



News of

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War trials

NORWAY

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Popular Ovations Mark King Haakon's Inspection Tour

ON August 21 King Haakon boarded the Norwegian destroyer "Stord" for a ten-day inspection tour of southern and central Norway. As he and his party moved out from the pier a large and enthusiastic crowd wished him God-speed. This peaceful mission, to be carried out on safe, mine-free waters, was a new task for the "Stord". One of Norway's most famous fighting ships, she was built during this war and was largely instrumental in the sinking of the German battleship "Scharnhorst" during the well-remembered North Atlantic battle of 1943.

Arriving in the south Norwegian port of Kristiansand, the "Stord" moved carefully through a harbor crowded with hundreds of small boats gayly decorated with flowers and filled with cheering Norwegians. That afternoon thousands of men, women, and children, overjoyed at the first sight of their King in many years, passed through the picturesque streets in a spontaneous welcome parade. The King, tall and straight, returned their ovation by expressing his thanks to the citizens of Kristiansand for the touching show of loyalty.

As the "Stord" moved along Norway's scenic southern coast, touching port after port, thousands of children caught their first glimpse of the man who until then had been but a voice on the hidden radio, or a picture concealed from the Gestapo. Aalesund's greeting was particularly impressive. For days preceding the King's arrival wagons and carts drawn by sturdy buff-colored "fjord horses" had been streaming toward the town. Aalesund, somewhat far removed from the festivities and celebrations which rocked Norway's capital for several weeks, was out to make the most of this great event. As the destroyer passed among the familiar flag-decked boats to the quay of honor, 25,000 persons were on hand to welcome their King. Since this number exceeds the total population of Aalesund by some 7,000, it was clear that every available bed and shelter in the town had been pressed into service to accommodate visitors from the surrounding districts.

BERGEN HAS ITS DAY

When the party landed in Bergen on August 28, Norway's second largest city expressed itself with that

particular type of enthusiasm so well known to Bergen. The stubbornly loyal stand of Bergen's populace gave the Nazis some of their biggest headaches and it is reported that Vidkun Quisling dared to enter the city only once. The King's visit signaled a city-wide holiday with all business and public activity halted for the day. Here, as in Aalesund, districts for miles around were represented on Bergen's welcome avenue. Flanking the route from the harbor to the famous "Torvalmenningen" were tens of thousands of cheering spectators welcoming this opportunity to demonstrate their affection for the leader of their country.

King Haakon's inspection tour comes at a most significant time. The ovations which greet the King in every city contrast strangely with the scenes enacted simultaneously in an Oslo courtroom where the man who would be dictator is fighting for his life. Haakon VII symbolizes the will of his people. The would-be dictator sought to oppose that will.

Bananas, Not Bombs

A few days ago a little girl lay dying in a Copenhagen hospital. Now, thanks to swift international action involving three countries, an Allied transport plane and a cargo of bananas, the little girl may live. Danish specialists found the child to be suffering from a rare intestinal disease which only a diet of bananas could cure. A frantic search revealed that there was not a single banana in Denmark, neither were there any in Sweden. But, by some strange quirk of fate, Norway, the land of a thousand shortages, did happen to have the bananas. Only a few hours before, a whole shipload of this precious fruit, purchased by the Norwegian Government during the war, had arrived in Oslo from the Canary Islands. Within a few hours a special Red Cross transport permit had been arranged and an Allied plane rose from the Oslo airport and headed south, loaded with bananas, not bombs. With the mercy flight went the wishes of 3 million Norwegians, grateful for this opportunity to repay a small part of their debt of gratitude to Denmark and for a peaceful world which values so highly the life of a single child.

Quisling Enmeshed in Evidence

The following résumé of the Quisling trial is not so much a report on the court action itself, as a means of bringing to light new information pertaining to numerous accounts which have appeared on these pages during the past five years. The evidence and testimony which follow will supply a "behind the scenes" picture to supplement the day by day story with which "News of Norway" readers are already familiar.

Second Day—Under cross-examination Quisling tried to explain how his disagreement with the Government then in power justified his refusal to follow mobilization orders on the day of the invasion; this, despite his rank as a reserve officer. The prosecution produced documents seized from the Berlin Archives on the Quisling-Hitler meeting in 1939, and detailed information on Norway's fortifications forwarded by Quisling. A memorandum signed by *Reichsamtseleiter Scheidt* (Nazi official) described Quisling as "Germany's eyes and ears in Norway," and proved that Quisling had maintained King and Government must be seized. Transcripts of testimony from Nazis *Rosenberg*, *Keitel* and *Jodl* taken at Nurnberg August 14, 1945, further show that Quisling had been sending political and military reports to Berlin regularly since early 1939. Quisling vaguely denied these contentions and stated that his main concern was that Germany get to Norway before the Allies and that the Nazis "come as friends, not conquerors."

THE MAN IS NEVER SURE

Scheidt's statement also verified that he had given Quisling English currency to the value of 100,000 reichsmarks to finance the limping Quisling organ "Fritt Folk." As this took place before the invasion and Quisling denied having met Scheidt before April 9, 1940, the prosecution quickly tangled the accused in his own replies. When questioned as to his actions on the night of the invasion, his memory seemed to fail him completely and the best the prosecution could draw forth was a vague "I can't remember" or "I'm not sure." "You're not sure, Mr. Quisling," suggested Prosecutor Schjoedt. "Is the court to assume that you are in the habit of forming a government every day of the week?"

Third Day—Cross-examination continued. After lengthy evasion Quisling admitted having contacted Danish Nazi leader, *Fritz Clausen*, before the invasion but denied discussing the potential occupation. When asked why he moved into Oslo's Hotel Continental on the night the Germans struck at Norway, his fantastic explanation was that fellow party members feared for his safety in case the British and French forces attacked. "And that, I presume, was the equivalent of going into hiding," retorted Prosecutor Schjoedt. Even Judge Solem was forced to remark that one of Oslo's largest hotels was a most unusual hiding place.

The prosecution then read Quisling's letter to Hitler of July 10, 1940 complaining about the way Terboven and other high Germans were treating him. In this letter his reference to the term "Greater Germanic Federation" called for a definition, which the prosecution produced in another Quisling letter of September 1, 1941. The term as here defined included Norway in a system where foreign policy, defense, currency, and administration would be dictated from Berlin. Here Quisling cried that this was but one of many plans which he drew up to divert the Nazis from incorporating Norway into the Reich. How he hoped to stop the Nazis by this arrangement was not explained.

HE MADE HIS OWN LAW

Another letter was then produced dealing with Norway's "voluntary" participation in the war on Germany's side, where Quisling again stressed the Germanic community theme. Regarding the Nazi appointment of Quisling as "Minister President" in February of 1942, Judge Solem was obliged to tell Quisling that Norway's constitution can be altered only by the Parliament, and that even were he to have set himself up as king he could never propose a constitutional alteration of the kind he had attempted. Regarding Quisling's "Greater Germanic" ideas, the prosecutor asked whether he really thought that they would be best for Norway and that Norway's free and democratic elections might be thus maintained. To this the accused replied, "Yes, but in a different way from hitherto"; the classic Quisling qualification.

The prosecution then turned to the activities of the "Hird", a band of armed hoodlums under Quisling's personal control. Here the accused denied that this was anything more than an innocent political organiza-

NORWAY CALENDARS GOING FAST

"News of Norway" readers are urged to place their orders for the 1946 Norway Calendar as soon as possible. Twelve new photographs, rich with Norway's scenic beauty together with a timely portrayal of Norwegians at war and at peace, make this calendar a unique and exciting addition to any household. As only a limited number of these calendars are being printed, readers are urged to place their orders early to avoid disappointment. When these are gone there will be no more.

The single copy price of the 1946 Norway Calendar is 75 cents or 85 cents by mail. Send your order with full remittance to O. M. Styron and Co., 1643 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

tion, and when he then explained that just before the Nazi capitulation plans were considered for placing Hird and Home Front Forces under the same command, gales of laughter strained the dignity of the court. When Quisling further denied any intentions of mobilizing Norwegian youth for service in the German army, the prosecution produced a letter from a Nazi official advising against this move. "How," demanded the prosecution, "could Herr *Neuman* oppose a proposal from you which you claim you didn't even forward?"

HEYDRICH CAME WHEN CALLED

Moving on to point five of the indictment, that Quisling had caused the death of others or had assisted in causing such deaths, the prosecution produced a number of letters written by Quisling to German officials, urging that certain people (including labor leader *Viggo Hansteen*) be liquidated. The prosecution recalled the tense situation in September of 1941, when the late Nazi killer *Reynhard Heydrich* arrived in Oslo, and the first political executions in Norway which followed. Quisling remembered nothing about Heydrich. Hoping to jar his memory, a number of documents were produced where Quisling stated that the "New Order" must be harshly enforced, by the confiscation of radio sets and the arrest of opposition leaders. More documents were produced showing that hundreds of Norwegians of the Jewish faith had been sent to Germany at Quisling's insistence. A handful of them returned. At this point Quisling protested violently and seemed particularly hurt when the prosecution produced documents from Danish sources showing that Norwegian Jews had suffered much more heavily than Danish Jews, thanks to Quisling.

A last point of the preliminary cross-examination concerned the charges of theft and embezzlement leveled at the accused. To these charges, Quisling replied that he was merely "borrowing" the silver, furniture, and linen from the Royal Palace. This was too much for the spectators. Judge Solem, himself smiling, was forced to rap several times for order.

FIRST WITNESS TESTIFIES

Fourth Day—The trial reached a new stage with the calling of important witnesses. German Ministerialrat *Berghold*, who arrived in Norway three days after the invasion, was the first prosecution witness to take the stand. He stated that Quisling and the notorious Reichs-amtsleiter *Scheidt* had met in the autumn of 1939, and that it was the latter who had arranged Quisling's infamous invasion-day broadcast on April 9, 1940. He further described how Terboven planned to establish a State Council, reinstate the Norwegian Parliament, and then resign, providing the Norwegians deposed King Haakon. Quisling, however, went over Terboven's head to Hitler, and in September of 1940 he could announce the dissolution of all political parties except his own. This, said Berghold, was regarded by responsible Germans

as a serious blow giving untold strength to the Norwegian underground. The witness further confirmed that Quisling had visited Hitler previous to April 9, 1940, and had informed the Fuehrer of the danger of an Allied invasion from the north. Hitler, stated the witness, was so grateful to Quisling for having drawn his attention to a point which he himself hadn't even considered, that he never again let Quisling down. In 1940, Terboven was so convinced the invasion of England would be successful, that in conversations at the Reichskommissariat he often discussed how long it might take to fly to England, and just where would be the best place to live. He had hopes of leaving Norway for a better job in England. At this point Quisling turned to Berghold and asked whether Terboven's opposition to him was not due to his unwillingness to comply with the Reichskommissar's demands. To this Berghold replied with an emphatic "No," that Terboven was most contemptuous of Quisling's government.

QUISLING VICTIM TESTIFIES

The second witness, a Norwegian of Jewish faith, then took the stand to describe how he and hundreds like him had been sent from Norway to Germany. He described conditions at Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Germany where over four million men, women and children were murdered. When Quisling was asked whether or not he had heard of the gas chambers or whether he knew that Norwegians were being transported to such liquidation camps by the hundreds, his answer was a bland denial.

The third witness, Col. *Rasmus Hatledahl*, Chief of the Norwegian General Staff in 1940, told how Quisling's radio speech countermanding the Government's mobilization order of April 10, 1940, was most confusing and had seriously hampered the effectiveness of the Norwegian Army. Another witness, Col. *Hiorth*, created a stir in court when he recounted how, on April 9, 1940, he had received a telephone call from Vidkun Quisling who announced himself "head of the State" and ordered Hiorth to "arrest the Marxist government which was trying to escape to Sweden." *Egil Sundt*, Director of Norwegian Broadcasting, then described how he too had received a telephone order from Quisling on the same day ordering him to broadcast a cease-fire order to Bolaerne fortress on the Oslofjord. When Sundt refused, Quisling threatened to report him to Hitler.

WHAT'S IN A NAME

As one witness followed the other, a net of evidence was wound more and more tightly about the accused. Col. *Harald Wrede Holm* verified the confusion caused by Quisling's order countermanding the mobilization call. Another witness from a well-known Oslo book shop testified that on March 15, 1940, Quisling had purchased about 30 maps of southern Norway. Still another witness, a switchboard operator at the Continental Hotel,

told how Hagelin had stayed there periodically since early January of 1940, how he often made trips to Germany, returning with large sums of money which the hotel cashier kept for him. She also told how, on the invasion day, a German Naval officer called at the Hotel asking for Quisling or Hagelin.

Fifth Day—The first witness called was Norwegian Court Chamberlain *Peter Broch*, formerly charged with the administration of the Royal Palace. He stated that Quisling had turned the Palace into a pig-sty. The Queen's bedroom had been made into a watch station where "the fuehrer's" guards ripped the furniture and smashed the valuable oak paneling. Priceless silver plates were melted down and sold on the black market. The Palace chapel was piled high with trash, and valuable statues had been removed to the bath house of Quisling's summer estate. At this point Quisling rose in approved Nazi wrath. "You," he roared, "are trying to besmirch my good name."

THE PIECES FALL IN PLACE

The prosecution's next witness, a Norwegian business man who dealt in foreign exchange, testified that in January of 1940 Hagelin came to him with 6,000 pounds in English currency and asked him to exchange it for kroner. The witness had noted that the bills were often numbered consecutively. Hagelin later came with another sum of 3,000 pounds to be exchanged.

There was noticeable excitement in the courtroom when the prosecution produced its next witness. *Wilhelm Hagelin*, Quisling's accomplice in treachery, took the stand. Hardly had the prosecution's first question been formed, when Hagelin explained that since November, 1944, he had been under the care of a physician for loss of memory. The value of this convenient loss of memory was soon apparent as every question was met with a stock "I can't remember." The cross-examination had not proceeded very far before it became apparent that Hagelin was deliberately lying or simply not wanting to remember the more unpleasant facts.

A recording of Quisling's infamous broadcast of April 9, 1940, was then presented, following which even the accused had to admit that both voice and words were his.

At this point, another witness, a teacher from Stabekk, was introduced by the prosecution to counteract Quisling's earlier statement disclaiming any responsibility for the arrest and deportation of teachers. The witness told how on May 22, 1942, all the teachers in his school were unexpectedly whisked off to a meeting where Quisling upbraided them, and urged them to join the Nazi teacher's organization. When it was found that nearly every one had already taken the anti-Nazi teacher's oath, Quisling was furious and declared that no punishment was too severe for them; police then came and arrested the group. The witness further declared that

at that time Quisling was well aware that teachers were suffering in North Norway concentration camps.

Olaf Fermann, Oslo coal dealer and Quisling follower, then testified that he had driven Quisling and Hagelin to Berlin for a meeting with Nazi Minister Rosenberg in the spring of 1939. He also admitted that one shipload of coke consigned to him had arrived from Germany late in March, 1940, and lay in Oslo harbor on the day of the invasion. He denied that there were German troops aboard.

Sixth Day—The prosecution's first witness today was a German major who testified that Quisling pushed the deportation of Norwegian officers to Germany. He further confirmed that at the last Quisling-Hitler meeting in January, 1945, it was agreed that the former was to receive 1,000 German rapid-fire guns for the arming of the Hird.

A second witness, a clerk at the Norwegian Defense Ministry, told how at 7:00 P. M. on the night of April 9, 1940, Quisling together with two German naval officers entered the office and told the staff that the Nygaardsvold government had been deposed and that Quisling was taking over. This witness was followed by an official from the Finance Department who produced documents showing that for the first two years of the occupation Quisling's salary was 100,000 kr. per year which was later increased to 240,000 kr., and was finally set at 400,000 kr. per year.

"News of Norway"

With Norway liberated and victory won, "News of Norway" has completed its task. Since January 17, 1941, when the first issue went to press, this weekly bulletin has found its way into more and more homes until today nearly 19,000 copies are posted each week. Now, however, Norway is no longer attached to the outside world only by the dim trail of the underground courier. Oslo is no further away than the nearest telegraph key, and news of Norway is now the immediate property of the world. With thanks to our thousands of readers for their kind interest and with gratitude for a long-developed feeling of intimacy we hereby announce that the final edition of "News of Norway" will go to press on Friday, September 7, 1945.

Here and There in Norway

Amateur mink trappers had a field day in Oslo recently. What residents of a densely populated Oslo district thought to be a large rat turned out to be live mink valued at 500 kr. Excitement was intense as children and grown-ups dashed between the buildings in search of the valuable vermin. It is not reported whether or not the hunt was successful. . . . All press cables filed by foreign correspondents covering the Quisling trial reach their respective newspapers uncensored.



Time, September 3, 1945

FOREIGN NEWS

day be returned to China. Yet the Prime Minister's forthright statement, both sides of the House cheered.

Opposition Leader (and Britain's No. 1 Imperialist), Winston Churchill pressed the point: "May I presume that you recall that . . . the Government made it plain they did not contemplate modification in the sovereignty of His Majesty's territories in the Far East?"

"Yes, sir," replied the Prime Minister. "I have very full recollections of those statements and I will bear them in mind."

The House cheered again. Obviously Socialist Attlee's Government was as little inclined "to preside over the liquidation

general election was fought over domestic not foreign policies. Controversial decision of the Churchill Government (e.g., armed intervention in Greece) were coalition decisions in which Labor Ministers concurred. With minor modifications, Labor alone proposed to carry on where Labor-in-coalition had left off.

The London man in the street seemed pleased with "Ernie's" showing—the Empire was as safe in his hands as in Anthony Eden's. In Parliament the majority verdict was about the same. Remarkable Tory Oliver Stanley as burly Ernest Bevin sat down: "My, hasn't Anthony put on a lot of weight lately."

back bench silver-haired Mulvey raised his voice in a luscious Irish brogue: "Now that Britain has elected a more enlightened Government, my people have released me. . . . Before peace can be established justice must be done to Ireland."

Farmer Cunningham was not present to say "Hear, hear." He was still outside, wondering whether to come in.

INDIA

Second Try

Unshaken by his first failure to break the Indian deadlock (TIME, July 16), Viceroy Lord Wavell would try again. Last week, he emplaned for London to try to figure out with the Labor Government a new way to crack the old problem.

This time there was a chance of a more realistic proposal. The highest hurdle to communal agreement between Hindus (256 million) and Moslems (92 million) has been the Moslem League's demand for Pakistan (a separate Moslem state). Before he departed, the Viceroy made a decisive move to clarify this befogged subject: he proclaimed elections, the first in eleven years for the Central Assembly, in eight for the eleven Provincial Legislatures.

The hottest issue at the polls will undoubtedly be Pakistan, with the League for and Congress against. The vote will show the real strength of the separatist trend. Commented the practical London Times: "The restoration of political life . . . even if it does not resolve the communal problem, will relate communal claims to ascertainable facts."

Both Britain and India wanted a decision. The Raj lifted the ban on Mohandas Gandhi's All-India National Congress, restored its funds, was about to free its members still in jail. The Moslem League's president, shrewd, suave Mohamed Ali Jinnah, was already campaigning in the Punjab, heart of the hypothetical Pakistan state. The Congress Party prepared its biggest campaign. Jawaharlal Nehru (see BOOKS) and other leaders would make a platform tour that would take in towns and villages in all the voting provinces.

Among those missing: ex-Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose, 48, Cambridge-educated leader of Japan's proposed puppet government for India. Last week, he was reported killed in an airplane crash in Formosa.

NORWAY

Traitor's Day

Abraham Vidkun Quisling had provided the name for so many other base men that somehow he seemed almost to have lost personality. At the end of the first day of his trial last week in Oslo, only 21 hard-eyed Norwegians turned out to watch him

TIME, SEPTEMBER 3, 1945



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU & CONGRESS PARTY FOLLOWERS
From jails to votes.

of the British Empire"—as Tory Churchill's had been.

Surprise & Understanding. The Hong Kong episode came before the dust had settled from Foreign Secretary Bevin's first forthright venture into the field of foreign policy. (TIME, Aug. 27). His denunciation of Soviet-backed Balkan Governments and refusal to countenance intervention in Spain shocked left-wingers who looked for sweeping changes. Editorialized the Communist *Daily Worker*: "This is not yet the lead which millions of service and home voters . . . are waiting for." More sober and more traditional was the sizing-up of the *Manchester Guardian*: "British foreign policy, as Mr. Bevin expounded it, is not a matter of party."

Ernest Bevin's speech had served two important purposes. To the world it had underlined a fact often overlooked abroad: there is a continuity in British foreign relations that overrides party affiliations. To the Britons who were disappointed, it underlined a fact often overlooked: the

The Ghosts

A paunchy, substantial ghost walked in the House of Commons last week. Another, not so large but equally substantial, flitted about the entrance. Fermanagh and Tyrone's two M.P.s, Anthony J. Mulvey and Patrick Cunningham, had come to take their seats at last.

Ten years ago voters of the two counties, who passionately prefer union with Eire to partition with Northern Ireland, elected Editor Mulvey and Farmer Cunningham to seats in the British Parliament on an abstentionist platform. They promptly refused to take their seats. Thus the two M.P.s at once protested partition, forfeited aggregate salaries of £5,600 (\$23,800) each, became Westminster's most modern ghosts.

Last week, in the hope that the Labor victory somewhat betokened a British change of heart toward Ireland, Messrs. Mulvey and Cunningham decided to go to London at last. From a Government

FOREIGN NEWS

Republic of Outer Mongolia was set up. It was nominally independent, virtually a 17th Soviet Republic.

Russian power stopped at the Khalka River, which divides Outer from Inner Mongolia. Led by young Prince Teh, the Inner Mongolians remained unregenerately separate, tribal, lama-ridden and unsocialized. In return for 50,000 silver dollars monthly, they owned a tenuous allegiance to the Chinese Republic. But in Outer Mongolian eyes, Inner Mongolia was an area for future redemption.

Meng Chiang. The Japanese also dreamed of redeeming the strategic area for their Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In 1936, five years after the Japanese had overrun Manchuria, Prince Teh transferred his allegiance to Dai Nippon. Inner Mongolia became the federal state of Meng Chiang (Mongol Border Land), and Prince Teh found himself an exalted puppet.

The Russians had brought progress to Outer Mongolia in the form of airplanes, machine guns and socialism. Into Inner Mongolia, the ancient land of temple gongs, ten-foot-long ceremonial horns, and monks chanting prayers by lonely lama-series, the Japanese introduced neon signs, phonographs and beer halls. In the bleak steppe winters they shivered and dreamed of cherry blossoms. They also feverishly built empire.

Across the Khalka River armed Russia and armed Japan glared in hatred, waiting for the day when one would push the other from the steppes of central Asia and win the key region for dominating northern China. Meanwhile the Japanese installed Prince Teh in an old, tile-roofed, Mongol palace at Inner Mongolia's metropolis, Koko Hoto (pop. 120,000)—the "Blue City," so called because from a distance a bluish haze veils it.

Primitive Pleasures. There, clad in a long blue gown with scarlet cuffs, his hip-long queue carefully braided, the suave ruler, who looks like an Asiatic humpty-dumpty, held court. His ornate audience-chamber was furnished with occidental armchairs, Chinese tables and innumerable glass cases crammed with exquisitely gowned Japanese dolls.

Prince Teh really preferred the primitive pleasures of his country home at West Sunit, deep in the steppe. There he forgot the cares of state, frolicked with his two children, took airplane rides, wrestled (the chief Mongolian recreation) with old cronies, played the guitar and sang old songs of the glorious days when his forebears ruled Europe as far as the Oder and Danube Rivers and Asia from Bagdad to Burma.

Now the call was for another tune. Whether it turned out to be the *Internationale* or a song of Chinese composition, Prince Humpty-Dumpty was hardly the man to render it. Too much singing for the Japanese had cracked his voice.

TIME, SEPTEMBER 3, 1945

GREAT BRITAIN

Bleak Tidings

Victorious Britons hoped to let out their long-tightened belts. Instead, their new Labor Government ordered them taken in another notch. War-torn Britain was entering the harsh climate of peace.

