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Thomas Mann im Visier des FBI

Von Thomas Sprecher

Die US-amerikanische Bundespolizei *Federal Bureau of Investigation* (FBI) hat Anfang 2000 95 Seiten mit Dokumenten veröffentlicht, die zeigen, dass Thomas Mann wegen seiner «affiliation with communist causes and associates» überwacht worden ist. Sie werden hier in Auswahl wiedergegeben.

Gestützt auf (oder gezwungen durch) den *Freedom of Information Act* (FOIA), öffnet das FBI im Internet seit einiger Zeit ein Stück weit seine legendäre Kartei (<http://foia.fbi.gov>). Unter *Famous Persons Listing* finden sich Dokumente zu Namen wie Josephine Baker, Bert Brecht, Albert Einstein, William Faulkner, Henry Ford, Jacqueline Kennedy, Joseph P. Kennedy, John Lennon, Marilyn Monroe, George Orwell, Pablo Picasso, Elvis Presley, Nelson Rockefeller und John Wayne. Seit dem 25. Februar 2000 gehört auch Thomas Mann dieser heterogen-illustren Gruppe an. Allerdings – neu ist das nunmehr Präsentierte nicht. Schon vor zehn Jahren hat Hans Rudolf Vaget Einblick in die Akte Thomas Mann erhalten, soweit sie nun publik geworden ist, und er hat darüber auch bereits alles Wesentliche gesagt.¹

Ein internes Memorandum vom 29.10.1947 spricht von «approximately 800 references in our files to this individuel». 200 davon seien bis 1941 zusammengetragen worden. Da Thomas Mann nach 1947 noch weit genauer beobachtet wurde, ist zu schliessen, dass nur ein Bruchteil der gesammelten Informationen freigegeben worden ist. Die interessantesten Passagen sind zudem teilweise oder komplett zensiert, insbesondere auch in den Briefen an J. Edgar Hoover, den mächtigen Chef des FBI; ein weiterer Grund, weshalb man für den Mut zur Veröffentlichung nur eine abgeschwächte Bewunderung aufbringt.

Die Dokumente imponieren regelmässig durch bürokratietypisch viele Nummern, Abkürzungen und Stempel. Inhaltlich sind sie allerdings oft wenig ergiebig. Aber auch wenn viele der in Amtss Englisch festgehaltenen «Informationen» und die gelegentlich mehrfach abgelegten «Dokumente», für sich genommen und aus heutiger Sicht, nichts als lächerlich sind, handelt es sich bei diesen Papieren um eine biographische Sammlung von unbestreitbarem Wert. Sie reflektiert den politisch-ideologischen Kontext, in dem die in Amerika tätigen Schriftsteller lebten und arbeiteten.

Thomas Mann emigrierte 1933 aus Hitler-Deutschland in die Schweiz und übersiedelte 1938 in die USA, wo er 1944 die Staatsbürgerschaft erhielt. Eine ihn betreffende Akte wurde offenbar schon im April 1937 angelegt, während seiner dritten USA-Reise, als er demnach noch gar nicht immigriert war; dass zwei Ein-

träge auf ein früheres Datum verweisen, findet je eine eigene Erklärung. Er war keineswegs der einzige Schriftsteller, über den das FBI eine Akte führte. Überwacht wurde praktisch die gesamte amerikanische Literatur – 1987 hat Natalie Robins eine Liste mit 134 Autorennamen veröffentlicht. Auch Erika und Klaus Mann behielt das FBI im Auge, und ermittelt wurde ferner gegen Thomas Manns amerikanischen Verleger Alfred A. Knopf. An dieser Stelle zu ergänzen ist: Natürlich wurden Thomas Manns Schritte auch aus Deutschland verfolgt, und eine Akte Thomas Mann gab es auch in der Schweiz.²

Am 6.9.1939 wurde dem FBI von Präsident Roosevelt die offizielle Verantwortung für die Überwachung und Bekämpfung von Spionage, Sabotage und «subversive Aktivitäten» zugesprochen. Das FBI hatte sich freilich schon Jahre zuvor die Kontrolle der Kommunisten und der inländischen Nazis zur Aufgabe gemacht. Auch die Sprecher des deutschen Exils wurden überwacht. Sie konnten die USA in kriegsrisikoreiche Auseinandersetzungen treiben und dadurch ihre Neutralität gefährden. Auch äusserten manche von ihnen Sympathien mit dem Kommunismus. Man erfand später für den prinzipiellen Verdacht, dem viele deutsche Emigranten und auch Thomas Mann ausgesetzt waren, die absurde Formel *premature antifascism* – vorzeitig, weil vor Beginn der Kriegshandlungen! Wer zu früh gegen Hitler gewesen war, wurde dadurch verdächtig. Das war eine irrwitzige Logik, die Logik aber doch war. Denn lange, lange galt der europäische Faschismus auch in den USA als Bollwerk gegen den verhassten Bolschewismus. Hoovers Kampf gegen kommunistische Unterwanderung war eine Aktualisierung des bis auf die Russische Revolution zurückgehenden epidemischen amerikanischen Antikommunismus. Kommunist war nicht (nur), wer der *Communist Party* angehörte, sondern wer sich durch eine kommunistische Gesinnung auswies – und die Entscheidung darüber, ob dies der Fall war, behielten das FBI und sein Direktor sich vor. Sie interessierten sich, über Drogenhändler und potentielle Revolutionäre hinaus, auch für Wissenschaftler und Schriftsteller, die meist *ex professo* als unsichere Kantonisten galten.

Der Versuch, aus Thomas Mann einen waschechten Kommunisten zu machen, gehört ins Gebiet des Absurden. Mit Vaget ist aber zu vermuten, dass der wahre Grund für die – so früh schon einsetzende – Überwachung nicht im Verdacht auf kommunistische Tendenzen lag, sondern in Thomas Manns überragender Stellung als «Führer» der Exilierten und Sammelpunkt der anti-hitlerischen Kräfte. Für das FBI mussten die Emigranten – bis zum Kriegseintritt der USA – insofern bedrohlich erscheinen, als mit ihnen die Gefahr verbunden war, dass die europäischen Verhältnisse auf Amerika übertragen würden. Das FBI verstand sich dergestalt als *cordon sanitaire*, welcher einer kommunistischen Weltverschwörung Einhalt gebieten wollte.

Hoover verfügte über ein landesweites Netz von Spitzeln (*confidential sources*) und Agenten (*special agent in charge*; SAC). So sind es auch in Thomas Manns Fall

verschiedene Informanten, die Material lieferten. Ihre Mitteilungen werden meist in der Passivform festgehalten: «Information was received in 1937 that Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Mann were speakers at a meeting for the German American League for Culture on April 21, 1937, and that about half of the audience were communists or Communist sympathizers.» Oder: «Information was received from a confidential informant that the Deutsches Volks Echo of July 27, 1939, carried an article which was an enthusiastic declaration by Thomas Mann on the Soviet Pavilion at the New York World's Fair and on Soviet Policy.»

Von seiner Überwachung ahnte Thomas Mann lange Jahre nichts. In den Tagebüchern sind öfters Besuche von «F.B.I. Gentlemen» (so am 18.8.1943) erwähnt. Sie galten meistens Recherchen, die mit dem Antrag auf Erwerb der amerikanischen Staatsbürgerschaft von Petenten zusammenhingen, die Thomas Mann als Referenz angegeben hatten. Dabei scheint ihm der Gedanke, selbst unter Kontrolle zu stehen, mindestens bis 1949 nicht gekommen zu sein. Ob man dies naiv nennen soll, ist Ansichtssache.

Ende 1941 stellte das FBI die wichtigsten Erkenntnisse zusammen, die man aus den über 200 bis dato gesammelten Vermerken über Thomas Mann gewonnen hatte. Es ergab dies eine sechsseitige Liste mit 44 einschlägigen «Verdachtsmomenten», deren Struktur fast immer dieselbe ist: Dem FBI wird von einem Spitzel zugetragen, dass Thomas Manns Name in einer bestimmten Publikation erscheint, welche beim FBI als «communistic» gilt, zum Beispiel im *Daily Worker*, der Zeitung der Kommunistischen Partei. Keinen Abbruch tat dieser törichte Regel «guilt by association» (Vaget), dass dieselbe Meldung etwa auch in der *New York Times* erschien.

