

THE NETWORK

Information Bulletin on European Stalinism

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Ruth Fischer

This bulletin is devoted to the analysis of the New Stalinism succeeding its Hitlerite and Fascist forerunners, which is now emerging in various areas outside Russia. Its activities and organizational form deserve close study and relentless exposure. The Bulletin makes no claim to completeness since the task of describing and analyzing the rapidly growing Stalinist movement in Europe, in Asia, and here in the United States is far beyond the capacity of only a few persons. Therefore, the bulletin is confined especially to news items concerning the Free German Movement and its inter-relationship with the other Moscow controlled Free National Movements and Governments in Europe and with the various outposts among the political emigrants all over the world.

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HIROSHIMA AND MOSCOW

1. Stalinist Expansion Blocked

With President Truman's announcement of the possession of the secrets of atomic energy a great change in the world's political atmosphere became immediately noticeable. The sudden surrender of Japan and the American monopoly of these discoveries, have altered the balance of power. The conferences of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam gave ever greater superiority to the USSR - the stalinization of the world was progressing with irrepressible speed. After domination of Eastern and Central Europe by the Red Army and the NKVD, France, Italy and Spain were next on the list. The victory of the Labor Party in Great Britain seemed to round out the picture. Nothing could have been more welcome to the Kremlin, than a weakening of British Foreign Policy. The secret agreement about the forthcoming entrance of Russia in the Pacific War opened unlimited opportunities in China, thus creating a broad channel for further penetration of Moscow's policy in Asia.

The disappointment in the Kremlin is sharp, outspoken and bitter. The Kremlin's strategy in Asia was based on the premise of another year of land warfare in Northern China and Manchuria which would be the starting point for a chain of people's front movements. The sudden wind-up of the military campaign is an obstacle for the unfolding of this political warfare.

The bomb on Hiroshima has become a political weapon of the most far reaching consequences; in exposing the possibilities of atomic energy, the United States emphasizes its superior power and discusses atomic power entirely in terms of having and holding world supremacy.

The change is best expressed in Churchill's well planned speech, which had been concerted sub-rosa with Clement Atlee, the premier of this British Labor Government. The initial step in foreign policy of the British Labor Government was extremely hostile to the Kremlin, demonstrating the solidarity between the two Anglo-Saxon powers. The State Department's action against the Bulgarian Government and its forthcoming "free elections", shattered the whole set-up of the new-born Stalinist puppet states. The discovery about the peculiarities of Bulgarian democracy will not be restricted to Bulgaria alone; The Bulgarian "Treatment" about which the "Daily Worker" was so tremendously enthusiastic has been applied to all the countries under NKVD rule; in attacking Bulgaria, a regime completely molded by the Kremlin, and by implication, the Kremlin's policy in Poland, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Hungary has been attacked.

In the near future political turns may be expected as a result of this American superiority; the Socialists in France have rejected "organic unity" with the Communist Party and may win greater influence in the October election, isolating the Communist Party of France:

"Unity with the Democratic and Socialist Union," a resistance coalition from which the Communists were excluded, "and which was created to oppose left-wing groups.... this decision shows a sharpening separation from the Communist Party instead of a closer alignment of the Communist and Socialist Parties." (Daily Worker, Aug. 19th, 1945)

Similar developments may take place in some other Western European countries e.g. in Spain, Scandinavia, Holland and Belgium.

2. The Race Is On

The production of atomic energy is neither a secret nor the creation of a genius.

Many brains of all peoples have contributed to the ultimate success; but it was the high level of industrial organization in the U.S. which finally made this achievement possible. It is not enough to have the world's most outstanding brains to get this new source of energy into production. Tremendous industrial equipment and a great array of auxiliary industries are necessary and these conditions cannot be imitated in a country which lacks industrial perfection. If and when another country reaches the same or a similar level of industrial organization the secret of atomic energy will be in its hands. No anti-spy activities can make this "secret" safe.

The Kremlin has reacted quickly and correspondingly to the situation. The atomic bomb "miracle" was belittled by "Isvestia". Claims that the bomb had won the war against Japan were ridiculed. This was necessary to allay the anxiety created in the Soviet Union and her quisling states from the news on the atomic bomb. However, at the same moment, the Kremlin announced a new five-years plan, built around the reconstruction of heavy industry and destroying finally all illusions of a long period of peaceful business in which consumers goods could be exported in unknown quantities from the USA to the starving and poverty stricken population of Eurasia. The Kremlin's new five-year plan means another period of suffering and restrictions, another period of "guns instead of butter", with the difference that this time it will not be "guns" that will be produced. Whereas the United States has spent two billion dollars on the research for, and production of atomic energy, the Kremlin will set aside four billion dollars for the same purpose. In the great fastnesses of Arctic Siberia and in hidden corners of the Urals, super-projects for the creation of atomic energy will be erected; millions of slave workers from Germany and from all other European countries and from Asia will serve this plan. The vast slave-domains of the NKVD on the Arctic coasts and elsewhere are even better adapted than the New Mexico desert for such experimental work. The race between "Project Manhattan" and the Russian Super-Project is under way and no human power can stop the contest.

3. A New Phase of Terrorism

Some have prophesied that Stalin's Russia would become more democratic by gradual and peaceful change after Germany's defeat. How ridiculous these statements appear but three months after Hitler's suicide! We are entering an era of intensified terrorism, for the Kremlin has no time to lose and knows it.

The next period will be characterized by a growing aggressiveness of Stalinist policy. Political warfare in Europe and in Asia will be intensified. The Communist Parties will be driven towards a more radical policy; it is most likely that Stalin himself will now found "the Fourth International" and reunite his State Communist Parties in Europe into a new League for the Defense of Pan-Eurasia.

In this political race, Stalin has in spite of his present set-backs, the advantages over the United States. The settlement in Asia is a long range job and will take considerably longer than Churchill's three years. Material superiority is not only not enough, but may lead to the most dangerous illusions. In the long run only political energy will dispose of atomic energy. The present relative industrial backwardness of Russia could be overcome by a combination of terrorism and political engineering giving certain strata of the newly conquered people a share in the hierarchical power of the State Parties.