Even before the cornucopia of Lend-Lease was shut (see NATIONAL AFFAIRS), Britain was in a sorry plight. In one grim week came these additional hammer blows:

¶ Board of Trade President Sir Stafford Cripps cut clothing coupons 25% for the next eight months. Shabby, shiny-coated Britons would become even more threadbare, women would go without stockings and woolen underwear for another winter. Reconversion of textile mills from munitions-making would take a while.

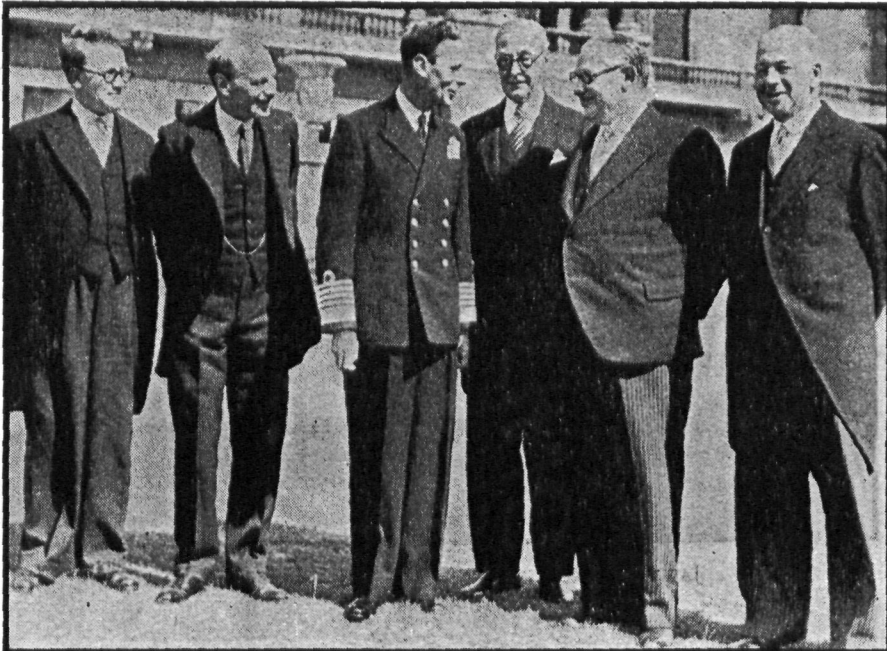
¶ Chancellor of the Exchequer Hugh Dalton said that there would be no relief from stiff taxation, no drawing on post-war credits (compulsory savings).

¶ The final straw was a chill announcement that the Government intended to reintroduce the irksome Supplies and Services (Transitional Powers) Bill—which controls prices, supplies, labor—for a further five years.

These were bleak tidings for a nation that went on an all-out war economy six years ago.

Lesson in Immutability

Disraeli once observed that the nearest thing to a Tory in disguise was a Whig in office. In the debate on Empire foreign policy in the House of Commons last week, it was just as hard to tell the



Associated Press

THE KING & HIS MINISTERS*

It was hard to tell the difference.

¶ Minister of Mines Emmanuel Shinwell warned there would be less coal next winter. His mines-nationalization scheme cannot get going until 1946. To conserve fuel he requested a new dimout of street lighting, pondered whether to maintain the victory increase (25%) in gas rationing.

¶ Food Minister Sir Ben Smith reduced the meager sugar ration for beer and cake-making. British food ships are speeding to Australia and New Zealand for meat in order to avoid a further cut in the current ration (1s. 2d. worth, about $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of stewing beef a week).

¶ Health Minister Aneurin Bevan, faced with the task of providing roofs for homeless thousands next winter, ordered Britons to share homes where shortages are acute. Great numbers of blitzed homes are still open to the sky.

difference between the new socialists in office and the old Tories in opposition.

The issue was Hong Kong, Britain's Chinese crown colony. Did Britain mean to keep it or give it up? First socialist Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin answered bluntly: "We have taken steps to receive the surrender of the Japanese forces in Hong Kong." Then Prime Minister Clement Attlee made the matter crystal-clear: "Plans for re-establishing British administration in the colony are fully prepared."

Many within the sound of Attlee's voice well knew that top British officials were prepared to negotiate with China about Hong Kong's future, that it might one

* Lord President of the Council Herbert Morrison, Prime Minister Clement Attlee, The King, Lord Privy Seal Arthur Greenwood, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, First Lord of the Admiralty Albert V. Alexander.

FOREIGN NEWS

as he was led back to his fortress-prison for the night.

By day, the man whose name had become a word for venal treachery faced nine judges (five of them laymen) in an old Oslo lodge hall. There was no shred of dignity in his defense, only a trace of defiance in his demeanor. He sat lumpily in the prisoner's box, his reddish, thinning hair unkempt, his neck shrunken in an oversize collar, his blue eyes beady in a suet face.

In sullen silence he listened while Special Prosecutor Annaeus Schjöldt read the charge—a catalog of shame reaching to high treason and murder.

Careful Case. "What have you to say for yourself, Herr Quisling?" asked the Presiding Judge when cross-examination began. Quisling started from sodden composure, looked out across the heads of the intent, silent courtroom crowd.

"I am Norway's martyr," he thundered. The court smiled.

Quisling's voice dropped to a whisper and there was a glint of cunning in his eyes. He had only wanted, he said, to save Norway from a British attack.

The trial wore on, and a carefully planned case was laid before the judges. Vidkun Quisling was not getting the kangaroo court he richly deserved; this was an orderly procedure with full respect for evidence and the rights of the accused. The judges heard and read diaries, reports, letters, depositions by Nazi leaders now in Allied hands. The man who betrayed Nor-

way tried to answer them, when there were no answers.

What about his letter to Adolf Hitler urging "a great Germanic community, with Norway's voluntary affiliation to the Greater German Reich?" he was asked. A forgery, muttered Quisling, the work of "an enemy."

What about Major Quisling's refusal to serve in the Norwegian Army at the time of invasion? Quisling's answer: he could not serve a government he disapproved.

Social Call. What about his visit to Grand Admiral Raeder—when, according to Nazi Alfred Rosenberg, he had offered a plan for Norway's invasion? Stuttered Quisling: "A social call—a misunderstanding."

Quisling made a determined effort to keep himself wrapped in the noisome rags of his old pre-eminence. When he heard testimony that he had left the Royal Palace a rat-ravaged, bottle-strewn shambles, he replied stiffly: "I took care of the Palace very well indeed—you are trying to besmirch my good name."

More often he was nervous, and his shifty eyes rolled in tears. His bulky chin trembled, his hands twitched and he blushed when he caught the eyes of the judges.

Even Norwegian patience was strained when again & again Quisling said that he did not remember (he did not even remember forming his traitorous government). But that shabby device failed him when he heard his own voice, in a record-

ing of his "inauguration speech," grating through the courtroom. Said he when the record scratched to an end: "It's me, all right."

It was Quisling all right, and nobody pitied him.

FRANCE

Bonus

To make life in Paris happier for free-spending U.S. soldiers, France had already set up three G.I. nightclubs (dull and sedate but with controlled prices), and arranged to give tax rebates on their purchase of such luxury oddments as perfume and cosmetics. Last week, the French Government took new steps to ease G.I. economic pains.

In gay but inflated *Paree*, the pay that U.S. soldiers get—at the official rate of 50 francs to the dollar, v. the black-bourse rate of 130 to 250 francs—goes nowhere fast. Henceforth, the Government announced, it would pay each & every man of them 850 francs (\$17 at the official rate) for every month they were stationed on French soil.

It was only a small bonus, but it would help. To many a G.I. it appeared to be quite a lot when he heard later that France had tightened up on its own *poilus*. The French soldier's pay was summarily cut from 800 to 180 francs a month, just about \$1 a month at the black-bourse rate.

Defense in Depth

Between six and seven million unexploded German land mines are still hidden in the fertile fields and sandy beaches of Normandy and Brittany. Since D-day an average of 200 people, including many children, have been killed each month by German mines.

Last week Frenchmen got a grim report of progress in dealing with them. By last month's end, only one-tenth had been removed (by French workmen and German prisoners of war trained by U.S. sappers). The dangerous job would not be finished before 1947.

ETHIOPIA

Give & Take

The first nation to be attacked by the European dictatorships was feeling its oats. In Addis Ababa last week, the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Department demanded sovereignty over the former Italian territory adjoining its frontier. That territory, Italian Somaliland, is now British-occupied—and Britain has its own ideas about the ownership of the strategic Red Sea littoral. The same day, the British Government made a formal presentation to Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, King of Kings, Conquering Lion of Judah: a sleek new Rolls-Royce limousine. Territorial claims could be discussed later.



THE ROAD BACK

These men, in smart *Wehrmacht* uniforms, once marched proudly into Russia as invaders. Now, as laborers, they are shuffling back to Russia under armed guard. Germans all, they are helping to pay the price of German defeat. For the next year or two they will be busy rebuilding war-torn Russia. Their long journey, started on the outskirts of Vienna, will end somewhere west of the Urals.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS



UGUST THIRD was the forty-fifth anniversary of the founding of The Firestone Tire and Rubber Company. I remember how proud and happy I was five years ago when I recalled the many contributions which the men and women of Firestone had made toward the progress of civilization during our first forty years. But little did I realize the problems, the sacrifices and the suffering which the following five years were to bring.

On this occasion I want to pay tribute to the 14,000 members of the Firestone organization on the fighting fronts for their service to their country and to the 95,000 on the home fronts for their loyalty, skill and efficiency in performing many miracles of production and distribution so essential to the war effort.

When the tragedy and treachery of Pearl Harbor blasted our country into war and cut America off from its principal sources of rubber, the fruits of many Firestone pioneering achievements suddenly became vital to the very existence of our nation. The rubber plantations, established by my father nearly twenty years ago in Liberia on the west coast of Africa, became one of the few sources of natural rubber which remained open to the United Nations. The score of years which Firestone research men had spent in studying various types of synthetic rubber and learning how to use them gave our Company an advantage in "know-how" which we gladly shared with the Government and with the rubber industry.

On the day war was declared, we dedicated all of our resources, our manufacturing facilities, our engineering experience and our scientific skill to the cause of victory. Our existing factories were converted with all possible speed to the manufacture of war materials and additional plants were built or leased. For example, we erected in just fifty working days, a huge new plant in which to make Bofors forty-millimeter anti-aircraft guns. But before a single gun could be built, we had to translate hundreds of blueprints from Swedish into English and from the metric system to American standards. In record time we found the way to produce these guns quicker, stronger and at lower cost by making numerous changes in design and by the use of welding instead of rivets. Since then, more than thirty thousand have been built. They played a leading role in the defeat of the Luftwaffe and recently we received word from the Navy Department that these guns are the most effective answer to Japanese suicide planes.

Today, there are forty-eight Firestone plants in nineteen states and ten in foreign countries. From these fifty-eight Firestone factories comes a continual flood of war materials. In the past five years, we have produced millions of tires for military vehicles and combat planes. We have also built millions of tires for civilian cars,

trucks, buses and tractors so essential on the home front for transportation and power farming.

Products of the Firestone plants have seen service in every theater of war from Oran to Okinawa. Life vests, life belts, gas masks, bullet-sealing fuel and oil cells, shatterproof oxygen cylinders and inflatable rubber boats, like the ones which rescued Captain Eddie Rickenbacker and his gallant crew, have saved countless American lives. Firestone barrage balloons have guarded cities and convoys. In General Patton's daring dash across France, many of his fast-moving tanks rolled on Firestone tracks and bogie rollers over Firestone bridge pontoons and fired their guns from Firestone-built turrets. Billions of machine gun bullets were fired from metallic belt links made by Firestone. Giant Curtiss Commando transport planes, flying on wings built by Firestone, have carried thousands of tons of precious cargo over the hump from India to China and, with Firestone-built gliders, have carried air-borne troops to their rendezvous with destiny behind the enemy lines in Europe.

These are a few of the different products we have made during the war from rubber, metals, plastics and textiles. Some of them are still secret, but I can tell you that Firestone bombs, mortars and rockets have wrought terrible destruction among our enemies.

Our Company was the first in the rubber industry to win the coveted Army-Navy "E" Award, and many of our men and women have been paid high tributes by the Government and by professional organizations. Our chairman, John W. Thomas, for example, was recently awarded the annual gold medal of the American Institute of Chemists for his outstanding leadership in the American synthetic rubber program.

Yes, ever since the first day of war, we at Firestone have been all-out for victory. During the world-shattering events of the past five years we have learned many things which will, in the postwar world, enable us to make products of even greater quality and value than in the past. As soon as the Government gives the word, we are prepared to reconvert our factories from wartime to peacetime production. When that happy event occurs, there will come from Firestone hundreds of new and better products for a new and better world.

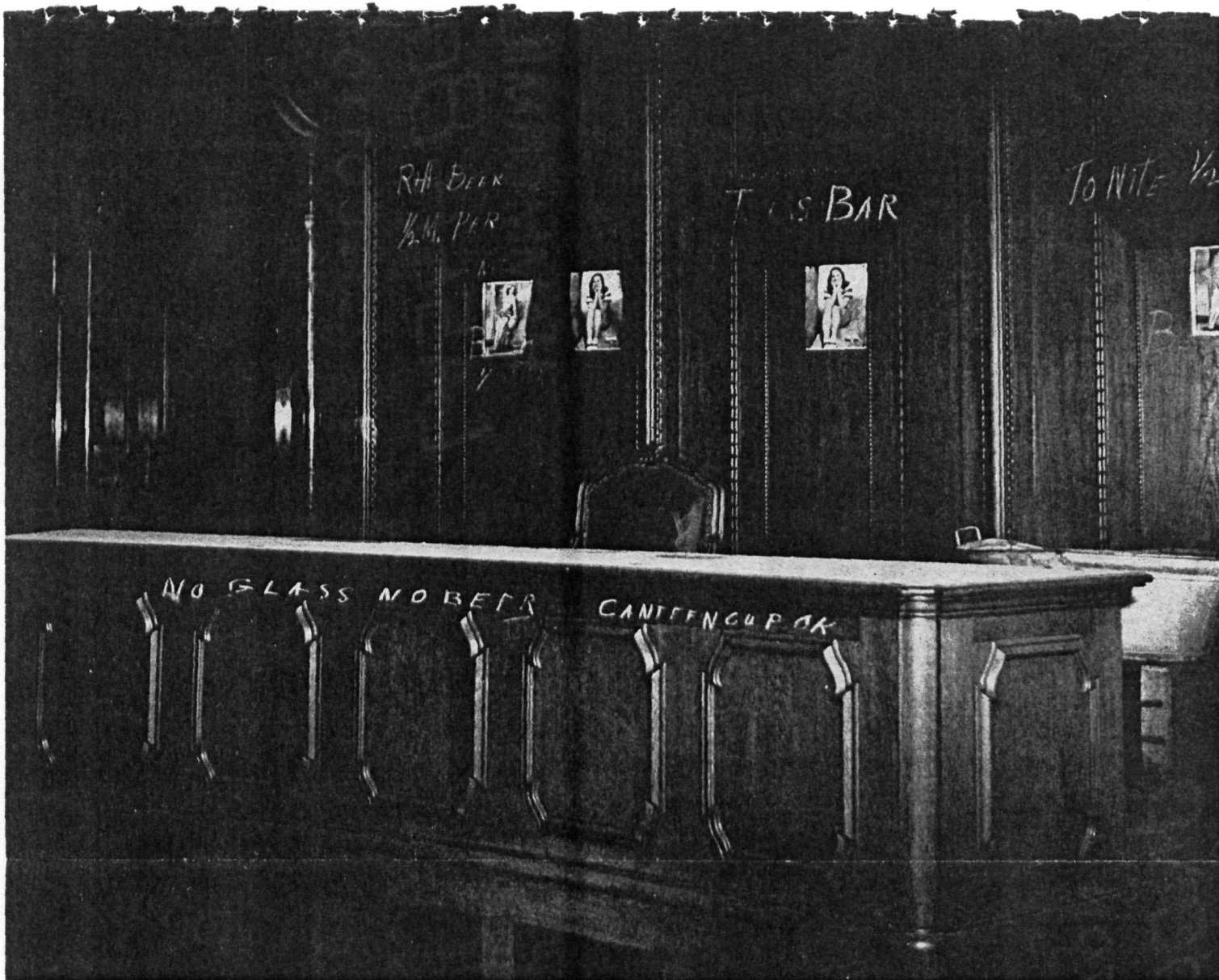
Harvey S. Firestone Jr.
President

THE FIRESTONE TIRE & RUBBER COMPANY



Theodor Cardinal Innitzer, Archbishop of Vienna, stands in front of an oil painting of himself which was slashed by the Nazis on Oct. 8, 1938. Innitzer, who lives in a palace next to St. Stephan's, is a Sudeten German. In 1938 he at first welcomed Hitler's Anschluss. The Nazis,

however, turned on him, raiding and looting his home and placing him under house arrest. Today the sly, blue-eyed, 60-year-old cleric favors the Renner government but is keeping out of politics to devote himself to collecting funds for the restoration of battered St. Stephan's.



THIS IS THE COURTROOM WHERE TRIALS WILL BE HELD. AMERICAN SOLDIERS USED IT FOR CLUB AND BAR, LEFT SIGNS AND PIN-UPS BEHIND WHEN MOVED OUT

WAR CRIMINALS

The beaten leaders of the Reich
come to Nürnberg to stand trial

On a quiet, cloudy mid-August day two American C-47 transports named Jinx and Boshko landed at an airfield in Nürnberg, Germany with a cargo of 15 war criminals (*see below*). The passengers—all the top captured Nazis—were hustled off to a somber stone jail where they will await trial. They were a subdued, unshaven, undignified lot. Göring, almost cured of his drug habit, was the only one with any gaiety. Von Ribbentrop was the most depressed.

The long-awaited war-crimes trials will start early

in October in a courtroom of Nürnberg's Palace of Justice. They will be held in public. There will be four judges, appointed by the U. S., Britain, Russia, France, and four prosecutors, similarly chosen. There will be no jury, the vote of three judges constituting the verdict. The Nazis will be charged with crimes against peace (starting war); war crimes (violating laws of war); crimes against humanity (murder and enslavement of civilians). The accused have already made up their minds what the verdict will be: death.



Arthur Seyss-Inquart, Netherlands Gauleiter, peers out behind Dr. Walther Busch, head of bloody "People's Court."



Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, Wehrmacht head, steps out while Minister of Interior Wilhelm Frick awaits his turn.



Joachim von Ribbentrop, ex-Foreign Minister, waits humbly for Kurt Daluege, destroyer of Lidice, to leave plane.

imprudent attitude of American conservatives toward economic planning.

When the crisis of reconversion is passed, we shall immediately be confronted with the long-term problem. That may be within a year. Even the attainment of full employment in the near future will depend largely on the confidence which people as purchasers of consumers' goods and investors in new equipment have in the future of employment. The British government's pledge to maintain high employment was made while the war in Europe was still to be won. We shall never be prepared to prevent unemployment unless we begin far ahead of time to clarify our policies and arrange our administrative machinery. Would the *Herald Tribune* make a similar statement about the far simpler problem of military preparedness?

Incidentally, the editorial writer declares that the general theory of the bill recommends "a program of government investment to make up any gap that may be indicated" by estimates of private investment. That proves that he is not one of those who have given the bill serious study. The bill leaves the field open for any remedial proposal, including tax reduction, stimulation of private investment, anti-monopoly action, or anti-inflation measures if the prospect of total spending should be too large.

We pick out this editorial, not as a horrible example, since the *Herald Tribune's* editorial page is in many respects one of the best written and most intelligent in the country. Writers of newspaper editorials on economic subjects are, with a few honorable exceptions, troglodytic in their information and attitude. We cannot even bear to mention the ridiculous economic dissertations on the editorial page of the *Herald Tribune's* chief rival—the *New York Times*.

Happy Ending in State

Early in June of this year the press came up with a flamboyant story which suggested, in the headlines at least, a spy conspiracy involving two State Department employees, two New York editors, a naval lieutenant and a free-lance writer. As the *New Republic*, among others, was quick to point out, the charges were less serious than the headlines suggested and the whole affair smelled like a State Department effort to silence critics of its generally reactionary policy in the Far East. On August 10 a Federal Grand Jury cleared completely three of the alleged conspirators: Miss Kate Mitchell, co-editor of *Amerasia*; Mark J. Gayn, a regular contributor to a number of magazines on Far Eastern affairs and John S. Service, a State Department officer. Now James F. Byrnes, the new Secretary of State, and the former Undersecretary, Joseph C. Grew, have publicly congratulated Mr. Service on his vindication and he has been returned to active duty in the Department. It is to be hoped that Mr. Service's reinstatement will be the signal for the Depart-

ment's acceptance of the views that he is widely believed to hold with regard to policy in China and Japan—views that are directly at variance with those which have hitherto influenced our political activity in Asia.

Congress Still Delays

Despite the President's call for Congress to reconvene September 5, few congressional committees are yet at work preparing for the opening of the session. The Senate Banking and Currency Committee has completed one week of very instructive and constructive hearings on the full-employment bill and plans to continue them. The House is asleep on this vital bill. Only a day or so ago, the Senate Finance Committee began its hearings on the urgent question of extending unemployment compensation. Chairman Doughton (D., N. C.) is so opposed to federal unemployment insurance that he has not yet allowed his House Ways and Means Committee even to decide what it will do about President Truman's request for such legislation. Senator Barkley predicts that the Senate bill will be ready for action when that body gathers and will be passed regardless of what the House does.

Both Senate and House Committees are far behind in work on government reorganization, extension of social-security coverage and revision of the Surplus Property Act, all included on the President's list of priority legislation. We hope that citizens all over the country will make it their business to communicate their concern over our unpreparedness for peace to their representatives while they are still at home so that all lethargy will disappear from Capitol Hill with the return of the full body.

What Future for Japan?

BY THE TIME this issue of the *New Republic* reaches its readers, or shortly thereafter, Japan's formal surrender will be complete, the documents signed, MacArthur in Tokyo and the Allied Army of Occupation debarking. We must now, therefore, face the question which thus far we have been dodging: What sort of treatment do we intend to give Japan? And what sort of government?

The argument in favor of continuing Hirohito on the throne was that it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, for anyone else to bring the war to a close. If we had deposed him, it was said, fanatical resistance would have continued among Japanese soldiers and civilians everywhere, costing many thousands of additional lives of Allied soldiers. Just how much there was to this argument, we shall probably never know. On the whole, there was less resistance after the surrender than many Americans expected. Hari-kiri among military leaders and high officials has been markedly rare. We

a key point in British Far Eastern trade, and the Empire plays an important part in all plans for British economic security, now threatened by a deficit in foreign exchange. These considerations influence Labor planners as well as Conservatives. Some amicable adjustment of these conflicting interests is a necessity. And Mr. Bevin did refer to Chinese consent.

It should be remembered in all such issues that most of the Labor representatives in Parliament are young and untrammelled. They will not endure a continuance of Tory policy either at home or abroad. When their leaders use words capable of two interpretations, the emphasis will be on the Left. If the old leaders do not move fast or far enough, they will be required to do so in order to retain their power.

Spanish Government-in-Exile

After six years of wrangling and bickering, Spanish Republican parties and factions have at last succeeded in forming a government-in-exile. This is good news to all those who have felt for years that the establishment of a widely representative democratic government was the only alternative to the fascist Franco regime. The government is headed by Sr. José Giral, an outstanding political figure in Republican Spain whose liberalism is beyond reproach. The government includes such well known democratic politicians as Fernando de los Rios, the former Ambassador to Washington; Alvaro de Albornoz, of the Republican Left; Indalecio Prieto, the former Minister of War; and a number of others representing various regional parties. Although invited to join, Dr. Juan Negrín, the last Republican Prime Minister, is not included. The reason given is that his membership was held up by his own Socialist Party. This is unfortunate because Sr. Negrín enjoys abroad a prestige probably greater than that of any of the cabinet members. Also excluded are Communist representatives. They were invited, but refused to join, probably because of their longstanding quarrel with Sr. Prieto. In view of the large following they are reported to have in Spain, their participation would have immeasurably strengthened the new government. It is to be hoped that the government will be able to work out a platform to which the Communists and other dissident groups can adhere, so that the Spanish Republicans in exile can present both to Franco and the world a really united Republican front.

