THE WAR
and
The Working Class

A FORTNIGHTLY
JOURNAL

May 15, 1945

PUBLISHED BY THE NEWSPAPER "TRUD", MOSCOW
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Magnificent Victory</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. GALAKTIONOV: Germany's Military Debacle</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. RUDNITSKY: Resurgent Poland</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. SLOBODSKOY: Italy After Liberation</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. VOLINSKY: Stern Retribution for the War Criminals</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Life (Notes)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. SERGEYEVA: At the United Nations Conference (San Francisco Letter)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Reviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. BESPALOV: A Dangerous Conception</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronicle of International Events</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Editor: A. DANILOV

12, Kalashny Pereulok, Arbat, Moscow, U.S.S.R.
A Magnificent Victory

The joyous news of the complete victory achieved over Hitler Germany flashed round the world with the speed of lightning. The total war imposed upon the freedom-loving nations by German predatory imperialism has ended in the total collapse of the blood-thirsty aggressor. The mortal danger that hovered over the peoples of Europe and of the whole world, has been removed. The just war of liberation, waged against the most rapacious and brutal imperialism in the world, has ended in complete triumph over the enemy. The sacred struggle for the freedom and independence of the peoples, the struggle to save them from enslavement and physical extermination by the Hitler cannibals, a struggle that has been replete with unexampled heroism and which entailed unparalleled sacrifice and privation for the freedom-loving nations, is over.

The victory over Germany will go down into history as an event of the greatest magnitude. The experience of this war will be an object of study for many generations of historians and many useful lessons will be learned from it. But the most important lessons to be learned from this war are already clear to us: the contemporaries of and participants in the great struggle.

The course and outcome of the war have revealed to the whole world the role and significance of the Soviet Union as the most consistent protagonist of peace among the nations and the most determined antagonist of fascist aggression. The Soviet Union's contribution to the defeat of Hitler Germany cannot be overestimated. United around the Bolshevik Party, around the great Stalin, the Soviet people like a steel wall barred the way to the Hitler invaders, who, up to that time, had marched from victory to victory. During the three years, in which it fought single-handed against a powerful and stubborn foe, the Red Army wiped out the largest number of German invaders. The overwhelming majority of the German divisions were destroyed on the Soviet-German front. It was here that the monstrous German war machine received the crushing blows which decided its fate. Thereby the Soviet Union saved European civilization from fascist barbarism, and the peoples of Europe from the lot of slaves to the German "Herrenvolk."

Fighting for the immortal cause of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people inflicted on Hitlerism not only military but also moral and political defeat. The Great Patriotic War, the Soviet Union waged against the German fascist invaders revealed to the whole world the unexampled heroism of the Soviet people at the front and in the rear and their iron determination to make every sacrifice, no matter how great, to encompass the complete defeat of the enemy; and it revealed the enormous military, economic and moral might of the Soviet Union. Let the henchmen of fascism and its agents who are lurking in dark and ill-ventilated corners from the might of the Soviet Union! The democratic forces know that the entire might of our great country is at the service of the noble cause of peace and friendship among the peoples, the cause of averting and preventing any recurrence of imperialist aggression.

The course and outcome of the war have shown that the guarantee of final victory over a powerful and dangerous enemy like the German aggressor was the united efforts of the great peace-loving powers—the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States—which headed the anti-Hitler coalition of freedom-loving nations. From the very day they commenced their preparations for the second imperialist war to the last manoeuvres the Hitler bankrupts attempted on the threshold of their complete collapse the entire political and military strategy of the German imperialists was directed towards causing a split among the great peace-loving powers. The German robbers based all their calculations on the sowing of discord in the camp of the Allies and on creating a fissure between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon powers. Germany's fate was sealed when in the course of the war a close partnership-in-arms was formed and concluded between the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States, around whom all the freedom-loving nations, big and small, united. Despite the expectations of the German imperialists, the great Allies found common ground and proved their ability
jointly to settle the most complicated questions concerning the war and to act in concert in the struggle against the common enemy. The war has shown that upon the solidarity of the great democratic powers, and on their unity in their struggle against the aggressor, depends, in the long run, also the fate of the medium and small countries, which are unable alone to withstand the onslaught of a large aggressive force. Such are the realities of the present era, confirmed by the years of dark Hitler domination over a score of European countries. These realities cannot be obscured by verbal equivocations. The vital interests of all the peoples, big and small, demand that the great peace-loving powers, which possess sufficient resources in material and manpower to offer effective resistance to an aggressor, shall march together in the struggle against aggressive forces and thereby save mankind from new sanguinary and destructive wars which can bring only the destruction of civilization in their train.

The course and the outcome of the war have shown that only the iron determination of the freedom-loving peoples, their indomitable resolve to smash the sinister forces of Hitlerism, ensured victory over the enemy. Only after fascist Germany was routed and her knees by the Red Army and the forces of our Allies did she admit defeat and announce her unconditional surrender. What a hubbub was raised in certain political circles in the Allied countries by the demand for unconditional surrender! How many "apprehensions," "doubts" and "warnings" were uttered that this demand would strengthen the determination of the Germans to go on fighting and would thereby prolong the war and increase its casualties! What efforts the tacit and avowed defenders of Hitler Germany exerted in their attempt to weaken the determination of the peoples to crush the enemy! But these efforts were all in vain. The defenders of German imperialism failed to save the fascist beast. Soviet public opinion throughout the whole period of the war combated the designs of the enemy agents in the Allied countries. True to the ancient Russian custom of "not making peace with wolves except by skinning them," the Soviet people emphatically rejected all half-measures in dealing with the enemy; they wholeheartedly denounced all attempts to stop halfway in the struggle against Hitler Germany. They now have the satisfaction of registering the fact that the war has ended in the utter defeat of the enemy.

