

## HITLER DEAD

FÜHRER "HAS FALLEN AT HIS  
COMMAND POST"DÖNITZ ANNOUNCES HIMSELF AS  
SUCCESSOR

## RESISTANCE TO CONTINUE.

Hitler died yesterday in Berlin.

The news was announced on the German wireless at 10.20 last night by Grand Admiral Dönitz, who said he had been appointed as his successor.

Dönitz, who described himself as head of the State and commander-in-chief, said he would continue the struggle to save the German people from destruction by the Bolsheviks. "As long as the British and Americans hamper us from reaching this end we shall fight and defend ourselves against them as well," he said.

He asked Germans for "unconditional sacrifice," discipline and obedience.

Hitler, it was said, fell at his post in the Reich Chancellery fighting to his last breath against Bolshevism.

DÖNITZ AS HEAD  
OF STATE"I TAKE OVER THE  
LEADERSHIP"

The first indication of the death of Hitler was given at 9.30 p.m. when Hamburg radio announced that "a grave and important announcement to the German people will be made shortly." From throughout the announcement solemn music of Wagner and the slow movement of Brahms's 7th Symphony was played. Then the announcer said:

"We reported from the Führer's headquarters that our Führer, Adolf Hitler, has fallen this afternoon at his command post in the Reich Chancellery fighting to his last breath against Bolshevism and for Germany."

"On April 30 the Führer appointed Grand Admiral Dönitz as his successor. Our new Führer will speak to the German people."

The new German people's leader said:

"I take over the leadership of the German people. Our Führer, Adolf Hitler, has fallen. The German people have in deepest mourning and veneration."

"He recognized before him the terrible danger of Bolshevism and devoted his life to fighting it. At the end of his life, he stands his death as a hero in the capital of the Reich. All his life he served the German people. His battle against the Bolshevik flood benefited not only Europe but the whole world."

## "THIS FATEFUL HOUR"

"The Führer has appointed me as his successor. Fully conscious of the responsibility, I take over the leadership of the German people at this fateful hour. It is my task to save the German people from destruction by the Bolsheviks and it is my duty to achieve this that the fight continues."

"As long as the British and Americans hamper us from reaching this end we shall fight and defend ourselves against them as well. The British and Americans do not fight for the interests of their own people, but for the spreading of Bolshevism."

"What the German people have achieved and suffered is unique in history. In the coming times of distress of our people I shall do my utmost to make life bearable for our brave women, men, and children."

"In times like this I need your help. Trust me; keep order and discipline in towns and countryside. Everybody do his duty. Only thus shall we be able to alleviate the sufferings which the future will bring to each of us and avoid collapse. If we do all that is in our power to do, the Lord will not abandon us."

## "HE STAKED HIS LIFE"

An order of the day by Admiral Dönitz as "supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht" was then read. It said:

"German Wehrmacht—my comrades. The Führer has fallen. He fell staked to his post in the Reich Chancellery, fighting to his last breath against Bolshevism and for Germany. He staked his life and died the death of a hero. With his passing one of the greatest heroes of German history has passed away."

"In times of distress and sorrow we have no flag before him. The Führer has appointed me as his successor in post of the State and supreme commander of the German Wehrmacht. I continue to command the German Wehrmacht, with the determination to continue the struggle against Bolshevism and the fighting troops and the hundreds of thousands of families of the German soldiers continue to be rescued from enslavement or extermination."

"Against the British and Americans I shall continue the struggle so far and so long as they hinder us in carrying out the fight against Bolshevism."

"The situation demands from me, who have already accomplished such great victories, that I continue to lead the German people in the way of the struggle without question. I demand discipline and obedience. Obeying the Führer is not only a duty but a privilege. He who at the present time is a coward and traitor will be brought to justice as a traitor to German women and children."

"The duty of allegiance now comes to the Führer now applies to each of you without further delay. To myself, the successor appointed by the Führer, German soldiers. Do your duty. The duty of the people is to stand."

An account of Hitler's life appears on page 2, and a summary of Dönitz's career on page 3.

CALL TO FURTHER  
STRUGGLE

## HIMMLER'S POSITION

From Our Diplomatic Correspondent

Hitler has died three days after Massing met his death at the hands of Italian patriots. The official announcement says that he fell at his command post at the Reich Chancellery. "Hitler—whom in this instance may be regarded as the last untrifling witness—was recently that Hitler was stricken with cerebral hemorrhage, and that he would not survive 24 hours after the news of unconditional surrender."

With the death of Hitler the German drama marches to its conclusion. That Grand Admiral Dönitz was appointed his successor and that he describes himself as Head of the State and Commander-in-Chief of the Wehrmacht, which takes in all the regular armed forces, are facts which throw a flood of light on recent developments.

Dönitz is believed to be a past master of the art of the German propaganda machine. He is said to have been on the North German coast, he was only 40 at sea. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the German naval forces. Hitler described him as the "Reichsmarschall" and showed him the greatest respect. In the first words he now addresses to the German people he makes it clear that he is going to fight.

## NOT A PARTY MAN

There are two aspects to the appointment. The first is internal. Dönitz, for all that which Hitler came to put in his hands, was the only man—at least he was not much of a politician. In the last war he was a soldier, not a politician, and he had been in the Manchester bomber squad. Part of his amateur for Hitler—over and above his professional skills—was his hatred of German Hitler.

By assuming control of all the armed forces he directly challenges Hitler, who is called the party formations, such as the Reichsmarschall, the Volksturm, and the S.S. In addition, he controls the Gestapo and the many ramifications of the security services. With the eclipse of such leaders as Goebbels he merged more and more as the strongest man after Hitler, who formerly had been looked on him as his deputy and successor.

It is to be noted that when Hitler made his last offer of unconditional surrender, the approach was to Grand Britain and the United States. Dönitz, however, has the emphasis on the continuance of the struggle against Bolshevism. Close observers of German affairs do not, however, think there is any serious risk between the two. The position, however, and will remain so until Hitler himself speaks. There is an expectation that when he does he will reject Dönitz's authority, although whether he will at this stage go on with his efforts to end the war has yet to be seen.

## HIMMLER'S MOVE

The idea is there. Realizing that Hitler's end was near and that the war was lost, Himmler seems to have made his move in secret. He has been busy in the Reich Chancellery, and he has been making his last move. The knowledge of this move, coming on top of Hitler's bid for peace and Hitler's death, was only added to the bewilderment of a German people. He made his last move in secret.

What part of the armed forces Dönitz will be able to rally to his side is a last desperate stand is not certain. He can, perhaps, rely on such of the German army as remains. The Volksturm is dispersed and dispersed. The S.S. is in a state of confusion. The S.S. are also to follow Hitler rather than Dönitz.

Nevertheless, Dönitz may gather a force sufficiently large to cause trouble. The fighting spirit of the army is probably still high. There is a formidable number of U-boats based on Norway, which the Germans also have up to 200-300 land forces and some hundreds of aeroplanes. It is thus likely that Dönitz will be able to make his stand there rather than in the overrun Reich or in the northern islands now threatened from both north and south. He may delay somewhat, but cannot alter the decision.

## C.D. DISBANDMENT

The Ministry of Home Security announces that local authorities have been informed of the decision to disband the Civil Defence General Services should be taken today. The detailed action will be explained in The Times on Monday. Local authorities may expect at their discretion for local local needs.

## WINTER LINGERING

It was fine and clear in the Straits of Dover at midday after another day of bleak weather, which included thunder, sharp rain, rain, snow, and sleet. There were hailstones as large as small ones. At 10 p.m. the temperature was 40° F. It was higher than the same time the previous night. For 24 hours the barometer had not moved.

NO NEW MESSAGE  
FROM HIMMLERCOUNT BERNADOTTE  
HOME AGAIN

## THE "LAST INTERVIEW"

From Our Correspondent  
STOCKHOLM, MAY 1

Count Folke Bernadotte, who returned here from Copenhagen this morning, confirmed yesterday's report that he did not see Himmler during his latest visit to Germany and Denmark. He referred to his conversation with Himmler 10 days ago, when Himmler asked him to transmit the offer of surrender to the Western allies, as "my latest, perhaps my last, interview with him."

Count Bernadotte denied that he had brought any message from Himmler or any other authoritative German, and the spokesman of the Swedish Foreign Office said that no such message had been received by the Foreign Office for transmission to the allies.

The head of the political department of the Swedish Foreign Office, Mr. Erik von Post, yesterday flew to Copenhagen from Malmö and returned the same evening, only to fly to Copenhagen again to-day. Mr. von Post said recently was first counsellor of the Swedish Legation in Berlin.

EXPECTANCY IN THE  
COMMONSPRIME MINISTER'S  
RESTRAINT

WESTMINSTER, TUESDAY

The House of Commons to-day, closely filled, hung upon the Prime Minister's words as he answered Mr. Garraway's question whether he had any statement to make "about the war situation in Europe."

Mr. Churchill began by declaring that he had nothing to say in reply except that the war position in Europe was "definitely more satisfactory than it was this time five years ago." But he proceeded that if information of "exceptional importance" should reach the Government during one of the four sittings of the House this week he would make a brief announcement.

Speaking deliberately, without notes and without any so low a voice that there were calls to him to speak up, the Prime Minister went on to say that a Home Office Circular was being issued to local authorities "an announcement of decisive importance justifying extraordinary measures to be made this week." He added in answer to Mr. Garraway's question that the Government did not consider that the information should be withheld until the occupation of particular zones was achieved; the movement of troops and the surrender of enemy troops and the capture of the enemy's lines would make disclosure of a false statement. Mr. Churchill also made a point that any statement which he made would be preceded by genuine consideration by the Government of the advice of the military commanders in the different theatres, both on the north-western and the Italian fronts.

Parliamentary report on page 8; guide to victory celebration on page 7.

MORE FOOD DROPPED  
OVER HOLLAND

Laplanders of R.A.F. Bomber Command again dropped food supplies at The Hague, Rotterdam, and Leiden yesterday afternoon. More than 1,000 tons of food were delivered and the Lancasters took nearly three hours to do the work. At The Hague the ground was so thick with food that people who had waited to see the aircraft arrive. Eight hundred tons of food were dropped in beleaguered Dutch cities yesterday to approximately 400 starving heavy bombers of the United States 8th Air Force. The bombers released 34,000 cases of American goods over four areas in the vicinity of The Hague and Rotterdam.

## INVALIDS

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BRANDENBURG  
TAKENSTRALSUND PORT  
CAPTURED

## LAST STAGE IN BERLIN

Marshal Stalin, in an order of the day addressed to Marshal Rokossovsky and his Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Bogdanov, last night said:

Troops of the Second White Russian Command, developing their own offensive, have captured the towns of Stralsund, Demmin, Malchin, Waren, Grimmer, and Wismar, an important communication centre and strategic point in the German defence.

"Stralsund is on the Baltic Sea, 40 miles north-west of Rostock."

In a second order of the day, addressed to Marshal Zhukov and his Chief of Staff, Colonel-General Malin, Marshal Stalin said:

Troops of the First White Russian Command to-day carried by assault the town of Brandenburg, the principal city in the province of Brandenburg and a powerful bastion of the defences of central Germany.

"Brandenburg is 60 miles west of Berlin."

In a third order of the day, addressed to General Krenenko and his Chief of Staff, Colonel-General Sandakov, Marshal Stalin said:

Troops of the Fourth Ukrainian front, continuing their offensive to-day, captured the town of Bohuslav (Odesa), Fylovskaya, Volka Bykva, and Mirova (south of Mirova), important communication centres and powerful strong-points in the German defences in the western Caucasus.

The Soviet communiqué last night stated:

In Berlin, our troops cleared the districts of Charlottenburg and Schoenberg. In the centre of the town they occupied three blocks of houses. During yesterday they captured the main railway station.

South of Berlin, our troops continued to fight for the annihilation of the German remnants surrounded in the forests and of Lachnawitz. These remnants were shot into two separate groups.

RUSSIAN TANKS IN  
TIERGARTEN

## ENEMY FIRE SLACKING

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT  
MOSCOW, MAY 1

Radio Berlin, in its last broadcast, the Red Army has turned every gun in the city to the east, where the main fighting is taking place. Most of them are firing over open sights. One hundred and twenty tanks are constantly involved. Tanks and machine guns which crossed the city, and the city is still in the hands of the Red Army. The city is still in the hands of the Red Army. The city is still in the hands of the Red Army.

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For more details on these pencils see source list with illustration and there is a choice of grades under the standard name Venus "Wax Drawing" - also Blacking Copied and Coloured "Utility" Pencils.

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Group Headquarters at Bad Oeynhausen, notably at Lüneburg and Bünde. Its civilian members will wear uniform when they travel about the countryside.

Food, coal, and transport are the great problems in the resuscitation of Germany. There is every promise of a splendid harvest in the British zone, and ample numbers of workers are being provided by the "barley-corn" scheme for releasing prisoners of war to get it in.

Surveys show that about 70 per cent. of the agricultural machinery in Germany has survived the war, and every effort is being made to recover the tractors, mainly from Schleswig-Holstein, requisitioned by the *Wehrmacht* during the retreat. But it is insisted that famine conditions are likely to obtain in many parts of the British zone this winter unless the equivalent of 1,500,000 tons of wheat can be brought in from outside. This would provide a ration in Germany next year of 2,000 calories a day—which, it is stated, is exactly half the soldiers' ration.

The miners of the Ruhr, where 140 pits are now working, are notable exceptions for it is appreciated that if Holland, Denmark, and Britain, to say nothing of Germany herself, are to receive the coal so urgently needed they must be fully fed. Production is at present 40,000 tons a day and the plan is to get it up to 100,000 tons a day by August and 200,000 tons next spring. The only uncertainty is whether the Ruhr miner will go on digging coal when he discovers that most of it is going out of Germany.

A British token force has again been warned to proceed to Berlin to take over the British sector of the city in accordance with the Yalta agreements. No precise date is yet announced, but it is understood that the troops will move off in the near future. The original plan for a full-scale triumphal entry of the allies has been modified. The British units, at something like brigade strength, will enter Berlin at the same time as the American force.

## THE ALLIED ZONES

### FORCES READY TO TAKE OVER

FROM OUR MILITARY CORRESPONDENT

British and American forces are prepared to move to Berlin to take over the areas allotted to them, and it is believed that their transfer will take place in the near future. It has also been announced that the Russians will take over at once, probably to-day, the large area in central Germany which comes within their zone of occupation but which was occupied by the Americans during the final victorious operations.

The British, American, and Russian zones are approximately those shown on the adjacent map. The French zone has been the subject of discussion and, though it may by now have been finally delimited, no announcement has as yet been made on the subject.

It is stated that the American forces of occupation will number 400,000. Ten divisions have already been allotted, including two for north-west Austria. Supreme Headquarters and the 6th and 12th Army Group headquarters will be broken up. General Eisenhower, on his return to Europe, will have ceased to be Supreme Commander. He will be Commander-in-Chief of the United States Forces, Military Governor of the American zone, and chief of the United States section of the American-British-Russian Control. The corresponding British and Russian officers will be Field Marshal Montgomery and Marshal Zhukov.





## EIGHTH ARMY IN AUSTRIA

### PLEASANT DAYS

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

KLAGENFURT, JUNE 21

These are pleasant times for the Eighth Army forces in Austria. Their task as an army of occupation, even if it is not always light, is at least peaceful, and, indeed, friendly.

Life is the most pleasant of all along the beautiful shores of the famous Wörther See, that magnificent lake between Villach and Klagenfurt. Here, almost every hotel and villa, and the grounds as well, have become some unit or other's "rest centre." The rest is well earned—bathing, boating, fishing. In the towns and villages of Carinthia eastward and north beyond the lake our troops on garrison duty have the same air of freshness, superb health, and good spirits.

In spite of all this welcome change from the past rigours of war, nearly every soldier will tell you that he prefers Italy to Austria. His reason is invariably the same—the "non-fraternization" order that forbids him to make friends with the Austrians. The order is strictly enforced, and leaves the ordinary soldier rather puzzled and discontented.

Since our troops arrived in this area early last month the general scene has changed remarkably. The Yugoslav forces—grim, determined bands of partisans—have departed southward. Hundreds of convoys have moved eastward carrying released Russian prisoners of war to Russian zones of occupation of Styria. Other convoys in the same direction have taken to the same destination Cossacks and their families who had fought on the side of Germany. Westward there has been a vast movement of released French prisoners and Italian slave labour; people of Poland—men, women, and children—are still being assembled for transfer to Italy, and thence to communities yet unformed in distant Africa. The problem of the "displaced person" is still an unfinished tragedy of unhappy multitudes, but here in Carinthia it is amazing how much has been accomplished in the past six weeks by way of sorting out and transporting these people. Some still remain to be dealt with, but their numbers are now quite manageable.

## NEW CONSTITUTION FOR FRANCE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, JUNE 21

In a discussion in the Assembly on the order paper, General de Gaulle announced that the Government intended soon to lay before the Assembly and the country their full proposals for "the establishment of the institution of the Fourth Republic." This would be done before July 14, he said. These proposals will deal both with the aims which it is considered that the new constitution should achieve and with the form in which the Assembly will be consulted on the means of framing a constitution.

## GÖRING'S DRUGS

PARIS, June 21.—A spokesman at allied headquarters said to-day that Dr. Karl Brandt, physician in Hitler's *entourage*, had stated that Göring was a confirmed drug addict, needing 20 times the normal daily doses. Without these drugs Göring would have become a raving lunatic. The spokesman added that Göring in captivity was receiving a diminishing supply, currently estimated at about 18 pills daily.—*Reuter*.

Signor Nenni, besides his special functions regarding the preparation of an electoral law, is to supervise the execution of anti-Fascist laws. Signor Brozio will assist Signor Nenni in matters of internal administration. Thus the most burning questions which the Government has to face will come under the consideration of a compact group of men who should be able to work together in greater harmony and produce more expeditious decisions than was the case with the previous Cabinet.

## U.S. CARTEL CHARGES FAIL

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, JUNE 21

The first criminal prosecution in the United States under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of an alleged international conspiracy ended last night when, after a protracted trial of E. I. DuPont de Nemours and Company, of Wilmington, Delaware, Rohm and Haas Company, of Philadelphia, and six officers of these corporations, a jury in the Federal Court at Newark, New Jersey, acquitted all the defendants. They had been accused of conspiring to monopolize the production and allocate sales areas throughout the world and fix prices for acrylic (a plastic) products, which are of particular importance in aircraft manufacture.

Three foreign concerns were charged in the Government action with being co-conspirators, but they were not made defendants. They were Imperial Chemical Industries of London, Limited, and two German concerns, I.G. Farbenindustrie and Rohm and Haas Company, of Darmstadt.

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# "GERMANY HAS SUCCUMBED"

## HIGH COMMAND'S SURRENDER

### BROADCAST BY KROSIGK

Count Schwerin von Krosigk, the German Foreign Minister, broadcast the following announcement from Flensburg yesterday:—

German men and women,—The high command of the armed forces has to-day, at the order of Grand Admiral Dönitz, declared the unconditional surrender of all fighting German troops.

As the leading Minister of the Reich Government which the Grand Admiral has appointed for the dealing with the war tasks, I turn at this tragic moment of our history to the German nation. After a heroic fight of almost six years of incomparable hardness, Germany has succumbed to the overwhelming power of her enemies. To continue the war would only mean senseless bloodshed and a futile disintegration.

A Government which has feeling of responsibility for the future of its nation was compelled to act on the collapse of all physical and material forces and to demand of the enemy the cessation of hostilities. It was the noblest task of the Grand Admiral and of the Government supporting him, after the terrible sacrifices which the war demanded, to save in the last phase of the war the lives of a maximum number of fellow countrymen. That the war was not ended immediately, simultaneously in the west and in the east, is to be explained by this reason alone.

We end this gravest hour of the German nation and its Reich. In this gravest hour of the German nation and its Reich, we bow in deep reverence before the dead of this war. Their sacrifices place the highest obligations on us. Our sympathy goes out above all to the wounded, the bereaved, and to all on whom this struggle has inflicted blows.

### NO ILLUSIONS

No one must be under any illusions about the severity of the terms to be imposed on the German people by our enemies. We must now face our fate squarely and unquestioningly. Nobody can be in any doubt that the future will be difficult for each one of us, and will exact sacrifices from us in every sphere of life. We must accept this burden, and stand loyally by the obligations we have undertaken. But we must not despair and fall into mute resignation. Once again we must set ourselves to stride along a path through the dark future.

From the collapse of the past, let us preserve and save one thing, the unity of ideas of a national community which in the years of war have found their highest expression in the spirit of comradeship at the front and readiness to help one another in all the distress which has afflicted the homeland.

In our nation justice shall be the supreme law and the guiding principle. We must also recognize law as the basis of all relations between the nations. We must recognize it and respect it from inner conviction.

Respect for treaties will be as sacred as the aim of our nation to belong to the European family of nations as a member of which we want to mobilize all human, moral, and material forces in order to heal the dreadful wounds which the war has caused. Then we may hope that the atmosphere of hatred which to-day surrounds Germany all over the world will give place to a spirit of reconciliation among the nations without which the world cannot recover.—*Reuter.*

Count Schwerin von Krosigk also said:—

Then we may hope that our freedom will be restored to us, without which no nation can lead a bearable and dignified existence. We wish to devote the future of our nation to the return of the inmost and best forces of German nature, which have given to the world imperishable works and values.

We view with pride the heroic struggle of our people, and we shall combine with our pride in the heroic struggle of our people the will to contribute, as a member of western culture, honest, peaceful labour—a contribution which expresses the best traditions of our nation.

May God not forsake us in our distress and bless us in our heavy task.—*British United Press.*



# MR. STETTINIUS JUSTIFIES BIG POWER VETO

## PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH

### NEW CHARTER OF DEMOCRACY TO PREVENT AGGRESSION

## U.S. ENVOYS MEET MARSHAL STALIN AND MR. EDEN

Mr. Stettinius, the United States Secretary of State and chairman of the San Francisco conference, broadcast to America last night on the work of the conference in the month it has been in session. He said he was confident that the charter which would be written would be "strong in power to prevent aggression and to develop economic and social conditions which will reduce the causes of war."

Criticism of the "Big Five" powers of veto, he said, was unjustified. It was not a question of privilege but of using the present distribution of military and industrial power for the maintenance of peace.

In London yesterday, Mr. Davies, President Truman's special envoy, had a long talk on the future of Europe with Mr. Eden; and in Moscow, Mr. Hopkins has had a second meeting with Marshal Stalin.

## U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

### FIVE-POINT PLAN

SAN FRANCISCO, May 28.—Mr. Stettinius, in a broadcast to-night, reported to the American people on the work of the San Francisco conference.

"After one month of work I can report to you my confidence that we stand united in writing a strong and democratic charter which is based on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, with which we started," he said. "It will be strong in power to prevent aggression and to develop economic and social conditions which will reduce the causes of war. It will be democratic in the organization which it will give to the nations and peoples everywhere to extend the application of equal justice to the world and to promote and protect human rights and freedoms."

Tackling the problems which had arisen during the conference, Mr. Stettinius said:

"I wish to make a statement about the primary mission of the United States foreign policy is to continue and strengthen in the period of peace that wartime solidarity which made possible the defeat of Germany. This is as true of our relations with the Soviet Union as it is of our relations with Britain, China, and France. There have been differences, but the effectiveness of wartime collaboration has demonstrated that our differences can be adjusted."

It is a matter of deep regret to the United States that Poland was not represented at the conference. Poland is one of the United Nations, and should have been there. But there are two Polish Governments. The negotiations for the reorganization of the Warsaw Provisional Government have been disappointing. It is the intention of the United States to exert all its influence, in collaboration with the Soviet Union and Britain, towards the fulfillment of the Yalta agreement on Poland.

### ADMISSION OF ARGENTINA

Regarding United States policy over Argentina, Mr. Stettinius said: "I wish to make it clear that the view of the United States in regard to admitting Argentina did not constitute a blanket endorsement of the policies of the Argentine Government. On the contrary, with many of these policies both the Government and people of the United States have no sympathy. But we recognize that the people of Argentina have been passionately democratic in their ideals and good friends of the people of the United States."

Recalling the Mexican conference and the subsequent events leading to Argentina's signing of the Chapultepec Act, he added: "As a further step in this process the American Republics felt that Argentina should be admitted to the San Francisco conference. By voting to admit Argentina to these conversations the United States, however, has by no means changed its position that Argentina is expected to carry out effectively all her commitments under the Mexico City declaration. On the contrary, we consider that her admission to the San Francisco conference increases her obligation to do so. We expect the Argentine nation to see that this obligation is fulfilled."

The United States welcomed France's inclusion in the committee with the other four sponsoring Powers as an important step in the return of France to her rightful place in world affairs.

### VOTING PROCEDURE

Mr. Stettinius defended the "Big Five" veto, criticism of the security council's voting procedure, which gave great powers of veto. "This criticism is unjustified," he said. "It is not a question of privilege but of using the present distribution of military and industrial power in the world for the maintenance of peace."

What would happen if one of the council's five permanent members attacked upon aggression and refused to recognize the authority of the world organization? In such an event the answer is simple: another world war has come, one of no victors, and the world organization is dead.

The answer, he said, is to be very clearly concerned with the kind of question. "The five great nations have come here with the other United Nations to form an organization for peace, not to prepare for war. Twice in the last 20 years they have failed to side by side as allies, not as enemies. Their intentions are honorable, and their intentions for peace are fully as strong as those of any other nation, large or small. To assume that they seek to violate treaties rather than enforce them is to ignore the evidence of all organizations for peace. The world is an unending succession of wars."

Mr. Stettinius added by outlining a five-point American foreign policy for the future. "First," he said, "we must carry the second phase of the war to final victory and see to it that Germany and Japan are never able to wage war again. Secondly, we must maintain and direct the collaboration and community of purpose now existing among the great nations which have fought this war together. Thirdly, we must work continuously to make our full contribution towards the establishment in practice of the authority of justice and of law dealing with all peoples and nations. Fourth and finally, there must be a complete and effective condition which creates a climate of peace must be achieved. Finally, we must realize that we live in a world where the sovereignty of no nation will ever be more powerful than the United States."

Adapted.



26 1945

## AMERICAN TASK IN TIROL

### NAZI TRUCULENCE

#### "WEREWOLF" IDEA NOT GIVEN UP

From Our Special Correspondent

BOLZANO, MAY 25

The German Army of 600,000 men which was packed in the mountains of southern Tirol on surrender day is fast being evacuated into the Lombardy plains. As many as 50,000 a day are being transported southward in long columns of German trucks driven by German drivers, and soon none will be left in the Tirol except the sick and wounded in the hospitals and engineers and signallers who are being retained for the repair of railways and telegraph lines.

When the American troops originally arrived to occupy Bolzano and Merano they found themselves in an embarrassing position. The Germans, still fully armed, were about 60 to one, and were not disposed easily to accept their lot as a defeated army. The Americans were compelled to request billets from the *Platzkommandant* and were accommodated in buildings which the Germans did not happen to be occupying. General Kendall, commanding the 88th Division, spent the first night in a caravan truck, while German S.S. General Wolff, commanding at Bolzano, lodged in a luxurious villa with 27 cars at his disposal. German officers were driving about everywhere in fast cars, accompanied by women, as if they still were masters.

#### RED CROSSES EVERYWHERE

However, that is all past history. The German troops comprised elements of 22 different divisions, and at least 200 special units of army troops, including all the vast quantity of anti-aircraft artillery used to defend the Brenner line. Merano had been turned into a huge hospital area comprising 90 hospitals. This is to be retained as a concentration point for all German sick and wounded in the Italian theatre. In some quarters of Merano every other house is plastered with the Red Cross, but by no means all of these buildings served as hospitals; several have been found to contain munition depôts, and others served to house loot. Many others were simply billets for German civilians.

When Badoglio concluded the armistice in September, 1943, Hitler promptly annexed south Tirol to the Reich. It was given the title of operations zone *Alpenvorland*. This made it possible for all German troops serving in this area to have their wives and families stationed there. Thousands took advantage of this, as Tirol was considered much more secure against bombing than the rest of the Reich. Hotels and houses allotted to these families were all marked with the Red Cross. I entered one such, marked "Reserved for parachute corps," and found no parachutists, but babies being bathed, and similar domestic scenes. This large number of civilians, without means of support now that the menfolk have been evacuated, are an additional encumbrance to the allied administration.

#### UNEXPLAINED MISSION

There is ample evidence that some German officers and men have not given up the "Werewolf" idea. These mountains would make an admirable resistance centre. A remote valley leading up the Resia pass has been converted into a regular fortress, where every cliff conceals prepared gun positions, and subterranean galleries stocked with every sort of munitions. A suspicious number of Germans have been found driving about the country on unexplained missions. They frequently professed to be engaged on Red Cross work, and produced cards ostensibly issued by the International Red Cross. Eventually a printing press was unearthed in Merano which was turning out these cards by the thousand. Altogether 24,000 cards were seized, whereas the authorized civilian Red Cross personnel numbered only 2,300. Germans have been found loading up machine-gun ambulances.

It is noted that many Germans are trying to evade evacuation as they are on several occasions unit have been unable to produce the necessary documents notified when the evacuation was ordered. For example, a German officer originally reported that the German army was being evacuated.



25/5  
TIMES FRIDAY MAY 25

## HIMMLER DEAD

### SUICIDE AT 2ND ARMY H.Q.

### POISON HIDDEN IN MOUTH

From Our Special Correspondent

NORTH-WEST GERMANY, MAY 24

Heinrich Himmler is dead. He took poison just after 11 o'clock last night in dramatic circumstances at the British Second Army Headquarters at Lüneburg less than 30 hours after being detained by British field security police, who did not know then who he was.

Himmler was taken at Bremervörde, north-east of Bremen, at 5 p.m. on Tuesday. With two companions he was among 11 men stopped by the field security police at a bridge the party intended to cross. Himmler and his two associates wore civilian clothes and claimed to be members of the German field security police who had been discharged. Their documents did not satisfy the British police, who took them to an internment camp to be questioned, and there they told contradictory stories and were detained.

At 7 o'clock last evening one of them went to the camp commandant and said that he was Himmler, having before given his name as Hitzinger. Second Army Headquarters was informed, and at once sent officers to the camp with all essential details about Himmler. His answers to their questions, coupled with his general appearance, satisfied them about his identity, and they took him in a car to a house in Lüneburg to be medically examined before being handed over to the appropriate authorities as a war criminal.

In front of the doctor he produced a phial of poison which he gave up, and a few minutes later the doctor saw a small blue object between his teeth. An intelligence officer gripped Himmler and tried to take the object from his mouth but was too late. Himmler bit through it, and soon afterwards died in the colonel's arms. The blue object proved to be a capsule which had contained cyanide of potassium. Artificial respiration was applied for nearly half an hour without effect. A message was then sent to Flensburg asking the Supreme Headquarters control party there to send some officers of the United States and Russian armies to view the body at Lüneburg. In the meantime the two men taken with Himmler, under further questioning, had described themselves as his adjutant and a member of his personal bodyguard respectively.

A question about which the British Military Intelligence is exercised is that of Himmler's whereabouts between the time of his interview with Prince Bernadotte and his appearance at the bridge of Bremervörde on Tuesday morning. It is thought likely that for a time he was held by Dönitz at Flensburg as a possible hostage.



## POLITICS

Both Houses of Parliament expressed sympathy as a mark of respect to the late Lord Lloyd George. (p. 3)

## IMPERIAL AND FOREIGN

The Liberal Provisional Government has addressed to the four Governments sponsoring the initiative in San Francisco a declaration which expresses the hope that its signatories will be asked to take part. (p. 3)

## SECURITY AND THE CRITICS

As the San Francisco conference draws nearer, those attentive study and criticism is likely to be directed to the Dumbarton Oaks project for a security organisation, as suggested by the decision on voting taken at the Crimea conference. So far, the only official comments appear to have been those of the Netherlands Government in London published last month and of the French Government issued last week. But there has already been extensive discussion in the Press of several countries, notably in Great Britain. Broadly speaking the critics fall into two categories—a majority who argue that too small a share of authority has been given to the great Powers or, conversely, too much to the great Powers, and a minority who would desire to strengthen the provisions for the establishment of security. Some members of the majority group would probably maintain that the two lines of criticism are perfectly compatible. But it is doubtful whether this thesis can be sustained. Faintness suggest the other objections to the predominant role assigned to the great Powers, one does seem incontestable, the more nearly membership of the Security Council is made to coincide with the possession of effective power, the less danger there is likely to be of a suspension of the old divorce between form and enforcement.