State Department and Argentina

The resignation of Nelson A. Rockefeller as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America and the appointment as his successor of Spruille Braden presages a stiffening of our attitude toward the fascist government of Argentina. Just as Mr. Rockefeller had become the symbol of United States appeasement with respect to Argentina, Mr. Braden as ambassador to that country

gradually became the symbol of American disapproval. It is unfortunate that Mr. Rockefeller's resignation was not accepted last April when he first tendered it, before he had the chance of being instrumental in the admission of Argentina to the United Nations Organization. He had, of course, the blessing of the administration at that time. But to judge from Secretary Byrnes's statement announcing Mr. Braden's promotion, it appears that our policy has changed since then. Mr. Braden, Byrnes asserted, was appointed Assistant Secretary because "of his accurate interpretation of the policies of this government in its relations with the present government of the Argentine." And it will be his duty, Byrnes continued, "to see that the policies which he has so courageously sponsored in the Argentine are continued with unremitting vigor." We are anxiously looking forward to a bill of particulars which would do the job of translating this general policy into fact.

Industry-Labor Conference

The CIO, the AFL, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the National Association of Manufacturers have agreed to participate in a labor-management conference on postwar problems under government sponsorship. The chief executives of the four organizations met with President Truman last week and accepted his suggestion of such a conference. Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach will confer with Secretary of Commerce Wallace and leaders of other labor and management groups within the next few days on plans for the meeting and will call a preliminary conference on September 5 to draft an agenda and decide on details of time and place.

President Truman's primary hope is that this conference will produce some formula to prevent industrial strife to take the place of the no-strike, no-lockout wartime pledges agreed to at a similar labor-management meeting called by President Roosevelt just after Pearl Harbor. We hope that the coming conference will go farther than that and work out an understanding on the necessity for full employment and how it is to be attained, and devise a common plan for new jobs or restored take-home pay for war workers already laid off or undergoing wage cuts.

Economic Idiocy in the Press

The New York *Herald Tribune* writes in its leading editorial of August 23, "Most persons who have given serious study to the so-called full-employment bill . . . are convinced that its potentialities for harm are decidedly greater than those for good." This statement is probably untrue, and certainly is incapable of proof. The editorial goes on to argue that since the bill is designed, not to deal with emergency reconversion but with the long-term problem of unemployment, it should not be considered now. This is typical of the

are told that "large numbers" of common people have gone out near the Imperial palace grounds in Tokyo and killed themselves; but these statements come from the Tokyo radio, which has always been completely unreliable. Every Japanese is in a mood, of course, to exaggerate the number of incidents of this kind, in an effort to put the victorious Allies at a moral disadvantage.

We might grant, however, for the sake of argument, that retaining the Emperor in order to bring about the surrender was a good idea. The question still remains, What do we do now? The acceptance of the Japanese surrender made by the American Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, made no promise to keep the Emperor permanently on the throne. He said that "from the moment of surrender the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese government to rule the state shall be subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied powers, who will take such steps as he deems proper to effectuate the surrender terms. . . . The ultimate form of government of Japan shall, in accordance with the Potsdam Declaration, be established by the freely expressed will of the Japanese people." As T. A. Bisson pointed out in last week's *New Republic*, it is not too late to rectify whatever mistakes have already been made, though it soon will be. Japan's future lies in our hands and we begin with a clear slate. What is the wisest use that can be made of our opportunity, in the interest of the Japanese people and those of the world?

One thing to note is that Hirohito is certainly a war criminal, in every technical as well as moral sense. His apologists in this country, like the recent Undersecretary of State, Mr. Grew, have a serious ambivalence in what they say about him. When it comes to making peace, he is so powerful that nobody else could do the job. When it comes to making war, with all the innumerable cruelties, barbarities and violations of the Geneva Convention of which Japan has been guilty, Hirohito becomes the helpless slave of the militarists, so weak that he can be blamed for nothing. Well, you cannot have it both ways. The events of the past fortnight have shown that Hirohito is in fact, and personally, of substantial importance in the Japanese government. This being the case, we do not see why he should not accept his fair share of the responsibility for the war crimes in which he participated. As Mr. Bisson says, an effort is being made to whitewash Hirohito with the argument that he had "bad advisers." These bad advisers, it turns out, were exclusively the military men, and not the great industrialists, the leading Japanese families, the financiers and bankers who in fact stood behind the militarists, profited from the expansion of the Empire—and will do it again if they get the chance.

All sensible people recognize that the Japanese problem is a difficult one. Undoubtedly the religious posi-

tion of Hirohito makes him important to millions of Japanese—though their allegiance would be turned immediately to anyone else who took his place. It is true that the Japanese people cannot go in one jump from feudal subservience to democratic citizenship. But eventually they can do so; and the sooner they are started on the right path, the sooner the objective will be attained. The question is whether, by our future policy, we shall help the Japanese people to go in that direction, or in another. Italy is perhaps a fair analogue.

When southern Italy was liberated, we talked in generous terms of what we would do to help set the Italian people on the democratic path; but our actions all pointed toward the maintenance of an obnoxious royal family which had connived at the crimes of fascism just as Hirohito connived at Japanese barbarities. Even with Churchill out of office, there are strong elements among the Allied leadership, and especially that of the United States, which would like to appease the dominant, wealthy industrialists and bankers of Japan. They don't want a democratic revolution in that country any more than they do anywhere else. They would not be satisfied to have the Emperor reduced to a position as religious leader only. They want Japan to remain a conservative country as another of those "bulwarks against bolshevism" which they are forever setting up, and which are forever falling of their own weight. If these gentlemen have their way, then the war will indeed have been fought, in large degree, in vain. And the time for us to retrieve ourselves, and to mark a clear and democratic path for the masses of the Japanese, is growing perilously short.

Toward a New Europe

WHAT WILL the world be like, now that we no longer have to fear the Nazi and Japanese aggressors? We shall have to take a new look at it. Our efforts have for so long been concentrated on the fight against them that almost involuntarily we tend to go on repeating the motions appropriate to a world in war against deadly enemies. Yet new vistas have opened; new opportunities and necessities have made their appearance. Opinions will have to be reviewed; policies need adjustment.

Nowhere is this revaluation more pertinent than in thinking of the future of Europe. Before the war and during most of its course the shadows of Hitler and Mussolini darkened all prospects. Native fascism threatened in every corner of the continent. British Conservatives were securely in power; they helped bring on the war by their fear of Russia and their appeasement of Nazism. No imperative was stronger than that the forces of the Left and Center should cement a defensive alliance against this menace—Com-

munists, Socialists, liberal democrats. They did not do so until forced to the brink of disaster. Eventually the danger of national extinction brought even conservatives into the coalition. Anyone who emphasized differences among either the Allies or their domestic parties was playing the game of the arch enemy of them all.

Now that enemy is gone. European conservatives who collaborated with him are discredited and their power has received a fatal blow. Britain has placed a Socialist government in power with an overwhelming majority and a firm mandate. The future of Europe lies in the hands of the democratic Left. It is no longer possible to decide all questions by the necessity of resisting the assault of reactionaries.

Of course the peace of the world still depends on friendship and collaboration among Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States. Within the several European countries, embittered conflict among the forces of the Left would darken all hopes. Compromises and devices of collaboration are still required. Enemies of progress in both the political and the economic spheres still exist, and are busy trying to drive a disastrous wedge between Russia and the Western powers. There can be no toleration for those who foment this hostility and point to future war. But if there are differences of outlook and policy on the Left—and there are important ones—they need no longer be suspended in a compulsory unity. They will be frankly recognized, discussion will develop them, and they must be decided by the methods of democracy and amicable negotiations.

The allusions to Europe in Ernest Bevin's speech on foreign policy brought this new situation into prominence. His reference to lack of democratic safeguards in Bulgaria was interpreted by many as a deplorable attack on the foreign policy of Russia, inspired by the same spirit and accompanied by the same danger as any similar statement by Churchill. Whatever the factual justification for Bevin's attitude in this instance, it is a great mistake to interpret it as a piece of Tory anti-Sovietism. British Socialists, like Socialists on the Continent, are sincere believers in democratic processes and personal liberties. They have fought for them at home and abroad, and they do not intend to sacrifice them in the process of establishing a socialist order. If Communist influence attempts to deny them in Europe, British Laborites will oppose it frankly. Such opposition implies no animosity toward the USSR and no plot against Russian security. It is in no sense collaboration with a moribund fascism or with reactionary economic or political interests, which socialism also sturdily opposes.

The European peoples are about to reconstruct their institutions in the form of a new order. They have a dominant socialist orientation. The prestige of Russia has been and still is strong among them. If the choice

had remained one between Nazism and communism or even one between conservatively led capitalism and communism they would ultimately have chosen communism. But Soviet policy does not now seek to plunge them into communist revolution, and there is the alternative of democratic socialism, achieved by gradual and peaceable means. The prestige of Britain, too, is high, and has been enormously enhanced by the victory of British labor. If the Labor Party successfully fulfills its enormous responsibilities, it can become the leader and perhaps the unifying cement of a continent which badly needs cohesion. The action of the French Socialists, who recently voted not to unite organically with the Communists, though continuing to cooperate with them, is a portent of the trend.

The European and British peoples do not fear armed aggression from the Soviet Union and will never offer a threat to Russian security. They entertain no romantic ideas about altering the way Russia conducts her internal affairs. But they expect reciprocity in this respect. Every action by Communist parties which seems to be inspired more by Soviet policy than by domestic requirements will lessen Soviet influence abroad. The scene is being set for a great experiment in democratic socialism, perhaps covering all Europe, alongside the differently orientated Soviet experiment. Europeans want no more dictatorships, whether of the Right or of the Left. The more farsighted of them do want continental unity, at least in the economic realm. The more Russia seems to stand in the way of this tendency, the stronger the tendency is likely to become.

It is against this prospect that we must evaluate political developments. The chief enemies of European socialist democracy have been vanquished, at home and abroad. Now the variants in policy within the victorious Left are rising to the surface. It is among these that the significant differences will occur. The situation calls for reasonable forbearance on the part of all, but not for timorous maintenance of artificial unison in order to prevent the dominance of reaction.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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With Soul So Dead

The father of all this war's traitors, in name and example, entered a Norwegian court last week to stage a farcical and futile fight for his life. In a former movie house in Oslo, Vidkun Quisling, 58, went on trial for treason. With his thinning yellow hair slicked back and his blue eyes shifting nervously, the thickset, sour-faced defendant settled in the prisoner's dock to squirm during a week of crushing testimony, the most detailed yet to be presented at a war criminal's trial.

The Nine Crimes: Aided by Allied war-criminal investigators, who obtained depositions from high-ranking imprisoned Nazis, the prosecution charged Quisling with nine crimes: military treason, attempting to place Norway under foreign rule, civil treason, attempting to change the constitution, responsibility for the murder of sixteen Norwegian patriots, misappropriation of state and private property, embezzlement of state and party funds amounting to about 50,000,000 crowns (more than \$10,000,000), receiving stolen property, and unlawful seizure of privately owned real property.

In the first days of trial no witness denied Quisling's guilt, no Norwegian doubted that the man who sold Norway to the Nazis would pay with his life for his treason. His only defense was the unsubstantiated claim he made over and over: "I am the savior of Norway and the North." As the traitor wriggled hopelessly while the legal net closed about him, NEWSWEEK's Oslo correspondent cabled this account of Quisling, in power and on trial:

"All the world knew that Quisling was a traitor; few thought he was a coward, a brazen liar who stammered like a schoolboy caught stealing apples when the prosecutor and judge caught him. Everybody knew he had sold his country for money and power, but few imagined that he was a vain fool to boot, falling for every Nazi trick and false promise. Now it is clear that Quisling, even in what should have been his heyday as Norway's make-believe Führer, was pitifully alone, surrounded by drunken misfits and failures whom he called his Cabinet ministers, and on every turn tricked by his Nazi masters. This is the picture of his road to perdition reconstructed in court:

The Fruits of Genius: "Quisling himself conceived the plan of delivering his country to the Germans if war materialized. A military genius, even if a poor statesman and politician, he drew up a

brilliant plan for capturing Norway, submitted it to top Nazis like Alfred Rosenberg and Grand Admiral Erich Raeder. He finally succeeded in getting to Adolf Hitler—and convincing the Führer.

"When the time came for attack, Norway's prewar politicians eased the way for treachery. For on the witness stand last week Col. Rasmus Hatledahl, chief of staff in 1940, admitted he had unsuccessfully implored Premier Johan Nygaardsvold's Cabinet to decree general mobilization on April 5, 1940—only four days before the invasion. Not until April 9 did the Cabinet move. It ordered a useless 'silent' mobilization—summoning Norway's reserves by postcard instead of radio.

"The Norway operation would have been more effective had the Nazis followed Quisling's masterful plan, for it warned against attempting to capture

but only as office boy, for the elaborate ceremony installing him as 'Minister President' in February 1942 meant nothing. (As the trial judge put it, he could not even sign a document pensioning a dog-catcher without asking Terboven—and Terboven loathed him.)

Riddle of a Fool: "To show up Quisling as a fool in Berlin, Terboven encouraged his every mistake: He applauded Quisling for persecuting schoolteachers, academicians, university students, and Jews, and the vain Minister President swelled with pride. Hitler, dangling the prospect of Terboven's dismissal, persuaded the traitor to sign death warrants, order deportation of whole categories of citizens, and commit other infamies. In the final analysis, Quisling was content as long as he could live well on the money the Germans allowed him to steal from dissolved Masonic societies and Jewish fortunes, happy when he could eat on silver from the royal palace and gaze on priceless Dutch masters stolen from wealthy but absent fellow citizens.

"As the Norwegian traitor neared the end of his road to a firing squad, his trial gave only one answer to the riddle of how Quisling became a quisling. Only lust for power could explain why a top honor graduate of the Norwegian Military Academy and the late Fridtjof Nansen's friend and collaborator became the most despicable of traitors; why a man made a Commander of the British Empire for signal services to Britain turned into a violent Anglophobe; and why the erstwhile friend and admirer of Lenin became an anti-Communist crusader."



Vidkun Quisling (on forced tour of patriots' graves) says that he loves Norway

Oslo by naval action, and instead recommended surrounding the capital with paratroopers and thus catching King Haakon and the government before they could flee.

"But if the Nazis were slow to accept all his offers, Quisling wasted no time waiting for his reward. He appointed himself head of the state—and got his first disillusionment. The Wehrmacht would have nothing to do with a traitor like Quisling, and Hitler dispatched Josef Terboven as governor. Six days after the invasion Quisling and his so-called government resigned on orders from Berlin.

"Quisling was taken back eventually

der negotiations. London wanted the Australian Army commander, Gen. Sir Thomas A. Blamey, attached to the United Kingdom representative. Only an appeal to General of the Army MacArthur assured Australia of direct representation.

Evatt reiterated Australia's resentment at British signing of the Potsdam Declaration without consultation. "There still is a deplorable tendency . . . not to consult her at all or to consult her in a perfunctory way and not on a footing of equality." Evatt added that these slights must stop "not only in the interest of Australia but of the British Commonwealth as a whole."

Down Under Boils

A simmering resentment toward Britain boiled over in Australia on Aug. 24. Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs, charged that the British Government had tried to relegate Australia to a subordinate position in Japanese surren-

• CANADA •

Traitors in Khaki

Every Allied prisoner-of-war camp in Germany was a potential source of vital information to the Germans during the war. New prisoners knew of recent Allied weapons and equipment, of transfers and postings indicating future plans. Older prisoners knew of constant efforts to escape within the camps.

The Germans constantly tapped at this deep well, but seldom succeeded in getting what they wanted, because neither hunger nor ill treatment could break the spirit of prisoners whose hopes never faded despite continuing Allied setbacks and the long years of waiting for invasion of Europe. Yet a handful did succumb to German wiles or cruelty.

The Weakest Few: Last week the first treason trial of former Allied prisoners opened in England. Pvt. John G. Galaher, 34, of Windsor, Ont., a veteran of the ill-fated raid on Dieppe became the first Canadian soldier (and the first Canadian since Louis Riel, French-Canadian hanged in 1885 for leading the Northwest rebellions of 1870 and 1885) ever to be tried for treason. His trial was held in camera, lasted four days, and ended with the bare announcement that findings would be announced later.

Two other members of Galaher's regiment (the Essex Scottish of Windsor) faced similar charges in open courts-martial: Pvt. G. Hale, 25, a native of Windsor whose address is Vassar, Mich., and Pvt. E. B. Martin, Windsor. Evidence at Hale's trial was that he had become friendly with a German under officer to get more food, had then obtained other privileges, and had sold information obtained from other prisoners for money deposited in his name in a neutral country.

Meanwhile evidence was given at the treason court-martial of Raymond D. Hughes, Royal Air Force warrant officer, that a Canadian traitor, identified only as "Corporal Martin," had interrogated Allied prisoners at Luckenwalde, Germany, claiming he was "one of the Big Six" of a "British Free Corps" organized to fight the Russians. "Corporal Martin" was also said to have sold information.

Jitters Over Jobs

In the second week of peace the Canadian Government appeared to be fumbling its most critical postwar problem: jobs. And much of its confusion seemed to stem from the Cabinet, itself being reshuffled to a peacetime basis.*

*Most notable Cabinet loss: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, Defense Minister who twice failed to gain a seat in Parliament. He was named chairman of the Canadian section of the joint Canada-United States defense board.

Japan's sudden surrender had a less sweeping effect on manpower in Canada than in the United States for two major reasons: (1) Canada's peak employment of 1,166,000 in war industries in 1943 had been reduced to 650,000 by V-E Day and to 230,000 since V-J Day, about 25 per cent of those released being women workers who had not sought new employment; and (2) a deliberate government "go slow" policy on cancellation of war contracts.

Rags or Riches? But peace still brought complications. Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who knows how inti-



Vancouver Sun

Civvy Kilt: Even with veterans given priority in civilian clothes, Harry Fillion of Vancouver, who served almost six years with a Canadian Scottish regiment, couldn't find trousers big enough to fit his 6-foot, 225-pound frame when the army discharged him. Discouraged, he decided to stick to his kilt.

mately Canada's prosperity is tied to United States economy, said he "shuddered" over forecasts of unemployment in the United States. Reconstruction Minister C. D. Howe, optimistic as usual, declared: "We have bottomless pits of employment." Urging labor leaders not to talk about a bogey of unemployment, he said it was wiser to talk about there being plenty of work.

Available statistics last week favored Howe's optimism. As of Aug. 10, there were only 48,000 applicants for 130,700 vacant jobs. Layoffs since Japan's capitulation

had thrown thousands out of work, but vacancies still outnumbered applicants. For example, Vancouver, in the first week of peace jittery over drastic layoffs at war-built shipyards and aircraft plants, had a surplus of about 9,000 jobs.

The immediate employment problem was thus clear: how to get loggers, lumbermen, miners, and others who had found high wages in urban war industries to return to lonely districts and less lucrative trades. One early effort to man essential industries by drafting army personnel at army pay was abandoned quickly when soldiers raised vigorous objections. Then the government offered to let soldiers volunteer to take available civilian jobs at civilian pay while on extended army leave.

But these were half measures which would not meet the crisis if it continued to worsen as demobilization was accelerated. The Cabinet was reported to be divided on whether to continue the typical Liberal-party policy of "slow ahead," or accept the quick conversion plan adopted in the United States. The test would come soon—when layoffs begin to outnumber vacancies.

The Lunatic Murders

A full moon brightened open spaces and cast definitive shadows. Police of Windsor, Ont., had been warned by their chief to keep one hand close to their gun butts. For fifteen days they had been on the alert, waiting for the next strike by a maniac who had killed at least two victims with a "Commando" knife. At the scene of his latest crime, the slasher had scrawled on a wall: "I'm going to kill a girl next."

A killer had struck twice with the moon new or full, murdering Frank Sciegliiski, 56, stabbed six times on Aug. 8, and Sgt. Hugh B. Price, astrologer known in Windsor as "Professor Cosmo" before he went overseas with the Essex Scottish Regiment, stabbed twelve times on Aug. 18. No definite clue linked these two victims with William Davies, 67, garage night watchman, beaten to death with a hammer on Aug. 16.

Death Comes on Holidays: While many Windsor and Detroit residents lived in nightly dread of another attack, Royal Baker, former Detroit detective lieutenant, voiced a terrifying theory: The Windsor murders, he said, followed the pattern (multiple knife wounds, bodies left near railway tracks, murders occurring on or about public holidays) of the 37 similar unsolved murders in the United States which he had charted under the label, "the holiday ripper."

Windsor police held 30 persons for questioning, including Richard H. Rowe, 51, former resident of New York State, who was booked on a tentative charge of carrying a concealed weapon (a blood-stained knife).

on Leyte (where Eighth Army men killed 26,000 Japs). In the assault on Luzon its role was also secondary, but brilliant: a landing below Manila, climaxed by a razzle-dazzle airborne assault.

Then the Eighth went south to clean up what was left of the Philippines. In 44 days it made six major and 24 minor landings. Eichelberger was all over the place, sleeping among his soldiers on the ground—once, so close to a Jap airfield that the racket of enemy airplane engines kept them awake most of the night. MacArthur wrote this commendation: "a model of what a light but aggressive command can accomplish in rapid exploitation."

The Lucky General. Eichelberger, never a man to blow his own horn, attributed his showing to his troops and to a lot of luck. His soldiers knew that he had a lot more than luck.

Eichelberger, who talks of military campaigns in football terms, does not believe in generals who buck the middle of the opponent's line; instead, he favors the end run, the cleverly concealed multiple pass, even on occasion a well-executed shoe-string play. He minimizes his achievements in battle but brags unashamedly about what he did to raise the standard of the Military Academy's football team.

As a cadet, Eichelberger, son of an Urbana (Ohio) lawyer, seemed to have an easy time at studies: maybe it was because he had already put in two years at Ohio State. The *Howitzer* labeled him "divinely tall and most divinely fair" and his wife, whom he calls Miss Em, still quotes it, remembering the second lieutenant who proposed to her 34 years ago in the Canal zone the first evening he met her.

Out of Frustration. As a West Point cadet, Bob Eichelberger did not make the football team, won no letter. But he had wanted to. When he came back in 1940 as a major general and Superintendent of the Point, physical requirements for admission were so drawn that a tall candidate had to be underweight to get in. This anomaly was corrected. Eichelberger, who had come back with a fierce determination to make the Academy's football team the best ever, had his chance.

He snared Coach Earl ("Red") Blaik, who had left the Army, won fame as head coach at Dartmouth. Blaik became West Point's first civilian head coach. Eichelberger's faith in him was justified; the payoff came last winter, when far out in the Pacific, an urgent radiogram told him Army had finished a season in which it easily beat all opponents.

Superintendent Eichelberger says less about other contributions to West Point. But the cadets he commissioned recall him as the ideal head man, full of discipline with good humor, given to stopping cadets for chats on the walks, endowed with the name-memory of a hotel clerk. Behind his back they (like his staff today) called him "Uncle Bob."

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As General Eichelberger takes up residence within sight of Tokyo, he presumably still has the medals which were pinned on him by the Japanese 25 years ago. After Pearl Harbor, when it became the fashion for Americans to send Jap decorations to the Air Forces to "return to sender" along with bombs, Eichelberger was asked if he would contribute his. "Hell, no," he said, "I'm going to take them back myself."

STRATEGY

Bye, Bye, Bombers

In World War I, Lieut. Arthur Travers Harris formed the first night-fighter squadron to protect London from Zeppelins. Thereafter, he became one of the major prophets of air power; the heavy bomber



AIR CHIEF MARSHAL HARRIS
He sought a far country.

was his special love. Last week the R.A.F.'s Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Harris said goodbye to his job—and to air power as it had developed during his lifetime. Said Bomber Harris:

"In World War II the battleship was the dodo. In the next war—if there is one—the heavy bomber will probably be. For the heavy bomber is finished as the main striking instrument. . . .

"War in the future is in the hands of the scientists. . . . Just as you had the old knight in armor leveled by the first man who got hold of a gun, now you have got to a stage where a country could win a war despite its size. It could win, however small it was, provided it had the scientific resources and brains to obtain mastery of the new weapons. If you couple the atomic bomb with the projected missile [e.g., buzz-bombs or rocket bombs], you

have something with possibilities that hardly bear contemplation. . . .