Victory over German imperialism has been achieved, but it still has to be consolidated. This is demanded by the blood and ashes of the millions of victims of Hitler aggression. It is demanded by the vital interests of the peoples. The Third Reich has been crushed at the cost of innumerable human lives. There must be no Fourth Reich! The consolidation of the victory presupposes, firstly, the complete military and economic disarmament of Germany, the complete moral and political defeat of fascism. This includes the extirpation of fascism and its influence in all spheres of life; the liquidation of the Hitler state, of the German armed forces, of the German General Staff and of the economic base of German aggression; stern and swift punishment of the war criminals; and compensation in kind and in German labour for the damage caused to the countries which were victims of German aggression. Secondly, the consolidation of the victory presupposes the formation of an effective international organization to maintain peace and security. The unfortunate experience of the pre-war period and the valuable experience of the war period lead to the indubitable conclusion that the struggle to prevent or suppress every new act of German aggression will be successful if the Great Powers, which have borne the brunt of the struggle against Hitler Germany, continue to act in a spirit of harmony on the basis of mutual understanding and respect for mutual interests, if the international security organization which is to ensure stable peace among the nations pursues no aims extraneous and alien to its spirit. Only if these conditions prevail will the international organization for the maintenance of peace and security justify its purpose. Only in that case will it serve as a bulwark of justice and right in international relations. "Solidarity in peace and in war"—this formula expresses the strivings and aspirations of the widest sections of the people in the democratic countries.

There are still no few forces, however, for whom this solidarity sounds like sentence of death. Among these are the pro-fascist reactionary elements, who, with the defeat of Hitler Germany, have lost their main prop, their trump card in the struggle against the forces of democracy and progress. There are still not a few breeding grounds of fascism in Europe and outside of it. It must not be forgotten that, although Hitlerism has been crushed, there are still imperialistic trends of
which fascism was the most aggressive type. Needless to say, these trends are fundamentally inimical to the freedom and independence of the nations. It would be childish and dangerous to believe that fascism can be completely extirpated without a decisive and ruthless struggle against the reactionary pro-fascist forces in individual countries, as well as in the international arena. The execution of this task calls for the further consolidation of the democratic forces, for their unrelaxing vigilance, and for their ever-increasing activity.

The world is emerging from this war different from what it was on entering it. The experience it has gained at such a terrible price cannot be forgotten. The re-establishment of the international political situation that existed in Europe before the war, and which permitted the Hitlerites to prepare and commence the war unhindered and to achieve considerable success in its initial stage, is out of the question. The war has changed the face of Europe. Victory over Hitler Germany has crowned the age-long struggle the Slavonic peoples have waged for their existence and independence against the German aggressors. For the first time in history, the Slavonic peoples stood solid and united against every new attempt at the German Drang nach Osten. A new life has dawned for the lands of Eastern Europe, where before the war anti-popular fascist cliques, which served an alien imperialism, held sway. "Henceforward the great banner of freedom of the peoples and peace among the peoples will fly over Europe." (Stalin.)

Rejoicing over the victory must not obscure the magnitude and complexity of the tasks that arise now that the war in Europe is over. The victor countries and the liberated peoples of Europe are confronted with a number of extremely important political, economic and social problems. These include the repair of the incredible damage caused by the war, the prevention of famine in a number of European countries, purging political life of the miasmas of fascism, clearing out traitors of all breeds and species, finding employment and means of existence for the millions who are returning from German servitude and for the men and women released from the armies and war industries. The social system of our country guarantees all citizens the right to work, and Soviet people are looking forward confidently to the morrow, knowing that not a single worker will prove super-

fluous in the great work of reconstruction and construction that will develop in the Soviet Union now that the war is over. All the greater, therefore, will be the understanding and sympathy with which the Soviet people will watch the efforts of democratic circles, trade unions and workers' parties in the capitalist countries are making to combat the looming danger of mass unemployment. It is quite obvious that the prospect of combating this frightful scourge for millions of toilers in the capitalist countries is inseparably connected with the prospect of development of international co-operation. The more successfully post-war political and economic co-operation proceeds between the countries, and the more effectively the voracious appetites and imperialist inclinations of the privileged groups of super-profit hunters are curbed, the larger will be the number of workers who will find places in industry.

In the peace period that is now being ushered in, the struggle which the peoples of the colonial countries are waging for their freedom and independence, will acquire great prominence. Fascist tyranny presented to the world the most repulsive forms of enslaving peoples. It was not surprising that the striving of the peoples in dependent countries for liberation flared up with new force during the struggle against fascist aggression. The Soviet Union is a multi-national country in which the relations between the constituent nations are based on complete equality. All the more, therefore, will Soviet public opinion sympathize with the just struggle of the peoples of the dependent countries, which are striving to take the path of free development and to create for themselves the necessary political and economic conditions for a decent existence.

