

Verbundkatalog Kalliope

The Two Pan-Europes.

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

The Two Pan-Europes.

What is Europe?

Y, it a Museum

Y, it a bundle of

picturesque old
town, and castle
and villages.

~~Y, it a sort of a~~

~~University — a place~~

~~where to study anti-~~

~~language and anti-dated~~

~~music and painting.~~

~~What~~ Europe it is just
geographically
a minor peninsula of

great big ²⁻ASIA —
rather complicated in
its natural structure;
inhabited by a motley
mixture

lot of peoples — in any
race, many languages,
many religions in the
mingled, and yet
separated from each
other; fighting
among each other
— a very quarrelsome

crowd: unreasonable,
arrogant, and
a lot of the a miserable
brutal nature.

-3-4-

~~to see a new form~~
~~my wisdom~~ ~~disgrace~~
~~a bleak great men~~
~~of this~~

~~But~~ Europe offers
the dubious spectacle
of a group of people
who are forced to live
and work to get the
within a comparatively
small space; ~~they~~ they who
need other each
depend on yet
other — and proceed
~~they~~ do not proceed
in coming to sensible
terms with each other.

The atmosphere among
them remains tense,
overcharged with
~~jealousy~~ all sorts
of complex feelings
~~and~~ emotions
jealousy and
hatred, and mad
ambitions, and a
great deal of mutual
misunderstanding ...

Europe, if seen from
a certain distance,
looks half - grotesque,
half - tragic; half
like a noisy
half like a battle-
field.

It is rather depressing
~~indeed~~

Small wonder that
there is an increasing
trend among people
on other continents
to despise Europe,
to regard it as
a source of permanent
world disturbance
in fact, not
to count on it
more.

At once the venerable
Mother and the naughty
Problem child of Modern
Civilization.

It was a German
philosopher, How
Oswald Spengler,
who has insisted the
world ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the}
Decline of the Western
World, and has made
it fashionable.
Nowadays, any away
~~man~~ ^{man} is in a
position to tell you
that the Center of
World Politics is
shifting away from
~~Europe~~ ^{Europe} and is to
be found, at
present,

- 8 -

somewhere b. tw -
Tokyo, Japan, and
Washington, D. C.

~~Unadvisedly~~ ~~that~~
~~some~~ ~~thing~~ ~~in~~
It would be ridiculous
to deny that East,
in this historical bond,
has lost, on at least
partly lost, the position
dominant & position the
used to occupy in
the XVII. Century.
There can be no doubt
that Europe does not

- 9 -

make the world any more.

AND Yet . . .

And yet there is something
very odd and my situation
about the position
of Europe among the
other people and
continents. — The
problem and troubles

of Europe triumphs how was
revolution, constant
and disaster, a name

quantitative significance, —
a day, indeed,

even to-day, moment

at this very
a crucial importance
which human

- 10 -

if not determine,
~~the~~ development, and
events in all other
parts of the world,

It would take too
long to analyze the

reactions of this strange
and old little Enso note

which Enso still
continues to play
in the drama of Man.

this problem fact that
I don't think traditions
any historical facts
are sufficient to explain
this queer phenomenon.

However, the fact remains
that no lasting solution
of the present World Crisis
is thinkable — unless
the European peoples
come to a solution —
which, to be sure, has
to be a solution of
their own, a voluntary
solution, a solution
wanted, created and
advised out by themselves.
— If Europe fails in
finding her way out
of the present chaos —

- 12 -

-: ~~then~~ there is little
hope for the rest of
the ~~civilized~~ world.

The continent in
whose record and
tainted soil

the White Man's
civilization is rooted,
may become instrumental
in destroying the
civilization
now that it has created.



- B -

THERE is only
ONE solution for
the European problem,
— only one way
out of the present
chaos — :

the unification
of the continent.

— A Federation of
the various European States,
indeed, the United
States of Europe is the
only scheme that promises
lasting pacification
of that continent and
of the world.