"The whole world is now in the range of this weapon. . . . War will go on until there is a change in the human heart—and I see no signs of that."

For himself, gloomy, weary Harris seeks "a country where there are no telephones, no motorcars, no airplanes and no bureaucrats."

POLICIES & PRINCIPLES

The 24

The Allies at last published the list of 24 top Nazis who will be tried in a group as war criminals under the general charge of conspiracy to wage aggressive war. Specific charges, probably, will be brought against each criminal—the Rotterdam and Coventry bombings against Hermann Göring; wholesale murder against Hans Frank, former Nazi overlord of Poland.

All but one of the 24 were in custody. The exception was Martin Bormann, Hitler's deputy and closest adviser in the final days. Contradictory reports that Bormann had or had not been found continued to fly between the Allied capitals.

The list had no glaring omissions, with the possible exception of Field Marshal Alfred Kesselring and Industrialist Fritz von Thyssen. Industrialist Gustav Krupp von Bohlen was there, and so were Militarists Keitel, Jodl, Raeder and Doenitz. There were Financiers Funk and Schacht, ex-Foreign Ministers von Neurath and von Ribbentrop and the cloak-&-dagger diplomat, Franz von Papen; there were names once famous in the Nazi hierarchy—Hess and Streicher, Ley and Rosenberg, and *Gauleiter* Seyss-Inquart (Netherlands) and von Schirach (Austria). And along with the familiar names were others: Sauckel, the slave-herder; Hans Fritzsche, the propagandist; ex-Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick; Ernst Kaltenbrunner, originator of mass execution by gas, and Albert Speer, the brilliant, ruthless organizer of German war production. Of the 24 not more than half were Prussians.

In Nürnberg jail, where most of the accused were held, there was a decided religious trend. More & more of the Nazis asked for Bibles and the services of the U.S. Army chaplains. One of the most devout was Hans Frank, who had walked into captivity clad only in a pair of silk panties.

The trials were to have started some time in September in the Nürnberg courthouse. But choice of counsel for the defendants would cause some delay, and last week the main floor of the courthouse collapsed. Army officers feared repairs might take six months. The only other building in Nürnberg large enough to hold the expected crowds was the opera house, which the authorities had once vetoed, feared because its theatrical air lacked solemnity.

FOREIGN NEWS

GREAT BRITAIN

Oooooo!

A specter is haunting Russia—the specter of socialism. Britain's Labor Government had been in power little more than a month when last week that wayward wraith, the western bloc, in the guise of an entente of western Europe's socialist governments, began to clank familiarly through the international corridors. Its promoter was Professor Harold J. Laski (TIME, Aug. 13).

In Copenhagen, the Danish Social Democrats' first post-liberation congress drew socialist premiers from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, socialist representatives from



PREMIER HANSSON & COMRADES*
A wayward wraith . . .

Belgium, Holland, France. Professor Laski, who has been skimming, swallow-like, from one European socialist conference to another, was also irresistibly attracted.

The theme song of the conference was: "Scandinavians, get together." Even Sweden's cautious Premier Per Albin Hansson was stirred to apostrophize a common Scandinavian labor market, economic collaboration, common Nordic citizenship. Laski too was stirred. Hailing the advance of socialism in Britain, France, Belgium and Scandinavia, he cried: "All of us stand side by side."

Second-Class Powers, Unite. In Stockholm a few days later he was more explicit. Said the Professor, in a casual appraisal of Britain's new world position calculated to drive Winston Churchill into his grave: "Not even America and Russia can live alone. Still less can second-class powers like Britain and Sweden. Why cannot the Foreign Ministers in the socialist Swedish

* Left, Norwegian Premier Einar Gerhardsen; right, Danish Premier Vilhelm Buhl.

and British Governments—and soon in the Norwegian and Danish—meet and draw up a program together?" By that time Danish Foreign Minister John Christmas Moeller and Norwegian Foreign Minister Trygve Lie were already in London, talking trade and credits with British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin.

Then the London *Times* caught fire. Keeping a wary eye on Moscow, and carefully repudiating the word bloc in favor of the word grouping, the *Times* said:

"The Belgian Foreign Minister this week expressed his country's desire for close understanding between France and Great Britain and for the entry of Belgium into a western European grouping within a system of collective security. . . . The reorganization of eastern Europe is in hand and a comparable movement in the west would complete the process. . . . In the forefront of immediate purposes stands the question of an Anglo-French alliance. . . . [But] Europe can prosper only as a whole and nothing could be more disquieting and reactionary than partnerships or associations smacking of rival blocs. The momentous alliance between Great Britain and Russia was designed . . . to associate east and west in a partnership of peace; and that still stands as the supreme test of European statesmanship. It is the condition precedent of any Anglo-French alliance and of any larger grouping that may follow."

Atomic Reaction. The Kremlin's reaction was of almost atomic intensity. Cried Commentator Karl Hoffman in *Red Star*: "It is significant that not a single Labor paper has opposed the conceptions put forward by the *Times* which are difficult to fit in with the common task of the Allied nations to ensure a firm peace. . . . A prescription has been found [by the *Times*]; eastern tendencies must be opposed by western ones, and for this purpose elements in western European countries who are displeased with the new democratic arrangements of eastern Europe and who are now dreaming once again of setting up a *cordon sanitaire* against the U.S.S.R. must be encouraged. The tendencies of the democratic forces in France, Italy and other western European states are well-known. They are trying to establish close collaboration with all democratic states in the interest of ensuring universal security. These tendencies apparently displease certain personalities in London. The tune now played reminds one of Chamberlain and Daladier."

Cried *Pravda*: "An obviously reactionary enterprise."

Due soon in London was a stalwart trusty of Europe's only functioning bloc—Russia's eastern grouping. Czechoslovak Premier Zdenek Fierlinger was coming to discuss British-Czech relations, and, perhaps, to test the political velocity of the new democratic wind blowing from the west.

The Maverick

In the House of Commons dining room, Laborite Samuel Sydney Silverman delivered himself of a précis of Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's attitude toward Russia: "He can't help treating Russia as he would a breakaway union."

To the Top

Ever since "Clem" became Britain's Prime Minister, Violet Attlee has been grappling with a problem almost as engrossing as nationalization of the Bank of England: how to make No. 10 Downing St. homey. (The British word for it is "homely.") Last week, after looking over



PREMIER FIERLINGER
. . . began to clank familiarly.

No. 10's 63 rambling rooms (seven baths), she solved it: the Attlees will live only on the top floor (19 rooms). When the furniture has been reshuffled and the family knickknacks placed, the Attlees will move in with their second daughter Felicity, their kitten Whisky and their terrier Ting.

Tireless Task

From Westminster's square Victoria Tower a bit of masonry hurtled 300 feet into a bowl of strawberries & cream which a guest was enjoying on the House of Commons terrace. The guest was annoyed. But the Ministry of Works was frightened. Suppose a gargoyle had dropped on the table. Clearly the 900-year-old Palace, which houses Britain's Parliament, was falling apart. To patch it, the Ministry appointed a score of unhurried stonemasons headed by earnest, bespectacled Henry Wadley, a dead ringer for President Truman.

That was in 1927. Last week Henry Wadley, now 57, and his mate, Fred Hurd-

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FOREIGN NEWS

man, now 60, were still working unhurriedly on the Palace. In 18 years (the last six of them without assistants) the two masons had mended more than 600 of the stone crowns, buttresses, lions, kings & queens, coats-of-arms and other heraldic devices that adorn Britain's Parliament.

Among the gargoyles and griffins atop the Palace, nothing—France's fall or Britain's peril—interrupted their tireless task. Through the blitz, which hastened the process of architectural crumbling and caving, the two men patiently pursued their chipping and patching. While the Battle of Britain was in full swing, they gave Ethelred the Unready (968-1016) a new arm. While Winston Churchill was urging Britons to fight on the beaches, on the hills, on the air fields, the two masons, high above him, were replacing the four 8-ft. gargoyles that flank Big Ben.

Last week, after nearly 20 years on the job, Wadley was a trifle concerned about the end of it all. Said he: "I can't save the Palace just with Fred. Begging Mr. Churchill's pardon, give us the men and we'll finish the job."

GERMANY

Fourth Reich

The outlines of a Fourth Reich emerged in Russian-occupied Germany last week. The Russians announced that they had organized a complete German government for their zone.

The new German Premier: Marshal Georgi Zhukov. His deputy prime minister: one Leo Skrzypczinsky, described as a former German factory owner who spent four years in a concentration camp. A political unknown, without party affiliation, Skrzypczinsky was recommended by the Communists. Under Premier Marshal Zhukov were twelve ministries (one for each division of the Soviet Military Government), each headed by a Red Army officer. Under each Red Army officer was a German state secretary (selected from lists submitted by the four "anti-fascist" parties). As state secretaries, the Russians picked five Communists, three Social Democrats, two Christian Democrats, one Liberal Democrat, one non-party member.

Among the Germans: Paul Wandel, editor of Berlin's Communist newspaper *Deutsche Volkszeitung*; Willi Schroeder, onetime Communist deputy in the Mecklenburg provincial government, Edwin Hörnle, oldtime Communist leader and Reichstag deputy; Eugene Schiffer, 85, Liberal Democrat and once Reich Finance and Justice Minister; Dr. Wilhelm Fitzner, Social Democrat, a lawyer who had served a three-year term in a concentration camp; Dr. Ferdinand Friedensburg, 58, Christian Democrat, former Berlin police official and ex-head of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute; Helmut Lehmann, Social Democrat, freed from a concentration camp by the Russians last April.

38



MARSHAL ZHUKOV

A revolution without barricades?

To those who cannot imagine a revolution without barricades, what had taken place in Russian-occupied Germany was rather puzzling. But one fact was inescapable: about a third of Germany was now under a Communist-controlled government.

Next: an All-Germany Government. To the Allied Control Council the Russians also informally suggested names for an all-Germany civilian administration. But U.S. and British occupation authorities



U.S. Army Signal Corps-Acme

FRAU WITZLER

Perhaps, if Hitler had never lived...

were still struggling to find German industrial, business and professional leaders for zonal posts. Before Potsdam, the Americans had set up local regimes and a Bavarian provincial administration. The emphasis was on "denazification." Political parties, trade unions, and political meetings (which the Russians encouraged) were forbidden. Now that has been changed. And last week General Dwight D. Eisenhower told the press: Germans in towns and rural areas will elect local officials of their own choosing before winter. In the British zone, Field Marshal Sir Bernard Law Montgomery said: "We aim at the restoration of local self-government throughout Germany on a democratic basis." But the western Allies had nothing to compare with Russia's new German government which, at least on paper, gave to some 16,000,000 Germans a greater responsibility in government than they enjoyed in any other Allied zone.

In the political occupation of Germany, the U.S. and Britain still lagged several years behind the Russians.

Seven Who Must Hang

A photograph of six exhumed corpses—U.S. airmen who had bailed out of their bomber over Germany—was telling testimony. The eleven German civilians on trial at Darmstadt for murdering the men winced at the exhibit. Grandmotherly, grey-haired Frau Margarete Witzler turned her head away.

The trial droned on. The U.S. military judges heard how the eleven defendants, all citizens of Rüsselsheim, had lynched the fliers in a spasm of revenge. The court's verdict: freedom for one defendant, long imprisonment for three, death for seven. Among them: Frau Witzler. She was an old woman; she must have been a big girl when Adolf Hitler, the Führer, was born.

Perhaps, if he had never lived, she would have rounded out her days putting over flowers or watching children with that shrewd pity which results from old people's knowledge that every lifetime is short, that even children do not have long to live. Now she would die, a little prematurely, on the gallows. Frau Witzler listened carefully to the sentence, hid her face in her hands, wept quietly (*see cut*).

EUROPE

Royal D.P.s

The air last week was loud with the snapping and unsnapping of luggage clasps, as royal and distinguished D.P.s busily packed and unpacked their traveling bags.

King without a Country. Belgium's tall, balding, repudiated King Leopold III was winding up an enforced St. Wolfgang vacation which had really been no vacation at all—just a parade of visiting politicians and prelates exhorting him to return to, or keep out of Belgium. But the Belgian Parliament had decided that he

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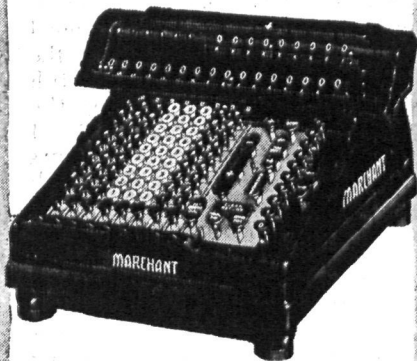
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are no porters, no luggage carriers, and no taxis, I met an American struggling along carrying two suitcases and a large duffel bag. "All I need," he grumbled cheerfully, "is an Army helmet. Then I'll know I've been to war."

Tangier: Out, Franco!

Spain, France, and Britain administered Tangier before the war. The Spanish took it over during the war while France was helpless and Britain beleaguered. Last week representatives of the United States, Britain, Russia, and France decided to take Tangier back, oust its current Spanish administrators, and settle conflicting interests by joint administration of the African port that lies across the Strait from Gibraltar.

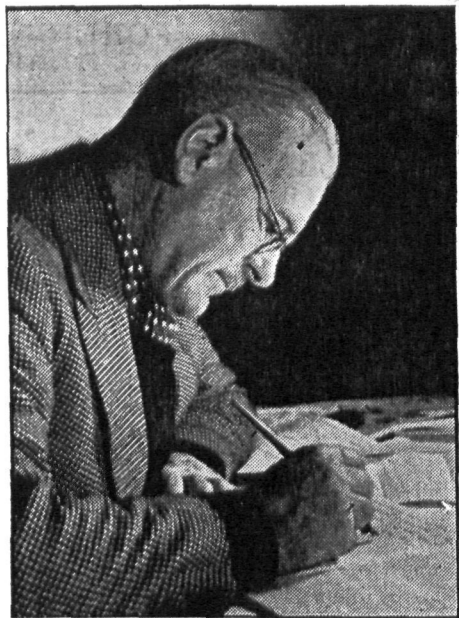
In the gilded Salon de l'Horloge at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris, a four-power parley wound up its two-week meeting. The United States, intervening in the affairs of Tangier for the first time, had taken the place formerly held by Spain. Russia had insisted on equal representation (NEWSWEEK, July 16). Gen. Francisco Franco, whose troops marched in from Spanish Morocco and occupied Tangier in 1940, was left out. A provisional international administration will control Tangier for the rest of this year. When a permanent agreement is made, it will probably include Spain. But by then, the Russians believe, the Big Four will deal not with Franco but his successor.

Approach to India

The windows of the India Office in London are still blacked out. Thick, black dust still shrouds the togaed statues in its gloomy halls. There, in the Viceroy's office, an earnest, harried man last week explored once more a problem that still appeared insoluble: the future of India. He was the Viceroy, Viscount Wavell, just arrived from New Delhi.

Last June the Viceroy had attempted to unify India by releasing Congress party leaders from jail and inviting both the Congress and the Moslem League to join in drafting an administrative plan that would eventually grow into self-government. But, as usual, conflicting Congress and Moslem demands wrecked the negotiations, though Wavell assumed the blame for their collapse. Now the end of the war with Japan made a settlement still more pressing. Before Asiatic nationalism provoked open conflict in India, Britain wanted to guarantee long-term peace in the subcontinent.

From 10 in the morning to 5:30 or 6, Wavell met with Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, his assistants, and members of the new Labor government. In civilian clothes, except when his field marshal's uniform was required for formal functions, he broke his heavy routine only by dining with Prime Min-



British Combine

Wavell again seeks a solution for India

ister Attlee and with an excursion to the White Tower, one of London's best Greek restaurants.

No immediate British move was expected from Wavell's visit. But the plans he made now might mature next spring when the results of Indian provincial elections establish the strength—and right of governmental representation—of India's two main political parties. The Moslem League is expected to gain at the polls; if it does the drive for Pakistan (a separate Indian Moslem state) will be strengthened. To spike a Moslem secession (which Wavell opposes), Congress majorities may offer the League posts in new coalition provincial governments.

Roster of Wretches

At Moscow in November 1943 the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia agreed that some war criminals had committed offenses so great and so general they could not be tried by one nation alone. They ordered the establishment of an international tribunal to try the major criminals; they set up a commission to list the guilty men and draft a legal code for their trials. After nearly two years of argument and legalistic quibbling, the Big Four (now including France) last week issued their first list of war criminals, scheduled for trial this fall.

Aristocrats of Sin: With Adolf Hitler dead, Herman Göring led the list. Next (apparently listed by enormity of guilt rather than by alphabet) came Rudolf Hess, once the Führer's chosen successor; then former Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, Franz von Papen, veteran ambassador-spy of two wars, Walther Funk, architect of German economic

• FOREIGN AFFAIRS •

Sad Lack of Life's Necessities Stymies Businessmen in Europe

U. S. Travelers Put On Heat for Government Help in Finding Beds, Board, and Taxis

For weeks past American businessmen have been arriving in Europe filled with hope and the prospect of restoring pre-war commercial relations. They have nearly all worked hard—but mostly at the business of merely existing. For in hungry, disorganized Europe, the civilian discovers that existence itself is a problem that can occupy most of his time. And American businessmen found themselves without any substantial aid from the two branches of their own government most able to help them—the State Department and the Army.

Some blamed the State Department ("United States Embassies in Europe are run for the benefit of United States Embassies in Europe"). Some blamed the Army ("Don't they know there's a war over?"). Both the Army and the State Department last week moved to work out some remedy. To illustrate the problem NEWSWEEK asked Toni Howard of its Paris Bureau to tell how American civilians actually fare in France today.

Almost all the big Paris hotels are still in the hands of the United States Army, and the Army billets only its own military personnel plus a few civilians—such as war correspondents and technicians—actually attached to the armed forces. Of the three hotels which the Army has derequisitioned, two are shut for repairs. Only one—the Ritz—is open to civilian trade. Three other hotels which theoretically are available to American businessmen—Claridge's, the Bristol, and the Louvre—are "semi-requisitioned" by the French Army. This means an American civilian can be, and often is, turned out for incoming French personnel. All these hotels have a five-day limit.

Ersatz Coffée; Ersatz Francs: When it comes to eating, the United States businessman can eat

restaurants, where he will be served soup, potatoes in two or three forms, sliced tomatoes, cucumbers, perhaps a small piece of fish, bread without butter, ersatz coffee—all for 200 francs (\$4). Or he can eat at black-market places, which are expensive (\$20 and up). Most of these restaurants are now closed for the summer. Those open are hard to find, since the heat is on in the Food Ministry for an anti-black-market campaign.

Another big problem is transport. With taxis almost nonexistent and no military vehicles at their service, businessmen wishing to see contacts in Paris have a choice of battling the crowds in the overburdened Metro or walking. There are also transportation difficulties for those who want to go to other countries such as Belgium and Germany. Here the

ing. At 4 p.m. the same day he was still unshaved and unwashed, and didn't know where he would lay his head that night. Luckily he found a bed on the top floor of the old American Express building. He slept there three nights while searching for a hotel room. When I interviewed him I found the American Express, which he said hopes in a few weeks to be able to care for United States civilian travelers in something approaching prewar style, attempting to do business in a few tiny cubicles on the mezzanine floor of its own building—all the space the Army feels it can allow the American Express to reoccupy. The building is filled with Army offices and is a Red Cross mailing center for packages.

Another businessman, less fortunately connected, had to sleep four nights in an emergency cot set up in the gymnasium of the American Legion building. "It wasn't so bad," he said. "At least I had hot water in my showers, which is more than any of the rest of the boys had."

Postwar War: The British on the other hand, have made arrangements to care for their businessmen on the Continent—the provision of vehicles for transporting luggage, service for finding hotel rooms, and, most important, the dignified, beautifully run British Empire Club, formerly the world-famous restaurant of Maxim's. There, for 125 francs (\$2.50), representatives of British industry or trade can eat an excellent French meal, and a bottle of good champagne costs 300 francs (\$6).

According to United States Army and State Department officials, various steps are being taken or planned to ease the plight of the American businessmen in Europe. The embassy hints it is preparing to set up a restaurant similar to Maxim's. The Army may—it does not promise—do something about billeting and transport. The United States Chamber of Commerce in France has recently formed a committee, headed by Stacy Adams of Standard Oil, to prod both the Army and State Department into action. But many businessmen who have fought on their own in postwar Europe think measures must be instituted on highest levels of Army and State Department cooperation, at least during the "emergency period" of the present franc-dollar exchange rate. They explain it costs them 2,000 francs (\$40) a day simply to exist in Paris. How, they ask, can American export trade be built up to provide jobs for people at home when the job of making contacts to build up that trade requires so much money and so much personal endurance?

In a Paris railway station, where there



U. S. Signal Corps from Acme

Paris: Open cafés look inviting but they don't mean much food for hungry American businessmen

problem is to obtain a priority for Army travel, a job which often takes valuable time and makes planning difficult. One American I talked to said it took his branch manager in Switzerland three months to get to Paris to confer with him.

The manager of the Paris office of the American Express Co., H. A. Hill, arrived in Paris at 7 a.m. one dismal morn-

warfare, and Hjalmar Schacht, the Nazi's financial wizard.

It continued with Nazi fanatics like Alfred Rosenberg, the party's pagan "philosopher," Julius Streicher, its most virulent anti-Semite, and Robert Ley who led the Labor Front. The governors and gauleiters of occupied countries were down for trial; so were the top army and navy commanders who collaborated with the Nazis. Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, head of the great Krupp firm, was the only industrialist listed so far; Martin Bormann, Hitler's secretary, was the only defendant not yet officially captured although the Soviets indicated he had been caught.

Most of the prisoners awaited their trials in one-man cells in the massive city jail on the edge of Nuremberg. Almost to a man, they still idolized Hitler, but at least half of the group now displayed an interest in religion. Dr. Hans Frank, the vicious governor general of occupied Poland, was the most eager Bible reader. Streicher was the most unrepentant. Göring was docile after early outbursts against prison food. Admiral Nicholas Horthy, described by the head jailer as "the only sassy devil in the lot," stormed at his guard: "Remember—I am Regent of Hungary!"

By autumn, the Allies hope, the first of the Nazi criminals will be moved from jail to the Nuremberg Palace of Justice. There, in a third-floor courtroom, now enlarged to measure 90 by 40 feet, some 500 people will watch the world's first international war-criminal trials.

Vidkun the Barefaced

Norwegian alienists and neurologists X-rayed the brain of Vidkun Quisling and declared him sane and normal, except for polyneuritis brought on by an excessive use of alcohol or narcotics, or—less likely—a lack of vitamins. The jury at his trial for treason took a day off to inspect his sumptuous hilltop home near Oslo, the 30-room Gimle ("home of the Viking gods"), and his country hide-away, Eagle's Nest, both stuffed with tapestries, paintings, and other loot from the Norwegian royal palace, museums, and confiscated estates. But the pasty-faced traitor, his head throbbing from the medical examination, showed no sign of guilt. Instead he continued last week to stall off in every way possible the end of his trial, his inevitable conviction and execution.

Quisling first challenged the legality of Norwegian capital-punishment statutes. Then he protested the replacement of his ailing defense counsel by the lawyer's assistant. Finally Quisling whined that mental cruelties were inflicted on him while he was in prison, and complained: "I also have lost 40 pounds in weight." The presiding judge observed that most Norwegians had lost weight under Quisling's regime, particularly



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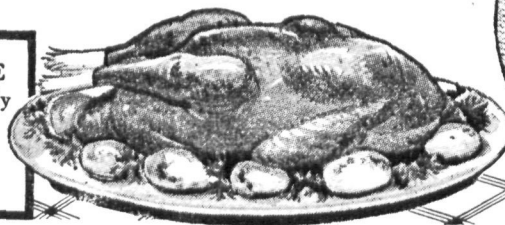
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European

Reichsmarshal's Ride: This club car, temporary rest stop for two GI's, was only one of ten that made up Hermann Göring's luxurious private train. One coach was filled with the best wines and liquors, another with phonograph records. Each sleeping section had a huge bathroom and dressing room; a radio was in every room.

those he had ordered placed in concentration camps. "Sit down!" he shouted, and Quisling was silent.

