

THE NETWORK

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Information Bulletin on Stalinist
Organizations and Organizational Forms.

This bulletin is initiated to expose the numerous Stalinist, Neo-Stalinist, and Stalinist influenced groups. The bulletin makes no claim to completeness since the task of describing and analyzing the rapidly growing Stalinist movement here in the United States, in Europe, and in Asia, is far beyond the capacity of only a few persons. Therefore, it is confined for the most part to news items concerning the German political emigration and groups within the orbit of the German Stalinist movement.

ONE YEAR OF THE NETWORK.

We started this Newsletter in January 1944. What seemed a crude simplification one year ago is today almost a platitude: European society is driving from one totalitarian system, Nazism, to another one, Stalinism.

We intended to expose the mechanism of the progressing Stalinization of Europe. Stalinism will not conquer the continent by the establishment of "communist dictatorships".

Stalinism has shaped the "Free National Movements" into instruments which permit the elimination of all hurdles.

We tried to show the interrelationship between the "Free National Movements" and the disbanded Comintern-parties. American observers on the spot, for the most part, are not able to evaluate correctly the specific weight of these movements, to understand the conditions and the dynamism of their growth. American "progressives" are easily fooled by the voluminous amount of sham-democratic behavior of the Stalinists; the Stalinists know the tricks and play with marked cards. The "Free National Movements" will prove most dangerous as infiltration battalions in non-Russian areas. During the past year, the "Free German Movement" stood in the focus of our attention as the successor of Hitlerism in Germany. The revolt of the German Generals of July 20th injected blood in the veins of the Moscow Free German Committee. The Committee was strengthened by a considerable number of deserters, including both officers and soldiers. Its control over German War Prisoners in Russia ("hundreds of thousands...") was increased, and the control was extended to German War Prisoners in the West (France).

Germany after Hitler will be neither "chaotic" nor "living in a vacuum". The Free German Movement is not an improvisation; it is more than a clever propaganda device. The Stalinist policy of building monolithic state-parties out of the left-overs of the Comintern, and its blending of these left-overs with the remnants of Fascism - provided they are pro-Russian - is nowhere so strikingly transparent as in the Free German Movement, thus making the Free German Committee a model of European governments. In the combination of Generals and "German Labor", embodied by Walther von Seydlitz and Wilhelm Pieck, Stalin has already reached for Germany a higher stage of synchronization of conflicting social groups than for countries like France where the process is not as yet fulfilled. Without intimate knowledge of the development of the communist parties and their relationships with the Russian state-party, this process remains enigmatic.

For the same reasons, we have concentrated our attention on the various German front organizations within the Anglo-American orbit, as, for example, on the Hagen-Tillich outfit, the "Council for a Democratic Germany". Moscow has been able to split the German Social-democrats even before Hitler's defeat, a job still to be done in France and also in Italy. In winning over Aufhaeuser, Paul Herz and their stage hands, Hagen has done valuable work for the Stalinists that may speak for him on the day of the last reckoning. Stalin's armies are

entering Germany, followed by the Union of German Officers, by almost all German liberals, and by almost all of what is left of non-communist German "Labor-leaders". THE NETWORK did as much as it could to expose the masquerade, and we shall continue to do so.

Summing up European highlights, we may say that our prognostics have already become historic events. De Gaulle is jammed between the French Forces of the Interior and the remnants of the upper- and middle classes who fear the communist dictatorship, but who are weakened to the extreme, however, by four years of collaboration with Vichy and Hitler. In Italy, Togliatti plays with the Monarchy in order to give the first round to Tito; but he and Tito are strong enough to block all "Western orientation" in Southern Europe. The surprising strength of the Italian communist party after 20 years of illegality is a forecast of things to come... Russia intervenes actively everywhere, even in Belgium... To interpret this intervention correctly, we need merely venture to conceive of a large mass-demonstration in Lublin crying: "Down with the Russian imported government. Down with the Berut, Osobka Morawski and all the others. Long live Churchill, our Liberator Poland must be free itself from these scoundrels, the so-called National Committee for Liberation".

Poland was sacrificed in the hope of a gentlemen's agreement in Western Europe, but one of the gentlemen stepped out.

Tito's Slav Federation is a turning point in European history. This federation will attract all Balkan countries, and will be a stronghold of Russian influence. The British will sit in the midst of a restless Greece, where a permanent "Underground" can always find help and weapons in Marshal Tito's realm.

Spain is next on the list; Switzerland and Sweden are not forgotten, The Stalinization of Europe begins to show its effects in the Middle East and in China.

The Free National Movements have outgrown the stage of being merely a Network of Stalinist organizations; they are now forming, and jeopardizing governments, they are in power in Yugoslavia and in Poland, on the road to power in France and in Italy, they are in powerful opposition in Belgium and Greece, and preparing to take over in Germany. The future of Europe is closely linked to the export of Stalinism to the West and to the East. Europe of tomorrow will be a Stalinist continent. Therefore we will call our information bulletin, beginning with January 1945 " EUROPEAN STALINISM ".

We intend to publish letters of our friends in Europe, and to present information about the communist parties in Europe, their connections with the Moscow center, profiles of their leading men, and other valuable material.

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WHAT WILL MOSCOW DO WITH GERMANY ?

The First Authentic Report On the German Revolt of July 20th, 1944.

The weekly "Freies Deutschland", published by the National Committee Free Germany in the U.S.S.R. contains the most informative document on the events of July 20th in Germany. The authors of this document are German generals who surrendered after July 20th to the Russians. Its whole character permits no doubt of its authenticity,

Today we present only the most outstanding facts contained in the statement, which has been ignored - so far - completely by the American press.

POLITICAL ORIENTATION:

1) Russia - the decisive Factor of the War.

One of the general viewpoints of the analysis given by the "Union of German Officers" in Russia is the exclusive emphasis on Russia's part in the war and in the catastrophe of Hitlerism. The officers consider the defeat of Stalingrad as the starting point that on the one hand lead to the conferences of Moscow and Teheran and on the other was exploited by Hitler to increase party control over the army. They describe as the second factor the Russian winter offensive on the Donetz and beyond Kursk, the breakdown of the German summer offensive and the advance of the Red Army on the Southern front. Hitler reacted with new measures against the generals and demonstrated that the Nazi party intended to continue the war under any and all circumstances, even if that should mean the destruction of Germany. The Free German Officers enumerate specifically the defeats at Cherkassy, Krivoy Rog, Nikopoly, Umany and Leningrad. The immediate impetus for action was Hitler's unbelievable orders with regard to the Northern German army. Hitler personally issued counter-orders on July 13th after the withdrawal of the dangerously exposed army-group had been already ordered and begun on the basis of a memorandum of all responsible army staffs as well as the commander-in-chief, Colonel-General Lindemann on July 10th. In doing this Hitler sacrificed an essential part of the Eastern army, no less than thirty divisions, as he had done previously with the Crimea Army.