Eine weitere Kategorie von Verdachtsmomenten stellten die Mitgliedschaften in bestimmten Organisationen dar («This name is to be found in connection with various organizations»), zum Beispiel bei der *American Guild for German Freedom* oder der *Federal Union, Inc.*, welche eine Kriegsallianz Amerika mit England propagierte. Und ferner wurde Thomas Manns Teilnahme an politischen Solidaritäts- oder Protestkundgebungen oder seine entsprechende Schirmherrschaft aktenkundig, etwa an der Massenveranstaltung *Save Czechoslovakia* am 25.9.1938 im Madison Square Garden. Es fällt auf, dass alle diese Einträge sich auf Auftritte in New York beschränken, wo offenbar stets ein FBI-informer zur Stelle war; Reden in anderen Landesteilen sind nicht vermerkt. Vor allem aber: Auch über den *Inhalt* der Reden finden sich mit einer Ausnahme keine Beanstandungen. Das literarische Werk wie auch die politischen Essays kamen fast gar nicht in Betracht. Das FBI hat offenbar nicht geistvoller, nicht professioneller gearbeitet als die Geheimdienste gewisser anderer Länder, die Schriftsteller observieren und fichieren. Das Gefälle an Intelligenz, Bildung und Wissen zwischen dem Beobachteten und seinen Beobachtern ist derart krass, dass ihre ahnungslosen Aufzeichnungen oft nicht mehr als einen schlechten Witz bedeuten. Die

Spitzel waren, anders gesagt, ihrem Auftrag bei weitem nicht gewachsen. Was ihr Kopf hergab, verbrauchten sie restlos beim Schnüffeln.

Von 1941 bis einige Zeit nach Kriegsende stimmten Thomas Manns politische Ziele und jene Amerikas überein. Aber auch für diese Jahre finden sich Belege in der Akte; die Überwachung wurde nicht eingestellt. Nach dem eingangs erwähnten Memorandum müssen bis 1947 volle 600 Einträge hinzugekommen sein. Veröffentlicht wurden indes lediglich Vermerke von relativ untergeordneten Anti-Nazi-Aktivitäten Thomas Manns vom Frühjahr 1943.

Mehrere Dokumente beziehen sich sodann auf den polnischen Schriftsteller Joseph Mischel, der für sich und seine Familie ein *Immigration Visa* beantragte und dabei Thomas Mann als *sponsor* angab. Sponsoren waren die unerlässlichen und oft entscheidenden Bürgen für die Berechtigung eines Anliegens. Dem Antrag wurde – auf dem Rechtsmittelweg und gegen den Willen von Hoover, der sich persönlich einschaltete – am 23.4.1942 entsprochen, ganz offensichtlich wegen Thomas Mann – «the sponsorship is of the highest type», heisst es in der Begründung des letztinstanzlichen *Visa Board of Appeals*. Dass sich dieses gegen den FBI-Report und für «the questionable statements of Thomas Mann» – so Hoover – aussprach, muss diesen tief verärgert haben.

Mit dem kalten Krieg änderte sich die Lage erneut. In den Jahren 1949 bis 1951 entfachte der bis heute nicht näher bekannte Journalist Eugene Tillinger eine Polemik gegen Thomas Mann. Er bezichtigte ihn des Mitläufertums und des politischen Amoralismus, wobei er in vier hysterischen Pamphleten Äusserungen Thomas Manns aus der Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs ins Feld führte. Diese Polemik ist in der Akte umfangreich belegt. Tillinger war aber ganz offenbar nicht im Auftrag des FBI tätig, sondern diente sich (und seine viele hundert Dokumente umfassende Privatsammlung über Thomas Mann) diesem aus nicht restlos geklärten Motiven an.

Es ist nicht zu verkennen, dass die Überwachung durch das FBI und Tillingers Kampagne Folgen zeitigten. So wurde ein geplanter Vortrag Thomas Manns an der Washingtoner *Library of Congress* im März 1950 ganz offenbar auf Druck des FBI abgesagt. Im Februar 1951 entschloss sich Thomas Mann unter dem Eindruck der Ereignisse, künftig keine Aufrufe mehr zu unterschreiben und keine politischen Organisationen mehr zu unterstützen. Man kann nicht sagen, dass er sich seines verfassungsmässig garantierten Rechts auf freie Meinungsäusserung freiwillig begab. Allerdings hielt er den «Verzicht» dann auch nicht ganz konsequent durch.

Andererseits wurde er vor dem Äussersten bewahrt, wurde in seiner Bewegungsfreiheit nicht eingeschränkt, man liess ihn nach Europa, nach Ostdeutschland reisen, und er wurde auch nicht vor das *House Committee on Un-American Activities* (HUAC) zitiert, den Ausschuss des Repräsentantenhauses zur Untersuchung unamerikanischer Umtriebe. Geschützt wurde Thomas Mann wohl – was ihm

schon in Deutschland und in der Schweiz Deckung geboten hatte – durch seine hohe internationale Reputation, und ferner nun auch durch seine einflussreichen Verbindungen in Washington. Thomas Mann hat sich als Märtyrer nie sehr gut geeignet; auch gegenüber dem FBI kann man ihn nicht eigentlich als Opfer sehen. Fast zur selben Zeit, als der Washingtoner Vortrag abgesagt wurde, wählte man ihn in die *American Academy of Arts and Letters* – eine durchaus aussergewöhnliche Auszeichnung. Aber er verstand die öffentliche Anfeindung als traurigen Höhepunkt einer Entwicklung, von der er masslos enttäuscht war und die ihn wesentlich mit dazu bestimmte, das Land 1952 zu verlassen.

Auch nach Abschluss des amerikanischen Exils, als er längst im fernen Erlenbach und Kilchberg lebte, wurde die Akte Thomas Mann weitergeführt. Aus dem *Liaison Office* in Heidelberg kamen Meldungen, und am 2.12.1954 ging aus Seattle eine fünfseitige Liste ein mit Angaben über knapp 70 Institutionen, mit denen Thomas Manns Name 1943-1954 auf irgendeine Weise in Verbindung gebracht worden war. Vermerkt wurden auch seine Reisen nach Ostdeutschland. Das späteste veröffentlichte Dokument datiert vom 26.5.1959, immer noch mit dem Vermerk *security matter*. Es gehört für den 1955 verstorbenen Autor wohl zu den bizarrsten Zeugnissen seines Nachlebens.

¹ Hans Rudolf Vaget: Vorzeitiger Antifaschismus und andere unamerikanische Umtriebe. Aus den geheimen Akten des FBI über Thomas Mann, in: Horizonte. Festschrift für Herbert Lehnert zum 65. Geburtstag, hrsg. v. Hannelore Mundt u.a., Tübingen: Max Niemeyer 1990, S. 173-204.

² Vgl. Thomas Sprecher: «Dieser Kerl soll schweigen oder hinaus». Neue Dokumente zu Thomas Manns Aufenthalt in der Schweiz 1933-1938, in: Schweizer Monatshefte, Jg. 75, H. 6, Juni 1995, S. 27-29.

RE: THOMAS MANN

I BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Thomas Mann was born in Germany in 1875. He has received honorary degrees from Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, Yale and other universities. In 1938 he was appointed lecturer at Princeton University. He won the Nobel prize for literature in 1929 and the Cardinal Newman Award in 1937. He is the author of numerous books and has contributed articles to many magazines.

II CONTACTS AND ACTIVITIES

Information was received in 1927 that Thomas Mann was a member of the "American Guild for German Cultural Freedom," New York City. It was also reported that the organization was a "racket" because of the fact that Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein and Sara E. Brander were connected with it.

The Bookniga Corporation placed an advertisement of Russian books and periodicals in the October 7, 1936, issue of the National Weeklies newspaper "Heimatbote", Winona, Minnesota, and among the authors' names appearing in the advertisement was that of Thomas Mann.

The Daily Worker dated April 20, 1937, stated that Thomas Mann, distinguished author, had completed a lecture in German on "Wagner and Nietzsche" at the New School for Social Research.

The Daily Worker dated April 25, 1937, carried an article on Thomas Mann, including his photograph, and stated that he had sailed the preceding day on the "Ile de France." It also stated that while in this country, Mann had spoken at the celebration of the University of Exile, a group of German refugees in New York.

In an advertisement of the "Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy", 381 4th Avenue, New York, New York, which appeared in the New York Times dated May 10, 1937, it stated that the Medical Bureau is affiliated to the "North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy" and listed Thomas Mann as a sponsor.