The deadline for Quisling's execution was Oct. 8, when Norway will hold its first general election in nine years. But despite general impatience and pressure from Norwegian leftists who complained he was getting "too fair" a trial, the government moved deliberately. Summing up the case of Norway against its betrayer, Annaeus Schjoedt, the public prosecutor, asked for Quisling's death on three counts. Though a score of witnesses (including Nazi war criminals) had testified to his guilt, one man still in hiding could make the case complete. He was a 35-year-old Storm Trooper general, Hans Wilhelm Scheidt, who served as liaison man between Quisling and Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi "philosopher."

As Schjoedt demanded the death penalty for both military and civil treason, Quisling's flabby face turned deep red. In silent, impotent rage, he clutched his pencils and notebooks before the end of the four-and-a-half-hour summation. Then, with his blue eyes glaring at the prosecutor, he left the courtroom with an air of injured dignity, wounded, frightened, too angry to answer.

Groundwork for the League

The Preparatory Commission of the United Nations got down to business in Church House in London last week. Seven out of ten subcommittees prepared to set up the different sections of the or-

ganization created in San Francisco. Edward R. Stettinius Jr., chief American delegate to the commission, landed in Southampton from the Queen Mary with his wife and three sons.

Until the United Nations charter is ratified by 28 of the 50 nations that drafted it (so far 16 have ratified), the commission will lay the groundwork of the new world league. Meanwhile Stettinius suggested one job for the future Security Council. The United States, he said, may give control of the atomic bomb to the Council, to enforce world peace through international responsibility.

No Berlin Black Market, Money-Sated GI's Grieve

Joseph S. Evans, NEWSWEEK's chief European correspondent, sends this story of soldier trading in Berlin.

From jeeps to toilet paper, from playing cards to Parisian lingerie—it is still all available in Berlin's fantastic curb market.

The jeep brought 20,000 marks, but the sale did not stick. (The occupation mark is worth 10 cents.) MP's caught the GI seller, who was forced to refund the proceeds and now awaits court-martial while the Russian purchaser had to give up the jeep. Toilet paper—not even the soft kind—went for 200 marks to the Russians. Playing cards sold by the Germans are usually worth 100 marks with the Russians again the purchasers. Feminine

'Worst Crime of All'

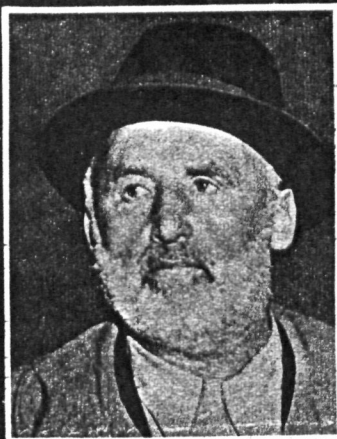
It is aggressive war, says Justice Jackson; we must teach a lesson to those who plan it.



Marshal Hermann Goering.



Robert Ley.



Julius Streicher.



Alfred Rosenberg.



Col. Gen. Gustav Jodl.



Franz von Papen.

Here are six German leaders, indicted as major war criminals, shown after their capture by Allied soldiers. The background picture is a pre-war scene of Nuremberg.

LONDON (By Wireless).

FOR the first time in history four of the world's dominant nations have recognized the principle that to plot or launch a war of aggression is a crime for which individuals may be convicted and punished. This is, perhaps, the most significant feature of the agreement signed in London on Aug. 8, 1945, for their respective Governments by Lord Jowitt, the Lord Chancellor of England; by M. Robert Falco, a judge of the Cour de Cassation, the highest court of France; by Maj. Gen. L. T. Nikitchenko, Vice President of the Supreme Court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and by me on behalf of the United States.

Another significant principle recognized in this agreement is that racial or religious persecutions by a Government against its own people, under some circumstances, may rise to the magnitude of crimes against international society. This brings a new force to the support of civil liberties and minority rights. But although the gain here is easily understood, many persons nevertheless are unaware why a recognition of the criminality of precipitating an aggressive war should be news.

The average layman will say, "Has it not always been a crime to start a war

of aggression? Why make ado about agreement on so obvious a thing?" And most laymen will be shocked to learn that the international law of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not regard a war—even one of flagrant aggression—as a crime. All wars were "legal," and no one could be made to answer at law for causing them. During the period of empire building international law, which consists largely of the agreements and treaties, and customs of sovereign states, came to reflect the practices of that period.

THERE had been an abandonment of the distinction between just and unjust wars which characterized the preaching of Grotius and of many early international law scholars. As a consequence, international law was of little account as a force in condemning aggressive wars or in punishing their perpetrators.

The ghastly way in which life has been extinguished and the earth ravaged by this war speaks ill for the nineteenth-century conception of international law. One needs only to go through Europe to-

day, as I have done, to realize the deadly consequences of defeat or even invasion.

If there are to be future wars we have got to win them. The consequences of defeat are unthinkable. There is no alternative but to win. And we can win only by being better killers, by killing more and killing more quickly than the enemy, by killing with less risk to ourselves.

For the fact is obvious that modern war has become more and more a struggle between whole populations, not between armies alone. The issue is which shall be subjugated and which will survive. The workman at the lathe and the housewife in the kitchen are each a part of the war-potential, differing only in function from the men under arms. The course of any future war is likely to be to kill and maim the enemy and to destroy all that shelters him and all that he lives by not only in the field but at home.

THERE is little prospect that the savagery of future warfare can be greatly mitigated by efforts to make war like cricket, a game to be played by certain rules and conventions. The stakes are too

high. There is a great deal of force in the view that the rules of warfare, to the extent that they foster the idea that there is an honorable and legal way to conduct a war, may be a positive detriment to the peace of the world.

No one, least of all myself, would argue that violations of the rules of warfare are not crimes in war or that the victor is not entitled to punish them. But if these crimes were all that were involved in the present case I should not feel that the pursuit of the perpetrators meant much to the peace of the world.

IF it were still no crime to launch a war of aggression, then it would be doubtful whether there ought to be any war crimes at all. To institute a war to set in motion the forces of murder and destruction. To invade another country is to embark on a course of killings, destruction and brutalities as planned objectives. If there is to be no responsibility upon those who start this chain of whole evils, it seems unequal justice to punish those who commit isolated offenses.

It must be recognized that there is a fundamental difference of outlook between the average European and the average American on the (Continued on Page 45)

Detroit: Reconversion Laboratory

In the Motor City are tested the social and industrial problems of a nation returning to the ways of peace.

DETROIT.

By RUSSELL PORTER

THE new cars are beginning to trickle off the assembly lines, and they look as good as ever—sleek, freshly painted, "face-lifted" 1946 models. It is a pleasure just to see them inside the plants. By the time snow flies, hundreds of thousands of them should be rolling off the lines to replace the battered, rusty, creaky old jalopies still running after nearly four years of war.

But, in the meantime, the world's automotive capital is undergoing the birth pangs of a new era, the reconversion period. Considering the Motor City's tradition as the bell-wether of American industry and its background of pre-war boom times, depression, sit-down strikes, race riots and wartime prosperity, it is natural that the eyes of the country and the world should be fixed intently on this metropolis. It is writing a case history of reconversion in the making. The huge, sprawling automobile plants that dot the outskirts may easily foretell the future of America. Right or left, free enterprise or government control, democracy or dictatorship—here is a ready-made laboratory for testing these questions and their answers.

DETROIT'S reaction to the emergency is calm and confident. As a fast-growing youth among America's industrial centers, it has had severe growing pains in the past. In good times it has been "Detroit the Dynamic," spark-plugging the country's business and industrial machine. In bad times it has been a sort of "Peck's Bad Boy," spark-plugging little but trouble.

But now it feels that it has reached something like maturity. It faces the se-

rious problems of reconversion with courage born of the knowledge that it overcame the graver dangers of conversion to wartime production in a manner that has won tribute from the whole world. If it could snow under the Nazis and the Japanese with its flood of tanks, jeeps, aircraft, guns and other war equipment, it feels sure it can more easily supply the American people with a peacetime stream of passenger cars and trucks.

Those who have the responsibility of meeting the problems of reconversion do not consider them insoluble in any respect, provided there is a reasonable amount of cooperation among industry, organized labor and government to encourage an economic climate favorable both to reasonable profits and good wages, and high levels of production and employment.

AT the present time, only a few weeks after the end of hostilities in the Pacific brought the wholesale cancellation of war contracts, the principal problems seem to be those of surplus labor, plant and equipment, prices and wages and materials.

Unemployment, of course, is the great human problem. Estimates accepted by industry and labor indicate that at least 250,000, possibly more, have been laid off in the Detroit area. But several times that many are still working in the factories, and much of the unemployment is temporary. The companies say they will begin to rehire men on a large scale in

October, and go far beyond peak pre-war employment early next year. Even so, it is not to be expected that they can reach the wartime peak of employment in the foreseeable future, and the implications of potential mass unemployment of prolonged duration in a big city like Detroit, with its mixture of races and nationalities, are obvious for the future welfare of the country.

THE first line of defense against the present unemployment situation, aside from the wartime savings which some but not all workers have put aside for a rainy day—a very large sum in the aggregate—is the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission. Here is where the visitor to Detroit is first able to visu-



"Bell-wether of American industry"
—Worker in an automobile plant.

alize what reconversion means in terms of actual people and things.

Elsewhere in the downtown district there are virtually no noticeable changes from war conditions. The stores, restaurants, bars, hotels, buses, street cars and sidewalks are still overcrowded with men and women who seem well fed, well dressed and happy. There is nothing like the scenes this reporter remembers from depression days, when crowds of sullen, ominously silent, shabbily dressed and hungry-looking men drifted aimlessly in Cadillac Square.

In the compensation lines, the applicants for State aid—\$20 a week for twenty weeks, with \$2 extra for each dependent up to four—vary in appearance, but generally speaking show the effects of good jobs with good wages. Some act worried and concerned over the future; others seem care-free, even cheerful. During the first few days many complained bitterly because they had to spend hours waiting in the hot sun to file their applications, but this condition has been corrected by the hiring of additional clerical help and speeding up of procedures.

Many of the present unemployed will be re-employed within the next few weeks and months, as the plants change over from war to peace production, but they are faced with the question of how many will be retained after the 200,000 or more

former automobile workers return from the armed forces with seniority rights.

For some of them, the answer is to leave Detroit or the labor market or both. Housewives are going back to their kitchens, schoolboys and girls to their classes, old men and women to their easy chairs, white collar workers, professional men and women, school teachers and recruits from all sorts of jobs in other business and industry to their original vocations. Families from the farms and villages of many States, including the hill and mountain people from the South and border regions, are trekking homeward, the Okies and Arkies in reverse motion.

EITHER in Detroit or elsewhere, the solution for many is to help fill the tremendous labor shortage in construction, distribution and service institutions of all kinds. Gas stations and garages alone, when the cars start rolling again, will need them in large numbers.

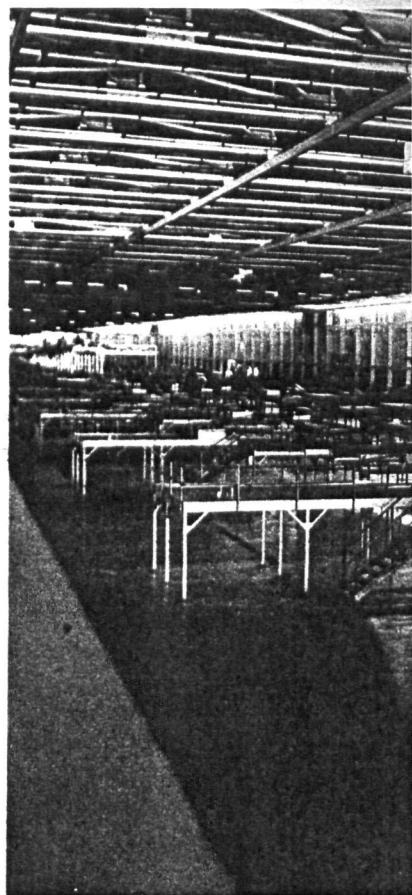
As yet, there does not seem to be any great rush for such jobs, although there are plenty of help-wanted ads in the local papers. This fact is attributed to a variety of reasons. Some have been working so hard for so long, and are so well heeled, that they are eager and able to fill up the tank, now that gasoline is unrationed, and hit the open road for a spell of touring, fishing or loafing. Others want to wait, at least as long as unemployment compensation keeps coming in, before giving up the good wages of the automobile industry for lower-paid jobs. The comparatively easy task of tending automotive machines has soured others on various back-breaking and feet-tiring jobs. Some prefer city life, with or without jobs, to

their former environments.

It has been noted that a large proportion of the applicants in the compensation lines have been Negroes and women. This fact poses two sociological problems that no one seems to be able to answer at present. It seems to be indicated that both groups are anxious to hold on to the increased economic freedom they won during the war. It also raises a difficult question, since both groups are traditionally the last to be hired and the first to be laid off by industry. What will happen if they cannot find work before their compensation payments run out? This is one of the most perplexing of reconversion problems, especially in view of the growing public agitation against discrimination for reasons of race, color or sex.

THE problem of surplus plan is dramatized by Willow Run, the \$100,000,000 Government-owned factory in which Henry Ford built Liberators and super-bombers until a short time ago, employing some 40,000 workers. It is now closed down tight, except for a small force taking care of the storage of surplus aircraft. War-damaged planes are parked outside the plant on Mr. Ford's pre-war soya bean fields. Only a few hundred people are still living in Willow Run village, the model Government housing project which had a population of 25,000 during peak production less than two years ago.

What is to be done with Willow Run and the rest of the Government-owned surplus plants (Continued on Page 53)



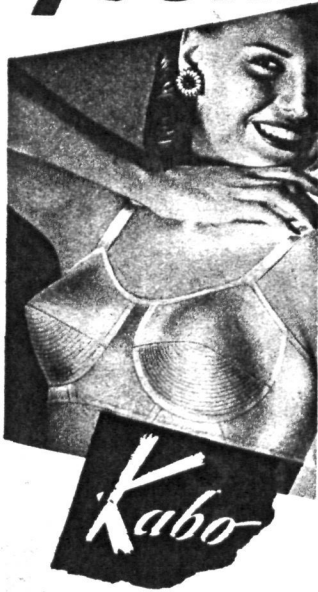
Awaiting reconversion — An interior view of the vast \$100,000,000



Unemployed men — Job seekers line up outside an employment

THE NEW YORK TIMES

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MAGAZINE, SEPTEMBER 9, 1945.

'Worst Crime of All'

(Continued from Page 9)

measures to be taken to deal with the evils of war. It is the European viewpoint which has long prevailed in shaping the world's attitudes toward war. The European outlook is in general pessimistic and passive. It views war as not only inevitable but a natural part, and indeed the ultimate expression, of competitive forces. Despite the conceded progress in international organization made at San Francisco, this underlying attitude is not greatly changed.

I REGRET to say that I find little in Europe to encourage the hope that it will not be the breeding ground for future wars. One of the leading European jurists recently said to me:

"After the last war everybody expected lasting peace. After this war no one does."

I quoted these words to one high in the councils of a different country, and he turned to me with a surprised look and asked:

"Don't you expect another war?"

Many realistic Europeans believe that Europe's scanty resources, and heavy populations, and tariff walls, and multitudes of competing nationalities, with long and deeply harbored hatreds, are provocations to war so great that they cannot long be resisted.

Europe, of course, is not without earnest and influential statesmen and scholars who are as devoted to the cause of outlawing aggressive war as any American. But their social and political environment is more skeptical and inert than is the American temper. European peoples are more

conscious than Americans that they are caught and carried along by the streams of history. They are somewhat fatalistic in accepting its trends as inevitable, and are easily convinced that "the more things change the more they are the same." Their endeavor, individually and collectively, is directed to fitting themselves comfortably and advantageously into the scheme and tradition of an existing order of things.

They are less obsessed than Americans with ambition to reform the world and have less confidence in their ability to do so. Hence, there is more disposition to accept future wars as natural and to be expected. With this philosophy as a major premise there is much to be said, for the series of attempts, expressed in various international conventions, to make the conduct of war as humane as possible.

THE outlook of most Americans, on the other hand, is not defeatist but challenging. It refuses to concede that war is either natural or inevitable. It believes that war can and should be outlawed because it is the worst crime of all, leading to and encompassing all the others. On the basis of this American philosophy it is insufficient to make criminal what are merely extreme means of waging war. If war is legally permitted at all, it must be for

the purpose of winning. If the alternative is total victory or total defeat, and surely there is no longer a middle ground, it is delusive to expect a nation to use all means of battle except those which make the difference between victory and defeat.

THE real crime is planning and making war, not merely failing to be chivalrous in its conduct, and the efforts of civilization should be directed toward its complete outlawry. Unless that effort succeeds it is hard to conceive of any human endeavor that is going to have lasting meaning.

The pursuit of ways to bolster the peace of the world has a most practical bearing on the future of the United States. Too many Americans, now that victory is here, will again live in a fool's paradise. Europeans are more realistic, and it is hard to say that their pessimism is not better sense than some of our optimism. A look at the world as it is shatters the illusion that the millennium is here.

Europe is now a continent without a war, it is also a continent with nothing that can be called a peace. Its cities from the Zuider Zee to the Volga River are in ruins. It was difficult for us to find a court house standing in Germany in which a trial could be held. The people of much of continental Europe, conqueror and conquered, are hungry, feverish and sullen. They are shabbily and inadequately clothed. Numberless families are homeless or far from their homes. Cities face the winter without fuel. Men of combat age have been killed or maimed.

As Foreign Minister Bevin recently pointed out, the people of those countries have been taught to disobey and to oppose the authority of the enemy occupying forces, and now it is "difficult to bring back a general acceptance of law and order as a natural thing." Although Europe today stands in need of everything, it is not so long ago, Mr. Bevin said, that there were "constant appeals to the people to produce as little as possible in order to hamper the work of the occupying forces." Now, they are slow to reverse the directions. "They were suddenly asked to acquire once more habits of work, energy and discipline."

NO state of affairs could offer more opportunity and temptation to those who seek power by capitalizing bitterness and unrest. It is little wonder that the new Labor Foreign Secretary of Britain warns: "One thing must be aimed at resolutely, however, and that is to prevent the substitution of one form of totalitarianism for another."

Although the task of the Allied Control Commission in establishing a social and political organization to govern this anarchic mass is staggering, yet it is encouraging to observe the intelligent and effective contribution which is being made by the

(Continued on Page 46)

Diploma

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*T. M. Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

'Worst Crime of All'

(Continued from Page 45)

American representative and staff.

In this explosive situation, quiescent only because resources are short and flesh so weary, the United States is not everywhere regarded so favorably as it regards itself. On the one hand, the war is often attributed to our failure adequately to support the last peace and, on the other, it is our power which is blamed for so much destruction.

The plain fact is that if the peace of the world breaks down, we must not rely on allies but on our own power to save us from defeat, and under modern conditions it is only a little less disastrous to the economic and social system to win a war than to lose one. All that we have and are depends on keeping the peace.

THE United States has long taken a leading part in advocating an international law which will outlaw aggressive war. The Kellogg-Briand pact of 1928, signed by Germany, Italy and Japan, as well as by the United States and practically all the nations of the world, purports to do this. By it those nations renounced war as an instrument of policy and bound themselves to seek the settlement of disputes only by pacific means and condemned recourse to war. Both before and after this historic pact there were repeated and responsible declarations by the leading nations that aggressive warfare is a crime.

But these pacific obligations were given only lip service by the Axis powers. Although signatory to the non-aggression treaties, they cynically embarked upon a career of aggression. Japan invaded Manchuria, Italy conquered Abyssinia, and aside from a few statesmen, such as Secretary Stimson, the world looked on with folded hands. Meanwhile, Hitler, on Jan. 30, 1933, became Chancellor of Germany and brought into power a group of men who did not accept the principle that there must be no resort to war as an instrument of policy. On the contrary, they adopted a long-range policy which they knew could be made effective only by war, and accordingly they proceeded to prepare for and to launch war. The plans came nearer to success than the world will readily believe, now when Germany's collapse is so complete.

NO one who knows how slow are the processes of evolution in the law will expect that a single instrument accepting aggressive war-making as criminal, or a single trial under it, will prevent wars. But by signing the agreement of Aug. 8, which recognizes the outlawry of aggressive war and provides for punishment of individuals who plot it, the responsible leaders of European peoples have joined us in at last exchanging the shadow for the substance. That is a tremendous step forward in international law.

It should be made clear that the instrument we have signed

does not contemplate an inquiry into the causes of the war. Whether Hitlerism was the sole cause of the war does not concern us, nor will there be any effort to apportion out responsibility for underlying conditions which caused the war. The questions of its ultimate causes is the riddle for history.

WHATEVER may have been the considerations that caused the defendants to plan and to launch the war, the doctrine of this agreement is that the planning and launching of an aggressive war is illegal, irrespective of any political, economic or other reasons for which justification is sought. The international tribunal established under the agreement is not required to go into the question whether Germany had real or fancied grievances. It need decide only whether an aggressive war was in fact launched.

The conditions that prevail in the world clearly impose upon us a duty to ourselves and our posterity to keep America so powerful that she can win any war that may start, and an equal duty never to flag or alter in the task of substituting pacific methods in place of war in the settlement of international grievances. Certainly we cannot doubt that the only way to make peace more secure is to substitute a rule of law for the rule of lawless force and international anarchy.

Nor can we doubt that if we are to preserve civilization this change must proceed rapidly in view of the great strides being made in the art of destruction. We have achieved a capacity to destroy in minutes all that is useful or beautiful in a world that has been building over the centuries. We are not the only people who may bring forward new inventions to make devastation more complete and rapid. The peril of war ought universally to be recognized and every effort directed to its prevention. That effort must succeed or we shall sink into utter despondency as to any enduring progress.

IF we can root out of men's thinking the idea that all wars are legal, and if we can substitute the conviction that aggressive war is criminal, at last we will have mobilized the forces of law on the side of peace. And if we give to all men in positions of power over the lives of people and the policy of nations an object-lesson that the making of aggressive war is the way to the prisoner's dock, we may somewhat change the psychology of statesmanship.

Too long, in too many parts of the world, it has been a crime to advocate peace in the midst of war. It is time that it became a crime to make war when the world so needs peace.

Only if we do this will we give real meaning to this war. Only in this way can we justify the casualties we have suffered and the destruction and wretchedness that we have caused.

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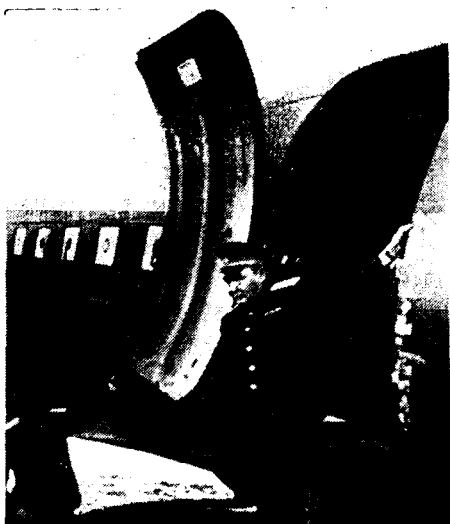
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Food is an interesting subject in "News of Food," every day in The New York Times.

THE NEW YORK TIMES



Radiophoto
Marshal T. Choibalsan, Prime Minister and Minister of War of the Mongolian People's Republic, on a recent trip to Moscow. He was one of the first Mongolian revolutionary leaders in Urga (now Ulan Bator) in 1919

The excellent horsemanship and the number of splendid animals unquestionably played an important role in the Mongolian cavalry's raid of over a distance of 1,000 kilometers, much of it in combat with the enemy. These horsemen averaged more than 50 kilometers a day.

Availing itself of the experience of the Red Army, the Mongolian cavalry augmented its skill and has proved able to deal with the most complex problems of modern warfare. Extraordinary skill, for example, was shown in coordinated actions with mechanized units and aircraft.

All this, added to the devotion to country displayed by the youth, renders the Mongolian Army one of the best fighting forces. The Japanese have more than once learned this lesson to their sorrow. They were soundly thrashed in 1936 when they attempted to strike at the Mongolian center of Adykdolon. In the battles of Hazkin Gol, Mongolian units fought side by side with the Red Army. The outcome of that engagement is common knowledge.