Those who complain that the form of the proposed organisation approximates to a "concert of great Powers" are wrongly frightened in the part which the concert of Europe, restricted exclusively to the great Powers, played in making the nineteenth century after 1815 the most peaceful in modern European history. Its success was achieved in spite of its lack of any formal sanction and of its enjoyment of more than all the theoretical defects now alleged against the Dumbarton Oaks plan. Nor is it always remembered that the British and American statesmen who in the closing months of the last war made the first drafts of a League of Nations were contemplating that membership of the Council would be open to any but the great Powers. Lord Curzon himself defended this view at the time on the grounds that these Powers alone were capable of enforcing the decisions on which security depended. Pressure in Paris led to the abandonment of the original scheme and to the allocation to the smaller nations of four places on the Council. But even this change was carefully calculated to leave the great Powers in a majority on the Council, and few serious students of the League will maintain that the authority of the Council was strengthened when this balance was upset, first by the defection of the United States, and later by successive enlargements of the Council. The allocation to the smaller nations in the Dumbarton Oaks plan of six seats on the Security Council is an arrangement more favourable to them than the original Covenant of the League; and this change in their favour has rightly and inevitably been set off by special voting privileges for the great Powers. It would be no kindness to the smaller nations to seek to disturb this compromise. The principal presence in the League Council of a number of nations whose limited resources made their powers of international action negligible was always a serious weakness; and there is good sense in one of the French amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks plan which would make it obligatory to choose three out of the six non-permanent members from States "having the means to participate to an appreciable extent in the active defence of international order".

Current propaganda for strengthening the position of the smaller nations on the Security Council rests not on any examination of the validity of their claims in practice, but on a general assumption that the way to peace lies through the elaboration of careful procedural rules based on strict equality and designed to curb the power of all States alike. Such formulas were extremely popular in the years between the wars, and culminated in the legally impeccable, but utterly impracticable, projects of Federal Union. The last years have witnessed an increased understanding of the real nature of politics and a growing conviction that any permanent solution which ignores the power equation is doomed to vanish at the first touch of reality. But the simple blunder of the communists makes the point, and have been revived only this week in Sir William Beveridge's new volume. In truth "the price of peace" is not so easily paid, and must be discharged in a different currency. It calls not for perfection of formal convention, but for a process of adjustment, compromise, and agreement between States in which power counts. The agreement recorded at Dumbarton Oaks and the Crimea is not the only conceivable compromise and is not invariable for all time. But if it is to be challenged either now or in the future, it must be challenged on its own grounds as a political balance of effective forces, not on the basis of a rising imagination which neglects the lessons of history.

If the case for small Power representation in the Security Council is more strongly pressed now than in 1919, it can rest only on the hypothesis that the small countries will have henceforth a more important role to play in the maintenance of peace. From this point of view the French amendment insisting on the obligation of all members of the organisation to grant free passage to forces acting on the authority of the Council is of interest and importance. Countries whose resources are too limited to permit of more than a token contribution to the active enforcement of security may still have a vital part to play in facilitating the unimpeded communications of international forces to their territories and perhaps in providing bases where such forces can be maintained as a permanent backbone of security, and co-operating in such essential services will have a particularly convincing claim to consideration among the candidates for non-permanent seats. The proposed regional arrangements within the general framework of the world security organisation

are also relevant to the claims of the small nations, which may reasonably expect to take a more prominent part in the elaboration and execution of such local projects than in the working of the main organisation.

The discussion among the forty-five nations invited to the San Francisco conference will doubtless cover in detail these and many other aspects of international security. It would be foolish to dare that the Dumbarton Oaks project may be acceptable of amendment and improvement. But it is to be hoped that no serious attempt will be made to undermine at any vital point the foundations laid by the great Powers on whose whole-hearted co-operation the success of the project ultimately depends. The test of any organisation, national or international, applied either to legal substance or to its efficiency in action, is the arrangements which improve the use of the most of weakening the other will not be the less disastrous even though they are inspired by the loftiest principles. During the twenty years of the League's activity Geneva was the scene of much industry and much patient drafting inspired by the notion that peace which left no loophole for the most important aggressor was in themselves an obstacle to aggression. These thoughts are compelling if they turn the mind of the world away from those realities of power which provide the essential backbone of every scheme of security. It is desirable that the nations assembled at San Francisco should be encouraged to look beyond the writer of documents with which the conference tables will be loaded and to consider what forces will be available for the maintenance of peace and what contribution to the general task they themselves can make. If the right balance is struck, if the ultimate formulae of the proposed organisation are seen in the right perspective of the concrete measures necessary to give life to them, there will be less danger that the pursuit of high international ideals may once more lead to shipwreck through neglect to consider the scope of the practical obligations which they entail.

## Argentina Declares War

Two motives have inspired Argentina's second time declaration of war on Germany and her remaining ally. One is doubtless a sentiment of the Nazis contemptuous treatment of Argentine officials in Germany. The other motive is the desire to bring Argentina into line with her fellow American Republics and with the United Nations generally in their attitude towards aggression. The present action has been facilitated by the course of events at Mexico City. The Declaration of Cuernavaca made resistance to aggression a common obligation of all the American Republics and thus in effect internationalised the Monroe doctrine. Moreover the conference resolution on Argentina's position was framed with regard for her susceptibilities. Her proposal signed at her absence and its content and spread a way for her adherence to the conclusions reached. In substance it set in turn, the resolution was responsive to the Argentine request, postponed last October but not then acted on, for a consideration of her position by the Foreign Ministers of all the American Republics. Convention of the "declaration" and recommendations of the conference is now formally promulgated.

The diplomatic tangle in which Argentina's international relations have been involved is, however, not immediately revealed by this move. Neither the United States nor Britain has recognized the present Argentine Government and it is the only major American State which it is in the diplomatic relations. Her declaration of war on Germany but she is not yet a member of the United Nations and inclusion in their parties will depend on full recovery of Germany to her policy. Even an obstacle be removed, admitting the San Francisco conference, the present restricted to States which entered the war by March 1. It is much the international movement by the line developments upon a long time may be expected in the countries men with leading members of American Union and especially United States and also with the Powers sponsoring the San Francisco conference in any event pending British decision.

## In Japanese Waters

The news given out by the Japanese American troops are already landing on the island of Okinawa, the principal island of the Ryukyu which stretches from Japan to Taiwan has not been confirmed or denied. It may or may not be true, but it is not irrelevant. The American forces have been accelerating the pace with which they are closing in on Japan itself, and stage approaches of the open Pacific. Their progress in the months up to March 1 is the latest but comprehensively. Kase's report of the work of the United States Navy in the war is featured on another page. Of such reports to be published in Washington—the first since a year ago—and it is well known and appreciated to the British reader that he asks here it is that our have apparently not yet taken possession of the Royal Navy all have been going on far faster than those of its American allies, worthy of a similar narrative.

That part of ADMIRAL Kase's report which deals with the Pacific Ocean coincides with the arrival of the British Force in the Pacific. ADMIRAL Kase's report of the work of the United States Navy in the war is featured on another page. Of such reports to be published in Washington—the first since a year ago—and it is well known and appreciated to the British reader that he asks here it is that our have apparently not yet taken possession of the Royal Navy all have been going on far faster than those of its American allies, worthy of a similar narrative.



# HITLER AND LUEGER

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Replying to Mr. M. W. Kelly, I plead not guilty to “serious *suppressio veri*” in having called Dr. Lueger “the great leader of the Christian Socialists” without mentioning his anti-Semitism—in a short sentence where no such reference was required—as I should speak of “the great composer Richard Wagner,” admiration for whom I cannot help sharing with the Führer, without having to recall Wagner’s notorious attacks against Jewish musicians.

My contemporary Stefan Zweig has pointed out in his recent autobiography that no harm at all came to the Jews expecting the worst from the administration of him whom even my critic calls “that extremely able burgomaster of Vienna.” His anti-Semitism was not based on religious grounds—there are no religious reasons for this irrational creed—but on considerations of political expediency. He studiously repressed its rowdy manifestations among his followers when he had got into power. He did not dismiss the Jewish city-physicians and stood faithfully by his Jewish personal friends. Taken to task for this alleged inconsistency, he gave the famous reply: “It is for me to decide who is a Jew and who is not.” Distributing civic decorations to Jewish recipients, he said:—“Gentlemen, I have nothing against decent Jews deserving well of our beloved city, of whom we have so many—too many indeed according to some of my friends.”

Jews and he had a sense of humour in common and are still able to recognize greatness when they see it, even in an adversary. Proof of this is hereby tendered by the accused.

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT EISLER.

The Dower House, Maugersbury, near  
Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire.



① 28/6/45  
9 1945

## GERMAN CAPACITY TO WAGE WAR

### MOST INDUSTRIES INTACT

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON, JUNE 28

The Kilgore Committee of the Senate, which is investigating German industrial potentialities for a third world war, was told by Mr. Wendell Berge, the Assistant Attorney-General, to-day that allied bombing attacks had left three-quarters or more of German industrial capacity untouched, particularly that of the steel and chemical industries. Air warfare had been helpful by interrupting production, but the total damage inflicted on German industry was only estimated at about 20 per cent.

Investigations made since VE Day, said Mr. Berge, showed that the replacement of damaged synthetic oil plants had been proceeding so rapidly at the time of the German collapse that by September new plants, some of them underground, would have been able to restore full production. He alleged that German research institutes, laboratories, and technological organizations were now largely uncontrolled in spite of the allied occupation, and these things were at the heart of Germany's capacity to rebuild for another war.

Germany, Mr. Berge added, had a seven-point plan for industrial recovery. This was to keep her industry unaffected by the occupation; to maintain a core of organized research personnel and technical facilities; to retain the economic domination of Europe; to maintain a world-wide cartel system; to retain the holdings seized in other countries during the war; to rebuild her industries by giving American and British industrialists shares in them; and to retain the physical, political, and economic bases of their military power.



# GENERAL STAFF TO BLAME

## SEGREGATION URGED

WASHINGTON, June 18.—General Eisenhower, speaking at a Press conference this afternoon, said that the German General Staff must be utterly destroyed.

"German general staff officers always considered these wars as only campaigns," he said. "I do not doubt that they have used the political leaders in their own ambition eventually to rule Europe. How they will be destroyed is something else; it should be made utterly impossible for them to function again. We must destroy the German general staff archives and all trained general staff officers. I suggest segregation where he—the general staff officer—cannot get back to the job. We must also watch all over Germany so that they cannot start up their machinations again."

Regarding the non-fraternization order, General Eisenhower said: "I honestly believe that non-fraternization with German adults must continue until every force and root of Nazism is gotten out. Non-fraternization need not continue for years; sooner or later we have got to find some answer through education and example. We cannot build peace on hate. First, however, the criminals must be punished. I shall hold out for that for ever."

Estimating the number of German war criminals in Anglo-American hands at 15,000, he said he would "class as war criminals every member of the German S.S. with the exception of those who became members after the Germans became desperate in 1944 and placed every able-bodied leader in the S.S.—their one remaining integrated command organization."

Qualifying the remark by saying that he was only expressing the troops' sentiment, he added: "American troops will handle the 12th S.S. Division; American troops will want to kill every member they can find."

General Eisenhower described as "emergency problems" those facing the allied control commission in Germany. "Germany is destroyed far beyond anything in this war; it is London at its worst multiplied a hundred times," he said. "We are facing a problem of real starvation. Our first problem is how to prevent a number of Buchenwalds—not, of course, of our own choosing."

"We must first get the Germans to assume responsibilities—anti-Nazi Germans first; then, where they are not obtainable we must get Germans who were at least neutral."

The prime objective now was to get those responsible Germans to turn the urban populace from the cities to where they might plant crops. "This is emergency problem No. 1," he said.—*Reuter*.



# TWO GERMAN YOUTHS EXECUTED

## 5/6 SPYING ON U.S. TROOPS

PARIS, June 4.—The execution of two members of the Hitler *Jugend* for spying on American troops late in February was announced to-day by Supreme Allied Headquarters. They were Heinz Petry, aged 16, and Josef Schener, 17. They were executed recently.

At the end of the trial the military court president told them that he condemned the leaders who had sent boys on a mission so dangerous as theirs, but that if they had succeeded it would have been as dangerous for the Americans as if it had been carried out by men.

"Your German military leaders and your Nazi politicians wrote the rules in this game, and we have no choice except to fight fire with fire and blood with blood," he said. "If they are under the impression that they can escape the consequences by hiding behind women and boys, they are badly mistaken. You will pay the supreme penalty for your offence, so that German people will know that we intend to use whatever force is necessary to eradicate completely the blight of German militarism and Nazi ideology from the face of the earth."

—*Reuter.*

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## MODERN FABLES

**The Age of Fable.** The Political and Economic World We Live In. By Gustav Stolper. Harrap. Pp. 318. 10s. 6d.

Dr. Stolper, a distinguished German liberal economist, went to the United States ten years ago and became an American citizen. He writes of America with European detachment and of Europe with American perspective. His book is refreshing common sense, and although it was meant mainly to clear away American fogs we, too, can read it with profit and enjoyment.

He takes one after another some of the main superstitions of our time—that the causes of war are economic, that this war in particular is a conflict between “haves” and “have-nots” or between opposing imperialisms, that Britain is degenerate, that British imperialism is a stumbling-block to freedom, that Soviet “planning” is wonderful, that Hitler worked an economic miracle with unemployment, and so on. Some of these “fables” are themselves the product of would-be “debunkers.” By applying the plain tests of reason, liberalism, and old-fashioned economic truth Dr. Stolper debunks the debunkers and reduces many popular theories to the absurdity they are. There is much penetrating economic analysis and much excellent historical presentation, and Britain in particular owes Dr. Stolper a debt for his very fair summary of her imperial problems.

Dr. Stolper has no illusions about the strength of the German militarist tradition. “In 1918,” he says, “the German Army organisation was broken, but it was never destroyed. Its reconstruction actually began the day after the Versailles document was signed, and this reconstruction was backed by the best minds of the German nation.” He recalls his last conversation with Max Weber, the great German sociologist and Liberal, just before his death in 1920. “When asked about his political plans, Weber (who had been a member of the German delegation at Versailles) smiled wanly and sadly, then answered: ‘I have no political plans except to concentrate all my intellectual strength on the one problem, how to get once again for Germany a Great General Staff.’” W.

## THE WAR OF WORDS

Recent reforms, immediate or proposed, have to some extent



27 1945

## GERMANY AS A WAR MAKER

### POTENTIAL STILL THERE

#### WARNING TO AMERICA

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON, JUNE 26

The Military Affairs Committee of the Senate listened to-day to a report submitted by Mr. Leo Crowley, in which were summarized 29 studies made under the superintendence of the federal economic administration on the subject of Germany's war-making potential.

These studies point to a conclusion stated in the following words: "Germany has the better part of her economic and industrial strength to-day even though she could not marshal it immediately for a third world war. It is there to build on. Fighting has been over for only about six weeks. A detailed assessment of Germany's present economic and industrial position is still unavailable. But enough is known to safeguard the estimate that if we were to leave Germany to its own devices and were not to institute a programme of economic and industrial disarmament Germany could be far better prepared for war within five years than she was in 1939."

#### HUGE INDUSTRIAL PLANT

Mr. Crowley offered for the records of the committee what he said "promises to be one of the most important stories of our time." Of allied bombing he said that it accomplished its purpose, but that it did not reduce most of the German plants to utter ruin or eliminate permanently Germany's industrial war potential.

The size of the country's existing industrial plant was still enormous, all of it geared for total war, and all of it part of a huge modern industrial machine which was organized and used for war. Dyes and chemicals equipment "is in perfect operating condition to-day," virtually all the great iron and steel furnaces are ready for operation or could be with minor repairs, a large part of German nitrogen capacity remains or can be rapidly rebuilt; German coal and tar capacity has been increased, and the same can be said of synthetic textile fibres, rubber, petroleum products, aluminium, and coal. As for machine tools, which are "much more important in modern war than soldiers," the report sums up the situation by saying that "as it stands to-day Germany, except for the United States, is the outstanding armament machine shop of the world."

The allies, Mr. Crowley declared, must be prepared for a long-term occupation of Germany and a rigid industrial control which should take precedence over all other policies for the treatment of the country, the control measures covering not only the implements of war, but the whole economic base for war. This should be developed and understood as a measure of security and not as a method of punishment and retribution. The studies presented to the committee bring the danger home to American consciousness with the statement that if the Germans had held out for months longer they might have been able to bomb New York with V bombs, and a lot could have sent jet-propelled aircraft to Washington.



# Imperial and Foreign WAR CRIMINAL TRIALS

## MILITARY COURTS IN BRITISH AREA

From Our Special Correspondent

BRITISH ZONE, JUNE 17

Regulations governing the trials of war criminals in the British area have already been issued to the Judge Advocate-General's branch, and it is expected that Field-Marshal Montgomery will soon receive the Royal Warrant to convene special military courts for the purpose. They will closely follow the procedure of courts-martial set up *ad hoc* for each series of trials, at which prisoners will have the right to be defended by a German lawyer or a British officer.

It is not expected here, however, that a beginning can be made after a brief delay, as suggested in recent statements in London, for there are many complications. Special interests, for instance, are reserved by the United Nations' War Crimes Commission, the war crimes section of the War Office, the Attorney-General, and even by the Treasury Solicitor; to say nothing of the difficulties on this side of collecting evidence.

The suggestion that all members of the S.S. should be treated as belonging to a common conspiracy is not wholly acceptable, because in the closing phases of the war many soldiers were drafted into it willy-nilly; but much could be said for this procedure being applied to the guards of concentration camps and to the notorious "Death's Head" battalions which invariably had their barracks at these places and were recruited from trained brutes. As it is, individual cases have to be prepared against all these minor war criminals, and though the fact of having been a camp guard is regarded as *prima facie* evidence, it is not always easy to find the necessary witnesses. Belsen is a case in point. As no British subjects were involved it had not been expected, indeed, that British Courts would be required to try Cramer and his staff, and it is admitted that the full horror and chaos of Belsen took us unawares.

### INVESTIGATING TEAMS

Investigating teams from the Judge Advocate's Department available to be sent into the place could not operate satisfactorily, what with the urgency of getting the people out and difficulties created by a host of languages; and often affidavits were completed after witnesses had been moved away before they could sign them. None the less, nearly 300 affidavits have been made, and statements are still being taken from among the 1,600 persons who remain at Belsen, housed of course in the handsome No. 2 camp which served as a training centre for the Panzer Grenadiers. Here a day or two ago, incidentally, the Old Vic Company, headed by Dame Sybil Thorndike and Laurence Olivier, played Bernard Shaw's *Arm and the Man*—so completely have times changed.

Altogether 86 S.S. guards, including 28 women, were taken into custody at Belsen, and of the men 20 have since died, either by suicide or from the rigours of burying their victims. Like many of the inmates at Belsen whose testimony is available they had served in other notorious camps and a damning dossier is being prepared against them.

### COMMANDANT CAUGHT

Arrests meanwhile continue to be made. Keindl, commandant of the infamous Sachsenhausen camp near Berlin, where many British prisoners were brutally treated, has just been caught with false papers in the British area. Witnesses allege that British seamen held at Sachsenhausen were made to run more than 25 miles a day in order to test the durability of German army boots. Two more war criminals, one of them a guard from Dachau, were actually taken at Bad Oeynhausen, which is almost completely occupied by Headquarters of the 21st Army Group. They were arrested, moreover, by the French liaison mission on the evidence of a French deported worker.

The special tribunals to be set up are not, of course, concerned with the major war criminals, who are now expected to be tried by international courts. All members of the S.S. down to the rank of N.C.O.s are liable to automatic arrest, and every care is taken to see that facts against them are substantiated. At Wuppertal, now in the British zone, I recently attended a sitting of an American board of officers who reviewed each case before detaining prisoners for trial. Already 62 men had been set free because the charges did not stand up—an example of justice which they have not been accustomed to in Germany.

### ILL-TREATED BRITISH

Much evidence has been collected against Germans who have ill-treated or fired on British prisoners, but the number so far in custody cannot yet be determined. An elaborate organization exists to seek them out. Wherever a *prima facie* case is found the person is reported to the central registry of war criminals and security suspects, an international body usually known as "Crocus," which is seated in Paris. The name of the war criminal is sent in with a full description on a "wanted" form, and all persons detained are similarly reported. These complete details are recorded by card index machines, and by this means a wanted man held, say, in a prisoner-of-war camp in Canada can be readily produced.



to suggest Mr. Churchill in his intention to form a Government of the best men of any or no party. (p. 2)

#### IMPERIAL AND FOREIGN

The Soviet Union and the Polish (Lublin) Provisional Government have signed a 20-year treaty of friendship, mutual assistance, and post-war collaboration. (p. 6)

#### SPORT

Race meetings were held at Salisbury and Caterick Bridge on Saturday. (p. 2)

North R.F.C. won the Middlesex Rugby Union seven-a-side tournament at Richmond on Saturday, beating St. Mary's Hospital, the holders, in the final by six points to three. (p. 2)

#### ENCIRCLING BERLIN

For the time being the leading part in the process of breaking down German resistance has reverted to the Russians. This does not mean that the activity of the western armies now halted on the Elbe or closing up comparatively slowly towards it is any less intense than it has been at any time during the race forward from the Rhine. Enormous and unrelenting efforts must be going on not only in bringing forward the bases and replenishing the supplies of the advanced troops but also in the massed military and administrative work of establishing effective occupation over the vast extent of hostile territory that has been conquered. A most important place in the plans to equip the allied forces for a further sweep beyond the Elbe belongs to FIELD-MARSHAL MOSBROW's campaign to reclose the great harbours of Emden, Bremer, and Hamburg, and by his determined defence of these the enemy shows himself aware of the great aid that can be brought to the supply service of all German forces by the opening of sea routes to supplement the traffic across the Rhine.

While the British and American forces take this necessary breathing space, the Russians see to it that the enemy has no respite. The power that MARSHAL ZHUKOV has accumulated, with his customary thoroughness and patience, behind his line on the Oder, has now burst with irresistible fury upon the defenders of Berlin. His central thrust by the direct route from Kottbus has penetrated in a little over a week into the suburbs of the capital; according to the enemy's reports there was fighting in progress on Saturday in Weissensee and Prenzlau, only three miles from the centre of the city, and Russian shells were falling in the Potsdamer Platz. At the same time a column from south of Berlin has closed upon Berlin from the north-east, while others, having passed by Frankfurt, have swung inward across the Spree to complete the encirclement from the south.

At least equally important with the assault on the capital is the powerful thrust of MARSHAL KANTAR on the southern flank. He has crossed the great motor-road leading from Berlin to Dresden, and thereby cut the last remaining line of communication between northern Germany and the Bavarian "redoubt." With BASTON and KANTAR in his hands he is closing upon Dresden from the north-east, and moving rapidly towards a junction with the Americans holding Leipzig and Chemnitz. Wireless communication has been opened between the allied armies in this sector; and there is also promise of a junction further north between the Americans attacking Wittenberg and the left flank of the Russians closing upon Berlin from the south. Wherever the first meeting comes, it should not be many days before a continuous line of allied armies is drawn right across Germany from east to west, and the final stage of reducing the detached areas into which the country left to the enemy has been parcelled begins.

At or about the same time it seems certain that the Russians will have occupied Berlin, and the chief remaining question of the war in Germany will be how long the Bavarian redoubt can maintain itself. There have been indications recently that such troops as could be got away from the debacle in the plains were being moved up to the south for the last stand. GENERAL ALEXANDER's unalloyed advance beyond Bologna, and MARSHAL TRUP's success near the head of the Adriatic, may also be connected with attempts by the enemy to bring home some of his outlying forces to the central stronghold. The possibility of stiff resistance here, as well as in Norway and the Netherlands, dashed by men whose lives are forfeit and who have nothing to lose, fully justifies the Prime Minister's reserved warning, or his speech at Bristol on Saturday, against premature celebration of victory, though nothing is now uncertain about it save the date.

#### The Russo-Polish Pact

The Soviet Union has taken a further step towards safeguarding a peaceful future by concluding a treaty of alliance with the new Poland. The terms, published on another page, show that the treaty conforms in essentials with the series of arrangements begun with the Anglo-Russian alliance of 1942, which may be fairly regarded as the master agreement. By that treaty and by those which have since followed with Czechoslovakia, France, Yugoslavia, and now with Poland, Russia has both buttressed the structure of peace and laid the foundations for fruitful economic cooperation. MARSHAL STALIN, speaking after the signing in Moscow on Saturday, described it as marking "a radical turning-point" in the relations between the Union and Poland. He placed no less emphasis upon its international significance. He looked for a Western counterpart of the Eastern bargain—a close intimation, on the eve of the San Francisco conference, of the integral part which regional arrangements must play in the system of general security which is to be shaped and settled there.

The new treaty has been entered into with the Lublin Administration, already recognized by Russia as the Provisional Government of Poland. At the same time its conclusion, though it may be held to strengthen the authority of Lublin, need not and should not be taken as prejudging the composition of a future Government of Poland which the three Powers that framed the Yalta agreement can accept and recognize. The treaty itself embodies no understanding for which more than the Lublin Poles will have been prepared. Such acknowledged leaders as MR. MICHALCZYK and PROFESSOR GRABSKI have recognized that Poland, while remaining within the general comity of Europe, must work out its destiny and secure its freedom and independence in closest friendship and fellowship with the most powerful of the Slav peoples. There

are other leaders, notably POLANSKI who seek the same end, Russian interests being duly demonstrated. But a weak and divided Poland can serve none but a German purpose. Of the many questions which will face MR. MICHALCZYK, MR. LUBOWSKI, and MR. MICHALCZYK when they meet in Washington none is more urgent than the removal of the obstacles to the setting up of a Poland of the reorganized Government of National Unity. Agreement on this will be the strongest reinforcement the new alliance could hope for.



for Agricultural Commodities, discussing the Government decision to increase pig and poultry prices, writes that, while prices fixed for fat pigs and for eggs are satisfactory, it will take some time to achieve any large increase in production. (p. 6)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Andrew McNulty is to be Free Trade Liberal candidate for the City of London at the General Election, and Mr. S. W. Alexander will stand as a Free Trade candidate. (p. 2)

2. Arthur Greenwood said in London on Saturday that he challenged the Conservative Party to fight the General Election on the issue of free enterprise versus public service. (p. 2)

### THE EVE OF VICTORY

The end of the European war is imminent. From the official announcement by the Foreign Office in Stockholm the world has learnt with certainty that *Himmler* has surrendered, through *General Fritzsche*, vice-president of the Swedish Red Cross, an offer to surrender the German Reich to the Governments of Great Britain and the United States. The message, which was delivered to its destinations on Wednesday, intimated that *Fritzsche* lay at the point of death from cerebral haemorrhage; and if this is true he may since have died. But whether *Fritzsche* be alive or dead, there is no question that *Himmler* has for some time been the effective master of Germany, and that if there remains any authority capable of commanding the submission of the army and people it rests in his hands.

The Swedish announcement states that the surrender is offered unconditionally, according to the allied demand at Cassablanca, which has already been enforced upon Italy; but it is tendered to the two western Powers alone, and not to the whole body of the United Nations. It has therefore to be read in conjunction with the announcement issued from 10, Downing Street on Saturday, which, after stating that the Government has no information to give on the subject-matter of the current rumour, goes on "it must be emphasised that only unconditional surrender to the three major Powers will be entertained, and that the closest accord prevails between the three Powers." This has been the consistent attitude of the three principal allies through all the vicissitudes of their common struggle; and probably even the enemy does not seriously cherish the absurd illusion that it is likely to be modified in the moment of victory. The necessary inference follows that the offer of surrender to Great Britain and the United States, which the Swedish statement proves to have been made, has in that form been rejected. At the same time it is to be observed that *President Truman*, in decrying the reports circulating in America to the effect that an agreement for the suspension of hostilities has actually been concluded, refrains from saying that negotiations have been broken off. *Himmler* must have foreseen the allied reply to his first offer, and has therefore been by announcing his desperate situation if he does not intend to persist in seeking peace.

Military disintegration has gone so far that almost the only remaining question is whether the cohesion of the Reich can be maintained long enough to make a general surrender effective. The junction of the Americans and Russians at Torgau has been rapidly consolidated, so that now a firm band of allied occupation extends right across Germany from west to east, and cuts in two the much diminished territory remaining under hostile control. Berlin is in its last agonies, with the forces of *Mikhail Zhdanov* and *Kennedy* both encircling it on all sides and driving its surviving defenders from house to house in the very heart of the city. Bremen has been captured and Hamburg is doomed. The collapse of the German armies before *Field-Marshal Alexander* has given the signal for a general uprising of the popular forces in German-occupied Italy; and in one after another of the hamlet cities of Lombardy and Piedmont the partisan forces have assumed authority until allied troops arrive—as they have now arrived in Milan, metropolis of the north. Fugitive leaders of the fallen Fascist regime have been ignominiously intercepted as they fled in disguise towards the frontiers; and late last night our Special Correspondent in Milan confirmed the report that a number of them, including *Mussolini* himself, had already been executed. He and the other leaders arrested with him appear to have been put to death in a village on Lake Como by partisans, who subsequently brought their bodies into Milan. *Mussolini* is thus a victim of the "wild justice" provoked by his own regime of oppression, the story of which is fully retold on another page this morning. The end of the founder of the modern tyrannies would at one time have seemed an earth-shaking event; but in the midst of the tremendous drama of these days he was a figure of shrunken dimensions and the flow of events is unaffected by his death at the hands of the people that he led to disaster and shame. It is of more significance that the wave of incurrection has extended into Germany itself. In Munich, the chief stronghold of the National-Socialist Party, mutiny has broken out. The enemy claims to have suppressed it promptly; but the American and French forces converging upon the city may expect to find that the cleavage revealed among its defenders has opened to advance the power of resistance. Indeed the flame of revolt, once kindled among a defeated people, is apt to smoulder on and eventually to spread far and wide.

*Himmler's* offer to the western allies, then, is in keeping with the many signs that the power of the Nazi régime to draw upon the obedience of the German people may at any moment be exhausted. In a military calculation the time for surrender was reached long ago; the exhaustion of the struggle when the strategic issue was decided has called nothing for Germany and has only multiplied the destruction and the bloodshed on her own soil. The refusal hitherto to accept the inevitable judgment of battle has been inspired by the sinister hope of annihilating the Nazi myth, embodied in a legend of defiance and self-destruction, in posterity, and sustained only by reliance on the fanatical devotion of the party and the servile obedience of the people. Both must be irremediably weakened by the public declaration, which is implied by the moves in Stockholm, that the more determined of the Nazi leaders have themselves abandoned hope. The pretence that, if the offer were accepted as it stands, the German Government could yield untrammelled control of its territory to two of its enemies while continuing the fight

against another—and that other in occupation of its capital—is too self-evidently preposterous to allow it to be supposed that its author is deceived. The logic of events must compel *Himmler* to take the last step to absolute submission, if the basis of his authority is not to dissolve before it is taken. Overturning pressure by all the invading armies combined will assure that his time is short.

#### The Aftermath

Surrender is in the air. Surrender has indeed now in progress all through April, as is shown both by the immense haul of prisoners and the rapidity of the allied advances. The question now is whether it will continue with accelerated speed or pass with one swift move into completeness. The latter development is to be desired if only for the sake of tormented Europe. The rule of the Continent is now so precarious that there can be no prose of preparation for the tasks ahead such as succeeded the fighting in 1918. The needs of western Holland must be met at once. Its people have been brought down almost to concentration camp level and, while supplies dropped from the air can maintain life and hope, liberation must be followed by instant action not only to restore health but to prevent the disease threatened by the damage to the country's drainage system. The condition of the Norwegian people is almost equally serious. It is probable that the danger area extends to Denmark, systematically looted of her agricultural wealth. Accoun must also be taken of the hungry industrial cities of northern Italy, but here the rapidity of the allied advances suggests that communications have not been wrecked. Finally there is Germany herself, her administration collapsing, her railway system in ruins, her industries wrecked, her territory swarming with millions of released slaves making their way home. The responsibilities for Germany's condition lie with the Germans who themselves forged the weapons which have now been turned against them; but its consequences will be felt throughout Europe.