On July 13th, it had been decided to undertake the planned coup d'etat on July 20th, earlier than originally intended.

Lindemann is one of those generals who came over to the Russians and joined the Free German Committee, immediately after the revolt. The invasion of France by the Anglo-American armies is mentioned in the whole document only once and only incidentally as a contributory factor.

2) Attitude Towards the Moscow Free German Committee.

" The change of attitude of the Officers' Corps towards the Free German National Committee and the Union of German Officers', founded in Moscow and headed by General von Seydlitz, also played a certain role although there were strong uncertainties concerning the character of that movement. The ideas, represented by the National Committee and by General von Seydlitz, found more and more response, especially after the General Staff of the Army (O.K.W.) had officially admitted the National Committee's existence... In the leading circles of oppositionist generals, where the officers of the National Committee were personally and intimately known, it was hoped that the "Free German" movement was an expression of those tendencies in the Officers' Corps which aimed at a rupture with Hitler and at his elimination".

SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

1) Conservative Approach of the Professional Officers.

The document describes the "new orientation" as follows: The officers "reacted with military mentality" that is, in unison although without previous arrangement indicating to their superiors in concrete reports on the situation, that "under the given circumstances such and strategical or tactical measures were nonsense and dangerous..." Dozens of documents piled up... As far as Hitler learned of the contents of these documents, he ignored them completely. Some of the quibblers were courtmartialled.

It is amazing that these officers, living ten years in the Nazi state should show such lack of comprehension as regards the totalitarian character of Nazism. The authors remind us emphatically of Hitler's promises:

- a) To keep the army out of politics.
- b) The right to bear weapons to be reserved for the army.

They find it necessary to underline the breaking of these promises. "The army has been humiliated and obliged to serve as an instrument of the narrowest party interests". These collaborators of Nazism of ten years standing, suddenly discover that there is a special party army, the Elite Guard (S.S.) and the Elite-Guard-in-Arms (the Waffen SS.) These promoters of total mobilization suddenly speak in belittling terms of "total mobilization".

THE COUP D'ETAT.

1) Preparation

The opposition in the Officers' Corps changed its plans after Stalingrad. In General Staff circles, for the first time, the idea developed that the war now recognized as lost, should be concluded in the 1918 style of Hindenburg-Ludendorff - the categorical demand by the

military leadership that the government immediately open peace negotiations in order to preserve the Reich. The military leadership should force Hitler to resign. Responsible high army commanders were sounded out on the proposition.

At the same time suitable connections were made in "business" and political spheres".

"Behind the conflict between army and party, the greater conflict between Hitler and the German people emerged. By the spring of 1944 a decided leadership in the opposition among high ranking army officers was working "uncompromisingly" for a greater aim: "to forcibly overthrow the Hitler regime in the army and in the state, terminating the lost war, and forming a new government, openly hostile to Hitler." The leadership crystalized in the General Staff and in the Staff of the Reserve Army. An opposition of a new kind, embracing all parts of the army and the people was also developing. War-weariness was the predominant characteristic and everything indicated readiness for action. There was, however, a large circle of "initiated" who knew only the general plan without details. The actual job was to be carried out by the reserve troops.

2) Myth and Reality.

The document refutes the Goebbels report on the events of July 20th as a fairy tale. From Goering and Goebbels down to the soldiers of Kramnitz and Klein-Glienicke, who had been ordered to the Bendlerstrasse on July 20th, so many persons in Germany know the facts, that the truth eventually became generally known. "Through one of those chance situations such as are known to every soldier in the field, the effect of the bomb and of the concussion was too weak at that spot where Hitler was standing. Exited about a remark of General Schmundt, Hitler - according to his habits - leaped up, ran through the room, He was just in a corner of the room, near the window, when the bomb exploded." Confusion at the Fuehrer's headquarters lasted for hours. Finally Himmler arrived and gave orders for the first counter measures. He warned all army-groups to line up with the conspirators. The latter immediately operated as a new government. They occupied the governmental district of Berlin. In numerous other cities the main buildings were occupied. But the expected news about Hitlers assassination did not arrive. Instead the Elite Guard went into action, late at night. The reserve troops, mobilized by the new government, were inadequate to deal with the Elite Guards. The clash was especially sharp in Koenigsberg.

The conspiratory leadership in the Bendlerstrasse tried their best to organize an orderly retreat at the risk of their own lives. Himmler got them. However: "The civilian section of the inner leading staff remained almost completely untouched. At their trial, the conspirators did not give away the secret of the movement at large and took it with them to their graves."

3) Balance-Sheet.

a) Uprising without front-line soldiers.

"It was a mistake to neglect the establishment of close connections with the Front Troops and their incorporation into the action proper. The idea to improve peace-conditions by keeping up the front, was understandable from the view-point of the generals".

They call this an "uncompromising" point of view. The Free German generals have now reached the conclusion that in Germany's desperate situation what is imperative is not the keeping up of the front, but an immediate cessation of the war with the overthrow and annihilation of the Elite Guard. "Thus only the army as the people in arms is able to save itself from destruction, to be of further value to Germany and to contribute to the gaining of a better peace".

b) Uprising without workers.

"It was a mistake, that the connections with the civilians were limited to the top of the administration, to commerce and to light industries. This point is even more true than that concerning the reserve troops. One cannot mobilize the masses merely by giving orders from above".

The above confession of General Lindemann and his colleagues seems to be the result of intimate conversations with their cohort Wilhelm Pieck.

PATTERN OF COLLAPSE.

1) Optimistic Outlook.

The document emphasizes repeatedly that Himmler was unable to crush the movement entirely. Even the fatal omission of not bringing in the front troops is quoted as a favorable factor for future actions. The general anger "over the cruel comedy of the "Court of Honor" and the execution on the gallows of a Fieldmarshal, three generals and four staff officers has won thousands of new followers to the opposition. The movement continues".

2) Our Conclusion.

July 20th settled the problem of how Hitlerism will collapse. The document, we are dealing with, shows us a number of hesitant Prussian officers finding their way to the Free German movement. Their failure led to elimination of their political and social inhibitions. Since August 8th, they refer to the lackeys of the "Court of Dishonor" and to the hangman Freisler and the Elite Guard bandits in the same way as do Pieck or Weinert.

Participants in the July revolt assert that the final crisis of the Hitler regime will be decided by "an armed uprising within Germany".

Our own conclusion: Whatever form this final crisis actually takes, so much is certain: one of its major elements will be: - mutiny in the army from top to bottom in close contact with the Seydlitz Committee in Moscow.

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FREE GERMAN NEWSREEL.

Wilhelm Pieck bows Before the Emperor's Flag.