The United States of Europe... :
it still sounds bold if not fantastic - like
a revolutionary program, a Utopian dream...
And yet !

that formula ("The United States of
Europe") represents one of the most ancient
~~hopes and aspirations~~ of European statesmen,
poets and thinkers - : Utopian dream

it is, indeed, much more ~~and something~~
~~basically~~ than a Utopian Promise - something
completely different from a romantic hope;
for it has been several times fulfilled and
realized - or, at least, half-fulfilled and
almost realized.

The United States of Europe -
virtually a reality under the Roman Empire:
destroyed by the Teutonic barbarians...

Rebuilt - under the sign of the CROSS and
again ruled from Rome...

Under the patronage of the Catholic Church,
in the Middle Ages, unity was actually achieved.
Latin - the language of all cultured men.

The Holy Roman Empire -
a super-national, universal State, embracing,
not only everything that is called the
Reich to-day, but also Italy, Burgundy, the
Provence of Southern France, the Nether=
lands, Denmark, the small Baltic states.
It was indeed, almost, Pan-Europe-...

And then came Luther and the schism of the
Christian faith - the destruction of European
unity...

Luther was great, and great were his accomplishments. - His "genius" "created" the German language, as the genius of Dante created Italian. - This alone would be enough reason to admire him - let alone the tremendous impact of his moral deed... Alas, our gratitude is clouded by the fact that the great man was responsible for so much sorrow, misery and destruction.

All great events of German history have a double face - a problematic aspect. They are always "deeds of liberation", and, at the same time, interferences with the development of Europe - obstacles on Western man's path towards his goal.

Germany's heroes have often been Europe's enemies.

The Bedford
118 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK

So was Arminius the Cheruskian - the idol of German nationalists, who defeated the Roman Varus and stopped the march of the Roman legions in the midst of the Teutonic forests;

so was Frederic the Great who made Prussia powerful by fighting Austria, France, Russia, and the ~~at~~ minor German states;

so was, finally, Bismarck, the last one of Germany's truly important leaders, who united the Reich - against France, nay, against Europe...

The German thinkers and poets - from Goethe, Kant, and Nietzsche, up to the present generation, adhered faithfully to ~~a~~ super-national spirit and anticipated the ultimate unification of the continent - while the German generals and rulers went on sabotaging and baffling the very scheme preached and propagated by their ~~own~~ most distinguished compatriots...

- though under duress and spite
Always baffled by G.

The inevitably consequence:

either despise and fury - or a haughty
lethargy toward everything political -
from the part of the most eminent German
minds...

Most striking example - Nietzsche -
:so much miss-quoted, miss-interpreted by
the Nazis, and not only by them...

His cruel and grandiose outbursts against
everything German. To be found in all of
his books. The most horrible and most signi-
ficant one, perhaps, in

"Ecce Homo",
written immediately before N-S mental col-
lapse - his most sincere work: his testament.

Allow me to quote:

"There is no reason here for me to mince
words. I am in a position to tell the
Germans a few harsh truths - who else will
do it?".... I feel the desire, indeed, a
duty, to tell the Germans, for once, how much
they have already 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 the face of reality,
which is, at the same time, cowardice in the
face of truth; because of their untruthful-
ness which has become distinctive; because
of their 'idealism'..."

Whereupon he enumerates the "great cultural
crimes" - the last of them the war of libera-
tion against Napoleon, for which Goethe could
work up no enthusiasm, and which Nietzsche
damned in these words:

"Just when, AT the juncture of two decadent centuries, a force majeure of genius and will-power came into view - strong enough to weld Europe into a political and economic unit - just then, the Germans, with their 'War of Liberation', robbed Europe of the marvelous meaning of Napoleon's existence.

Thus they have on their conscience everything ~~that~~ ensued, everything that exists today - this anti-cultural disease and insanity, our present nationalism; ~~we~~ //... This perpetuation of Europe's petty principalities, of petty politics have robbed Europe itself of its meaning and reason.

They have driven it into a blind alley."

5

It is with reverence and awe that we read these sentences today - these sentences written in the year 1888. forty-five years before the outbreak of National-Socialism.