The battle to be fought will be one of order against chaos, and the campaign will be opened by armies, themselves symbols of order. Both liberated and occupied territories will pass in the first instance under military government, which will accept responsibility for meeting the requirements of the civil population, though only, in Mr. *Attlee's* phrase, on an auxiliary standard. Moreover, while, in the west, Anglo-American action has hitherto been integrated, there will in future be separate zones of occupation. Coordination of allied policy has so far been undertaken by the European Advisory Council meeting in London. With the end of hostilities it will pass to the commanders-in-chief acting under general instructions from their Governments. Unity of direction is plainly required, but neither the form nor the place of the new authority has yet been determined. Sir *Austin Salter's* recent plea for a Supreme Economic Council has attracted much support, and the need of a centralising body will become greater as civil replaces military control. Unity can coordinate up to a point, but its activities stop at the uncertain line which separates rehabilitation from reconstruction.







## DÖNITZ'S ORDER TO U-BOATS

Flensburg wireless announced yesterday that on May 4, Grand Admiral Dönitz issued the order to U-boats to cease hostilities and to start their return journey. On this occasion he issued the following order of the day to his U-boat men:—

“ My U-boat men, six years of U-boat warfare lie behind us. You have fought like lions. A crushing superiority has compressed us into a very narrow area. The continuation of the struggle is impossible from the bases which remain. U-boat men, unbroken in your warlike courage, you are laying down your arms after a heroic fight which knows no equal. In reverent memory we think of our comrades who have sealed their loyalty to the Führer and Fatherland with their death. Comrades, maintain in the future your U-boat spirit with which you have fought at sea, bravely and unflinchingly, during the long years for the welfare of our Fatherland. Long live Germany.—Your Grand Admiral.”—*British United Press.*

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# Imperial and Foreign

## THE DEFEAT OF GERMANY

### DECLARATION TEXT IN FULL

The following is the text of the declaration on the defeat of Germany and the assumption of supreme authority by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R., and France, which was signed in Berlin yesterday by the military representatives of the four Powers:—

The German armed forces on land, at sea, and in the air have been completely defeated and have surrendered unconditionally, and Germany, which bears responsibility for the war, is no longer capable of resisting the will of the victorious Powers. The unconditional surrender of Germany has thereby been effected, and Germany has become subject to such requirements as may now or hereafter be imposed upon her.

There is no central Government or authority in Germany capable of accepting responsibility for the maintenance of order, the administration of the country, and compliance with the requirements of the victorious Powers.

It is in these circumstances necessary, without prejudice to any subsequent decisions that may be taken respecting Germany, to make provision for the cessation of any further hostilities on the part of the German armed forces, for the maintenance of order in Germany and for the administration of the country, and to announce the immediate requirements with which Germany must comply.

The representatives of the Supreme Commands of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the French Republic, hereinafter called the "allied representatives," acting by authority of their respective Governments and in the interests of the United Nations, accordingly make the following declaration:—

The Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Provisional Government of the French Republic, hereby assume supreme authority with respect to Germany, including all the powers possessed by the German Government, the High Commands and any State, municipal, or local government or authority. The assumption, for the purposes stated above, of the said authority and powers does not effect the annexation of Germany.

The Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Provisional Government of the French Republic will hereafter determine the boundaries of Germany or any part thereof, and the status of Germany or of any area at present being part of German territory.

In virtue of the supreme authority and powers thus assumed by the four Governments, the allied representatives announce the following requirements arising from the complete defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany with which Germany must comply.

#### ARTICLE 1

Germany and all German military, naval, and air, authorities, and all forces under German control, shall immediately cease hostilities and all operations of war against the forces of the United Nations on land, at sea, and in the air.

The forces of Germany or under German control, wherever they may be, shall be completely disarmed, and all arms, military organizations, and military equipment shall be completely destroyed, and all weapons and munitions shall be completely destroyed, and all commanders or to whom orders are issued by the German Government, or by the German High Commands, or by the German authorities, shall be completely destroyed, and all commanders or to whom orders are issued by the German Government, or by the German High Commands, or by the German authorities, shall be completely destroyed.

The German authorities and people will comply with any instruction given by the allied representatives for the apprehension and surrender of such persons.

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allied State concerned, be declared to be prisoners of war, pending further decisions, and shall be subject to such conditions and directions as may be prescribed by the respective allied representatives.

(a) All forces referred to in paragraph (a) above, wherever they may be, will remain in their present positions pending instructions from the allied representatives.

(b) Evacuation by the said forces of all territories outside the frontiers of Germany as they existed on December 31, 1937, will proceed according to instructions to be given by the allied representatives.

(c) Detachments of civil police to be armed with small arms only, for the maintenance of order and for guard duties, will be designated by the allied representatives.

#### ARTICLE 3

(a) All aircraft of any kind or nationality in Germany, or German-occupied or controlled territories or waters, military, naval, or civil, other than aircraft in the service of the allies, will remain on the ground, on the water, or aboard ships pending further instructions.

(b) All German or German-controlled aircraft in or over territories or waters not occupied or controlled by Germany will proceed to Germany or to such other place or places as may be specified by the allied representatives.

#### ARTICLE 4

(a) All German or German-controlled naval vessels, surface and submarine, auxiliary naval craft, and merchant and other shipping, wherever such vessels may be at the time of this declaration, and all other merchant ships of whatever nationality in German ports, will remain in or proceed immediately to ports and bases as specified by the allied representatives. The crews of such vessels will remain on board pending further instructions.

(b) All ships and vessels of the United Nations, whether or not title has been transferred as the result of prize court or other proceedings, which are at the disposal of Germany or under German control at the time of this declaration, will proceed at the dates and to the ports or bases specified by the allied representatives.

#### ARTICLE 5

(a) All or any of the following articles in the possession of the German armed forces or under German control or at German disposal will be held intact and in good condition at the disposal of the allied representatives, for such purposes and at such times and places as they may prescribe:—

(i) All arms, ammunition, explosives, military equipment, stores and supplies, and other implements of war of all kinds and all other war material;

(ii) all naval vessels of all classes, both surface and submarine, auxiliary naval craft, and all merchant shipping, whether afloat, under repair or construction, built or building;

(iii) all aircraft of all kinds, aviation and anti-aircraft equipment and devices;

(iv) all transportation and communications facilities and equipment, by land, water, or air;

(v) all military installations and establishments, including airfields, seaplane bases, ports and naval bases, storage depots, permanent and temporary land and coast fortifications, fortresses and other fortified areas, together with plans and drawings of all such fortifications, installations, and establishments;

(vi) all factories, plants, shops, research institutions, laboratories, testing stations, technical data, patents, plans, drawings, and inventions, designed or intended to produce or to facilitate the production or use of the articles, materials, and facilities referred to in sub-paragraphs (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), and (v) above or otherwise to further the conduct of war.

(b) At the demand of the allied representatives the following will be furnished:—

(i) The labour, services, and plant required for the maintenance or operation of any of the six categories mentioned in paragraph (a) above; and (ii) any information or records that may be required by the allied representatives in connection with the same.

(c) At the demand of the allied representatives, all facilities will be provided for the movement of allied troops and agencies, their equipment and supplies, on the railways, roads, and other land communications, or by sea, river, or air. All means of transportation will be maintained in good order and repair, and the labour, services and plant necessary therefor will be furnished.

#### ARTICLE 6

(a) The German authorities will release to the allied representatives, in accordance with

the procedure to be laid down by them, all prisoners of war at present in their power, belonging to the forces of the United Nations, and will furnish full lists of these persons, indicating the places of their detention in Germany or territory occupied by Germany. Pending the release of such prisoners of war, the German authorities and people will protect them in their persons and property, and provide them with adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical attention, and money in accordance with their rank or official position.

(b) The German authorities and people will in like manner provide for and release all other nationals of the United Nations who are confined, interned, or otherwise under restraint, and all other persons who may be confined, interned, or otherwise under restraint for political reasons, or as a result of any Nazi action, law, or regulation which discriminates on the ground of race, colour, creed, or political belief.

(c) The German authorities will, at the demand of the allied representatives, hand over control of places of detention to such officers as may be designated for the purpose by the allied representatives.

#### ARTICLE 7

The German authorities concerned will furnish to the allied representatives:—

(a) Full information regarding the forces referred to in Article 2 (a), and, in particular, will furnish forthwith all information which the allied representatives may require concerning the numbers, locations, and dispositions of such forces, whether located inside or outside Germany;

(b) complete and detailed information concerning mines, minefields, and other obstacles to movement by land, sea, or air, and the safety lanes in connection therewith. All such safety lanes will be kept open and clearly marked; all mines, minefields, and other dangerous obstacles will as far as possible be rendered safe, and all aids to navigation will be reinstated. Unarmed German military and civilian personnel with the necessary equipment will be made available and utilized for the above purposes and for the removal of mines, minefields, and other obstacles as directed by the allied representatives.

#### ARTICLE 8

There shall be no destruction, removal, concealment, transfer, or scattering off, or damage to, any military, naval, air, shipping, port, industrial and other like property, facilities and all records and archives, wherever they may be situated, except as may be directed by the allied representatives.

#### ARTICLE 9

Pending the institution of control by the allied representatives over all means of communication, all radio and telecommunication installations and other forms of wire or wireless communications, whether ashore or afloat, under German control, will cease transmission except as directed by the allied representatives.

#### ARTICLE 10

The forces, nationals, ships, aircraft, military equipment, and other property in Germany or in German control or service or at German disposal, of any other country at war with any of the allies, will be subject to the provisions of this declaration and of any proclamations, orders, ordinances, or instructions issued thereunder.

#### ARTICLE 11

(a) The principal Nazi leaders as specified by the allied representatives, and all persons from time to time named or designated by rank, office, or employment by the allied representatives as being suspected of having committed, ordered, or abetted war crimes or analogous offences, will be apprehended and surrendered to the allied representatives.

(b) The same will apply in the case of any national of any of the United Nations who is alleged to have committed an offence against his national law, and who may at any time be named or designated by rank, office, or employment by the allied representatives.

(c) The German authorities and people will comply with any instruction given by the allied representatives for the apprehension and surrender of such persons.

#### ARTICLE 12

The allied representatives will station foreign and civil agencies in any or all parts of Germany as they may determine.

#### ARTICLE 13

(a) In the exercise of the supreme authority with respect to Germany assumed by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Provisional Government of the French Republic, the allied Governments will take such steps, including the complete disarmament and denazification of Germany, as they deem requisite for future peace and security.

(b) The allied representatives will impose on Germany additional political, administrative, economic, financial, military, and other requirements arising from the complete defeat of Germany. The allied representatives, or persons or agencies duly designated by them, on their authority, will issue proclamations, orders, ordinances, and instructions for the purpose of laying down such additional requirements, and of giving effect to the other provisions of this declaration. All German authorities and the German people shall carry out unconditionally the requirements of the allied representatives, and shall fully comply with all such proclamations, orders, ordinances, and instructions.

#### ARTICLE 14

This declaration enters into force and effect at the date and hour set forth below. In the event of failure on the part of the German authorities or people promptly and completely to fulfil their obligations hereby or hereafter imposed, the allied representatives will take whatever action may be deemed by them to be appropriate under the circumstances.

#### ARTICLE 15

This declaration is drawn up in the English, Russian, French, and German languages. The English, Russian, and French are the only authentic texts.

Signed by the Allied Representatives:  
B. L. MONTGOMERY  
EISENHOWER  
ZHUKOV  
F. DE LAETRE DE TASSIGNY  
Berlin, June 5, 1945.



# GERMANY'S SECRET WEAPONS

## DEADLY MISSILES PREPARED OR PLANNED

### DISCLOSURES IN THE BRITISH ZONE

From Our Military Correspondent in Germany

The more that is learnt of German preparations and progress with new weapons, the more apparent is it that the allies ended the war with Germany only just in time. It may, of course, be said that this was not all luck, because Germany's feverish research for new aggressive inventions starved the forces which had to fight her battles, notably the air and artillery arms, and thus contributed to the allied victory in the field, the only kind of victory to which there is no reply. Nevertheless the dangers faced, above all by Britain, were many and terrible. I am now learning a great deal about them from men willing to talk, partly from professional pride and partly, let us hope, to prevent further wars.

#### DESTRUCTION PREVENTED

The British entered Germany with machinery organized to prevent the destruction or concealment of research work or plants of special kinds, and they were more successful than they had dared to hope. First there was an arrangement with the air forces to avoid bombing them. Then special teams went forward on the heels of the fighting troops to take them over. Much was in fact taken intact. In other cases vital objects which had been hastily buried or hidden were quickly found. One managing director of a great company was actually found addressing a board meeting on the disposal of dangerous secrets.

It is convenient to summarize results under seven headings, representing the seven groups of the organization which did the work. The first of these concerns radio and optical equipment. Here, apart from the general high quality of output, there was only one surprise. That was in the Germans' infra-red photography. Photographs were taken at remarkable distances. Also in this category comes a fabulous ray which was to deal with tanks. This proved to be only infra-red search-lights to blind tank crews and was used in conjunction with the 88mm. gun. It was more humdrum than the tale, but it was deadly against tanks moving at night, as ours did. The second category embraces guns. So much has already been written about long-range guns that no emphasis is required to the enemy's inventive capacity. But there were other unpleasant novelties, such as rocket-assisted shells. At a certain point in the shell's progress the rocket took over and provided further propulsion. Then there was at least a scheme in the pre-development stage to provide the V 2 rocket with wings, which had great possibilities.

#### NEW GAS

The first category is chemical warfare. The Germans had a new gas in great quantity with certain qualities more deadly than any yet used. It could have been mastered, but would have given trouble and caused much loss, especially as anti-gas discipline in England was naturally not as good as at the outset of the war. It is known that Hitler was the man who prevented its use, in spite of continual urgings from the party bosses, not through altruism, but because he did not believe he would pay. Another invention in this field was a very light and non-inflammable synthetic rubber of a sponge-like consistency, admirable for motor tyres because it is nearly indestructible by bullets.

In the fourth category, that of air warfare, in addition to their various jet planes the Germans were experimenting with a piloted V 1 flying-bomb with a retarded take-off and an obvious increase of accuracy. They had also made considerable progress with controlled projectiles directed either from an aircraft to a ground target or from aircraft to aircraft. The fifth category covers vehicles. The British did not find much heavy tank industry in their area, but there were a number of half-track models with fantastically low

fuel consumption. Amphibious vehicle of types not dissimilar from those used by the allies were in production.

The sixth category concerns naval construction. Here all the most notable work was on torpedoes and submarines. There was a torpedo with a range of 80 miles and an acoustic head which "listened" for its target. There were controlled torpedoes which would follow a zig-zag course with deadly possibilities against zig-zagging ships. There was a glider released from an aircraft and in turn releasing a torpedo, so that the aircraft could avoid the full blast of ships' anti-aircraft fire. There was a jet-propelled submarine going into production with an underwater speed of 25 knots—a nightmare to deal with—and one in production with a submerged speed of 15 knots. These were made possible by a new fuel, also employed to propel the Me.163, and to be utilized either as a propellant or an explosive fuel. The seventh category, which can be labelled documentary, includes the records of the Gestapo and the Nazi Party. Some illuminating information has been unearthed here. The Gestapo would run a firm, supply it with slave labour, and then dodge income-tax on the profits, which were sometimes enormous.

#### SINISTER SWITCH-OVER

The British organization built up to trace all these inventions was aided by the Germans refraining from laying booby traps or carrying out sabotage in their own country. In fact the principal damage was done by "displaced persons" in a state of inebritation after the German collapse. The Germans either ran away or, if they could not, gave all the information in their power. The "blind" in Hanover was probably the greatest Europe has seen and lasted for three days. Nevertheless a magnificent intelligence target which was the headquarters of the *Wefukries* (Defence District) No. 11 was secured in almost complete working order. In another case the head of a world-famous firm had completed the burning of all his documents on the afternoon before the British arrived, but when he was convinced that the Nazi Party was a thing of the past he admitted that he had first microfilmed all the most important of them.

The special force employed enjoyed the comparatively rare experience of an operation going almost exactly as anticipated. The most valuable element in it was provided by its technical assessors who, in spite of scarcity of transport, contrived to cover quickly all targets on their list as well as others accidentally discovered. Though no form of rehearsal was possible, the operations went off efficiently.

The inventions mentioned were in all stages from pre-development to full production. When it is realized that full preparation was made by the Germans to carry out all essential production in underground factories totally impervious to bombing, the full extent of the peril becomes apparent. It is not too much to say that the Germans were in the act of switching from one kind of war to another and that many developments of the kind I have enumerated would have been as deadly as those already disclosed in, for example, the V 1 and V 2. Allied bombing had delayed the switch-over and would have hampered development, especially by attacks on communications, but could not have stopped it. Safety in the long-term future will, in my view, depend greatly on German cooperation, and this in turn depends on what sort of Germany we and our allies fashion in the transition period. The problem is therefore closely interlinked with all the other problems of control, rehabilitation, and re-education. Constant watchfulness may be taken for granted, but it will not suffice alone. It must go hand-in-hand with a steady, consistent, just, and readily understood policy of government.



Polish Government until the Russian Government explains the action of the Polish leaders. (p. 4)

#### SPORT

Race meetings were held at Salisbury and Epsom on Saturday. (p. 2)

England beat Wales in an Association football match at Cardiff on Saturday. (p. 2)

The first goal is two. (p. 2)

#### FINANCE AND COMMERCE

Outward rates of freight between the United Kingdom and South and South-East African and East African ports are to be raised to-day by 25 per cent. (p. 7)

### LAST MOVES

General Eisenhower's prediction that the end in Germany would come with piecemeal surrenders and that it would be for the allies to decide when effective and organized resistance had ceased has been amply fulfilled. The confusion and uncertainty, the hesitations and divided counsels, are a measure of the magnitude of the German defeat. These are the melodies of vanquished nations and armies. It is to be decided whether there remain any one in a position to issue general orders, and then is no working hierarchy, military or civil, to ensure that they are promptly carried out. There is a further complication. The enemy has continued to put up a certain amount of resistance to the Russians, notably in Czechoslovakia, and where resistance is no longer possible he still does not surrender but prefers to emigrate in mass troops and civilian alike, into the zone of the western allies. It may be that by now Döstriz has realized the folly of this course. The military task of the 21st Army Group is already at an end. That of the Americans is not quite completed, since General Patton is racing to Erfurt. Advanced guards of the Fifth and Eighth Armies from Italy have entered Austria west of Klagenfurt. The Bavarian redoubt has collapsed without any serious resistance. There can be little doubt that the enemy intended to make a final stand in it, but things moved too fast for him. His armies were fought to a standstill; their spirit was broken and their supply system had ceased to exist; and the redoubt itself was rapidly penetrated from several directions.

If confusion be the sign of defeat, an excess of it is none the less an embarrassment to the victors. After the armistice of 1918 such problems hardly raised their heads. Germany's subsequent internal troubles, including secessions and civil war, did not involve the allies. To-day, however, the conquering armies stand in the midst of Germany, and the forces of occupation must extend their hold over the whole country and settle down there for a long time to come. The marshalling and disarming of prisoners of war on a scale unexampled in the history of warfare is a gigantic task. The destruction has been terrific; scores of towns have been obliterated, and there is scarcely one among the larger which has not suffered heavy damage. The Nazi Party, which constituted the framework of the State from the top down to the humblest administrative office, has disappeared from material existence—though it may still be working in the shadows, and other semi-legal military governments something must be found to take its place. These tasks and many more concerning only Germany itself are independent of others, such as the care and repatriation of allied prisoners of war and other nationals and the provision of speedy succour to Germany's victims—Holland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, and soon it is to be hoped Norway. The military administrations will certainly have their hands full in the near future.

The prolongation of resistance when it was evidently hopeless and could serve no useful end—not even that of prestige, since it involved the degradation of moral collapse—has brought upon Germany its worst fate which she might have avoided had her rulers not been insane. And yet, though on military considerations the Germans should have laid down their arms a month ago, if not earlier still, the final phase has been extremely rapid. It is only four months since the Germans were winning successes in the Ardennes, the Saar, and Alsace; only two months since the first allied soldier set foot on the east bank of the Rhine. The overthrow of Germany has been not only complete but swift, and the vast edifice of power and oppression has crumbled in very much less time than it took to build it. Germany's military victories in the period of her initiative were for the most part swift, but they were widely spaced. The final structure, which was to have been impregnable, took three years to erect; two and a half years were occupied in fighting a way up to it; and since the landing in Normandy less than a year has sufficed to bring it to ruin. There are obvious advantages in being the stronger at the outbreak of a war, but if the then weaker belligerent survives the shock and becomes the stronger at the end he will draw even richer dividends.

So far the confusion of Germany's defeat has been tackled successfully. The forces which surrendered to the 21st Army Group are under control, and the troops in Copenhagen, who were disposed to make trouble, have been withdrawn into barracks. An allied mission is already at work. Holland is free and is being re-visited for immediate necessities, which are great and urgent, and the Queen is back among her people. The British administration is functioning in Hamburg. In Italy the summary executions, which could readily be understood but could not be permitted under an established allied occupation, appear to have ceased. The danger-point at the moment is Trieste, but our Special Correspondent now in that city sees "a fair hope" that its life will be restored to something like normal fairness. And swift as the march of events has been, their general course had been foreseen, so that provision could be for as possible be made to meet them. The surrendering armies have been behaving with decency so far, though care has no doubt to be taken with a minority in their ranks. Yet there is no doubt that very great efforts will be required in order to surmount the difficulties that present themselves immediately. In view of the length, the magnitude, and the destructiveness of the conflict, it could not well be otherwise. At the moment Germany represents something like a vacuum in organized society. A fair share of the energies and ingenuity which have gone into the prosecution of



# THE FIRST PEACE FEELERS

## WHEN ENEMY KNEW HE WAS BEATEN

### FANTASTIC OFFER

From Our Military Correspondent

The unconditional surrender of all German forces is the tardy official recognition of a situation the main features of which have been for some time clear to vanquished and victors alike. It had been implicitly recognized by the enemy much earlier.

Two months ago, on March 7, the day before the first American soldiers crossed the Rhine by surprise at Remagen, over a fortnight before the main passage by the 21st Army Group, the first known peace feelers—there may have been some even earlier—began in Stockholm. They embodied fantastic terms, the maintenance of the Nazi régime and permission to oppose further Russian progress into Germany. That, however, is not uncommon in bargaining. They suggested that a more reasonable attitude might soon be assumed.

Then before March was out and about a fortnight before the launch of the final victorious offensive in Italy, the German commander-in-chief in that theatre, General von Vietinghoff, began negotiations for the surrender of his forces. More recently, but still over a fortnight ago, Himmler made an offer of unconditional surrender to the western Powers only.

### POSITION HOPELESS

It matters not whether there was effrontery or desperate gambling in these German moves. They proved that the enemy knew that all was in effect over. Dispassionate observers had concluded that Germany was already effectively defeated before the Battle of the Rhine took place, but after it was over it became clear to any child that her position was hopeless. On all fronts the allies took the most appropriate means to force the enemy to admit what he so clearly knew, and to act in accordance with his admission.

There was, in fact, to be no more than local resistance to allied advances and attacks. Yet it should be recognized now—so that it shall not be overlooked in future—that for the individual soldier the test of these last steps in beating down resistance may be as trying as the vital assault of earlier days or the desperate defence of days still earlier. It may be even more so because he knows that victory is already won and life begins to beckon to him with a new and imperious attraction: and in the last few weeks many a good man has not been able to respond to that beckoning because his duty has withdrawn him from life. A special form of devotion and a peculiarly high sense of duty are required to face the last bullets in a victorious campaign.

## CAPITULATION IN NORWAY

### ANNOUNCEMENT ON DANISH WIRELESS

News that the German forces in Norway, estimated at 300,000 men, had capitulated was broadcast yesterday afternoon on the wave-length of Danish wireless, now under allied control. The announcer said:—

"It has just been announced that the German forces in Norway have capitulated."

The wireless gave no details, but after the announcement it broadcast the Norwegian National Anthem. An earlier report said negotiations were in progress for the surrender of the Germans in Norway through Sweden, and a number of German troops were reported to be heading for the Swedish frontier in advance of the formal surrender.

Dr. Hans Thomsen, German Minister to Sweden, on Sunday visited the Norwegian border to take part in negotiations between General Boehme, the German Commander-in-Chief, Norway, and the Swedish authorities.—*Reuter.*



## AMERICAN DISCLOSURES

INTERNATIONAL COMBINES

Mr. Clayton disclosed that Britain and the United States sent industrial experts to Germany to "acquire all the technological information available which could be used for the prosecution of the war against Japan." He said that reports from these missions indicate that "scientific information of considerable value is being obtained," which may aid a more rapid overthrow of Japan. — *Continued*

## VIEWS ON GERMANY'S FUTURE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, June 25

GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

GERMAN COMMUNIST  
PARTY

## REGISTRATION IN BERLIN

## RIBBENTROP'S WIFE ARRESTED

#### RIEBENTROP'S WIFE ARRESTED

The struggling herself on board while it was moored in Copenhagen, her was discovered before the vessel reached Germany, according to Coast officials. The husband was arrested in bed in a house in Hamburg a June 15.—*Reuter*.

## BRITISH ZONE IN GERMANY

## CONTROL OF INFORMATION

本報地址：上海二馬路 電話：二二三三 電報掛號：六四四四

THE ARMY CLUB, June 25

Radio stations are still largely selling Luxembourg, but are also pulling out their own wares, music and talks, and will develop this tendency. A few—like Luxembourg—remain a broadcast from Brussels. Films show no such progress. Excessive films were either Nazi in theme or acted by notorious Nazi personalities, both equally objectionable. Music, apart from radio, also comes into the sphere of information control, and there is a second line of censorship at Brussels aimed at most public performances. No general improvement is that the service is still inferior, but working on second lines. It is clearly understood, and there has been no lack of German patriotism and no attempt to beg the credit. The next big and necessary move will be to make newspapers in weeks' instead of weeks, but there are many difficulties, not least the lack of transport.

## ITALIAN HOPE OF MORE FREEDOM

NEW GOVERNMENT AND  
THE ALLIES

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1991年12月25日

That part of the spectrum which poses a serious policy is concerned mainly with the setting up of new organs of government, and above all of a national assembly, which would be the first step towards the creation of a new state. The second part of the spectrum is concerned with the setting up of a new government, and the third part with the setting up of a new state. The fourth part of the spectrum is concerned with the setting up of a new state, and the fifth part with the setting up of a new state.

## 200 MILES OF CHINESE COAST REGAINED

## STRUGGLE FOR AIR BASES

At Liu-tung, between 1,000 and 2,000 Japanese are fighting a delaying action to enable an organized withdrawal north-southward along their corridor through Kwangsi to Hongkong. Linshue and Kowshu are further American air bases which, if incapacitated by the Chinese, would constitute a serious threat to the Japanese-controlled north-south railway. The fall of Hongkong, in this strategy, would cut the communications of the Japanese garrison in the Canton-Hongkong area. —Tosco

## POST-WAR EMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

CANNARA, J. M. TI

It is understood that sponsored immigrants are not required to provide any re-establishment rights for members of the United Kingdom forces who may struggle to Australia, and delaying the detailed assessment of the Commonwealth's post-war immigration plans. Members of the Parliamentary opposition fear that, unless Australia were to discuss the plans, they may be left behind the other parts of the Empire in the race for immigrants, and the Government is expected to seek a Ministerial agreement.

### AUSTRALIAN SHIPS WITH BRITISH FLEET

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The Sparrows are the Quilboas, Ducks, ranch, Nippon, Nippon, and Nippon, of which were made available to the Admiralty for training in Amritsar.

## SOVIET ACADEMY'S JUBILEE

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... ..

Professor Kaptan, in a speech on his newly outlined a project for the free exchange of scientific knowledge between nations.



## CONTROL OF GERMANY

### COUNCIL TO START SOON

### HOPE FOR GREATER ALLIED UNITY

From Our Diplomatic Correspondent

There are welcome signs that the Allied Control Council for Germany will soon begin its work in Berlin. The tangle over the main issues of occupation, which partly held the council up, seems to have been straightened out. British and American troops are withdrawing out of the Soviet zone, and the limits of the French zone—broad as from Cologne to the Austrian frontier—are expected to be announced without much more delay.

General Eisenhower, the chief American delegate to the council, is returning to Germany. Sir William Strang, Field-Marshal Montgomery's political adviser, will have orders to join his chief almost immediately, and other members of the British staff will follow in probably not much more than a week's time.

No date for the beginning of the work can be given yet. But the forward moves, aided by the knowledge that the Big Three will deal with Germany's future when they meet next month, strengthen the hope that Allied policy will be given much greater unity and precision than it has had during these past uneasy, transitional weeks.

In London to-day, the representatives of Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and France are meeting to devise the method of fixing the major war criminals. David Maxwell Fyfe, the Attorney-General, will attend for Britain; Mr. Justice Jackson for the United States; Mr. Nikoizenko, Deputy President of the Supreme Court, and Professor Tamm, for the U.S.S.R.; and M. Facon, of the Court of Cassation, for France. The American proposal for an inter-allied military tribunal will be considered.

## REPATRIATION OF RUSSIANS

### QUICK TRANSFER TO SOVIET ZONE

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, June 25

Since the Leipzig agreement of May 21 about 1,500,000 Russian prisoners-of-war and displaced persons have been transferred into the Soviet zone of Germany by the British and American armies.

At the same time more than 300,000 displaced persons from western Europe have been transferred to the Russians, and most of them were quickly returned to their countries in the Soviet and zones which join them. The Soviet Union is the main area of transfer. At present about 200,000 Russians await repatriation from the zone of occupation. The rate of government has been estimated as expected figure of 20,000 a day, thanks to the close co-operation of all the governments concerned.

When the Russian, or German, leave from other zones in Germany where they have been transferred to a number of large transit camps. Small bands of soldiers, armoured cars, and trucks, are still running about the countryside, but on the whole the problem of these millions of displaced workers has yielded to direct action in a way few persons thought possible.

For the history of information service in the British zone is described on page 2.

## JAPANESE SHIPPING ATTACKED

### FORTY-FOUR VESSELS SUNK

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, June 25

During the week-end United States Army, Navy, and Marine airplanes and submarines of the R.A.F., of the command of General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz, attacked 16 Japanese ships over a 5,000-mile stretch from the Kure Islands and destroyed 4,600 tons of bombs. Among the results of their attacks were the sinking of at least 44 Japanese ships and river craft.

Some of the heaviest attacks—on Kyushu and on the Kure Islands—were made by submarines operating from bases on Okinawa.

The ground forces mopping up on Okinawa have killed or captured several thousand more Japanese troops, raising the total there by 100,000 to 163,874 dead and 7,932 captured; but there were still many small pockets of Japanese who were still being picked up. A few Japanese aircraft appeared over the area on Saturday but made no attacks on the American fleet or the ground forces.

Bombing has been heaviest almost every day by American land-based airplanes.

At Hiroshima yesterday General Arnold, commander of the Army Air Force, reported the idea of atom-bombs for islands taken away from Japan and declared that the United States will have "unlimited use" of atomic bombs "necessary to our future defense."

General Arnold said that the heaviest air attacks on Japan would come this autumn. Eleven hundred Super Fortresses with crews of more than 11,000 men had been saved by being able to land on two. His visit to American advanced bases in the Pacific had convinced him that other key islands in the Marshall, Palau, Marianas, Bonin, and Ryukyu were vital to America's strategic policy of defense. In developing the air offensive against Japan, Okinawa would be one of the most important bases. Other officers have said that it is to be the biggest island air base in the world.

### NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR IN LISBON

The Foreign Office announced that the King has approved the appointment of Sir Owen S. Fair O'Malley, his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Poland, to be his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Lisbon, in accordance with the wishes of the Government.

Sir Owen O'Malley, who was educated at Rugby and Magdalen, entered the Foreign Office in 1917. He was British Minister in Warsaw in 1937-38, was in charge of the Embassy in Spain, then established at St. James de Luxe, in 1938-39, and was then Minister in Budapest till 1941, when he became Ambassador in the United Polish Government.