In Deutsches Volks Echo (which is reported to be a German language Communist Weekly) dated November 27, 1937, it was stated that there was a report in German on the American Artist Congress in New York December 17 (which informant said was held under Communist sponsorship although they were careful to hide that sponsorship.) The article stated that Erika Mann, daughter of the Nobel prize winner, Thomas Mann, read a letter from her father at the meeting.

Information was received in 1937 that Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Mann were speakers at a meeting for the German American League for Culture on April 21, 1937, and that about half of the audience were Communists or Communist sympathizers.

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14

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62-26223-906

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Archibald McLeish spoke on greetings to Thomas Mann as representative of the League of American Writers.

A folder put out by the New School for Social Research in 1937 advertised lectures by Thomas Mann, a German author.

Information was received in August, 1938, that a book "Coming Victory of Democracy" was a reproduction of the text of the lecture which was delivered by the German writer, Thomas Mann, during his lecture tour in the United States. It was said that the book was extremely Communist in its presentation of the case for Democracy and its continuance as a form of Government.

Information was received from a confidential source that at the mass meeting on September 25, 1938, of the "Save Czechoslovakia Committee," Thomas Mann was one of the speakers. It was stated that it was an enthusiastic meeting strongly radical, and particularly strongly pro-USSR. It was stated that references to Russia were greeted with wild applause as was an announcement of a contribution by a Communist organization. It was also said that the lapel emblems of the "Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion" and the "American Relief Ship for Spain" were very much in evidence. It was also reported that Communistic circulars were distributed at this meeting.

In the Washington Herald dated October 8, 1938, it was said that Thomas Mann, a noted German refugee, was named President of the German American Writers' Association, which had for its purpose "To fight against German propaganda of Nazis in the United States and to preserve true German culture."

An article, "Childhood Under the Nazis" by Thomas Mann, appeared in the magazine "Nation" for October 29, 1938.

In the Daily Worker dated November 21, 1938, it was stated that Thomas Mann, noted German author and exile, will deliver a series of four lectures at Princeton University.

In an article in the Daily Worker dated November 26, 1938, entitled "The World of the Screen," it was stated that Thomas Mann was on the Advisory Board of "Films for Democracy."

Information was received on December 13, 1938, that Thomas Mann, under date of October 25, 1938, welcomed the formation of the Alliance Book Corporation (Alliance Book Club.)

Information was received in February, 1939, that Thomas and Heinrich Mann were contributors to "Deutsches Volks Echo," 20 Vesey Street, New York, New York.

Information was received in 1939 from a confidential source that Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter and Free American in the issue of March 23, 1939, had an article in German entitled, "The Disgusting Thomas and his Chaste Joseph," which was a violent attack on Thomas Mann and his book, "Joseph in Egypt."

In the Daily Worker of March 23, 1939, it was stated that Thomas Mann, world renowned writer and recipient of the Nobel prize for literature, yesterday, declared his fervent hope that Saturday's "Stop Hitler Parade" will be a success.

In a circular distributed on March 24, 1939, entitled "Stop Hitler Parade" which was sponsored by "The American Council to Combat Nazi Invasion," 1133 Brooklyn, New York, New York, one of the sponsors was Thomas Mann.

A letterhead of the "Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign," 381 4th Avenue, New York, New York, dated April 19, 1939, lists Dr. Thomas Mann as a sponsor. This campaign was conducted under the auspices of the "Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy."

The Daily Worker dated May 6, 1939, stated that Julio Alvarez del Vayo, Loyalist Spain's wartime Foreign Minister, spoke at a banquet at the Astor Hotel on Thursday. The article stated that Thomas Mann, famous novelist and German exile, was one of the notables seated at the table with Julio Alvarez del Vayo.

In the Deutsches Volks Echo, which is reported to be a German language Communist controlled weekly, dated July 22, 1939, there was an article entitled, "Intrigues Around Thomas Mann" signed by Franz Dahlem (whom an editorial note describes as the authorized representative of the Communist Party of Germany.) The article is reported to be a strong plea for a united front and praises the Soviet Union.

Information was received from a confidential informant that the Deutsches Volks Echo of July 27, 1939, carried an article which was an enthusiastic declaration by Thomas Mann on the Soviet Pavilion at the New York World's Fair and on Soviet Policy.

A circular of the "Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign" under the auspices of the "Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy," dated May 11, 1939, listed Dr. Thomas Mann as a sponsor. Another circular of the same origin dated May 3, 1939, listed Dr. Thomas Mann as a speaker at a meeting to be held on May 4, 1939.

An article "We have Learned that Fascism is the Death of Culture Says the Author of 'The Magic Mountain'", by Thomas Mann, appeared in the Daily Record dated May 20, 1939.

The Daily Worker dated June 2, 1939, carried an article entitled, "Thomas Mann, Dr. Bones, Aragon Sheean, Brown and Langston Hughes among Speakers in Carnegie Hall." It was stated in the article that the speeches were made at the Third American Writers' Congress at Carnegie Hall in New York City.

A letterhead of the "Friends of Democracy, Incorporated," 103 Park Avenue, New York, New York, dated August 31, 1939, lists Thomas Mann as being on the National Executive Committee.

Information was received in December, 1939, that the Volksfront, reportedly a Communist controlled German American weekly, which is the official organ for the German American League for Culture, had an article dealing with the German American Writers' Association and the informant said that this organization was Communist controlled. The article stated that Gerhart Seeger and Julius Epstein, who are German Socialists, brought dissension into the ranks by their charges of Communist control and that the organization's honorary President, Thomas Mann, cleared them of the charges. The informant stated that the charges were justified and that Mann did not know what was going on.

An article entitled, "Catspaws of Communism," by Benjamin Stolberg appeared in the Washington Post, dated December 2, 1939. It was stated in the article that Thomas Mann was a member of the "Committee for Cultural Freedom."

Information was received in 1939 that Thomas Mann was a member of the "Deutsche-Amerikanischer Kultur Verband" (German American League for Culture) which was reported to be anti-Hitler.

Information was received in October, 1940, that among the persons mentioned in a pamphlet published by the "League of Fair Play," who were known to have Communistic tendencies, was Erika Mann's father, Thomas Mann.

Information was received in October, 1940, that Dr. Thomas Mann was an officer of the "American Committee for Christian Refugees of Germany, Incorporated."

Information was received in 1940 that one Kurt Reiss-Steinman said that Thomas Mann, the honorary President of the German American Writer's Association, was being constantly deceived and lied to by the Communist crowd because they realized how important it was to keep him as their "front" against attacks. It was said that they pay lip service to him and then go ahead and do as they please.

In a pamphlet entitled, "Democracy's Answer to Hitler," there is contained an address delivered by Thomas Mann at the "United States of the World Dinner" held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City on January 22, 1941, which was held under the auspices of the Federal Union Incorporated and the New York Committee of Federal Union.

The New York Telegram for June 5, 1941, stated that the Fourth American Writer's Congress was a Communist cultural front and had consistently followed the political deviations of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. It

stated that most of the distinguished writers that backed the Writer's Congress have resigned and lists among such distinguished writers Thomas Mann, formerly honorary President. The article stated that at the present its sponsors consist largely of party members, writers for the party publications such as the "New Masses" and active Communist Front supporters.

Information was received in March, 1941, that Thomas Mann was a member of the Executive Committee of the European P.E.N. Club in America. It was said that several European refugee writers, all openly or clandestinely identified with Communist activities, formed this organization and that it should not be confused with the legitimate American branch of the P.E.N. Club. The informant stated that Mann was not a Communist or a fellow traveler but has permitted himself to be "used" several times in recent years.

On a pamphlet describing "Decision," Thomas Mann is listed as being on the Board of Editorial Advisors. The "Decision" is a magazine which describes itself as "a review of free culture" and "a new type of world cultural review in a distinctly modern tempo. It is not subservient to any political groups or limited by any exclusive ideology."

On page 1996, Volume 3, of the reports of the Special Committee to investigate un-American activities, House of Representatives, it is reported, concerning the Western Writer's Congress Conference held at San Francisco, California, November 13, 1936, the following, "Among those sending greetings to the Congress were Tom Mooney, John Strachey and Thomas Mann, English Communists."

On page 2176, Volume 3, of the reports of the Special Committee to investigate un-American activities, House of Representatives, information is set out in the testimony of J. B. Mathews regarding the Communist origin of the League for Peace and Democracy that "another piece of evidence that bears on that is from the column of Mike Gold in the Daily Worker of January 17, 1934, on page 5 where Mr. Gold says, 'American League against War and Fascism, a united front organization, is affiliated with the International League, headed by Henri Barbusse, Thomas Mann, Roman Rolland, Maxim Gorky and other great spirits.'"

