

Verbundkatalog Kalliope

To the intellectuals in 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

To the intellectuals ^{and} of Germany.

It has come to pass, this monstrous thing has become reality. Unremittingly, we the anti-fascist German writers in exile, have warned against this extreme catastrophe for the past six and a half years; we have seen its advent- and yet in the innermost depths of our being, we never believed it possible, that it actually would occur. Up to the very last, ~~even to the very last moment,~~ we held the fervent hope: It will be avoided! The German people will not permit itself to be enticed into such an excess of madness. Somewhere - of that we were confident - there is a limit to its inconceivable fateful patience.

Has this limit been reached? - Even here, in America - the continent with the most perfect international news service - there is almost no news from Germany, excepting for such news items, as the Berlin Propaganda Ministry styles, or allows to pass. However, we have learned to read between the lines, to hear beyond the words of radio reports and even to draw our cogent conclusions of that which remains unsaid. *Besides, we have our information.* ~~Our ears have become attuned to the manifold arts of silence.~~ All seems very quiet in the Third Reich. Whatever expressions of protest and repugnance against the regime dare venture forth, can still be suppressed. We hear nothing- no song and no shouts of enthusiasm-, only the

thousandfold repeated lies of the governing rabble, ~~lies~~ each one more surpassingly wretched than the other, nauseously penetrant lies. Outside of that the German people is served little else; the German people has been cruelly deprived of truth as well as butter for its bread. It is fed on lies only. What an insult to an intellectually mature nation! It knows less about its own fate- about what is imminent or what it is about to pass through-, than any street gamin in Chicago or Buenos Aires. For a time it was *even* kept secret from the Germans that a state of war exists with France and Great Britain. Gradually it is all becoming known.

For some time now the word has been spread among the Germans that this war has been caused and shamelessly provoked by one group of persons: Hitler and his cohorts. No one else, no government and no nation has wanted this war. All the peoples of the earth look upon war as a horrible anachronism - and why should one assume that the Germans feel differently than the rest of civilized humanity? - The governments and the peoples of Europe hesitated to the very limit of that which is possible, and almost beyond those limits, to respond to the exorbitant provocations, the preposterous aggressiveness of the Nazis. Much, very much, was overlooked in the case of the Berlin robbers, for the sake of peace, and because one still had hopes of an understanding with them. Finally, however, there was a surfeit.

Never, in no war in the history of the world, was the question of guilt more clear, than in the European catastrophe that began in September 1939. Only one is to blame - and he will be annihilated.

As a matter of fact he already knows, that he has been judged. Whoever heard Hitler's Reichstags-speech on the occasion of the march of his troops into Poland, can have no doubt on that score; those were the voice and the accents of one damned. Only a man completely lost can emit such hollow, appalling sounds; only one condemned boasts and is afraid to such a degree and threatens and swaggers and turns himself into such a frightful bugbear. He is finished, in some very sinister manner he will go to the dogs ~~in the very near future~~: history has never intended it to be otherwise.

Is it unavoidable, however, that our nation perish with him, that it be destroyed, when this monster, whom all the world now sees through, finally, finally, goes to perdition? This war, forced upon ~~free~~ peace-loving nations by Hitler, has been ^{declared} ~~explained~~ to him only and to his regime, not to the German people. Not the nation of Germans is to be destroyed; only the tyrant who has misused and violated it. What a tremendous chance for the German people! May it take full advantage of it, and that soon, since it ^{certainly} is ~~after all~~ the last chance, and it may mean only a short reprieve. Today the

fighting democracies are still appealing to the common sense, the decency and intelligence of the Germans. What if they were to be disappointed? If the Germans were to take part in the criminal madness of this war to the bitter end - that is synonymous with absolute military defeat? Then, naturally, no just thinking person could any longer expect the Allies to evince any particular interest in the difference between the German people and the Nazi regime. For then the fury and grievous hatred of the free peoples would no longer be directed against Hitler alone - as is the case today -, but against our nation as a whole. After a long war, carried on by the German people with all the power at its command, a peace would be dictated to the crushed Reich, compared with which Versailles was harmless banter.