+++

The Blind Alley...

There we are - in the midst of our present problems - which means, in the midst of a frightening jungle...

~~(OMG! NO MORE)~~
And again - the Germans, that problematic people in the middle of the European continent, are responsible for the European misfortune - for this newest ordeal inflicted over the peoples of Europe - and, maybe, over the world...

~~OR - to put it more cautiously, the Germans are more responsible than anybody else for the present tribulation...~~

Let's try to be completely fair and objective! -

- though it is not quite easy, and maybe not even ~~very~~ advisable, to be entirely fair and objective if it comes to discussing the abhorrent phenomenon of the aggressive German nationalism

- which is undoubtedly the deepest cause of the present mess in Europe..... *Objectively*

Even if they are certain points and arguments in favour of German nationalism - ~~in~~ they have ~~been over-emphasized, exploited, repeated over and over again by the Nazi agitators -~~ been over-emphasized so noisily -

exploited so shamelessly -
repeated so incessantly

by the Nazi agitators, that they begin to sound to us like clamorous lies, and have lost their moral value altogether.

True, the government and the people of France were, from 1918 up to 1938, possessed by the fixed idea of their sécurité(=security) - which is certainly not a very constructive nor a very heroic obsession. - But isn't it true also, that the implacable German lust for revenge, the militant German nationalism did everything to

keep this French apprehension alive, to increase the fears and suspicion of the French governments and people?? - Briand, who sincerely desired the reconciliation with the Germanic neighbour, failed - not so much because of ~~the~~ French ~~suspicion~~, but because of the alarming German attitude. *antagonist*

True, the policy of Great Britain in the years between Versailles and Hitler lacked in both wisdom and ~~generosity~~ boldness...

We recognize today how fundamentally erroneous the conception of the Balance of Power was... England ~~did not want France to become too powerful~~ was afraid of a strong France; she was afraid of Russia - instead of being afraid of a re-awakening of German nationalism... This paramount danger was neglected by the English rulers, (with the one great exception of Winston Churchill...) - it was underrated - until it had become too late to stop that sinister threat with anything short of war...

And the United States? *of America?*

...When Wilson went to Europe, in 1919, to build a new world, he was the most powerful man on earth - focus of tremendous hopes - the Saviour of Civilization - welcomed enthusiastically...

Why did he have to fail???

Was he misled by ~~his own~~ weaknesses? *of his own character.*

Was he betrayed by his political antagonists at home? - (I still believe that America's not joining the League of Nations was one of the great political mistakes in this Century...)

Was his basic conception - the idea of the sovereign right of the small nations -

essentially wrong?

However, his generous efforts did not succeed. The scheme that emerged from the negotiations in France, did not work - : it proved wrong.

I do not believe that Versailles was a crime - as the German nationalists keep telling us.

But all of us know that it was a failure.

The only scheme that would have had a chance to succeed, to last, to pacify the world - was

→ the unification of Europe. ←

At that time, however, this was only known to and proclaimed by a handful of progressive intellectuals.

The masses didn't believe in the Pan-European idea, nor did the statesmen deem it feasible.

X In 1919, the greatest chance of modern history was missed.

The whole toilsome process had to start all over again.

+++

~~It may be stimulating and instructive to look back into the past - to grasp the moral and political impact of things that have happened before we were involved ourselves - : before we were active and responsible....~~

But what is the use of pondering on events that cannot be changed any more -; unless we are able and willing to learn out of them; ^{and} to apply, what we may have ~~already~~ learned, on our own decisions and actions?

All interest in the past is meaningless and futile - unless combined with a keen and constructive interest in the future.

The War of the Future

All of us feel and know that more is at state in the present war than political systems or imperialist interests.

There can be no doubt that this world of ours is in an accute process of transformations. Things always change; but now the changes are more far-reaching and more dramatic than they have been at any time - since the fall of the Roman Empire.

Sweeping

There will be changes on the political, the social, the ideological plane.

There will be changes ~~not~~ not-to-be foreseen -; changes to the better or to the worst...