The war which Hitler Germany has waged against the freedom-loving nations has been a titanic contest between the forces of black reaction, obscurantism and savagery, on the one hand, and the forces of democracy, progress and freedom, on the other. Once again the inviolable law of history has been confirmed, namely, that the forces of reaction may achieve temporary success, but they cannot turn back the wheel of history, for mankind's progress is irresistible. But the incredible privation, sacrifice and effort which victory has cost imperatively demand that it be consolidated by the establishment of lasting peace in the interests of all progressive mankind.
Germany's Military Debacle

Major General M. Galaktionov

took good care to remind the French of this. This was a psychological blunder. By dictating the armistice terms on French soil, Marshal Foch lent colour to the legend that the Reichswehr was not defeated, but was stabbed in the back. This time the last act in the defeat of the monstrous Hitler dictatorship was performed amidst the ruins of the Führer's capital.

By signing the final act of unconditional surrender in Berlin, the capital of Germany, the German armed forces were obliged to admit their utter military defeat. Now that the freedom-loving nations are jubilantly celebrating the close of this unprecedentedly arduous and prolonged war against Germany, it is our duty to future generations—by laying a firm foundation for peace and security. We must deprive German imperialism of all material, political and ideological possibility of preparing for a new war. The fundamental condition for this is the maintenance and strengthening of the partnership-in-arms of the United Nations that was established in the course of the war and led the freedom-loving nations to victory over Germany.

We must impress it upon the minds of the Germans that they lost the war not as a result of a "stab in the back," but as a result of Germany's utter military defeat. In Berlin the entire war against Germany was summed up, and care must be taken that this summation shall not be obscured in the very first days after the close of the war, that it shall be kept clear and distinct for many decades. Undoubtedly, victory over Germany was achieved as a result of the common war effort of the Three Great Powers—the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain—assisted by the other democratic countries. Held in a vice between two fronts, dismembered by the Allied armies advancing from the East, the West and the South, Germany was brought to her knees by the armed might of the United Nations.

The press of the Allied countries quite justly emphasized this fact, which is so important not only for the outcome of the war, but also for the future development of mankind on the basis of peace and security. Nevertheless, utterances of another kind are met with in the foreign press, which, by distorting the truth, may hinder the strengthening
of the solidarity of the victor countries. This, of course, can only benefit the dark forces of defeated German imperialism.

For example, Krock, the commentator of the New York Times, quotes the statement of a certain "administration adviser" who, after paying tribute to the bravery of the Red Army and to the "indispensable part it played in defeating the Nazis," in the very next breath belittles this part. In proof of this we shall quote the following passage from this statement:

"The Red Army fought on one front, but we fought simultaneously on many."

This sentence cannot but amaze every impartial reader. The Red Army did indeed fight Germany "on one front." But can it be forgotten that at the most decisive and most prolonged stage of the war this was the only land front? Here the fight was being waged against the entire might of the German war machine. It was only during the last eleven months of the war that Germany was held in the grip of two fronts. Fighting single-handed against so powerful a foe as Germany, who at that time controlled the economic resources of nearly the whole of Western Europe and had at her command scores of divisions of her satellite allies, the armed forces of the Soviet Union, thanks to their might and military skill, succeeded in inflicting decisive defeat on the common enemy and in saving the world from enslavement to the German "Herrenvolk." This, however, was achieved only by putting all the forces of our country to the utmost strain; it was achieved at the cost of heavy sacrifice. The Soviet public never regarded this division of the burden of war as fair. The Soviet press, and our journal in particular, emphasized more than once the need for the speedy creation of a second front in Europe and the timely fulfilment by the Allies of the obligations they had undertaken as regards the second front, for this would determine the extent to which the war could be shortened, the number of casualties reduced and the sufferings of the peoples of the occupied countries of Europe, who were groaning under the yoke of German fascist rule, diminished.

In the war that has just ended the Red Army was confronted with a task far exceeding in magnitude that which had ever confronted an army in the history of war, even including the great war of 1914-18, when Germany was obliged to fight on two fronts from the very outset. It must be recalled that in the first campaigns of the Second World War in the West-European theatre, Germany, far from being weakened by heavy casualties, actually became stronger, for during those campaigns her armies acquired experience in the conduct of modern operations. They improved in quality and in quantity by her exploiting the material and partly also the manpower resources of the European countries she had vanquished. In 1941 the entire force of the German army and the armies of Hitler Germany's satellites was hurled against the Soviet Union. Throughout the whole course of the war the main forces of the German army—about 200 divisions—were on the Eastern front. This situation underwent no change even after the splendid landing of our Allies in Normandy. On the Western front there operated only 80 divisions at the outside.

No other army in the world could have stood up against so powerful an enemy as Germany was after the thorough preparations she had made for war. The Red Army emerged from this unprecedented test with credit and glory. It inflicted decisive defeat on the German army and hoisted the flag of victory over the capital of Germany—Berlin.

The historic epic of the struggle, which the Red Army waged single-handed against the German war machine for three years, an epic so replete with drama, wonderful heroism and superb generalship, can be divided into three consecutive stages, each of which was important in bringing about the utter rout of Germany.

