

K THE ATOMIC PERIL DEADLOCK IN JAVA DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF NAZI CRIMES

PRIME MINISTER'S WARNING REFUSAL TO MEET DUTCH PROSECUTION CASE DEVELOPED AT NUREMBERG

MR. EDEN ON RUSSIA

WESTMINSTER, THURSDAY. The foreign affairs debate in the House of Commons to-day began with an account by the PRIME MINISTER of his visit to the United States and to Canada and a statement on the decisions reached at Washington on atomic energy.

Mr. ATTLEE spoke solemnly of the potential peril of scientific discovery in the absence of complete mutual confidence among the nations.

Mr. EDEN, who followed, impressed the House by his earnest plea for abatement of present conceptions of national sovereignty.

Mr. ATTLEE described his discussions with President Truman and Mr. Mackenzie King on the problems of atomic energy, the latest word in destructiveness, but, it might be said, not the last. The lesson of it all was that if civilization was to survive, there must be no repetition of world wars. Clearly there must be a convention that, should the world relapse again into war, there could not be, except to a very limited extent, a set of Queensberry rules, and that there would be full-scale atomic warfare.

This brought him to the question of how tragedy on so huge a scale could be prevented. He recognized that no reason of precaution should be ignored, but he pointed out that no system of inspection or control of weapons would work unless there was good will among the nations, and that no international organization could be set up unless the nations were resolved to lay aside war and the threat of war as instruments of policy.

Going over the heads of agreement reached at Washington, he asked the House to note that the willingness expressed there to exchange fundamental scientific knowledge was qualified by the words with any nation that will fully reciprocate. Clearly there must be the most scrupulous care taken in the control of a most dangerous substance. The three signatories had declared, however, their readiness to share on a reciprocal basis the practical industrial application of atomic energy just as soon as effective enforceable safeguards could be devised, and to that end they proposed a Commission under the United Nations Organization.

**FRIENDSHIP WITH RUSSIA**

Mr. EDEN began with a request for more information about the composition of the proposed Commission and the question whether any communication had been sent from Washington to other nations, in particular Russia. Mr. ATTLEE intervened to say that a communication had been sent to the Russian Government before the declaration was made. He explained that the United Nations Organization would itself set up the Commission.

Mr. EDEN suggested that the Russian Government should be taken to call a special meeting of the Organization so that the Commission could be set up without delay. He agreed that no safeguards would be effective by themselves unless they were backed by the nations of the world. He had a general cheer, in which the Ministerial ranks loudly participated, when he declared that every scientist, every inventor, every worker of the old-time conceptions of national sovereignty, but it was true that national sentiment was still as strong as ever, and there were still the different conceptions of the practical government and of the meaning attached to words like "freedom" and "democracy".

Mr. EDEN was again cheered when he declared that he saw no reason why the nations of the world should not work together in the present ideas of sovereignty. He argued that work on this problem should be the first duty of the United Nations Organization, and that it ought to be the first duty of the House of Commons.

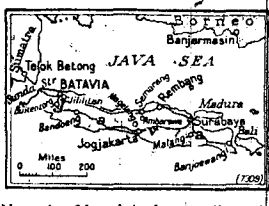
Then Mr. EDEN turned to relations with Russia. He had always been convinced, he said, that the future peace of the world depended upon understanding between the United States and Russia. Having analysed the causes of the suspicion felt by Russia towards the Western Powers, Mr. EDEN said that the United States should be Great Britain for friendship with Russia, and he urged the removal of any influence which militated against understanding—the difficulty of getting information out of Russia and the territory under Russian control was the most plainly about recent events in Persia, and said that in the long run it would be better for our relations with Russia if plain speech were used. Mr. EDEN ended on the note that the world had a fair chance to achieve security and must seize it.

Parliamentary report on pages 6 and 7.

DISUNITY AMONG INDONESIANS

From Our Special Correspondent  
BATAVIA, Nov. 22

The new group of nationalist leaders headed by Mr. Sjahrir and Amir Sjarifuddin announced to-day that they would not attend the meeting with the Dutch representatives convened for this evening to continue the discussions begun on November 17. They give as their reason for refusing to attend the meeting the present state of disorder in Batavia, which they attribute to the provocative behaviour of the Dutch. They state, however, that they are willing to meet the British any time. A national convention composed of about 150 delegates from different parts of Java is assembling in Batavia on



November 25, and the future policy to be adopted by the nationalist régime towards the Dutch will be submitted to them.