When black-white-red was fluttering over Germany, Wilhelm Pieck - then a faithful member of the pre-First-World-War Social Democratic Party, attended Rosa Luxemburg's lectures in the party school. When the First World War was over, he belonged to the founders of the Spartacusbund, the fiercest adversary of all to the "black-white-red". When Hitler approached leadership, he was instrumental in Moscow's policy furthering the Fuehrer's rise to power. Now, in the company of so many black-white-red-swastika generals and marshals, he is not ashamed to confess:

"Under the flag black-white-red we communists honour the Empire, which was founded under these colours and which Hitler now intends to destroy by violence".

(Quotation from "La Otra Alemania" Chile, October 23rd, 1944)

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General Seydlitz Mourns Communist Florin.

A touching document, drawn up in Moscow, proves the new "Community of People" (die Volksgemeinschaft), now prepared by experts for post-Hitler Germany. On July 5th, 1944, Wilhelm Florin, old communist Reichstag deputy, died a natural death. Even that can happen at rare intervals, in Moscow. The Free German Committee sponsored the funeral. On the open grave two speakers honoured the dead man. Wilhelm Pieck mixed all ingredients together:

"...Florin was an energetic fighter in the front ranks for the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin... and was therefore an impassioned fighter against barbaric Hitlerism and rapacious imperialism... for the freedom and the happiness of our German people ... for this very reason he was a real national-conscious (nationalbewusster) German."

In the name of the "Union of German Officers", General von Seydlitz declared Florin as "the most loyal son of his people" (und dass Dein aermster Sohn, Dein getreuester war) and added: an honest, forceful, genuinely German fighter (ein kerndeutscher Kaempfer).

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Marshal Paulus at the Plenar Session
Of the Moscow Free Germans.

A plenar session of the "National Committee Free Germany in the USSR" has been held recently near Moscow. The most outstanding speaker was General Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus, who has joined the National Committee a few days after the General's revolt of July 20th. To be sure, none of the foreign correspondents in Moscow was admitted.

The communist paper "The German American", New York, December 1st, '44 published a photo, taken from the Soviet press, showing von Paulus in an intimate chat with Wilhlem Pieck, general secretary of the German Communist Party. Von Seydlitz, Erich Weinert, Major General Lattmann and Colonel von Hoven are standing respectfully in the background.

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Paul Hagen changes his Name again.

The "German Language Group of the American Friends of German Freedom" has been liquidated by the fusion of the "American Friends" with the "Association for a Democratic Germany". Hagen's special clan is re-organized under the very timely title of "Anti-Nazi Forum". Chairman Paul Hertz, Board Alfred Baker Lewis, Anna Caples (Hagen's wife), Paul Hagen himself and James Loeb.

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Council for a Democratic Germany.

Albert Norden has entered the Executive Committee of the Council recently. He reinforces the group of official Communists, which are leading the affairs of the Council.

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Why Stalinist Propaganda Among
German War Prisoners in the United States?

The "German-American" (Dec. 1st, '44) writes to a sceptic who has doubts about the "German-American" approach to the problems of "war prisoner re-education".

"It depends on us in what a state of mind these prisoners will return to Germany".

The "German-American" publishes this answer, boasting at the same time, the relatively large number of copies going regularly into P.O.W. camps in the U.S.A.

Thus, the Stalinists in New York, prepare their infiltration in Germany.

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Amusements in Chile.

"Otra Alemania", (The Other Germany) Chile, in a letter from October 24th, draws our attention to the strange activities of the Free Germans in Santiago.

Their schedule for 1944 covers:

June: Rheinischer Abend mit Schinkenklopfen
July: Ringelpietz in der Berliner Laubenkolonie
August: Preisskat mit Mastgans
September: Bockbierfest mit Ueberraschungen

We are very sorry that we cannot translate these picturesque amusements into English.

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"Kabale und Liebe" In Gorki, Russia.

"On our way to the Officer's Camp O..., we are forced to interrupt our trip for a day. The rains have made the roads impassible. In the evening, four German officers, a former German deputy of the Reichstag, a Russian colonel and a representative of the City of Gorki, are together in orchestra seats at the theatre...

German war prisoners among the Russian people, in the midst of the bloodiest of wars, are listening to "Kabale und Liebe"... I have never lived through a better realization of Schiller's idea of a "National Theatre"...Unity of art und public....."

Oberleutnant (Colonel) Fritz Ruecker
Member of the "National Committee Free
Germany".
(Freies Deutschland, Mexico City, Dec. '44)

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CORRECTION:

Through a typing error four words were omitted in our issue # 10 on page 4 and thus the sacred rank order of the New York Free German Committee's hierarchy distorted. The Social Democrat must not be absent in the company. He is Vice-Chairman - the Catholic is treasurer. So it reads:

Paul Tillich, Professor of Protestant Theology, Chairman
Siegfried Aufhaeuser, Social Democrat, Vice-Chairman
Friedrich Baerwald, Catholic, Treasurer
Albert Schreiner, Communist, Secretary

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DETERIORATION OF "TEHERAN".

I.

Balkan Bloc - Nucleus of Eastern Europe.

The magic word "Teheran" made all liberals' and many bewildered conservatives breath easier. The reactionary trend in Russia, persistent since the end of the Civil War in 1921, and the fact that the spirit of the October revolution has vanished in everyday Russian life, seemed to prove the possibility and probability of a long period of prosperity and peace. The collaboration with Stalin seemed to the Western world the sine qua non of stemming the tide of the unbridled "movements" of the "partisan-generation".

The partition of Europe into influence-zones implied the non-intervention of one partner into the living-space of the other. Western and Southern Europe (Italy and the better part of the Balkans) and a large slice of Germany to the Anglo-American partners, and East and Central Europe to Russia, that was the deal of Teheran. The length of the interval between World War II and World War III depends on the "honesty" with which the deal is kept. American inside observers always underline the willingness and easy-going readiness for cooperation of Stalin's Narkomindel with America's Big Business. This is completely in accord with Communist propaganda.

The surprising fact, is the rapidity of the deterioration of "Teheran". We mean not so much the open conflict between the White House and Downing street. On the contrary, Stettinius' philosophical thesis about true and fake democracy is, in our opinion, an accompaniment of the successful progress of Stalin's policy. Everywhere in Europe, however, especially at all vulnerable spots of the British Empire, Stalin's efficiency in exploiting his military victory is upsetting all arrangements to such an extent that the quarrel between the victors has begun before final victory on the battlefield is achieved.

The background of the sharp turn is the unexpected growth of the neo-communist organizations in Western Europe.

These organizations flourish in the shadow of the Red Army's triumph over the Nazi army. They get strength in the milieu of the incredible misery of the masses in "liberated Europe". They gain strength in the atmosphere of confusion and helplessness prevailing in the political headquarters.

II.