The first stage, when German aggression was halted, was amazing and unique in the history of war. In stupendous defensive battles the Red Army stopped the enemy tank armies, which were sweeping eastward, and struck crushing blows at the fascist beast. The enemy failed to break down the gallant defence of Leningrad, which refused to bow its proud head to the arrogant conqueror standing at its walls. The sudden passage from the defensive to the offensive by the Soviet troops during the titanic struggle near Moscow was an immortal example of military skill. These feats of military prowess and generalship were crowned by the epic of Stalingrad, which the whole world, two and a half years before the end of the war, accepted as the token of victory over Germany.

On May 11, the London radio broadcast an article by Lieutenant General Douglas Brownrigg on the cause of Germany's defeat in which the author said that Rommel's defeat
coincided approximately with the defeat of the German army at Stalingrad, and that as a result of these two defeats the German war machine received a shock from which it practically never recovered.

We have not the least desire to belittle the importance of the brilliant campaign our Allies conducted in North Africa. Nevertheless, the facts are that in 1942 the Red Army waged an arduous, single-handed struggle against Germany, who had concentrated the bulk of her forces and those of her vassals on the Eastern front, whereas in North Africa only a few German divisions were operating. At that time the Red Army achieved one of the greatest victories in the history of war, a victory which determined the entire subsequent course of the war. There can be no doubt that the success our Allies achieved in North Africa was primarily due to the fact that the Red Army withstood the blows of Germany's main forces and routed them. For the sake of truth and for the sake of historical fairness, these commonly known facts must not be forgotten orushed up.

In the second stage, after Stalingrad, the Red Army was still fighting without the support of a second front in Europe. The character of the war had undergone a change. Fighting now proceeded on fortified lines. The Germans had erected powerful defence zones, the breaching of which constituted a most formidable task. In the course of its offensive the Red Army, routing the Germans on the Dnieper and in the foothills of the Carpathians, proved its superiority over the German army in military prowess, in armaments and material, and in military skill. In 1943 Germany possessed strong fortifications, "Tigers" and "Ferdinands," and a numerically great force. But the German army was defeated in stern and heavy fighting in conformity with all the rules of the modern art of war. The Germans were unable to stop or even temporarily check the Red Army's mighty sweep to the West. The final defeat of Germany inexorably drew nearer.

In the third and final stage of the war, Germany found herself in the grip of two fronts, but she still counted on putting up a prolonged resistance. Even after the Red Army had reached the Vistula and the Allies had liberated France and Belgium, the German Command made an attempt at a coun-

ter-offensive on the Western front. Nevertheless, the mighty offensive launched by all the Soviet armies led to the utter rout of Hitler Germany in a very short space of time. This offensive was astonishing for its magnitude, the might of its blows, and the scope of its strategic design. Our two Southern armies commanded by Marshals Tolbukhin and Malinovsky, after fighting their way through the Carpathians into the valley of the Danube in a campaign unparalleled in history, captured Budapest and Vienna. In January 1945 the three armies commanded by Marshals Zhukov, Konev and Rokossovsky routed the German central group and reached the Oder and the Baltic coast. Marshal Vasilevsky stormed and captured Königsberg. Bled white by the blows dealt her by the Red Army, Germany relaxed her resistance in the West and our Allies crossed the Rhine and invaded Germany. After that the Germans practically ceased resisting in the West and hurled all their forces against the Soviet troops. In this situation the Red Army struck the enemy the last and decisive blow and captured Berlin. Germany was compelled to announce her unconditional surrender.

A truthful account of the war will undoubtedly be a valuable contribution to the cause of strengthening mutual understanding and mutual respect among the United Nations, and this mutual understanding will serve as the most stable foundation for the peace and security of the peoples. We are happy to see the gallant deeds of our comrades-in-arms—the British and American soldiers—perpetuated in history's scroll of honour. They revealed their mettle in historic battles on land, in the air, and on the sea. The great deeds performed by the armies which fulfilled the sacred duty of smashing Hitler Germany will be engraved in the memories of the peoples forever. The greatest burden in this war was borne by the Red Army, and it bore that burden to the end. It heroically fought and overthrew a powerful, stubborn, dangerous and cunning foe and hoisted the flag of victory over his capital. By expelling the enemy not only from our country but also from a number of other countries occupied by the German imperialists, it fulfilled its noble mission of liberation to the end. Its banners will forever be enshrined by the glory earned in the greatest ordeal any nation has ever gone through.
Resurgent Poland

K. Rudnitsky

THE WORLD is following the processes taking place in liberated Poland with intense interest. Boldly laying new paths for its development on the lines of broad political and economic democracy, the country is winning the sympathy of all progressive sections of the freedom-loving nations. On the other hand, and this is not surprising, democratic Poland is a target for the attacks of the forces of black reaction all over the world.

The ringleaders of the campaign of hatred and calumny that is being waged against resurgent Poland are the Polish reactionaries. The rallying point of these political bankrupts, of the reactionaries who have been cast out of the political life of their country, is the notorious Polish “government” in London. This organizational and political centre of activities inimical to the vital interests of the Polish people has ramified agencies in a number of countries. The Polish renegades are particularly vociferous in America. Everywhere they operate in close contact with the most arrant reactionaries who are prepared to support any fascist and pro-fascist subversive activity. In their campaign of vilification the ex-Poles of the reactionary camp know no bounds. Counting on the credulity and ignorance of Polish affairs of many people abroad, they try to create the impression that there is actually no government authority in Poland at all, and that the country is in the throes of chaos and disintegration. These implacable foes of the Polish people are continuously crying that the country is a prey to starvation and terrorism and that the Government is incapable of establishing order.