This refusal to meet the Dutch reflects the disunity and consequent weakness of the Indonesian movement. The new "cabinet" is not securely in power, and many of the old Cabinet Ministers still attend their offices and transact business while their successors hold interim duties. Cabinet meetings, Mr. Sjahrir and Amir Sjarifuddin and their colleagues have received threatening letters, they are often castigated over the wireless stations in Java, and called "Those Batavia reactionaries who prefer red, white, and blue to red and white."

Although Mr. Denning, Admiral Mountbatten's political adviser, returned from Singapore to-day, it had not been decided whether the British would attend to-night's meeting, if it had gone through. The Dutch wanted them to be bilateral. The question is now acute. As emphasized yesterday, the British policy of bringing the Dutch and Indonesians together and trying to get them to make some interim working agreement has failed. What other policy would bring results is difficult to see because of the being on the Indonesian side no united body able to exert its authority over the whole of Java.

RELIEF COLUMN ON WAY

Fighting has now spread to Ambarawa, in central Java, where there are several internment camps containing at least 10,000 Dutch men, women, and children. The 3rd 10th Gurkha Brigade, which is marching from Magelang, are there, as are several British troops, and are fighting Indonesian mobs, and are reported with tanks is hurrying north from Semarang.

Fighting continues in Semarang, but on a smaller scale. An officer just returned reports that the main street suffered heavy damage in the recent fighting. That Semarang was not a repetition of the first Surabaya affair, in which so many of our troops were killed, is due to the fact that the British Brigadier Bellotti found that the Indonesians were going to attack, and he promptly took over the Indonesian exchange, and captured the city. The Governor, the last named, was released on condition that he broadcast the instruction that no armed men should enter Semarang.

A traveller just arrived from Tegal, on the coast west of Semarang, informs me that there are about 400 Dutch nationals confined in the local prison. Thirty-seven of them, and three other prisoners, have been murdered by youthful Indonesians, in most cases being transfixed with bamboo spears. There is a reign of terror, and local leaders are giving instructions to the republican leaders here that they must be revolutionary in Surabaya and east Java. There are similar little groups of Dutch in Tegal, and in other parts of the island. Tegal could be duplicated 10 times over, and there are no British troops there and no prospect of any arriving for several weeks.

General Simpson, recently appointed Commander in Chief Allied Land Forces, South East Asia, arrived to-day by aeroplane from Singapore to confer with Lieutenant-General Christison, the Allied Commander in Chief, and to take a look at the Java situation. He is flying to Surabaja to-morrow and will return to Singapore on Saturday.

In the message from our Special Correspondent in Batavia, published in *The Times* yesterday, it was stated: "All Dutch and Indonesian troops are being withdrawn from Batavia for the time being. This should have read: 'All Dutch native troops are being withdrawn.'"

NO AGREEMENT ON DOCKERS' WAGES

OFFER BY EMPLOYERS "INADEQUATE"

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT

Unless the Ministry of Labour can give a few fflips to the negotiations on the union's wage claim for dock workers a breakdown will be recorded when a national delegate conference of the dockers in the Transport and General Workers' Union meets to-day week.

It will be a critical date. The 40,000 dockers in which, for the first time in 12 months, in defiance of their leaders, returned to work on November 3 but publicly threatened a resumption of the strike after 30 days if a satisfactory settlement was not reached by the end of the month. Should the counting of the days begin from the day on which they resolve to go back to work was taken then the warning will expire two days after the delegate conference.

It is evident from yesterday's statement by the union that its leaders have no expectation of direct agreement with the port employers. They say that the question of immediate concern is what to do about the claim for a 40-hour working week, which was originally

PROSECUTION CASE DEVELOPED AT NUREMBERG

From Our Special Correspondent  
NUREMBERG, Nov. 22

To-day's hearing in the Nuremberg war trial was essentially of academic interest, as the prosecuting counsel of the United States, leading on the general conspiracy charges of the indictment, entered upon the scholarly task of explaining the astonishingly intricate background—confining for the present to the German scene—against which the Nazis prepared their crimes.