A year ago Churchill met Marshall Tito in Italy. They shook hands; in the House of Commons Churchill made a speech in which he extolled the good relations of the British government with Tito and with the Greek communists. At that time Churchill must have cherished the illusion that "Teheran" meant a clearcut partition of the

Balkans into Russian and British zones, giving to Russia a share in the domination of the Dardanelles and leaving untouched the British lifeline in the Mediterranean. Churchill's dream has come to an end, not so much through the roar of Spitfires over Athens against the Elás, than through a much quieter, far reaching measure: On November 24th, "Marshal" Tito and Dr. Ivan Subasitch, Premier of the Yugoslav government in Exile (London), agreed to the construction of a "Slav Federation" composed of six autonomous states: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro. Stalin has approved the Balkan Federation plan, which follows closely the pattern of the sixteen autonomous Soviet States, solemnly announced on February 1st, 1944, as the new model of "Socialist Federation". This federated Yugoslavia will unite its six national units under a central government and will have a planned economy; the factories and the businesses of collaborators would pass into the hands of the State. Foreign capital might be accepted under "certain conditions" for the restoration of communications and the installation of great public works, according to the acting Minister for Commerce and Industry in Belgrade. An all-party federal government is in the making which will avoid the civil disturbances and foreign intervention now obtaining in Greece and Belgium. "Marshal" Tito will be the new Premier; the exile will get "important posts" in the new line up.

Reporters on the scene are cabling: "Belgrade looks like a Soviet city. Uniforms of the Western Allies are rare, Soviet emblems are everywhere... virtually every store window is adorned with the portraits of Marshal Stalin and Tito side by side; a huge two-story picture of Tito hangs in the heart of the city... Partisans are drilling through the streets profusely bedecked with the red star, the hammer and sickle..."; a few days later we read in the same paper: "Although Marshal Tito is openly a communist, there has been no evidence that he wishes to establish a "communist dictatorship"... the government of Tito will be pledged to the maintenance of the Four Freedoms and will not attempt to strangle expressions of criticism". (N.Y. Times, November 24th, N.Y. Times, December 6th, 1944)

Tito has already established his dictatorship, a partisan government, born in three years of civil war. Linguists are free to discuss whether this species of dictatorship is "communistic" or not; it is certainly totalitarian and dependent upon Moscow. Tito a pupil and later a leading confidante of the O.G.P.U. has been steeped and groomed in Stalinism since 1926. Tito will occupy a place of honour at Marshal Stalin's court in the future Federated Europe, similar to Mussolini's place in the esteem of Reichsfuehrer Hitler during the time of their glory. Tito will "clean" and purge from his federated Yugoslavia the tiniest spot of "Western Democracy" in an amazingly short time. In this respect his job is easy owing to the fact that the London Government-in-Exile has already come into the fold of the partisan movement; for this political wedding Churchill has been best man, in the belief that he would get Tito as a present of friendship from Marshal Stalin. Churchill's disappointment on the Yugoslavian deal may have influenced to a large extent the course of British politics in Greece.

The Stalinist Slav Federation is, in any case, an excellent piece of political handicraft. It solves the "Macedonian question", one of the oldest devices for Balkanizing the Balkans. Macedonia is today divided into three parts, one under Bulgarian, the second under Greek, and the third under Serbian domination. Bulgaria joined the German side twice, in two world wars, in spite of her "natural" leaning toward Big Brother Russia, in the desire to have and to hold her part of Macedonia against all aspirations of unification. Bulgaria has now already endorsed the Slav Federation plan. Germany had offered all Macedonia to Bulgaria; since the volte face of the Bulgarian-Russian armistice, however, Bulgars and detachments of the Red Army fight together with the Tito-partisans against the remnants of the German army in the Balkans.

Greek Macedonia with the Salonika port will be drawn irresistibly into the orbit of the new Macedonian state. It is today the stronghold of the EAM and the ELAS. The British government can only by force hinder the incorporation of Greek Macedonia into the Slav Federation, and if it succeeds, it will create a trouble spot. Macedonian opposition, beaten today, will be stronger tomorrow when the Slav Federation becomes a reality. The Slav Federation under Tito's rule will attract other parts of the Balkans. Already the possibility of the inclusion of Albania into the Federation is discussed; the commander-in-chief of the Albanian army, Enver Hoxha, president of the Albanian government, is said to be looking forward to making common cause with his neighbors to the East, under certain foreseen conditions. Thus, Tito would solve another Balkan riddle, the "Albanian question".

The political frame-work, important as it might be, is overshadowed by the plan of the "Planned Economy". The Balkans, a backyard of Europe until the present time, an agglomeration of undeveloped countries, of landtilling peoples, is potentially one of the most fertile and promising corners of the earth. Balkan economists have proved for decades that their countries could be as rich in agricultural production (tobacco, corn, fruits, oil, wine, dairy products) as the best farmlands in America. Industrialization, stimulated by the oil-production of Rumania and by the development of an efficient traffic system, could easily progress in leaps and bounds, making lend-lease and imports of American goods superfluous in a surprisingly short period. That is the drive behind the unification trend. The Soviets have bound both, federation and planning, together. The partition of the Balkans into a Western zone and a Russian zone will prove impracticable. A Slav Federation actually functioning in the Balkans may upset the British power system in the Turkish and Iranian zones, already under the fire of Russian intervention. The consequences for the Middle East of such a political reorganization are incalculable. The Greek civil war can only be understood against the background of Tito's peaceful democratic arrangement of his own system.

"Life under partisan rule is described as hard and austere... Discipline and obedience are enforced rigidly, and enemies or those suspected of dealing with enemies are coldly liquidated". (Herald Tribune Nov. 23th) In the democratic Slav Federation under O.G.P.U. "Marshal" Tito, the Balkan tradition of blood-revenge, and the habits of years of guerilla fighting will blend excellently with O.G.P.U. methods made in Russia.



Our map shows the partition of Macedonia between Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. The proposed incorporation of a united Macedonia in the new Slav Federation, firmly centralized under the Tito government, and with exactly the same sort of national autonomy as the 16 Soviet republics are enjoying within the USSR, involves strongly Greece and her present civil war. Bulgaria has already agreed upon the solution. Greek Macedonia is today firmly in ELAS hands. Meanwhile, armed Bulgarians are infiltrating northern Greece and British reports suggest that they are doing so at the invitation of the ELAS.

Macedonia, permanent trouble spot of the Balkans and a breeding place of guerillas long before the present war started, is now the place where the Tito movement and the EAM-ELAS movement are overlapping. The Tito government has formally recognized Greek sovereignty over Greek Macedonia. The Tito movement, and thereby Russian policy, is actually the strongest international support for the ELAS.

Ilja Ehrenburg wrote, in the Pravda, Dec. 17th: "There can be no half measures... The Red Army has shown what it means to liberate. The Poles, the Norwegians, Serbs and Slovaks know it".

Twilight of Liberation -
Civil War in Greece.