The best way to expose these unscrupulous calumniators is to give the true facts about the present situation in Poland. No observer who is at all impartial can help being amazed at the speed and efficiency with which the newly resurrected Polish state is coping with the exceedingly difficult problems which harass the country after the five years’ barbaric sway of the German invaders, and at the scale on which it is handling them. The Polish people have awakened to a new life and under the leadership of their democratic Government are successfully sweeping away the baneful heritage of the German occupation, are energetically coping with economic chaos, are restoring normal life, and at the same time are initiating radical reforms and changes which deeply affect the social and economic structure of the country.

The other day the Provisional Government made its report to the Krajowa Rada Narodowa, the supreme organ of authority in the country. The plenary session of the Krajowa Rada Narodowa, which aroused deep interest among the broadest sections of the public, was a striking demonstration of the achievements of young democratic Poland. It furnished practical corroboration of the virility of the united people’s front, and of the stability and workability of the bloc of the four democratic parties.

What was the situation which the democratic Provisional Government found in the country when Poland was liberated from the German yoke? The economic state of the country was deplorable in the extreme.

1. Industrial plants had been either wrecked, or were at a standstill owing to lack of fuel and raw materials. The workers were threatened with almost universal unemployment. The bulk of the working class was dispersed.

2. The Germans had bled the countryside white by continuous requisitions, imposts and compulsory deliveries. Cattle herds had been decimated. There was a drastic decline in the number of horses.

3. The Germans had disrupted and disorganized the trading system; in the Western regions there was a complete absence of trading establishments.

4. Transport was in a state of utter collapse, with railway installations destroyed, permanent ways torn up, and no rolling stock.

5. The money market was completely dislocated owing to the existence of different currencies in the different parts of liberated Poland and the circulation of vast quantities of depreciated German currency.

To this must be added the economic consequences of the division of Poland into two entirely distinct economic organisms: the “Government-General” and the territories incorporated into the Reich. If we also bear in mind such factors as the lack of directing personnel in industry and the total absence of organized forms of economic life, the im-
mense difficulties which confronted the Provisional Government from the very first day will be apparent.

How is the Provisional Government coping with these difficulties? What has it done for the economic rehabilitation of the country?

It is already possible to enumerate some of the fruits of the immense work performed in so extremely short a time. As a consequence of this work, the danger of economic disaster and of wholesale unemployment has already been completely removed. Democratic Poland is already on the threshold of normal organization of economic life on a new basis.

The overwhelming majority of the industrial plants have been restarted. All the textile mills, nearly all the coal mines, and the majority of the iron and steel, chemical and metal-working plants are operating. Thanks to the Soviet Union, the textile industry has all the cotton it needs. The supply of raw material to the other branches of industry is improving from day to day. The restarting of all the principal mines of the Dombrowsa-Silesian Basin and the improved operation of the railways have made it possible to keep all the industries uninterruptedly supplied with fuel. Lately a number of plants have been working in two shifts. The locomotive works in Chrzanow, the largest in Poland, is working normally, and in addition to repairing rolling stock, has begun to produce new locomotives.

Today industry is employing over 60 per cent of the pre-war number of workers, and employment is increasing by leaps and bounds. In the Lodz textile industry, for example, 1,880 workers were employed on February 1, 1945, 10,300 on March 1, and 80,000 on May 1. In fact, in the textile and coal mining industries a shortage of labour is already being felt.

In the more important branches of industry the Government is taking measures designed greatly to increase output and to raise productivity of labour. It is proposed to increase the output of coal, 110 per cent in May and 230 per cent in June as compared with March, with an increase in labour productivity of 50 and 80 per cent respectively. Collieries are being grouped and already ten such groups have been formed. Boards to regulate the sale of the products of the more important branches of industry have been created.

By decision of the Government a second college of mining will be opened in Wroclaw, as well as a number of colleges and schools for the training of engineers and technicians for heavy industry.

Immense work has been done to rehabilitate the railways. Starting practically from zero (144,000 tons in February 1945), total freight carried by the railways rose to over one million tons in April. Thanks to the devoted efforts of the Polish railwaymen, the countryside was provided with seed in due time for the sowing, and industry with raw materials and coal. The railway system has been repaired to such an extent that all the lines are now fit for operation. Regular passenger and freight traffic has been established. Sixty long-distance trains and 190 local trains are circulating. The railways are receiving hundreds of locomotives and thousands of cars, both newly built and repaired. Measures have been outlined to adapt railway traffic to the new geographical and economic layout of the country. The other day the Provisional Government decided to start a college of railway engineers and a number of railway apprenticeship schools and technical schools for the training of new transport personnel.

In addition to the rehabilitation of the principal branches of industry and transport, other measures are being taken that will gradually help to normalize Poland’s economic life. The Government, as we know, took over large-scale industry; but it was also obliged to extend its administration to a vast number of medium and small enterprises, owing to the absence of their owners. From the very first the Provisional Government declared that private initiative and private capital would be allowed and encouraged in medium and small industry. The medium and small enterprises are now being turned over to their lawful owners, or, if the latter are not available, to producers’ co-operative societies, or else are leased to private individuals. Collective agreements between employees and employed have been concluded in all industrial enterprises. Problems of the organizational structure of economic life are being successfully solved on a country-wide scale as well as in the individual enterprises; this applies in particular to relations between factory management and the workers’ representatives.

