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WEDNESDAY, MAY 2, 1945

Dead Or Alive?

If Adolf is gone it doesn't matter much, really. It would have been pleasant to picture him dancing at a gig, satisfying to know that he had covered before the Russian guns: before his end. There would be a grim justice in the assurance that he was well and truly dead, that he had gone to face the millions of his accusers who perished before him. It would be comforting to ponder on his welcome in the nether world, where a hellish and ghastly phantasmagoria had broken out as his evil spirit approached.

But if Adolf has not gone, it matters much. It matters because he might live as a symbol to maddened Germany, and might dwell long unknown, in the underground, or in neutral security. And it matters a great deal that Germans, as well as people of the United Nations, have proof of his death. Otherwise, his career of stupendous and unspeakable crime against mankind will lengthen into legend, and his shadow will not vanish from the earth.

Dead or alive, this is the moment before all others when he must know him, and see him as he is — or was. And the world must know that he is not the last of his line, that men like him yet live, and that others will come after him. He must be remembered, not in his days of terrible power, when he was unmasked as the enemy of our civilization. He must be remembered in the days when he was only an amusing German marionette, his antics only a gale of laughter around the world, his threat only a smile under the mustache of Chamberlain.

The man who is—or was—Adolf Hitler not only doped his people, but the world as well. And to remember him as the mad and hopelessly defeated paragon of his last days, rather than as the beast who all but conquered the globe, is to invite deadly peril from his successors. Hitler spoke, whined, lied and murdered his way into power, as one of the political giants of our time. But he could not have existed without cause—and the cause of his existence is a burden which Britons and Americans must bear.

The war which Hitler made was not inevitable. He made it while the Western world was watching, smiling, and refusing to stir from its business of commerce and culture. He failed, and a stare of horror replaced it, the time was late. Only by a series of miracles did he overtake him, only by superhuman effort did we crush the force he had loosed upon us. There were many times when the world could have crushed him more quickly, more cheaply. But because we chose to wait the world paid millions of lives, and years of travail.

So this Hitler was not set upon us by German crime alone, but also by our own. So whether he yet breathes, or already offers his body for the bitter worm, he has left us a clearly-bought heritage, and a grim lesson we must not forget. And yet we are very likely to forget. The months are short since Mr. Churchill, speaking of Fascist Spain, cried that the internal affairs of nations were not the business of the world. If we heed those words and let that course be followed, Hitler—or his ghost—will laugh at us again. For Hitler was the business of Germany, an internal affair. And we have allowed him to bring us to this. Knowing this, let us celebrate his passing—if we can.

Russian Encore

The men of San Francisco who have memories must have had a haunted feeling when Secretary Stettinius and the Latin-American bloc defeated Russia's Molotov and opened the doors to those veteran fascists the Argentinians. They must have had the sensation of being followed by history, and the dark days of our times must have come back to them. There were men there to remember, men who helped built the League of Nations into its last sleep, and had seen the Western world pass crisis after crisis in stupidity and craven fear.

They must have remembered, listening to little Molotov raise his voice against so isolated a nation as Argentina, those days when they might have stopped this war, but didn't. And those men who remembered back were surely not puzzled by his vehement objection to muzzling room for a state tainted with Fascism.

They must have remembered 1931, when Japan's legions invaded Manchuria, when the League of Nations was born, but continued to ship the weapons of war to the aggressors, and allowed Japan to remain in the League of Nations.

They must have remembered May 15, 1934, when an agitated little black man named Halse Bessie stood before the League of Nations to demand that—said warn the powers of the world that ruin would come for them, too. And the League waited a year and a half to apply weak-kneed sanctions against Italy, long after the slaughter was done, and Ethiopia had become Italian.

They must have remembered July 1938, when Franco's German-Italian legions assaulted the German Spain.

Republic—and France and British plows drew back and clung to "non-intervention."

They must have remembered October of 1938, when Chamberlain went to Munich.