### SERVICE TO CHANNEL ISLANDS

The Southern Railway said its of Germany was last night scheduled to leave Southampton on a regular service to the Channel Islands after an interval of two years. At 5.55 p.m. on June 25th left Southampton station with 130 soldiers and 100 civilian passengers, who joined the Isle of Wight at Southampton. The train arrived at Guernsey at 6.10 a.m. on Sunday at 9.15 a.m. The last train will leave Southampton on Monday. Wednesday, and Friday. It will service will have Jersey, Guernsey, and Guernsey.

## LEND-LEASE FOR RUSSIA

### U.S. TO CONTINUE SUPPLIES

### AID AGAINST JAPAN

From Our Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 25

The Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives has made public the testimony of Mr. Leo Crowley, head of the Foreign Economic Administration, to the effect that lend-lease shipments to European Russia have been halted, but that the situation in the Pacific is still recognized as justifying aid. "Although the Soviet Union has not declared war against Japan," Mr. Crowley said, "lend-lease aid is being continued to the Soviet Union as long as and to the extent that, in the opinion of the President and his highest military and strategic advisers, it is of military advantage to the United States."

He explained that the possibility of the entry of Russia into the Pacific war "will not be taken into account in the future of Japan's future," which might otherwise be directed against allied forces in the Asian theatre. The United States did not intend to enter into a new lend-lease protocol with Russia for the fiscal year beginning on July 1, but would review her needs as the military situation changed.

### INDUSTRIAL CONVERSION

Mr. Crowley revealed that the British Commonwealth would receive the largest share of lend-lease supplies for the war against Japan, and said that Anglo-American rearmament plans were being coordinated to that end and that both nations might receive an "equitable share" of their industrial capacity in the prosecution of that war.

No lend-lease funds would be required in the coming fiscal year for Latin America, South Africa, and the nations of Eastern Europe and the Balkans, he said. Lend-lease aid to France, Belgium, and the Netherlands in connection with rearmament would end on December 31, after which date those countries would be required to pay for any assistance except in the prosecution of the Pacific war. Mr. Crowley indicated that the Treasury Administration desires that the Export-Import Bank should supply credit for foreign establishments where lend-lease funds were no longer used.

## MR. TRUMAN IN SAN FRANCISCO

### ARRIVAL BY AIR

SAN FRANCISCO, June 25.—President Truman arrived in San Francisco by special airplane from Portland (Oregon) to-day. He was met by Mr. Stettinius, the Secretary of State, conference officials, and senior officers of the Army and Navy.

The President's programme for the next 24 hours includes a procession through San Francisco, a number of receptions, attendance at a dinner to be given by Mr. Stettinius, and meetings with several leaders of the conference. He will address the conference tomorrow afternoon. —British United Press.

### RUSSIAN NOTE TO TURKEY

### REPORTED CONDITIONS FOR NEW TREATY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

ISTANBUL, June 25

The Soviet Ambassador at Ankara, Mr. Vinogradov, called on the acting Turkish Foreign Minister on Friday, with a Note from his Government.

It is known that since the return to Moscow of the Turkish Ambassador, M. Selim Serper, an exchange of views has taken place between the Turkish and Russian Governments on the conditions under which the Turco-Russian treaty of friendship, denounced by Russia in March, should be renewed. It is believed that before entering into negotiations the Soviet Government put forward certain conditions covering a wide political range, and that these were the subject of Mr. Vinogradov's visit to the acting Foreign Minister.

Official circles in Ankara are anxious about the Note, and as far as the Turkish Press has not said anything about it. However, the general belief in diplomatic circles is that the two essential conditions put forward by the Soviet Government for the conclusion of a new treaty of friendship are an alteration in the present administration of the Straits, according to Russia's privileged position, and a renunciation to Russia of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, which were ceded to Turkey by virtue of the treaty of October 17, 1921. It is believed that the Note is not threatening a time and that it does not fix a time limit for reply. It simply states that the Soviet Government considers the prerequisites for the conclusion of a treaty and the re-establishment of friendly relations.

An exchange of views is taking place between Ankara, London, and Washington, and the general assumption is that the Turkish reply to the Note may be delayed until the forthcoming meeting of the "Big Three."

## FRENCH REQUEST TO UNITED NATIONS

### FACT-FINDING COMMISSION ON LEVANT

SAN FRANCISCO, June 25.—M. Paul-Boncour, head of the French delegation at the San Francisco conference, has sent a memorandum to Mr. Stettinius, chairman of the conference, asking for the appointment by the United Nations of a commission of three representatives of Powers not directly interested in the Levant, to "investigate the origin of the dispute and thus facilitate its amicable settlement."

—Reuter.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, June 25

A spokesman of the Quai d'Orsay to-day pointed out that the proposal made by the French Government in San Francisco is for a commission of inquiry—a fact-finding, not a deciding body. M. Paul-Boncour's memorandum leaves no doubt on this point.

The side-by-side aims, however, are to propose a change in position from that occupied by General de Gaulle and M. Bidault to the French Assembly. The French Government has seemed to have attributed to the San Francisco conference powers that it does not possess. It has apparently indicated since that a more expeditious method of solution was required than an appeal to a body not yet constituted.

### DUKE OF GLOUCESTER ON WAY TO NEW GUINEA

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BRISBANE, June 25

The Duke of Gloucester on the first night of his visit to the forward zone of New Guinea arrived at a far northern town starting his tour after a six-hour flight from Sydney. The day after the Gloucester coast the Duke of Gloucester had a private audience of the Chief of the Royal Air Force, who had been the guest of the Duke at his home.



# S.S. troops try to join American army

From EVELYN IRONS: Lambach, Austria, Monday

Seven hundred surrendered S.S. prisoners in this town have formally petitioned the Third Army colonel commanding their camp to be allowed to join the American Army so they can fight the Japanese. Their request has been refused.

There is a shifting population of 20,000 Wehrmacht in this collecting camp. They live in thousands of little green camouflaged tents in a vast field beside the Traun River.

Except for the S.S., who live separately, they are lightly guarded and when I visited the camp many sat by the roadside sunbathing, stripped to the waist. Unlike their conquerors these men are going home at the rate of a thousand a day. Those who live within 25 miles are turned loose to "foot it," but there are lorries for those whose homes are between 25 and 100 miles away.

The S.S. men are not being freed and men of the signal corps are also being kept prisoner to repair damaged communications.



# What Shall We Do With the Germans?

By VERNON BARTLETT

"AND thus," wrote Mr. Churchill in his description of the signature of the armistice at the end of the last war, "did Germany hand herself over powerless and defenceless to the discretion of her long-tortured and now victorious foes."

Twenty-one years later this "powerless and defenceless" country was able to wage, and almost to win, a second world war. How do we prevent a third one?

The German people are bewildered and cynical. Their cities are destroyed, and of those resources that have survived bombardment few will be left to her.

The Russians have already established the Lublin Poles along the River Oder, thus lopping off one of the main food-producing areas. There are Allied claims for the industrial regions of the Saar and Upper Silesia, and the pits and factories of the Ruhr will certainly not be handed back to the Germans unconditionally. This great country is far more helpless than she was in 1918.

## DISCOURAGE THE LEGENDS

This means that the responsibility and opportunity of the Allies are far greater. Whether they desire it or not, they will mould the future Germany. The present state of German apathy and disbelief cannot last; our first and most obvious job is to discourage the growth of those legends which might lead to a revival of military ambition—that the Wehrmacht was not really defeated, that the German people can renounce all blame and responsibility for its own fate.

The Germans can see for themselves the immense concentration of men and materials that has been necessary to defeat their armed forces. The very magnitude of the Allied effort can easily be interpreted as a tribute to the Wehrmacht rather than as a proof of the world-wide disgust with Nazi methods.

The first interpretation would be the first step towards a third world war. Could anything do more to encourage it than the treatment of high officers of the Wehrmacht as men deserving respect and chivalrous treatment?

## WEHRMACHT OFFICERS

These officers were ready enough to accept Hitler as long as he was able to hand over to their care a whole nation disciplined for war. That they themselves may not have participated in the worst atrocities necessary to achieve that end is no excuse.

We have two things to remember about them. Without their tradition of blind and unquestioning obedience there would have been no Hitler. Also, this tradition is the enemy of individualism, and without individualism there can be no democracy.

It is rooted in the British temperament to be chivalrous towards a defeated enemy. I am glad it is. But, for the sake of our children, let that chivalry be shown towards the ordinary humble folk of Germany, whose responsibility must be limited, and not towards the generals,

the industrialists, the members of the S.S. who were active in putting Hitler into power and in keeping him there.

No worse excuse could possibly be put forward for the use of Admiral Doenitz than that the German people would accept his orders; it is for that very reason that his authority should have been at once destroyed.

There is nothing to be said for a policy to degrade a whole people, for that is the Nazi racial theory in reverse. There is everything to be said for degrading the particular classes that have chosen the evil path this people has followed.

## HORROR FILMS FOR GERMANS

How can we prevent the legend that the ordinary Germans have no responsibility for the Nazi regime? It can be done to some extent by taking them in their thousands through the concentration camps or by showing them in their millions the films that prove the level to which their leaders had dragged them down.

It is useless to tell them they should have prevented such camps, for even in countries where there is no Gestapo and where there is a long tradition of individual freedom and responsibility, John Smith or Mary Brown has little direct influence on the Government. But the Germans can be brought to ask themselves how they allowed Hitler to come into power, and why they were so ready to surrender the opportunities given them by one of the most democratic of all constitutions, that of the Weimar Republic.

If we were supernaturally wise, we might undertake to transfer thousands of young Germans to our own homes in order to educate them. We might encourage German emigration, since America and the Dominions have proved that the German can become a responsible citizen outside his native country.

## OUR IMMEDIATE PROBLEM

But our immediate problem is with that patch on the map that will still be called Germany. Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons recently that the Allies had no intention of administering Germany. Unless they do so, it is difficult to see how Johann

Schmidt or Anna Braun is to be encouraged to play an increasing part in the government of their country.

If they have to obey orders from the same officials they knew under Hitler they will never develop the necessary sense of personal responsibility.

The very chaos in which the Nazis have left Germany should provide us with our best opportunity for teaching the Germans to govern themselves—at first in a small and local way, to overcome their most immediate problems; and later, under Allied supervision, on a national scale. There should be no need for Wehrmacht officers or ex-Nazi officials as middlemen.

A policy of decentralisation is required. If there is to be a national capital in these early stages it should be some city which will remind the Germans that they once were a cultured people who made great contributions to music and literature; for the sooner they can again develop a national pride, the less likely they will be to follow with blind adoration the next demagogue who tells them to conquer the world.

## TWO VITAL CONSIDERATIONS

But there are two vital considerations for the Allies to bear in mind. A policy of decentralisation would be no excuse for dividing the country into watertight Allied zones of control. The occupation of Germany provides an opportunity without parallel in history for international co-operation and government.

If each Allied government in each zone of occupation is to govern Germany in its own way, rivalry between them will be inevitable and each administration will try to win the support of its local Germans against the others. That is the surest way, not of keeping Germany weak, but of making her strong and aggressive again.

Secondly, the occupation will have to last a long time. The men who carry it out will remain contented only if they can be given a sense of mission, a conviction that they are still winning the war. This will not happen unless we have the wisdom now to make a peace settlement so obviously just that public opinion in the Allied countries will want to see it observed 15 or 20 years hence.

Not Germany but the Allies themselves have to decide whether there shall be a third world war.



# RUSSIAN TREATMENT OF GERMANS

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## MR. MIKOYAN ON POLICY OF MAGNANIMITY

Germans in the area occupied by the Red Army are being treated with magnanimity by the Russians, says Mr. A. I. Mikoyan, deputy chairman of the Council of Soviet Peoples' Commissars, who has been investigating the food situation in Berlin and Dresden.

On his return to Moscow, says Moscow radio, he said to a correspondent of *Pravda*:—"We have smashed the Hitlerite army in fierce battles and have occupied Berlin, but our moral sense and our traditions do not allow us to disregard the privations and suffering of the civilian population of Germany."

The people of Berlin had been eating dead horses, all kinds of grasses, and the bark of trees, but the Soviet Command in both Berlin and Dresden had begun to organize supplies of provisions.

Moscow radio added: "The population of these cities, scared by Fascist propaganda, have now seen for themselves that our troops do not wreak vengeance on the civilian population for the monstrous crimes committed by the Hitlerites on Soviet territory but treat the civilian population with magnanimity. Many inhabitants of Berlin declare with sincerity that such an attitude on the part of the Soviet Command surprises them, because at the bottom of their hearts the Germans realize that they deserve not magnanimous treatment but punishment."—*Reuter*.



# 14-POINT PLAN FOR GERMANY

## ELIMINATION OF POWER TO MAKE WAR

WASHINGTON, June 22.—A 14-point plan for breaking Germany's economic domination of Europe and ensuring that she will be unable to make a third attempt to conquer the world was put forward to-day by Mr. Bernard Baruch, political adviser of the Office of War Mobilization.

Mr. Baruch, who visited Germany in April to study economic questions in connexion with the occupation, said in the Senate military affairs committee to-day:—"What is done with Germany holds the key to whether Russia, Britain, and the United States can continue to get along. War must be displaced as Germany's chief business." His recommendations include the following:—

Germany's war-making potential must be eliminated by shifting factories east and west to friendly countries, breaking up the junkers' estates, controlling exports and imports, and rooting out German business organizations all over the world. An agreement with Russia on the major problems of peace, based on this German settlement, to be made in writing, and promptly made public in detail. Reparations to be those that Germany can pay consistent with security, and no undercutting of living standards. The main warmongers—Gestapo, junkers, general staff, and arms financiers—might be used by Russia and other countries as labour for reparations.

Mr. Baruch suggested that "the new equilibrium of industrial strength in Europe might take the form of a United States of Europe, in which Germany would be one of several peaceful equals, not a dominating war-organizer."—*Reuter*.



22 1945

## THE AUSTRIAN STATE

### A DISTINCTIVE CULTURE

#### VIENNA AND THE DANUBE BASIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—All friends of Austria will welcome Sir Ernest Barker's letter emphasizing the judgment of a British Minister in Vienna that a "free and independent Austria is essentially a British interest." What form the government will take is for the Austrians to decide, but I submit that a recognition of that set up recently would be a real step towards a final settlement. But, apart from that, there are three other important points to remember.

(1) Ever since the establishment of the Ostmark in the tenth century Vienna has been the central and focal capital for any settlement of the Danubian basin, and that whatever form, in modern conditions, the economic, territorial, and political organization may take the only strategic centre is and must be Vienna.

(2) Austrian "culture," while fundamentally German, is separate and distinct from that of central or northern Germany and is the result of centuries of growth under the Habsburg imperial rule. The University of Vienna is 500 years older than that of Berlin; the Burgtheater and the Opera House were radiating and independent institutions going back to the epoch of Mozart and Lessing; the great art collections, including the Liechtenstein and Harrach galleries, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum (the finest in Europe) conclusively prove what Austrian as distinct from German culture has contributed to civilization; and the lamentable ignorance of what Austria had meant and stood for through nine centuries made the debate in the House of Lords on Hitler's "rape" in 1937 painful reading.

(3) If Soviet Russia fears, and is determined to prevent, a *cordon sanitaire* on her western front, Great Britain and the United States can strengthen cooperation with the U.S.S.R. to the immense advantage of all, great or small, by uniting on making a free and independent Austria the central core of the Danubian basin for a "federal" system, founded on the national self-determination of the Succession States. A new "Little Entente" is as much a British, as it is a Russian, interest.

Yours,

CHARLES GRANT ROBERTSON.

May 19.

Sir,—I do not think that Sir Ernest Barker's contention that the head of the self-appointed government in Austria "repudiated any idea of *Anschluss* in October, 1933, and afterwards . . ." can be upheld. Dr. Karl Renner in 1938, soon after the *Anschluss*, published an article in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* in which he manifested his utmost agreement with Hitler's and the Nazi policy in bringing Austria back into the German Reich. He even thanked them for it. That being not enough, he declared after the famous plebiscite which, as may be remembered, showed a vast majority approving the *Anschluss*, that he, Dr. Karl Renner, had voted for it. That was in 1938.

The *Auslandskorps* of the Austrian Social Democrats in London, as well as in America, persistently up to the date of the Moscow declaration pursued a pan-German policy of Austria's right to the *Anschluss* with Germany, if the Austrian people should so desire. Only after Moscow was that policy changed.

Yours faithfully,

WALTER LOEB.

39, Berkeley Court, Baker Street, N.W.1,

May 19.







# al and Foreign

## IN OCCUPIED BERLIN

### LIFE UNDER RUSSIAN RULE

From Our Correspondent

STOCKHOLM, JUNE 3

Ten Swedes who lived in the shelter of the Swedish Legation in Berlin during the fighting for the capital and in the first three weeks of the Russian occupation have now returned to Stockholm by way of Moscow and Helsinki.

The group includes the secretary of the legation, Hr. Hugo Aernfast, the Baroness Elka von Ungern-Sternberg, and the correspondent of *Dagens Nyheter*, Hr. Ivar Vesterlund. Although the shelter was extremely well built and had the most modern equipment, the group were frequently in danger because desperate Germans threatened to break in and to make the legation one of their strongholds. When the Russians approached central Berlin the defence was nearly at an end. The German soldiers, most of whom were either mere boys or men of 50 or 60, openly described resistance as madness. The last piece of propaganda, a rumour that Germany had made peace with the Western Powers, seemed, however, to make a certain impression. On the other hand, an order by Hitler to the populace to remain in Berlin had no stimulating effect; it increased, especially among civilians, despair and hatred of "the bandits," as the Nazi leaders came to be known when the end approached. Several soldiers said that Hitler had been inspecting troops, but no one had seen him. The news of Hitler's death was heard only on the radio.

### RESTORATION OF CITY

During the first days of occupation the civilians seemed incapable of any reaction, no new hardships being comparable with what they had endured in their overcrowded shelters without food, water, or fresh air. After a few days relations with the Germans they were put on a strictly correct basis, although the regulations were rigorous. The Russians immediately took measures to get the machinery of the city going again. Placards were put up ordering that all communications should be restored and that restaurants, grocery shops, cinemas, and music-halls that were left should reopen. One notice warned the people of Berlin not to believe rumours of a breach between Russia and the Western Powers. Later a newspaper appeared containing official announcements, the most important foreign news, and anti-Nazi articles. Food was extremely difficult to obtain, but the Russians quickly began distributing potatoes, bread, flour, and other goods taken from German military supplies. According to the ration books now issued, a normal day's rations—there are several classes—will be 200 grammes of bread, 400 grammes of potatoes, and 40 grammes of meat. Tea and coffee are also included, but it is difficult to say whether these liberal rations are yet available.

Nothing was done to stop the Russians from fraternizing with Germans, and German women were often seen with officers and men alike. German Communists approached the Russians after the occupation, but it did not seem that there were many of them. Russian announcements emphasized that not only the Nazi leaders but all traces of Nazism must be done away with, but in several cases they freed people who had been associated with the Nazis but could prove that they had, for instance, helped Jews. Russian traitors in Vlasov's army were, almost without exception, dealt with summarily.



and gave details on Saturday of the petroleum weapons defence of Britain in the event of an invasion. (p. 4)

The War Crimes Conference, meeting in London, discussed the exchange of information between national offices of the United Nations War Crimes Commission with a view to preparing charges against enemy key figures yet indicted. (p. 2)

Elizabeth attended a Council meeting of the Girl Guides Association in Cardiff on Saturday. (p. 2)

Meetings were held at Windsor and Black Bridge on Saturday. (p. 2)

England XI beat the West Indies in a cricket match at Lord's on Saturday by 2 runs. (p. 2)

## INTERREGNUM IN GERMANY

News of the imminent meeting of allied commanders in Berlin has been received with general relief, bringing as it has done a promise that an increasingly serious gap in allied policy is now to be filled. That chaos in Germany would be the signal of collapse and defeat was a foregone conclusion; that allied policies would have to be hurriedly improvised to meet rapidly changing situations was certain; and that these policies might not always be completely coherent or in accord with one another was to be foreseen. These expectations were fulfilled in the first days of victory. The inevitable friction and uncertainties of the initial stage have been overcome, and such mistakes as the tolerance shown to Dönitz and his collaborators or the exception accorded to Goebbels on his surrender have been retrieved. But uneasiness was beginning to arise once more at the delay in applying a common allied policy to Germany and in setting up the central machinery on the spot to control it. Important decisions have apparently been taken in the three major zones of occupation without any consultation and often on contradictory lines. Yet it is clear that unless there is a single broad policy applied to Germany as a whole the result can only be a haphazard splitting up of Germany into three or more zones whose régimes will diverge appreciably and progressively from one another, and create an opportunity for mischief-makers to play off one against the other.

As was to be expected in these conditions, signs of differing policies in matters of detail have already made their appearance. In the American zone Germans under suitable control are apparently being encouraged to restart independent newspapers; in the British zone only a British-sponsored German newspaper is to appear. Differences in the supply position may partly account for the fact that, while the Russians are holding out to the population of Berlin hopes of food rations higher than those of the last days of Hitlerism, the British and American authorities are strictly warning the population of Germany to accommodate themselves to the prospect of rations at the barest subsistence level. But a broader difference of attitude seems discernible here. The Russians, while yielding to none of the other allies in their determination to pursue war criminals and responsible Nazis of all ranks with the utmost rigour, have already begun to offer reassuring gestures to the broad masses of the German people who are free from active infatigation with the Nazi taint. The British and Americans, on the other hand, are still extremely reluctant to discriminate, and apparently will maintain a rule of non-fraternization which, while intelligible and necessary during the advance into Germany, is ultimately the antithesis of any principle of sound administration as well as of any sane policy of "re-education," and will certainly prove unfeasible for any length of time. These are among the issues which have demanded joint consideration by the principal allies without further delay.

Not less serious is the apparent lack of any considered or concerted economic policy for Germany. Germany is moving at present towards complete economic disintegration and the virtual cessation of production—a condition which can only breed the worst consequences next winter if it is allowed to continue. So far as can be ascertained, the Russians in the east are removing under the head of reparations machines of which they stand in need for their own reconstruction, but for the rest are attempting to set industry on its feet. In the west there has been some haphazard destruction of factories since VE Day, but apart from a British attempt to get so much German labour as possible on to the land for food production, few signs of any set purpose or policy have been reported. It is not known what steps have been taken to re-equip and reactivate the badly damaged coal mines of western Germany, though this is clearly a vital matter for many European countries formerly dependent on this source of supply and having no practicable alternative in sight. Moreover, every serious consideration shows the importance, not only of restoring and developing German capacity for food production, but of rebuilding at the earliest possible moment such parts of German industry as are concerned with the production of consumer goods; and the relation of these needs to the claims of reparation requires to be carefully weighed. Whatever the decision, a Germany allowed to drift through sheer inertia and the absence of any policy further and further along the road towards economic chaos can only be a peril to Europe. Idle hands in Germany mean so much waste of resources urgently required to relieve distress and raise the terribly depressed standard of living which at present rules all over the Continent.

Scarcely less urgent than these concrete and immediate tasks is the question of the form which government is ultimately to assume in defeated Germany. The answer to this question is less likely to come from a single decision than from a series of actions which might in the end be found to have prejudged the conclusion. A strictly enforced order of non-fraternization means in effect that there will be continuous and increasingly intimate contact at administrative and official levels, where for practical reasons it cannot be avoided, while the minds of the German people, far less involved than the official classes in complicity in Nazi policies, remain the object of rigorous control. The results of this may prove

either unfortunate, especially if the Russians in their zone pursue the open policy of friendliness towards the masses and hostility towards the official classes. Nor is it too early for the principal allies to consider earnestly the problems of future German unity or German separation. There might conceivably be a case for the division of Germany into two or more units, though a unitary Germany under the joint control of the principal allies may well turn out to offer fewer dangers of discord and dissension in Europe. But there can be no case at all for a division of Germany along the arbitrary lines of military zones of occupation determined on principles quite irrelevant to a permanent settlement; and it is a division of this kind which appears to be in prospect unless there is to be a policy carefully considered and concerted through allied consultation.

Some of these issues will preoccupy the "Big Three" at the meeting which should not now be far ahead. But discussions between the supreme allied leaders, intermittent and heavily charged as they necessarily are, provide no substitute for a regular machinery of common planning and action such as is now promised none too soon in the meeting of the military commanders. Germany since VE Day has been in a state of interregnum without any formally constituted authority to direct affairs in the name of the United Nations. The inevitable result has been a tendency towards divergent decisions and policies in the different zones of occupation. This tendency will increase unless the situation is now regularized, and its implications reaching beyond the limits of Germany itself; for a divided policy for Germany means in effect a divided Europe in which east and west are pursuing different aims through different channels. The interregnum in Germany cannot be prolonged without serious danger for the future.



# Imperial and Foreign GERMAN GENERAL STAFF

## WARNINGS FROM THE PAST

### DESTRUCTION ESSENTIAL

From Our Military Correspondent

General Eisenhower's remark that the German General Staff must be destroyed shows his realization of what has constituted the strength of the German Army. It has been the unremitting study and testing of the lessons of the past and their application to modern weapons and transport which has kept the army up to date and enabled it to start wars in the most favourable conditions.

After the last war the primary instrument in this work was General von Seeckt, a man of great personal charm and with nothing of the Nazi mentality, but none the less one who looked upon the Armistice of 1918 as merely a pause in hostilities. He kept a camouflaged General Staff in being, studying at home and experimenting abroad with material which it was not permitted to use at home. His token *Reichswehr* became a training cadre in which the handful of privates were brought to the standard of first-class sergeants with higher ranks proportionately above their nominal grades.

The Nazis went farther than the General Staff wanted to go, and the latter was deprived of the control of affairs which it had hoped to obtain. It made the best of things, however, and the alliance was close. Even the well-organized party rallies were in fact exercises in railway transportation. The paramilitary organizations which grew from the party and from sport have become too notorious to require further mention.

### NUCLEUS OF A TEAM

Yet this is an important facet of the problem. What can be achieved by the light of the midnight oil alone is worthy of consideration, and whenever a few General Staff officers come together they form the nucleus of a team. But the harm to be done by purely abstract study must always be limited. The planners need material for experiment. It is when they get this and some sort of authority that they become most dangerous.

Here comes in the problem before the allies. As General Eisenhower went on to say, the Germans must gradually be induced to assume responsibility for running their own affairs. Unless that is achieved there will be starvation and disease in the country. At the same time every possible measure must be taken to separate this responsibility, and the measure of authority inevitably accompanying it, from those paths leading to military research, experiment, organization, invention and testing of equipment, and training which were so successfully followed by the General Staff after the last war.

It is not possible to prevent keen professional minds from working, but it ought to be practicable to keep material from them for some time at least. A gap in time would in itself be valuable because at the end of it there would be no more neophytes fitted to carry on the task.



# Urge All-Out Diplomacy To Avert World Clash

Even if Britain, United States and Russia "all pulled together" to settle international problems, it would take "a generation of statesmanship" to prevent a world clash, according to Prof. Karl Polyani, for 10 years lecturer in social sciences at London and Oxford Universities. For the past year he has been professor of economic history at Columbia University.

"None of the three great powers is responsible for the present international situation, and heaven knows I'm not trying to be an apologist for Russia or anybody else," said Prof. Polyani, a British subject, who was born in Vienna of Hungarian parents. "It is the direct outcome of the war. We are faced with an unprecedented political crisis, and we may as well realize it is going to be a permanent one."

Prof. Polyani, speaker at yesterday's sessions of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, said in an interview that the core of the present international problem is the fact that the defeat of Germany and Japan "left 1,500,000,000 people without a roof of power over their heads." He pointed out that three areas of "real power" in the world are separated by areas in which there is no real power.

"If there is one law in political history which is valid, it is that a clash is inevitable between real powers separated by dark, black power vacuums," said Prof. Polyani. "Even if we assume that the great powers are all saints, with no greed, no preening pride, no vanity, no vaunting ambition, the people who live in the power vacuum will draw those powers into the vortex. It is

in the interests of those people in the power vacuum to make use of the individual powers outside.

"If a railway in the power vacuum is built east and west instead of north and south, the decision may affect the security of the outside powers. If one economic system instead of another is used, the choice affects one or more of the powers.

"And when I speak of a power vacuum, I mean a place where real power is non-existent. In continental Europe today Yugoslavia is probably the only country which would fight to oppose an army passing through it. Not even France would fight. It would fall to pieces. All the countries occupied by Germany had their backbones broken."

Having emphasized that each of the three great powers has a vital interest in what develops in the powerless countries of Europe and Asia, Prof. Polyani said: "How can these powers know what is developing unless they watch? And how can they watch without keeping in touch? And keeping in touch is penetration. Inevitably one or more of the powers will feel circumvented by events or developments in the power vacuum."

Prof. Polyani stressed that determination by the great powers to avoid war is not sufficient to keep the peace. "There is only one way and that is a minimum agreement to have a real, independent power fill up the vacuum," he said. "If this is a fraud, if it is not a real power, independent of any or all the great powers, it is useless and war would be as inevitable."

China could be the great power in Asia to fill the vacuum which resulted from the defeat of Japan and a federation of states might be possible in Europe. "Roosevelt intended to build up China and I believe he and Stalin had taken certain preliminary steps," said Prof. Polyani. "But that broke down because of the breakdown in Europe when Britain and Russia could not agree regarding the Dardanelles.

"The entire international situation is becoming stronger than the men creating it. As the late Prof. Clapham of Cambridge has remarked about other historic times, 'things or events are in the saddle.' The atomic bomb has helped to create a situation stronger than we are; we are really in God's hands."



## Going On in New York

### Civil Service Commission Opens Policewoman Lists

Young women under twenty-nine who desire to become police-women may obtain applications at the application section of the Municipal Civil Service Commission, 96 Duane Street, it was announced yesterday. The post pays \$2,150 to start, with an annual bonus of \$750.

Applicants must be between twenty and twenty-nine, citizens of the United States and residents of New York State. They must be graduates of a senior high school with two years "satisfactory full-time experience in social, probation, parole or penological work, or teaching, investigation, law enforcement or business experience of a nature to qualify," the commission said. The written test for policewomen will be held Oct. 18. Medical and physical tests will follow.

### Columbia Faculty Adds Specialists in Economics

Dr. Frank D. Fackenthal, acting president of Columbia University, announced yesterday the appointment of several noted scholars in the field of economics. Dr. George Joseph Stigler, a member of the faculty of Brown University, has been appointed professor of economics; Dr. Karl Polanyi, former lecturer at Oxford, the University of London and Bennington College, has been named visiting professor of economics.

Three visiting professors during the last year have accepted permanent status. They are Albert Gailford Hart, professor of economics; Ragnar Nurkse, professor of international economics, and Abram Bergson, associate professor of economics. Lawrence Abbott has been appointed an instructor in Columbia College and Aaron W. Warner will be in charge of economics in the School of General Studies.

### N. Y. U. Law School Gets

120 for Savarese Room

### National Yeomen F Holds Reunion Dinner Tomorrow

The National Yeomen F, organization of former service women enlisted in the Naval Reserve in 1917, will hold its annual reunion dinner at 6 p. m. tomorrow at the Pennsylvania, Mrs. Mae Shuttleworth, Mid-Atlantic representative, announced yesterday. Rear Admiral F. E. Haeberle, commander of the New York Naval Shipyard, in Brooklyn and Spencer C. Young, city treasurer, will speak.

### New School Appoints Bolivian to Faculty

Victor Andrade, Bolivian diplomat and educator, has been appointed visiting professor to the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research, 66 West Twelfth Street, Bryn J. Hovde, president of the school, announced yesterday. Mr. Andrade will lecture in the department of sociology in the graduate school. He formerly was Bolivian Ambassador to Washington and was Minister of Foreign Affairs in Bolivia from August to October, 1944.

### City College Veterans Set Scholastic Records

Despite heat, overcrowding and heavy schedules, Frederick C. Shipley, director of City College, announced yesterday, that student veterans attending the school's summer session established "impressive scholarship records for the second year in a row." One instructor, he said, in the department of Romance languages, was "so astonished" by high grades of former service men that he reread examination papers to see if he had erred in his records. Forty-eight per cent of the summer enrollment of 10,801 students are veterans.