In its historic thrust toward Lyaodun Bay, the Mongolian Army once again has displayed its splendid fighting qualities. Its role in the victories won in the Far East has been highly praised in Orders of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Generalissimo Stalin.

Examinations in Suvorov Schools

The great General Suvorov is the model determining the life, studies and behavior of the selected members of the military training academy named for the Russian hero.

The Suvorov precept, "Difficult in training, easy in combat," is faithfully adhered to by the pupils of the school.

Despite their youth many of them before entering the school had gone to war. Volodya Savchenko was a ten-year-old youngster when he went into combat. This is how it happened. When Red Army troops marched through the streets of his native Volga city, Volodya joined them. Adopted by an Army unit, he became their pupil; with these fighting men he followed the roads of war, with them he went on reconnaissance.

At Odessa, Volodya, taken prisoner by the Germans, was sentenced to death by shooting. But the lad escaped. He lived to fight for the liberation of Tiraspol and Ismail from the German-fascist aggressors. Before storming Ismail the Commander assembled his soldiers and told them about the historical battle which once had taken place at the walls of Ismail fortress and the great victory won by General Suvorov and his Russian soldiers.

It was the first time young Volodya had heard Suvorov's name. Here with his fellow-soldiers, he vowed not to disgrace the memory of the great general. It was during the storming of Ismail that the boy was wounded. After his recovery the young soldier who had traversed the difficult but heroic road to the Danube was enrolled in the Suvorov Military Training School in Saratov.

Twelve-year-old Vasya Goncharov is another pupil. Before the war his father worked at the Stalingrad Krasny Oktyabr plant. When the German-fascist hordes approached the Volga and threatened the city of Stalingrad, among the workers who rose to defend the stronghold was Vasya's father. Four hundred Hitlerites were targets for the fire of sniper Goncharov before the brave soldier was killed. For his distinguished services the Soviet Government conferred on him the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

The father's heroic deed is a living example to his son.

"I carry my dad's picture with me," says Vasya Goncharov. "I want to be like him in every way."

* * *

Young Suvorovites are being taught the glorious battle traditions of their heroic forefathers.

Lieutenant General Voznyuk of Tirnev sent a letter to his son at the training school: "Be brave and decisive, courageous and daring, as befits a Suvorovite. Most of all, treasure your honest name, your honor, your dignity, the most precious possessions that a man, and especially an officer, has."

The training program demands seriousness and discipline of the students.

In composition, Vitya Sobolevsky writes: "I am studying to become a cultured and educated officer of the Red Army." Vitya has completed with honor his first year of study at the training school, and received the commendation of the Command for outstanding progress. Other Suvorovites, too, display the same diligence in studying Russian, mathematics, physics, geometry, geography, zoology, history, literature, foreign languages, military subjects and dancing, music and singing.



Cadets of a Suvorov military school

Vol. V, No. 91, September 6, 1945

WAR CRIMINALS IN PRISONERS' DOCK



**IN THE WAKE OF
THE GERMANS—**
The inhabitants of
an occupied village
forced to witness a
public whipping

PRAVDA writes editorially August 29:

The first list of war criminals subject to be tried by the international military tribunal has been published in accordance with the Berlin Conference Decisions.

Millions of people in all the world will learn this news with a feeling of deep satisfaction. The culprits responsible for disasters, for such sufferings of humanity as human language fails to describe, have been handed over to justice to answer for their crimes.

The three mainstays of Hitlerite Germany are represented on the first list of war criminals: the Nazi party, the generals, the plutocracy. This is the clique which bears direct responsibility for the war. In cold blood, together with those who shared their outlook, they planned, prepared and for several years waged a bandit war aimed at winning world domination for predatory German imperialism. In the name of establishing this supremacy they enslaved states and exterminated peoples. Openly and brazenly they trampled upon all the norms of international law, all the elementary rules and customs of war, observed even by savages.

The Hitlerite ringleaders are directly responsible for countless and heinous atrocities which have no precedent in the history of mankind. They deliberately or-

ganized, reared and trained gangs of executioners who murdered nearly 25 million people in horrible Gestapo torture chambers, in death camps, in bloody "extermination camps." Using the most diverse methods, from shooting to torture, from gallows to gas chambers and burning their victims alive, these executioners massacred women, children and old people, war invalids and prisoners.

They developed a technique of mass murder the thought of which makes one's blood curdle in one's veins. They invented man-hating theories to justify mass murder. They made a principle of brutality and a valor of barbarity. The posts of the Maidanek extermination camp were be-

decked with the line from the German state anthem, the commandment of brutal nationalism: "Deutschland Uber Alles."

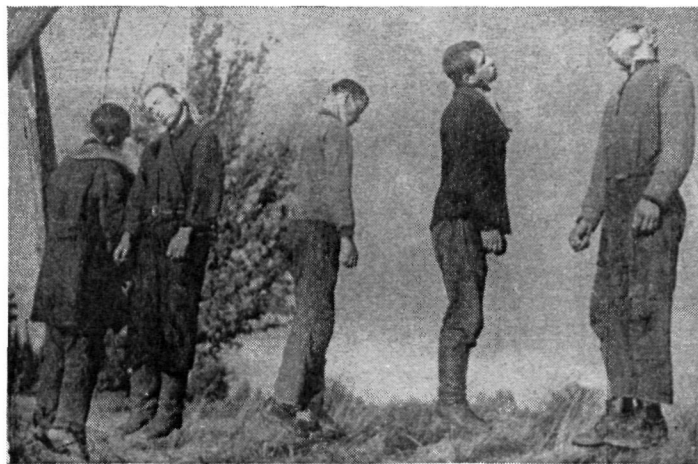
What happened afterward to Germany was a triumph of justice. The edifice of an empire built on the posts of Maidanek crumbled. Now we must see to it that German imperialism and its horrid progeny—fascism—perish under these ruins. And to this end the criminals must be punished, the Hitlerite beasts must be destroyed. Both reason and justice demand this.

The problem of the responsibility of war criminals arose almost at the very moment the first Hitlerite bombs burst over the towns and villages of peaceful countries. The lawful feeling of justice demanded that those whose criminal will unleashed the sanguinary war be punished. The desire to punish the enemies of freedom and peace was inseparable from the very desire to win victory over these enemies.

Already in its notes of November 25, 1941, of January 6, 1942, and of April 27, of the same year, the Soviet Government placed the "entire responsibility for the inhuman and criminal actions of the German troops on the criminal Hitlerite government of Germany." These documents expressed the indignation of the Soviet people, justly demanding retribution.

On October 14, 1942, in reply to a joint note of the governments of the

The photograph of
the hanging of
these five Soviet
citizens was taken
from a German of-
ficer captured by
the Red Army



European countries overrun by the Germans, the Soviet Government again warned of the responsibility of the Hitlerite invaders and their accomplices for their crimes. The Soviet Government also announced that it "approves and shares the lawful desire expressed in the collective note it received to insure the turning over into the hands of justice and bringing to responsibility the culprits of the above crimes, and the execution of their sentences."

Even then the Soviet Government deemed it necessary immediately to put on trial by the special international tribunal and to punish with all severity of the criminal law any one of the apprehended leaders of fascist Germany. It believed that it is "bound to regard the stern punishment of these already exposed leaders of the criminal Hitlerite gang as an urgent duty to the countless widows and orphans, near and dear ones of those innocent people brutally tortured to death and murdered on the instructions of the above criminals."

As far back as October, 1943, the Moscow Declaration set forth the order of trial of the war criminals, in accordance with the place where their crimes were committed. The chief war culprits, whose crimes are not associated with any one particular geographic locality, are to be tried by the international military tribunal.

The Hangmen of Europe

Twenty-four Hitlerite cannibals figure on the first list of the war criminals. Their leader—Hitler—is not among them. For a time he has concealed his hide in some hole, fearing popular wrath. Goebbels is also absent, but the other leaders, companions-in-arms and accomplices of the chief bandit are here. Goering, Hess, Ribbentrop, Ley, Rosenberg, Frank, Neurath, Seyss-Inquart—hangmen of Europe, fascist "ideologists" and "theoreticians," authors of delirious racial theories and plans for extermination of peoples, organizers of the plunder of Europe, of her ruin, designers of her present poverty, half-witted fakery and maniacs, enslavers and cold-blooded murderers of absolutely guiltless people.

This list includes fascist generals and

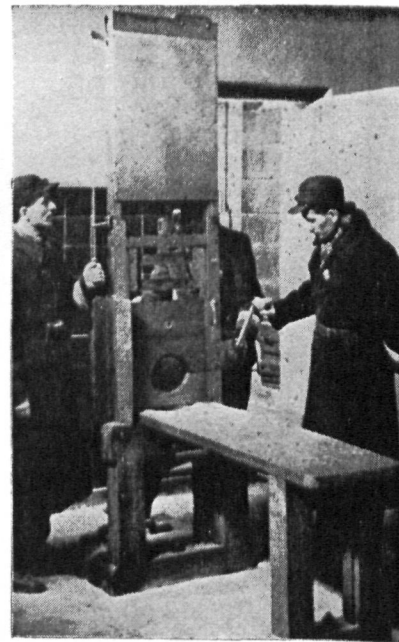
admirals, representatives of the Prussian military caste, carriers of the brutal traditions of German bandit imperialism. Among them are the "Fuehrer's successor" Gross Admiral Doenitz, Field Marshal Keitel, Gross Admiral Roder, Colonel General Jodl. Closely tied to this group of military bandits are German war industry magnates, first accomplices in the military brigandage. This is Krupp in the first place, representing in this list of German plutocrats the munitions barons for whose interests—selfish interests—Germany unleashed wars for world domination. Then comes Schacht.

All these degenerates disavow any connections with politics, posing as "businessmen," "economists," etc. Vain efforts! These gentlemen are too closely connected, in too "businesslike" a manner, with the professional murderers and bandits of the so-called "government" of Hitlerite Germany, are too deeply embedded in the dirt and baseness of the monstrous crimes of the Hitlerite hangmen to be able to escape severe retribution.

Perhaps from the legal viewpoint it is possible to differentiate the degree of responsibility of the individual criminals. But in the conscience of our people and of all freedom-loving peoples the crimes of every one of these Hitlerite leaders are so heinous and crying that there cannot be any different degrees of punishment for these beasts. Humanity's conscience is too deeply shocked by the monstrous villainies of the German-fascist murderers, by their sanguinary, unparalleled brutality and refined inhumanity.

The conscience of the peoples who crushed the adder of fascist barbarity, who destroyed the fascist beast and smashed his den, demands that the sword of human justice strike mercilessly at the heads of humanity's hateful enemies—the leaders, organizers, inspirers, blood-stained murderers of the peoples, nailed to the pillory of the international military tribunal. And not only because the blood of countless victims of the Hitlerite assassins cries for vengeance.

Punishment of the leaders of the Hitlerite gang, punishment of the war criminals is not only retribution. It is justice. The peoples await justice, and demand that it be done expeditiously and rigidly.



Justice as meted out by the fascists. This guillotine was found in the Poznan prison where Poles, Russians and Jews were brutally tortured



Row after row of bodies in Danzig. These victims of the Hitlerites were found in the vicinity of the shipyards

Kamchatka Volcano Station

By Docent Semyon Rudnikh



ERUPTING HILLS OF KAMCHATKA—Avachinsky Volcano, in the Far Northeast; (right) The smoke indicates these hills are still active

The Academy of Sciences volcano station in the Far Eastern region of the USSR among the hills of Kamchatka, lies near a picturesque forest east of the village of Kliuchi.

In Kamchatka there are 129 volcanoes—of which 20 are active in the solfataric stage—68 groups of hot springs and 17 large geysers. The highest and most active volcano is Kliuchi, which has had about 50 eruptions during the 240 years that it has been known to us. It is about 15,000 feet above sea level.

The buildings of the volcano station were erected on the northern slopes of Kliuchi Mountain on September 1, 1935. Higher up, at a height of about 8,000 feet, there is a hut where parties visiting the crater may rest, and which serves as a base for observations of short duration.

The station is engaged in the study of the volcanoes themselves and of tectonics. One of the most important subjects is the tectonics of the Aleutian and Kamchatka arcs, which form the junction between the world's two greatest land masses.

During the ten years that the station has been in existence, it has compiled geological maps showing the past history of the volcanoes, has studied the products of the volcanoes and has made constant observations of their present activities.

Several volcanic eruptions have occurred in Kamchatka in this period, the

most interesting being that observed by the scientists at their own Kliuchi Volcano.

V. F. Popkov, a geologist, and I. Z. Ivanov, a chemist, undertook to drift with the lava stream in order to measure the temperature of the liquid lava and to collect the gases formed. These two enthusiasts walked across the hardening lava while the crust under their feet was at a temperature between 270 degrees and 300 degrees centigrade. The crust itself was so soft that it was possible to push an iron rod through it. At a depth of 40 centimeters the temperature of the lava was 870 degrees centigrade. Frequent bubbles formed on the crust of the lava which burst and exuded gas. The scientists tried to catch the escaping gases, but every time they covered the aperture the bubble burst at the sides and the gases escaped without entering their receptacles. They obtained samples of gases from the depths of the lava stream and found that they consisted mainly of water vapor, about 50 per cent being HCl and other gaseous acids. The temperature of the lava at the point where the gases were taken at a depth of 45 centimeters was 800 degrees centigrade. The lowest temperature at which the lava remained plastic was 690 degrees.

Popkov and Ivanov stayed on the moving lava stream for about an hour and drifted some two kilometers with it; they

measured the temperature at several points, took samples of gases, and returned safely to lava from a previous eruption that was already solid.

During an eruption of the Biliukaya Volcano, Popkov and a local worker, Romanov, remained on the brink of the crater and watched the eruption. Popkov was able to write a description of the state of a volcano crater during an eruption as a result of these observations. Called up for service in the Red Army, Popkov held the rank of lieutenant. He was killed in action in November 1941.

The volcano station publishes a bulletin of its investigations.

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warfare, and Hjalmar Schacht, the Nazi's financial wizard.

It continued with Nazi fanatics like Alfred Rosenberg, the party's pagan "philosopher," Julius Streicher, its most virulent anti-Semite, and Robert Ley who led the Labor Front. The governors and gauleiters of occupied countries were down for trial; so were the top army and navy commanders who collaborated with the Nazis. Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, head of the great Krupp firm, was the only industrialist listed so far; Martin Bormann, Hitler's secretary, was the only defendant not yet officially captured although the Soviets indicated he had been caught.

Most of the prisoners awaited their trials in one-man cells in the massive city jail on the edge of Nuremberg. Almost to a man, they still idolized Hitler, but at least half of the group now displayed an interest in religion. Dr. Hans Frank, the vicious governor general of occupied Poland, was the most eager Bible reader. Streicher was the most unrepentant. Göring was docile after early outbursts against prison food. Admiral Nicholas Horthy, described by the head jailer as "the only sassy devil in the lot," stormed at his guard: "Remember—I am Regent of Hungary!"

By autumn, the Allies hope, the first of the Nazi criminals will be moved from jail to the Nuremberg Palace of Justice. There, in a third-floor courtroom, now enlarged to measure 90 by 40 feet, some 500 people will watch the world's first international war-criminal trials.

Vidkun the Barefaced

Norwegian alienists and neurologists X-rayed the brain of Vidkun Quisling and declared him sane and normal, except for polyneuritis brought on by an excessive use of alcohol or narcotics, or—less likely—a lack of vitamins. The jury at his trial for treason took a day off to inspect his sumptuous hilltop home near Oslo, the 30-room Gimle ("home of the Viking gods"), and his country hideaway, Eagle's Nest, both stuffed with tapestries, paintings, and other loot from the Norwegian royal palace, museums, and confiscated estates. But the pasty-faced traitor, his head throbbing from the medical examination, showed no sign of guilt. Instead he continued last week to stall off in every way possible the end of his trial, his inevitable conviction and execution.

Quisling first challenged the legality of Norwegian capital-punishment statutes. Then he protested the replacement of his ailing defense counsel by the lawyer's assistant. Finally Quisling whined that mental cruelties were inflicted on him while he was in prison, and complained: "I also have lost 40 pounds in weight." The presiding judge observed that most Norwegians had lost weight under Quisling's regime, particularly



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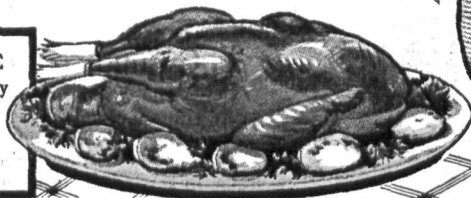
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European

Reichsmarshal's Ride: This club car, temporary rest stop for two GI's, was only one of ten that made up Hermann Göring's luxurious private train. One coach was filled with the best wines and liquors, another with phonograph records. Each sleeping section had a huge bathroom and dressing room; a radio was in every room.

those he had ordered placed in concentration camps. "Sit down!" he shouted, and Quisling was silent.

The deadline for Quisling's execution was Oct. 8, when Norway will hold its first general election in nine years. But despite general impatience and pressure from Norwegian leftists who complained he was getting "too fair" a trial, the government moved deliberately. Summoning up the case of Norway against its betrayer, Annaeus Schjoedt, the public prosecutor, asked for Quisling's death on three counts. Though a score of witnesses (including Nazi war criminals) had testified to his guilt, one man still in hiding could make the case complete. He was a 35-year-old Storm Trooper general, Hans Wilhelm Scheidt, who served as liaison man between Quisling and Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi "philosopher."

As Schjoedt demanded the death penalty for both military and civil treason, Quisling's flabby face turned deep red. In silent, impotent rage, he clutched his pencils and notebooks before the end of the four-and-a-half-hour summation. Then, with his blue eyes glaring at the prosecutor, he left the courtroom with an air of injured dignity, wounded, frightened, too angry to answer.

Groundwork for the League

The Preparatory Commission of the United Nations got down to business in Church House in London last week. Seven out of ten subcommittees prepared to set up the different sections of the or-

ganization created in San Francisco, Edward R. Stettinius Jr., chief American delegate to the commission, landed in Southampton from the Queen Mary with his wife and three sons.

Until the United Nations charter is ratified by 28 of the 50 nations that drafted it (so far 16 have ratified), the commission will lay the groundwork of the new world league. Meanwhile Stettinius suggested one job for the future Security Council. The United States, he said, may give control of the atomic bomb to the Council, to enforce world peace through international responsibility.

No Berlin Black Market, Money-Sated GI's Grieve

Joseph S. Evans, NEWSWEEK's chief European correspondent, sends this story of soldier trading in Berlin.

From jeeps to toilet paper, from playing cards to Parisian lingerie—it is still all available in Berlin's fantastic curb market.

The jeep brought 20,000 marks, but the sale did not stick. (The occupation mark is worth 10 cents.) MP's caught the GI seller, who was forced to refund the proceeds and now awaits court-martial while the Russian purchaser had to give up the jeep. Toilet paper—not even the soft kind—went for 200 marks to the Russians. Playing cards sold by the Germans are usually worth 100 marks with the Russians again the purchasers. Feminine

New Yorker, September 15, 1945



THE TALK OF THE TOWN

Notes and Comment

THIS is the only week in the year when we read aloud after dinner to our family. Our wife is sewing on name tags this week—those small red bylines that mothers set such store by in the naïve hope of distinguishing themselves in the eyes of a school laundry. She likes to be read to while sewing on tags, and this fall we are deep in "My Antonia," itself a lovely name tag for some little girl's mother to affix. The evenings with the Shimerdas and the Harlings and the hired girls of Black Hawk, Nebraska, are full of the undiminished beauty of Miss Cather's book and of the perennial sadness and dread of going back to school—a rich mood, belonging to mid-September. Although the critics and reviewers tell us of great new novels emerging almost daily from the presses, we don't find them, and it seems doubtful that we shall ever find another book that for us has the strength and simplicity of this one. And although



we are now old enough to meet September with a certain equanimity of spirit, we don't find that either, and we question whether we shall ever outgrow the fear of going back to school.

WE heard the other day that the war-crime trials are being held up because the floor of the Nuremberg courtroom is unsafe. We don't doubt this; a great many of Germany's underpinnings have been found to be untrustworthy. But we strongly suspect that the long delay in the war trials has been not so much because there was no solid floor under a certain courtroom as because there was no foundation under the new level of justice with which the

victorious nations are now fumbling. Here are a handful of accused individuals of great renown, obviously guilty of rank deeds against society. The job is



to make their trial seem legal and orderly and just when in fact they will have to be tried by makeshift processes and on charges of violating laws that are non-existent. The Allied peoples naturally want to punish these men as they deserve to be punished, and are determined to do so. In order to do it, they face the queer task of holding an individual responsible for an antisocial act on an international level. To what page of what statute book does the learned judge turn? There isn't any book. There isn't any page. All is virgin parchment—not a mark to go by. Not even a floor under the courtroom.

THE chief thing to remember about international law is that it is *not* law and has never worked. Whenever it has been called upon in a crisis, it has cracked and broken. It is not law, being unenforceable. The chief thing to remember about the laws of war is that they aren't law either. They are Queensberry rules, and there is no referee to break up the clinches. But the wonderful thing is that people are now feeling the need of the kind of law that could bring a man like Kurt Daluege to justice. They want the justice to bring him to. The justice is absent. The international government is absent. People are wondering what's the delay.

NOTHING that's going on today is more exciting than these Nuremberg trials. They will be more fascinat-

ing than reconversion, more significant than atomic energy. We find the idea of them exciting because they are the unconscious expression of the universal desire for a broader legal structure, and hence for a higher social structure. Inherent in these forthcoming trials is a new legal concept: individual responsibility for anti-human, or inhuman, acts. That can mean only one thing—government on a human (rather than a national) basis. If we can begin the construction of such a world, we can soon have the atom eating out of our hand.

IT would be a tremendous help if the lawyers and judges entrusted with the trials would state the matter candidly and tack a big ex-post-facto sign over the courtroom door. It would be a help, for instance, if people were to grasp that the trial of a Quisling or a Pétain differs essentially from the trial of a Goering or a Keitel. Quisling stood trial in Norway, on Norwegian law, charged with betraying his country. This was a standard matter of law and order. Goering will stand trial in no man's land, on no man's law, charged with befouling the earth. Only when people catch this distinction will they realize the potentialities of these trials. They are a hint of what may come, of the legal structure of a new world.

AS we listened to President Truman broadcasting his victory message to the troops on V-J Night, we wished he had included a paragraph or two from the article by Cord Meyer, Jr., in the current *Atlantic*. Meyer did a stretch with the United States Marines in the Pacific and later with the United States delegates in San Francisco. Of the latter experience he wrote:

I have described these provisions of the Charter because I wish to make one point so clear that no one can miss it: the International Organization cannot rely on its own power and authority in dealing with the most powerful nations of the world,

because it has been given none. Behind the façade of what I believe to be genuinely good intentions, there remains the basic condition of anarchy implicit in the existence of absolutely independent nations with large amounts of armed force at their disposal.

That would have been a good passage to read to the troops just before Bing sang "I'm Dreaming of a White Christmas." It is this "basic condition" that the United Nations Organization must hasten to improve, for as it is presently constituted the Organization has the authority of a yellow butterfly in a high wind. The people know this. The league must grow from league to union (as the name United implies). It must grow and gain authority, first basically through acquisition of federal power, then specifically through a proper use of this power. Then we can have all the white Christmases and international trials we want to. We can even

have a law making it dangerous for any man to be inhuman to any other man.

Delayed Reaction

HERE it is the middle of September and any number of valiant newspaper-strip heroes are still throwing everything they've got at the Japs. The delayed reaction was inevitable. The reason is that newspaper syndicates send out their mats of Sunday comics three or four weeks or more ahead of publication and the mats for weekday publication ten days or two weeks ahead, and the artists have to turn their work in weeks ahead of that. We had one of our assistants make a survey of the situation, and he reports that he found that most of the artists involved were philosophical. Frank Tinsley, who draws a strip called "Captain Yank," freely admitted having been caught out on a limb. "I didn't

expect the war to be over for another three or four months," he said. "For a while, though, I was beginning to think I was a seer. When the Japs shelled the West Coast from submarines, I had a strip about such a bombardment in the papers the next day—strips I'd happened to draw up months before. I guess I'm still lucky, at that. Captain Yank has been fighting with isolated guerrillas on the China coast. It's likely, isn't it, that he wouldn't hear about the end of the war for quite a while?"