"The sudden stab in the back of Greek democracy...The Western world misled into fascist swamp by the Tories..." shouts the Daily Worker, NY, of December 11th '44, and the familiar voice of Joseph Starobin, in the same issue adds: Churchill "cannot win. He will not win. He can only succeed in preparing a most profound humiliation for himself, and all those who still support his mistaken course". Starobin, as usual (see: NETWORK #4 p.3, #6 p.6), raises "the vigilant and avenging hand of forward-moving humanity" and enumerates the crimes: Churchill's stand against Soviet Russia in the '20s, his support of Mussolini in 1920 "on grounds that it was a very good thing that Italy was not plunged in Bolshevism!", his kind words for Franco in his May 24th speech, his coarse aspersion upon the Italian Committee of Liberation which "reveals exactly why the Moscow Conference Declaration (on Italy) has not been carried out". Starobin concludes: "Greece can no more be conquered by Britain than it was conquered by Germany".

The Greek civil war is the most outstanding test case for becoming aware of the political implications of the liberation of occupied Europe. Long before Himmler's rule has been crushed and while the Germans still hold Germany, half of Poland, most of Holland, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Norway - disillusionment of the Liberation Fronts has already set in and is proceeding fast. The much praised European underground, the forces of resistance suddenly are called "bandits from the mountains or countryside", the heroic partisans "ruffians" and "murder gangs". The friends of democracy advance in lorries from the suburbs to start a bloody revolution. Stalinists are promoting "a swindle democracy". Democracy is "merely grabbing power and shooting those who do not agree". Mr. William Gallacher, however, communist member of the House of Commons is just the right fellow to assert: "Yes, that is, what happened in Greece". (see: Commons debate of December 8th, '44). It would be an exaggeration to say that Moscow or even the Greek Communists acted in Greece differently from what they are doing in Italy, or in France or in Belgium. Their first political object in all liberated countries, with the exception of those formerly belonging to Czarist Russia, is the creation of an all-party-national-front and governments, including as much as possible communist controlled resistance forces and excluding as much as possible the "old" or "constitutional" regime, that is, the Exile governments returning from London. It is not helpful to identify this neo-stalinist policy with "communist dictatorship". Such an oversimplification only confuses the issues.

Within the framework of the national liberation fronts the parties of the disbanded Communist International certainly endeavour to introduce their totalitarian regime. No sentence of Churchill's - rather crude - speech in the House of Commons (Dec. 5th and Dec. 8th '44) hit a more important point than his statement that in purging collaborationists a new reign of terror is being established. This replacement of one totalitarian regime by another on which is generally called

liberation may be observed all over the European continent. The USSR is better prepared and equipped than the Western powers to achieve this. The communist parties, branches of the Soviet Union's supreme terrorist body, rate high among the equipment for the tasks in question. In Greece, as in Italy, Belgium or France, it can be seen that under the nose of Allied military authorities and even with Moscow's strictest diplomatic correctness these devices work.

Where Moscow is silent, it has a thousand mouthpieces in operation. Where the Red Army is absent - it has tens of thousands of armed men fighting on the spot.

The Red Army standing at the Greek border, to be sure, did not cross it. In absolute "correctness", Moscow, does not intervene directly; in accordance with the obvious Stalin-Churchill agreement regarding Greece. Moscow is silent to Stettinius' seductive anti-Britain slogan "Hands off from Greece". Russians working with the ELAS were withdrawn from Greece before open civil war started.

The party-line of Greek communists shows nothing unusual - no deviation. On September 3rd, five representatives of the communist-led EAM came from their mountain hideout in Greece and were sworn in as members of Premier George Papandreon's Exile government in Cairo. The year old civil war, raging despite the German occupation, seemed to be ended. There was some fear in Athens that when the Germans left, EAM would take over the city and ignore the Greek government in Exile, but EAM was "cooperating fully" (N.Y. Times Oct. 18th '44). Communist party directives after the liberation, and the return of Papandreon showed "the greatest consideration to the British and Americans, and the party membership did not disobey". (N.Y. Times Oct. 15th '44) When Eden visited Athens, at the end of October, the secretary general of the Communist Party and the Communist Minister of Agriculture in the Papandreon cabinet, called upon the British Foreign Secretary and pledged Communist and EAM support to the Greek alliance with Britain. Both Communists expressed the hope that the liberating power would continue to aid the reconstruction of the country. As everybody still recalls, Churchill spoke pleasantly in the House of Commons about the friendly letter he had just received from his Greek Communist friends.

When the British army proclaimed the disbanding of the Guerrillas, the communists agreed. The general secretary of the party, George Tsiantos, declared at the twenty-six anniversary of the formation of the Greek Communist Party, on November 25th '44, in Athens:

"We agree that all volunteer groups in the interior and abroad should be demobilized and replaced by a national army - an army formed by national recruiting, with no Fascists or traitors in its ranks. This is a real and fair solution, which is a guarantee for all parties, and, above all, guarantees the protection of the nation's interests."

Mr. Tsiantos added: "We are supporters of the peaceful democratic development of our country's political life. We are opposed to violent and dictatorial solutions."

When, finally, Premier George Papandreon ordered the disarmament of all resistance forces, things did not work out as smoothly. The ragged ranks of ELAS-EAM men, wearing their fantastic combinations of German, Italian and Greek military and civil garb, not to speak of the tommy-guns provided by the British for use against the Germans, desired at the least that certain regular army groups be likewise disarmed. They demanded that "Fascists" and "traitors" not be recruited for the regular army. The Communist Minister of Agriculture, Jean Zevgas, protested against "unilateral decisions" of the British commander of Allied troops in Greece, when he, together with five other Ministers belonging to the EAM, resigned under pressure of the rank and file partisans. A Laborite member of the House of Commons echoed this move by asking Churchill, in the debate of December 5th, whether it was not a fact "that the Security Battalions appointed by the Germans to fight against the Greek movement are now being maintained by the present Government and by us?" And Churchill served the potato hot:

"The question of the Security Battalions is not to be dismissed as easily as you have done. According to information that I have most carefully sifted, the Security Battalions came into existence gradually in a large measure to protect Greek villages from the depredations of some of those who, under the guise of being the saviors of their country, were living upon the inhabitants and doing very little fighting against the Germans."

In the second week of open civil war, after paratroopers, Spitfires, marines and the Navy itself had been thrown in - without reaching definite results - Premier Papandreon hastened to announce "that all military right-wing organizations that had tried to take part in the fight against the rebellion had been disarmed and interned".

The communist leaders of EAM, on the other hand, are found to be less emphatic in their demands, according to inside reports from Athens. They are reported to insist only that a new Government be formed including both Left and Right, in other words the old "national-all-party-front" of September 3rd. ELAS would take orders from Themistocles Sophoulis, dean of the Greek Liberal Party, who was asked by all parties, including the Communists, to form a new government when the crisis of the Papandreu cabinet over the demobilization question broke out on Dec. 2nd, and who charged that Churchill had vetoed a change of government. ELAS, according to the same sources, has no objection to Premier Papandreon's remaining in the Cabinet, and would evacuate Athens and the Attica Peninsula. (NY. Times Dec. 5th, Dec. 11th '44).