The full ramifications of the plot, in which a handful of men (of whom the accused are the most notable survivors) were most things at one and the same time, have never been wholly apparent as they are now. In tracing the story back to the early Munich days, however, it may be assumed that the element of opportunism or evolution to say nothing of the interplay of European politics had a far greater influence on events than is so far discernible in the documentary evidence produced. There must inevitably be a good deal of assumption in taking the framework of the Nazi party at the peak of its power and interpreting the history of the previous 25 years to fit it, as though the German people at large were never more than inarticulate pawns. That such a moment arrived is not to be doubted; but by then the die was cast.

RIBBENTROP'S REQUEST

The small second-floor court room at the Palace of Justice has by now become almost intimately familiar and the trial is well set in its historic course, which is generally expected to last at least three months. The Attorney-General has due to fly back to London to-day, accompanied by Lord Bridgeman, who attended the opening on behalf of the Secretary for War, and it will be some time before British, French, and Soviet prosecutors are called upon to present their counts of the indictment.

I understand that Ribbentrop's request for a number of prominent British witnesses to testify to his defence, which is under consideration by the tribunal, includes the names, in addition to those already given, of Lord Londonderry and Lord Derby. It also included the late Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, besides the first Lord Ribbentrop and the late Lord Dawson of Penn. The fact that three of the witnesses applied for by Ribbentrop are dead is a striking indication of the apogee into which the Nazi regime came in its outward splendour. The tribunal, of course, has no power to enforce witnesses from abroad to appear against their wish.

Where the prosecution is not in a position to accept requests for witnesses from the accused it is for the tribunal to give a ruling, and it is guided in its decision by the relevant testimony that such witnesses would be likely to offer.

Before the resumption of the American case this morning the president announced the tribunal's decision on an application by the defendant, Count von Helldorf, an ex-SS officer, to have the defendant's medical examination. An examination by three medical experts showed that Helldorf was sane, was fit to appear, and was capable of understanding the nature and quality of his act. Helldorf had been treated very bitterly, and his trial would therefore proceed. The tribunal also disallowed a motion for a postponement of the trial of Martin Bormann *in absentia*.

CAPTURED DOCUMENTS

The prosecution's case is based mainly on selections from the many tons of official and personal documents that fell into the hands of the British and American armies during their advance, and some outline is necessary of the methods to be followed in presenting them to the court. Colonel R. G. Stevens, one of the American counsel, explained to the tribunal this morning the manner in which these documents had been captured and classified. Personal correspondence, diaries, and diaries of Rosenberg, for instance, were found behind a false wall in an old castle in Bavaria; records of the *Luftwaffe* were found in various places in the Baltic States, and often fleets of army trucks were necessary to transport the documents for examination. Finally, some 2,500 documents, translated and photographed, were filed in the court house at Nuremberg.

In presenting their case the prosecution have prepared written briefs on each phase, in which reference is made to the documents by appropriate numbers. It is not yet known, however, the entire documents are read in court, but at the end of each phase the document book containing all the references is offered in evidence and passed to the court.

Twice during the afternoon he intervened to ask whether the documents being put in were available to defence counsel, and in response to a question by Dr. Schachtel's counsel, he assured him that the defence would be permitted to make objections to any documents they wished after they had been able to study them thoroughly. The proposition was then accepted, and an agreement with defending counsel was reached that the defendants will be furnished with copies of documents offered in evidence and given opportunity to see photographic copies of the originals.

The method of presenting the case for the prosecution is an experience of which it is certainly makes for a great saving of time, but it is an extremely intricate business to keep track of the host of documents on which it is based, and in which the most part, are not read in open court and call for deep study.

In presenting the common objectives, methods, and doctrines of the conspiracy, the

prosecution, by means of a short introductory brief, was able to trace through such phases as the acquisition by the Nazi party of totalitarian control over German political life and its consolidation; the purge of political opponents by terrorization; the destruction of the trade unions; the suppression of the Christian churches; and the adoption of a programme for the persecution of the Jews, all following the sequence of charges as set out in the indictment; and introduced at this stage only in so far as they build up a picture of the general conspiracy. Several of them will clearly be dealt with more extensively under other counts.