There were so many days they could remember, listening to the strangely fervent appeal of Molotov. And they must have overcome with a sense of shame, some of them, remembering they had heard Russians speaking like this so often, and so rightly, in the crises of a dreary past. It was no mystery to these men, at least, why the Russians so stoutly resisted even far-removed Argentina. They had learned the cost in blood and suffering of condoning fascism in whatever form, and in whatever remote country. To most of the world, this little skirmish must have seemed a trifling incident. But for the men of San Francisco who could remember it tolled the tragic bells of the past.

They understood the little Russian and his fears, even if Mr. Stettinius and his Good Neighbors could not.

Out Of Order

One thing about this business of freedom in America which needs to be kept straight in mind is that the guaranty covers not only conscientiously respectable people but the nutty fringe as well. "Congress shall make no law," the Constitution says, "respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for redress of grievances."

The same restriction which sits upon Congress rests likewise upon the states and their subdivisions, so long as they exercise their powers by extension. And what it restricts is for any governmental agency to deal with an individual or a class or an organization or a sect with less than even-handed treatment, and the restriction is all the more binding when the individual or the class or the organization or the sect be deplorable or looked upon with general contempt.

You don't have to like 'em; but legally you have to tolerate them unless they violate a law. Then they can be punished, but because they have broken a law, not because you dislike them or disapprove of them.

The anger of the Optimist Club against the head of the Jehovah's Witnesses, which has somehow maintained a precarious footing in this community, is wholly understandable. The record of that sect in war only confirms the worst that had been suspected of it.

Freedom is a jealous mistress. She does not allow that public privileges be bestowed or withheld according to the whims of an applicant. That way lies a sort of gentile tyranny.

After The Duce

The Duce hung high in Milan, and in his memory Italians whom he had promised the world and all its glories sat upon him. He hung by a hind leg, the sorry body of a mistress dangling beside him, her breasts smeared with blood. The conqueror of Ethiopia, strutting lord of Albania, fumbling invader of Greece hung upside down. It was not quite five years since he had plunged the dagger into the hard back of falling France, and almost 15 years since he cried to worshipping millions:

"We step over the pulpit corpse of liberty."

A dark destiny had died before him, and so he knew the bitter taste of defeat long months before his slayers finally came upon him, and found him trembling, wheedling, pleading for his life. And he perished on meekly, so desparately that man's fame must cause him. There is no drama, no seed of legend, in his passing. Shot through the head, ruthlessly, as any other low criminal of war; dumped into a public square, merely the victim of his people, struck upon the skeleton of a gas station; flung into a cheap coffin. He who was to have been one of the Caesars.

And at his passing Italy struggles in helplessness. The ill-fated weaklings of the House of Savoy still hold the throne, but the African empire is long gone, stolen Trieste is conquered by the Slavs, and there is no longer a seat for Italy at the council of nations. The late Benito, who made the trains run on time and led a people to ruin, is symbol of a shameful Italian past. And Trieste is a symbol of its future.

The teeming port, flourishing since the days of ancient Rome, had been held by Austria since the 14th century, until Italy grabbed it after the last war. And then, as a reward for its help in the war, it was given to Italy. This spot of war is now in the hands of Marshal Tito, and we hope it will remain there.

The Duce is gone, Trieste is gone, following the vanished glories of empire. And Italy struggles to prepare for a brighter future.

What Will Petain, Of Vichy And Verdun, Say To France?

(Based on an exclusive and revealing interview with Admiral Georges Robert, hereafter unpublished.)

By Pete McKnight
News Editor of The News

ON HIS 60th birthday, Henri Petain crossed the Swiss frontier from France to Switzerland. He had taken orders from Vichy, kept warships and French fighting men from joining the Allies. He was the only newspaperman to interview Admiral Robert between his abdication and his return to France. In some 3,000 words, he replied in writing to a series of questions I submitted and in so doing, expounded the Petain theory. Because he was the staunchest supporter of the Marshal, his exposition still stands as the most authentic explanation of Petain's actions, may well be the pattern of the Petain defense.

The Robert interview was never printed at the request of naval officials. The following excerpts, published for the first time, should be accepted for what they are—a defense of Marshal Petain by a man who was an ardent Petain supporter, willing to sacrifice his own future to his strong sense of duty. Remember — D-Day was still months away. De Gaulle and Girard were squabbling in North Africa, and Petain was at the helm in Vichy when this was written.

