,
my Santa Monica
spending ~~more~~ ~~off~~ ~~at~~
cables, ~~than~~ we could
make
mod. than lot to ~~gain~~ make

royalties ...
De doing so to that
abysmal problem:

What is German?

Why, how have the
Germans ~~come~~ ^{become} the way
they appear today?

It was a ticklish, not to say painful job to analyze, at that crucial point, the famous "T. w o S o u l s" which, alas, dwell together - in the breast, not only of Goethe's Faust, but also of G.'s nation...

But is there any double soul inherent in that prodigious phenomenon called the Third Reich?

Definitely not.

It is the gross and glaring manifestation of Germany's evil side - absorbing or polluting the nobler features of a dangerously complex national character.

Dr. Jeckyll and Mr. Hyde.

While Hitler's armies were already being brought in formation for the march into Poland, I searched the writings of German classics for an explanation of the German enigma.

How deeply and bitterly they all suffered from Germany! - those truly great men Germany has produced....

What sorrowful concern behind the neatness of Goethe's sedate but scathing criticism!

... How can the Germans endure the vulgar trickery of their present leaders, since

it was unmasked in advance by Heinrich

Heine's ~~illuminated~~ ^{revealing} flippancies and by the

prophetic diatribes of Friedrich Nietzsche?

It was h e - the most formidable intellectual energy of our epoch - who hurled this terrific arraignment against his compatriots:

"I feel a desire, indeed, a duty, to tell the Germans, for once, how much they already have on their conscience. They have all the great cultural crimes of four centuries on their conscience - and all for the same reason: because of their innermost cowardice in face of reality; because of their untruthfulness which has become instinctive; because of what they call their 'idealism'...."

Nietzsche's wrathful indictments were punctuated and terribly confirmed by the the fearful broadcasts from London, Warsaw, Berlin, and Washington...

My idyllic dwelling on the Pacific coast resounded with the daily accounts of apocalyptic developments.

And finally - on September 3, 1939 -

Hitler's revolting bark and Chamberlain's dignified proclamation informed us that our world had been set afire...

~~By whom?~~ By whom?

So M told him: "By the Germans..."
He: Why ???

M: Uh boy
guessed:
"By Mr.
Kadun Down."

For what purpose?

How explain to him...

Was it again their "innermost cowardice in face of reality" which drove them into this devastating adventure?

Nietzsche's definition is, perhaps, the clue to solve the Germanic riddle...

Gifted in many fields, they ^{Germans} are lacking completely in any political instinct.

Hence their inferiority complex, their alarming aggressiveness... ^{their desire} to be led;

X They attempt to violate the reality which they don't dare to face. X

..... Their so-called "heroism" ^{spring - paradoxical} Romanticists by nature, they force themselves into a pseudo-"realism." ^{some}

Yet the romantic origin remains always traceable in what they think their "realist schemes" and "grand strategy"

The conquest of the world is fundamen-
tally a romantic, ~~fantastic~~ ^{not to say frenzied} concept.

(It just can't be done, and that's all there is to it....

On the other hand, there can be no doubt ~~to conquer the world~~ whatsoever that ~~this~~ is exactly what the Nazis hope to accomplish:- the conquest of the world...

Don't the Germans see ^{the madness of a} this? ^{H.'s program}

Frankly, we thought they would... (w e :
= anti-Nazis of German origin in exile...)

Mistake. Expected revolution
once they would be armed.
Overrated their common sense.

Disappointment.

Now, Disappointment and error we have in common
with governments and people involved in
war. Melusion... the same

inclination to over-emphasize the distinc-
tion between Nazis and Germans:

first in England; ("Mein Pamph")

then, in Russia; (until horrid exper=
iences corrected fallacy.)

now - here...

Now this know
[Sabotage] in Germany

No enthusiasm, to be sure. Yet, automatic
obedience; efficiency of robots... Well.
smouldering
compatible with discontent...

Food conditions. ... Losses in Russia...

Air raids..... [Cologne... Lublin...]

"Thank God" story

Yet dangerous to overrate resistance...

Generals... not likely to act as long as there remains faint chance of victory.

(Old generals - "purged"; new type:

R o m m e l ; Nazi....)

Besides, must not forget that Hitler began his career as Reichswehr agent...

Letter from Switzerland

Hess, complicated English taboo Italian
(Contrast: opposition)

Main reason to continue war: not so much
but Fear of peace faith in victory
what fear might bring...

Hatred of occupied nations. Growing opposition
Highly significant. → "The Moon is Down" DAVID

Here, again, let's avoid wishful thinking.

("The Moon is Down" conveys wrong ideas...
Not as easy as all that....

Films:

"To Be or not to Be". Funny enough:
but.....)

Must not indulge
in illusions, but
more

Certainly, the secret groups and ^{heroic} foolhardy individuals who dare defy Nazism - somewhere between Norway and the Isle of Crete - have no fighting chance, for the time being. Now, their dogged obstruction may have but a negligible nuisance value. But how about tomorrow?

