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Theresienstadt Used to Impress Visitors, but Horrors Were Typical.

Mann, Klaus

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OPINION

Loopholes Dangerous to Civil Liberty

WASHINGTON.

Harry Bridges is free, but the Bridges decision leaves basic liberties in jeopardy.

Ostensibly, the liberties endangered by the weak and halting character of the Supreme Court decision are those of three and a half million resident aliens in the United States.

Actually, as experience after the last war vividly demonstrated, it is impossible to disentangle the liberties of aliens from those of citizens.

The Founding Fathers, themselves men of the world in the 18th century tradition, free from racial or nationalist prejudice, fresh from a revolution in which the alien Tom Paine had played a leading role, made no distinction between alien and citizen in framing the basic safeguards and liberties of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The dragnet raids on aliens in the "deportations delirium" and the anti-red hysteria which followed the last war showed that violations of the rights of aliens ultimately and inevitably led to violations of the rights of citizens.

Scores of citizens were among the supposed aliens arrested and held incommunicado awaiting deportation proceedings.

Deportation raids proved effective weapons in breaking strikes, weakening unions, and curtailing the exercise of fundamental liberties of speech and press.

The purpose of the widespread raids and hysteria was to cut down the strength gained by the labor movement during the first world war.

Undoubtedly we may see similar attempts made after this war. There is good reason to suspect that much of the anti-Soviet feeling the Hearst, Patterson, McCormick, and Scripps-Howard press are trying to work up is aimed not so much at the USSR as to create an atmosphere in which trade unionism and civil liberty may be attacked at home.

Past experience and future possibilities make it important to explore the weaknesses of the Bridges decision and to take steps in Congress, if possible, to correct them.

The weaknesses of the decision arise from the failure of the majority—Douglas, Black, Reed, and Rutledge—to reject the dangerous Constitutional doctrines advanced by the Dept. of Justice and accepted by the minority—Chief Justice Stone and Justices Roberts and Frankfurter.

The Dept. of Justice denied and the minority agreed that the basic Constitutional guarantees do not apply to deportation, that Congress is not subject to the Bill of Rights in enacting deportation law.

Justice Murphy, who joined with the majority in the freeing of Bridges, but wrote a separate and fiercely eloquent opinion of his own, summarized the consequences of the Stone-Roberts-Frankfurter point of view.

"From this premise it follows," Justice Murphy objected, "that Congress may constitutionally deport aliens for whatever reason it may choose. . . . The color of their skin, their racial background or their religious faith may conceivably be used as the basis for their banishment. An alien who merely writes for others a statement critical of the Government,



And Finally the Dream Is Coming True —

or who subscribes to an unpopular political or social philosophy, or who affiliates with a labor union, or who distributes religious handbills on the street corner, may be subjected to the legislative whim of deportation."

The minority also invited oppression of aliens by arguing that the courts were without power to reverse a deportation order if there was "more than a scintilla" of evidence to support the order.

In doing so, the Chief Justice and Justices Roberts and Frankfurter again asserted the conventional legal doctrine that deportation is a mere civil process and therefore unprotected by the safeguards which surround a criminal trial.

"It is no answer," Justice Murphy rightly argued in reply, "that a deportation proceeding is technically non-criminal in nature and that a deportable alien is not adjudged guilty of a crime." Those are over-subtle niceties that shed their significance when we are concerned with safeguarding the ideals of the Bill of Rights. The impact of deportation upon the life of an alien is often as great if not greater than the imposition of a criminal sentence. A deported alien may lose his family, his friends, and his livelihood forever. Return to his native land may result in poverty, persecution, and even death. There is thus no justifiable reason for discarding the democratic and humane tenets of our legal system and descending to the practices of despotism in dealing with deportation."

It was disappointing to find our Chief Justice, whose record is a liberal one, and Justice Frankfurter taking the narrow view of alien rights in deportation proceedings. Justice Frankfurter ex-

hibited a different spirit after the last war, when he went into the Federal District Court in Boston as *amicus curiae* to help protect the rights of aliens seized in deportation raids.

It also was disappointing that Justice Douglas and those who joined with him in the Supreme Court decision decided the Bridges case on grounds almost as narrow and legalistic as the minority, and did not feel it necessary "to consider the larger Constitutional questions" raised by the case.

We applaud Justice Murphy for the deeply moving concurring opinion, in which he insisted on discussing these broader issues.

We suggest that organizations concerned with civil liberties and with protection of aliens join with labor unions and other progressive groups in a conference to discuss the questions left unanswered by the Bridges decision.