If the United States believes too religiously in material superiority alone the atomic bomb might be a boomerang, not destroying all of humanity (a fantastic and nonsensical concept), but only a system of life, which has thus far escaped world change.

CHIANG KAI SHEK AND STALIN

1. Chiang Kai Shek - the Most Kremlin-Conscious Dictator

The most original and fascinating figure emerging now surprisingly as victor at the end of this war is Chiang Kai Shek. A whole generation of dictators arose as national leaders in the shadow of the October revolution: Horthy 1919, Mussolini 1922, Hitler 1933, Stalin 1924, and Salazar 1926, and Kemal Ataturk 1923, and so on. Chiang Kai Shek came to power in 1927. Under the specific conditions of his country his nationalism may even claim to have been and to be more genuine than its European counterparts.

There are certain positional similarities between the Central European countries (Germany, Italy, Poland, the Balkans) and the Chinese provinces, - both are in a middle position between the USSR and the great capitalist countries. The countries in both areas were much more intensively affected by Russian trends than the Anglo-Saxons, they had more intimate experiences with "communism", acquired practical knowledge of the internal processes within Bolshevism, within the Russian State Party, and inside the Kremlin. It is, however, one of the personal characteristics of Chiang Kai Shek, that of all the anti-bolshevik national leaders it is he who has the most intimate knowledge of Russia. He speaks Russian, Sun Yat Sen sent him to Russia for special military training where he attended a Red Army school in Moscow in 1923. He worked closely with Borodin, the Russian advisor of the Kuo Ming Tang from 1925 to 1927. (By 1933, when Chiang Kai Shek took his second all-out stroke to exterminate Chinese Communism, German advisors had taken the place of Borodin.)

The Kuomintang had built its original organization roughly after the pattern of the Bolshevik Party; they also took advice in organizational technique from Borodin and they imitated the Muscovite purges and terror. Chiang-Kai-Shek not only eliminated in 1926 the communists from all important jobs within the Kuomintang, but mercilessly purged its rank and file, arresting and executing tens of thousands of Chinese Communists. Chinese nationalism fought a battle of life and death against the Russian encroachment. Today Chiang Kai Shek stands as the greatest expert on Stalinism who holds power in a major country. Stalin, in the Kremlin, and Chiang, in Chungking, are competitors of the same calibre.

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2. Chiang's Comeback

It is significant that the life-line of the two surviving totalitarian leaders - bolshevik and the anti-bolshevik - should coincide in their decisive turning points. The domestic fights for monopoly of political power of both reach their high points in 1927 and 1934.

In 1927, Stalin crushed the remnants of the broader, not merely Russian national socialist impulses of early bolshevism. This was the signal for Chiang's opening of his anti-communist civil war, and for severing the bond between the Kuo Ming Tang and the Chinese Communists. In 1934, when the OGPU fabricated the Russian counterpart to the Reichstag-fire, the Kirov assassination, initiating the final purge of the state party, Chiang Kai Shek tried with Nazi assistance, his second all-out blow against Mao Tse Tung and his followers.

Chiang Kai Shek, with the assistance of Moscow, was the victor in the various episodes of the long Civil. In 1936, by mutinies under communist influence, the kidnapping of the Chinese Generalissimo, was checked by orders from the Kremlin. After

the bombing of Hiroshima, the Kremlin is apparently again in panic fearing a renewed and increased danger of "capitalist encirclement". The Russo-Chinese treaty means that Moscow contents itself with having an ear in the Chungking Government, instead of taking its chances in a Chinese Civil War. Thus, in the hour of the greatest and most far-reaching change in China's world position, the Chinese Communists are reduced to serve merely as Moscow's spies.

Chiang Kai Shek now has a most beautiful comeback. He had to retire somewhat in the background in view of the possible large-scale land-fighting against the Kwantung Army. Now, his policy is triumphant, the Chinese have "sat out" the war. In settling the dispute with the Communists, the Kuomintang wins time in which to stifle them and to liquidate them at its leisure. During twenty years of civil war the Kuo Ming Tang developed in its procedures a degree of terrorism which can well compare with that of Stalin and Hitler. Any appeasement or "organic" deal between Chungking and Yen-an in the years to come is excluded. No Chinese multi-party system, with a Chinese "People's Front" is possible. Stalin's sudden deal with Chiang Kai Shek is a cautious evasion. The new Moscow-Chungking pact does not even mention the relations between Chungking China and Yen-an China. The new pact resembles rather the Stalin-Hitler deal of 1939 in some aspects. It does not solve the decades-old Chinese crisis but only opens a new phase.

It marks sharply for the present the high-tide of Stalinist conquests and infiltrations, and it must affect - very unfavorably for Moscow - the revival of Stalinism in other countries which has been going on for years under the cover of "anti-fascist" warfare. Mao-Tse-Tung's flight to Chungking, escorted by the American Ambassador may be one of the first events marking the beginning decline of Stalinism.

Chiang Kai Shek will now, more than ever, continue his policy of extermination against his life-long opponents. He holds all the trumps - including a silent understanding with those groups in Japan that are ready to work, under Chinese leadership, for a New Deal in Asia based on concerted action against the Kremlin and the backing of America with its industrial superiority. The recognition of Chiang Kai Shek by Moscow ends the perennial whispering of the fellow-travelers about the "dead man" in the corrupt and rotten Chungking leadership. Chiang Kai Shek is a very living obstacle for Mao Tse Tung. The Chinese Communists must either take the hurdle or perish.

3. The Communist Retreat of 1934

The Chinese Communists had followed the advice of the Moscow Politburo, they shared the illusion of capturing China through the Kuo Ming Tang. The Chinese Communists had to bear the burden of Chiang Kai Shek's "counter-revolution" and in addition the blames for the "wrong" line of their Russian advisors.