"It can't be denied that if the intimate thoughts of Marshal Petain had been that the empire should some day once again take up the flag against Germany, he could not have done better than to have gone to Algeria himself to direct the resistance. If he had not been able to do this, he would have been a failure."

had not been able to flee from Vichy, the duty of the Marshal would have been to leave his functions as chief of the Government, so as not to place all those the results of military defeat into the war would have been for their country a catastrophe. . . .

"It is only too true that Marshal Petain was loyal to him in a cruel drama of conscience. As Marshal Petain did not go to Algeria and as he kept his conscience as chief of state, we are brought directly to conclude that he does not want to take up again the fight against Germany. Why?"

"To solve this problem one must remember the essentials of the mission that the Marshal took upon himself in June, 1940. This mission was a double one—first, to limit the material consequences of the military defeat and second to start an intellectual, moral and political regeneration, i. e., to fight against the basic reasons for this military defeat. . . .

"What good did it do us to win a brilliant military victory in 1918 as long as in less than 25 years the decadence of our political structure and of our rotten system of education led us to a disaster without precedent. The foreign press has often maintained that the internal renovation undertaken by Petain was only a servile copy of Poincaré or Nazim. Nothing could be more false. It was only a question of returning to the pure French traditions of patriotism, to the love of work well done, and to family respect. That is to say, a reaction against the Communism of the 1920s, against St. Germain and the 1919 rate that had so badly hurt us. . . . The Marshal had gone to North Africa."

Petain

ed France over on the one hand to German rule and on the other to anarchy. The entire work of three years would have been ruined. . . .

"I understand very well the reason for the propaganda put out by the Anglo-Saxon nations to persuade the French to enter the war again at any cost. . . . But Mr. Churchill defends the British interests and Mr. Roosevelt the American interests. It is up to the French people to understand that Petain is not free either to rule France as he wants to or to say all that he thinks. Since July, 1940, the Armistice terms laid down by the French people are a very heavy burden and too many precious hostages are in German hands to permit him to intervene liberally in the justice's terms. After last Novem-

ber and the defection of Darlan, Giraud and Salomon, (who ruled the Vichy Government of France) was occupied and the Germans, having no longer to fear that our fleet (which had been captured) or our colonies would rally to the Allies, crushed their hand more heavily on our foreign possessions. . . .

"The liberation of our territory is one of our essential aspirations. This having been said, the position of France is, in numerous ways, very different from that of the United States or even of Great Britain. . . .

"Her geographic situation and her political and military downfall of 1940 are at the origin of this difference. . . . For the United States and Great Britain, victory was a matter of time. For France, it was a matter of life and death. The restoration of the state, the unification of the armed forces, the maintenance of order, and defense against Communism. . . .

"Two factors will play the role of first importance in postwar France: (1) the deep division of Frenchmen (Petainists, Giraudists, De Gaulleists, and Communists), between the old political parties that will once more take up their activities; (2) the military supremacy of the Russians. . . .

"The victory of the United Nations will be, on European territory and in the Near East, a French victory. A Soviet victory. . . .

"For England, this last menace is much more dangerous than it is for France, for as the experiences of the last three years have proved, the English are constantly exposed to a rampant against all aggressors from the continent. As far as the Atlantic is concerned, the Atlantic and the Pacific are anti-

lank ditcher and a great deal deeper than the Channel. The Great Britain and the United States will come out of the war with a strong state and a sufficient confidence in themselves to resist all foreign invasions. The dignity of Frenchmen, their long sufferings, and the humanity of their situation constitute, by the contrary, elements particularly favorable to the Communist propaganda. Geographic position and moral concern, therefore, in making us fear this hegemony that quick victory of the Allies would not fail to give to Russia over Europe. . . .

"Consequently, if the United States and Great Britain can look forward with confidence and serenity to the end of the armed conflict, France on the contrary, devastated by the war, ruined and subjected to famine by the occupation and the blockade, torn by political parties and dissensions, must look forward with a certain anguish to the fate that awaits her, however good the conditions of her liberation. . . .