The specific Greek roots of the present civil war contains a paradoxical mixture of the political atomization of the anti-Metaxas opposition together with a more obvious emphasis of totalitarian tendencies than was visible in the liberation movements in Western Europe in their early stages. During the negotiations of the EAM with the government in Exile in July 1944, it was already clear that EAM was not only striving for some minor Cabinet posts. EAM demanded not only "amnesty" for all ELAS members but also continuation of ELAS as the recognized guerilla organization. Papandreu summed up their demands as

follows: "Immediate formation of an EAM government in the mountains, an army belonging to EAM, EAM control of the gendarmerie and police, the administration of justice and the inspiration of education by the EAM." In other words: "...to bring all Greece within the confines of the party organization and to make the whole life of the country virtually a party consideration." (Hellenic News Agency, July 7th, '44)

EAM, in this respect, belongs to the pattern set by the neighboring Tito movement. The peculiar Greek political atomization could only serve to make the leading role of the Communist Party more effective. In the days before Premier John Metaxas, there had been literally hundreds of political parties. Now EAM integrates many of these groupings around a firm Communist core. The communists have their political commissars planted among the guerilla bands. They are the most efficient propagandists. Their youth movement is cut to a pattern. Their influence is large among students and teachers of the schools and universities, which incidentally still remain closed.

Their increased influence and their prestige among their fellow countrymen derive from the fact that it was they who bore the brunt of the Gestapo's spite. As in Germany or in other Nazi-occupied countries, since 1941, the Gestapo singled out all communists for special prosecution. One of the recent reports, for instance, reads: "Most of the Athenians who were taken by the SS to torture chambers on Merlin Street which, incidentally, is in the town's most fashionable quarter, were Communists...". The SS "were in the habit of passing through the poorer quarter of Athens and collecting hostages, recruiting forced labor to go to Germany, killing citizens and burning buildings in reprisal."

The general civil war conditions in Europe and the present political climate can be understood only against the background of destruction through the Gestapo terror. "Law and order", conservative hopes and restorative wishes are futile under these conditions.

The Athenians are so well adjusted that, when Papandreou's police were firing into the tight mass of the Sunday-demonstration, the demonstrators, in one movement, they flopped flat on their faces. When the firing ceased, they got up again. They did not disperse.

Churchill's words in the House of Commons seemed to be signs of strength and of an unreversible decision: "These men who went up into the hills with rifles and machine guns given them by the British government ...claim to govern vast communities such as Belgium, Greece or Holland - I repulse that claim...It cannot be admitted...If I am not dismissed, make no mistake, we shall persist in this policy. They are mutineers". (Speech of December 8th, '44) But the London Times of December 6th admitted that the Papandreou government does not extend beyond the principal cities, "hardly beyond Athens". And even Churchill himself confessed: "It would be very much easier for us to allow everything to degenerate, as it would, into anarchy or a Communist dictatorship." (Speech of Dec. 5th '44)

Although British paratroop snipers are now firing from the roof of the headquarters of the Communist Party, the resistance of the EAM-ELAS, in the second week of permanent street fighting, is still unbroken and rather spreading; European civil war is upsetting another of the diplomatic arrangements of Moscow and London.

Even if Stalin had the best intentions of keeping all agreements, regardless of changing situations - he could not prevent the damage done by the Greek civil war to British policy. He certainly did not produce the Athens conflict by mere manipulation. The result, however, will fit very much better into his Balkan Federation policy than into the Mediterranean policy of Great Britain. Besides the difference of the internal Greek situation from that in Italy or France - the main characteristic of the conflict in Greece consists of the British alarm at Stalin's growing chances of getting control of the whole continent, by holding the key position in the liberation movements.

III.

Some Remarks on Italy.

Tito's neighbour, comrade, and brother-in-arms, Ercoli-Togliatti, Stalin's other puppet, is much admired for his moderation. In the long crisis of the Bonomi cabinet, Togliatti played successfully the role of the arbiter between the conflicting groups. Togliatti's party is so strong that the danger of being pushed aside is virtually nonexistent. Rome looked very much like Soviet city Belgrade on Nov. 7th of Stalin's good year 1944, when 80,000 people filled the 175 yards of the Palatine Stadium. The Romans are anti-monarchistic; flag incidents (bringing back souvenirs of the "flag-battles", waged by the Nazis on their road to power in Germany) are frequent; demonstrators strip Italian monarchistic flags from their staff and run up the Red Flag with the Hammer and Sickle.

On this 7th of November, long columns marched through the streets of Rome, singing the "Internationale" and "Bandiera Rossa", bearing not only their own red flags, but Italian flags from which the emblem of the House of Savoy had been removed.

Enigmatic Togliatti let friend Nenni do the unpleasant job of fooling the masses; Nenni had to do the yowling against the "plutocrats of industry and agriculture", he had to pose as the representative of the "new ruling classes of Italy"; he had to plea for a "free Italian republic". Togliatti was reserved and devoted his speech almost entirely to praise of the Russian revolution.

Togliatti's behavior explains the Sforca incident. Stalin is preparing the ground in Italy; he implants the seed that will ripen in the heat of the "Liberation"-process in Northern Italy, in France and,

Membership of the Communist Federation of Rome on September 29th, '44: 35 000; for all liberated Italy: 200 000; see: Palmira Togliatti "The Political Situation in Italy" in "The Communist", New York, Dec. '44.

finally, in Spain. Sforza and Nenni are the guinea pigs, helpful instruments in muddling through the chaos of the Italian situation. In Italy, Russia and Britain are compromising today; therefore Churchill vetos Sforza and not Togliatti, and Togliatti, in spite of the sudden brotherly help he received from the new head of the American State department, Mr. Stettinius, sacrifices Sforza by entering the Bonomi cabinet. Nenni's refusal to enter the cabinet indicates danger for the Stalinist policy. That does not at all mean that Signore Nenni himself is dangerous for the Stalinist plans. He pouted his lip at the new Bonomi combination only as reflex, because of the growing dissatisfaction in the population, weary of the tremendous amount of word acrobatics performed by all political leaders since the days of the armistice.

Italian economic prospects are not favorable. The prolongation of the war sacrifices the best elements of the Partisan movement and let them fight alone and without help in a desperate condition. The report of one Captain Sighieri, commander of a Partisan brigade, who arrived recently in Rome from the German-occupied zone, speaks for itself. The partisans were not getting even the minimum aid that they need in clothes, food, medicine and munitions. They go about in rags and torn shoes, without coats, and many still in summer shorts. The percentage of rheumatism, bronchitis and pleurisy is 60 to 70 % in many units. These men cannot go "home" during the winter to the villages and towns they left. Their return would make them an easy prey for the Gestapo.

"They are a tragic, bewildered lot of young men whose contacts with normal city civilization disgusts them and makes them long for the camaraderie and freedom of the hills..." (N.Y. Times, Nov. 22th)

It is obvious that the British cannot be too eager to organize and Italian Elms after the Greek experience. In Northern Italy, however, the question of compromise with the "Monarchy" (i.e. the British military super-government) is not a question of political theory but a question of life and death to the partisans in the mountains.