In the years of civil war the Chinese Communists were eliminated more and more from the proletarian centers and pushed into backward agricultural regions. This was after the bloodshed of the late twenties and was decisive for their development. It ruined their prospects of becoming the unifying center of the New China by transforming their organization from a regional government into an all-Chinese national movement, educating and rallying the workers of the industries. On the direct advice of Stalin himself, Chinese Communism developed at the same time a new technique of resistance. It transformed its political organization into a purely military one; when retreating to the border region, they transformed themselves into partisan and gueril squadrons, applying as early as 1929, the resistance methods which have come to such honor in Europe in the second world war. The mountainous regions of the border provinces gave them on a broader scale the same advantages against Chiang Kai Shek as "Marshall" Tito found later in the mountains of Yugoslavia against the Nazis. This transformation took place in accordance with the transformation of the Russian

Communist Party which, after its 15th Congress in 1927, applied on an ever-increasing scale terroristic methods within the party. This transformation into a peasant army living on the land, and at the same time organizing politically the poor villages, may seem a reversion to something more genuinely Chinese, and from a quantitative point of view it was accompanied with an enlargement of the movement. Actually, the retreat from the important and decisive industrial areas of China, from Canton and Shanghai and the coast was the outcome of defeat, of Moscow's caution, hesitancy and defeatism. In spite of the inflated fellow-travelers' propaganda Mao Tse Tung is today a peripheric figure of Chinese life.

4. Stalinism Enters Danger Zone

The greatest concession of Stalin toward Chiang Kai Shek consists of the fact that at the moment of the Japanese surrender the world political constellation forced Moscow to leave unused, the very favorable situation for Chinese Communism. The full consequences of this decision cannot be foreseen. So much, however, is clear: In China, Neo-Stalinism, War-Stalinism, "antifascist" Stalinism for the first time met with a kind of emerging Neo-Fascism. Months after the body of Mussolini was hung by the feet in the market place of Milan, and after Hitler committed suicide in the cellar of the Reich chancellery of battered Berlin, the surviving Asiatic anti-bolshevik leader of stature comes out with increased prestige and great political possibilities.

The Chinese example shows once more the impracticability of "People's Front" tactics without the previous "anti-fascist" setting. After the breakdown of the Axis the foreign political background for this device of domestic politics is gone. The Comintern-created People's Fronts have no constructive power of their own. They were but instruments of Stalinist infiltration. The process of penetration, however, came to a halt, at least for the moment, hence the instrument loses its main function. American technological superiority, demonstrated in Hiroshima, must lead to the decline everywhere of the "national-all-party-fronts". Peaceful coordination of the foreign branch of the Russian State Party by democratic procedures is no more likely in China as a result of the war, than it is anywhere else.

The People's Front, from its first performances in France and in the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939 to the Chinese situation, needed above all the common hostility against the claims of Germany or Japan. By 1941, this has become the alliance between Moscow and Washington-London. Now in China, where again civil war threatens as a prelude to another world conflict, Russia stands alone with her conquests. In the coming conflagration alliances will play no role. The loss of sovereignty of individual states goes one step further. In 1939-1945: "neutrality" became impossible; in the coming conflict there will be no "alliances". Conquests, occupations and direct military control of air bases and other objectives (Kurila Islands) will alone count between the two remaining competitors.

To be sure, Moscow will fight back and try once more to infiltrate throughout Asia; a renewed activity of the Indian Communists is already in the making. Beside the Chinese Communists Japanese Communism will raise its head. The situation adds new weight to fifth columns, to increased NKVD-activities, to propagandistic manipulations, to Trojan Horses of assorted colors. In this respect, the danger zone the USSR is now entering will accentuate the assets and the shortcomings of multi-national Stalinism.

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM

The tales about the "democratic" character of the Chinese Communist movement and about its relative independence from Moscow are misleading propaganda stuff.

Many fellow-traveling American journalists, among them Owen Lattimore, have tried to implant this idea in American public opinion.

Actually, the egalitarian habits, the simple and poor living standards, obligatory for leaders and rank and file as well, are the result of a long struggle for survival under backward peasant conditions. These aspects of Chinese Communism do not at all exclude the terrorist pattern of action and the totalitarian hierarchical set-up.

THE RUSSIAN STATE PARTY AND THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

During the Russian Civil War, the Kolchak intervention cut China off, for nearly 18 months, from any direct contact with Russia and news of the Russian revolution reached China only in 1920. The first grouping of workers in Shanghai and Canton coincided with the young nationalist movements, against the Versailles Treaty, which in its clauses 156-158 provided for the Japanese occupation of Shantung and transferred to them all German rights and privileges in that area.

In 1923, the Dutch Communist Maring-Sneevliet contacted Sun Yat Sen and reported favorably to the Moscow headquarters on the young Kuomintang organization. The Comintern ordered the young Chinese Communist Party to coordinate its efforts with Sun Yat Sen's organization; they entered individually and in groups gaining access to the highest posts within the Kuomintang. In the three years of intimate collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Kremlin from 1923 to 1926, the Communist movement gained momentum and broadened its influence throughout China. When Stalin came to power/the Russian Communist Party in 1925, he and his temporary braintruster Nicolai Bukharin looked forward to unbroken cooperation with the Kuomintang. Stalin and Bukharin fought bitterly against all "Trotzkyite" deviators, which warned the Politbureau, that a country like China and its organization, the Kuomintang, would not be an easy piece to handle and maneuver with. In 1926 the turning point came, influencing tremendously the internal development in Stalin's Russia and contributing to the isolationist phase of Russian National-Socialism during 1929-33.