In trade, where the widest scope is allowed for private enterprise, a considerable revival is to be observed. The number of trading establishments is steadily increasing.

Having averted inflation, and having successfully instituted a single currency all over Poland, the Government is establishing fixed
prices for consumers' goods and is successfully combating profiteering.

One of the chief reasons for the big achievements in economic rehabilitation was the patriotic fervour of the Polish working class, as expressed in their self-sacrificing zeal in labour and their conscientious attitude towards production and towards national property. Productivity of labour is steadily rising. The workers of one factory vie with those of another. The operatives of the Scheibler textile mill in Lodz decided to turn out 130,000 metres of fabric above program by May 1, and their call to other workers to follow their example was taken up by the entire mass of the operatives in the textile industry. The textile workers fulfilled their pledge. The patriotic attitude of the Polish workers towards the democratic state is a guarantee of Poland’s rapid economic revival.

* * *

Literally on the day following the ejection of the invaders, when the sound of the guns had not yet ceased, the Provisional Government proceeded to carry out the primary point in its program, namely, the abolition of the landed estates and the apportionment of land to the peasants. To realize the significance of what has been accomplished one must picture the situation in the countryside at the time of the resurgence of the Polish state. Before they left the Germans removed from the villages they had ruined the last stocks of grain, the cattle and the horses. Hundreds and thousands of villages had been burned to the ground and their inhabitants either killed or carried away. What still further complicated the situation was that the liberation of Poland took place on the eve of the spring sowing. Time was short and swift action had to be taken.

The Polish “government” in London, the tools of the feudal magnates, donning the mask of “friends” of the Polish peasantry, loudly contended that any “experiments” at such a time would bring the country to starvation. They tried to scare the people with the bogey of economic disaster. But, confident of the support of the people, the Provisional Government did not shrink from the difficulties. The democratic Government could not but realize that the sowing could be successful and starvation averted only if the peasant millions were roused to activity, only if the peasants at once, without delay, took the land into their own hands and became its complete and lawful masters.

As we know, notwithstanding the opposition of the landowners, terrorism and sabotage, the agrarian reform was carried out with complete success, thanks to the active support of the people at large. The reform embraced the whole of Poland, from end to end. It is now in the main completed. The individual peasant holdings have been demarcated and the deeds conferring private ownership of the land issued. A few figures will give some idea of the magnitude of the work accomplished. Some 4,300,000 hectares were confiscated from the big landowners. All this land has been divided up among its new owners, with the exception of woods and forests, which passed to the state, and lands set aside for the breeding of pedigree cattle (63,000 hectares), for agricultural schools (15,000 hectares), for seed nurseries (76,000 hectares), and for workers’ allotments, as well as the creation of a land fund for the resettlement of peasants from districts where land available for distribution is scarce.

Stirred into activity during the carrying out of the reform, the peasant masses have created a remarkable organization—the Peasants’ Mutual Aid Society. It has hundreds of thousands of members and is the biggest mass organization of the Polish peasantry. All creameries, mills, distilleries, sugar refineries, brick-kilns, potteries and other industrial plants which belonged to the landed estates have been turned over to the Peasants’ Mutual Aid Society. The society organizes the sale of agricultural produce, opens schools, assists the rehabilitation of farms damaged in the war, and actively assists the peasants in sowing their land. There is literally no field of activity or constructive endeavour in the countryside in which the Peasants’ Mutual Aid Society does not take the lead. The sowing was a success, notwithstanding the immense difficulties, the sabotage of the former landowners and the nefarious activities of bands, which, acting on the instructions of the émigré Polish “government,” endeavoured to disorganize the sowing campaign by attacking and robbing transports of seed and treacherously assassinating government representatives. Ninety per cent of the arable land of the country was sown. Sowing was not carried out only in those localities which suffered particularly severely from military operations and which have not yet been demined. The success of the spring sowing was due to the political enlightenment of the peasant masses, and especially to the activity of the Peasants’ Mutual Aid Society.
came in from all parts of the country to the effect that peasants who had finished sowing their own land, at the call of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Society, formed groups to assist their neighbours who lacked the labour or the draught cattle with which to plough and sow their land.

The peasant masses have become convinced that the policy of the Provisional Government aims at promoting the prosperity of the countryside by increasing the marketable output of agriculture, which is based upon individual peasant farming. This policy of the Government gives the direct lie to the rumours circulated by the agents of the Polish reactionaries that collective farms are being implanted and that the way is being prepared for the collectivization of Poland.

* * *

The democratization of public life has stirred the Polish people to hitherto unwitnessed political activity. The democratic parties affiliated to the united people's front are flourishing, as is evidenced by the influx of tens of thousands of new members. All the parties of the bloc, without exception, are growing. So is the activity of their members. Never before has Poland known such mass parties as the Stronnictwo Ludowe, the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Workers' Party now are. The masses flocked into the trade unions, which now count over 700,000 members, into the Peasants' Mutual Aid Society and Union of the Western Areas, and into the scores of cultural and co-operative societies. Over 100,000 persons took part in the May Day demonstrations in Warsaw, 200,000 in Lodz, and 300,000 in Cracow. These demonstrations were a striking expression of the confidence of the mass of the people in the Provisional Government, of the determination of the working people to continue the upbuilding of a democratic Poland so auspiciously begun.