We propose the drafting of a bill to guarantee both substantive and procedural "due process" in deportation cases and a campaign of popular education aimed to put the bill through Congress.

That would be one way to protect not merely the aliens, but the civil liberties of every American, from a new "deportations delirium" after this war.

—I. F. STONE

Did Nazis Get British Steel?

FRANKFURT AM MAIN, GERMANY. Ernst Teves, Harvard-educated director of one of the Germans' major industrial concerns, reports that through arrangements with Portugal and Switzerland he was able to obtain British steel during the war for the manufacture of aircraft parts.

He said he had heard that through similar arrangements with Turkey, other German industrialists were able to obtain quantities of chrome in exchange for German chemicals, despite the Allied blockade.

Teves also said that in his Frankfurt plants, and presumably elsewhere, a definite trade-union movement had been organized since V-E-Day. He said, moreover, that the German Communist Party was reorganizing secretly in the American occupation zone. Both movements are forbidden under the Allied ban on German political activity.

Steel, which eventually was to return to its place of origin in landing gear and piston rings of Luftwaffe bombers over London,

leaked into the continent through Lisbon, Teves said. From there, he asserted, it was shipped to the Beka concern in St. Aubin, Switzerland, which sold it in turn to Alfred Teves K.G.

Teves said that German industrialists were able to follow clearly the strategy of British and American air warfare against Germany as it shifted from one chain of targets to another. He spoke particularly of the enormous damage done to the ball bearing, oil and aircraft industries.

Although he said he himself was skeptical of the story, he said the idea was widespread that the Anglo-Americans had designed their attacks to spare certain German concerns with British or American connections. He named as specific examples of industries which were not wrecked the great Ford plant at Cologne and the I. G. Farben industries pharmaceutical plant at Hoechst.

—JOHN M. MECKLIN

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Nazis' 'Model' Camp for Jews Was Elaborate, Sadistic Bluff

Theresienstadt Used
To Impress Visitors, but
Horrors Were Typical

By KLAUS MANN

Author with Son of Thomas Mann, Now a
Correspondent for Stars and Stripes,
Mediterranean Edition

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia.—World public
opinion by now is fairly
well informed about Nazi

atrocities. Yet there still are many
horrible stories left untold, many
ghastly secrets to be revealed. The
Hitler gang indeed was fiendishly
ingenious when it came to devising
ever new shades of horror. At times
their cruelty assumed a subtle, al-
most artistic, character. One of the
more original manifestations of this
sadistic inventiveness is a place
called Theresienstadt, near Prague.

It was there that they decided
to establish something like a model
ghetto, or "perfect" Jewish com-
munity.

At one point, this Jewish settle-
ment had as many as 60,000 in-
habitants. Almost needless to say,
none of them lived there volun-
tarily. All were prisoners within
the town limits, completely cut off
from the outside world. Allegedly
they enjoyed something like self-
administration. They had their own
mayor, their own courts their re-
ligious service.

The Ruler

Of course, in reality the place
was ruled, not by any benign rabbi,
but by a brutal SS obersturmfuehr-
er, who occupied the most promi-
nent building in town. Theresien-
stadt was in fact nothing but a
glorified concentration camp, with
all the usual terroristic practices.

But what made the whole setup
unique, and in a sense singularly
horrid, was just its hypocritical
front of respectability. It was the
most elaborate bluff—a showplace
meant to impress foreign visitors.

The same Jews whom the dis-
tinguished guests saw purchasing
coffee or shoes in prosperous-look-
ing shops had to deliver the same
goods at the back doors of the
same establishments a few minutes
afterwards.

The Jewish children to whom
our travellers offered a piece of
candy had been ordered previously
to refuse the gift and to say,
"Thanks, I've been eating sweets
all day long, I really couldn't stand
more of the stuff!"

Selection

The once-popular Berlin com-
edian, Kurt Gerron, who performed
his stunts for the inspecting com-
mission, had been blackmailed into
doing so.

It was the permanent, nerve-
racking fear of the terrible trans-
ports which haunted and tormented
the people of Theresienstadt more
than anything else. To get into
such a transport was almost tanta-
mount to a death sentence. In most
cases, the goal was a gas chamber
in Oswiecim or one of the other
annihilation camps.

Nobody knew when it would be
his turn. The selection of victims
was arbitrary, unpredictable. Cer-
tain groups of the community were
particularly endangered—mothers
with little children, for instance.
The fewer Jewish children, the bet-

ter! The Nazis thought it their mis-
sion to exterminate the "inferior
race." (For the same reason, no
woman in Theresienstadt was al-
lowed to give birth to a child. Mar-
ried couples were forbidden to live
together.)

