

(1st outline)

In the hands of the vanquished

1. While we are taking the full measure of the Nazi crimes, and the military victory is overlaying the scene -

2. - the vanquished are laying down the foundations/and forging the political instruments of their final victory.

(a) Pattern No.1. Redit, destruction, chaos - politically this means laying down the law to any alternative force in Germany. - In the beginning stages of their military defeat it must have become evident to the Nazis that potent alternative political forces were altogether lacking. No insurrections. ~~agitation~~ The Nazis adopt

(b) Pattern No. 2. In the absence of such alternative forces the freedom of action of the Nazi party grew far beyond their original expectations. "Everything is possible". Unity remains unimpaired. No political disintegration of Germany. Nazi leadership fully maintained. On this basis the Nazis proceed to the

(i) mise-en-scène of their defeat. Germany from one end to the other is the scene, 60 million Germans are the actors. Dignifiable chaos.

The aim is: a via facti turning of the fronts against Russia, by their surrendering in the West, fighting in the East; thus forcing their alignment with the Anglo-Americans, as self-appointed allies, even though it is repudiated. Their arms poised against Russia even in the moment of ~~ceasing~~ ~~hostilities~~ the hostilities ceasing. "lebende Bilder". Der getreue Ekehard of Europe. This leaves always room for the British Dolchstoss.

The means are: Mass-Macchiavellism as never before put in operation in the history of mankind. The double game: heroic legend and cunning survival. Fight to the last (Krosigk, the Conservative) phoney war and surrender-offer (Himmler, the radical Nazi). In the course of the double game the uninitiated, the youngest, fell; the initiated, the SS, survived. And yet the unity of the nation holds - a certain sign that the individuals' consciences and will are handed over, delegated to the Nazi leadership entirely. ~~and will are handed over, delegated to the Nazi leadership entirely.~~

(ii) After the defeat: forcing the alignment. They offer their collaboration, offer to build up Germany. This, again, presupposes unbroken unity. No fear of genuine collaborators, "approved Germans". All collaborators other than themselves, to act ^{under} Nazi guidance or to be liquidated by the Nazi underground. Police and gangsters at the same time, combination of overt and underground movement - the most potent, most dangerous combination.

3. What gives the Nazis the assurance of a final victory? Where is the key to their strength, why are they convinced to get the upper hand in an alignment with England and America?

*Foreign -
substitution*

same as 1944

~~Defeated~~ Germany appears to us as a thing without a will of its own, a docile Sphinx; very mistakenly we imagine that it can be shaped and moulded into whatever pleases us. This very plasticity, the absence of an impetuous political will and vision to carry the German system beyond fascism, is the mainstay of the fascist success. The fascist development is irreversible, by the mere introduction of institutionally liberal elements as "Fremdkörper" into it, the preconditions of its recurrence are automatically reproduced. Collective experience of the community with respect to its achievements. Presence of reformist socialists as a precipitating agency. England and America will not fail to introduce institutionally liberal elements into the German economy. As soon as they appear on the German scene, that hard core of fascist thought and doctrine which is peculiar to a planned economy in an industrial society will react to them. All the Hilfetheorien will go overboard (anti-semitism, racial superiority, etc) and only that Jüngerian core remain ~~which~~ in which the superiority of a planned economy expresses itself. No difficulty in making this a European movement.

4. Battle of the Alignment.

The Nazis held out a hope that the disunity of the Allies will bring them victory. ~~When this hope began to fail them, they set out to~~ When this hope began to fail them, they set out to ~~bring about this disunity in and through their military defeat, thus preparing their second coming.~~ bring about this disunity in and through their military defeat, thus preparing their second coming. The precondition of their keeping in future the necessary freedom of action was that no ~~alternative political force emerge in Germany, that they succeed in laying down the law to all political forces in Germany.~~ alternative political force emerge in Germany, that they succeed in laying down the law to all political forces in Germany. In the presence of political counterforces the obvious policy to achieve this was one of wholesale frightfulness and destruction, ~~genuine resistance to the last and the subsequent ostracising from the body national, all Germans who stood for political collaboration with the Allies.~~ genuine resistance to the last and the subsequent ostracising from the body national, all Germans who stood for political collaboration with the Allies. Not even the Nazis could gauge ~~the actual state of mind of the German people that would obtain once their domination had come to an end.~~ the actual state of mind of the German people that would obtain once their domination had come to an end. But by and by in the process of defeat it became clear that of political counterforces there were none. In their absence the freedom of action of the Nazi party grew far beyond their ~~original expectations.~~ original expectations. ~~The main political unity of Germany remained unimpaired.~~ The main political unity of Germany remained unimpaired.