* * *

The reactionary Polish émigré clique and their abettors in the various countries loudly proclaim that there are no "democratic rights" and no liberty for "political leaders" in Poland. What "democratic rights" and what "political leaders" are they referring to?

If it is real democratic rights they have in mind, it may be said that they exist for the entire Polish people, for all their honest sons who desire to see a strong and independent Poland, in which a repetition of September 1939 will be impossible. The democratic regime which already exists in Poland ensures every Polish citizen, irrespective of race, religion or political convictions, the opportunity to take part in all social, professional or political activity. Every democratic organization which stands by the 1921 Constitution now in operation in Poland may take part in political life. Scores and hundreds of old political and civic leaders, irrespective of their political views, or their past, are taking an active share in building the new state; all that is required is an honest desire to work for democracy and in the service of the people, not of its enemies.

Is this not evidence of the exercise by the people as a whole and by the individual of the broadest democratic rights such as never existed in pre-September Poland? The Polish people, who have really acquired such broad democratic rights for the first time, are fully alive to the priceless value of their democratic achievements. This is corroborated by the active and increasing part the broad masses are taking in the political life of the country. What democratic rights, then, are the bankrupts of the Polish reactionary camp and their advocates referring to?

The Polish people desire permanent peace and close fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union. They want the Government to pursue a foreign policy which will render a repetition of the September disaster impossible. They are anxious to see the creation of a reliable bulwark against German aggression. At numerous meetings and assemblies and in thousands of resolutions the people of Poland demanded that their Government conclude a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union. Who can still doubt that friendship with the U.S.S.R. is the sincere desire of the Polish people? The conclusion of the Soviet-Polish treaty met this ardent wish of the Polish people. Is this not a clear proof of respect for the democratic rights, the opinions and the demands of the people?

Was not the immediate carrying out of the agrarian reform, which the entire Polish people had been insistently but vainly demanding for over twenty years, a proof of respect for the democratic rights and sovereignty of the people?

Lastly, is not the fact that the state has taken over the branches of large-scale industry which, when they belonged to the trusts and concerns, chiefly foreign, were a source of incredible exploitation of the Polish people and which hampered the economic develop-
ment of the country, a proof of respect for the democratic rights of the people?

What democratic rights, then, are the Polish reactionaries and their advocates referring to?

The Polish reactionaries—the "internal forces of occupation," as they were called before 1939—feeling that the ground was slipping from under their feet, adopted the tactics of open terrorism. The Polish press publishes the names of peasants, workers and intellectuals, representative of diverse political trends, or of no party at all, who were treacherously assassinated by bandits organized by the Polish reactionaries. The Polish public was recently stirred to the deepest indignation by the assassination of two officers of the Polish Army in the dead of night. The fascist bandits are not averse to putting the "finishing touches" to the work of exterminating the Jewish population of Poland carried out by Hitler, and systematically attack and assassinate Jews. No weapons and no acts of provocation are too mean for these criminals. In the countryside they try to disrupt the food quota deliveries in order to starve the urban population. In the towns they take advantage of every hitch in the food supply to incite the population against the peasants and the Government. Together with terrorism, sabotage and wrecking have become the chief weapons of the miscreants who act on the orders of the Polish émigré "government."

It is clear, therefore, that the hypocritical cries in defence of "democratic rights" and "political leaders" are only a smoke screen for the armed bandits and ruffianly assassins. The masters and leaders of the bandits want to have their criminal activities legalized. The reactionary renegades are trying in this way to frustrate the peaceful constructive labours of the people and the Government and to plunge the country into the maelstrom of civil war. In vain!

The Polish people and their democratic Government gladly invite the co-operation of all sincere democratic elements, of all who want to build a strong and independent Poland, irrespective of their party affiliation or political past. But they categorically refuse to have any traffic with assassins and their instigators. That there is no liberty and can be no liberty for terrorist bands goes without saying. This is so elementary that failure or lack of desire to understand it can only be regretted, to say the least. The Polish people have not achieved liberty and independence, have not begun to build their peaceful life on new foundations in order to foster those who would encompass their doom.

Of course, the Polish reactionaries will not succeed in their dastardly plans. They are not strong enough for that. Their fate is determined; they have lost the game. Their complete divorce from the Polish people becomes clearer every day. Every new success of the Provisional Government, which is rallying ever larger masses around itself, plunges the reactionary renegades deeper into political oblivion. It is therefore clear that farsighted politicians, who really desire enduring peace in Europe and who realize the role Poland must play in the system of peace, cannot ignore the undeniable fact that the prestige and strength of the democratic Provisional Government are steadily growing and that the strength of the Polish reactionaries is just as steadily waning. Further support rendered to the enemies of the Polish people in the camp of the reactionary émigrés and their abettors can only be disastrous for the normal development of peaceful relations in Europe.