Joe Palooka, who is drawn by Ham Fisher, has been busy trapping a couple of Nazis in the East Indies, in a small private war. He got the news of the Japanese surrender on August 20th, over a makeshift short-wave radio. He was enabled to do this through foresight on Fisher's part. For several weeks, Fisher had been inserting a scrap of dialogue into his strips that could be changed to record the end of hostilities without affecting the sense. A balloon in the August 20th strip was to have read, "Hey, son, we have just captured Borneo!" On telegraphic instructions, this was altered to "There's still a coupla islands where the Japs don't know the war's over!"

Dialogue can, with some difficulty, be changed, but our man could find only one other strip in which a balloon had been changed after the mats had been mailed to the papers. This was "Gasoline Alley," in which, one day recently, Skeezix and a neighbor were discussing black-market gas. "There is a black market" was made to read "There was a black market," and readers were spared a nasty jolt. Buz Sawyer, a darling *Journal-American* pilot, was saved from the jaws of death only late last month by the surrender. Tim Tyler is in the anomalous position of knowing on weekdays that the war is over but not on Sundays. He'll keep on fighting Sundays for some time, out of his peculiar necessity, and then ask for a discharge. It happened that none of these comic-strip heroes were fighting, on V-J Day, in a conventional military outfit, to which the news of surrender would have arrived promptly. Every artist our man spoke to attributed this to sheer foresight.

All the artists are now, of course, faced with the problems of quick reconversion. Milton Caniff, who draws "Terry and the Pirates" (some days after the Japs quit, Terry was still talking about the prospect of being shot down over enemy territory), told our man, "I don't know what the Army is going to do with young pilots like Terry. Why, Terry's never been away from the Orient. He's never had a leave,



"Welcome home, Captain. I'm from the Department of Internal Revenue."

Time, Sept. 17, 1945

FOREIGN NEWS

position parties, promised free elections.

Expected in Sofia soon from Moscow was another, better known Georgi Dimitroff, famed Communist international operative and onetime secretary of the former Communist International. Object of his mission: to organize the new Fatherland Front campaign. He would himself head the Communist slate.

FRANCE

The General & the Left

"Frenchmen and Frenchwomen," declared Charles de Gaulle on the 75th anniversary of the Third Republic, "you will soon launch the Fourth Republic!" The General's words opened an electoral



DE GAULLE
"Vote yes, yes!"

campaign whose outcome may well rank in significance with Labor's sweeping victory in Britain.

On Oct. 21, 25,000,000 French voters will elect a National Assembly. Through a referendum they will also answer two key questions: 1) Shall the new Assembly draft a constitution for a Fourth Republic? 2) If so, shall the Provisional Government (presumably De Gaulle's) continue to exercise full power while the constitution is being drafted?

General de Gaulle called for a vote of "yes" on both questions. The great weakness of the Third Republic, he said, was its political irresponsibility. In the 21 years between the two World Wars it had had 20 premiers and 45 cabinets. The General wanted a Fourth Republic of greater executive stability.

"Yes"—and "No." There was opposition from the left. The General defied it. To De Gaulle's office came a letter

from a Committee of Five, representing Communists, Socialists, Radical Socialists, the League for the Rights of Man and the General Confederation of Labor (*Confédération Générale du Travail*—France's C.I.O., claiming 3,500,000 members). The committee requested an interview to discuss France's electoral machinery, which leftists say gives the rural population a greater voice than city workers. The letter was signed by the C.G.T.'s burly, goateed Secretary General, Léon Jouhaux.

The General replied stiffly that he would not meet the committee. Its request shocked him. Reason: according to the law, M. Jouhaux's C.G.T. was a trade union, not a political party. Therefore it had no business meddling in electoral policies.

The left wing fumed. It wanted a Fourth Republic. But it did not want any lofty treatment. It talked of forcing a Cabinet crisis, then thought better of such a maneuver. It condemned the General's election machinery as "not conforming with true proportional representation."

Cried Léon Jouhaux's C.G.T.: De Gaulle's action was "authoritarian." Then, setting what might well be the leftist electoral line, it called on Frenchmen and Frenchwomen to vote "no" to the second question in the referendum.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A Traitor Dies

The trial of hated Dr. Josef Pfitzner, Czechoslovakia's No. 3 war criminal,* took three days. The greying, pasty-faced Czech historian, of German descent, who had served the Nazis as Lord Mayor of Prague, shrilly defended his collaboration, swore that he had been loyal to the Republic. The People's Court in Prague heard him patiently, weighed his words against his deeds: persecution of Jews, jailing of students, Germanizing of Czechs, toadying to Hitler. Then it sentenced him to death for high treason.

Three hours later the prisoner shuffled from the courthouse to a scarlet-draped gallows in a crowded public square. Three black-uniformed executioners—university students whom he had sent to concentration camp—stood waiting.

A murmur rippled through the tense crowd as the traitor reached the scaffold. The sentence was read again. The executioners lifted him by a leather strap under his armpits into the crowd's full view. They slipped the noose around his neck. Suddenly, in guttural German, Pfitzner half-shouted, half-croaked:

"I die for Germany!"

An angry executioner slapped the traitor's face, sprang the trap.

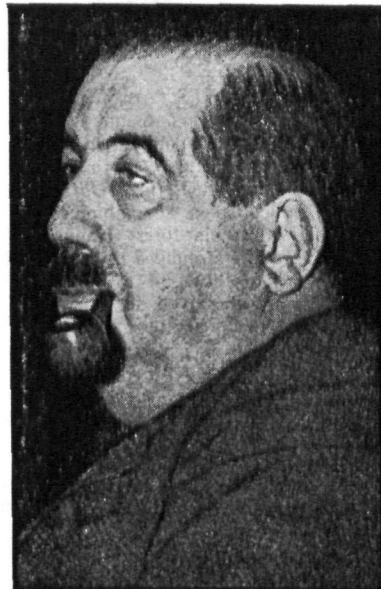
* No. 1: Governor Karl Hermann Frank. No. 2: Police General Kurt Daluege, successor to assassinated Reinhard (Hangman) Heydrich. Both are awaiting trial.

NORWAY

A Traitor is Condemned

Vidkun Quisling sobbed at the thought of Vidkun Quisling. In lachrymose lethargy, he listened as Attorney Henrik Bergh last week pleaded his hopeless case, tried to list his virtues. But even the conscientious lawyer had a hard time finding virtues in Quisling.

Then, pale as death, Quisling himself launched into a two-day plea for his life. He did not deny any of the state's major charges, but he claimed to have saved Norway from becoming a battlefield. He even boasted of his sentimental friendship with Hitler. With evangelical fervor he called himself a prophet and a patriot. His last



JOUHAUX
"Vote yes, no!"

feeble shout: "If my activity has been treason, then in God's name I hope that for the sake of Norway many of her sons will become the same kind of traitor."

Then the trial was over. Seven judges and jurors (among them a plumber, a factory worker, a bookkeeper, a barber) retired to judge a man long ago judged by the world. For three days and three nights, Vidkun Quisling waited.

Frowning and blushing slightly, he heard the unanimous verdict: guilty. The life he claimed to have sacrificed for Norway would be ended by a firing squad.

POLAND

Fission

The Polish Peasant Party, once the largest in Poland, began to show distinct signs of fission last week. Through the German occupation it stood stoutly against pressure from without; now it was

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FOREIGN NEWS

the Ruhr coal and steel industries. Said the British: "Such men represent the worst in Germany . . . never hesitated to use their vast power to support dubious political movements . . . assisted in the growth of the National Socialist Party."

In the American-occupied zone, control authorities kicked out 40,000 Berlin block, street and house leaders. They had originally been appointed by the Russians to search out known Nazis, handle ration cards, report on available labor. The American report was that the small-fry German leaders had begun to wield power in their neighborhoods just as arrogantly as their predecessors in Germany's notorious block organizations had done under Hitler; some of them had actually worked under the Nazi regime. (The British still held to the block leaders, warned them not to consider themselves little kings but servants of the people.)

In Berlin the U.S. Army got tough with municipal officers. A month ago the Army had told city officials to get the people out rounding up wood to heat their homes this winter. Berlin's *Oberbürgermeister* dallied, spoke of combining wood-gathering with regular forest thinning. Last week U.S. soldiers rounded up laborers in Berlin, packed them off to Grunewald. There they were given saws and axes, told to get busy. They did.

RUMANIA

East & West

Round the head of young King Michael swirled a political blizzard. Angry words, which freely bandied his royal name, flew back & forth. The disputants were the Big Three.

Moscow started the name-calling. Moscow was good & mad at Michael. In asking the Big Three to help set up a representative Rumanian Government in place of Premier Peter Groza's Communist-controlled Cabinet, Michael had stepped on a tender Kremlin corn.

Izvestia, in an editorial splashed across its front page, denounced the royal action as "not spontaneous." Charged *Izvestia*: the King acted under U.S. and British pressure, later admitted to the Soviet representatives that he had no complaint against the Groza Government. "Really," said *Izvestia*, "it was a straight case of the Allied representatives going to the King and telling him their governments would not recognize Rumania nor conclude a peace treaty unless the Groza Government was let out. . . ."

London talked back just as toughly. Said a bristling British spokesman: "We certainly did not apply any pressure on the King. . . . Our views about the Groza Government have been well known to the Russians since they removed the Radescu Government early this year and installed the present regime." Next, United Press, in a Bucharest dispatch filed abroad to

TIME, SEPTEMBER 17, 1945

avoid Rumanian censorship, reported that strong-arm Andrei Vishinsky, ace Russian trouble shooter, had given King Michael just two hours to dismiss Radescu, install Groza.

"Cordial, Friendly." Russia followed its slap at Michael with a pat for Groza. In Moscow the Rumanian Premier and his Government received an elaborate endorsement. Welcomed to the capital on a scale customarily reserved for top diplomatic personages, the pleased, impressed Premier intoned: "I am happy that for the first time I tread the Moscow earth. Light comes from the east."

Foreign Commissar Viacheslav Molotov was at the airport to meet Groza and his

week, still in the reassuring company of Mr. Barnes, Dimitroff and his wife emplaned from the capital, with Russian blessings and Bulgarian passports.

Dimitroff, whose opposition to the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front Government of Premier Kimon Georgieff started him on his enforced travels, was bound for Italy to rest up. Barnes was headed for London, to report to the Council of Foreign Ministers on the reluctantly postponed Bulgarian elections. Before he left Sofia, spunky, outspoken Maynard Barnes spent two luminous hours talking to Tsola Dragoitcheva, Bulgaria's top woman Communist and top Fatherland Front boss. In brightly lit words he made



RUMANIA'S GROZA & FRIENDS*
He saw the light.

Sovfoto

entourage of Ministers. Later Generalissimo Stalin entertained him at a "cordial, friendly" dinner at the Kremlin.

The official junket set an imposing Soviet seal on the Groza Government, just before the Council of Foreign Ministers was due to weigh its records in London (see INTERNATIONAL). But Rumania, like Bulgaria (see below), needed the imprimatur of the U.S. and Britain before it could get the peace treaty it sought. Not one but all of the Big Three were now acting tough. If Premier Groza had found light in the east, King Michael might also find it in the west.

BULGARIA

The Dimitroffs

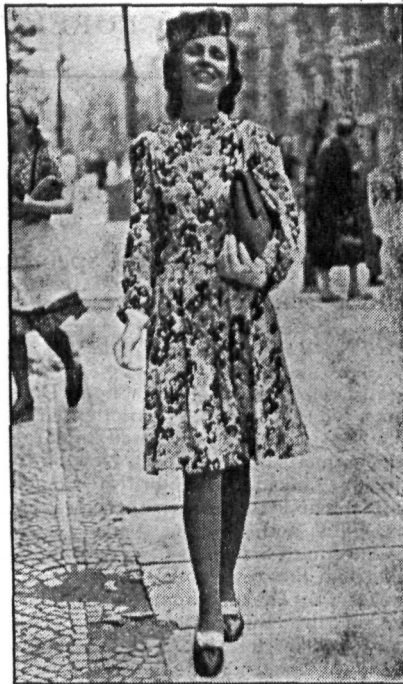
Even among Balkan politicians, who are much sought after by direct-actionists, Dr. Georgi Dimitroff, 43-year-old ex-Secretary General of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, seems to bear a charmed life. Four years ago he escaped German arrest by leaving his country in a load of oranges shipped out by British diplomats. Four months ago he escaped Russian arrest, this time by falling inside the opened door of the U.S. political representative in Sofia, Maynard B. Barnes (TIME, June 11). Last

it clear that the U.S. and Britain would not recognize the new Government unless they were satisfied there would be a free election.

Demands & Promises. Promptly the opposition redoubled its activities. Dimitroff's onetime Agrarian Party colleague, General Nicola Petkoff, began to organize his own party, probably in cooperation with the opposition wings of three other parties (Radical, Democratic, Social Democratic). Opposition leaders demanded that the present election law be amended to conform with the Constitution (*i.e.*, minimum voting age be raised from 19 to 21, minimum age for candidates from 23 to 30), insisted that the key Ministry of the Interior be transferred to a "neutral" incumbent.

The Central Committee of the Fatherland Front cordially promised to study the reforms proposed. Volko Tchervenkoff, member of the Communist Politburo, proclaimed: the Fatherland Front, having won the world's praise by agreeing to postpone the elections, would now win still more by giving the opposition every chance for a fair campaign. At week's end the Cabinet legalized the four op-

* Russia's Foreign Commissar Viacheslav Molotov, Foreign Vice Commissar Andrei Vishinsky.



International

Stolen Styles: Berlin women have finally scored a fashion triumph. In dresses accumulated while the rest of Europe starved, they promenade through the West End. The dresses use plenty of material. They are whole, if not stylish.

look like American prairie schooners. From the Sudetenland the Czechs have already expelled about 300,000 Germans and only at British and American insistence have halted the process. But they hope to dump a few more millions into the Reich.

Pigs in the Pen

Every 30 seconds last week American Army guards walked past the cell blocks of the Nuremberg city jail, peering through the small porthole of each cell door. Inside each one they saw a small wooden table and chair, a wire bunk with straw mattress, and a flush toilet—plus an unhappy potential defendant or material witness in the international war-criminal trials now scheduled to begin in November.

The Simple Life: Every morning the prisoners swept their cells, were shaved by a German prisoner of war, and later marched up and down the prison exercise yard for twenty minutes, alone. Through an enclosed walk, built to protect them from attempts at assassination, they went from the jail to the courthouse for questioning.

Prison fare was simple but nourishing, to keep the defendants in good condition for trial. On a typical day, hot cereal and bread were served for 6 a.m. breakfast; vegetable soup, corned-beef hash, peas and carrots, potatoes, and a beet salad for dinner; bean stew, bread, and cof-

fee for supper. Once a month, for discipline, the war criminals ate Army K rations.

The Plaintive Guilty: Hermann Göring, slimmer and cured of his paracodin habit, had lost his sallow look and his hands no longer trembled, though he still scowled or burst into tears, at abrupt commands. Each week he wrote a plaintive letter to his wife.

Hans Frank, governor general of Poland, no longer sobbed out his innocence but blubbered: "I am a murderer. I am a bad man." Joachim von Ribbentrop complained regularly of headaches and toothaches and whined that he was a "sick old man." Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, the calmest of the lot, led the military prisoners in meticulous care for his uniform.

Most of the prisoners, after their first despondency, were variously belligerent or disdainful. All hunched at their tables for long hours, writing the memoirs designed to save their own skins by blaming everything on their accomplices when they came before the international court of justice.

Wages of Treason

"I am Quisling the patriot," said Norway's betrayer. "I have done nothing wrong. I prevented Norway and the north from becoming a theater of conflict and here I stand charged with treason . . . Hitler gave me his word of honor . . . It

is certainly not my fault that Germany did not win the war."

For six hours last week Vidkun Quisling made this last plea for his life in an Oslo courtroom. With evangelical fervor he compared himself to the Apostle Paul, denied none of the charges, and demanded his freedom as the "savior of Norway." Convicted or not, said Quisling, "if my activity has been treason, then in the name of God I hope that for Norway's sake many of her sons will become the same kind of traitor."

This week the show closed, with the expected finale: convicted of treason, Vidkun Quisling was sentenced to death.

'Look, He Weeps': The Quisling trial was conducted with dignity by the Norwegian authorities. Nonetheless, they could not prevent it from becoming a mecca for thrill seekers. A NEWSWEEK correspondent sends this description of the scene:

"Every prominent visitor tries to get a courtroom ticket, and usually succeeds. Movie actresses, track stars, and even a sextet of United States congressmen freshly arrived in Oslo made a beeline for the courtroom where they could divide their attention between Quisling in his box and Gunder Hagg, who was in Oslo to fulfill a running engagement. On the second day of the trial the Swedish movie star Viveca Lindfors stole the front page from Quisling in one Oslo newspaper, which ran a three-column cut showing her gazing at Quisling.

"Smartly dressed women bring binocu-

• FOREIGN AFFAIRS •

Crime and Punishment: Our Food Not Enough to Halt Reich Famine

Despite Starvation Specter, The Germans Show They're Far From Governing Themselves

This was Germany's lowest hour. Down the long, broad Charlottenburger Chaussee rolled the armored might of the conquerors of the Reich. New 65-ton Russian tanks, 25-ton British Comets, French-manned American machines, and the light and medium tanks of the United States Sixteenth Cavalry rumbled past. On the reviewing stand Marshal Gregory K. Zhukoff, Supreme Commander in the Russian zone, and Gen. George S. Patton Jr. of the American Third Army received the salutes. As the American armor went past, Zhukoff, his gold-braided blue-green uniform weighted with medals, leaned over and pumped the hand of General Patton, who was resplendent in pink riding breeches, polished boots, white gloves, and glittering helmet lining.

The First Mile Back: The display of military might in Berlin underlined the increasing severity of Allied policy in the Reich. In Frankfurt former executives of the I. G. Farbenindustrie were hauled in a coal truck from jail to American headquarters for interrogation. One of the Farben executives washing windows in his prison with plain soap and water plaintively asked that his captors at least give him some of the Farben window-washing fluid—"It's wonderful."

In the British zone some 40 executives of the onetime great Ruhr-Westphalian coal combine were arrested, presumably for trial as war criminals. They had previously been used to help in reviving coal production in the Ruhr. In Berlin the United States Military Government ended part of the little self-government allowed the Germans. The system of having block, street, and house leaders, which had carried over from the Nazi regime, was abolished in the American section. These 40,000 "leaders" were charged with the Nazi habits of exercising petty tyrannies and compelling people to attend political meetings. This indicated the long road the German people still had to travel before attaining self-government.

If Winter Comes: All these measures were tied in with carrying out the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration. As far as rooting out Nazis or Nazi-minded

Germans from business and government was concerned, the work of the Allied military governments has not been too difficult. Their real troubles begin with the problem of feeding the Germans this winter. Week by week the prospect becomes grimmer. From Berlin, Joseph S. Evans, NEWSWEEK's chief European correspondent, cabled: "Many Germans are going to starve this winter and some will starve to death. This will happen despite the fact that we will send food to Germany to prevent mass starvation, as General Eisenhower has recently revealed." This is what NEWSWEEK's London bureau had to say: "Reliable officers who have toured most of the British zone say bluntly there is bound to be starvation there during the coming winter and take a pessimistic view of health prospects."

From the French zone a correspondent for The London Sunday Observer reported: "The French Government, which insists on ruling a large part of Germany, is unable at this stage to produce the means, men, plans, and material equipment necessary for the task." Germans are living on 800 calories daily, he said. French troops get not only food but houses and transport from German sources. Since most food stocks were moved east of the Rhine during the German retreat, winter looks desperate. The mass looting from farmers that occurred

when the French first entered is now frowned on, but Brig. Gen. Pierre Armand Billotte, Military Governor of Hesse-Nassau, says he has had no directives from Paris on what action he should take.

Significance

Allied officials still do not have a very clear view of the exact food situation in the Reich. However, it adds up to about this: The British some time ago estimated that they would be forced to import about 2,000,000 tons of food into their zone during the coming year. Since then the heavy August rains have left the bread-grain crop 20 per cent under normal, fodder 30 per cent below, and the oil-seed crop 30 to 50 per cent.

The United States zone is somewhat better off, since Bavaria has always been one of the Reich's best productive areas. However, the population of the American zone has increased some 25 per cent until it now numbers between 15,000,000 and 18,000,000 persons. The Russian zone theoretically should fare well, since it normally has a food surplus, but much of its livestock and agricultural machinery has been shipped away by the Red Army. The worst spot, by general agreement, will be Berlin itself.

The food problem has been complicated by the fact that the Reich has lost about 20 per cent of its area in the east of Poland and that some 12,000,000 to 14,000,000 German refugees will be dumped into this smaller Germany. The majority of them have been coming from the area that was ceded to Poland. They arrive by the trainload in Berlin, where they simply camp amidst the rubble before taking trains into the British or American zones. Other thousands of Germans trek over the dusty roads from Silesia in long lines of covered wagons that



Associated Press

Retribution: These German Silesian refugees, some of the millions pouring back into the Reich, add to the already drastic winter food problem

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lars through which they observe Quisling's every expression. These women felt amply repaid for their trouble during two days when the self-pitying collaborator, speaking in his own defense, often wept. Every time he shed tears there were exclamations of 'Look, see, he cries, he weeps,' from women spectators. Judge Erik Solem gave these noisemakers a few dirty looks, but they did not register—the women were too busy taking in Quisling's every change of expression to notice the judge. A pair of newlyweds from Stockholm spent their entire honeymoon listening to the trial."

Would You Do It at Home?

In August 1944 the average Frenchman considered the average GI formidable. In August 1945 the same Frenchman looked upon the same GI as almost insupportable. He complained against GI drunkenness and rowdiness and tended to blame the black market, shortages of food, coal, clothing, housing, hotel and office space, high prices—everything but the weather—on American soldiers.

His articulate press fed the fire with articles ranging from the serious accusation that the Americans deliberately burned surplus Army stocks in France, to humorous pieces that Parisians decorated their bars with mirrors to provoke soldiers into shooting holes in the glass. But when President Truman sharply rebuked French newspapers during General de Gaulle's aid-seeking mission to Washington (NEWSWEEK, Sept. 3), they promptly dropped all discussion of GI's.

Friendship in French: Last week de Gaulle was home again and Paris papers judged the need for diplomatic caution had ended. The Parisian *Libéré* introduced a new line when it thanked Amer-

ican troops for their part in the liberation of France, then added the ingenuous hope that United States soldiers "out of their uniforms, will return as tourists"—a sentiment expressed by the French after the last war with lucrative results. Pierre Lazareff, the Americanized editor of *France-Soir*, took up the defense of the GI's with an article explaining French-GI mistrust and misunderstandings as "inevitable" results of war.

But Résistance, an independent and outspoken veteran of the underground, frankly summarized French opinion in an article entitled "Americans, Our Friends": "We like you not because your propaganda compels us to but because your courage and stubbornness to conquer gives you the right . . . We have ourselves found excuses for certain of your bombings which have added, sometimes without need, to our ruins . . . You are big, open-hearted boys and we admit our cities . . . don't provide a sufficient frame for your native noisiness. However a European has only to cross your country to realize that there all is done with rigid discipline . . . You don't drive through stoplights and shoot off revolvers on Broadway."