Many Chinese Communists went to Russia for training in Stalin's "Lenin-Schools", many Russian and Comintern agents were sent to China to acquire experience in inner-party terrorism. (Chu Teh, now second in command and outstanding leader of the Chinese Communists went to Soviet Russia and was sent to Germany where he joined the party in 1923). The Comintern considered the Chinese branch as a nursery school for European and American Communists who seemed to be too soft, too western in their behavior. e.g. Earl Browder was among the early birds on the scene. In 1929, Hans Berger was sent for additional training to China where he could finally fulfill his dream of liquidating deviating factions by machine gunning. On his terroristic activities against Chinese Communists who opposed Moscow's strategy, many reports circulated among German Communists after his return to Europe and when he was sent to the United States for work in the American Communist Party. On December 11, 1927, Heinz Neumann, another German communist leader, and transferred by Moscow to China, tried to regain his shattered Comintern prestige by inciting the utterly senseless Canton uprising. After three days of heroic fighting the uprising ended with complete collapse and disaster for the Chinese Communists. It merely contributed to the further setback. The Party, however, officially stated: "The defeated Canton rebellion was a rearguard action of the retreating revolution;" and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern declared that the "Cantonese Commune" was the sign of "the new Soviet phase of the Chinese revolution."

A special Party conference on "bolshhevization" was held on August 7, 1927: "We welcome the energetic intervention of the Comintern which enabled us to expose the mistakes of the previous party leadership and thus save the Party. We emphatically condemn the opportunist, non-revolutionary policy pursued by our Central Committee

"and consider it necessary, on the basis of the lessons of the past, to radically change the course of the Party policy..." *

ORGANIZATIONAL GROWTH

Among the thirteen delegates of the first Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, held in Shanghai in July 1921, were Mao Tse-Tung and other personalities still prominent in the party. The young party split over the question of discipline and centralism, but accepted a program of organizing the proletariat for the capture of political power. The party remained very small until 1926, reaching a national membership of only 1000. However, it had a very active youth organization numbering 9000, most of them students, and a considerable influence among the workers of the industrial centers on the Southern coast.

At its fifth Party Congress in April 1927 the Chinese Communists numbered 59,967 members (as against 964 members at the time of the Fourth Party Congress in January 1925), 53.8% of these were workers. The Chinese Young Communist League, at the same time, had 35,000 members, 41% workers, 15% peasants. The Young Pioneers (children's organization) 120,000 members. In June 1930 the Chinese C.P. had a membership of 65,528. The Fourth Army Corps, under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung and Chuh Yeh comprised in 1928 10,000 partisans, in 1929 22,000 partisans, in 1930 62,000 partisans, in 13 Army Corps and distributed throughout 19 "Soviet Districts". The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931 gave the Chinese communist partisans an opportunity to develop guerilla fighting in the rear of the Japanese armies.

The first Congress of the Chinese Soviets took place on October 7, 1931 in JUIKIN in Kiangsi Province. "Our task is the establishment of a Soviet Government over the whole of China."

In 1934 Chiang Kai Shek marched against Kiangsi and wiped out 60,000 red soldiers, compelling the Communist Army to withdraw from the province which was its main base. The communist partisans marched 3000 miles - one year and four days - into the provinces of Kansu and Shensi - a poverty stricken region - where they reorganized in connection with the local Red Armies.

The Young Communists' League was transformed into a quasi-military organization, numbering several hundred thousands of young peasants and workers. The Chinese counterpart of an NKVD the "State Political Administration" is fully developed within the controlled area where the communists claim to rule eighty to one hundred million people from Yen-an. The present party membership is unknown.

"FREE JAPANESE" MOVEMENT

Under the present conditions the "Free Japanese" Movement deserves the greatest attention. The headquarters of the Japanese People's Emancipation League is Yen-an. The JPFL is the successor of various other Stalinist Japanese anti-imperialistic organizations which existed during the twenties and the thirties.

Its leader is Susumo Okano, a veteran communist, who managed to flee Japan in the early thirties and had been engaged for many years in underground activities against the Japanese invasion army in North China. The JPFL, like its predecessor, the Anti-War League, is composed of Japanese soldiers, captured by the Communist Chinese Armies, mainly by the Eighth Route Army. The Japanese prisoners were given

*P. Miff, "Heroic China", 15 Years of the C.P. of China - New York 1937, p. 52

a choice of being sent back to the ranks of the Japanese army, sometimes with special assistance for wrecking and sabotaging, or of remaining with the JPFL. These "wrecking activities" have brought no palpable results; only the Khabarovsk radio reported a mutiny among Japanese soldiers. According to Russian sources the surrender of the entire Japanese Fifth Kwantung Army Group was accompanied by mutinying and the killing of officers. Soldiers in the Manchurian armies reported to the Russian commander that the Japanese soldiers were delighted to hear that Japan had surrendered and could hardly wait for the end of the war.

There exists a Japanese Workers' and Peasants' School, conducted by the JPFL in Yenai, which has organized several thousands of Japanese war prisoners and has trained them. No doubt, the Kremlin will strengthen considerably its effort to form free Japanese groups among the hundreds of thousands of war prisoners recently captured. In the situation of defeat Japanese national-bolshevism has a great chance.

Indian Communists Propose Interim-Government

In the third week of August, 1945, the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress congratulated the British Labor Party, after the elections. "The AITUC hopes that the leadership of the British Labor Party will immediately initiate measures so as to grant freedom to India and to end colonial exploitation." The Council demanded immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, removal of the ban on the National Congress and other political organizations, restoration of civil liberties and immediate elections, regional and central. Congress leaders are looking forward to an Interim-Government to be formed under the auspices of the Viceroy, if necessary, without the Moslem League. This provisional government should organize elections throughout the country. P. C. Joshi, general secretary of the Communist Party of India supports the demand for a provisional Indian government, but asks for unity with the Moslem League.

Russia, dirving for influence throughout the Moslem world, does not exclude the "reactionary Indian Moslems."

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Dutch Communist Paper has 400,000 Circulation

A strong Dutch Communist Party may be of importance for the Dutch Indies, especially for Java.

The Dutch Communist Party is putting out eight editions of its daily newspaper: De Waarheid (The Truth). Three months after the country's liberation these publications are reaching the 400,000 mark. A communist conference was held on July 21; a national committee of forty members has been elected. The Party estimates its present membership to be about 50,000. The number before the invasion was 10,000.