### Jewish War Veterans Head Backs Warsaw Memorial

Colonel Milton H. Richman, National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans, has joined the

crease in accidental deaths injuries to children, especially the way to and from school.

Parents should be especially careful to teach children going to school for the first time to understand and obey traffic signs, Mr. Engelsen said, and also warn them against playing in the street. Older children should be taught to care for younger brothers and sisters and such playthings as skates and scooters should be inspected to make certain they are in good mechanical condition.

### Grosvenor House Holds Children's Bazaar Tonight

A neighborhood bazaar, of articles made by children of the East Forty-ninth Street area, will be held from 3 to 10 o'clock tonight at Grosvenor Neighborhood House, 321 East Forty-ninth Street. James G. Lehey, worker at Grosvenor House, said that decorations and exhibition booths also have been fitted out for the youngsters.

### Old Aquarium Slated To Get Another Stay Today

Another stay of execution for the old Aquarium building in Battery Park is expected to be granted today at today's regular meeting of the Board of Estimate.

At its July 24 meeting the board voted to demolish the historic structure to simplify construction of an approach to the new Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel. Mayor William O'Dwyer interceded to delay the building, however, on the basis of promises from the Department of the Interior that it would restore the structure as a national monument, provided the next Congress appropriates funds. A resolution formally staying the 24 death sentence was reported approved yesterday at a preliminary closed meeting of the board.

### Messersmith Retires

Career Diplomat, 64, Was in U. S. Service for 34 Years

WASHINGTON, Aug. 27 (AP)—George S. Messersmith, career diplomat, disclosed today that he formally retired from government service as of Aug. 1. He served four years of service in the U. S. Navy.



## CONDITIONS OF PEACE

### TREATMENT OF THE VANQUISHED

#### PRINCIPLES FOR MOSCOW

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—In view of the Moscow discussions on Germany, we venture to suggest a few principles, neglect of which can only perpetuate the cycle of uneasy peace and ever more frightful war.

(1) Annexations of almost any kind are always dangerous. They inflame the passion of nationalism, encourage agitators, and lead to wars of recovery and revenge. If they are accompanied by wholesale expulsions of the population, and if these expulsions are effected without regard for the minimum dictates of humanity, the danger is correspondingly increased.

(2) Any attempt to fix an upper limit—any upper limit, no matter what it may be—to the living standards of a numerous and hard-working European people must react adversely on the total prosperity of Europe and the world. Eventually, also, it must fail; but the sense of frustration it will meanwhile have produced will menace peace.

(3) Nowadays, it is foolish to expect that reparations, however large, can repair the damage done by war. Excessive reparations, even when justly exacted, defeat their own object. Sooner or later, therefore, they will always be abandoned; but the hatred they occasion will outlive them.

(4) A constitution imposed from without is unlikely to endure. To impose one, moreover, is inconsistent with democratic professions.

(5) While safeguards must be taken against an initial possibility of domination by Fascists, a free and law-abiding society cannot be fostered by ticketing millions of people on the score of what they have done, said, or even thought in the past, and penalizing them accordingly. These are totalitarian methods. A free and law-abiding society can be fostered only by providing a soil and climate congenial to its growth.

(6) You render a man aggressive by harping on his wickedness. You ruin a man's character by depriving him of hope. Pariahs, whether individuals or nations, make bad neighbours.

(7) The re-education of a people must be that people's own work. Friendly help from outside may be useful and, indeed, indispensable; but inculcation by a conquering enemy can do nothing but harm. Example is the best educator.

(8) When a nation has been defeated, the problem is not "to make it impossible for her to do it again." Such an aim can never be achieved in a world that is constantly changing. The problem is twofold: first, so to settle with the defeated that they will not be driven by despair or seduced by the prospect of easy success to risk another attempt; and secondly, to devise means of dealing, not with particular aggressors, for aggressors come and go, but with aggression and the fear of it, which are secular. To concentrate on the most recent aggressor is to run away, often half deliberately, from the larger issue.

Yours, &c.,

GILBERT MURRAY.  
RUSSELL.  
VICTOR GOLLANCZ.

Boar's Hill, Oxford, April 12.



# HITLER'S LAST HOURS

## BODY SEEN IN FLAMES

### STORY BY MEMBER OF BODYGUARD

From Our Special Correspondent

BRITISH ZONE, JUNE 20

What purports to be a first-hand account of Hitler's death was given at Field-Marshal Montgomery's headquarters this evening by Hermann Karnau, one of the guards at Hitler's underground shelter in Berlin, from which, apparently, he afterwards escaped through the Russian lines into the British area. His story is in far greater detail than different versions put out in Berlin, and on the whole it is accepted by experienced officers of the intelligence branch here, who are forwarding a report to the Russian authorities.

Karnau, a slim, fair-haired policeman, who might easily pass for the Dutchman he pretended to be during his escape, is in sum the first man to come forward and say he saw Hitler's body. At 6.30 on May 1—not long, that is, before Dönitz made his dramatic announcement—Karnau came upon the bodies of Hitler and Eva Braun lying side by side in the grounds of the old Reich Chancellery, a few feet from the emergency exit of the 60ft. deep shelter in which Hitler had lived continuously since April 16. The Führer, he states, was on his back, with his knees slightly drawn up; the woman lay face downwards. Both bodies were on fire, but were clearly recognizable, and near at hand were four petrol cans which Karnau had seen delivered to the shelter earlier in the day.

The guns were roaring, and the Red Army troops closing in on the centre of the city were only about 2,000 yards away. He returned to the shelter, said Karnau, and found a member of Hitler's personal staff named Schöde in great distress and crying: "The Führer is dead and burning." On his way Karnau had seen Stumpacker, the senior medical officer at the Chancellery, which was being used as a dressing-station. He had often seen Stumpacker in the neighbourhood of the shelter. Towards the end of April Stumpacker had destroyed Hitler's favourite Arian dog called "Blondie." It was Karnau's opinion that it was he who had administered poison to Hitler and Eva Braun.

### SAW DOOR CLOSED

Going to the surface of the shelter Karnau found another police-officer on duty, though it had been hit by shell-fire. Together they returned to the shelter, and by this time the lower parts of the body were burnt away. No one else, apparently, was present. When Karnau arrived the first time the door of the emergency exit, he states, was just being closed. According to his story, it was widely believed that Hitler would rather take poison than be captured by the Russians, and that his personal servant Lingg, who held rank in the S.S., had orders that his body should never fall into their hands.

Later that evening, Karnau went on, when the guard was paraded the S.S. man, Kohler, exclaimed: "I am proud to be the only man who knows where Hitler's body lies." Karnau said saw Hitler alive at about 4 p.m. that day, and soon afterwards he was ordered out of the shelter. He was one of a number of special sentries who formed an "outer ring" around Hitler. That morning, however, he happened to be passing when an S.S. officer arrived. "Maulke is coming here," he said. "What news?" and Maulke replied that the news was good and that the Berlin railway station had been cleared.

Maulke, it seems, had commanded the defence of Hitler's shelter, surrounded largely of S.S. "suicide squads," who operated "human torpedoes." With him in the shelter on the morning of May 1 were Bormann, Field-Marshal Dönitz, Admiral Voss, Goebbels's family, and an officer named Krebs, described by Karnau as Chief of Staff.

### EVA BRAUN

Karnau throws some additional light on the position of Eva Braun. She was always spoken of as "E. B." It was, moreover, considered dangerous to speak of her relations with Hitler, but at the end of April there was a strong rumour among the servants at the Chancellery that they had married. One day Karnau ventured a direct question to an officer of Hitler's entourage and was told that this was true. On April 30 Karnau came upon Eva Braun in a state of great emotion. "She was crying, 'I would rather die here. I will not go away.'" Trying to calm her, he addressed her as Fräulein Braun, to which she replied: "You may call me Frau Hitler now."

Another interesting detail mentioned by Karnau is that shortly before the end Bormann sent a telegram ordering the arrest of Göring for high treason, a fact confirmed by Göring himself at the time of his arrest.

All this, broadly, is the kind of story that might be expected if Hitler were still alive, but Karnau, answering a barrage of questions by correspondents to-night, maintained in every detail the account he had already given to interrogation officers. He is a former member of the criminal police at Wilhelmshaven, and as one of Hitler's guards had served from September last year at the Führer's headquarters at Rastenburg, in East Prussia, at Berchtesgaden, and finally in Berlin, where Hitler arrived at the beginning of March. On May 2 he was advised to escape, and posing as a Dutchman made his way back to Wilhelmshaven to see his wife and children. Later he sought out his former police chief with the idea of coming back to the force under military government. It is in this way that his story of Hitler's end has come to light.

Karnau is being held for further questioning.



## UNITED EUROPE

Advocacy of a United Europe, in the present conjuncture of world affairs, must be either platitude or controversial. Mr. Churchill is incapable of platitude, so it is not surprising that the speech he delivered at the Albert Hall last night was intensely controversial. In one respect only was he less frank than he ought have been. He was entitled to reject the assumption that his scheme is "a sinister plot" against Soviet Russia. But he was not entitled, in present circumstances, to assume even the possibility that Soviet Russia might willingly agree to the formation of a European Union, or that any of the States of Eastern Europe might join it. Precisely for these reasons the issues raised by a campaign for a United Europe are, at this moment, the most momentous possible. It would be no service either to Mr. Churchill, or to the movement he has launched to face them with anything but this complete frankness. They involve the future relations of Western democracy to Communism, of traditional Western culture and ways and standards of life to the novel, political and economic principles of the new society of Eastern Europe; and of the Western world to the Soviet Union. They involve the present virtual divisions of Western society within and against itself. They involve also, almost as approximate matters, questions no less vital than the future of Germany and the future relations of Germany to France.

Even if Mr. Churchill was less explicit than he might have been in acknowledging that no United Europe can only mean, as things are, Europe united without Russia, the attitude of the Soviet Union and of Communist parties everywhere would make these the only real tests in which the matter can be discussed. United Europe can only mean, as things are, United Western Europe. What does Western Europe consist of? To answer that question is perhaps the most difficult and delicate task for any advocate of its union. Is Britain a part of it? Is Germany, or any part of Germany? On the narrowest definition it includes a population of some 135,000,000, on the broadest of some 250,000,000. On either definition it is an area of fairly plentiful raw materials, a high degree of capital development, great industrial skill, and a considerable deficiency of home-grown food, which specialisation might diminish. It is thus an area comparable in extent, population, and resources to the United States of America or the Soviet Union. The economic strength of United Western Europe could be very great. That was shown by the perverted experiment of Hitler's "new order" in spite of war, resistance, and blockade. Peace, planning, and specialisation could raise such a Union to a high degree of prosperity, to the great benefit of all its members.

All this begs the question what purpose, scope, and structure the Union might have, and whether it would ever be possible, in the face of all the political difficulties involved, to bring it into being in however loose a form. These difficulties are rather too many and intricate for discussion here. But some notion of the nature of the target is essential to any discussion of the wisdom of aiming at it, now or at all. That in turn, from the point of view of the British Government, depends on many factors, including the complex matter of Britain's special relation to the Commonwealth. Two in particular may be selected for examination: the relation of United Europe to the Charter of the United Nations and—the cardinal point—its relation to the Soviet Union. British foreign policy is at present rightly based on the Charter of the United Nations, just as it was based, in 1925, on the Covenant of the League. In that year Mr. Bismarck's famous project for a United States of Europe first came formally before the League Assembly. A year later the project was virtually dead; and the British attitude, more than anything else, had killed it. Britain feared that the plan would impair the League's prestige and authority, but nine years later the League was virtually dead too. This time there need be no such dilemma. The Charter, as Mr. Churchill pointed out, expressly permits the existence of regional arrangements consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. There is no reason why Western Europe should not be regarded as a natural "region." On grounds of loyalty to the United Nations, at all events, there is no reason why British policy should not go as far in supporting a regional association in Western Europe as the Charter permits.

The real test of the matter is Russia. The relations of the Western world to Russia can take three forms. The first is full association and cooperation. The second is a division into "two worlds" each sticking to its own lines and going its own way. The third is war. Since 1941 the British Government have consistently and rightly aimed at the first. Clearly Mr. Churchill is prepared to accept the second: only the bloody partition can excuse him of warring war with Russia. Opponents of the second claim that it will inevitably involve the third. Those who are sceptical about the first form—full association and cooperation—can point to the undeniable fact that since the war the only international organisations which have worked smoothly or harmoniously are the few on which Russia has not been represented. They can argue too that it is better, even at some risk, for those of like mind to make progress together than for the intervention of incomprehensible racial movement in any direction at all. Such progress can be seen in the internal politics of more than one Western European country to-day.

In this last fact the solution, for the time being, must be found. Advocates of a

United Europe, which in present circumstances can only mean a united Western Europe, must acknowledge that Western Europe is not united in sentiment, and therefore cannot yet be united in structure. This does not condemn their advocacy; on the contrary it favours it. Their aim might in certain circumstances become prudent. Their task is to make it acceptable if these circumstances should ever arise. At present it is not, both because most moderate opinion in Western Europe thinks it premature and because a great deal of less detached opinion thinks it wrong. Whether the divide which now divides Western society will prove to be passing or profound only time can show; but a premature attempt by Governments to force union on Europe before it is wanted can only make divisions deeper. Such an attempt will remain premature till the Western world is convinced, by even more persuasive evidence than Russia over the last two years has been rash enough to offer it, that the "one world" ideal must be abandoned as impracticable. Against the time of such conviction Governments must hold their hands, though private advocates of a United Europe can legitimately exert themselves to prove that the Western world, if two worlds there must be, would be a world organised not against Russia but merely without her. They may succeed, too, as Mr. Churchill did convincingly last night, that no solution of the German problem is possible except in a European framework, in which German militarism might be harnessed and German strength subordinated.

Meanwhile a further effort must be made to unify, not merely Europe, but the world. The United States is in the best position to make it. In an address in New York on April 28 Mr. Wallace Lippman suggested that the American Government should invite Russia to join them in sponsoring a European economic union, to permit countries in their orbit to join it, and to attract Communist parties in the rest of Europe not to oppose it. The United States should offer to provide such a union on lend-lease terms with the working capital it needed. Then, on such a basis, America should announce her readiness to assist the reconstruction of Russia, in the form both of current reparations from Germany (which would then be able to work productively) and also of credits from the United States. Mr. Lippman's plan is as bold and imaginative as Mr. Churchill's, but more precise and more promising. Were such a scheme ever proposed and accepted, then it would be time for Governments to turn seriously to the task of saving as much of Europe as they could.



## POLITICS

In the House of Commons yesterday the Forestry Bill was read a second time, a motion for its rejection being withdrawn. (p. 6)

## BATTLEFIELD SURRENDER

At 8 o'clock this morning the German armies in Holland, North-West Germany, and Denmark will lay down their arms. The announcement completes the varied, spirited, and ever-victorious campaign of the 21st Army Group under its gifted commander, FIELD-MARSHAL MONTGOMERY, with a magnificent climax. Another great chapter of liberation has been written. It could not be wholly a surprise. When the German authorities consented to the revictualling of Holland by sea, land, and air, when they were even ready to admit Ultra teams to the stricken land still in their power, when the Danes were suffered to make free with the iron rules and regulations of the oppressor, it was clear that the end could not be far off. The first emotion everywhere will be one of the deepest relief that the two countries and peoples now set free have in the last hour escaped the destruction of life and property that exist have been inflicted upon them by armed onslaught upon the usurpers in their midst. This trial at least has not been added to the cruelties of the German occupation, cruelties which have been visited upon the Dutch with peculiar vindictiveness. The Dutch, systematically stripped of their none too ample food supplies and thus, in their great cities, systematically starved, have been rescued only at the eleventh hour. Lives enough have been sacrificed to the imperious and callous exactions of the Reich, but, with allied success now pouring into what will shortly be free Holland, the worst forebodings can probably be set aside. Tribute is paid elsewhere on this page to the resource and constancy of the Danes. The valour, pride, and endurance of the Dutch warm and deepen the joy with which all embrace the tidings of their release and sharpen the admiration felt for the national dignity and stoicism so faithfully embodied and perfectly maintained in the honoured person of their QUEEN.

Once again the allies may take just and profound contentment from a great revolution of the wheel of fate. Five years of unspurring persistence and sacrifice almost to a day have been required. Even five years ago, whether for Dutch or Britisher, there was no lack of faith in the ultimate accomplishment, yet how remote it seemed. Now it comes in the form of a "battlefield surrender," the only form in which the "cease fire" can be acceptable, the only form which leaves no loophole for German propagandists seeking to deny the totality of allied victory hereafter. It is past the power of any one man now to offer the capitulation which Hitlerian proposed, but the process of surrender must be complete in Norway, in the Channel Isles, where inhabitants are foremost in the thoughts of their fellow-citizens here, and in the French ports before the final clamour of victory.

Meanwhile, as our Diplomatic Corps and our naval and military commanders, the tasks of the day are already pressing upon the allied commanders. The structure of German administration is collapsing as utterly as the military resistance, and allied military authority has to assume the burden of providing for the entire functions of government. The Yalta conference decreed in advance the division of the whole of Germany into four zones of occupation, administered respectively under the direction of the four military commands, British, American, Russian, and French: together with a central commission of the commanders-in-chief in Berlin to superintend and coordinate the whole. But now that the time has come for setting up this system, together with a parallel organization for Austria with another central commission in Vienna, the problem presents itself in a much more confusing and complex form than was likely when it was still possible to expect a surrender by an effective Government and the handing over of the country as a going concern. There is a preliminary doubt whether the battle for Berlin has left the city in a fit state to be a possible seat of government. Nothing less than the re-constitution of the whole apparatus of administration, in a land where it has virtually ceased to exist, is in question.

The instalment of allied senior officers at the higher stages of authority to assume the functions of provincial and local government by decree is only the beginning of the task. The real difficulties lie in the process of reconstructing government from the bottom upwards—in setting clerks, postmen, policemen, schoolmasters, to restart the routine of orderly existence in a country where displaced millions, German and foreign, military and civilian, are roaming in bewildered helplessness and trampling out the traces of the administrative system that is now in fragments. It goes without saying that the senior officials must be Germans, and so must all their superiors up to quite a high level. Further complications are introduced by the necessity to exclude from posts carrying even moderate authority all known members of the National-Socialist Party, and from the fact that most of the men with recent experience of the practice of government will accordingly be disqualified. There is no modern precedent for this process of creating government afresh in a land where it has ceased to exist. Although work has been going on assiduously for many months in preparing the scheme of allied control and training the officers who are charged to put it in effect, there must be no underestimating the obstacles they have to surmount. If, however, these obstacles, now that they loom immediately ahead, are found even more formidable than had been imagined, it should be recognized that the reason is the sheer completeness of the military triumph.



# ALLIED POLICY TOWARDS GERMANY

## CONTRASTING TREATMENT OF POLITICAL GROUPS

### BRITISH ACTION AT HAMBURG

## TASKS BEFORE MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Differences of policy towards Germany on the part of the British and Americans on the one side and of Russia on the other are emphasized by the treatment of German trade unions and political groups.

In Hamburg the "Free Socialist trade unions association" has been dissolved by the British authorities as being too strongly political. The Russians, on the contrary, have approved the formation of a "Free German trade union association" in Berlin.

### A "TRADE UNION ASSOCIATION"

### GERMANY UNDER ARMY GOVERNMENT

#### BRITISH OBJECTION

From Our Diplomatic Correspondent

Disturbing signs of the different policies being pursued in the western and eastern zones of Germany are accumulating day by day. The latest and sharpest example is given in news from Hamburg, in the British zone, and from Berlin, the centre of the Russian zone. In Hamburg the *Sozialistische Freie Gewerkschaft*, the Free Socialist trade union association, has been dissolved at the request of the British military government; the leaders were informed that the association had become too strongly political in character. In Berlin a "Free German trade union association" has just been proclaimed with the approval of the Soviet military leaders, and its programme has been announced over the Berlin radio.

In London last night no further reason for the dissolution of the Hamburg association could be ascertained. Officials appeared to be waiting for reports from Germany. The personal records of the leaders do not seem to be known in this country yet, but apparently they have opposed the rule—when applied in the British or American zones—against any form of political activity. The trade union groups themselves which were members of the association are well known in Hamburg, and the ground they cover is well defined.

The Berlin announcement comes in a broadsheet, signed by Hermann Scheller, described as a member of the executive committee of the *Deutsches Gewerkschaftsbund*, the German Federation. "A unified German trade union association has become a reality," he writes. He says he has drawn up a plan of organization, regulating the structure of the various trade unions—a plan based on "the regional association of all male and female workers and employees in all branches of commerce and industry." Scheller goes on to give details of the structure, first of professional and commercial unions, and then of 16 trade unions.

#### POLITICAL GROUPS

According to present reports, Scheller did not enlarge at all on the political programme of this comprehensive association, but the disparity of practice between west and east is left uncomfortably clear. This disparity becomes clearer still in the treatment of directly political groups. In the west and south they are still forbidden; the British and American authorities wish to make doubly and trebly sure that the leaders of the *Freie Gewerkschaft* remain free from the past and future political programmes of the future. On the other side the Soviet authorities are allowing groups which are said to be "genuinely anti-Nazi" to develop and to publish their programmes by wireless and newspaper.

Against the reports that political groups have been dissolved in the western zone, can be set many announcements from the Soviet zone. The rule there seems to be that political groups and trade union associations may be allowed under the supervision of the military authorities. The leaders of some Social-Democratic and Communist groups have indicated in a joint working committee and have declared their readiness to form a "free zone" with all other anti-Nazi parties. Afterwards the newly founded *Deutsches Gewerkschaftsbund* published a long manifesto by the central committee of the German Communist Party signed by men who have been in German prisons and by several others, such as Wilhelm Pieck, who have been in Russia during the war.

While the manifesto is radical in some, some of its points are remarkably uncommittal. After declaring their determination to ensure the complete liquidation of the remnants of the Nazi party, they declare themselves in favour of "completely unobstructed free trade and private enterprise and initiative on the basis of private property." They favour a reorganization of the system of taxation on the basis of progressive assessment and the establishment of full democratic rights and privileges.

#### BREAK-UP OF ESTATES

Then the manifesto comes to land reform. Their programme is not so rigorous as the policies already carried out in Poland and other eastern European countries. They say that the large estates of "barons, counts and princes" must be liquidated and put at the disposal of State or provincial administration for distribution among farmers ruined or impoverished during the war. The main focus closes with the desire for good relations with other countries and for a clean break with the former German policy of "subsidy and aggression."

While the free political opportunities in the Soviet zone are undoubtedly clear at present, a great hesitancy is shown in the day-to-day treatment of Germany as a mass there seems to be little difference among the zones. All the allied military commands are faced with the task of organizing minimum food supplies and work. They are equally faced with the problem of repair and are engaging Germans in the work. They are leaving to fully on German officials in the running of provincial and local administrations, and even from the Soviet zone some complaints that men who faithfully served the German war regime are being kept on in their offices. There are certain evidence that the Russians are taking electrical and other intricate machinery from German elements in large quantities. Probably more Germans are still too doubtful and nervous to mark the difference in political approach, although some at least in the western and southern zones are listening to the Berlin radio.

But the evidence coming from Germany strongly suggests that differences will develop unless the allied plans are more closely co-ordinated, both politically and practically. The meeting of the "Big Three" next month and an early establishment of the Control Council in Berlin give the opportunity for this coordination.

#### THE MAIN TASKS AHEAD

From Our Special Correspondent

BRITISH ZONE, June 27

Since the problem was first discussed at home the work of military government in Germany has made steady though perhaps not rapid progress. On the positive side its object may be defined as the restoration of German economy to a moderate standing of efficiency. A good deal—indeed, most—of the work is not primarily military, but since it has to be done entirely through the army, which is the only existing British machinery in this country, only soldiers can carry it out.

The British zone is a purely military zone, but though a period may be envisaged when the civil elements will assume maximum functions, all policy must be so devised as to be entirely reversible. Because the British military and international policy concerning the future of Germany has not been fully defined, and it cannot be predicted by what kind of military government it will be replaced, it is not possible to make any definite statement as to the long-term policy of the British zone. It is now working well up to the level of the economy and sometimes higher.

British and American commanders and leaders are completely agreed in one thing: no serious action that there is any permanent difference of views or methods between them. Now there is also increasing co-operation with the French. As regards the Russians, so far little is known of the policies to which they are proceeding, but it is hoped that they will be a mixture of military and an economic or administrative policy. The British zone will be more closely defined, and a more administrative work will be the future.

#### REMNANTS OF MINISTRIES

Progress has also been made in establishing touch with the remnants of the German ministries, some of which may be available from the point of view of information which is of no use to their present responsible representatives in administration. The French Ministry is perhaps the commanding example of this; the same applies to a lesser degree to the Ministry of Agriculture, and especially to its records and statistics. The essential elements in the work of military government must be to be in the order: (1) to ensure the security and safety of the zone; (2) to ensure the safety of the zone; (3) to ensure the safety of the zone; (4) to ensure the safety of the zone; (5) to ensure the safety of the zone; (6) to ensure the safety of the zone.

A glance at these subjects shows at once that it is desirable that there should be some cooperation between the different zones. The British zone is a unique area as regards food and could eventually be made an exporting area as regards coal. The American zone is well-suited to food, but has almost no coal. The Russian zone is much more than self-sufficient in food and slightly more than self-sufficient in coal. Whether or not there will eventually be any food exported from the Russian zone is, of course, a question of the highest policy. The administration out here is still in the dark on this subject.

### JAPANESE GENERALS' HARA KIRI

#### CEREMONIAL SUICIDE ON OKINAWA

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, June 27

The Japanese commander-in-chief on Okinawa, Lieutenant-General Mutsu Ushijima, and his chief of staff, Lieutenant-General Isamu Chu, committed *hara kiri* on June 22, the day after organized resistance on the island ended. Their bodies were found yesterday in a shallow grave on a ledge of a cliff on the southern shore, where they died.

A prisoner, Ushijima's cook, told American officers in the graves of the two generals, and told the story of their last hours. On June 22, he said, he was ordered to prepare for them an elaborate meal. This they ate at 10 p.m. Afterwards they sat down the south of the entrance to their cave, telling him that he was no longer needed and bidding him to go and fight in an infiltration attack on the Americans.

At 2 o'clock next morning the cook was told by Ushijima's orders that the two generals were going to commit suicide. Forty minutes later, dressed as if for parade and wearing all their medals, they walked out silently to a ledge in the mouth of their cave, flanked by their orderlies and members of their staff. Heavy blankets were spread on the ledge, and over them white sheets. On these both men knelt, facing the ocean. On the ledge was laid a sword, telling them to face the sword, towards the home of their ancestors. Each was handed a knife, half the blade wrapped in white cloth.

An instant after Ushijima had thrust the knife into his abdomen his adjutant, in the traditional way, slashed him across the back of the neck with a sword, severing his spinal cord. A moment later Chu died in the same manner.

The body of Chu was found in a piece of white silk on which he had written: "On the 22nd day of the 20th year of the era of Showa, I depart without regret, but with a sense of obligation. Army chief of staff, Lieutenant-General Isamu Chu, Japan." He was departing at 11 years. At this time and place I hereby commend him to God.



Two by-election results were declared yesterday. At Chalfonts of the Commons Wealth candidate defeated the Conservative, and at Caernarvon Borough the Liberal held the seat. (p. 41)

#### IMPERIAL AND FOREIGN

Two adverse examinations of the last French conference again were privately possible in addition to discussion on the basis of the common. On the primary basis, the meeting committee and the similar executive committee. (p. 42)

#### DISSOLVING FRONTS

The dissolution of the common German front is going on apace. It has been announced that the western and eastern allies have established contact in the Elbe. American and Russian patrols encountered each other on Wednesday, on the following day armistice commanders from both armies met at Torgau; and the dramatic completion of two great advances which have spanned a continent has drawn messages from the three allied leaders full of just gratitude to the victorious forces and reassuring the community of purpose among the three peoples in war and peace. Berlin is in its death agonies, and the Russians have reached Mauth, the working-class district in the north centre of the city. Bremen is in the hands of the British Second Army. The American Third Army has penetrated into Austria, with the 11th Armoured Division moving at the speed at which it and its British counterpart have accustomed the world. The chief opposition to the American and British forces has been coming from extemporized or patched-up formations with inflated titles or known by the names of their commanders. Even if a few of them have fought well, like the youths from the training camps and the sailors and marines in the north, they signify a break-up. German forces in Czechoslovakia are already practically cut off from the rest and will soon be completely isolated by another junction between Americans and Russians. German troops who can disengage themselves and remain mobile are believed to be retreating into Bavaria for a last stand. There they are undoubtedly capable of giving a considerable amount of trouble, but it does not appear probable that their organization, strength, fighting quality, or sources of supply are such as to enable them to resist for a period or in a space so extensive as the more pessimistic observers have suggested. All over Germany matters appear to be moving rapidly to the last phase.

In Italy the collapse of resistance has been dramatically sudden. The situation there must be viewed without exultation until it can be ascertained what proportions of the enemy's forces are likely to escape, since it is evident that a more or less voluntary retreat has been for some time in progress in the north-west. It would not have been possible for lightly armed partisans to capture great cities had large German forces remained upon the scene. It now appears that every city west of the limit of the assault, though it is in their hands and is being administered by them. The agreement entered into between the Italian Government in Rome and the military authorities, which provides that the North Italian Committee of National Liberation shall exercise governmental powers until the arrival of the allied forces, presupposes German evacuation on a large scale, though it remains to be seen whether large numbers of the enemy are not trapped. The Free Genoa radio reports that German naval units in that port—chiefly a few destroyers, formerly Italian, and smaller craft—surrounded before the Americans moving from Spezia reached the scene. It is urgently desirable to inflict the largest possible loss upon the retreating Germans and to ensure that as few as possible contrive to cross the Alps. The complete liberation of Italy is, however, an aim in itself, and one which is likely to be fulfilled shortly. FIELD-MARSHAL ALEXANDER, GENERAL CLARK, and the troops under his command are about to reap the reward of patience and determination. There have been disappointments in Italy, but all the most serious have been due to weakening of the forces in favour of other fronts, and, however necessary this was from the point of view of the higher strategy, it must have been exasperating for those who have more than once seen overwhelming victories just slide them. The "secondary theatre" which Italy had become by the agreement of the allies is presenting a climax of enthralling success.

Certainly the prospect of cutting off any German forces which have not yet withdrawn up the Brenner or the other passes are good. A rapid advance by the Fifth Army has carried its advanced troops to the western shore of Lake Garda, which must mean that they are on or at least command the road from Brescia leading into the main Verona-Innsbruck road, the main route across the Brenner. Unless the enemy's collapse is complete, it may not be possible for the allies to push rapidly northward along this route, which lends itself ideally to rearguard tactics, but there will assuredly be further progress along it, and also along the rather easier routes east of the Dolomites which lie on the front of the Eighth Army. The most suitable season for campaigning in these altitudes has not yet arrived, but it is not far distant. If German resistance in the Bavarian redoubts should prove as obstinate as has been predicted in some quarters, it may well be that the aid of the 15th Army Group and its pressure from the south will prove invaluable in breaking down the last of the enemy's defences. That would be an admirable last service on the part of a force which has already contributed signally to the final victory.

It is not certain, however, that this service will be needed. Whether it is or not will depend upon the Russian progress through Austria and upon American progress south of the Danube in Bavaria within the next week or two. It will also

depend upon the reactions of German troops to defeat elsewhere, and that is a psychological factor about which it is unwise to be dogmatic. It must be recognized that many of the defenders of Bavaria are likely to be Nazis dyed in the wool and 3.3 times reinforced desperately by their own crimes and cruelties as well as their fanaticism. But for them, the failure of further resistance and the havoc and destruction which it must entail for Germany would long ago have brought about a surrender. It is not alone in order to avoid further losses among allied troops, but also, as General CLARK has said, for the sake of future results, that all must move by the narrow margin when the stakes and goals of their pressing will shake themselves free to hasten the end.



# GOVERNMENT IN AUSTRIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—I desire to thank Lord Vansittart for the courtesy of his references to the letter which I addressed to you last week.