(inflicted pestilence from the German death-camps)
The stench of ~~death~~ and degradation ~~still~~ lingers in the ~~country's~~ nostrils... The wounds in London's body are still gaping, ~~inflicted~~ a medley of brick and remembered shapes...
...missiles, ^{from} From the empty haunts of the meteors directed ~~to~~ to the corners of Tottenham Court Road....

In the hands of the vanquished.

1.

the Nazis'

Personal experience of ~~things~~ extraordinary
~~and~~ ways of warfare may well have quickened our
apprehensions and warned us that ^{yet} a new sense of proportion
will have to be developed, if we are ^{ever} to understand what
in the way of ^{Nazi} deeds, aims, ^{methods} and policies is to be regarded as
being ~~possible~~ within ~~the~~ range of ~~possibilities~~ the possible.

Not very long ago the citizens of Southern England
on hearing the hoarse, short-breathed exhalations along the
fly-bomb's track would duck or draw away from the window,
~~those who happened to be in the room at the time~~
with
doom flying on towards those who happened to live where ~~that~~
the track ended. Later these citizens, having heard the
bangs and rumbling noises of supersonic rockets, accepted
not only to live unsheltered but also to die unwarned.
~~When~~ Wound upon wound in London's body was struck from
the emptiness far beyond the range of living things.
Random groups of citizens, families in their dwellings,
housewives getting their rations at the local stores,

children at play, workers in shops, ecclesiastics in conference, passengers in buses were wiped out. Space outside the habitable planet was made to serve as an added dimension through which the "axis struck at the substance of this country, in a last bid to win, by changing the character of warfare.

pointed in the same direction as the

This change ~~was not fundamentally different from~~

the change, long accomplished by the "axis, in the character of conquest, which had given rise to the ~~policy of 'weakening the substance' of a conquered nation.~~ ^{opponent.}

Unvanquished democracy ~~had~~ ^{comprehend} lacked the organs, if not the information, to understand the full implications of the phrase, until the day when its armies came face to face with the dead and the surviving of the German concentration camps in which these policies were being put into practice.

The long-standing ~~testimonies~~ ^{testimony} of the victim peoples and persons, ~~information~~ ^{information} received of their calvary, could ~~was~~ not, in the nature of things, become part and parcel of a nation's life ~~which~~ ^{which} had succeeded in ~~maintaining~~ ^{maintaining} keeping its territory inviolate; ~~where death and mutilation were the~~ ^{one weapon} ~~where~~ death and mutilation by the hands of the

Nazis still retained that dignity which resides in blind fate; where~~by~~ the laws of the mind remained unchallenged, and fascism unfathomed.

When the British and the United States armies overran the German death camps this country found itself thrown into a convulsion of horror. There was no frame of reference, no yardstick with which to measure the magnitude of the ^{now} crimes/revealed in the direct and common experience of our armies, and responsible civilians. There exists no remembered or recorded fund of experience to include ^{features} ~~unfathomable~~ like ~~that~~ ^{making medicine} that of ~~machines~~ ^{or} into an instrument of murder, torture, and obscenity, ~~now~~ that of planning for pestilence, ~~now~~ or that of organising starvation, or that of erecting, over three years, elaborate plant for the extinction of millions of citizens of the conquered peoples. Horror that has this country in its grip is being made more tortuous by bewilderment. We have overcome an opponent ~~whom~~ whose works we can not understand.

Theirs were no crimes of passion. A number of children, women and men, ~~monthly~~ roughly equal to the number of all British and American forces in the European theatre of war

• four million - were put to death in the Oswiecim and
Majdanek plant. Their annihilation was planned and premedi-
tated, systematic, meticulous, and undoubtedly carried out at
lowest cost ^{per} ~~mf~~/man-death. We know next to nothing of the
procedure and
~~annih~~ logic, by which the order and mode of annihilation
were determined