A pamphlet entitled, "Have No Fear" by Thomas Mann was published by the "Hollywood Committee of Fifty-Six," of which Melvin Douglas was Chairman.

A form letter of the "Soviet Russia of Today" on the Soviet Pavilion at the New York World's Fair states that a special edition containing photographs of the exhibit would contain an article by Thomas Mann.

On page 977, Volume 1, of the reports of the Special Committee to investigate un-American activities, House of Representatives, Congressman Starnes (in speaking of Heywood Broun) said, "I notice that he advocates in his column here that at the New York World's Fair that there should be a melting pot parade and that Thomas Mann should lead the parade. Thomas Mann is one of the world's most noted Communists, is he not?" Miss Margaret Kerr, who was testifying before this committee, answered, "He has that reputation."

Information was received that photographs of Thomas Mann and Heinrich Mann appeared on a circular entitled, "Wanted by the Gestapo," which was published by the "Emergency Rescue League."

Visa Division, Department of State

- 2 -

b7C
~~Info.~~
Info. re
Visa Applicant

[REDACTED]

E - 455

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

April 29, 1942

40-13197

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. [REDACTED]

RE: [REDACTED]

-Visa Applicants

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From time to time your attention has been called to certain decisions of the Visa Board of Appeals, consisting of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. Today I received the decision of the Board of Appeals in the visa application of [REDACTED] which, I think, is particularly flagrant, and one that warrants serious study by the Bureau.

The decision dated April 23, 1942, is attached to this memorandum.

You will note that the case was unanimously disapproved by the Primary Committee and by Review Committee C, on which the writer is a member. From the file, it will be seen that the Bureau, in a letter to the State Department dated October 25, 1941, set forth a lengthy report concerning the applicant, which seems to leave but one conclusion, namely that [REDACTED] is a Communist and possibly a German espionage agent. In addition, there was a derogatory report before the Committee concerning one of the sponsors, Thomas Mann. The transcript of [REDACTED] testimony before the Review Committee definitely identifies him as the individual mentioned in our report. These factors were brought out very clearly in the record as will be seen in the written opinion of Review Committee C.

It is needless to elaborate on the decision of the Board of Appeals, the pertinent portion of which is quoted as follows:

"The male applicant is a well-known author. He is sponsored by Thomas Mann and [REDACTED]. Both sponsors firmly declare the applicant's political beliefs are neither pro-Nazi nor pro-Communist but are strictly Democratic. Needless to say, the sponsorship is of the highest type. By reason of his abilities applicant may well be a very useful person in the United States. His opposition to Nazism is clear. He may thus be wisely and safely admitted into the United States. Since husband and wife are a family unit, and since there is no derogatory

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&
INDEXED

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MAY 12 1942
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Times Herald
1-31-43

File

March of Events

Tugwell Seeks Fountain of Youth—Military Mobilization of Colleges Causes Professorial Yowl—Thomas Mann Develops Mentally

By BENJAMIN DECASSERES

THOMAS MANN, the German novelist and essayist, now living in the United States, is out for the "AMERICANIZATION" of the world. He also gives our founding fathers a pretty little pat on the back. This is real progress, for it was not so long ago that Mr. Mann was advocating "social democracy," which is a form of respectable communism very far removed from "Americanization" and the ideas of the founding fathers.

But it is with joy that I record the milestones on the road to "Americanization" that Pilgrim Mann has taken. It was not so long ago that he was pro-Russian, stating that "it (Communist Russia) constitutes a reinforcement of democracy." Then he conceived his mission to be this:

"I am a man who regards it as his task in life to advance the German heritage." After that he went strong for Julius Caesar, describing this epileptic all-out butcher of European peoples as "the champion of civilization, the genius and patron of an imperious and exalted civilization." But all that is I hope, behind Thomas Mann now. He has come home to the founding fathers, who were no more like Caesar, Lenin, and "the German heritage" than Mr. Mann's style is like Bob Benchley's.

But, still, Mr. Mann cannot throw off entirely his Germanic-Soviet-Messianic pattern, for we United States Americans have no desire to "Americanize the world." We are going to have a colossal postwar job of re-Americanizing the U. S. A. We shall leave the task of "Americanizing the world" to the Tuxedo Coastmasters at Washington and their fellow nuptians.

[REDACTED]

b7c

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162-91157-A

MAR 18 1958

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 7 1031.7
Section 1031.7
5-2-43

HEADQUARTERS SOUTHERN DEFENSE COMMAND
Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

(G-2) 5940 German - 3020 Comm.

Fort Sam Houston, Texas
May 24, 1943

SUBJECT: Thomas ^①MANN.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION:

1. Subject, 1550 San Remos Drive, PACIFIC PALISADES, California, German author, continues his anti-Nazi activities in a letter he recently wrote to Carl VON LUSTIG-PREAN, SAO PAULO, Brazil, leader of the Brazilian Free German Movement, congratulating him upon the first anniversary of the recognition by Brazilian authorities of his movement, and thanking him for his activities fostering another and better Germany.

2. Subject, contributor of an article to "The Black Book on the Nazi Terror in Europe", published by El Libro Libre, has been listed as one of its co-workers by Freies Deutschland, anti-Nazi magazine published by German Communists in Mexico.

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MA, Mexico City
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RECORD NO. I. (N.Y.)

Page 5 of 5 pages.

FROM:

TO:

MR. THOMAS MANN
in AMERICA

LIST NONE

LIST NONE

Date of communication Feb. 10, 1945	Date of postmark Interception by Customs May 12, 1945	Kind of mail PLANE Air #7459	Mail No. 190	Register No. None	Serial No.
Language German	Previously censored by None	Station distribution D.R.		DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL COMMUNI- CATION	
Previous relevant records No Records	For interoffice use		H Return to Customs R-Rec'd C RS Sent with comment to—		
	To be photographed No	Photo No.			
Division (or section) Personal	File 904 U	Examiner 6364	D. A. C. 6375	Reviewer 7758	Examination date May 18-21 '45 New Reg date May 22/45

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5068

COMMENT

to AUSCHWITZ in Poland - the biggest and most notorious of Concentration Camps. Finally he and his family succeeded to escape to the Allies.

He graphically describes the maltreatment, tortures and mass-murders of Jews and prisoners of war (Ex. facts by now well known) and gives the following names of Nazis in the different Camps, prominent through sadism and general brutality and who in writers opinion must be held responsible.

* LANUS of DUESSELDORF - Chief Secretary of the Criminal Department-1935.

CAMP I - BOERGERMOOR

* SCHAEFER - S.A. STANDARTENFUEHRER - head of all the penal camps in BOERGERMOOR. He was also Commandant of the Concentration Camp ORANIENBURG by BERLIN.

* "SCHINDERHANNES" (nickname) - S.A. SCHARFUERER, son-in-law of SCHAEFER.

* MAUEL - LAGERFUEHRER

* POPPEL, * KAISER, * LOOS.

CONCENTRATION CAMP BUCHENWALDE

* KOCH (Ex: see note) SS. STANDARTENFUEHRER, Commander of camp. Later
of the THURIN Concentration Camp

25

TRAVELERS CASHSHIP

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P.I. (N.Y.)

Page 3 of 5 pages

FROM:

TO:

MR. THOMAS MANN
in AMERICA

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LIST: NONE

Date of communication Feb. 10, 1945	Date of postmark Interception by Customs May 12, 1945	Kind of mail T. Plans Afr #7459	Adm. No. 190	Register No. None	Serial No.
Language German	Previously censored by None	Station distribution D.R.		DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL COMMUNI- CATION	
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COMMENT

- *~~KREX~~ - SS. HAUPTSTURMFUEHRER - camp physician
- *~~LAURE~~ - "GESTAPO BANDIT" from AACHEN
- *~~SERNO~~ - from BERLIN
- *~~HINDELWANN~~ - called the "handsome KDE" SS. SCHARFUEHRER. Head of the camp for Polish prisoners of war who were literally starved to death.
- *~~ABELAHAM~~ - SS. OBERSCHEFFUEHRER
- *~~SOMMER~~ - SS. OBERSCHEFFUEHRER, one of the most feared of the UNTERFUEHRERS.
- *~~REISIG~~ - SS. OBERSCHEFFUEHRER
- *~~JAEHNISCH~~ - SS. OBERSCHEFFUEHRER
- *~~BLANK~~ - SS. HAUPTSCHEFFUEHRER - also from the Concentration Camp DACHAU.