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GERMANY AFTER POTSDAM

Hans Berger Discovers New Bill of Rights

The Potsdam Agreement has led to bitter disappointment among the honorable members of the Council for a Democratic Germany, who cherished the illusion, that they could play ball with the Russians. In consequence, Paul Hagen retired to some University job in Chicago and has given up all ambitions to be the leader of a "revolution from above" that could be equally welcome to the Kremlin and to the State Department.

Only Hans Berger tries to reconcile the irreconcilable and to defend the Potsdam Agreement as

"...a kind of new Bill of Rights for the Germans, which was practised until now only in the zone controlled by the Red Army."

Berger promises for the near future a German Government

"...which will give the democratic Germany a chance to work for the rebirth of their nation"... "the Germans can again hope to become a sovereign nation."

After the Russian occupation forces have dismantled all factories and transferred the rest of Germany's industrial equipment to Russia Berger states that the Potsdam Agreement excludes the de-industrialization of Germany, which would have been

"the death sentence pronounced regarding the future of Germany. For, without industry and without a modern industrial proletariat no historic progress is possible."

Many similar articles of Berger indicate unrest among German Communists in Germany and abroad. It is likely that the Stalinist policy may lead to serious new splits among German Communists, especially in the Mexican group. Many communists are asking with Churchill: What has become of the millions of persons expelled by the Russians? They are "particularly concerned with reports of conditions under which the expulsion and exodus of Germans from the new Poland have been carried out. The Polish Government says that there are still 1,500,000 of these not yet expelled within their new frontier... enormous numbers are unaccounted for. Where have they gone and what is their fate?" It is the peak of Stalinist hypocrisy to speak about a "Bill of Rights" for Germans at this moment.

ACTIVITIES OF THE "NATIONAL COMMITTEE FREE GERMANY"

Our prognosis that the National Committee Free Germany was the nucleus of a Moscow sponsored German Government and that it will be transformed into such a government, is being affirmed step by step. The first step of the Politburo of the Russian Communist Party to install a "Free German" government was the repudiation of Ilja Ehrenburg through the chief of the Propaganda Section of the Central Committee, George Alexandroff, on April 14th. The second step is the setting up of twelve Administrative Departments from top to bottom, in Berlin, right now. Noteworthy for the character of the new Russian sponsored German regime is, e.g., the Director of the Department of Agriculture, Edwin Hoernle, veteran communist, long-time exile in Moscow, where he worked for many years in the International Institute of Agriculture and since

1941 within the National Committee Free Germany.

The Free Germany Committee and German Officers League in the USSR provides "control officers for the reconstruction Labor Camps, partly technicians, partly educators who have been trained by the National Committee Free Germany for their new tasks, in an one year course." The forced laborers are divided into three classes: Class A minor war criminals, 14 to 16 year old members of the SS In Armes; Class B underlings of war criminals; Class C the average prisoner of war.

According to communist sources "a mass movement has arisen in numerous POW camps" under the slogan "Reparations are our First National Duty".

The National Committee Free Germany disposes of regular sending hours at the Berlin Radio, and has its own specialized programs.

The organizer of the Berlin broadcasting system is Hans Mahle, a former leader of the Young Communists League in Hamburg, who has been parachuted by the National Committee after the Generals' revolt of July 20, 1944, behind the German lines. He was a member of the National Committee from its beginning.

Free Germandom seems to be most workable in the domain of poetry. The State Poet Johannes R. Becher, back from Moscow, recently read his poems over the Berlin radio. Some of the lines ran as follows:

"I will be grand in all Sport Palaces
Announcing our new marching order.."
(Einst steh ich gross in allen Sportpalaesten
Und kuende unsern neuen Marschbefehl)

At a press conference in Berlin, Wilhelm Pieck, general secretary of the Communist Party of Germany recently predicted a membership of one million for the end of this year.

Oskar Mueller who is known as a ruthless Camp Senior ("Lageraeltester No. 1") from the concentration camps is now touring the factories around Frankfurt, his former district as communist deputy to the Prussian Diet, with speeches on the collective guilt of the German people.

Among the survivors: Lieutenant Scheringer. Sch. is a "National-Bolshevik", son of a general and educated in the best Prussian military tradition, who went over from the Nazi Party to the Communist Party with a group of other Reichswehr-officers, after their trial in which Hitler was one of the witnesses. During the trial Scheringer was highly celebrated by the Nazi party organization for his courageous representation of the Nazi viewpoint. When transferred to the fortress Gollnow Scheringer came in contact with imprisoned communists and finally joined the Party. He has now been found in Bavaria among the surviving old-timers.

Minister of the Interior Franz Honner took the oath of the "Second Austrian Battalion", homecoming from the Carinthean mountains. The ceremony took place in the "Burghof". In the parade honoring The Unknown Liberator of Vienna, the Vienna Communists carried banners with the inscription: "The power of the Red Army saved Vienna from the atom bomb."

The Free German Movement in England has applied for the return to Berlin of 600 members of their movement, among them former deputies of the Reichstag and of city council, trade-union officials, writers, journalists, doctors, teachers and many other intellectuals.

The Free Germans in Paris are negotiating with the French Government the return of 3,000 refugees. The General Secretary of the Free Germans in Paris, Hauser, has a beautiful car and makes frequent trips to Germany, it seems, however, only to the French zone of occupation.

Among the 400,000 Germans living in Switzerland are about 150,000 "anti-fascists" according to Free German reports, the majority of them belonging "to the movement". Presidents of the Free German Committee in Switzerland are Dr. W. Abegg, a former high official of the Prussian Government, and Wolfgang Langhoff, author of the book on concentration camps "Die Moorsoldaten". Apart from "Free Germany" there exists an organization known as "Democratic Germany", led by Dr. Wirth, Otto Braun and Crispian.

A new group of the Free German Movement was founded by political refugees in Melbourne. The majority of them are members of the Australian Labor Battalions; they are publishing an Information Bulletin and a "Youth Review"; President Heinz Zantoff, Secretary Elfriede Taft.