When the Allied armies succeed in invading the Hitler-dominated continent - who will be their allies, if not those powerless saboteurs???

Their present martyrdom not only prepares but actually guarantees the vast upheaval to come.

~~Wann: -35: Heydrich~~
~~Czechoslovakia. (Lidice)~~

~~Netherlands. (Pilot I happened to meet...)~~

~~France..... (Laval. Bastille Day dispatch)~~

~~Poland~~

~~Even Italy...~~

~~signs of serious unrest...~~

~~Without undue optimism:~~

~~New Order fails. cracks already~~

~~It already cracks.~~

~~[M. Shalovich
already
fabulous]~~

- 10 a 1 -

As Elmer Davis

put it, in ~~the~~ a
want messag to
The Union question
People of Europe":

"When the time comes
to create a second
front, it will be
effectively supported
as a front of

liberation."

What is now ^{-100%} Underground
Europe may play a
decisive role in Europe's
liberation:

Symptoms — at
once appalling and
encouraging:

Czechs slow walking
back

[Lidice ^{first}
system of American
community ...]

Hundreds slaughtered
for Hydrich:

Consequences:

other hangmen
(Castro bosses)
held in

Poland

Vongoslavica . (Thru:

regular quilla warfar.

General Michailowitch

— great figure ...

Netherlands

(Worse than murder
Spaniards, Philitt's
occupation)

Mitting, here,
with seated
A: lot ...

Norway —

Denmark

when in
resistance
begins...

-10 a-

France "Bastille Day"

900 words ensued

~~trainloads of French~~

Laval — according

to friend Dreaf:

alone Not

quite: Mikado

sent conga ymlations

..... May mind some
comfort from abroad.

Stanning woman may

send census
train loads

Also: French workingman
of French by Laval
manga on by Laval
X " Prisoners of
Hate " Unitarian
Church

- 10 d -

New Onion marks

Mast w Ratt
brings T y phans per
hanger, lice
and lies
nothing also.

unconvincing - 11- but:
Works both ways:

Increases our chance of victory :
but also German fear.

(Revenge.)

They will not yield voluntarily - let's
face it squarely.

Have to be defeated.

Propaganda weapon - delicate
to handle.

→ Kenner's Collier plan - absurd.

(Germans take it as sign of weakness...

Aggressor to be awarded with a special
prize....) : *Switzerland, Austria,*

Alsace
Sole propaganda that *may move* ~~promises to impress~~ *more effective*

To convince Germans that they

cannot win this war.

Because they are going to lose it -
completely and in the good old fashion.

(Foolish theory: "No victory...")

But even if the United Nations don't win,
it wouldn't mean victory for the Germans.

Resistance would continue, which means:

war would continue...
AMAY ^W ^a ^r ^w ^o ^u ^l ^d ^c ^o ⁿ ^t ⁱ ⁿ ^u ^e...
The world dominated by Hitler : ^{you lose}
inconceivable. ^{even if you win.}

Clashes among the victors...

or rather, between Germany/Japan.

(Hitler-Mussolini-Mikado story.)

Europe/Asia/America

On the other hand:

United Nations - finally including
Germany.... First to be ^{disarmed} policed, then
educated; but in the end admitted...:
inevitably, necessarily...

Germans - "cowardly" ~~as they are~~ in face
of reality as they are - have to be con=
fronted with the fait accompli;

Hitler victory = chaos;

Allied victory = truly New Order.

No other alternative.

No Anglosaxon hegemony (although ~~being~~)

WALLACE
Stead.

fin. testimony:
in spid. blue
print.

of US and Britain

the world will need ~~their~~ leadership...)

No Russian hegemony: although the idea of excluding Russia (as it was done in Munich) - both immoral and infeasible.

The most idealistic, most elating solution - that of international collaboration, leading to confederations... - is also the most realistic, indeed, the only practicable one.

War of Survival - also for the Germans.

For - at stake our civilization, in which The Other Germany participated and to which it ~~contributed~~ ^{has made sure} great, imperishable contributions...

A Survival is Not
the maintenance of
the status quo.
Civilization will perish
or improve

So this century is not the Germanic Century nor is it the American Century or the Century of the Soviet Union.

It is the century to prepare the birth of the indivisible, universal civilization.

It is the century of throes and convulsions; of vast transitions, disasters, and resurrections.

The "grand strategy" of Nazism is but a clumsy and reckless effort to falsify the intrinsic meaning and objective of this century - a meaning and an objectives that have too often been dodged and disregarded by the Democracies.

Hitler's ^{Successes} ~~crimes~~ are not only a dire peril but also a stimulus.

Too transient and tawdry to discourage us, they are impressive enough to refute the validity of the status quo.

His mad and abhorrent attempt to ~~usurp~~
usurp universal hegemony, compells us to
accept, indeed, to fight for the concept
and ideal of universal solidarity.