The latest news indicates a strong counter-current among the followers of Stalin's party in Italy; an old opponent of totalitarian Russia, Amadeo Bordiga, begins to organize. If this fact is confirmed, it might be of importance. Amadeo Bordiga is an Italian Socialist of standing and experience; co-founder of the Third International, he already opposed the Soviet-bureaucracy at the time of the Trotzky opposition, in 1923. In the early twenties Mussolini banned him to the Lipari-Islands. He came back to his native Naples some years before the war.

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IV.

STALIN BANS WEST BLOC- TENDENCIES IN FRANCE.

France is, at the moment, the beloved country of those who might be called "professional optimists". De Gaulle in power has won the love and admiration of all who believe in democratic France, in which the communists would be reduced to the role of one parliamentary party among the others. De Gaulle's repetition of the "Stresemann-policy" - to play the balance of power between East and West - does not solve the French problem. Simultaneous collaboration with London and Moscow is bound up with the persistence of "Teheran". De Gaulle will be forced, sooner or later, to make a definite choice. What seems to be today his strength, the idea of building up a powerful independent France, will prove his weakness tomorrow. If France is bound by a unilateral military alliance to one of the partners in the current battle for Europe, the country will become the playground of the conflicting forces. Stalin will not sleep peacefully in the Kremlin before France is brought to the point where both armies, the British and the American, withdraw for good from the continent and place all strategical air points and naval bases in the hands of the "sovereign" French nation. This far-reaching plan cannot be fulfilled before Stalin's Free Germany is functioning. But all premises for further developments must be laid in time. The apparent haste of the communists is astonishing for observers on this side of the ocean. They expected more compromises with the possibility of winning time for the continuation of "Teheran".

France is the classic land where the "People's Front" was first transformed from a thesis fabricated in a Moscow office into a reality. France's democratic tradition and habits and her large groups of middle class intelligentsia, created the model of a people's front of a parliamentary as well as of a mass-character. It seemed to the generation of the middle thirties the instrument for a peaceful change of the aged social structure of France into a more "modern" form: the French edition of New Deal. The professional optimists believe that this plan will now be fulfilled by De Gaulle. Yet events are driving in another direction, in the direction of the creation of "one resistance and reconstruction party". A "group of the left", composed of various resistance movements of the North (where socialdemocratic and catholic influence was always strong) adhered to the socialist parties, and was followed by other groupings, successors to the weakened radical-socialist organizations. This "victory" of the anti-communistic, democratic forces was immediately answered by a counter-coup of the Communist Party. After manifold vain attempts to create a "united labor party", they have succeeded in forming a "committee of entente" seeking the political unity of French labor. The mood for "unité organique" must prevail in large strata of French Socialists; in a meeting in London, October 7th, of the German Socialdemocrats, a group related to the anti-communistic "Volkszeitung" in New York, the speaker of the French Socialists, Louis Levy said:

"Today we honour the memory of the latest victims of German fascism. We make no difference between them. We honour Leuschner, the trade-union man, Thaelmann, the proud and courageous leader of the communists, and my dear friend, Rudolf Breitscheid... The workers of Europe must unite, and if they do not, they will be defeated".

Louis Levy is a long standing specialist for Foreign Affairs of the "Populaire", the French socialdemocratic paper, a follower of Leon Blum, and today the representative of the French Socialist Party in London. The Socialist Party of France was composed of three main groups (after the ousting of Marceau Pivert): 1. the Paul Faure-pacifists who collaborated later with the German occupation and are banned today from the party (as well as the corresponding group within the C.G.T. (the French Trade Union Organization, namely, Rene Belin, Froideval, Georges Demoulin, Roger Bertrand, Gaston Guiraud, Albertini, Gabriel Lafaye, Rene Mesnard, Masbatin and Ludovic Zoretti, today banned "forever" from the Trades Union Movement); 2. the communistic wing under Zyromsky; and 3. the Leon Blum group. The Leon Blum group tried to compromise with the communists and almost took them into the government at the time of the first Blum cabinet which could not rule without communist support. This group is by nature unable to put up a stiff, an "iron" attitude against the communists; they are admirers of the "Plan" and of "proletarian unity". The Parisian worker is overwhelmingly communistic influenced; among the intelligentsia the fact that Picasso, Paul Langevin, outstanding physicist and Madame Joliot-Curie, have now become members of the communist party speaks louder for the atmosphere in Paris than all coloured reports about the formal position of De Gaulle. De Gaulle has no party of his own, he has also no material to build such a party. A new party can only grow out of the Resistance Movement, and not out of the various diverse groups which are only bound together by fear of the aftermath of Vichy. De Gaulle's army is, in the long run, helpless without such a party which is able to win mass-support.

The gesture of "amnesty" for the deserter Maurice Thorez veiled thinly the fact that De Gaulle had to give in...the triumphant return of "Maurice" to his old battle-ground, the Vel'D'Hiver, the Parisian Madison Square Garden, is the beginning of a series of tactical maneuvers by which the French Socialdemocratic Party will be completely drawn into Moscow's orbit by the instrument of the "United Front".

The forthcoming World's Trades Union Congress in London, in which the C.I.O. will appear side by side with the Russian Trade Unions, might be decisive in the overturning of the last hurdles against "Unity" in the rank and file of French Socialism.

Moscow, in the meantime, can let Jacques Duclos criticise De Gaulle for delay in purging the collaborators and invite the General to Moscow. The aim is to include De Gaulle in the combination, at a later time, if possible; if Maurice Thorez, greeted by Marcel Cachin with the slogan: "Thorez, like Lenin is always ahead of the people", will have "re-united" the French labor movement, then De Gaulle can be the President of the French republic where "un parti, une presse et une milice armée" (one party, one press and one armed militia) will act under the orders of Fuehrer Thorez.

"Maurice" is like Tito, one of the young flock that was selected, tested, purged, and put into the key-positions by Stalin in 1926. The nationalization of the Northern coal-mines and the expropriation of the Renault factories are steps toward state economy which means the beginning of the end of "Vieille France".

Fernand Grenier, another leading communist, has taken the position of "defender of the Empire". The superpatriotism of the communists will corner De Gaulle tightly. The Russian-French patriots are on the war path against the Western bloc; after the events in Greece, Churchill will be enemy number one; De Gaulle must expect hard pressure and very little real cooperation. The American communists are exploiting the conflict between America and England, posing as arbiters for Moscow. Moscow does not "intend competing with London in the markets of Europe or of the world. But what they (the British) tremble at, is American industrial and financial power, and their reflex action is to organize themselves politically and economically to counter-balance the colossus across the big pond." (New Masses; 'A Western European Bloc?', Dec. 5th '44). "One need only read the reports of two conferences, the civil aviation at Chicago and the business at Rye, New York, for some measure of the British fright." (ibid.) American industry and its representative government must keep the British out of Europe, for then you can do "business with Stalin". Earl Browder's sudden zeal for "big trusts" and "free enterprise" becomes now more transparent as an instrument of Stalinist foreign policy, taking into account American mentality, tradition and ambition. An "independent France" under joint American-Russian protectorate, hostile against England, - that is the Moscow proposal to De Gaulle, and a very alluring one.