The last 5 mentioned above belonged to the murder-commandos who murdered thousands of Russian officers - prisoners of war.

~~BLANK~~ also murdered the well-known former deputy of the K.P.D. (Ex. German Communist Party) ~~SCHOLEN~~, and Colonel ~~STAHL~~ - secretary of Prince STARHEMBERG (Ex. former Vice-Chancellor of Austria). Also ~~STAEDTLE~~ - the REIMUEHRER from Austria.

Murdered there were also ~~ERNST~~ ~~BAUMANN~~ - the former head of the K.P.D. together with ~~RUDOLF~~ ~~BECKHARD~~ (Ex. member of German Cabinet)

Concentration Camp RAVENSBURG

- *~~SAUREN~~ - SS. STURMBANNFUEHRER
Commander of the camp
- *~~BAER~~ - SS. OBERSTURMFUEHRER, SCHUTZHAFTLAGERFUEHRER

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O-S. S. Government Censorship Office

16-50220-0

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BYRON PRICE,
Director

TRAVELERS CENSORSHIP

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Page 1 of (N.Y.) pages

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TO:

MR. THOMAS MANN
in AMERICA

LIST: NONE

LIST: NONE

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COMMENT

The following were outstanding in their maltreatment and brutality in the mines of ~~"JAWISCHWITZ"~~ and ~~"HERMANN GOERING"~~.

"Director ~~HEINE~~ - Manager of the mines

Director ~~HEIL~~ - Assistant Manager

FAHRSTEIGER (miner) ~~FREIHOF~~

FAHRSTEIGER (miner) ~~KUEHNEMANN~~

STEIGER (miner) ~~SPEHLING~~

STEIGER (miner) ~~MUELLER~~

WILHELM ~~KOTEL~~ - SS. SCHARFUHRER,
LAGERFUHRER in JAWISCHWITZ - a former Polish subject
who has been for several years in the Polish Army."

Ex. Note: There is a

1. ~~KOCH, ERIC~~ - (Nazi Party Official) - Europe (SWI/290 and Ye 4601))

2. ~~KOCH, ERNST~~ (Sr.) - KAISER WILHELMST. 5. RAHLSTEDT
HAMBURG, GERMANY - GJ 4601

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BYRON PRICE, Dir.

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Enclosure No. NY TC 3439
Page 1 of 5 pages
P.I. (N.Y.)

FROM:

TO:

MR. THOMAS MANN
in AMERICA

LIST: NONE

LIST: NONE

Date of communication Feb. 10, 1945	Date of postmark Interception by Customs May 12, 1945	Kind of mail T.C. Mail No. Plane Air #7459 190	Register No. None	Serial
Language German	Previously censored by None	Station distribution D.R.	DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL COMMUN- CATION	
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Division (for section) Personal	Table 904 U	Examiner 6364	D. A. C. 67	Reviewer 7758
			Examination date May 18-21 '45	Typing date May 22/4

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COMMENT

*SCHNELL, MAX - A former jail-bird, in charge of work battalions. In good humor only on those days when able to bring back to the camp some of his workers as corpses. For his own security - he was later transferred to the Concentration Camp NEUVANKE near HAMBURG.

Concentration Camp AUSCHWITZ

DR FISCHER - physician of BERLIN - SS. STURMFUEHRER camp physician, also resident physician in AUSCHWITZ. Already listed by the Allies as war criminal.

*PALIG - SS. HAUPTSCHARFUHRER, all executions by shooting were carried out by him.

*REULE - SS. HAUPTSCHARFUHRER

*SCHWARTZ - SS. HAUPTSCHARFUHRER - Work Administrator for all the branch camps.

*WINDECK, JUPP - of M. GLADBACH - Camp senior a tool used by the SS. well-known for his maltreatment of prisoners. One day his power came to an end and he landed in the penal camp at BIRKENAU. He denounced many of his old comrades and was selected to punish them by flogging which he performed with fiendish pleasure.

*JENDERS - SS. Physician UNTERSTURMFUEHRER, introduced the mass murder of Jews by gas.

*GRABE - An Austrian from Vienna SS. OBERSTURMFUEHRER, head of the political section. Mainly responsible for the mentioned murders.

*AUMEIER - SS. HAUPTSCHARFUHRER, LAGERFUEHRER, a veritable sadist.

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BYRON FRI

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

16-5225-5

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098525

October 29, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR Mr. Nichols

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. C. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

Attached are 30 memoranda on the present members of the National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency. As you know these people have already been appointed and the names appear on the attached letterhead. Because of the fact that many of the names appearing on the list were very common this project involved the checking of hundreds and hundreds of files. In many cases the names were so common that it was impossible to determine whether or not the data in our files was identical with the individuals on the Conference panel. In a further effort to cut down the project we have checked the names right on the head. For example, in the case of Hubert H. Humphrey we have confined our checking to that entire name and not to Hubert Humphrey or other variations.

In the case of Thomas Mann it should be noted that there are approximately 800 references in our files to this individual. The only summary memorandum available included material up to 1941 which only covers about 200 of the references. It is suggested that you advise the Department of this fact and that we do not check the remaining 600 references unless they make a specific request.

No action since we have had no further word from Coblentz



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EX-46

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62-26225-106

19 JAN 31 1948

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THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES TO BE DESTROYED AFTER ACTION IS TAKEN AND NOT SENT TO FILES

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DATE 8/9/83 BY SP7 Mac/cp/ file

Halt fascists, war trends!—Thomas Mann

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 1 — Famed Novelist Thomas Mann today called for "a halt — NOW!" to fascism and war as exemplified in the case of the "Los Angeles 10" jailed for upholding civil liberties before the federal grand jury.

In a statement to the Rev. Stephen H. Fritchmann of the First Unitarian Church, Mann said:

"The case of the Los Angeles 10 is but one symptom — if a very outstanding and a particularly shocking one — of the incipient decline of legal security which we have of short



DR. THOMAS MANN

been witnessing in this country.

"Let no one think that any such injustice may be done with impunity. Whenever the constitutional rights of any one individual are being violated, albeit in the name of a 'state of emergency' alleged by the violators, it is the entire nation who suffers.

"Perhaps the American people are not yet fully aware of the appalling significance of occurrences such as this. They have never known, never experienced, fascism, and may not recognize its maturing features in what is happening here.

"As an American citizen of

German birth and one who has been through it all, I deem it not only my right, but my solemn duty to state:

"We . . . the America of the un-American activities committee; the America of the so-called loyalty checks; the America of Judge Pearson Hall's court . . . are well on our way toward the fascist police state and . . . hence . . . well on our way toward war.

"And war today would mean nothing short of our planet's atomic suicide.

"Let's call a halt while there is still time. Let's call a halt — NOW!"

100-388240-A
INDEXED - 112

EX-98

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43 DEC 16 1948

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People World for

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2
AN 1-1948
MAR 18 1958

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PLAIN TALK

DECEMBER, 1949

25 CENTS

A REPORT FROM WASHINGTON:

"We're For Government Economy, But . . ."

STANLEY HIGH

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DATE 8/9/83 BY SP1 Mac/atl

The Moral Eclipse of Thomas Mann

**UNTOLD STORY OF
HIS GERMAN TRIP**

Eugene Tillinger

**AN OPEN LETTER
TO THOMAS MANN**

Count H. von Einsiedel

Who'll Drop the Next Atom Bomb?

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

100-388240-X5

(Complete Contents Inside)

100-181858-65

The FCC vs. God

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

The Moral Eclipse of Thomas Mann

In his exposé, EUGENE TILLINGER shows Thomas Mann's record to be that of an erstwhile champion of the Kaiser's *Kultur*, of an early appeaser of Goebbels' "culture," and of an upholder of the Soviet school of amorality . . . from his magic mountain in Hollywood, Mann journeyed as an American citizen to the land of Goethe, raising in his wake that double standard of morality cultivated by the Nazis and Communists.

By EUGENE TILLINGER

FORGOTTEN skeletons in Thomas Mann's closet began to rattle in the wake of his recent appearances as America's Fellow-Traveler No. 1. Only a few are familiar with Thomas Mann's record during the apotheosis of Prussian militarism in World War I and the honeymoon of the Hitler-Goebbels *Kultur* in the early thirties. Mann's countless admirers have been shocked by his avowed championship of the dark forces threatening civilization.