"And this will show you why the success of the military operations undertaken by Marshal Petain looked so important to us, and why we were for it just as much as we were for the military success of the United Nations. A French victory would have safeguarded her political unity, and which would have forced a youth more dangerous than it is for France, for as the experiences of the last three years have proved, the English are constantly exposed to a rampant against all aggressors from the continent. As far as the Atlantic is concerned, the Atlantic and the Pacific are anti-



Alles Kaput

Let's Hold V-Day

By Merquis Childs

WASHINGTON
HISTORICALLY has a fantastic way of repeating the same old patterns. The false armistice of Saturday night proved once again. . . .

"It's hard to understand how a republic could so easily be deceived. The United Press is no exception. The Associated Press is no exception. The New York Times is no exception. . . .

There are still some mysteries that explainable. Why, for example, did the White House contribute to the general hysteria by telling the press that the German government was about to stand by for a broad-cast by the President of a proclamation? Not mind you, an announcement, but a proclamation. . . .

"What I have been able to find out adds up as follows: For many months, the White House has been prepared for the possibility of a German surrender. No one in the White House has been able to surrender. Who could surrender for the German people has been to deliver Hitler, deliver the German people, and the restoration of order in shattered Europe. . . .

Anything that detracts from that ultimate goal detracts from the winning of the war, and a false armistice, with its attendant nullabaw, comes under that heading. This is not the moment for us to let the armistice go. . . .

In the unhappy denouement at San Francisco — after President Truman, who had the audacity to have the whole conference toasting. Apparently, he had no more information than any one of several thousand men and women who had caught at the airy of rumor. . . .

truth. British officials at San Francisco verified the report that Heinrich Himmler had made an offer of surrender to Britain and America. But what a pathetic little kernel of truth! . . .

The offer ignored Russia, one of the three principal Allies. It could well have been a final attempt at separating the partners that have fought this war together — namely, the same old Nazi propagandists have been trying to pull off since the beginning of the alliance. Why fall for that old one at this late date? . . .

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The Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson

SAN FRANCISCO
ON April 25 and 26 this column revealed that one day after President Roosevelt was held in a meeting was held in the State Department at which his previous policy of a hard peace for Germany was reversed. . . .

State Department appears to have a new line favoring a soft peace. . . .

At the meeting Truman laid down a flat rule that Roosevelt's previous hard peace policy was not to be changed. . . .

This hard peace policy is basically laid down by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau last autumn, following Roosevelt's visit to the Army and State Department had been planning approval. . . .

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Tom Wanted To Talk
Friends of handsome Senator "Long Tom" Connally are publicly rivalry between him and Senator Vandenberg. . . .

For years the genial Texan has helped battle Roosevelt's foreign policy through the Senate. . . .

One little-known difference between the U. S. and Great Britain, and Russia, on the other hand, at San Francisco is the Western Allies attitude toward punishing war criminals. . . .

It must get suggested on the discussions between Stettinius, Eden and Molotov, but the Russians took an almost view of the way in which the State Department viewed the Nazi Cabinet in order to make it a Democratic Government. . . .

Here is the general conversation which took place between President Truman, one-time Missouri farm boy, and the Lublin Cabinet in order to make it a Democratic Government. . . .

Truman said that since this V-Day pledge not only had been issued, but that Russia had made the Lublin Government as now constituted an accomplished fact by signing a declaration of war with Germany. . . .

This was told to Molotov in Truman's quiet but direct manner, coupled with many expressions of admiration for Russia and the desire for peace. . . .

Afterward, he suggested that Molotov talk with Secretary Stettinius and officials of the State Department to see if an agreement could not be worked out. . . .

Pell Was Too Tough
The real inside story of Pell's ouster has never been told. . . .

This proposal so infuriated appointment-minded British members of the commission that they tipped off State Department pals in Washington who went to work on Pell and caused his early removal. . . .

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Anything Goes

By Merquis Childs

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"No young lady shall become a member of Mr. Molotov's Committee. . . .

"No young lady shall devote more than one day to miscellaneous reading. . . .

"No young lady is expected to learn the acquaintance unless they are returned missionaries or agents of benevolent societies. . . .

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Women Was Women

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Faith Is All

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Sex Appeal

By Merquis Childs

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