All communist publications are synchronized in their attack on Pierlot. Belgian events are a no less alarming signal of the real temperature of Europe than the civil war in Athens. The Belgian Communist Party was before the war and the German occupation a nonentity. By tradition the Belgian workers should cling to cooperation with the British Labor Party, tied together by the fact, that the Trade Unions are playing a major role in both countries. Hunger, terror, chaotic economy have changed the mood fundamentally, and have created favorable conditions for closing the ring around the neck of "Western Europe".

All these trends are emerging while Hitlerism is still an undefeated enemy. The antagonism must become sharper as the battle of Europe unfolds. The illusions about Dumbarton Oaks and Teheran will vanish quickly. The Stalinist democratic mask of "all-parties-national fronts" is already only a thin veil hiding poorly the "monolithic party" in the making.

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The "World's Trade Unions Conference" In London.

The civil war in Greece, the sacrifice of Poland by Churchill, and the French-Russian pact make the background for the meeting of the world's Trade Unions Conference in London. The conference will have more importance than its instigators had hoped for.

Sir Walter Citrine and Sidney Hillman will be joined by another "Western" figure Vicete Lombardo Toledano, who is the keyman of the CTAL (Confederation of the Latin-American Trade Unions). The presence of the C.I.O. and the C.T.A.L. will influence the Spanish and the French rank and file strongly and will win over hesitant groups for the "unity" slogans, which actually mean cooperation and -later- fusion with the Russian State Party.

The Trade Union organization of France, the C.G.T., hastened to cable a welcome message to the Russian State organizations, called Trade Union (see: "Trud", Oct. 10th, 1944)

This conference will deepen "the crisis" in the British Labor Party. The December convention of the Labor Party overrode proposals of its leaders and their program for full employment and economic control as "too mild" and "too Churchillian", the delegates adopted a platform asking for the national ownership of land, large-scale building, heavy industries, all forms of banking, transport, fuel, power.

The Russian delegation, headed by Kusnjezow, the new chairman of Russian Trade Unions, will come out for "severe, merciless treatment of Nazi-Germany", exploiting all the just hatred against the Nazis accumulated in the four years of German occupation and warfare. But the content of this program is quite the opposite of what it seems to be. It does not mean the destruction of Germany, but the delivery of Germany into the hands of the Russians, specialists in mercilessness, as the fittest for the job of liquidating Himmler and the Elite Guard. Under anti-German slogans, the Russians will thus prepare the endorsement of their future "Free Germany" by World Labor.

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Teheran-Therapy for Mr. Benes.

Somewhat removed from the general battle-ground of the "Free Movements" in Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia, the "Independent Slovak State" was re-born on August 29th, 1944. Early last summer the Soviet armies have entered Eastern Slovakia, together with the First Independent Army Corps under General Svoboda. Minister Frantisek Nemecek is administrator at Uzhorod in the Russian occupied area.

Since that time civil war has raged in Slovakia. The Nazis quelled an uprising in the German occupied part of the country (in the region of Banska Bystrica and Zvolen). The partisans were driven into "the mountainous regions but the revolt marked the birth of an organization that is independent of the London exile government.

"A national committee immediately took power. The local garrison of Slovak troops joined the partisans... The workers at several big sawmills built by the Nazis and working for Hitler's war machine, overpowered the Nazi Elite units and joined the partisans... Policemen went over to the forces of liberation in all surrounding hamlets and villages."

("New Masses", Dec. 12th, 1944)

Furthermore, three German villages (Deutschproben, Gajdel and a third one) turned against the Nazis and disarmed Elite Guards. Thousands of Czech patriots have filtered through the Nazi lines to join the Slovak partisans and liberation army forces. Thus, the setback suffered when the Nazis stifled this revolt has been made to serve the Stalinization of Czechoslovakia, by establishing a Committee of Liberation on the spot as a good weapon not only against the Nazis but also

against the exile regime when it returns.

Already the fight has begun between Mr. Benes' cabinet and his competitors in the mountains. The Benes outfit had until now been among the blind followers and admirers of Stalin's policy. They really believed, that after four years of Nazi rule Prague would take up the thread where it had left off. The Czech temperament would guarantee a "genuinely democratic" re-born state in the shadow of the Red Army. Stalin would protect the rule of the Czech politicians. The creation of the "Independent Slovak State", within the framework of the Czechoslovak republic, paves the way for a federation of the Tito type. Already the London Czechs are in open conflict with their future boss.

"...several strange things happened. Two groups of experts and civil servants had to be chosen from the personell of the government agencies in London...But the government arbitrarily picked experts and civil servants for this mission without taking into consideration those forces in the State Council who represent the genuinely democratic and progressive movement...One was Fedor Hodza, son of the late Milan Hodza...who was an ardent follower of the anti-Sovieteers. The other, Capek...has an ugly record...the agrarians, it should be remembered, for the most part represent the reactionary big landlords of the country. The new nominations were unfortunately made by President Benes, who once more displayed a certain political weakness under the strong pressure of the reactionaries." (ibid.p.19)

Benes is also reprimanded for appointing Dr. Slavik to the post of Minister to Belgium. The "bloc of the three labor parties, the Socialdemocrats, Czech Socialists and Communists (with old-timer Karl Kreibich as the driving spirit for "unity") seems to make life pretty hard for disillusioned Benes. In due time they will all learn that the Kremlin will not tolerate in power in Europe one single man who has worked with the British government during the war.

"No doubt reconstruction of the (Czech) government will be carried out as soon as its seat is transferred to the homeland. And there can be no question that in any new government to be formed the CZECH, SLOVAK, AND CARPATHIAN COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION WILL PLAY A KEY ROLE, for it is they who genuinely represent the heroic Czechoslovak people. (ibid.)

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"Life of Lenin" An Insult To Stalin.

A humble tract is circulating in Rome, a serialized "Life of Lenin". The Russian authorities declared that the author was an "enemy of Russia" and therefore a "Fascist" and that his pamphlet on the "Life of Lenin" was insulting to Russia. The Russian authorities sent an official demand for the suppression of the publication. The Allies' officials declined and informed the Russians that censorship and control of the press were regarded as undesirable unless related to military security.

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2) Social composition of the Civilian
Elements in the Plot.

They speak of the civilian section of their opposition movement as "a number of well-known personalities of the business world and of the civil services", men who have lost their position through the handing over of industry and commerce to the big armament trusts and through the infiltration of Party and Elite Guard leaders into the administration.