When Thomas Mann openly endorsed Henry A. Wallace in November, 1948, calling the Progressive Party's Presidential candidate "America's most faithful son . . . [who] doesn't let himself be intimidated by those idiots who insult him," it surprised many genuine progressives.

The surprise increased on November 7, 1948, when Mann declared to the *German-American*, a New York Communist periodical: "Because I am not a capitalist, I don't have enough fear of the Russian threat to the capitalist-bourgeois way of life. But as far as I can see, Russia doesn't threaten the thing that matters most, peace."

Thomas Mann plumbed new depths when he became a sponsor of the Moscow-monitored Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held at

the Waldorf-Astoria in March, 1949. While other intellectuals of integrity withdrew their names upon learning the true nature of this Communist stratagem, he did not. On the contrary, he sent a message to the chairman of the Conference describing it as "one ray of hope and reason." In this message he expressed his regret over "the machinations aimed at discrediting" the Conference—a slap at the State Department which had revealed the bogus character of the affair—and denounced "the assiduous enemies of peace" who were opposed to the meeting—a brazen slap at some of our life-long fighters for peace.

The nadir was reached when Mann made a personal appearance at the Hollywood Arts, Sciences and Professions Council's conference on peace in Los Angeles in June, 1949. The *Daily Worker* reported that he "called the Marshall Plan a bribe to European countries to abandon socialism and fight Russia," and warned that the United States today is "dangerously close to a police state."

THOMAS MANN revealed himself fully during his trip to Germany last summer. In Frankfurt-am-Main in Western Germany, where he received

the Goethe Prize, Mann was asked at a press conference whether, in his opinion, there is a difference between nazism and communism. According to *Der Kurier* of July 26, he declared that there is a "moral difference" and added: "Communism has a certain relation to the ideal of humanity and the ideal of a better future for mankind. National Socialism resembled nihilism. It was diabolical." He told the press that he was not a Communist.

When it became known that the city of Weimar in the Soviet zone had invited Thomas Mann to receive its own Goethe Prize, the novelist was urged to reject the invitation. He refused. Newspapermen then asked him if, while in Weimar, he would request permission to visit the Soviet concentration camp of Buchenwald, only a few miles from the city. Mann answered that such a request would not be "according to the wishes of the group which invited me."

Disregarding innumerable requests from former inmates of Buchenwald, Mann went to Weimar and was immediately seized upon by the gigantic propaganda apparatus of the Soviets. He was acclaimed with panegyric glorification. Free German (Communist) youth groups surrounded his car and sang songs for him. Delegations of miners and other workers appeared in his hotel. Everything was done to flatter the 74-year-old novelist.

In presenting the prize to Mann in the Weimar National Theater, Johannes R. Becher, the boss of German Stalinist intellectuals, said: "We thank you, Thomas Mann, that you, the proven fighting humanist, when the time has come, have risen openly

against the fundamental folly of our era, as you defined anti-Bolshevism, and that you have recognized the need for a just and unbiased evaluation of the historical phenomenon of the great Soviet Union."

The French Stalinist weekly *L'Action* (August 11) stated: "Mann reminded those who wanted to push him into the camp of anti-Sovietism of a sentence he once had written: *Anti-Bolshevism is the fundamental folly of our era.*"

Mann was swept away by this wave of admiration. At the farewell banquet given in his honor in Weimar as happily reported by *Tägliche Rundschau*, official daily of the Soviet Military Authority:

"Thomas Mann declared that during his visit to Weimar, he had noticed a remarkable difference between the Western and Eastern zones of Germany. In Western Germany he had been honored. . . as, so to speak, the last representative of the bourgeois era, [but] here [in Eastern Germany] a new era had confronted him, a vision of the future. He was not greeted here as an old fogey, but as one who could help to build a new world. 'If that should happen, said Thomas Mann, 'if actually I could, through my work, contribute something to the New [Order], I would be most happy in this environment.'"

INTERESTINGLY, the quotations cited above were omitted from Thomas Mann's detailed article about his trip to Germany published in *The New York Times Magazine* of September 25. Though he referred to the National Theater presentation and to the

banquet, he did not mention either Becher's speech or his own statements on that occasion.

He did state in the *Times* article: "Among the Communist officials of the Russian zone I found many a figure in whose face I could read concentrated good-will and pure idealism" and commented as follows on a speech which Paul Wandel, President of the German Administration for Popular Education in Berlin, had made in Weimar:

"He spoke of agrarian reform, of 'democratic re-education', of the socialization of the means of production, of measures to promote intellectual life, measures aimed at a more intimate bond between the people and creative workers. . . . A wishful challenge was thrown out—the challenge of a Europe that could not be bought, that would no longer be the kept woman of the men with the big money-bag; a Europe that would regain her dignity, pursuing her course by her own will, her own laws and necessities. . . . Terror is detestable; but are not the conditions imposed by a creditor only a more 'humane' form thereof?"

When Mann wrote his *Times* article, he must have been in possession of an Open Letter that the Swedish journalist, Paul Olberg, had published in various European newspapers, and sent to him. This is clear because Mann's answer to Olberg is dated August 27. The letters are still being discussed all over Europe.

The Swedish journalist wrote: "With deep sorrow and bitter disappointment many of your admirers have learned that you have praised the high hu-

manitarian ideals of Goethe before the Russian officials in Weimar—before ruthless men who trample upon the human dignity of people who think differently than they do. [These men] will certainly not fail to make the greatest propaganda use of the undeserved honor which you have bestowed upon them. But for the martyrs of liberty and human rights in the concentration camps your acceptance of homage from their torturers came as a staggering moral blow."

And Olberg asked these questions: "Did Thomas Mann change overnight? Does he worship today what he denounced yesterday? How can he, who is admired everywhere as representative and defender of humanity, approve and justify the same methods of degrading humanity which he rightly condemned in the case of the Nazis, the same methods which are now being used just as arbitrarily and ruthlessly by the Russian dictators? Do these men in power, who have violated all the principles of the Russian Revolution, deserve the respect, not to say the admiration, that Thomas Mann pays them, in bowing before them and accepting honors from their hands?"

MANN'S answer has stirred up a wave of anger among all freedom-loving intellectuals in Europe. He wrote:

"You seem not to know that the political regime in Thuringia is not a pure one-party system. Non-Communists are in the government, even more are in the city council. For example, the Lord Mayor of Weimar, Buchterkirchen, who invited me is a

PLAIN TALK

Christian Democrat. . . . Badly received by the Russian press were my remarks about the fact that in the huge Russian land, autocracy and revolution have fought each other relentlessly for many centuries, but that they now have come together and that we face an autocratic revolution which uses the same sinister methods as the police state of the Czars, though for other purposes."

Then Mann went on: "Nevertheless, the fact that I reserve the right to make a distinction between the attitude of communism toward the idea of humanity, and the absolute baseness of fascism; that I refuse to participate in the hysteria of persecuting Communists and in warmongering; and that I speak for peace in a world whose future can no longer be imagined without Communist elements—this alone is sufficient to gain for me a certain confidence in the sphere of that social religion, which I have not sought [and] which, however, I will never be able to consider as a bad sign for my intellectual and moral health."

That the author's judgment of a culture is determined by whether it heaps unadulterated flattery on him, or tempers its praise with some criticism, seems apparent from his own statement:

"You speak a great deal of political freedom and civil rights, which are granted the people in the Western zone of Germany. . . . The authoritarian people's state has its horrible aspects. The benefit it brings is that stupidity and insolence at last have been forced to keep their mouths shut. In the Eastern zone I did not see mud-

slinging letters and insulting articles, as happened in the West. . . . Do I owe that only to the fear of Buchenwald—or to the education of the people, which, more successfully than that in the West, fosters respect for creative achievements like mine? . . . As far back as 1945, lectures were held in Weimar about my books, in particular about my Goethe novel, and prominent Communist literary historians and critics devoted important essays to my works. I am no fellow-traveler, but it seems that I have intelligent Communists as my fellow-travelers. . . . Violence is, of course, a bad thing, and the concentration camps are a terrible means of propaganda. But attempts to realize socialism without violence, as was tried by Benes, met with no favor, and all manner of opposition is being raised to the British experiment. . . ."

THE STATEMENTS Thomas Mann has made since his return to America are equally fantastic. The September, 1949, issue of the *German-American* quotes him as saying that "all the Nazis have been eliminated from office in the Soviet zone." Has he never heard of all the SS leaders and other Nazi war criminals who are now in key positions in the zone?