The corroded order of the XIX Century will either be smashed by the catastrophic forces of anarchy and retrogression; or it will be replaced gradually by a better scheme, ~~and organization.~~

~~In any case, things are not to remain the way they are today.~~

We'll live to witness a better world - or the chaos; a terrific mess - or a
NEW Order.

a higher developed, at
once simpler and more
complex pattern of organization.

im to
what
this
does it
06

A New Order -

isn't this exactly what Hitler keeps promising us? - He will organize Europe and then the entire world!! He will establish those vast "living spaces" that are going to form the basic organisms of a future global structure...

Murphy
- First of all, and above all,
HE will unify ~~and organize~~ Europe -
HIS Europe - the Europe that he is
going to conquer, to organize, to educate,
to rule - and to exploit...

There is no idea, no social or ideological scheme that was not misused at one time by the Nazis. *(flamored)*

They have ~~been~~ by turns that they are the "bulwark against Bolshevism" and the "fighters against Plutocracy";

they have called themselves conservative and revolutionary and what not...

The simple truth is that they are nothing at all.

Total lack of principles. (With the one exception ^{on} of Antisemitism...)

Nothing but propaganda slogans, pretexts...

The only thing they really care for:

to remain in power; ←

to increase their power. ←

Their lust for power - boundless, aimless...

Revolution of Nihilism...

Samuel, Great Hatred

Since they are in the habit of stealing all idea, or at least portions of ~~them~~ all ideas, they sometimes say even the Truth -

by mistake...

Problem of the Small
nations — : now suppressed
by Germany : promised
future Independence
by England ... may
Will realized — have
already realized by now
that the only
guarantee for future
cultural independence
is — the actual
organization of
individual Peace.

*
This War — bringing
forth, not only
destruction,

but also progress ...

Out-dated notions,
such as neutrality,

done away with ...

The name is from
for the French conception
of security ...

doesn't exist any
more.

New Democratic
Pride — just in the
humanized community
(Norway,
Holland.) Denmark,

Above all:

New conception, null of
Anglo Saxon &
Polidani & y.

The United States
of Europe, indeed,
the United States
of the World we
hope for, will not
be ruled by the
German ^{imperialism} ^{and controlled}
but guided by
the ~~Anglo Saxon~~
Common Sense of
the Anglo Saxon
race. X

To draw the conclusion:

We do NOT have
really to choose
between two different
schemes of Pan-
Europe.

The alternative

we are actually
faced with is that
a total dissolution

— between a catastrophic

— and an organization

that would truly
describe the name of
a new order.

Mr Hitler says

Pan - Europe -

he means - the destruction
of Europe; the
starvation, the
suppression of the
European people;

he means - a Europe
that would serve
him as a tool for
his mad and sinister
plans of

ultimate world
domination.

Hitler is
essentially
= world - destruction.

bad in fact -

he is the very
embodiment of
the Evil.

Everything he touches
becomes bad — including
the promise and the
formula of Pan-Europ.

— It is futile to
discuss whether HITLER
happens to be right
on whom in any
particular point.

For he is wrong at
together.

— Hitler cannot be
refuted; he has
to be defeated.

-4B-

Hitler's defeat is,
of course, no aim
in itself. It is nothing
but a ~~requirement~~ prerequisite.

The real ~~task~~ task
begins only AFTER
his collapse.
It is only then that
the ^{democracies} ~~will~~ have to meet
the most crucial
problems and the
most difficult ones.
One of these problems
will be to lead
the German people back
to the community of
the European nations.

Another one: to give
Europe — the United
States of Europe! —
her place and function
among the other
continents.

How could there be
two types of PAN-
EUROPE?
There is only ONE

human civilization
in this continent. ^{its physical balance}
If you to piece,
we go to piece as well
— all of us.
If ^{this civilization} ~~it~~ is to survive,
we have to work for
it, to defend it,

45

to improve it,
to believe in it —
Americans and Europeans,
and the citizens of
other continents, and
the home land order —
all of us