UNITED FRONT IN BAVARIA

The Bavarian Social Democrats and Communists have carried on discussions and reached unanimity regarding trade unions. A committee with equal representation has been created to settle all possible disputes. The conference denounced as "separatism" the policy of the American appointed Bavarian Government.

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CONCERNING THE DEATH OF WERNER SCHOLEM

We received a letter from Paris with some new data concerning the death of the anti-Stalinist Werner Scholem:

Paris, July 30, 1945.

A former inmate of the concentration camp Buchenwald reports on the murder of Werner Scholem, in July 1940: "The influential camp officials among the prisoners took no interest in political questions and other questions of general importance, with a few exceptions, among others the former Reichstag deputies Karl Bartels, who was for a time camp senior. Another exception was the camp senior Neubauer, KPD, who especially had supported Scholem. Neubauer has been released in 1939. It was the ruling clique in the camp which in 1940 managed by denunciations the murder of Scholem and the transfer of Plaettner, Melcher and Woitcher* to the death camp of Oswiecim (Auschwitz)...."

P.

* * * * *

* Member of the KPO (Communist Party Opposition)

FROM GERMANY

The Returning Soldier

Germany, June 27, 1945

With the return of the many German soldiers and civilians, the first period of apathy seems to draw to an end. There are still many, many people, practically exhausted from the senseless activity and labors of the past years, who are resting up, staying at home - what they can buy is little and they don't need much money - waiting for something to happen. But the local "Arbeitsamt" in most districts has by now ordered all civilians to register and has issued "must-work" orders which are to take effect shortly. When a man reports to the Arbeitsamt in Frankfurt (directed once more by the old social democrat who was at its head prior to 1933, just like the local "Krankenkasse") he is immediately urged to go and hire himself out to some farmer for the next few months. Otherwise there is little to offer except to former members of the social democratic and other parties who are welcome to accept some minor job in the city administration where the Nazis are slowly being kicked out. A few owners of smaller factories are trying to organize their works once more, and some receive a certain amount of assistance (Offenbach, Oberstein) if the products can be made available to GIs who insist upon buying worth-while souvenirs. The vast majority of factories maintain only a staff of caretakers, and as far as I know no attempt is being made to bring back any of the evacuated machinery - which can be found at the oddest places, such as the many machines of textile plants which I found while looking at the ancient monastery of Eberbach near the Rhine.

The average soldier who returns - with the exception of the youngsters - has been in the army from 5 to 8 years, and remembers only his school years before that. If he comes from a worker's family, he may have worked in a factory as an apprentice before, but that, too, is a long, long time ago. They come home to completely unsettled conditions and are now supposed to settle down to a new life. To begin with, they are a shiftless bunch, most likely nervous and run-down. It was German army policy to shift its personnel around all the time, even if the men were not engaged in combat. Rarely did they stay at one place for even a week. I have heard from several sources already that during the first weeks at home these returned veterans just can't stick around for any length of time. They take off and go visiting around and they cannot conceive of themselves as civilians with regular habits and the ability to accept regular employment. Certainly, conditions will force them to adapt themselves, but they most certainly will develop many traits unknown to us before. They will represent a large pool of necessarily unskilled workers, as shiftless as our immigrants of the late 19th century. Traditional trade unions when and if they are permitted to organize them, will seem very queer to these men. The problems they face and their way of solving them will be very much different from the problems of the pre-1933 German working class. On the other hand, in the administration, we find almost invariably the old-timers. Men who would like to and actually can forget the past 12 years which for the majority or at least a large part of the population was most they ever remembered. A bridge so far has not been found, quite to the contrary the gap is only being built up now. It would be wrong, however, to think of these "youths" between the ages of 23 and 40 as all-out Nazis, - they are rather inarticulate and mad at the whole mess. Accustomed to think in non-political, more or less totalitarian terms. If they get access to definite types of jobs and a chance to stick to it, the work will be the one thing, it will be a more important and exclusive factor in their lives than it was for their fathers, - on the other hand the old-timer will most definitely try to rebuild their unions such as the 1300 miners around

Aachen, and it remains to be seen how much life such a prehistoric curiosity can develop.

Allied and Russian Radio

In this essentially turbulent state of mind, with the constant worries about food, the average returnee and other Germans presently living in the American zone, turn to the radio for all the information and the only type of entertainment they can get. They have the choice of listening to Radio Luxemburg, or Radio Frankfort, Cologne, Munich, Hamburg - all more or less under SHAEF management, with Hamburg being a little more independent; or the listener can listen to Berlin, or to the Austrian Freedom station of Graz. Then, of course, he has the direct broadcasts from BBC in London, on shortwave the American broadcasting station in Europe, the voice of America in many languages in a variety of stations, etc.

The SHAEF chain of stations is morbid, indeed. News of course, as everywhere, well edited and not colored. But then endless speeches more or less on one theme: the fact that Germany is defeated, the crimes of the Nazis and the responsibility of the German people, the necessity of a democratic re-education of the Germans (the part about the collective responsibility for the war, etc. is very much a part of this democratic education), a certain amount of information about the functioning of democracy in the U.S. and Britain and also France, and the good understanding with Russia, and once in a great while some light music which is what the listener really wants. Frankly, I don't believe that any of the stations are very popular, although the youngsters like to listen to GI programs which are also covered by those stations in part (aside from all-GI stations run in France and mobile stations in Germany) and which feature the customary amount of swing.

Quite differently handled is the Berlin station, where invariably and intentionally casual and cheerful announcers supply news, a few talks, a lot of light music, a certain amount of serious classical music (that also comes sometimes from the other stations, with emphasis upon Tchaikovsky, Mendelssohn, etc., not without a reversed discrimination as opposed to the former Nazi discrimination), and a lot of swing. A full program from 6 AM to midnight is provided, with interspersed talks which make sure that people everywhere understand what the Russians are doing in their part of the territory, what rations are provided, what wages are being paid, how the factories operate, etc. And then comes Graz, strictly Austrian and "democratic" with lots of Viennese waltz, talks about the building up of Austrian democracy, etc. Under the circumstances, Berlin and Graz cannot fail to have a considerable higher listener appeal than the SHAEF stations. Inasmuch as no other entertainment is provided so far for the inhabitants of the American zone, this is particularly important.