Yet the novelist told the press in Berkeley, California, that the Western powers favor Fascists in order to use them as shock troops against communism. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* of October 14 reported that these statements of Mann's were not only strongly denied by Western Allied Occupation authorities, but were compared in content and style with the

MORAL ECLIPSE OF THOMAS MANN

attacks being made daily from behind the Iron Curtain against the United States, Britain and France.

HOW FAR has the Thomas Mann of our day traveled since 1915, the Kaiser's heyday? In his essay *Friedrich und die Grosse Koalition* he wrote at that time:

War! It is purification, liberation, an enormous hope. . . . The victory of Germany will be a paradox, nay, a wonder: a victory of the soul over numbers. The German soul is opposed to the pacifist ideal of civilization, for is not peace the element of civil corruption?

And in the same book, commenting on the destruction of the Rheims Cathedral by German bombs, Mann addressed himself to the French:

Civilization! But first of all, Messieurs, the Rheims Cathedral has absolutely nothing to do with civilization. It is a monument of Christian culture, a flower of fanaticism and superstition. . . .

In his *Thoughts in Wartime* (1915) he waxed even more lyrical:

How the hearts of the poets stood in flames, for now it is war! . . . nothing better, more beautiful, happier, could happen to them in the whole world. . . .

All of Germany's virtue and splendor come out first in war. Peace does not always become it. . . .

The German soul is too deep to see in civilization a high idea or even the highest. . . . it is opposed to the pacifist idea of civilization, for is not peace the element of civil corruption? . . .

Our moral code is psychically linked with our army spirit. While other cultures show the tendency to assume completely the shape of the civilian code of manners, German militarism is in reality the form and expression of German morality. . . .

They want to make us happy. They want to bring to us the blessings of

demilitarization and democratization, and as we resist, they want to make human beings out of us by force. How far this is hypocrisy or coarse stupidity, nobody can tell. . . .

In the fall of 1933 when Thomas Mann's name was identified with a magazine, *Die Sammlung*, launched in Amsterdam by his son Klaus with the collaboration of such authors as André Gide and Aldous Huxley, the Goebbels Propaganda Ministry threatened to put Mann's books on the *verboten* list. Whereupon the future Nobel Prize winner wired from his abode in Switzerland to Goebbels' *Reichsstelle* claiming that he had been misled about the character of the publication. In a subsequent letter, which appeared in the October 14, 1933, issue of the official organ of the Nazi Book Trade, he wrote:

Would you carry out my declaration to its logical end by eliminating my name from the (proscribed) list—since that was the purpose of it.

Thomas Mann's books continued to be sold freely for several years. And in 1934 he addressed a letter to Hitler's Minister of the Interior asking for an extension of his German passport. To support his application, he dropped a few pearls such as his recollection of how he had "started the fight against the democratization of the German spirit" and his view, "the [Weimar] Republic for which I had not longed appeared to me a handiwork of destiny." As for Hitler's rise to power, Mann was most eloquent:

Since history has spoken, I have kept silent. This is my decision—to live in complete seclusion devoted to my personal tasks.

But who could resist the beckoning

PLAIN TALK

"one ray of hope and reason" shining from the domes of the Kremlin? No wonder Thomas Mann gave up the seclusion of his ivory tower in Hollywood and, wrapped in the Stars and

Stripes, went forth to drink at the fountains of his youth. At least the Thomas Mann of 1915—and of 1934—is morally consistent with the Thomas Mann of 1949.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Los Angeles

DATE: May 25, 1950

SUBJECT: THOMAS MANN
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Classified by SP1 AGJ
Declassify on: OADR 8/21/89

CONFIDENTIAL

The following is being furnished for your information:

[REDACTED] Los Angeles, California, whose name should be protected, advised this office on 5/9/50 that he had been in conversation with Mrs. THOMAS MANN relative to the HEINRICH LUDWIG MANN estate. In this connection [REDACTED] learned that Mr. and Mrs. THOMAS MANN were planning in the near future to travel to Germany. The information did not appear especially significant until viewed in light of the following [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

100-18229

RECORDED - 53

INDEXED - 53

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b1

(c) [REDACTED] (c)
It is noted that [REDACTED] is very probably [REDACTED] who is known to have contacted HEINRICH LUDWIG MANN on 9/14/49 at MANN's apartment, 2145 Montana Avenue, Santa Monica, California. (c)

The inference is being entertained that THOMAS and KATIA MANN were or still are expecting funds from [REDACTED] to finance their return to the Soviet controlled Eastern Sector of Germany. (c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN EMBASSY
PARIS 8; FRANCE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 10, 1950

To: Director, FBI
From: Legal Attache, Paris
Subject: THOMAS PAUL MANN; *40-52958 ND*
KATHARINA MANN
SECURITY MATTER - C

The Military Permit Officer has requested any information of a security interest in the Bureau files concerning: (C)

MANN, Thomas, Paul, American citizen, born in Germany June 6, 1875, holder of U. S. passport # 36078.

MANN, Katharina, American citizen, born in Germany July 24, 1883, holder of U. S. passport # 36123.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *4/11/83* BY *SP7 mac/jtt*

Internal Security - General

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Declassify on: OADR

8/9/83

RECORDED - 27

100-25266
AUG 10 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
AIR POUCH

Date: August 21, 1950

To: Legal Attache,
Paris, France

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director - Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: THOMAS PAUL MANN
KATHARINA MANN
SECURITY MATTER - C

100-0-25266

RECORDED - 27 Reference is made to your letter dated August 10, 1950.

INDEXED - 27 Our records fail to reflect that the Bureau is in possession
of any information of a security nature concerning captioned individuals. (S)(u)

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DATE 8/11/83 BY SP7 mac/jgt

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Declassify on OADR
8/11/83
FOIPA 237 446

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DECLASSIFIED BY SP7 mac/jgt
ON 8/11/83

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

cc: Foreign Service Desk (Detached)

BY SP7 MSGR
AUG 22 1950
COMM - FBI
6 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

10

MANN AGAIN DENIES HE IS A COMMUNIST

**Says Article by an Accuser
Appeared After He Quit
Peace Crusade Group**

Thomas Mann denied yesterday he is or ever has been a Communist. He also said he is not, and never could be, a fellow-traveler, "as long as the destination is totalitarianism."

The German-born novelist, now an American citizen, made his denial in a statement given to Aufbau, a German-American weekly published here.

Mr. Mann specifically denied charges of Communist front activities contained in an article by Eugene Tillinger published in The Freeman, a weekly magazine, on March 26.

"Mr. Tillinger did not know on March 26," Mr. Mann wrote, "that on Feb. 12 I had publicly resigned from the American Peace Crusade, to which I belonged for a few days. Thus one of my most incriminating 'Communist front activities' consists in holding on to a group which lists a great many good and liberal Americans among its members in addition to a few allegedly Communist sponsors."

The novelist protested against being charged by Mr. Tillinger with two instances of untruthfulness in previous denials of specific charges of front activities.

In the first instance, Mr. Mann yesterday repeated previous denials that he had signed his name to last year's Stockholm Peace Appeal, despite The Freeman's publication of a photostatic reproduction of a French version of the document with his signature. The Stockholm Peace Appeal has been denounced by the State Department as a Communist propaganda trick.

In the second instance, he repeated denials of having taken part in the Soviet-sponsored Second Congress for World Peace "in any way or sense whatever." Referring to a clipping from "L'Humanite," French Communist publication, which quoted parts of a private letter from Mr. Mann to Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie, French Communist, and which was mentioned by Mr. Tillinger, Mr. Mann said these excerpts were "misleading" and designed mere to "soften" his refusal to take part.

"As for this country," Mr. Mann added, "to become a citizen of which has made me proud and happy, the hysterical, irrational and blind hatred of Communism is far more harmful to it than American Communism itself. The persecution mania and folly in which it seems to have lapsed and which apparently is engulfing it, can never do any good; on the contrary, it will lead to disaster unless the United States changes its mental attitude at once."

Says He Possesses Originals

Replying to Mr. Mann's statement, Mr. Tillinger said:

"Every word I wrote came from original sources in interviews and statements by Thomas Mann in European papers and I have the originals in my possession. The photostatic reproduction of his signature was taken from an illustrated article published by The Daily Worker, the New York Communist publication, on May 30, 1950. This was also published in the French Communist press, but Mr. Mann did not deny it at that time."