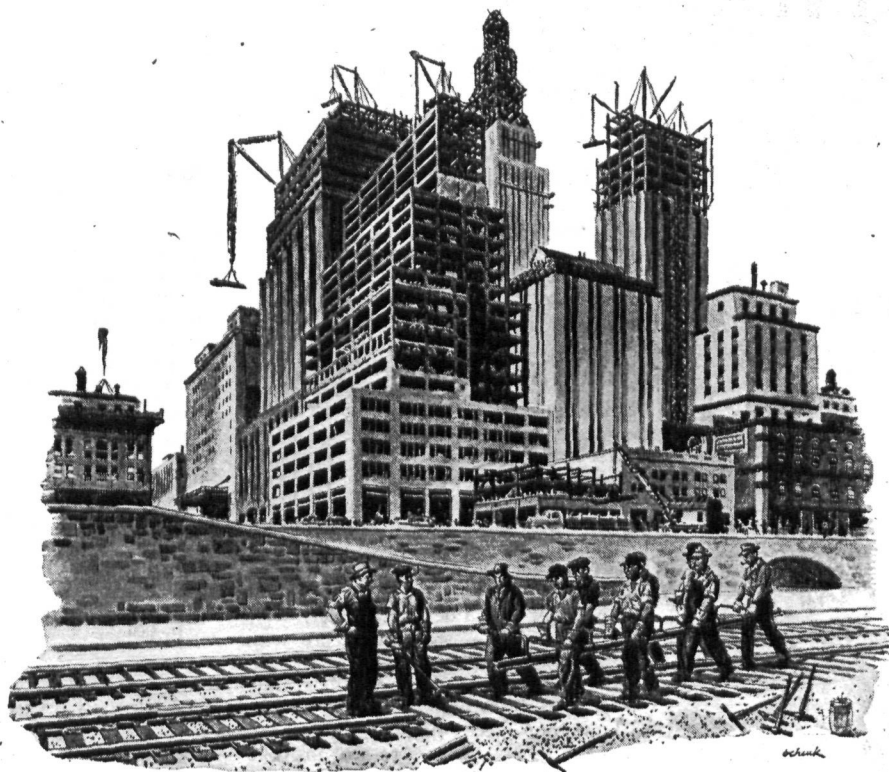
In Gdynia Every Swede Has to Watch His Watch

NEWSWEEK's Stockholm correspondent cabled this footnote to the tangled history of Swedish-Russian relations.

Going into the Soviet-controlled Baltic ports of Gdynia, Danzig, and Hel to pick up Polish coal cargoes is as much as life is worth, Swedish sailors on that run have found. Anarchy appears to reign in all three ports, with Russian soldiers thinking lightly of the murders and



To Eva, Cordially: Six years ago, when his love life was still an enjoyable mystery, the Führer gave his mistress Eva Braun this watch studded with 62 diamonds for her birthday. On the back he had inscribed: "To the 6th of February 1939. Cordially, Adolf Hitler." It was found on an SS corporal arrested recently.



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Look Ahead . . . Look South!

Ernest E. Harris
President



SOUTHERN RAILWAY SYSTEM

The Southern Serves the South

Wigest and Review, Sept. Japan
**Fate of Hirohito
Will Be a Major Problem**

BY CURTIS HAMILTON

Condensed from *Saturday Night*

LIVING in Tokyo is a little man in his forties who in many ways is the most un-Japanese of Japs. He sleeps in a bed instead of on the floor, uses knives and

forks instead of chopsticks, is polite and respectful to his wife and wears European-style clothes when he is not in uniform. He suffers from indifferent health and has only one real interest in life outside of his family—nature study and biology.

Yet this man is the absolute ruler of the world's bloodiest empire. Every morning some millions of Japanese soldiers and sailors do obeisance to him, facing his home wherever they may be. He is not only Emperor but also God, and eighty million Japs show their belief in his divinity in many outward ways. Even his doctor does not touch his skin, but wears gloves to sound his chest, which is inclined to be weak. When the Emperor leaves his 500-acre palace, every street is cleared for half-a-mile on either side of his route lest anyone should let his eyes fall on the Son of Heaven and be dazzled.

The reaction of the average Westerner to all this is probably

Disposition of Hirohito at the end of the war in the Pacific is going to present a peculiar problem. The "Son of Heaven" has a place in the lives of his people that it might be dangerous to disrupt.

The wise course might be to control the Japanese Throne rather than to try and do away with it.

"Hooey"! If the Japs really believe that Hirohito is descended from a Sun-Goddess of 2,000 years ago, they argue, the sooner we put a few bombs on the Imperial

Palace and demonstrate that he is just another man, the better. The liquidation of their leader in this way might bring the Japs to their senses and get rid of all this nonsense about a divine mission which is based on the divinity of the Emperor.

Others would go further and have stated that the name of Hirohito must figure high on the list of war criminals for trial after victory, since on the Japs' own showing he has been entirely and personally responsible for each and every act of every soldier.

The right thing to do with Hirohito may, indeed, prove a far more difficult problem than the right thing to do with Hitler, for the hard fact remains that 80,000,000 Japanese do believe their Emperor is their God and infallible.

EXPERTS who have lived in Japan for a considerable time and made a close study of Japa-

DIGEST and REVIEW

nese mentality believe that attacks on the Emperor now and after victory are fundamentally wrong. These experts include U. S. Ambassador Grew who was in Tokyo until 1942, Mr. John Morris, whose "Traveller from Tokyo" is one of the best-informed books on Japan and Dr. A. H. McDonald of Sydney University, who has written an examination of Japanese Imperialism for the Australian Institute of International Affairs.

Mr. John Morris says, for instance: "Any attempt to discredit the Emperor would, in my opinion, be disastrous. What we must do is to convince the Japanese people that their Emperor has been led astray by his military advisers."

Dr. McDonald says: "Japanese thought rests upon loyalty to the Emperor. It would be dangerous to repress this, and unnecessary if it can be diverted to peaceful ends."

THE divinity of the Japanese Emperor derives from Shinto worship and the people are fanatically loyal to their religion and their Emperor. This is not a new religion like that of the Nazis. What is new is the raising of the Emperor on a material pinnacle. By very skillful political maneuvers, and by a propaganda system on which Hitler modelled his, the industrialists, the financiers and, more recently, the army have built up the divine position of the Emperor. The Service chiefs have direct access to the Emperor. Their

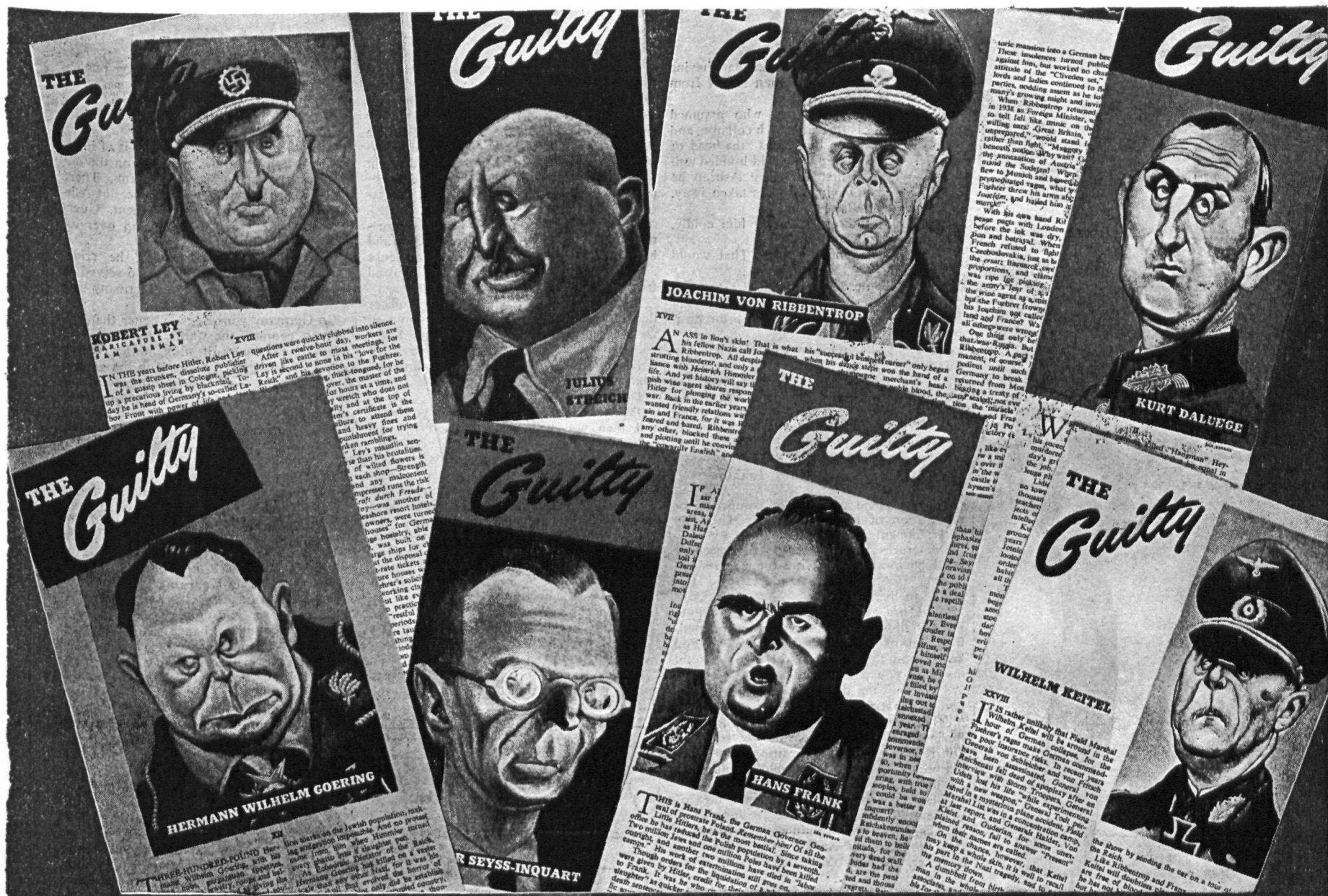
important decrees do not come through the usual sources, but direct from the Emperor as an "Imperial Rescript." Such a rescript has the force of Holy Writ and is treated as even more sacred than the Holy Writ of Christian countries.

Anything is right if it is the Emperor's will. Defeat is impossible because it is not the Emperor's will. Japanese armies can be wiped out where they stand, but they cannot retreat. It is a position that could only exist in Japan—but that it does exist is shown by the prisoners the Allies have captured—a comparative handful of wounded men.

Decisive military defeat will completely discredit the Japanese army in the eyes of the people. Experts of every kind are agreed it is necessary and that "unconditional surrender" is the only possible thing.

When the war-makers in Japan are smashed, there will be a vacuum that will be difficult to fill. The Allies may decide that attempts to end the centuries-long rule of the "Son of Heaven" would result in complete anarchy and that it would be more useful to control the Emperor than try him as a war criminal. Whoever controls the Throne controls Japan. The military have used their control for evil ends. The Allies could ensure that control was exercised for the enforcement of the terms of peace.





DOOMSDAY FOR THE GUILTY

BY GEORGE TUCKER

ON THE afternoon of May 20th, a U.S. Army weapons carrier stopped before the wire-enclosed Palace Hotel at Mondorf, Luxemburg, and Reichsmarshal Hermann Goering got out.

His uniform was unpressed. His face was white. "I think you are going to kill me tomorrow," he said as the guards led him through the gate.

Inside they wrote his name in the ledger and gave him the number 13. They assigned him to a small room on the fourth floor and then they frisked him, relieving him of a small vial of potassium cyanide—the standard Nazi suicide equipment—concealed in a can of soluble coffee in his pocket.

They examined his luggage and found several thousand tablets of paracodeine, similar to morphine, to which he had been addicted for years. They took away his belt, his shoe-strings, his watch crystal, his razor and his penknife—routine antisuicide precautions.

Then they escorted him upstairs to his room. It had no mirror, no wall furnishings, no electric current. The window panes had been replaced by unbreakable substitutes. There was a canvas cot with a straw mattress and one small straight-back chair.

"This is it," Captain Hubert H. Biddle of Bremen, Ohio, commented.

Out in the garden, preoccupied by his chronic gall bladder condition and a serious heart lesion, Field Marshal Albert Kesselring paced slowly under the trees. Several rooms down the hall Dr. Hans Frank, Nazi whip in occupied Poland, lay in a half-fainting

condition from his unsuccessful suicide attempt two weeks before.

These things Goering did not know. He stared at his room without taking in its detail. He was breathing through his mouth. "I think you are going to kill me tomorrow," he said again, dropping heavily into the chair. The chair, unequal to his weight, collapsed.

In this comic-opera fashion Reichsmarshal Hermann Goering, chief of the Luftwaffe, governor of Prussia and Master of the Hunt, was admitted to the place known as Ashcan.

Ashcan was the code name for the Army's great interrogation center at Luxemburg where Ribbentrop, Seyss-Inquart, Doenitz and forty-nine other high-ranking Nazi officials and Wehrmacht officers were interned prior to their removal in mid-August to the city jail in Nuremberg to await the opening of their trial as war criminals.

Stripped of their authority, confronted by the consequences of their acts, these men bore little resemblance to high government officials whose overweening megalomania led to the most idiotic war in history.

"They are perverts, dope fiends and liars," Colonel B. C. Andrus, enclosure commandant, says. "When Dr. Frank got here he was wearing a pair of lace panties. Goering

As they faced their trial as war criminals, fear of their fate turned the top Nazis into cowards. "Not one," their captors report, "has the courage to say, 'I did it and I stand by it'"

brought an apple-cheeked 'valet' with him. We ordered the 'valet' to hard labor. When Ley got here he had a gonorrheal stricture and complained that he couldn't live without women. When Keitel got here we took his baton away from him and he went all to pieces and wrote a letter to Eisenhower. These are the eagles who planned and executed a world war."

Dr. Bohuslav Ecer, the Czechoslovak representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission and prosecutor of Karl

Hermann Frank, the "butcher of Lidice," says he has never seen such physical and moral disintegration. "They are cowards, so they weep. They deny and weep. Not one of them has the courage to say, 'I did it and I stand by it.'"

Ribbentrop, more than any of the others, with the possible exception of Doenitz, has been able to maintain his reserve. But even he surrendered his poise when Ecer advised him he had been listed as a major war criminal and was slated for trial. "I, a criminal!" Ribbentrop cried. "Hitler made the decisions and gave the orders. I was only the instrument of his wishes and desires."

One night last summer a fierce electrical storm came up and bounced a few bolts of lightning off the trees. Shortly thereafter

the enclosure's surgeon, Captain C. L. Miller of Lees Summit, Missouri, reported that Goering had suffered a heart attack.

"He can't stand thunder and lightning. It frightens him," Miller said. "I asked him how it happened and he said, 'I was all by myself in my room when the storm came up. It worried me. Then my breathing became difficult.'"

We walked over to the infirmary for a brief examination of the former Luftwaffe commander. His vast bulk completely filled the narrow bed. He tried to lift his head from the pillow in the simulation of a bow, but let it fall back at Colonel Andrus' nod. His arms lay limply at his side.

"He's heart-conscious," Miller said. "It gets to kicking and he's afraid it won't quiet down."

Colonel Andrus said, "He is so debased by his vices that he hasn't the moral stamina of a normal man. When he becomes frightened, he goes all to pieces and wrings his hands like an old woman."

On our way out we passed through the barbershop where Ribbentrop, Doenitz and Streicher were waiting their turn. They got instantly to their feet and bowed. This was regulation. There was no saluting or hand-shaking at Ashcan. They held the bow until released by a nod or wave of the hand.

Ribbentrop had on an old pair of trousers and a loose lumberman's shirt, open at the throat. His gray hair was shaggy. He accomplished the ritual with an easy elegance that might have been admirable under different

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IN CARRIAGES LIKE THIS
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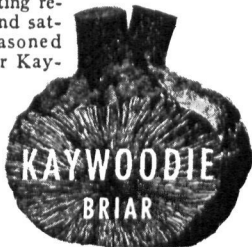
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circumstances. Jodl was in the chair having his hair trimmed by a German barber from one of the labor battalions.

Grand Admiral Doenitz, who assumed brief authority before the Reich collapse, and who still referred to himself as "the head of the German state," wore his gold-braided uniform. When he first arrived at Ashcan he bitterly resented having his razor taken away.

"Why are you taking it?"

The prison officer looked at him coldly. "Don't you know?"

"I wouldn't commit suicide. That would be cowardly."

That night he addressed a letter to General Eisenhower, reminding him that such treatment was not in keeping with his position as the "head of a state."

"Old Fat Stuff (Goering) wrote a letter to Eisenhower, too," Andrus said. "They all want to write letters. They'd flood headquarters with letters if we'd let them. We finally put a stop to it. Fat Stuff wanted a plane and several days leave to straighten out his tangled domestic difficulties."

Atrocity Films—Plus Lecture

There was no coddling or pampering or recognition of rank at Ashcan. The only entertainment was atrocity films. Recently the internees were treated to the spectacle of Buchenwald, but before the picture was shown, Colonel Andrus addressed a few words to them.

"You are about to see a certain motion picture showing specific instances of maltreatment of prisoners by the Germans. You know about these things and I have no doubt many of you participated actively in them. We are showing them to you not to inform you of what you already know but to impress on you the fact that we know of it, too. Be informed that the considerate treatment you receive here is not because you merit it, but because anything less would be unbecoming to us."

Then the lights went out and the saga of Buchenwald began to unfold. Its impact was so great that Captain Biddle, the prison officer, and Sergeant Arthur Michaels, an interpreter, of New York City, noted their reactions:

Dr. Hans Frank held a handkerchief to his mouth and gagged for fifteen minutes. Ribbentrop bowed his head and walked straight into the dining room. Kesselring was white as a sheet. Julius Streicher sat on the edge of the chair clasp and unclasp his hands. Goering appeared not to take much interest in the film but later commented, "That's the type of pictures we used to show our Russian prisoners."

The Palace Hotel itself, where major prisoners are interned, was only a part of Ashcan and it was so cleverly camouflaged that the local Luxemburgers were two months tumbling to the fact that most of the surviving leaders of the Reich were in their midst. In other parts of the village were two POW cages for labor battalions. These were established as a diversionary screen for the "Big House."

At the hotel, all internees, regardless of former rank, made their own beds and kept their own quarters. The records show that Ribbentrop, despite his love of elegance, was a very sloppy housekeeper and on two occasions was called on the carpet because of the general untidiness of his quarters. Orderlies were banned. If any internee required assistance in dressing or undressing, such as help in the removal of boots, he had either to change the habit or obtain assistance from another. Their rations were prescribed by law. On the first day I was there the menu consisted of cereal, soup and coffee for breakfast; pea soup, beef hash and spinach for dinner; powdered eggs, potatoes, bread and tea for supper.

Because food is essential in planning an escape, it was against Ashcan regulations for internees to carry food to their rooms. Consequently, when a small quantity of chocolate was found in the monk's cell occupied by Prince Philip of Hesse he was court-martialed.

The Prince is a slight, sophisticated type who spent nearly two years in a Nazi concentration camp. He claims kinship to King

George of England and half the aristocratic families of Europe. When the collapse came, he was picked up by American authorities and reinterned, a circumstance that shocked some Allied officials. I was told that Prince Philip was wholeheartedly Nazi in the beginning of the war but caught on fast and began to oppose them when defeat seemed probable. For this about-face the Nazis imprisoned him.

He came into the room where his court-martial was held, wearing a gray jacket and blue trousers. He wore sandals with no socks and the ends of a white handkerchief showed from his breast pocket.

"I have a report from the prison officer that chocolate was found in your room in violation of prison regulations, and I am going to court-martial you under the 104th Article of War. Do you understand all that?" Andrus asked.

The Prince said, "Yes, sir."

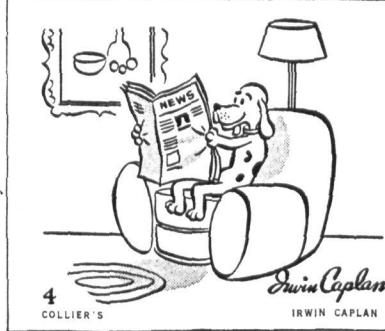
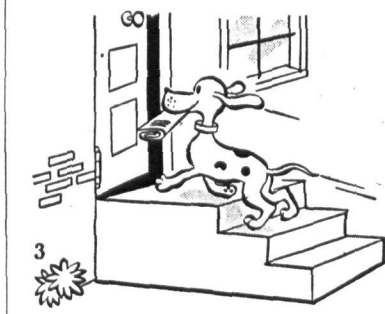
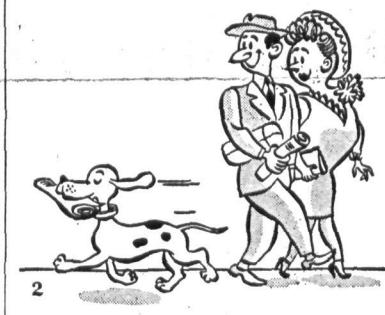
"You may make any statement you wish and then you will be confronted by witnesses."

The Prince folded his arms across his chest—not in nonchalance but in order to control the trembling of his elbows and knees. "I didn't know I wasn't allowed to have chocolate. I took it because I hadn't seen any for two years. I wanted to eat one piece every night, to make it last longer."

"Yes, the people of Holland and France and other countries overrun by the Nazis haven't tasted chocolate for two years, either," Andrus replied.

Moisture began to appear on the Prince's face. "I haven't been here very long. I wouldn't have taken it if I had known."

Andrus leaned forward and for twenty minutes the air was blue. Then he waved the Prince away.



"I don't see fit to award you any punishment this time. But if it becomes necessary to have you in here again..."

Prince Philip of Hesse vanished in a hysteria of relief.

One other item concerning food is of interest because it illustrates the position the authorities have taken as regards rank. There are no big shots among the internees at Ashcan and no flunkies to wait on them. Goering learned of this one morning over an unsatisfactory breakfast.

"This porridge is execrable," he cried. Turning to a German private who served as waiter, he added, "My dog in Germany eats better than this."

"In Germany your dog ate better than the German people," the waiter replied.

During the hours of sunlight the captive eagles were permitted to stroll in the garden at their leisure. Keitel, Kesselring, Jodl and Erwin Krauss, who headed the National Socialist motor corporation, formed a sort of unofficial sun cult and stripped themselves to the waist daily in order to give their bodies an even blend of suntan.

Kesselring always was in evidence outdoors. He was easily the most soldierly looking man of the group. Julius Streicher, the Jew baiter, had a fondness for the outdoors too, but was generally shunned by the other internees and walked by himself or teamed up with his buddy, Dr. Robert Ley, who alone seemed to enjoy his company.

Curiously enough, as the thought of his coming trial weighed upon Streicher, he experienced a complete change of heart toward the Jews. "When I was first captured I was beaten, kicked in the face and a Negro spat in my mouth. They starved me on potato peels. Then one day I changed camps. I was placed in a clean room. An American came in with a pitcher of cocoa and some crackers. He set them on the table and stepped back. 'This is from me to you, Mister Streicher. I am a Jew.' I broke down and cried. That was the most severe punishment I have ever received. I have always said there are no good Jews, but that boy proved to me that I am wrong."

The last time I saw Streicher he was standing on the veranda in the sunlight talking to Dr. Franz X. Schwarz, a former Reichsschatzmeister, and Kurt Daluge, an active hatchet man in his palmier days. Schwarz is an old man, 78, with chronic myocarditis.

High Praise from Gestapo Chief

"Daluge—he came here May 19th in a party with Dr. Otto Meissner, who used to be Hitler's Chancellery chief," Andrus said. "We frisked them. We had a boy who was pretty good at that—Sergeant William Blake, Jr., of San Francisco. He has gone home now. Daluge took an immense interest in the way Blake worked. When Blake got through with Meissner, Daluge clapped his hands. 'I see you have the touch of a professional detective. I know. I was chief of the Gestapo.'"

Daluge, General Walter Warlimont, Doenitz and a few of the others still have an appetite for making little jokes, but the majority were too preoccupied with Mr. Justice Jackson and his plans, to indulge in levity.

In better days Warlimont was something of a gadabout who prided himself on his feminine conquests. For a time he lived in Texas as an artillery observer and apparently was on the socially preferred list down there. "The girls in Dallas and Fort Worth were wonderful," he said, "but that San Antonio—that's the 'widows' playground' of America."

One day Warlimont got to talking with Sgt. Robert Bock, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the assistant prison officer, of his experiences during the Nazi occupation of Paris.

"I landed a plane right in the middle of the Place de la Concorde," Warlimont said proudly. "No one else ever did that."

"Wasn't it dangerous? I mean, didn't you hit anybody?"

"There wasn't anybody to hit. They were all hiding or indoors."

"That's funny," said Bock. "When we liberated Paris the streets were so jammed with people the parade had to be held up two days."

THE END

Collier's for September 22, 1945