That must not happen. The Germans must not let this happen. For the decision rests with them and with no one else. Germany can be defeated by the foreign powers; it alone can free itself. The Germans, after all, are not stupid, and only a ^{ruining} minority is actually vicious, ~~to be sure,~~ ~~this particular category understands very well to gain prominence.~~ The masses, however, already have forebodings that it would be most advantageous and honorable to finally eliminate this obnoxious Hitler. However, can we expect a mass of people, who for years have heard no true or rational word, themselves to take the initiative? Such a people

must be advised, enlightened, alarmed. That is your mission, intellectuals! That is your concern and your duty.

In Germany the masses and the intellectuals have drawn apart for too long a time - partly the fault of the masses, but also partly that of the intellectuals. For several centuries these latter have considered themselves above engrossment in such trivial matters, such as politics. There must be an end to that now, for otherwise ~~there are~~ ^{exclusion} intellectuals will be done for simultaneously with the ordinary masses.

Both can be saved, the masses and the intellectuals, if at long last they get together and mutually make of themselves a strong, yes, an invincible entity. What is left of the ^{would-be} ~~former~~-Napoleon of Berchtesgaden, if the masses finally refuse obedience? But you, German intellectuals, must issue the summons and sound the alarm! For this reason we turn to you, colleagues in the Third Reich, in a solemn imploring outcry. We call to you poets and teachers, journalists and scientists, physicians and philosophers, musicians and jurists:

What are you waiting for? This is your hour; if you let it pass, everything is lost. You must find ways and means now of whispering the truth into the ears of the deceived German people, and a shout of indignation will be its answer.

Do not set forth the plea that you, yourselves

are in ignorance of all this! You are familiar with Hitler and his methods; therefore you also know on which side is the right in this war and on which the gross wrong.- Do not assert that you have no possibility of bringing home the truth, as you know it, to the deluded masses. /if you have the courage and imagination, you can impart all your own knowledge and recognition of the true state of affairs, to the people./ We succeed in reaching you with this call, and we are living in foreign countries. And you, colleagues in the Third Reich, is it possible that you cannot find a way of coming to an understanding with your co-citizens, neighbors, comrades?

It is by your articulate and clarifying words, words that arouse rebellion, that you must awaken to full consciousness, that which to the masses is still mournful presentiment. Why was the power of the word granted you? This is the great hour, in which to put it to the most immense use and effectiveness. You do not realize your own strength, German intellectuals! The "Fuehrer" foresees it: that is why he hates you. He abuses you by calling you "beasts of intelligence." Stand up to him! What are you waiting for?

Does not your common sense tell you, that Germany can only lose this war? Then do whatever is within your power to put an end to it! Everything depends upon its early termination. The welfare and future of your nation is at

stake. And if you should not have learned as yet to feel yourselves as Europeans or citizens of the world - your love for Germany, your patriotism obligated you to action against Hitler. Cannot you see that he is dragging you all into an abyss? Of course, since you have eyes, you see it. Therefore speak!

You have kept silent for a long while, have had to keep silent ...Now, however, it would be unpardonable, were you to keep to yourselves what you acknowledge to be the truth. Go among the people, as the preachers of early Christendom were wont to do! Tell your co-citizens: thrust Hitler out and we shall have a peace, of which we need not be ashamed. ~~/On the other hand, every day that we tolerate this demon among us, disgraces us most stinginglly/~~

We have told our friends all over the world of the "other Germany", and our statements have been given credence. Do you want to give us the lie, German intellectuals? It is you, who represent this other Germany, or ~~at least~~ should ~~represent~~ ^{represent} it by your words and deeds.

Great hopes are being reposed in you. Woe be unto you, if you disappoint them! However, if you prove true, if in these times you are courageous and wise, then you will be, jointly with those who ~~of necessity~~ must today be your adversaries, citizens of a better Europe, a Europe that at last has been delivered from the nightmare of infamous tyranny.

To the intellectuals ⁱⁿ of Germany.