It would ill become me to attempt any controversy with one who, during his long and honourable years of service, accumulated such a fund of knowledge about Europe. But I am bound to challenge his statement that Dr. Renner, a Social-Democrat of the type which would be represented in this country by (say) Mr. J. R. Clynes, was ever for an instant a pan-German. Everything he has written and said bears a totally different stamp. And knowing something of the circumstances in which he was led to condone and excuse the *Anschluss* of 1938, I can only say that in those circumstances I should have done the same. But I prefer the motto *Prospice* to the motto *Respice*. It is better to look to the future good that a set of men can do than to examine their past careers with a rake.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ERNEST BARKER.

17, Cranmer Road, Cambridge, May 24.

2815



# RUSSIAN MAP OF ZONES OF OCCUPATION

## ALL THURINGIA AND SAXONY IN SOVIET SPHERE

### LARGE AREA IN BRITISH AND U.S. HANDS TO BE GIVEN UP

#### BOUNDARIES IN AUSTRIA

A map of the allied zones of occupation in Germany published in Russian newspapers yesterday indicated that the whole of the German States of Thuringia, Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Anhalt, as well as the Prussian province of Saxony, would fall on the Russian side of the line of demarcation.

The Moscow announcement has been received with some surprise in London, for, though it is not questioned that the Russian zone is substantially as shown, it is felt that the statement should have been a joint one and that it would have come more fittingly from the Control Council in Berlin.

### WESTERN LINE OF DEMARCATION

#### THE EASTERN STATES

The Soviet newspapers yesterday published a map of the zones of occupation in Germany showing a large portion of Germany now in British or American occupation as falling within the Soviet zone. Details accompanying the map, said the Soviet News Agency, show that the whole of the German states of Thuringia, Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Anhalt, as well as the Prussian province of Saxony, would fall on the Soviet side of the line of demarcation.

The text accompanying the map said:—  
In accordance with the agreement reached between the Governments of the U.S.S.R., Britain, the United States, and France, the armed forces of the Soviet Union will occupy the territory of Germany (including the province of East Prussia) situated east of a line running from a point on the shore of the bay of Lübeck, where the frontier of Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg meet, along the western frontier of Mecklenburg to the frontier of Hannover, then along the western frontier of Hannover to the frontier of Brunswick, along the western frontier of Brunswick to the frontier of the western frontier of the Prussian province of Anhalt, then along the western frontier of Anhalt, along the western frontier of the Prussian province of Saxony, and finally along the western frontier of Saxony to the frontier with the Bavarian frontier, and from there northwest along the northern frontier of Bavaria as far as the Czechoslovak frontier of 1937.

The map shows that the area of Greater Berlin is to be divided into four demarcation zones. —Reuter.

#### SURPRISE IN LONDON

#### INDEPENDENT STATEMENT NOT EXPECTED

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT.

The Moscow announcement giving a detailed demarcation of the Russian zone of occupation in Germany has been read with some surprise in London. It is not questioned that the zone is substantially as given by Moscow, but it is felt that the announcement should have been a joint one and would have come more fittingly from the Control Council. Nothing is gained by such independent action.

When it was decided that France should have a zone of occupation with the three other great Powers it became necessary to redraw the lines of the British and American zones. Difficulties may well have been encountered in reaching an arrangement satisfactory to all three parties. As has already been reported, the French Government is believed to have wished for the incorporation of Cologne within its zone of occupation. This claim has not been recognized. There may have been other difficulties. In any case, the carving of the French zone out of the British and American zones has not been easy, and it appears not to have been finished yet.

The reason for the Russian propaganda is not given. It is known that in their victorious sweep into Germany the American and British armies crossed the lines of the zones of occupation which they are ultimately to hold. This was inevitable, and there was never any suggestion from Moscow that there was anything wrong in this. The Russians were as anxious as all the other allies that the complete defeat of the Germans should be brought about at the earliest possible moment. The announcement, they have since been urging, that the British and American forces should withdraw from their tactical lines to the zones of occupation already agreed on, and that the Red Army should go forward to occupy fully its own allotted area. The present

Moscow announcement may have been intended to hasten the process.

After the signing of the Declaration on Germany in Berlin on Tuesday, the four members of the Control Council—Field-Marshal Montgomery, General Eisenhower, Marshal Zhukov, and General de Lattre de Tassigny—departed, and the date and place of their next meeting have yet to be fixed. It is stated that Sir William Strang, Field-Marshal Montgomery's political adviser, is remaining in Berlin for the time being.

The American advance to the east was much deeper than the British, and the adjustment of these lines to the zone of occupation will be correspondingly greater. The matter is being taken in hand.

After many delays British, American, and French military missions have arrived in Vienna. The allied plans provide for the setting-up in Austria also of a control commission, with headquarters in Vienna, and the task of the mission will be to study the situation in the country, to be in a position to advise the division of Vienna into the four control zones. The Russian taking the view that for this purpose the capital's 1938 boundaries should be accepted and the other allies holding their control should extend to the present frontiers.

#### BRIEF MEETING IN BERLIN

#### LIMITED INSTRUCTIONS OF MARSHAL ZHUKOV

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT, PARIS, June 4.

Reports made available at Supreme Headquarters make it clear that yesterday's meeting in Berlin of the four allied military commanders, sitting as the members of the Control Council, was scrupulously confined to the signing of the declaration (only imposing the rights of conquest upon Germany).

There had been hopes that such advantage would be taken of this first meeting of the four who led the allied armies to victory in 1945 to explore a number of questions that have remained in suspense since the German surrender and have led to much uncertainty. It seems, however, that Marshal Zhukov's instructions were limited to signing of the allied declaration and no more of his reactions to French such matters as the entry into Berlin of the British and American forces which have now been standing by for several weeks, or, indeed, the final settlement of Berlin as far as allied governments, the meeting, it is stated, ended abruptly, and General Eisenhower and Field-Marshal Montgomery immediately left for their headquarters.

#### RUSSIAN ANNOUNCEMENT

Marshal Zhukov is understood to have made it clear that he was not encouraged by his Government to enter upon any further discussion and the withdrawal of the American and British troops from the Russian zone of occupation, a matter which, in its turn, awaits a positive definition of the national zones by the four Governments concerned. Such an announcement is long overdue, the whole subject of the boundaries agreed upon at Yalta having been referred by the decision to include France among the occupying Powers. The delay is greatly complicating the work of the Military Government in their broader aspects, and a number of two Germanies is already emerging east and west of the Elbe.

As it was, yesterday's brief proceedings were held up for several hours by the last-minute objection of Marshal Zhukov to the signing of Article 10 of the declaration, which has already been accepted in the allied capitals and is clearly directed against any Japanese subject or property found in the Japanese zone. In view, it is reported, of a visit given officers in Japan, the Russian delegates wished to eliminate the word "Japanese" from Article 10 as the ground that it had been inaccurately translated in the English and French texts, and after much coming and going between the allies occupied by the various objections, this clause was agreed to pending further clarification.





# GOVERNMENT IN AUSTRIA

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—I am completely satisfied that all those acquainted with the developments in Austria in the years succeeding 1918 should subscribe to the accuracy of Sir Ernest Barker's presentation of the attitude of Dr. Karl Renner towards the *Anschluss* with Germany, as opposed to that of Lord Vansittart and Mr. Walter Loeb.

It is of the utmost importance that no confusion should be allowed to arise as regards the attitude of Austria to the *Anschluss* after 1918. At that time Austria was solely concerned to find a solution for her economic troubles. Dr. Renner's note to the Peace Conference in 1919 makes it crystal clear that he only looked to the Germany of the Weimar Republic for the reason that he saw no hope for Austria in the disrupted economic unit of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, recognized to-day to have been a great blunder from every point of view.

To-day I think the position has greatly changed for two reasons (1) That in the years between the two wars, particularly in the years from 1933-1938, when Austria was under direct attack from Germany, Austria proved economically stronger than any Austrian had foreseen in 1918; (2) the attitude of the succession States, particularly that of Czechoslovakia, as the recent pronouncement of the Czech Minister for Foreign Affairs has made clear. I think it would be right to say that many in these States after their recent experience have come to realize the importance for their own security of a free and independent Austria. At least it is to be hoped so, since upon a satisfactory economic arrangement in Central Europe which will include and make provision for Austria may well depend one of the chief guarantees for the preservation of the future peace.

Sir Ernest Barker is definitely right in his view that in this matter no advantage can accrue from raking up the past of any Austrian.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. SELBY.

Forest Garden, Burley, Hants. May 30.



# Soviet system is criticized by scientist

STOCKHOLM (Reuter) — The Soviet Union is an isolated, hopelessly bureaucratic society stripped of the basic freedom "to come and go as you please," according to one of its leading scientists.

Andrei Sakharov—father of the Russian hydrogen bomb—in a televised interview with the Swedish Broadcasting Co. in Moscow, expressed serious doubts about the socialist system.

The 52-year-old scientist, who recently has criticized Soviet treatment of dissidents, said the Soviet Union is a society in which socialism has become "nothing more than an extreme form of capitalism that already exists in the United States and other Western countries, except that in Russia there is more monopolization."

"I used to believe that I understood socialism," he said, "but today I am not certain it is anything more than a lot of empty words—propaganda for internal and external consumption."

Describing himself as "privileged," Mr. Sakharov said he is not afraid for himself, but for his family and his wife's family and relatives.



# Samuel Beckett's New Tale

## MALONE DIES.

By Samuel Beckett. Translated by the author. 120 pp. New York: The Grove Press. \$1.25.

Reviewed by  
GOUVERNEUR PAULDING

RARELY has a more question-able achievement been as masterfully arrived at. Or one can put it the other way round. Rarely has such a masterful achievement as that arrived at by Mr. Beckett in *Malone's* extraordinary death-bed soliloquy proposed more unanswerable questions. This is the more strange because there is not a word, a phrase, a sentence, in this narrative that is not crystal clear, vivid, and in the simplest of English, or Irish idioms. The author of "Waiting for Godot" may have been influenced by James Joyce but not in the direction of experimenting with new words.

Any attempt to give an account of what takes place as Malone lies dying is futile and must necessarily be unjust to the immense tenderness, the heart-breaking revolt, the searing, despairing memories of "the soul denied in vain" that make this book so intense an adventure. Yet a minimum of summary, a parody of the action, must be set down. Bedridden, half deaf, half blind, but hearing every whisper in the hallway, aware of every change of light—although the change is only a variation in gray—Malone, a hundred years old, or ageless, lies in a room. In some kind of institution? He cannot make out. He has a stick with a hook on the end of it and is

able to pull over to him the little table on which each day a bowl of soup is placed. The door to the room opens just enough for him to see a hand placing the bowl on the table. Does the hand belong to the woman, the mother, the wife, who used to take care of him, to Eve or somebody or other who gave him the stick? He does not know. He is persuaded that his life, of immemorial duration, has been lived in a womb that is finally about to expel him—a concept, however unattractive, that at least has the merit of viewing death in a novel light. He has a pencil and a schoolboy's exercise book: for his entertainment, or to justify his disgust, he will tell himself a certain number of stories, parenthetically noting with scrupulous care, his embittered farewell to life.

The stories are wonderful. At first they are concerned with a youth called Sapo, short for Saposcat, who causes his ineffectual parents dismay by wandering about in a state of half-witted contemplation. Sapo visits farmer Lambert, and there are extraordinary pictures of this madman burying a mule, and of the young wife he has exhausted. But soon Malone tires of the Lamberts and Sapo. Sapo wanders off into the woods to be heard of no more, and Malone rediscovers Macmann, who is Sapo and Malone too. For several pages it is a question of Macmann's cloak which is far too big for him and of his hat which is far too small for him. However unlikely it may seem, these pages are as compelling as any others. Macmann is found lying in the rain, under



Samuel Beckett

his cloak with his belly pressed to the earth trying to keep at least one side of him dry, just as the dying Malone in bed lies on his back trying to keep the pain from moving about too much. Then Macmann, who has murdered four or five people, is in a lunatic asylum—for once matters are clear—situated on top of a hill which is why the inmates can see over the walls that surround it. Macmann, in himself our desperate humanity, suffers as Malone is suffering, but Macmann can still move about, if only within the confines of the institution, but this does not make him any the happier. He observes the clouds and the sea gulls screaming in anger and, senile as he is, he embraces toothless Moll, who may be the woman who brings Malone his soup and who is a memory too, for at one point we see a snapshot showing her as a young girl. And Macmann can be taken by kind Lady Pedal with a

select group of fellow inmates on a rowboat excursion. Considering that most of those who go on that pleasure trip are insane, its conclusion seems normal enough: a trusted inmate wields his hatchet. A few survivors are last seen drifting out to sea in the rowboat which nobody bothers to row. At this point the pencil drops from Malone's hand.

This sounds like gibberish, but it isn't. The lucid and horrid nightmare in which Malone and the reader are lost shimmers with images of lost innocence. Affliction of course is part of man's state. John Donne knew that without any help from the Paris school of despair. But he viewed suffering in a different light. In that passage about the bell tolling he said: "no man hath affliction enough that is not matured, and ripened by it, and made fit for God by that affliction."



## Home News

### EUROPEAN UNITY

#### PLEA TO NATIONS BY MR. CHURCHILL

#### BRITAIN AND FRANCE AS INITIATORS

A powerful echo of a now famous speech by Mr. Churchill, made at Zürich last September, resounded at the Royal Albert Hall last night at a crowded meeting arranged by the Grand Europe Committee, with Mr. Churchill the principal speaker. The Zürich speech had called for the re-creation of the European family. Last night's vast audience joined a resolution, moved by Mr. George Gibson, a former chairman of the Trades Union Congress, and seconded by Lady Violet Bigham Carter, president of the Liberal Party, expressing the belief that, "in the interests of freedom and peace, the people of Europe must unite into one among themselves and together make a positive European contribution to the progress of civilization and world order; and recognizing that Britain must play her full part, pledges its support in the forthcoming campaign for a united Europe."

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. G. F. Fisher) presided, and Mr. Oliver Stanley, M.P., Mr. Victor Gollancz, and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council (Mr. Rev. J. M. Richardson) were among the speakers. The Archbishop of Westminster (Cardinal Griffin) was in Rome, and Mr. Archibald Leitch sent messages regarding inability to be present. Mr. Cassatt, in the course of his speech, said:—

In our task of reviving the glories and happiness of Europe, her culture and her prosperity, it can certainly be said that we start at the bottom of her fortunes. Here is the fatal, most imperious, most fertile area of the globe. The influence and the power of Europe and of Christianity have for centuries shaped and determined the course of history. The sons and daughters of Europe have gone forth and carried their message to every part of the world. Religion, law, learning, art, science, industry throughout the world all bear in so many ways, under every sky, and in every clime the stamp of European origin. But what is Europe now? It is a rubble-heap, a chaotic mass, a breeding ground of pestilence and law. Ancient nationalisms, feuds and historic theological factions distract and infect the unhappy, hungry populations. All teachers urge the peeling off of old norms, work-rules, national prejudices, and false gods, pointing to a new reformation as the pathway to prosperity.

Is there then to be no empire? Has Europe's mission come to an end? Has the nothing to give to the world but the contagion of the Black Death? Are her peoples to go on hating and tormenting one another by war and vergerage until all that is left is barren, lifeless, and poverty? And is the future of civilization for ever to squander its life-bloods in the red waste of the creation of new factories, military fortifications, and rail-walks and transport networks against one another?

#### HOPE OF CHOICE

The time had come (Mr. Churchill continued) when these questions must be answered. This was the hour of choice and surely the choice was plain. If the peoples of Europe resolved to work together for mutual advantage, to exchange knowledge instead of cannon, they still had it in their power to sweep away the barriers and miseries which surrounded them and to allow the streams of freedom, happiness, and abundance to begin again to flowing free. This was the greatest opportunity and if it were not taken no one could predict that it would ever return as what the meeting assembled would be. They should now at this set on foot an organization in Great Britain to promote the cause of united Europe and give that idea the prominence and vitality necessary for it to be held by the minds of their fellow-countrymen to such an extent that it would affect their actions and influence the course of national policy.

"We accept, without question," he said, "the world responsibility of the United Nations organization. In the constitution agreed at San Francisco direct provision is made for regional organizations to be formed. United Europe will form one major regional entity. There is the United States, with all its dependencies; there is the Soviet Union; there is the British Empire and Commonwealth; and there is Europe, with which Great Britain is profoundly linked. Here are the four main pillars of the world temple of peace. Let us make sure that they will all bear the weight which will be imposed upon them."

If European unity was to be made an effective reality before it was too late, the whole-hearted efforts of both France and Britain would be needed from the outset. They must, at last, be brought together in the movement.

#### PROBLEM OF GERMANY

The central and almost the most serious problem which clouded upon Europe to-day was the future of Germany. Faced within the framework and against the background of a united Europe that problem was incapable of solution. In a conference of divided nations how the German people would be first moved, or soon to require their energies. Economic exploitation would inevitably turn into thoughts of revolt and revenge. But on the wider stage of a united Europe German industry and German genius would be able to find constructive and peaceful outlets. The German people would be enabled to bring back prosperity to its small regions, not only to themselves, but to the whole continent. Various individual German ideas were now being received—the old ideas and preoccupations of the Germany of former days, in which the affairs of the world seemed so much. Without prejudice to any future question of German leadership, these individual ideas might well be invited to take their place in the council of Europe.

The prime duty and opportunity of bringing about this essential reunion belonged to Britain and France. It was true that the task of reconciliation required on the part of France, who had suffered so cruelly, an act of faith, unselfish in character, but it was to that act of faith alone that France would regain her historic position in the leadership of Europe.

Everything he had said about the imperative need of reaching a reconciliation with the German race applied in a most difficult degree to the British people, to whom, he was told, the idea of a united Europe made an intense appeal.

The aim was to bring about the unity of all nations of all Europe, including so many whose history lay in Europe and which attempted to the people those fundamental human and economic rights and freedom in which our democratic civilization had been reared.

The whole movement of American opinion was favourable to the revival and re-creation of Europe, which was not inconsistent, remembering how the members of the United States had been in a historic sense forced to reconquer the Atlantic and give their blood and treasure as the result of wars originating from ancient European feuds. Why should they suppose that the British Dominions would not be with them? The Dominions who knew that their much lost trade in being narrowly reserved the American market would be light and the in some strength about by European disaster to the promotion of which they had been powerless.

#### INTEREST OF RUSSIA

It was alleged that all advocacy of the ideal of united Europe was nothing but a camouflage in the game of power politics and a strategy that against Soviet Russia. There was no truth in that. The creation of a healthy and united Europe was the first and most important interest of the Soviet Union.

We had therefore hoped (Mr. Churchill continued) that all sincere efforts in promoting European agreement and stability would receive, in due season, the sympathy and support of Russia. Instead, all this beneficial thing has been distorted and viewed with suspicion by the propaganda of the Soviet Press.

Continued in next column

and radio. We have made no secret, and I do not propose to do so tonight, but neither could we accept the idea that the veto of a single Power, however respected, should be allowed to prevent a movement necessary to the peace, unity, and well-being of so many hundreds of millions of living and suffering men and women.

The conception of European unity seemed unimpaired among yesterday's nations, the leading nations, in almost all quarters. "Europe must be born or perish," the present Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, had said before the war, and he had no reason to regret that Mr. Attlee would therefore that present declaration in a time when the vindication of its words was at hand. Until public opinion informed itself more definitely Government would be able to take positive action. But they asked that government the Government, together with other Governments, should approach the serious pressing Continental problems from a European rather than from a restricted national angle.

Without a United Europe there was no aim prospect of world government. If during the war the aim was found possible to build a world organization of free people there was no doubt certainly for the purpose of meeting peace there was no limit to the blessings which all men might share and share. Nothing would have forward the building of that world government so much as the creation of unity and stability in a Europe conscious of her common personality and resolved to assume her rightful part in guiding the unfolding destinies of man.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking the words, said that the audience was composed of all nations and of none. He had almost added of all creeds and of none, but "none" was strongly wrong, for although every kind of religion was represented, there was one belief and one creed they all held. They believed in the unity of Europe and believed that it was the remedy for the present chaos and disaster, spoken in Germany last week's movement. They believed that for the reason of the people of Europe and the rest of the world every man must come to his again.



# China Increases Pace Of Attacks on Soviet

By LAJOS LEDERER

London Observer Service

London—Far from slackening its efforts to discredit Moscow, Peking shows every sign of pushing them further than ever before.

In the words of a Yugoslav commentator in Peking: "The Chinese Communist Party has so increased the range and pace of its attacks on the Soviet leaders that the impression is gaining ground here that the Chinese leadership is insisting on the essential, full and unconditional capitulation of the other side."

In addition to launching a major offensive in the underdeveloped countries of Africa and Asia, the Chinese are hard at work in Europe, seeking to undermine the authority of Moscow on its own doorstep.

Thus Vienna has recently emerged as headquarters of what amounts to a Communist underground information bureau organized by the Albanians.

It is similar in character to the Cominform, which Stalin founded in Warsaw in 1947 and which was dissolved soon after his death. Its purpose, however, is different from that organization, which aimed at uniting the international workers' movements.

The Vienna set-up is paid for by China and is directed against the Soviet Union. It is engaged in trying to subvert East European Communist parties and wean them from Moscow and from Premier Nikita Khrushchev's policy of seeking a detente with the West.

The bureau is based at the Albanian legation in Vienna, which has recently been heavily expanded and reinforced by a number of leading Albanian Communists, whose diplomatic duties are negligible or non-existent.

Austria herself has no legation in the Albanian capital and is represented there through its ambassador in Belgrade. As far

as it is known, no Austrian diplomat has visited the Albanian capital in the past 12 months.

The bureau is in the princely house in the centre of Vienna, newly acquired by the Albanian legation. From here, new directives are issued to the East European Communist parties, propagating Chinese policy in order to generate resistance to Mr. Khrushchev's policies inside the neighboring Communist parties.

A boost to Albanian activities in Vienna has been given by a split in the Austrian Communist Party.



# TALKS WITH HIMMLER'S ENVOY

## COUNT BERNADOTTE EXPECTED IN SWEDEN TO-DAY

### POSSIBLE ANNOUNCEMENT BY MR. CHURCHILL

## AN EXPECTANT HOUSE

Count Bernadotte, who is expected in Stockholm to-day, had contact on Sunday with one of Hitler's representatives.

It is generally believed that if Hitler gave the order to lay down arms he would be obeyed by what remains of the Wehrmacht and the party formations of which he is head.

Mr. Churchill may be able to make a statement in the House of Commons to-day on the dramatic war developments of the week-end, whether or not any acceptable offer of surrender from Germany has been received by the time the House meets.

## NEW SIGNS OF COLLAPSE

### GERMANS SURRENDER IN CRUISER

From Our Correspondent

STOCKHOLM, APR. 31

It is authoritatively stated here that Count Bernadotte, who is again in Denmark, renewed contact yesterday not with Hitler personally but with one of his representatives.

Count Bernadotte was due to return to Stockholm to-night, but decided to stay in Copenhagen, and, according to the Swedish Foreign Office, is expected in Stockholm to-morrow.

Each evidence of the continuing dissolution of the German armed forces has come to light here. A German auxiliary cruiser, the *Hansen* (R-200), with her crew and 42 survivors of an amphibious raid on Iceland, sailed the port at the west-northwest tip of Sweden. She had come from Sweinsholm, and all on board asked to be accepted in the refugee north of Sweden the largest German land army yet to cross into Sweden has given such assistance. A contingent of one thousand four officers and 11,000 men, all of whom had been working to break Sweden along the coast, were sent to the north of Sweden.

The postmaster declared that he was "unable to take responsibility for the man's continued fighting because of the drastic conditions in Germany." The man said that they had had to take a correspondence course in "the spreading of National Socialism throughout the world after the war," but that when the course was completed the whole group agreed to take on each other the whole responsibility to take action, and preferred to surrender.

### IF HIMMLER GIVES "CEASE FIRE"

#### ARMY LIKELY TO OBEY

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

Pending Hitler's reply to the allied demand that only an offer of capitulation addressed to the three major allies could be considered, interest centered yesterday in the question whether, in the event of the refusal after being made, his word would command the obedience of what remains of the *Wehrmacht* and the party formations of which he is the head. The general opinion was that if Hitler gave the order to lay down arms he would be generally obeyed.

The reasons for this belief are, first, that the anti-party groups are in the main in favor of surrender before more battles in Germany; and, secondly, that in their weaker moments to challenge Hitler's authority. However, according to Hitler himself, "I am dead." There is no person, there is no command. It may be that these rumors flow directly from Hitler's own statement to Count Bernadotte that Hitler would not survive 48 hours after the announcement of the unconditional surrender of Germany. The statement has been variously interpreted. The cynical view is that Hitler would make himself responsible for seeing that Hitler did not survive; the other and more charitable view is that Hitler's condition is such that he could not sustain the shock of surrender.

The German wireless remains silent about Hitler's offer. More significantly, it has now dropped all the macho references to Hitler's part in the defense of Berlin. Yesterday he was not mentioned. Yesterday, too, the report of the German High Command, which hitherto has been issued punctually, was several hours late.

#### IN OUTER BASTIONS

Dead or alive, Hitler seems to be in no position to oversee Hitler. Some close observers of the remaining German leadership believe in expecting that Hitler will finally agree to extend his offer to the Russians too, at the same time, they take the view that if he has decided to go the whole hog then the "cease fire" would extend not only to Germany but also to the pocket and bastions of Germany forces still held outside.

The Dutch and Norwegian authorities are deeply concerned but their own ravaged countries and suffering people must be called on to endure new hardships as the result of unconditional German demands. Conditions in Holland are well known, and in Norway they do not differ greatly. Indeed, it is noted that even now there is further fighting, the possibility of feeding the Norwegians will be every bit as urgent as that of keeping the Dutch alive.

#### THE WAR'S MEANING

#### GERMAN COMMENTATOR ON FUTURE FRONTIERS

An indication of German hopes was given over the *Radio* today last night by Dr. Scharrp.

"Everybody knows that this war is going towards its end," he said. "The end means a new order and there will be hundreds of thousands, nay, millions of German children and German women standing at their windows and looking out into the empty streets towards the return of father and husband. But they will never come back."

"Thus the question arises: what will be the meaning of this war? Looking back, we realize that here we at home and the men at

the front have prepared ourselves in Germany and bold deeds. They have stored the world with Germany and the whole of Germany all her strength. They have withheld with asking mercy but with the strength of three continents, and have stood that as long as it was humanly possible.

"Every German must firmly grasp in his mind the fact that this war has had its meaning. He must be certain that each one of us will talk German and to follow, though one country may be temporarily occupied. We shall remain loyal to our mother tongue. The Elbe will also be there remains a German river, and so will the Rhine and the Oder. They will never be Germany's frontiers."—Radio.

#### A MOMENTOUS WEEK

#### STATEMENT LIKELY ON WAR DEVELOPMENTS

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Whether any further and acceptable offer of surrender from Germany has been received by that time or not, it seems possible that Mr. Churchill may be able to make some statement on the dramatic war developments of the week-end when the House of Commons meets this afternoon.

Apart from the surrender offer to Count Bernadotte and the United States, which was refused, there have been the unexpected elements of the German army and the execution of the King and the Prime Minister by Field-Marshal Alexander—together with the execution of Mussolini—and the collapse of the Russian and American armies on the Elbe. Even if nothing much can yet be added to the official statement of Saturday about Hitler's approach at last week, Mr. Churchill may have something to say in an eager and expectant House about those other signs of Germany's military collapse.

#### NO LONG DELAY

A meeting of the War Cabinet was held on the usual time yesterday, but there was no information available to suggest that any further communication had yet been received from Hitler. From all that is known about conditions in Germany it is felt that an offer of complete and unconditional surrender to all the allies may not be long delayed. Several reports of Hitler's death are received with caution in London, but there seems little doubt that Count Bernadotte was told by Hitler some 10 days ago that Hitler was at the point of death. It seems unlikely that Hitler would have been able to make his offer of unconditional surrender to Great Britain and the United States unless he was certain that Hitler was either dying or completely incapacitated. There were rumors from reliable sources a few weeks ago that Hitler appeared to have taken control of affairs in Germany.

No notice has been given of any intention to change the business arrangement for the House of Commons to-day, and if Mr. Churchill decides to make a statement it will not necessarily lead to any debate. As for an emergency Parliamentary business, it is concerned the House will to-day begin an interval work with a debate on the second reading of the Scottish Education Bill.



# END OF WAR IN EUROPE AT HAND

## DÖNITZ READY TO SURRENDER ON ALL FRONTS

### NO BATTLEFIELD FOR NORWAY

## TWO ARMIES CAPITULATE IN THE SOUTH

Our Diplomatic Correspondent writes that the end of the war in Europe is at hand, and that the simultaneous announcement from London, Washington, and Moscow may be expected now at any hour.

The unconditional surrender on all fronts will mean, among other things, that Norway will not be a battlefield, and that the Channel Islands will be delivered without a fight.

General Eisenhower has announced the surrender in the south of the German First and Nineteenth Armies to General Devers.

The Third Army has again changed direction and is striking north-east into Czechoslovakia, where it has penetrated 27 miles. Pilsen has been captured.

### ANY HOUR NOW

#### A SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENT

From Our Diplomatic Correspondent

The end of the war in Europe is at hand. Any hour now may bring the news that the German forces still in the field have surrendered unconditionally. The announcement will be made simultaneously in London, Washington, and Moscow.

Capitulation has been delayed for some days by the Dönitz interlude. On taking over, this self-styled Führer announced that the struggle against the British and the Americans would continue as long as they "hampered" him in his task of fighting the Russians. Next, when the Germans were suffering from their hundreds of thousands of their resistance to the west, it became "senseless." Now events have brought him to the decision that resistance to the Russians also is "senseless." He is ready to surrender on all fronts, and the order is about to go out.

The "cease-fire" will mean that Norway will not be a battlefield, that the Channel Islands will be delivered without a fight, that Dunkirk and the Atlantic "pockets" will give in, and that the German forces in Saxony and elsewhere in central Europe and those holding out in Courland will lay down their arms.

#### DÖNITZ TO SIGN

The capitulation, in short, will be total, although isolated bodies of Germans may choose to fight to the last. The expectation is that Dönitz will sign the instrument of surrender for the Germans.

The Norwegian Government has completed its plans to resume authority. First to return will be a military mission, headed by the Crown Prince and including some members of the Government. The King will go later. Elaborate organizations, half military and half civilian, are waiting both in London and in Sweden for the word "Go." Thus, after five years, Norway will receive back her freedom and independence.

### SURRENDER IN SOUTH

#### SUPREME COMMANDER'S STATEMENT

PARIS, May 5.—General Eisenhower, in a statement issued here to-night (Saturday), said:—

To-day saw a steady continuation of German demoralization and disintegration on the west front.

On the south flank Army Group "G," commanded by General Schuler and comprising the German First and Nineteenth Armies, surrendered this afternoon to General Devers.

So great is the confusion among the enemy that the German officer Lieutenant-General Foertsch, commander of the German First Army, present at the negotiation, could not get an accurate number of the strength of Army Group "G." He believes that it numbers between 200,000 and 400,000. He reports the army itself has food for some of the local population, from some 2,000 to 2,500,000, is facing starvation conditions.

This surrender marks the ending of eight months' brilliant service by the 6th Army Group under the First Armies.

The interlude with this group of States Seventy Mediterranean landing in the encircled Swiss the Brenner Pass Mediterranean longest left



5 1945

## THE SEIZURE OF RANGOON

### PORT SOON OPEN TO SHIPPING

#### DEMOLITION FOILED

A special announcement from S.E.A.C. headquarters yesterday stated:—

In a series of battles of great intensity, the Japanese armies in Burma have been so decisively defeated that they were unable effectively to defend the port of Rangoon. Ninety-seven thousand of their dead have been counted in the last 15 months of fighting.

The occupation of Rangoon by a successful combined operation was the culmination of a long series of concerted S.E.A.C. operations carried out by the Fourteenth Army, which crossed the Chindwin and Irrawaddy rivers to break into central Burma; by the forces of the Northern Combat Area Command, which advanced from the north; and by the XV Indian Corps, which carried out a series of amphibious hooks down the Burma coast. All these operations were supported and supplied by air on a scale never attempted hitherto in any theatre of war.

The speed of our operations and their synchronization, outpacing the planning capacity of the Japanese and narrowly beating the onslaught of the imminent monsoon, enabled the port of Rangoon to be seized before its installations could be destroyed. Reports indicate that the inner harbour will be open to shipping in a very few days.