Naturally, a large number of rumors exists in the American zone about the other zones and particularly about the Russians. Immediately after the Russians announced their ration system over the air, all kinds of rumors started that they also wanted to assist in feeding the civilians in the other zones, by dropping food from airplanes with parachutes if necessary, etc. Then again more somber pictures come out from people who have recently crossed over. The anti-Russian feeling which was first so definite seems to be waning and will most likely continue to decrease as the food shortage in the other zones becomes more severe. The Russians have officially 15 million people in their zone as against 55 million in the west, and at the same time they are holding most of the agricultural districts.

H. M.

Social Democrats and Communists - A Talk with an
Influential Member of the Social Democrats in Frankfort:

Frankfort, July 30, 1945

The goal, in his opinion, is the grouping together of all anti-Nazis, the social democrats will completely conform with the communists and for this reason a very close cooperation exists between the two organizations. (So far these organizations are not legal, of course, and only the nucleus has been brought together.) All differences between the two workers' parties, he said, must be scrapped and all mass organizations (workers' sport, singers, trade unions, youth movement) must be built together so as to avoid that ever again the labor movement be split as badly as it was before 1933. He has been told by various communists (and he seems to believe it) that within the party there will be as much democracy as there is in all the other CP's and that in Russia itself the people now enjoy true democracy not only within the party and in the shop, but that they also have elections... the two parties plan to jointly run all the mass organizations, built around the committees as they already exist, with equal representation of communists and social democrats.

A number of former trade union secretaries have volunteered (just as the welfare work and most other such jobs are carried out by volunteers, without pay) to assist in the organization of free trade unions along the lines of the old Freie Gewerkschaften and polls in factories show a very enthusiastic response on the part of the workers. (A good many factories voted 100% in favor of reestablishing trade unions.)

In factories where the old shop steward can still be found, he is reinstated, otherwise a similarly trusted man is put in his place. The number of survivors is amazing. Newcomers are very scarce and not particularly desired. As a result of the "denazification" the familiar old faces from the time of the Weimar Republic turn up again doing exactly the same job the Nazi did till now, like issuing ration cards, writing out permits, etc., because the red tape has been kept up almost identically.

Among the Social Democratic survivors, of course, the older age groups prevail. For example, the Welfare Committee in Frankfort is composed of 5 Communists, 4 men and 1 woman, and 5 Social Democrats, 1 man, the fellow himself, and 4 women, all housewives over 60 up to past 70 and without knowledge of administrative, organizational or other problems.

H. M.

FROM FRANCE

Boulogne- Billancourt, July 31, 1945

The general climate here is characterized by a great tiredness and a deep desperation. The active elements of the Resistance shared illusions about the social significance of the struggle. But it is clear that reactionary forces are on the march everywhere and are improving along the whole line. The elections we will have in France will give us very probably a left majority, but what a left! With regard to the social program this left is almost undistinguishable from the ancient Radical Socialist Party, and only under this condition will it be allowed to govern. If it had the imagination to want a little bit more, then we will have - that is already clear to everybody - a dictatorship, more or less veiled. Everthing is already settled for that...

A. W.

Paris, August 9, 1945

At the moment two things are of interest: the Petain trial which is the trial of the whole policy-making personnel of the Third Republic and which could be summed up by the beautiful song taught in the schools under Vichy: "Marshall, here we are..." The second, the trial of the constitution, is conducted under the sign of the mountain crying out in labor as it brings forth a ridiculous mouse. The mouse will be a bastard. With regards to the mountains, they are heaps:

1) The Communist Party with the National Front (Louis Marin, Jacque Debu-Bridel, a bunch of priests, etc.), the minority of the MLN (Journal "Action", well done: Herve, Copeau, Astier de la Vigerie (a Drieu de la Rochelle type, but gifted) with the cooperation of a whole entourage of youngsters, and Aragon and his wife Elsa Triolet-Concourt) and the benevolent and mutual insurance of the radicals (strongly misled in the country, not popular, competing with the Resistance). This Party controls about 50 to 60% of the newspapers, has the slogan "production, production, production", is the scaffolding of the state to be born, or more correctly, the decaying state, and it is always the last refuge of all these old gentlemen of great hearts, but unclean vests.

2) The Socialist Party, illuminated by the miraculously restored prestige of its leader, but living throughout on the negative virtue of not being Muscovite; collecting all the dust recently brought together in the Union of the Democratic and Socialist Resistance (Union de la Resistance Democratique et Socialiste, promoter Izard, technocrat, Bi-Monthly: Clarte) embracing the MLN-majority (the active intelligentsia with bourgeois leanings) with its following of newspapers and magazines, the most interesting of which, Combat, is in every respect remarkably well done, although boring in the long run (Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre), furthermore from the Resistance the group around the magazine Volontes, then the O.C.M. (Technocrats, Blocq-Mascart), and finally the left socialists, the Pivertists and so on (magazine: Libertes, good enough but weak - they published recently an article by Silone). This whole group acts only in reaction to the maneuvers of the communists, and wavers to a large extent around the government - the present and the future one.

3) The Governmental Party, right wing Resistance with numerous links to the industry, the banks, the army of course, and the radicals, manipulating easily enough the domestic affairs, but continuously failing in foreign affairs in spite of the beautiful pact with Russia, routinism, and last though not least, the deception of the defeated victor, neglected, and without hope to find again the least "grandeur", not to speak of beefsteak, - are giving a preview, a glance of coming neo-fascist adventures.

Here, however, as everywhere in Europe, each political tendency exists only as a function of foreign policy. While the first is plainly eastern and the second plainly western (English bloc), the third is trying to square the circle, but will lean toward the West when the Lebanon question is forgotten and the wound is dressed by that jolly old fellow Atlee.