Miss Suzanne La Follette, managing editor of The Freeman, said the magazine was backing up Mr. Tillinger and was satisfied both with his material and the way he had used it.

"Mr. Tillinger did not say Mr. Mann was a Communist or that he took part in the Second Congress for World Peace," she added. "He used only part of the available material on front activities."

"I have before me a clipping from 'Les Lettres Francaises' of May 18, 1950, showing that when he was asked why he had signed the Stockholm Peace Appeal, Mr. Mann replied: 'I signed the Stockholm Appeal because I support every movement that has as its aim to aid the peace.'"

100-388240-A

NOT RECORDED

APR 28 1951

File: re: Thomas Mann

62 MAY 5 1951

NEW YORK TIMES

4-11-51

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/9/83 BY SP7 JMM/gu

THOMAS MANN'S LEFT HAND

By EUGENE TILLINGER

THE RANKS of the intellectuals who sign every Communist-inspired manifesto and join every Moscow propaganda front are growing sparser. But Thomas Mann is still in the vanguard of this curious parade. With amazing consistency he continues to back every Stalinist organization that carries the word "peace" in its title.

The eminent German novelist—now an American citizen and a resident of California—sponsored the Win the Peace group in 1946. In 1948 he was chairman of the Conference for Peace. In 1949 he not only endorsed the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held at the Waldorf-Astoria, but denounced "the machinations aimed at discrediting" this party-line assembly. Now Thomas Mann is backing the newly formed American Peace Crusade, along with Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, Rockwell Kent, Elmer Benson, National Chairman of the Progressive Party, and such leaders of Communist-dominated unions as Ben Gold, Abram Flaxer and Hugh Bryson. The initial statement of this group calls for the withdrawal of American troops from Korea, an end to war in the Far East and to the armaments race, and "recognition of the right of the Chinese People's Republic to representation in the UN."

Thus the author of "The Magic Mountain," who has emphasized that "Anti-Bolshevism is the fundamental folly of our time," further deepens his own moral eclipse. The American press has paid little attention to certain pronouncements made by Thomas Mann in lectures and interviews, mostly abroad. But the Moscow propaganda machine has played them up to the full. The least that can be said of them is that they were just what the Kremlin publicists were looking for.

A few months ago it appeared that Thomas Mann, in the seclusion of his ivory tower in Santa Monica, felt a bit uneasy about some of his pro-Soviet statements. His denial that he had ever signed the so-called Stockholm Peace Appeal was carried in a United Press dispatch from Los Angeles, dated October 31, 1950. He declared: "I have never signed the Stockholm Peace Appeal, even

if this is erroneously so often stated." And he added: "I heard about this assertion only comparatively late, because I traveled around the whole summer. Then, when I learned about it, I didn't deny it because it was too late and because I have always been for peace."

Dr. Mann's reference to the "assertion" that he had signed the Stockholm Appeal is vague, but this writer can refresh his memory. On May 18, 1950, the French weekly *Les Lettres Françaises* published an exclusive interview with Thomas Mann on its front page, under a screaming three-column headline. *Les Lettres Françaises* is not an obscure literary periodical; it is the French Communist Party's official organ in the cultural field. Its publisher, Claude Morgan, who interviewed Dr. Mann, is one of the foremost French Stalinist intellectuals. In granting this exclusive interview Thomas Mann must have been well aware with whom he was speaking—the more so because Morgan began by bringing him the greetings of the World Committee of the Partisans of Peace.

"Why did you sign the Stockholm Appeal?" Morgan asked.

Answered Thomas Mann: "I signed the Stockholm Appeal because I support every movement whose goal is to further peace. In an atomic war, I am convinced, there will be neither victor nor loser, but the world will suffer general destruction.

For that reason I have signed. I think I have [thus] acted in the interest of my new fatherland, America. . . ."

Another interview, in the French Communist-front periodical *Droit et Liberté* (May 25, 1950), quotes Thomas Mann as saying: "We must save the peace; this today is the most important thing. Therefore the movement for peace that started in Stockholm should be heartily welcomed." This article emphasizes the fact that "the night before this interview was granted, Thomas Mann had signed the Stockholm Appeal."

The entire Communist press of Europe, inside and outside the Iron Curtain, featured excerpts from Dr. Mann's interview with Claude Morgan. It seems, therefore, rather strange

APPEL DU COMITE MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX POUR L'INTERDICTION ABSOLUE DE L'ARME ATOMIQUE

Nous exigeons l'interdiction absolue de l'arme atomique, sous d'appareils et d'interdiction en faveur des populations. Nous exigeons l'établissement d'un rigoureux contrôle international pour assurer l'application de cette mesure d'interdiction. Nous considérons que le gouvernement qui le premier utilisera contre d'autres quel que soit l'arme atomique commettra un crime contre l'humanité et sera à torter comme criminel de guerre. Nous appelons tous les hommes de bonne volonté dans le monde à signer cet appel.

Adresser : _____
L'attachant de : _____

Nom des membres du foyer : _____

Signature : _____

Reçu : _____

MARCH 26, 1951

397

No Communist I, says the noted author, as he sings the praises

of an East German Stalinist literary hack

THOMAS MANN AND THE COMMISSAR

By Eugene Tillinger

WHEN I recently exposed Thomas Mann as an upholder of Soviet amorality, calling attention to his long record as a signer of pro-Communist appeals and supporter of pro-Communist causes, the novelist, infuriated, claimed that he had become the innocent victim of a "witch hunt." Trying to hide behind excuses and naive "denials," Thomas Mann smeared me in the best tradition of those who, unable to refute accusations factually, prefer to question their opponents' motives by means of innuendo.

The apologists for Thomas Mann naturally went all-out in the master's defense, attacking what they call the "undignified way of dragging men of literature into the political arena and inquiring into their political views." The main line of defense was that no one has the right to criticize the political views of the novelist; that these ought to be considered strictly private. In short, Thomas Mann is sacrosanct. True, he states his views in exclusive interviews with well-known Communist party newspapers; true, he makes public

speeches in the Soviet zone of Germany; true, he endorses Soviet-sponsored "peace" conferences—but all this is strictly his "private" concern. Besides, the argument runs, he is not a Communist.

But I wonder what Thomas Mann's apologists in this country and in Europe will say when they read the almost unbelievable eulogy written by Herr Mann to Stalin's Number One cultural boss in Germany, as published in an East German Communist newspaper!

On May 22, 1951, Johannes R. Becher, President of the Red Cultural League for German Democratic Renewal, chairman of innumerable Stalinist fronts, and one of the most outspoken Kremlin mouthpieces in Germany, celebrated his sixtieth birthday. This world-shaking event gave Thomas Mann an opportunity to address the following letter to Becher:

"This praise will prove inadequate enough in any individual case—particularly in my case—and the contributor has to depend



MANN: 'THE DAY WILL COME'



BECHER: 'LOOK...EAST FOR PROSPERITY'

EUGENE TILLINGER, former NANA reporter in Europe, has written for This Week, Liberty and other magazines.

The New Leader

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 1/11/55

FROM : *Handwritten: BMD*
Liaison Representative
Heidelberg, Germany (100-0-473)

VIA ARMY COURIER

SUBJECT: *Handwritten: 1A*
THOMAS MANN
IS - C*Handwritten: Special PB CF*

According to G-2, Headquarters, USAREUR, the East German radio, on January 4, 1955 announced that THOMAS MANN would attend the Schiller Festival on May 9, 1955. This festival will be held in Eastern Germany, probably at Weimar.]

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G.I.R.-9

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DATE 8/9/83 BY SP7TJ/ac/gv

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JAN 11 1955
FBI - NEW YORK

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100-388240-5

JAN 24 1955

EX-121

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RECEIVED
JAN 28 1955

50 JAN 28 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 3/28/55

FROM : *zw*

Liaison Representative
Heidelberg, Germany (100-0-473)

VIA ARMY COURIER

SUBJECT:

THOMAS MANN
IS - C

Remylet 1/11/55.

100-388240-5

The 3/23/55 issue of the "Berliner Zeitung" (East Berlin newspaper) carried an article on the coming celebration of the 150th anniversary of the death of the German writer SCHILLER to be held in Weimar, Germany (Soviet Zone) beginning 5/8/55. It was announced therein that THOMAS MANN would take part in the ceremonies and would give a speech at 11:00 a.m. 5/14/55. He will be introduced by JOHANNES BECHER, East Germany Minister of Culture.

b7c (4) :BMc

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Declassify on: OADR
8/9/83

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