It has come to pass, this monstrous thing has become reality. Unremittingly, we the anti-fascist German writers in exile, have warned against this extreme catastrophe for the past six and a half years; we have seen its advent- and yet in the innermost depths of our being, we never believed it possible, that it actually would occur. Up to the very last, ~~even to the very last moment~~, we held the fervent hope: It will be avoided! The German people will not permit itself to be enticed into such an excess of madness. Somewhere - of that we were confident - there is a limit to its inconceivable fateful patience.

Has this limit been reached? - Even here, in America - the continent with the most perfect international news service - there is almost no news from Germany, excepting for such news items, as the Berlin Propaganda Ministry styles, or allows to pass. However, we have learned to read between the lines, to hear beyond the words of radio reports and even to draw our cogent conclusions of that which remains unsaid. ~~Our ears have become attuned to the manifold arts of silence.~~ *Besides, we have our information.* All seems very quiet in the Third Reich. Whatever expressions of protest and repugnance against the regime dare venture forth, can still be suppressed. We hear nothing- no song and no shouts of enthusiasm-, only the

thousandfold repeated lies of the governing rabble, ~~lies~~
~~each one more surpassingly wanton than the other, nauseously~~
~~permeant lies.~~ Outside of that the German people is served
little else; the German people has been cruelly deprived
of truth as well as butter for its bread. It is fed on
lies only. What an insult to an intellectually mature
nation! It knows less about its own fate- about what is
imminent or what it is about to pass through-, than any
street gamin in Chicago or Buenos Aires. For a time it was *even*
kept secret from the Germans that a state of war exists
with France and Great Britain. ~~Gradually it is all becoming~~

*In the long run, however, it gradually is possible
to hide facts of this weight.*

For some time now the word has been spread among
the Germans that this war has been caused and shamelessly
provoked by one group of persons: Hitler and his cohorts.
No one else, no government and no nation has wanted this war.
All the peoples of the earth look upon war as a horrible
anachronism - and why should one assume that the Germans
feel differently than the rest of civilized humanity? -
The governments and the peoples of Europe hesitated to the
very limit of that which is possible, and almost beyond those
limits, to respond to the exorbitant provocations, the
preposterous aggressiveness of the Nazis. Much, very much,
was overlooked in the case of the Berlin robbers, for the
sake of peace, and because one still had hopes of an under-
standing with them. Finally, however, there was a surfeit.

Never, in no war in the history of the world, was the question of guilt more clear, than in the European catastrophe that began in September 1939. Only one is to blame - and he will be annihilated.

As a matter of fact he already knows, that he has been judged. Whoever heard Hitler's Reichstags-speech on the occasion of the march of his troops into Poland, can have no doubt on that score; those were the voice and the accents of one damned. Only a man completely lost can emit such hollow, appalling sounds; only one condemned boasts and is afraid to such a degree and threatens and swaggers and turns himself into such a frightful bugbear. He is finished, in some very sinister manner he will go to the dogs ~~in the very near future~~; history has never intended it to be otherwise.

Is it unavoidable, however, that our nation perish with him, that it be destroyed, when this monster, whom all the world now sees through, finally, finally, goes to perdition? This war, forced upon ~~peace~~ ^{declared} peace-loving nations by Hitler, has been ~~declared~~ to him only and to his regime, not to the German people. Not the nation of Germans is to be destroyed; only the tyrant who has misused and violated it. What a tremendous chance for the German people! May it take full advantage of it, and that soon, ^{certainly} since it is ~~after all~~ the last chance, and it may mean only a short reprieve. Today the

fighting democracies are still appealing to the common sense, the decency and intelligence of the Germans. What if they were to be disappointed? If the Germans were to take part in the criminal madness of this war to the bitter end - that is synonymous with absolute military defeat? Then, naturally, no just thinking person could any longer expect the Allies to evince any particular interest in the difference between the German people and the Nazi regime. For then the fury and grievous hatred of the free peoples would no longer be directed against Hitler alone - as is the case today -, but against our nation as a whole. After a long war, carried on by the German people with all the power at its command, a peace would be dictated to the crushed Reich, compared with which Versailles was harmless banter.