The forces responsible for this outstanding success and for the liberation of the greater part of Burma include the Chinese divisions, an American brigade, and a British division which fought with the Northern Combat Area Command; the Fourteenth Army, comprising British, Indian, and African troops of the IV Corps and the XXXIII Indian Corps; the XV Indian Corps, with British, Indian, and African troops; Nos. 221 and 224 Groups, Royal Air Force; the Strategic Air Force and the Allied Air Transport Squadrons of Eastern Air Command; the Royal Navy, the Royal Indian Navy, and allied war vessels.

### BATTLE OF BURMA ENDED

#### ADMIRAL MOUNTBATTEN'S ORDER OF THE DAY

The following order of the day by Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten has been sent to Admiral Sir Arthur Power, Commander-in-Chief, East Indies Fleet, Lieutenant-General Sir Oliver Leese, Commander-in-Chief, allied land forces, South-East Asia, and Air Marshal Sir Keith Park, allied Air Commander-in-Chief, South-East Asia.

You have won the race for Rangoon and beaten the monsoon as well as the Japanese. The fall of the capital 10 days before the rains and storms will be upon you brings to an end the battle of Burma, for although isolated pockets of the enemy remain their doom is now sealed.

From the Chinese armies in the north, who fought their way with the American Brigade down to Lashio, to the British and Indian and East and West African Division, who have fought from Kohima to Rangoon, you have covered in this great battle 1,500 miles of the worst country in the world, and under the world's worst climate and conditions. In the process you have killed 97,000 Japanese and inflicted 250,000 casualties. You have, in fact, given the enemy such a beating and harried him so hard that the vaunted Japanese army, about whose toughness and fanaticism we had heard so much, has in some cases pulled out rather than face your final assault.

Your victories have been a magnificent example of inter-service, inter-allied cooperation. To achieve them the ground forces have not only received the normal air support but have had to be supplied by air on a scale never before achieved, and American air forces have worked with the Royal Air Force right to the capture of Rangoon. Meanwhile the Royal Navy have cut the enemy's sea communications and have made possible a series of amphibious hooks round the coast of Arakan, culminating in a combined operation in which the XV Corps assaulted Rangoon from the sea just as the Fourteenth Army approached the town from the north.

The liberation of Burma, in which we have had the active assistance of the Burmese, marks not only the successful accomplishment of the first stage in your advance. It will also be your springboard for further and greater victories.

Yesterday's S.E.A.C. report stated:—

"In the Irrawaddy sector the capture of Prome, on the east bank, has cut off large forces of Japanese to the west."







# LAST STRUGGLE IN BERLIN

## A SHATTERED CITY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

MOSCOW, APRIL 30

It was reported this morning that strong Russian units were massing on the north bank of the Spree for an assault on the principal administrative district of Berlin. About 4,000 yards away other units at grips with the enemy in the Schöneberg district were gradually making their way forward to the north. From the east yet more assault groups, using tanks, were hacking a way into the centre. The Germans were reported to be giving themselves up more readily. Parachute troops launched over several parts of Berlin had all been eliminated. The battle for the capital of the Reich had virtually been isolated in the very centre of the city. The end seemed near.

Berlin, a *Pravda* correspondent reports, has been destroyed to its foundations by allied bombing and Russian shelling. It has become a city of cave-dwellers. With wry faces, remembering their own cities, the Russians watch pale, frightened civilians emerging from cellars—old men and women and young children, who since the allied bombing attacks during the winter have lived in the direst circumstances.

In the centre of the city fanatics continue their insensate resistance—remnants of the Ninth Army, hard-bitten criminals of the S.S., Hitler's personal guards, and women devotees of Nazism, fighting beside their menfolk; they are several divisions strong, and they lack nothing in ammunition and weapons.



22/6  
TIMES FRIDAY JUNE 2

# NEED TO WATCH GERMANY

WARNING BY F.-M.  
MONTGOMERY

## THE LONG-TERM TASK

From Our Special Correspondent

BRITISH ZONE, JUNE 21

It is not the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, from his observations since the surrender, that Germany is down and out. "She is down on her knees and needs watching" was the way Field-Marshal Montgomery put it to correspondents to-day; and a tour of the British area—through its wrecked cities and unspoiled villages or across the ripening cornfields of Westphalia rich in their promise of harvest—fully supports this view.

The Germans are certainly watching us, and in the prisoner of war cages from which farm workers—first priority—are being released at the rate of 13,000 a day, the talk among a people convinced of the inevitability of war is of the next war. The most critical period, it is felt, is going to be during the next few months, while the transition from a limited military government to full operation of the control commission is being geared up, and at the same time most of the 2,000,000 trained German soldiers held in the British zone will be discharged and scattered like pepper over the land. Already it is being perceived among the prisoners that German women in uniform are a bad influence because of the violence of their anti-British attitude, and many danger spots may develop that call for constant vigilance.

## THE THREE CLASSES

The most immediate problem of this period of the transition is, of course, the disbanding of the German army, a large part of which must be discharged and set to work. The prisoners, it has been found, may be broadly divided into three classes. First, there are the senior officers, who expected to be indispensable to us and were much disappointed to find that they were not. These have given us all idea of themselves fighting a third war and are now in a state of deep depression. Their



# STERN MILITARY RÉGIME FOR GERMANY

## AMERICAN PLAN OF CONTROL

### DÖNITZ HELD AS PRISONER OF THE ALLIES

## NO ACCEPTANCE OF FLENSBURG "GOVERNMENT"

General Clay, deputy military governor in Germany for General Eisenhower, has stated that Admiral Dönitz is being held by the allies as a war criminal. Dönitz's so-called Government had never been recognized by the allies, and there would be no more broadcasts in his name from Flensburg.

A definition of the zones of occupation to be allotted to each of the great Powers is expected within a few days.

## FUTURE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

### POSSIBLE CHANGE OF YALTA PLAN

From Our Special Correspondent

PARIS, May 16.

A good deal more light was shed on the allied occupation and control of Germany by a discussion at Supreme Headquarters today of the blue-print prepared by the United States group council, which is ready to assume its functions as part of the quadripartite control commission. At its head is General Eisenhower, as commander of the American forces in Europe, and acting as deputy military governor under him is General Lucius Clay, transferred from a staff appointment, who will also serve as the American member of the coordinating committee of the allied control commission, which, it is expected, will determine major points of policy as they arise. It is hoped, General Clay states, that the coordinating commission will at such day to deal with current affairs.

But the broad trends cannot emerge from the melting-pot into which conquered Germany has been transformed until the zones of occupation have been precisely defined and until a firm decision has been made on the future seat of the allied government. It is understood that a declaration will be made within a few days by the European Advisory Council, defining the zones of occupation which, roughly, allot the north-west and south-west of Germany to Great Britain and America. It is the general expectation, too, that the Russian zone will extend well west of the Elbe, on which the armies of the west and east are now standing, but General Clay had nothing to say about the French zone, which, it is pointed out, will not necessarily bear any relation to the area in the south-west which is now occupied by the French First Army operating under the Sixth Army Group.

### NO VISITORS TO BERLIN

As for the seat of government, Berlin was the place agreed upon by the Powers for this purpose, but in view of its virtually complete destruction another city may be selected. British and American divisions in service as protection for the wartime councils have been starting for five weeks days to move into Berlin, but at present the whole question seems to be in the air, and appeared applications for permission for allied correspondents to visit the German capital have repeatedly been turned down in Moscow. It is, indeed, now impossible to cross the Elbe.

During today's discussion it was stated by Mr. Robert Murphy, who has served as General Eisenhower's political adviser in Germany and who is now head of the political department of the American group council, that Dönitz and his "Foreign Minister," Count Schwerin von Krosigk, were never recognized by the allies as any form of German Government. Dönitz had made use of a de facto power as representative of the German High Command, but, Mr. Murphy states, there will be no more broadcasts in his name from Flensburg wireless station. Mr. Murphy's statement is confirmed by an announcement from Supreme Headquarters this evening that Dönitz and other selected German officers are being held temporarily, under the instructions of the allied commanders, to carry out duties concerned with feeding, disarmament, and medical care of the German armed forces.

### COMMANDER'S REBUKE

General Clay, in the course of his remarks, said that Dönitz was the last of war criminals who are being held as prisoners of war until application is made for them to join or join of the allied Governments. The Supreme Commander's rebuke administered the order due to American senior officers who were held in treating numerous German captives with too much leniency, he adds, had an immediate effect. "War criminals," General Clay declared, "will pay for their crimes with their lives and their liberties, their sweat and their blood."

The American group council, to which 500 specialists have already been assigned, will function side by side with Supreme Headquarters during the "re-deployment period" when the armies will be moving out to the Pacific or to America, or taking up their stations in their zones of occupation. During this period the military command will be maintained in its present form, but the group council will have a close liaison with the military government and it will assume control over it. That is, the present military government regime that we now direct by the field commanders will maintain their administration of the zone, or total German administration, under the general direction of the group council, which will be responsible for the whole zone.

Within the group council there are 12 sections consisting of high-grade government, together with naval, military, and air members to control the disarmament and demobilization of the German armed forces. There is also a legislative and administrative section which will carry out decisions of the allied representatives' conference at up at Yalta which will sit in Moscow. The representatives' conference, as established, consists of the three big Powers, and General Clay could not say whether a place has been given to France. Among its tasks is the direction of German non-military interest in associated regions outside Germany in accordance with demands made by the allied Governments, and there is

a man-power division in the group to make the necessary checks.

General Clay stated that the American view in Europe will probably be a long-term American policy is becoming well defined and the group council is acting on broad decisions from Washington which will need to be worked out in detail on the spot and harmonized with other members of the quadripartite government of Germany.

"It is going to be a military government," he said, "and the Germans will be made to know that it is a military government." They would adopt a firm and realistic attitude.

On the subject of food General Clay declared that it was going to be a tight situation in making rationing supplies last through the harvest season. A major ration of 1,370 calories was being discussed, but there were great difficulties ahead, and much depended on the speed with which they could return German prisoners to the land before the harvest. A complete survey of the position is being made, but starvation on a large scale is not yet expected. In no event, said General Clay, will American food be brought into Germany until starvation conditions are reached.

General Clay also announced that a number of pre-war universities have been vetted and approved by the allied authorities, and that as soon as stocks were proper the first few grades of German elementary schools would be required.

## WEHRMACHT'S HOPE OF SURVIVAL

### SUBTLE PROPAGANDA

From Our Military Correspondent

It has been stated at Kassel that the apparent continued misunderstanding and confusion between the Flensburg regime of Flensburg and the allied military authorities "resulted from the semi-official nature of the problem involved." In point of fact, however, this is a matter which may have deep military implications, if not now, then in the future. The lessons of the period after the armistice of 1918 should not be forgotten. The German Staff survived the empire, and will survive the Nazis if it can.

The so-called Dönitz regime really consisted of Dönitz, Schwerin von Krosigk, and a microphone, with the microphones the most important. It may safely be said that it will not be recognized as a Government and that for the moment there is no Government in Germany out of the Allied Military Government.

On the other hand, for their own purposes the allies may require a German administration with which to deal. And, in spite of the importance which is expressed in some quarters at the prospect, it is obvious that there must be relations with some form of military hierarchy to carry out the vital work of disarmament, collection of equipment and stores, demobilization of such prisoners of war as may possibly be released, and of German ports and installations. On the administrative side there will be close orders for allies work through the existing machinery to some extent. It is impossible to run the affairs of a country without using its civil service.

What is important to avoid is the proposition of a brief by the General Staff. Already both the Army and the Navy have been persuaded publicly to disown responsibility for the concentration camps. Whether or not they have any right to do so need not be discussed here, but they should not be permitted to take the guise of calling for a truce and water.

Again, some of the commanders have made, from their point of view, a good start in the work of absorbing the Army from defeat. It is a more difficult job to find enemies than it was last time, but every little helps. One of the most subtle forms of propaganda is that the direct was hardly due to the "German-bombing." The strongest instance is "Our last forces could outlast yours, but as we could not cooperate with you in attack we had to surrender." Actually, of course, it was the concentration of all arms in all the allies against the Wehrmacht which defeated a commander, and it was not until the Army had been defeated in France that the final danger of the Luftwaffe in the Pacific was seriously considered.

It can be seen that General Eisenhower, who has expressed himself sharply on the subject of some of the mistakes committed, is now discussing in London the future of allied control. No information is yet available whether Field-Marshal Alexander or Field-Marshal Montgomery will be the British military representative, but the complications which have arisen in the Mediterranean make it probable that the former, with his very knowledge of its problems and its possibilities, can be spared from his present post for the time being.

It is reported from Bavaria that thousands of members of the Volksgenossen are being released and set to work on projects. Some German technicians and experts are also being freed from prison camps and returned to urgent work. It need not be said that rumors such as these are of the highest importance to the allies.



# 2 Peace Bodies Are Established By Earl Russell

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London — Bertrand Russell, the 91-year-old philosopher, announced yesterday that he has set up two foundations to work for peace.

From his home in Penrhyn-deudraeth in North Wales, Earl Russell said one of the foundations had been formed to investigate the causes of the cold war and to find ways to eliminate the risk of war. It is called the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

The other Foundation, the Atlantic Peace Foundation, is a registered charity and will do research for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

"We intend to develop our own media of communication—radio, press, films, journals—a community of discussion which will not depend upon an establishment-controlled or government-intimidated press," Lord Russell said.

The foundations will send teams to any part of the world where there is a "hot spot," according to their founder.

One project of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation will be a newspaper to be printed in English and other languages, Lord Russell said. Another will be a radio station, based in Europe, that will broadcast appeals in several languages for nuclear disarmament.

*Globe and*

*Mar 2, 4/30*



# SUPREME POWERS OVER GERMANY ASSUMED

## ALLIED COMMANDERS MEET IN BERLIN

### COUNTRY DIVIDED INTO ZONES OF OCCUPATION

### RETURN TO 1937 FRONTIERS

The military representatives of the four Powers yesterday signed in Berlin the declaration on the defeat of Germany and the assumption of supreme authority by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, the USSR, and France.

Germany, within her frontiers of December 31, 1937, will, for occupation purposes, be divided into four zones, one to be allotted to each Power. The "Greater Berlin" area will be occupied by forces of each of the four Powers under four Commandants, each of whom will serve in rotation as Chief Commandant under the general direction of the Control Council.

### COUNCIL SET UP

#### JOINT CONTROL OF GREATER BERLIN

From Our Diplomatic Correspondent

By a Declaration signed in Berlin yesterday the British, American, Russian, and French Governments assumed from that date supreme authority in Germany, including all the powers possessed by the German Government, the High Command, and any State, municipal, or local government or authority. At the same time, the four Powers announced the setting up of the Control Council and the division of Germany into zones of occupation.

The declaration—which was signed by Field-Marshal Montgomery (Great Britain), General Eisenhower (United States), Marshal Zhukov (Russia), and General de Lattre de Tassigny (France)—explains that this assumption of supreme authority followed the complete defeat and unconditional surrender of the German-armed forces, on land, at sea, and in the air. No central government or authority exists in Germany capable of accepting responsibility for the maintenance of order, the administration of the country, and compliance with the requirements of the victorious Powers. The four Governments, therefore, assume supreme authority, but such assumption, the declaration says, "does not affect the annexation of Germany." It is added that the boundaries and status of the Reich or any part of it will be determined later.

Then follow 17 articles setting out the requirements of the allied Governments. These, in effect, are the armistice terms covering the surrender of all German forces and the placing of all resources at the disposal of the allies. They provide also, for the apprehension and surrender of the principal Nazi leaders and all persons suspected of having committed, ordered, or abetted war crimes or analogous offenses. The four Powers will take such steps, including the complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany, as they deem requisite for future peace and security. The allied representatives will impose additional political, administrative, economic, financial, military, and other requirements arising from the complete defeat of Germany; and all German authorities and the German people shall carry out unconditionally their requirements.

#### MACHINERY OF CONTROL

The supreme authority thus assumed will be exercised through a Control Council. An official statement describes the machinery as follows:

"It is in the period when Germany is carrying out the basic requirements of unconditional surrender, supreme authority in Germany will be exercised, on instructions from their Governments, by the British, United States, Soviet, and French Commanders-in-Chief, each in his own zone of occupation, and also jointly, in matters affecting Germany as a whole. The four Commanders-in-Chief will together constitute the Control Council. Each Commander-in-Chief will be assisted by a political adviser.

"(1) The Control Council, whose decisions shall be unanimous, will ensure approximation of action by the Commanders-in-Chief in their respective zones of occupation and will reach agreed decisions on the chief questions affecting Germany as a whole.

"(2) Under the Control Council, there will be a permanent coordinating committee composed of one representative of each of the four Commanders-in-Chief, and a central staff organized in the following divisions (which are subject to adjustment in the light of experience): Military; Naval; Air; Transport; Political; Economic; Finance; Legislation; Deliveries and Distribution; Internal Affairs and Communications; Legal; Prisoners of War and Displaced Persons; Man-power. There will be four heads of each division, one designated by each Power. The staffs of the divisions may include civilian as well as military personnel, and may also in special cases include nationals of other United Nations operating in a personnel capacity.

"(3) The functions of the coordinating committee and of the central staff will be to advise the Control Council, to carry out the council's decisions, and to transmit them to the appropriate German organs, and to supervise and control the day-to-day activities of the latter.

"(4) In liaison with the other United Nations Governments chiefly interested will be established through the appointment by such Governments of military missions (which may include civilian members) to the Control Council. These missions will have access through the appropriate channels to the organs of control.

"(5) United Nations organizations will, if admitted by the Control Council to operate in Germany, be subordinate to the allied control machinery and accountable to it.

"(6) The administration of the 'Greater Berlin' area will be directed by an inter-allied governing authority, which will operate under the general direction of the Control Council and will consist of four commissioners, each of whom will serve in rotation as Chief Commissioner. This will be assisted by a technical staff which will supervise and control the activities of the local German organs.

"(7) The arrangements outlined above will operate during the period of occupation after

the German surrender, when Germany is carrying out the basic requirements of unconditional surrender. Arrangements for the subsequent period will be the subject of a separate agreement.

#### THE FOUR ZONES

A third official statement announces the division of Germany into four zones of occupation. This is as follows:—

(1) Germany, within her frontiers as they were on December 31, 1937, will, for the purposes of occupation, be divided into four zones, one to be allotted to each Power as follows:—

An eastern zone to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

A north-western zone to the United Kingdom;

A south-western zone to the United States of America;

A western zone to France.

The occupying forces in each zone will be under a commander-in-chief designated by the responsible Power. Each of the four Powers may, at its discretion, include among the forces assigned to occupation duties under the command of its commander-in-chief, soldiers contingents from the forces of any other allied Power which has actively participated in military operations against Germany.

"(2) The area of 'Greater Berlin' will be occupied by forces of each of the four Powers. An inter-allied governing authority, the Kommandantur, consisting of four representatives, appointed by their respective commanders-in-chief, will be established to direct jointly its administration.

#### OTHER UNITED NATIONS

Finally, the four Governments announce that in addition to their agreement with the Governments of other United Nations in connection with the exercise of the authority now assumed. The assumption is no mere form of words. It is strongly hoped that the other victims of German aggression will be closely associated both with the occupation and with the control machinery.

The coordinating committee will be in daily session, and as it will have the responsibility of seeing effect given to the policies decided on by the Control Council on the instructions of each Government. The working of the machinery will prove a test of co-operation and should facilitate the harmonizing of varying views on the treatment of Germany.

The British section of the control organization has been recruited with great care, and it includes men who know the German people well. The choice of Lieutenant-General Sir Harold Wicks as Field-Marshal Montgomery's chief representative has been warmly welcomed.

#### THE SIGNING

Berlin, June 5.—The document by which supreme authority is assumed by the four allies was signed at 10 minutes past 5 this afternoon in the central hall of a Radio building close to Marshal Zhukov's headquarters. The four commanders, accompanied by their deputies and military and economic advisers, sat at a circular table.

Marshal Zhukov was the first to sign, and he was followed by Mr. Vostokov, his vice-Commander of Foreign Affairs. Rising and facing the cameras, Marshal Zhukov, dressed in a beige uniform and wearing the medal of Hero of the Soviet Union, said: "On behalf of the Soviet Union and for my own part I want to congratulate you on coming here to sign the declaration of the four Powers."

After drawing attention to major decisions in the text of the declaration, Marshal Zhukov added: "The text of the text is written in one can be signed: is there any objection?"

General Eisenhower, sitting opposite Marshal Zhukov, said: "I accept on behalf of the United States." Field-Marshal Montgomery added: "I agree."—*Reuter*.

The text of the declaration of the four Powers is published in full on page 3.

#### GERMANS IN ALLIED HANDS

#### PRISONERS OR "DISARMED PERSONNEL"

FROM OUR MILITARY CORRESPONDENT

There may still be some confusion in the mind of the public between the status and situation of the vast numbers of Germans taken prisoner in the final battles and those who fell into the hands of the allies as a result of the instrument of surrender. The former are prisoners of war and are living as such, whether their camps are in Germany or in this country.

The latter are known as "disarmed personnel." There are roughly 1,000,000 of these in the area of the 2nd Army Group. They are also in camps, but these are much larger than the prisoner-of-war camps, and the German military organization is as a considerable extent made use of for the purpose of their control and administration. They include virtually the whole of the garrison of Berlin, which is in all respects and purposes "disarmed."

In Norway, where there are about 400,000 "disarmed personnel," it is dealt with, the concentration camps, as previously reported, reached some days ago, but the clearing of the country has not yet been completed.

The situation of Holland is still in a somewhat vague state, but it should not be long now that all the preliminary have been completed. There has been some confusion as to the removal of arms by those troops, but now said to be on a very small scale—perhaps one fifth to 100 men—the army guards.



# THE ROADS OF GERMANY

## A LESSON FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF INDUSTRIES

### WAYS BACK TO DECENCY

From a Military Correspondent lately in Germany

The roads of Germany to-day mirror the attenuated life of her people and symbolize the new life that is stirring. The factories are silent or destroyed. The towns are heaps of rubble, recalling the scenes of the H. G. Wells film, *The Shape of Things to Come*. The railways with few exceptions are idle, a sequence of broken bridges and scrap-heaps. Canals and rivers are derelict. Only along the roads and in the fields is life really active, and there it shows itself in a never-ending movement of humanity.

Shaeff has rightly emphasized the paramount need of land-work to enable Germany to make her maximum possible contribution to the harvest before next winter, and there can be little doubt that the policy of converting the disarmed German soldiery into workers in the fields is sound. They should be controlled, for they suffer little from humility when freed. But urgent and valuable work is there to be done and, with the restoration of normality in the countryside, should do much towards the rebuilding of life both materially and psychologically.

Of the military traffic it is unnecessary to say much. The long convoys of motorized equipment are familiar enough to all the world at war. But, viewing an American sector with a critical eye, a British observer need seek no diplomatic phrases in his praise for the efficiency of the traffic or for the soldierly bearing of the troops. This great civilian army has achieved a sure professional touch which is a blend of pride in achievement and modesty in expression. At no point can any touch of the arrogance of a conqueror be seen. Saluting is exemplary, treatment of civilians correct but not harsh. Fraternization is rare. The severest tests are from the small children, who seem to haunt every American sentry post, and the warm-hearted Americans must find it hard not to respond to their innocent advances. The few girls who can be seen attempting the same thing are probably not so innocent in their approaches. They seem to make little impression, and there is none of the "walking-out" which we have come to accept as a normal pastime of the American soldier in an allied land.

#### HOMEWARD BOUND

A greater interest along these roads of Germany is the strange and often incomprehensible civilian traffic which trickles past ceaselessly in all directions. Here is an emaciated man in striped pyjama clothing, plodding down the road to Aschaffenburg, a poignant reminder of the horrors behind the beautiful facade of the countryside. Then come parties of men and women pushing a piled-up hand-cart bearing a Luxembourg flag. These are accompanied by a Red Cross nurse, tramping in their escort to their native land. The French pass in American lorries, the Tricolor fluttering bravely beside the United States driver, the sides garlanded with branches plucked from the roadside, the men and women seeming too dazed to display their native vivacity, though one can picture their joyous emotion as they cross the frontiers of France again.

A sadder sight is presented by the Poles. These too are moved mostly by lorry by the American authorities, and in the townships there are large-scale hostels where "displaced persons" are staged, and the red-and-white Polish flag is prominent. But the flow of the Polish current sets towards the west. The problem of their repatriation is more complicated than that of the Belgians and Dutch, or even of the Italians, who with the Russians (especially supervised by Red Army officers) make up the balance of this human flotilla.

Were it not for the tragedy of these enslaved exiles, one might be prompted to some grains of sympathy for the Germans who also trudge the roads. There is no motor transport for them. Thousands who took refuge in the country from air raids, or on Hitler's orders before the advancing armies, are making their way back, many to shattered dwellings with a grim winter ahead, for there seems little likelihood of early repair. Returning German prisoners are also beginning to walk their way home. It is curious to be "thumbed" for a lift by a *Wehrmacht* soldier, with little of inferiority in his complex.

Alongside the roads are the evidences of battle. Everywhere west of the Rhine the preparations are scanty and hurried: half-dug anti-tank ditches, roughly sited 88mm. guns, little or no wire, and the ubiquitous tributes on the road- verges to courageous engineers—"mines cleared to ditches." Where the enemy stood, as at

Würzburg and Kitzingen, American artillery and bombers made a thorough job, but villages for the most part are unscathed. There was no military vengeance. The population is in the fields—women, young children, and old men—working hard with hoe and plough, almost entirely oxen-drawn in this part of the country, and without a tractor to be seen. This is the vengeance of fate. No longer are the slaves available to the "master race." They must work themselves or starve. And working as they have elected to do, a saner, healthier life seems to be beginning for them.

In the towns it is difficult to perceive any such renaissance. Nor does it seem from the present evidence that this will come readily. The German townfolk do not appear to have responded, as was expected, to the weight of punishment implicit in the colossal destruction around them. They have no sense of personal guilt. None says he approved the Nazi Government. But, true to their history, it is for leadership they look, and they are for the most part reasonably content with the Military Government which is rapidly getting into its stride.

#### VAST BIVOUACS

Perhaps the most striking spectacle of all along the roads are the German prisoner-of-war camps, like vast old-time armies in bivouac, stretching often over square miles of country, with the smoke of a myriad camp fires rising from them. One camp at Bad Kreuznach has 50,000 prisoners. The officers have mostly been moved out of Germany; the men, docile enough now, are already thinking in the main of release. The most hated name is Goebbels, because he invented the idea of the Werewolf. None of that for them, they say. They want to forget the Third Reich and all its works—but *quo vadis?*

As the roads converge upon the target towns the truly terrific impact of air-power shows itself. Unlike the selective target bombing that is so striking a tribute to the care of allied airmen in the occupied countries, explosive and incendiary were here combined to paralyze life completely. The skeletons of buildings and the outline of streets are still there, much as in parts of the City of London before clearance operations. But the problem of restoration staggers the imagination. The agricultural economy is relatively unimpaired, but the whole vast complexity of urban industrialism is reduced to broken pieces. Nazism was for the most part based on the towns; the potency of military aggression arose from the factories which are now rubbish heaps. A providential opportunity is presented to prevent the regrowth of these two German malignancies which have afflicted modern mankind. Why should the war factories of the industries adaptable for war be rebuilt?

#### NAZI MONUMENTS

At Nuremberg the *Goettersdaemmerung* reaches its climax. Here, growing up in vast projects outrivalling the Colosseum and the monumental conceptions of Rome, still stands a conglomeration of arenas, triumphal avenues, and buildings, which were the expression of the Party—an alien excrescence upon the ancient beauty of an old-world city. The dreaming streets of the old town are gravely wrecked, though not entirely beyond restoration. The Nazi monuments are still whole. One arena contains a huge park of United States war vehicles. The party offices are occupied by "displaced persons" awaiting repatriation. Hitler's rostrum is guarded by a sentry from West Virginia.

Roads and streets are thronged by inexplicably well-dressed young women. It is a mystery how in the midst of all that has happened they can appear in bright fresh-laundered cotton frocks. There is little apparent concern in such cities at the presence of allied troops. A large convoy of Czechoslovak tanks conveyed by British transporter companies was making its way back to its own country flying Czech flags. An occasional Union Jack seemed to pass unnoticed. Occasionally one detected covert scowls. The Nazi may be scotched, but he is not exterminated, and a subtle propaganda of rumours is being countered in Nazi strongholds.

Whither do the roads of Germany lead? They are still too chaotic to tell. But it is certain that regeneration has not come simply by the process of defeat and destruction. The Russians are said to be removing all factory machinery and to be intent that no major re-industrialization shall occur. It may be that along that road the Germans will best re-establish their simpler virtues and get back to decency in a land of fields, farms, and forests.



## SAFEGUARDS FOR PEACE

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**Abstract**



CHAPTER I  
PURPOSE AND PRINCIPLES

Article 1  
The purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, to achieve international co-operation, and to promote the well-being of the human race.

Article 2  
The Organization of the United Nations is based on the following principles:  
(1) The United Nations shall be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.  
(2) All members shall have equal rights in the Organization.

Article 3  
The United Nations shall be guided by the following principles:  
(1) The United Nations shall be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.  
(2) All members shall have equal rights in the Organization.

Article 4  
The United Nations shall be guided by the following principles:  
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(2) All members shall have equal rights in the Organization.

Article 8  
The United Nations shall be guided by the following principles:  
(1) The United Nations shall be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.  
(2) All members shall have equal rights in the Organization.

Article 9  
The United Nations shall be guided by the following principles:  
(1) The United Nations shall be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.  
(2) All members shall have equal rights in the Organization.

Article 10  
The United Nations shall be guided by the following principles:  
(1) The United Nations shall be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.  
(2) All members shall have equal rights in the Organization.

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Article 12  
The Security Council shall be composed of five permanent members and four non-permanent members.

Article 13  
The Security Council shall be composed of five permanent members and four non-permanent members.

Article 14  
The Security Council shall be composed of five permanent members and four non-permanent members.

Article 15  
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Article 16  
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Article 17  
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Article 18  
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The International Court of Justice shall be composed of 15 members.















## GERMANY IN DEFEAT

AS province after province of Germany is overrun by the Allied armies, as town after town is surrendering through delegates or even by telephone, while calls for fanatic last-ditch resistance continue to blare from the radio sets, two things are becoming abundantly clear. The first is that there will be no political collapse of the Nazi machine, no disintegration of its inner core—merely the piecemeal falling away of territories and populations from its grip. The other is that the state of mind of these populations is very different from what public opinion in the Allied countries imagined it to be.

Reports about surrender councils at Berchtesgaden must be discounted as propaganda. Reports that large German army units no longer receive orders may well be true; however, this is not due to no orders being given, but to the collapse of communications in the area of the Allied breakthrough. At the time of writing, the panic of the West has not yet infected the German armies on the Eastern front; and the disposition of the German forces, the sustained concentration in the East, as well as the massing of the remaining Western strength on the approaches to Holland and Bavaria, bear the marks both of the general exhaustion of German military strength, no longer sufficient for even an attempted stand on all fronts at once, and of deliberate decision as to strategic priorities in the struggle to prolong the war.

The Nazi High Command still knows what it wants, and can still find some units to act accordingly. At the same time, an orgy of hanging and shooting has been let loose in the German rear. The bodies of German soldiers and even officers executed for desertion or looting are now frequently exhibited in German towns which are still under Nazi control. Party officials from the front-line zone are told peremptorily that they will be treated in the same manner if they desert their posts without Hitler's personal permission. And while "governmental" terrorism reaches a bloody climax in the shrinking territory under Nazi control, the first shots have been fired by Nazi "underground" terrorists in occupied Germany, and the setting up of an Underground Nazi movement with the spine-chilling name of "werewolves" has been solemnly announced to the world.

No, the Nazi machine is not disintegrating from within—it merely loses increasingly the power to enforce its orders. A political collapse last July, when the anti-Hitler plot came far nearer success than was realised at the time, would have made an enormous difference to Europe and Germany—in saved lives of Allied soldiers, avoided winter famine in liberated countries, and spared destruction in Germany. A political collapse now would make little difference of this kind, because the purely physical collapse of the remnants of organised resistance can hardly be more than weeks ahead. But the success of the Nazi leaders in avoiding it, in maintaining the unbroken continuity of their legend from the last days of the Third Reich to the first days of the Nazi underground, is still a matter of consequence for the future of Germany and of Europe in general.