Healthy young men, on the other
hand, stood a comparatively good
chance to be spared because they
could be used as slave labor in the
service of the German war machine.
But nobody was safe.

About 160,000 Jews passed
through Theresienstadt since 1940.
Hardly more than 3000 survived.
All the others died through starva-
tion or disease, or they disappeared
in one of the deadly transports.

When I visited Theresienstadt a
few days after its liberation, the
town still was under quarantine on
account of a not yet quite over-
come typhus epidemic. I found
about 25,000 Jews of all national-
ities living there.

Among them were some people
whom I had known in pre-Hitler
days. One of the old friends I met
in Theresienstadt was an aunt of
mine—a former aunt, to be more
precise; the divorced wife of my
uncle, Heinrich Mann.

Shadow

When the Nazis invaded Prague,
in 1939, Mrs. Mann, who is of
Czech-Jewish origin, was put in
jail and subsequently sent to Theresienstadt. Her only child first shared
her imprisonment, but soon was re-
leased. Being the daughter of the
purely "Aryan" Heinrich Mann,
my cousin had the status of a
"Mischling," person of mixed race;
under the Nazi law. Consequently,
she was spared the ghetto. Living
in Prague, just a few miles from
Theresienstadt, she was not al-
lowed to visit her unfortunate
mother during all these years.

I remembered my aunt as an
attractive woman, full of vitality
and sparkling wit. What I saw now

was a wreck—a pathetic shadow of
the hearty matron I used to know.
I hardly could recognize her trag-
ically changed features. She had
lost half of her weight, her hair
had turned white, she was partially
paralyzed. Her face, too, was af-
fected by a nervous stroke. One-
half of it appeared twisted—frozen,
as it were, in a grimace of constant
agony.

"What have they done to you?" I
asked her. "Have they done awful
things to you?"

"Not really," she said—and her
voice had that dead, broken tone,
the heart-breaking Theresienstadt
accent. "Nothing unusual," she
continued. "Just the kind of thing
they were doing to all of us."

"But when did you get paral-
yzed?" I insisted. "How did it
happen? Where?"

"Oh, that was years ago," she
said, "right after my arrest. They
separated me from my child, you
know. I didn't have any idea where
she was, so I asked one of my
guards in jail. He grinned, and
then he said to me, 'Why, don't
you hear her scream? They're just
taking her away, on a transport.
That's why she is yelling.'"

"So I tried all night long to hear
my daughter's voice. I couldn't
hear it, though. Naturally not. She
hadn't been screaming at all, but
was fast asleep in another cell. The
guard knew that, of course. He just
wanted to get me worried."

"He got me worried, all right.
I kept listening to all the noises.
There are so many different noises
in a big prison at night—you would
not believe how many of them
there are! But I know, for I lis-
tened to all of them. I heard peo-
ple screaming and I wondered if
it was her voice. It was a long
night. In the morning, I couldn't
move my right arm and my right
leg any more, and my face was all
twisted."



The fancy radio-phonograph makes with the music, the whir-
ring fans adds a breeze to the already air-conditioned interior,
neutralizing a hot day in Germany. It's a good way to relax in
Hitler's private train, and Pfc. Stanley B. Ross, Denver, Colo.,
driver with the 163d Signal Photo Co., is doing just that.

Signal Corps Photo

France to Break Spanish Relations?

Radio Brazzaville reports there
are indications France may sever
relations with Franco Spain. The
broadcast, monitored by NBC,
said France had only three things
to gain by continuing relations.

¶ Passage across Spain of 30-
000 French nationals in Africa.
¶ Shipment of raw materials
from Spain to France.

¶ Extradition of Laval and
other war criminals from Spain.

Since the Chambery incident
(the French attack on a trainload
of Spaniards), the border has
been closed, the broadcast said,
and Franco is not going to dis-
gorge Laval.

43 Divisions In U. S. Zone

By United Press

U. S. 12TH ARMY HEAD-
QUARTERS, June 25.—Stars and
Stripes, the Army newspaper, said
yesterday that 43 U. S. divisions
are stationed in Germany, Austria
and Czechoslovakia, with the 82d
Airborne Division expected to leave
France for the Reich shortly to
form part of a permanent occupa-
tion force in Berlin.

Of these 44 divisions, none is
scheduled for immediate redeploy-
ment, and 10 have been slated for
"permanent" occupation of Ger-
many and "semi-permanent" occu-
pation of Austria.