That must not happen. The Germans must not let this happen. For the decision rests with them and with no one else. Germany can be defeated by the foreign powers; it alone can free itself. The Germans, after all, are not stupid, and only a ^{ruling} minority is actually vicious, ~~be he sure,~~ ~~this particular category understands very well to gain prominence.~~ The masses, however, already have forebodings that it would be most advantageous and honorable to finally eliminate this obnoxious Hitler. However, can we expect a mass of people, who for years have heard no true or rational word, themselves to take the initiative? Such a people

must be advised, enlightened, alarmed. That is your mission, intellectuals! That is your concern and your duty.

In Germany the masses and the intellectuals have drawn apart for too long a time - partly the fault of the masses, but also partly that of the intellectuals. For several centuries these latter have considered themselves above engrossment in such trivial matters, such as politics. There must be an end to that now, for otherwise ^{exclusive} the intellectuals will be done for simultaneously with the ordinary masses.

Both can be saved, the masses and the intellectuals, if at long last they get together and mutually make of themselves a strong, yes, an invincible entity. ^{would-be-}What is left of the ~~Third~~ Napoleon of Berchtesgaden, if the masses finally refuse obedience? But you, German intellectuals, must issue the summons and sound the alarm! For this reason we turn to you, colleagues in the Third Reich, in a solemn imploring outcry. We call to you poets and teachers, journalists and scientists, physicians and philosophers, musicians and jurists:

What are you waiting for? This is your hour; if you let it pass, everything is lost. You must find ways and means now of whispering the truth into the ears of the deceived German people, and a shout of indignation will be its answer.

Do not set forth the plea that you, yourselves

are in ignorance of all this! You are familiar with Hitler and his methods; therefore you also know on which side is the right in this war and on which the gross wrong.- Do not assert that you have no possibility of bringing home the truth, as you know it, to the deluded masses. /If you have the courage and imagination, you can impart all your own knowledge and recognition of the true state of affairs, to the people. We succeed in reaching you with this call, and we are living in foreign countries. And you, colleagues in the Third Reich, is it possible that you cannot find a way of coming to an understanding with your co-citizens, neighbors, comrades?

It is by your articulate and clarifying words, words that arouse rebellion, that you must awaken to full consciousness, that which to the masses is still mournful presentiment. Why was the power of the word granted you? This is the great hour, in which to put it to the most immense use and effectiveness. You do not realize your own strength, German intellectuals! The "Fuehrer" foresees it: that is why he hates you. He abuses you by calling you "beasts of intelligence." Stand up to him! What are you waiting for?

Does not your common sense tell you, that Germany can only lose this war? Then do whatever is within your power to put an end to it! Everything depends upon its early termination. The welfare and future of your nation is at

stake. And if you should not have learned as yet to feel yourselves as Europeans or citizens of the world - your love for Germany, your patriotism obligated you to action against Hitler. Cannot you see that he is dragging you all into an abyss? Of course, since you have eyes, you see it. Therefore speak!

You have kept silent for a long while, have had to keep silent ... Now, however, it would be unpardonable, were you to keep to yourselves what you acknowledge to be the truth. Go among the people, as the preachers of early Christendom were wont to do! Tell your co-citizens: thrust Hitler out and we shall have a peace, of which we need not be ashamed. ~~/on the other hand, every day that we tolerate this demon among us, disgraces us most stingingly.~~

We have told our friends all over the world of the "other Germany", and our statements have been given credence. Do you want to give us the lie, German intellectuals? It is you, who represent this other Germany, or ~~at least~~ ^{represent} should ~~justify~~ it by your words and deeds.

Great hopes are being reposed in you. Woe be unto you, if you disappoint them! However, if you prove true, if in these times you are courageous and wise, then you will be, jointly with those who ~~if necessary~~ must today be your adversaries, citizens of a better Europe, a Europe that at last has been delivered from the nightmare of infamous tyranny.