No doubt, this movement will be at its weakest at the moment of final defeat. The mass surrender of soldiers and towns in the West would not be possible without the defection of countless weaker vessels of the Nazi spirit, men who feel not too compromised to be able to save their lives by joining the general stampede.

The orders for terrorism in the occupied West were issued by Himmler's own paper as early as last autumn, and Nazi propaganda has repeatedly boasted of fictitious exploits of this kind to set an example; but only now has the first murder of a German official co-operating with the Allied authorities been carried out. Reports from those strips of Western Germany which have been occupied for some time indicate no more than isolated cases of resistance, and even during the present blitz offensive active civilian hostility seems to be confined to a very limited number of incidents.

We read of a signal wire cut here, a soldier stabbed by a crazy septuagenarian there, of a dangerous Nazi trying to get a police job by hiding his past; we read of a Commando colonel who, during the present offensive, has lost some of his men through booby-traps in a deserted town and accuses the civilians of leaving them behind, but the case is so much in contrast to the general picture that we suspect an organised Wehrmacht or S.S. job. We read of fanatical civilians taking part in the fighting in the Aschaffenburg area, where military resistance was strongest in the attempt to close to the Allies the gateway into Bavaria, but against this we must set the complete failure of the Volkssturm reported from almost everywhere else, the Nazis' own order to march the workers out of the Ruhr rather than leave them behind for house-to-house defence, the part played by the Frankfurt population, in shortening the struggle for their battered city, the surrender of Darmstadt, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Cassel by civilian officials anxious to avoid further destruction.

The present climate is definitely unfavourable to a Nazi resistance movement. But we know that organised preparations have been made, and that there will be tens of thousands of outlaws, wanted as war criminals by the United Nations, or as ordinary Nazi criminals by their former German victims, who will join the secret terror gangs with the certainty that no other way is left to them.

Ultimately, their fate will not depend on mere police measures, but on their success or otherwise in regaining the support of at least part of the populations who have now turned from them. That brings us to the other main factor in defeated Germany: the state of mind of the average German as now discovered by the correspondents who follow in the wake of the Allied armies.

These correspondents generally arrive expecting an attitude of solid hostility—and are surprised not to find it. Their initial reaction is generally to describe the people as "obsequious," and a minority as "sullen." These are labels which can conveniently be stuck on almost any kind of behaviour, and precisely for this reason they tell us nothing at all. But as the reporter

gets used to his new and strange surroundings, as he learns that the first German he has interviewed is not necessarily typical for every other German, a more varied and interesting picture gradually emerges.

The basic fact, at least in the Rhineland and generally in the big centres, is that the people are bomb-dazed and peace-hungry. This applies without distinction to anti-Nazis, former obedient subjects of the Nazi regime, and even to many former Nazis. The latest phase of Allied bombing, far surpassing anything we have known here, has had a terrific effect not only on their towns, but on their nerves. They go about among the ruins in a sort of trance, incredibly relieved that it is over, and still very much intimidated by the combined experience of the bombs and the last phase of Nazi rule.

Secondly, these people have known for some time past that Germany had lost the war, and are glad that there is an end to slaughter and destruction for this reason. Apart from the old anti-Nazis, many feel strongly against Hitler because he landed them in this mess: the less political they were and the more unthinkingly they followed the official lead, the more they resent having been misled—first by the promise of peaceful success, then by the promise of speedy victory. Their curses against Hitler are not an act of defiance against the Allies, but the genuine expression of their own naivety.

Thirdly, there is among the bulk of the population hardly any idea yet about the future. They know that they will be governed by the Allies, but although the bombing is often resented, they are not generally afraid of the treatment they will receive at Allied hands. In some towns where only those stayed behind who deliberately defied the Nazi evacuation orders, there was a definite expectation of friendly treatment and some puzzled disappointment—but so far hardly more—at the non-fraternisation order. The only "political" mass desire for the moment is peace and order, which they are getting; given this, each family hopes it will have a chance somehow to rebuild their shattered lives and homes.

There is a fourth element on which it is perhaps too early yet to form an opinion: consciousness of guilt. Knowledge of German atrocities in occupied countries is widespread, though it is naturally more alive among soldiers than civilians. But it is overlaid by the people's own experience of living together with workers from the occupied countries, and that experience seems to have been by no means uniform. So far we have heard very little of what these liberated foreign workers say about the Germans among whom they lived; my impression is that there have been all sorts of treatment, from real cruelty to real friendship and solidarity, and that as a result the foreign workers are probably the best witnesses we can get as to the real attitude of the German people, and of individual Germans, in the past years.

I have said no word so far about anti-Nazi activity. There is some; attempts to restart trade unions have already been



constituencies. Candidates shall be endorsed only in constituencies "where the strength of the branch, the financial resources available, the quality of the proposed candidate, and all other relevant considerations, offer a prospect of achieving a worth-while result."

Within these conditions Common Wealth will contest seats that the Labour Party has no normal chance of winning, and it also reserves the right to contest a seat "in which the actual Labour candidate cannot be regarded as a resolute and determined Socialist." In any event, Common Wealth will not support Labour candidates unless they pledge themselves to oppose a continuation of a coalition with the Conservatives.

The resolution goes on to betray the evident uneasiness in the minds of some delegates over this attitude to Labour, which required long hours of debate to allay. It says: "It is idle to pretend that this policy can present the Conservatives with any increased chance of winning a national victory, because, on the one hand, if the swing to the Left is relatively small, Socialist candidates in our absence would not have been elected in the seats which we contest; on the other hand, if the swing to the Left is strong, the Labour Party would, in any case, win a clear majority."

Such a pensive outlook appears to be bearing bitter fruits in Common Wealth circles, and no doubt is the cause of notable disruptions and breakaways in the party.

## Programmes

Amongst other matters discussed at the Easter conferences was a resolution by the Co-operative Party deploring the authority which has become vested in the office of Prime Minister, and which the powers of Parliament are accordingly abrogated. A Nottingham delegate expressed very forcibly that "it should not be possible for the Tory Party to 'cash in' on the reputation of one man, particularly when we remember that but for the forceful personality of the Prime Minister, that same party would have sold out to the Nazis after Dunkirk."

Without a doubt the Tory stock-in-trade at the General Election will put well to the fore the picture of Churchill as the great Conservative leader whose party put him in the position to win the war. A. V. Alexander, addressing the conference two days earlier, said the Labour members of the Government could claim they had far more to do with avoiding defeat and building the road to victory than perhaps they had been given credit for.

The Co-operative Party also put forward a five-point short-term programme for the home front, including nationalisation of key industries and land, public ownership and control of the banks, adequate housing of the people, retention of controls and a scheme of social security. This compares with five similar demands from Common Wealth: Nationalisation of all land, banks and finance houses; national control and reorganisation of the building industry; common ownership of all major buildings and public works undertakings, and of all transport and community services; a Ministry of National Development and a Ministry of Housing to provide 4,000,000 houses in five years.

The I.L.P. conference, at which Jimmy Maxton made a welcome reappearance after his long illness, urged the establishment of a British workers' relief organisation instead of U.N.R.R.A., which was described as the strongest weapon of international Capitalism. To this proposal an amendment was carried, demanding that the military period of relief control should be reduced to a minimum, and that the activities of U.N.R.R.A. should be extended to ex-enemy countries.

## Lords & Commons

PARLIAMENT met on Tuesday under the shadow of the death of Lloyd George. When question time was over in the Commons the Prime Minister, who was deeply and visibly affected, asked the House to adjourn as a mark of respect and suggested that on the following day suitable tributes should be paid to the memory of the man who had been such a towering force in British politics. The House then adjourned.

Immediately after questions on Wednesday the Prime Minister first announced the regrettable air accident which had resulted in the death of Commander Brabner, M.P., the young new Under-Secretary of State for Air, and many other important Air chiefs. They were on their way to Canada to be present at the winding-up of the Empire Air Training Scheme, which had trained so successfully so many valiant air crews. Commander Brabner is the third M.P. to have lost his life in the last few weeks, and the House is very concerned to find out what is wrong with Transport Command.

After this announcement the Prime Minister was the first Member to pay an eloquent tribute to Lloyd George and his life's work. He was followed by Arthur Greenwood, Sir Percy Harris, Sir Geoffrey Shakespeare, Aneurin Bevan (whose short speech was much praised), Lady Astor, W. J. Brown, George Lambert (who was elected first in 1891), Mrs. Cazalet Keir and Willie Gallacher. Members felt that there were too many speeches, and have since wondered whether it might not be better in future for the Commons to choose one Member who would be the most suitable to speak for them all.

Lord Winterton initiated a debate on the question of feeding liberated countries. This is undoubtedly one of the biggest problems facing the United Nations, and is likely to remain so for some time to come. He drew a vivid picture of American troops liberating a French town, being received by the over-joyed French population, and then the looks of the French turning to blank astonishment and dismay because they saw German prisoners being handed out American Army rations and receiving oranges, cigarettes, etc., everything in fact they had dreamed of, but not seen for four or five years. The Geneva Convention, apparently, on the question of prisoners is that they must receive as good a ration as their captors. Without being more explicit Winterton's point was clear to the House.

Arthur Greenwood said there were three problems: (1) Is the world willing to share its available food supplies among the people who need them? (2) Can we do something to improve the long distance transport of food? and (3) How soon can the internal transport and distribution on the Continent be improved?

Attlee had a very interesting story to tell in the course of which he said he thought the position was being met. We were sending 900,000 tons of food from our own stock, which the Prime Minister said recently

was six million tons. Attlee said that 900,000 tons was equivalent to what would have been sent if every man, woman and child in this country who had a ration card had sent a food parcel weighing 4 lb. overseas every month for 11 months.

In the middle of Greenwood's speech Black Rod knocked on the door of the Commons to summon the "faithful commons" to the Lords to hear the Royal Commission read, signifying the Royal assent to a number of Bills. I want to protest against what seems a quite needless interruption of the business of the House of Commons. For eleven minutes the proceedings were suspended. Cannot some other method or time be found? And why is a Ministerial speech never interrupted in this way?

During the last day before the recess Scottish Members pressed for the retention of Prestwick as the main airport for this country. Stafford Cripps, however, pointed out that for transatlantic trade this is a small country. To build a modern airport large enough to take the airliners of the future would cost between six and ten million pounds. In these circumstances, he said, we could not afford to build more than one.

Tom Driberg did a useful job of work in raising the right of naval personnel to communicate with Members of Parliament. The wording of the posters displayed in His Majesty's ships was as follows:—

"Any other method of seeking redress or ventilating a grievance than that provided for in King's Regulations and Admiralty instructions is an offence against naval discipline. In particular it is an offence for any member of the Fleet to solicit the influence of persons in positions of authority or to write to newspapers or other periodicals on such matters."

He had the satisfaction of hearing the Financial Secretary to the Admiralty read out the new wording as follows:—

"Other methods of seeking redress or ventilating a grievance than those provided for in the King's Regulations or Admiralty Instructions such as writing to newspapers or other periodicals on such matters are forbidden."

Sydney Silverman and other speakers were not satisfied that even this made it clear that it is the unalienable right of anyone to write to his M.P. without fear of punishment. Progress was undoubtedly made.

In the Lords there was a debate on Monopolies. Lord Dudley said that during his connection with the Steel Federation and the International Steel Cartel he had never come across anything which was in the least dishonest, underhand or connected with espionage, as had been suggested in the debate. In fact he had found nothing that was not designed in every way to assist the industry concerned, as well as the standard of the workers and to benefit the consumer!

JACK WILKES.



1945

## ORDER EMERGING IN GERMANY

### TENS OF THOUSANDS ON THE MARCH

#### HUGE ALLIED TASK

From Our Special Correspondent

NORTHERN GERMANY, MAY 28

Disarmed German fighting men are marching by tens of thousands on their way to the northern areas, where they will await disbandment or further disposal. British, Canadian, and American fighting men are driving in long, close columns of motor-vehicles, changing their stations in accordance with the new grouping of the allied forces. Masses of displaced non-German people are journeying by Army road transport, and lately increasingly by train, in the course of the vast sorting out and repatriation which is one of Military Government's biggest present responsibilities. Streams of German and other civilians in odd assortments of vehicles or on foot are going home, refugees from the Ruhr moving back westward, people who fled from Berlin moving back eastward. The most immediate impression everywhere in Germany now is that of humanity in movement.

#### WORK OF CONTROL

Order is beginning to come out of the chaos in which, particularly from Hamburg northward to Schleswig and north-east to the Baltic, the war ended. Most of the allied former prisoners-of-war are by this time home or well on their way. For the displaced persons many organized transit centres and camps have been created under Military Government through which those bound for western European countries are passing fairly smoothly, while the eastbound freed labourers are concentrated in communities under Russian supervision. The food for all these victims of German tyranny is coming from German sources.

Control has been an onerous business, especially during the days immediately after their liberation, but in general they have behaved more quietly than was expected, even towards their late masters. They were first noticeable on the German roads, as individuals and in groups, a few days after the allied crossing of the Rhine, for which river great numbers made instinctively as soon as they were free. The allies quickly set up controls at all their new bridges over the Rhine, and later at those over the River IJssel into Holland, as necessary barriers to ensure that these masses of humanity should not leave Germany before being medically examined and treated if necessary to prevent a spread of disease.

The 21st Army Group authorities mean to disband certain classes of German fighting men, beginning with agricultural and mine workers, as soon as their documentation is done. German service and municipal records seem to have fallen into complete confusion. This disbandment, while it should do much to save the German people from serious hunger and cold next winter, is not intended to be primarily in their interests. Military Government's first concern is to facilitate the military occupation of Germany. To assure the people of the necessities of life is a step towards preventing unrest and disturbances. For the same reason encouragement is being given to the restarting of some industries not directly related to the production of munitions, especially those concerned with food processes and with textiles.

#### IN THE BOMBED TOWNS

In bombed towns Germans now are beginning to do some tidying-up for themselves beyond the rough-and-ready clearance of main streets done by allied sappers and pioneers and bulldozers.

One wonders constantly how the people live in these shattered towns, for instance, in the sorry mess which was the Ruhr, but during the recent spell of glorious weather they were out in hundreds about the rubble-strewn streets, many of the girls in gay summer frocks, and everyone looking fairly cheerful.

In the Military Government administration a cardinal aim is to eliminate every element and symbol of Nazi doctrine, beginning by a careful selection of individuals to be burgomasters and other public officials. This has proved anything but easy. Often the man best qualified—sometimes the only properly qualified man—to restore a public service or utility has been a Nazi party man. Almost every one known to have been a Nazi before the occupation of Germany claims to have been so merely by force of circumstances, never by conviction; but no known former Nazi is given any responsibility if it can possibly be avoided.

No one finds it easy to judge what German thought and feeling are at this time, or what is the true motive behind the astonishing docility and discipline shown by most soldiers and civilians alike, which have so greatly eased the tasks of our military staffs and government in this aftermath of the war.



# Imperial and Foreign

## FRANCE AND THE PACIFIC WAR

### MORE ACTIVE SHARE WANTED

#### CASE OF INDO-CHINA

From Our Own Correspondent

PARIS, MAY 28

The sands of French resistance in Indo-China are running out. The French forces have lost their principal means of communications with the allied forces in Burma and are being compelled by a new Japanese offensive to fall back on China. This news is naturally distressing to the French, but reports from Washington that at last the negotiations for French participation in the war in the Pacific are going well provide some compensation.

In spite of its poor armament and the ravages of malaria, almost unrelieved through lack of deliveries of medical supplies, General Sabatier's force of barely 2,000 French and native troops in Indo-China has for two and a half months exercised such a threat on the ribbon of communications between the immense Japanese pocket in southern Asia and the home base that the Japanese have employed about 80,000 men to reduce it. It is uncertain whether this resistance could have been prolonged until the advance of the Fourteenth Army effected a junction; but the French General Staff is convinced that the resistance could have been greatly prolonged had medical and other supplies been sent by air.

Such supplies as were sent came almost exclusively from the Fourteenth Army, and appear, the French say, to have been sent on the commander's initiative.

Meanwhile conversations had been proceeding in Washington on the question of French cooperation in the war in the Far East. They began three months before fighting broke out in Indo-China and after that event assumed a new urgency. The view expressed by the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and apparently maintained after the fighting in Indo-China had begun, was that French participation had been planned in Europe but not in the Far East. Military reasons were given; but it seemed to the French that the real reasons were political and were tied up with the whole question of trusteeships and the future status of the southern Pacific area. If no French troops took part in the liberation of Indo-China how much easier it would be to impose conditions for the return of these possessions to France.

#### SIX MONTHS' DELAY

For six months the Combined Chiefs of Staff put off replying to the French proposals. The change has come during the San Francisco conference and is in large measure due, on the French side, to the presence of M. Bidault and General Juin in America. Recently the Combined Chiefs of Staff accepted a French proposal to dispatch a commando battalion, the *Corps Léger d'Intervention*. Now a proposal to dispatch further French forces amounting to more than a division, drawn mostly from F.F.I. recruits, is being examined.

Since the end of the war in Europe Japan is the only enemy of the United Nations. The French say that, like the war in Europe, the war in Asia should be a joint war, at least as regards those countries who have interests and possessions in that region; and it is for a joint war, not for a private war in Indo-China, that they desire their forces to be used.

### TENSION IN THE LEVANT

#### FRENCH STRICTLY ON DEFENSIVE

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BEIRUT, MAY 28

In a tour by air of the Deir ez Zor, Aleppo, and Damascus areas your Correspondent found everywhere great tension and strikes, with the possibility ever present of a violent explosion.

Both French and Syrians spoke regretfully of the incidents that had caused casualties, each attributing them to provocation by the other side. Although both French and Syrians are willing to help the investigation, the examination of details of past events requires time which could be better used in looking into the present situation and future possibilities. At Deir ez Zor, with 40,000 inhabitants—the centre of the most fertile region of the Beduin tribes—both the French colonel in charge and the Syrian Mohafez asserted that the situation was calm. The souks (markets) were closed, but it appeared that the least spark would start a general conflagration. The Mohafez said that the Central Government's instructions to keep order had so far been obeyed by the population. French activities are strictly confined to defensive measures, and French civilians have been



## SPEER ON DUTY OF GERMANS

### RECONSTRUCTION UNDER ALLIES

#### ORDERS TO BE OBEYED

Speer, the German Minister of Armaments and Production, in a broadcast to the German people over the German-controlled Danish radio last night, stated, "The direction of our lives is no longer in our hands." He admitted that the German nation was defeated, and said:—

Never before has a cultured people been amitten as grievously as the German people now. Never before has any land been laid so waste by the fury of the war as has Germany. You all are disheartened now and incensed. Instead of faith, desperation has entered your hearts; you have become tired and cynical. This must not be. The bearing of the German nation in this war has been such that, in times to come, future generations will look upon it with admiration. Let us not stop to cry out our eyes about the past. To work!

The havoc wrought by this war has only one parallel in history—the Thirty Years' War. Yet the decimation of the people by starvation and plagues must not be allowed to reach the proportions of that period. That, and that alone, is the reason why Admiral Dönitz has resolved not to lay down arms. This is the only meaning of the continuance of the struggle—to prevent the death of fleeing German men. It is our last duty, and the German people have to shoulder it.

#### REPAIR OF RAILWAYS

It rests with our enemies to decide whether they wish to grant to the German people the possibilities that lie open to a nation which is defeated but which has shown its heroic spirit in battle, and imprinted its reputation on the pages of history as a generous and decent opponent. Yet each one of us must contribute his share, and in the months to come devote our strength to the work of reconstruction. You must overcome your lethargy, your paralysing despair. I therefore issue this order to you for the immediate future:—

1. The most urgent work is the repair of the damage done to the German railway system. As far as the enemy allows it, or where he orders it, the reconstruction work has to be speeded up with every means, to make possible the transportation of foodstuffs to areas where starvation stares the people in the face. Remember that the only possibility of rejoining your families lies in the rehabilitation of the German railways.

2. Both industrial factories and workshops of artisans are under an obligation to carry out as quickly as possible any order concerning the repairs of the railway system.

3. The German farmers who in six years of war have obeyed their instructions, fully realizing their responsibility towards the entire German nation, have now to raise their deliveries to the peak.

#### FOODSTUFFS FIRST

4. Foodstuffs must have priority in transportation over all other goods. Food, electric current, and gas, as well as coal and wood-producing enterprises, must be supplied before any others. If we work with the same tenaciousness as we have done during the past years, the German nation can be kept alive without further serious losses. Whether our enemies will allow this we cannot yet foretell. It is, however, my duty to use all my strength to keep the German nation alive.

The direction of our fate no longer lies in our hands. Only divine providence can alter our future. We ourselves can, however, contribute to it by doing our work with determination and industry, by meeting our enemies with dignity and self-confidence, by becoming more modest at heart, and by keeping an unwavering belief in the future of our people which, for ever, will remain our most important concern. May God protect Germany!—*Reuter*.

## NO COMMUNIQUÉ FROM GERMANS

For the first time since the start of the war the German high command communiqué had not been broadcast yesterday to the outside world up to 10 p.m. Normally it is broadcast by the German wireless early in the afternoon.

No German station has yet announced the surrender of the German forces in Italy and west Austria.—*Reuter*.

## BLASKOWITZ FIGHTS ON

General Blaskowitz, German commander-in-chief in Holland, has issued an order of the day urging his troops to fight on, said German "Fortress Holland" radio. "The Führer has given his last order as a hero's death," he said. "Your task is to keep up his work. He was and he remains our

## FINAL SCENES IN BERLIN

### PRISONERS MARCH OUT

#### RAGE AND HYSTERIA

In an order of the day addressed to General Eremenko and Colonel-General Sandalov Marshal Stalin announced last night:—

Troops of the 4th Ukrainian command, continuing their offensive, to-day occupied the town of Cieszen (Teschén), an important centre of communication and a strong bastion in the German defences in Czechoslovakia.

Cieszen is on the Czechoslovak-Polish border, 15 miles south-east of Moravská Ostrava. It is on the main railway from Cracow.

The High Command report last night stated that north-west of Berlin troops of the First White Russian command occupied a number of towns, including Studenitz, and emerged on to the Elbe south-east of Wittenberge, where they linked up with American troops.

In Berlin on Wednesday 20,000 more prisoners were taken, while 10,700 wounded were located in hospitals. The total of prisoners taken in Berlin during the day was 100,700. Among them were the chief of the State air force squadron, Lieutenant-General Bauer, Police General Raizenberg, and the chief of Goebbels's secretariat, Seidl.

East of Brno Ostropolice was captured, and Czechoslovak guerrillas captured the commander of the 16th German Tank Division, Major-General Müller.

#### COLUMNS OF GERMANS

From Our Own Correspondent

MOSCOW, MAY 3

All through last night, in the glare of searchlights, and long into the morning columns of German prisoners streamed from the centre of conquered Berlin towards camps on the periphery.

Most of the men who, on the orders of General of Artillery Weidling, ceased fire yesterday afternoon are described as half-crazed by the ordeal of shelling and bombing through which they had passed. Shaggy-headed, bearded, and grimy, they emerged, wearing white armlets, from bunkers, drainpipes, tube stations, and piles of ruins. Some of them threw their weapons away with angry, sullen faces; others were ingratiating and stacked their rifles where they were told; many laughed hysterically and could not stop laughing as they trailed through the shattered city.

The Russians are reported to have made a great effort to look worthy of the occasion, and observers were struck by the contrast which the freshly shaved men, with medals gleaming, the brick dust shaken out of their clothes, and their high leather boots polished, made with the defeated enemy.

The battle for Berlin lasted 17 days.

## PRAGUE A "HOSPITAL CITY"

#### DÖNITZ'S ANNOUNCEMENT

A German station broadcasting on the Hamburg wavelength and calling itself "Reichssender" said yesterday:—

"At the request of the German Minister of State for Bohemia and Moravia, Admiral Dönitz has declared Prague a hospital city. Negotiations for a political reorganization in the Directorate have begun. Any disturbance of the calm and orderly developments which could only lead to Bolshevik chaos will be suppressed by force of arms."

A German short-wave station said yesterday afternoon: "Dr. Frank, Minister of State for Bohemia and Moravia has issued the following order of the day: 'For us the Führer is not dead. The oath of allegiance we swore to him is from now on valid for every German to Admiral Dönitz. We will stand at his side and obey his command. Everyone must do his duty. Long live the nation.'"

Another German broadcast said that a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross has taken up activities in Prague. The committee will look after the welfare of prisoners of war and the wounded, in accordance with the Geneva Convention, the radio said.

The transmitter giving these announcements did not identify itself, and it is not possible to give its location.—*Reuter*.



## THE LANDING ON TARAKAN

### BEACH-HEAD SOON GAINED

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

SYDNEY, May 3

Driven from their beach defences by a preliminary naval and air bombardment, the Japanese on Tarakan Island, off the north-east coast of Borneo, gave the Australians a clear run when they landed there early on Tuesday. While the infantry quickly established a beach-head, a big tide in Mudoy beach complicated the landing and Japanese artillery in Tuesday night caught some of our ships high and dry.

Australian commandos went ashore early on Monday on Sadco Island in Batagau Strait, a narrow strip of water between Tarakan Island and the mainland of Borneo. They took 25-pounders and anti-aircraft guns to cover the engineers, whose dangerous task it was to clear the landing area on Tarakan of underwater obstacles which consisted of staggered lines of piles driven into the muddy bottom a few yards offshore, and protruding for 6ft. or 7ft.

Ships of the Royal Australian Navy which were in the bombardment force included the cruiser Hobart, the destroyer Warramunga, and four Australian-built frigates.

The latest reports say that the Australians advanced nearly two miles to within 2,000 yards of Tarakan airfield, and that they then halted to allow airmen to bomb the targets. The township of Tarakan, on which the Australians are advancing along a good coastal road, is under fire from 25-pounders on Sadco Island, which is three and a half miles off Tarakan. Chinese on the island estimate that there are between 2,000 and 5,000 Japanese there.

On the right flank the going was harder owing to marshy ground and to the fact that the Japanese held strong positions in tunnels running through the ridges. Patrols were pushed forward to secure a foothold on these ridges.

Australian artillery has now taken up its positions. The R.A.A.F., which landed two airfield construction squadrons with the invasion force, had earlier joined the Americans in bombing all airfields held by the enemy within range of the convoy and in destroying the defences of the beach-head and of the Tarakan garrison.

## PRISONERS FREED IN BURMA

### BRITISH AND AMERICANS FROM RANGOON

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

LOWER BURMA, May 3

British and American prisoners of war who have come into our lines north of Pegu are the first to have been liberated in South-East Asia.

It has been a great day. Some 420 have already come in (about 100 Americans, the rest British) and about another 50 are believed to be still in neighbouring villages. Patrols have gone out to look for them. Four days ago the Japanese decided to transfer to Moulmein by road all those prisoners who were fit enough to undertake the journey. Finding the road was cut, the Japanese guards were unable to cope with such a large number, and they picked out about 50, mostly senior officers. These they took with them across country, and the rest they allowed to go free. Still in Rangoon central gaol are 150 men who were too ill or weak to make the march, 500 to 600 Indian prisoners of war, and some 50 Chinese, who are believed to have been captured in 1942.

The Americans liberated to-day were nearly all airmen. There were some airmen among the British, but the majority were soldiers, both officers and men, who had been taken prisoner in the original Burma campaign of 1942, in the two Wingate expeditions, in the Arakan fighting, and in the withdrawal up the Tiddim road last year.

### IN LOIN-CLOTHS

Most of the men wore little except a loin-cloth. There were some beards, but the rest appeared to have shaved until they left Rangoon. They looked fairly fit, but nearly all were suffering from jungle sores and skin trouble. Their feet were in a bad way, for they had been marching hard and many had thrown away their boots and were limping. Within a surprisingly short space of time many of these men who only the day before had been in Japanese hands were in Dakota and Commandos winging their way to India—and freedom.

One man stood to attention with a salute of Guards magnificence, and said to an officer: "I have been waiting for two and a half years to do this, Sir." It turned out that in the prison camp they had had to salute many times a day not only Japanese officers but N.C.O.s and privates as well. The prisoners had to work as labourers on various jobs in Rangoon. The Japanese guards were mostly old soldiers who had been out a long time, were thoroughly homesick, and fed up with the war. They became very panicky in air attacks, and especially feared strafing by Spitfires.

## PREPARING CASE AGAINST PÉTAIN

## WORLD DECLARATION OF FAITH

### GEN. SMUTS'S PREAMBLE TO CHARTER

SAN FRANCISCO, May 3.—General Smuts, entrusted by the British Commonwealth with the task of framing the new declaration of faith dedicating the San Francisco conference to order world security to the highest interests of humanity, finally revised the draft of the preamble to the new charter to-day.

British, Dominion, and Indian representatives have approved its construction, and it is understood that it is also specially framed to meet the sentiments of Americans.

The text of the preamble as finally amended said:—

"The high contracting parties, determined to prevent a recurrence of the fratricidal strife which twice in our generation has brought untold sorrow and loss upon mankind,

"To re-establish faith in the fundamental human rights, in the sanctity and ultimate value of human personality, in the equal rights of men, women, and of nations large and small, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in the larger freedom, and for these ends to practise tolerance and to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, in order that nations may work together to maintain international peace and security,

"By the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods to ensure that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest, by the provision of means by which all disputes that threaten the maintenance of international peace and security shall be settled, by the establishment of conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations of international law and treaties and fundamental human rights and freedoms can be maintained, by the employment of international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

"Agree to this charter of the United Nations."—*Reuter.*

## CHANGED TASKS FOR BOMBER COMMAND

### WAR TONNAGE OF BOMBS NEARLY 1,000,000

FROM OUR AERONAUTICAL CORRESPONDENT

By dropping 34,800 tons of bombs last month R.A.F. Bomber Command brought its total since the outbreak of war to more than 950,000 tons. Of the month's total all but 500 tons fell on Germany and included 1,200 tons on Berchtesgaden. Most of Bomber Command's efforts were directed against ports, naval installations, and shipping.

New and happier tasks awaited the bomber crews towards the end of the month when they dropped medical supplies and leaflets on prisoner-of-war camps, flew home released prisoners, and dropped food to the Dutch people.

R.A.F. 2nd Tactical Air Force, flying over 27,000 sorties during April, had one of its busiest and most successful months. More than 250 German aircraft were destroyed or damaged in combat and 321 others on airfields. T.A.F. aircraft also destroyed 2,997 motor transport vehicles, 92 locomotives, 683 railway trucks, 186 barges, 74 tugs, and 14 bigger vessels.

During April the allied air forces carried a total of 61,764 tons of supplies to the allied armies on the Continent. Of this, 45,157 tons consisted of fuel—aviation and road transport petrol and Diesel oil—of which 43,175 tons was for the use of the armies.

On the return flights the transport aircraft carried battle casualties and allied prisoners-of-war and displaced persons from camps and areas liberated by our advancing armies. During April, 104,739 persons were flown either to Great Britain or to airfields in France. The total number of casualties evacuated was 64,076.

## A MUNICH REVOLT THAT FAILED

### BATTLE WITH S.S. MEN

WITH THE U.S. THIRD ARMY, May 3.—The story of an unsuccessful revolt by three companies of Germans in Munich before it fell to the Americans has now been told. The soldiers tried to keep open the road from Ingolstadt to allow the Americans, who knew of the plan, to enter Munich. Inside the city 200 Wehrmacht officers were ready to give support with their troops when the revolt was well started.

The leader, a major named Braun, commanding Panzer units at Freising, 20 miles away, led his men into Munich on Saturday night, seized the radio station, and began broadcasting next morning in the name of General Ritter von Epp, who had been brought from Freising but refused to join the revolt. Armed with machine-guns the mutineers then tried to seize the Gaudelner, whom they found in a cellar with a group of S.S. men. A bitter battle ensued. Braun's men were driven back with heavy losses, the Wehrmacht officers were shot and the S.S. quickly organised a counter-revolution throughout the city to revolutionary forces.

Braun told officers of the revolt that he had planned it with a view to it was