Periodicals of the third "parti": Le Monde (Temps), La Bataille, bi-monthly, Nouvelle Litteraires, etc. To its supporters must be added the MRP (Republican Popular Movement, Resistance Catholics with Maurice Schumann), Le Figaro with Mauriac - independent enough, but throughout within the orbit of the second "parti" is the good magazine Esprit (left Catholics, E. Mounier) and the bi-monthly Temps Present (St. Fumet)...

Many people here think that the new Russian regime needs first of all a lasting peace and that Stalin will manage to get it through some concessions. I, to the contrary, believe that the next war for world rule cannot let us wait very long (between five and ten years, but I am inclined to think rather in terms of the first estimate regarding the starting point of a new cycle of crisis). Will the Marshallism of Stalin be able to stabilize the conquests? Will he be allowed to do it? Will the rapacity of this new imperialism, half bourgeois and half Asiatic, buro-autocratic, contribute a genuinely imperialist character to the USSR (in the sense of economically necessary, not of morality)? The truth is in between the miscalculations, incapacities, and abilities which we always used (and correctly for that) to underline and the undoubtable achievements which surprised the world. That means, a starting point for terrific contradictions. The basis of the dictatorship is greatly enlarged, but so are the demands of the soldiers who pilfered pocket watches and saw

with their own eyes the bathrooms, the furniture and all the rest, and whose standard of living cannot be raised to the same level as that of the new manipulator class which is well established, alert and without restraint in their victory delirium. I believe that none of us has yet the least idea of real misery. By the way, it was said that Vienna had suffered but little, although ^{the} journalists who arrive are now saying the contrary. And as for Budapest and rest - let's not talk about it. One thing is sure: before the greatest mystification of all times has been eliminated, nothing can be done, absolutely nothing can be done.

Ph.

Lyons, August 8, 1945

When we read your note on Ignazio Silone (NETWORK II, 4, p. 13) we really were shocked to learn of a man of his record developing in that direction. We looked immediately for further information on the case and fortunately we were able to find that he has not betrayed himself. He is not at all in favor of Joe and his family, not even of Pietro (Nenni) and is opposed to the fraternization of the two. It seems that he entered the scene in order to disturb them. If we cannot approve of everything he does, in this respect, at least, it seems impossible to raise objections against him.

J.

FROM CASABLANCA

Casablanca, August 8, 1945

...There are almost no political emigrants here, just a few stalinists and a lot of non-political Jewish refugees, who all now are neo-Stalinists, but with whom I have no contacts. The old and the new stalinists are running around with an air of secretiveness and mischievousness and whisper about the coming war of liberation of Communist Russia-Communist Europe against the Anglo-Saxon world. In the name of freedom, of peace and what not. The French Communists here are even more dependent and stupid than those in Europe. They had all followed the line of Ilya Ehrenburg, but had at the same time dreamed about a fresh and gay war, whereby the German Stalinists entrusted the leadership to Marshall Stalin and Paulus, the French to Stalin and Thorez. The old and new French Stalinists - together with the new Jewish converts - adhered to the wildest anti-Boche-racism and in the cafes they declared (between two black market bargains) that the Russians are going to exterminate at least 20 to 30 million Boches, including their children, that Stalin at the Red Army's entry into Berlin would proclaim a night of the long knives for his victorious soldiers and they are now pretty much astonished that the Russians are the first in applying the fraternization principle. I am not quite sure whether they really are astonished because for that they would have to think. And they don't think at all, at least not with their brains.

D.

FROM LONDON

London, August 6, 1945

Today, some Social Democrats are whispering that the CP of Germany is only a Fifth Column. To say that aloud has already become deadly dangerous and meets with objections in their own camp. Also the legalization of Parties in the British and the American zone of occupation will not make it possible to call a Fifth Column a Fifth Column. In order to characterize the German CP one cannot be silent about Russia, and this will be tolerated neither in Hamburg nor in Munich.

I consider it completely unlikely that the Labor Party, or anybody else will give

us any support. The Labor Party is the government. It cannot and will not aid a German organization. Labor couldn't do it also because that would necessarily be interpreted as a counter-move against the Russian sponsored Berlin-Social-Democracy. The London Parteivorstand of the German Social Democrats does not acknowledge the claim of the Berliners to be the central body for all of Germany. The Party has to decide the issue. Practically the Berliners have all advantages: they were ahead in time, they are in Germany, they have the material and moral support of the Russians, they are riding on the unity-wave...

A.

FROM SWEDEN

Stockholm, Sweden, August 16, 1945

I see my basic conception confirmed by the development and I am counting on a period of large-space state-capitalism with correspondingly international relations - probably after a temporary liberalistic reaction toward the war economy. In this period, the communist parties, besides their Russian foreign assignment, will play their role to the end, in other words they have on a new level the same task as had the Social Democrats on the liberal democratic plane.

K.

THE COMMUNISTS' SEARCH FOR A REICH PRESIDENT

The Russian controlled party paper of the communists and the Christian democrats in Berlin published the resolution of the German Committee "Victims of Fascism" urging Thomas Mann to return. "You are one of the greatest and ablest sons of the German people" - the resolution addressed the famous author - "We believe you now have an historic work to accomplish in Germany. We need your help. You belong to us.

Simultaneously, the "apparatus" was able to arrange a personal and equally urgent appeal of the pre-1933 president of the "Poets' Academy", Walther von Molo to Thomas Mann:

v. Seydlitz and his German Officers Bund are now in the background. They became Labor Camp Commanders. Now the poets and thinkers are most appropriate. Thomas Mann as German Reich President would be the most wonderful solution of the problem: how to install a nation-wide Free German Government. The name of the novelist would serve to soften up the resistance of the Western powers. Thomas Mann in office would be at once a tribute to Western culture and an assurance of Moscow's control.

It is well known that the German Communists, for two months, worked hard to get Thomas Mann's candidacy. We remember that Thomas Mann originally was selected for the chairmanship of the communist-controlled "Council for a Democratic Germany" in the U.S., headed now by Prof. Paul Tillech, but did not accept.

Thomas Mann declined again.

(afce)

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