One of the most interesting documents bearing on the Nazi consolidation of power was an affidavit made under interrogation by the defendant Wilhelm Frick concerning the Roehm murders of 1934. Frick, who was Minister of the Interior at that time, declared that Hitler in June of that year was able to persuade Hitler that Roehm planned to start a *Putsch*. The *Führer* ordered Himmler to suppress the *Putsch*, which was supposed to take place at the Tegernsee, near Munich, where all SA leaders were about to gather. The task of suppressing the rising in northern Germany was given to Goering.

Many people were arrested and, Frick stated, they heard little by little in the course of time that more than 100 were killed or accused of high treason. All this was done without resort to legal proceedings; the victims were just killed on the spot.

Many people were killed, the statement goes on, who had nothing to do with the plot; people who were not well versed, for instance, Schleicher, the former Reich Chancellor, were murdered. So was Schleicher's wife and Gregor Strasser, who had been second man in the party after Hitler and who at the time of his murder was no longer active in political affairs. The SS was used by Himmler for the execution of his orders. "This," concludes Frick, "was the first illegal act by the party since its accession to power."

PARTY RAMIFICATIONS

The amazing ramifications of the Nazi party were explained step by step by Mr. Reinhold Albrecht, of the American prosecution, with the aid of a large chart exposed at the end of the court-room, miniature copies of which were distributed in the court. The chart has been certified by Schwartz, who was Minister of the party. Counsel's purpose was to move the responsibility of the leadership corps of the party, one of the organizations charged in the indictment, and of those of the defendants who were members of it.

Goering, his vanity presumably touched, gestulated and pointed to himself when Mr. Albrecht by a slip of the tongue described him as the *Führer* designate after Hess. And he smiled when counsel later recited his misadventure. All through the day Goering continued to make copious notes. Counsel described all the organizations and subsidiary formations which formed the party itself, its motor corps, and flying squadrons, the *Hitlerjugend*, the *Hitler Youth*, the German Students *Bund*, the *Hitler Youth*, and all the affiliated associations of doctors, teachers, lawyers, civil servants, and the like, which left no phase of the nation's life untouched.

All the defendants except Jodl appear somewhere on the chart showing the machinery of government, and Jodl, was counted as one of half of all the armed forces would figure prominently in the case later on. The *Reichswehr* before 1933 was certainly not a body formed for illegal acts, but was an instrument of government provided for by the Weimar constitution. Under the Nazi regime it became a primary agent of the party, with functions according with the methods and aims of the party. It did not remain merely an executive branch of government, but became the principal agent of the *Führer's* rule by decree.

When Hitler came to power there were very few Nazis in the Cabinet, but by 1933 no non-party member remained. Only one member of the Cabinet had the strength to reject an invitation to join the party, an example not followed by the defendants Neumann and Raeder, or by Goebbels, who, by his power, were created and Nazis appointed to fill them.

WAR PLANNING GROUP

In dealing with a number of agencies that received delegated powers from the *Reichsregierung*, Mr. Albrecht said they were in a somewhat shadowy land because to a certain extent they were concerned with decrees and actions that were decreed in character. Some of them were never faced definitely in time and were never published in the German people's gazette, but they were in any case, was the *Reichswehr* defence council in any case, was the war planning group of which Hitler himself was chairman and Goering alternate chairman. Then there was the secret Cabinet Council created by Hitler in 1938 and presided over by the defendant Neumann and the captured ministers for the defence of the *Reich* and responsible to Hitler alone. Preparations for war were thus designated to secret and semi-secret agencies.

And so the court had a picture of these powerful ramifications running through the body of the nation, and they had probably never been unfolded before at any level the complete integration of party and Government could be seen. All the defendants, except Hess and Goebbels, who had signed affidavits admitting the various positions they have held in the German Government.

Other phases of the prosecution showed how since the early days it had been the aim of the Nazi party to overthrow the Treaty of Versailles, to regain the territories lost in 1918, to judge regions occupied by so-called racial Germans, and to acquire still more territory as living space for them, and their underground, the unbelieving world, that they intended to gain their objectives by all measures, including crime.

OBITUARY

LIEUT.-GEN. A. M. PATCH

We announce with regret the deaths of Lieutenant-General A. M. Patch, former Commanding General of the United States Seventh Army in Europe.

"THE TIMES"

REQUESTS TO READERS

The number of copies of *The Times* available to readers out of the present newspaper ration is at the present time for

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