Each division is responsible for
the government and control of a
German *Landkreis*, which corre-
sponds roughly to a U. S. county.

Five divisions—the 26th, 94th
and 79th Infantry and the 6th and
16th Armored, hold a strip of
Sudetenland and a small part of
Bohemia in Czechoslovakia.

Of the 3d Army, except for the
divisions in Czechoslovakia, the
103d Infantry near Innsbruck con-
trols western Tyrol and the 42d In-
fantry eastern Tyrol. The 10th
Armored is at Weilheim, the 80th
Infantry near Kaufbeuren, the 45th
Infantry near Dachau, the 14th
Armored near Wasserburg, the 20th
Armored near Traustein and the
101st Airborne at Salzburg.

The 11th Armored Division holds
the southern half of Oberdonau
and the 65th Infantry the northern
half. The 83d Infantry is near
Grafenau, the 30th Infantry is near
Weiden, the 9th Armored at
Munichburg and Bayreuth, the 99th
Infantry near Wurzburg, the 1st
Infantry near Ansbach, 71st In-
fantry at Dillingen and the 9th In-
fantry near Ingolstadt.

The 7th Army Group has its 12th
Armored Division at Aalen, the
36th Infantry in Ulm, the 100th
Infantry in Coppingen, the 1st
Armored near Halle and the Crail-
sheim area, the 63d Infantry at
Heidelberg, 3d Armored at Lang-
en, 70th Infantry in Bad Ems and
the 78th Infantry near Marburg.

The 102d Infantry in Gotha, 6th
Armored near Weimar, 30th In-
fantry in Saalfeld, 76th Infantry in
Gera, the 5th Armored at Nord-
hausen, 2d and 7th Armored at
Halle and the 69th Infantry near
Leipzig, are expected to be relieved
by the Soviets at any moment.
These areas have been placed in
the Red Army occupation zone.

Of the 15th Army, the 106th
Infantry is around Coblenz, the
35th in Mayen, the 28th Infantry
at Kaiserslautern and the 29th In-
fantry at Bremen.

Peron Wins First Round In Argentina

Vargas Decree

Threatens Business With
Expropriation

By VIRGINIA PREWITT

(Copyright, 1945, by Chicago Sun and
The Newspaper PM, Inc.)



BUENOS AIRES, June
25.—A tug-of-war be-
tween Argentina's com-
mercial and industrial in-
terests on one side and Vice
President Juan Peron on the other
was taking a turn sharply in favor
of Peron today.

The business men were cringing
at a decree by President Getulio
Vargas of Brazil, paving the way
for strict control and wholesale ex-
propriation of all types of business
enterprises in Brazil.

Peron's backers are jubilant. This
month, 303 associations of commer-
cial and business groups, brought
their long-smoldering opposition
to Peron out into the open with a
manifesto charging that Peron was
stirring up social conflicts and pre-
paring drastic new profit-sharing
laws.

Peron immediately came back
with the accusation that these men
were attempting to sabotage his
efforts to get a fair deal for labor.
He said he had power to "inter-
vene" or take over all business if
they should attempt a lockout.

Peron Stronger

The Vargas example has im-
mensely strengthened Peron's po-
sition and his determination to carry
through on a strong policy.

Peron's opponents who include
all the commercial and business in-
terests, as well as landowners and
most of the industrialists, today
realize they have a fight for life on
their hands.

It is highly significant that
La Prensa and *La Nacion*, the two
principal daily newspapers of Ar-
gentina, both of which have walked
very softly over such questions as
press censorship and wholesale
political imprisonments, yesterday
plunged into the fight with violent
editorials against the Vargas decree.

"Dr. Vargas deserves energetic
condemnation by all free peoples,"
Prensa said. Calling the powers
given to the state by the decree
"monstrous," *Prensa* said it was un-
believable that a de facto govern-
ment in the Americas could take
over such absolute powers, espe-
cially since the Chapultepec con-
ference.

Totalitarian

La Nacion expressed its dismay
at the fact that the decree giving
the state totalitarian powers should
be passed just at the moment when
the great war against totalitarian-
ism ended in Europe. It said the
United Nations, among them Brazil,
had written a death certificate for
this type of regime and consequen-
tly the Brazilian decree will "have
to disappear."

The Argentine public meanwhile
is alarmed and confused by the
battle of words waged by Peron
and his attackers. The fight has
blazed into the streets of Buenos
Aires with posters and handbills of
defiance by the Peron-controlled
labor unions.