The war which Hitler Germany started by her piratical attack on Poland in September 1939 has ended in the complete defeat of the German fascist invaders. Poland, which was one of the first to fall victim to fascist aggression, has been liberated, thanks to the heroic efforts of the Red Army and the Polish Army. Grievous are the wounds inflicted on Poland by the German occupation. But, united around their democratic Government, and with the support of the Soviet Union and other freedom-loving nations, the Polish people are rapidly rebuilding their state and returning to peaceful life. It is absurd and ridiculous in the face of this to think that the fate of Poland can be decided without the Polish people. It is to them that belongs the decisive word in all questions affecting the home and foreign policy of the regenerated Polish state.
Italy After Liberation

S. SLOBODSKOY

A FEW days before Germany's final debacle, the liberation of Northern Italy was consummated. It was expedited and facilitated by the Red Army's swift advance into the heart of Germany. This will undoubtedly have a decisive influence on the country's further political development. The complete liberation of Italy from the German invaders and from Mussolini's Italo-fascist bands opens prospects for the successful accomplishment of the political and social renovation of the country begun after the overthrow of the Mussolini regime in July 1943.

The peculiar feature of the situation which arose in Italy after Hitler's invasion in 1943, and which in the main persisted down to the very last, was that the seizure by the invaders of the industrially and agriculturally most highly developed regions of the country sapped the strength of liberated Italy economically, and to a large extent politically. In Northern Italy, which was under the sway of the Hitlerites for nearly twenty months, are concentrated roughly 70 per cent of the industrial proletariat and large numbers of agricultural workers and peasants, who constitute the most highly organized and politically active section of the working people of Italy and the principal mass base of her most important political parties. This circumstance was intensively exploited by the reactionary forces which for twenty years had shared power with the Mussolini clique and had made a very profitable thing out of fascist rule. The forces of reaction strove to hinder the anti-fascist revolution in the liberated territories and to prevent the tackling of major political and social problems which had long been crying for solution in Italy and which had become extremely acute and pressing as a result of fascist rule and the war.

One of the first of these problems is agrarian reform. The agrarian question, which remained unsettled at the time of the union of Italy, continues to this day to be a paramount social, economic and political problem in the life of the country. An economically and politically healthy Italy is out of the question as long as the land hunger of millions of peasants is not at least partially appeased, as long as the many hundreds of thousands of share croppers and small tenant farmers are not released from their enthrallment to the landowners, and as long as the latifundia, which are the cause of the incredible impoverishment and servitude of the population of Sicily and other parts of Southern Italy, are not abolished.

Another problem is the reconstruction of Italian industry. Even before the establishment of the fascist regime, at immense expenditure and to the detriment of the entire national economy, branches of industry were artificially implanted for which no sources of raw material were available in the country and which were doomed to a parasitic existence. Fascism carried this policy to extremes. It methodically and stubbornly mangled and mutilated the Italian economy and converted it into a one-sided war economy. Italy is consequently now faced with the task not only of rehabilitating and rationalizing her war-devastated industry, but also of radically reconstructing it on new and sound lines, in defiance of the monopolist interests which had exhausted and plundered Italy without let or hindrance on the plea of "autarky." Naturally, this economic sanification cannot be accomplished without extensive assistance from the state, and without the enlistment of all forces which are vitally interested in Italy's at last escaping from the impasse into which fascism had led her.

The overthrow of the fascist rule has rendered the problem of Italy's political structure exceptionally acute. The Italian people, having suffered the shame of the fascist regime, are demanding the adoption of measures which will extirpate fascism root and branch and preclude the possibility of its resurgence in any shape or form. The fact that the monarchy co-operated for many years with the fascist regime, and the attempts that are being made to exploit the former as a standard around which to rally the reactionary forces in the fight against democracy, render the problem of Italy's future form of government exceptionally acute. The broad democratization of the state, the abolition of bureaucratic centralism in the government admin-
istration, the endowment of the local government authorities with broader rights and functions, and, especially, the granting of wide autonomy to Sicily and Sardinia are all measures of crying urgency.

These and many other problems are awaiting solution. As long as a considerable part of the country's territory was in the hands of the Nazi invaders, the fight against Hitlerism was the cardinal and supreme task of all the anti-fascist and democratic forces of the Italian people. Under the agreement (or "truce") between the six parties which constituted the Committee of National Liberation, both the government and the press refrained from discussing a number of acute problems concerning the internal life of the country pending Italy's complete liberation. The specific conditions attending Mussolini's overthrow and Italy's surrender to the Allied Powers made it possible for reactionary, pro-fascist cliques to seize very strong positions in the liberated part of the country, which they were subsequently able to retain thanks to substantial backing from outside. To muster the material and moral resources of the people for the complete liberation of the country was, of course, the last thing these cliques had in mind. The efforts of the reactionaries were exclusively directed towards retaining and consolidating their political positions in Southern Italy and utilizing the latter as a base of operations against the democratic forces of the country, whose main strongholds were in the northern districts. This explains their apprehensive and hostile attitude towards the activities of the Italian patriots in the occupied part of the country. The decision of the Allies to establish official contact with the partisan forces and to supply them with arms aroused the unconcealed alarm of the reactionaries and their supporters in the ranks of some of the parties affiliated to the national liberation front. The Italian reactionaries and their followers would far rather have seen the occupation of Northern Italy prolonged than its liberation accelerated by the active participation of the partisans.

What the reactionary cliques were working for was to keep the masses of the people under the political and economic yoke under which they were languishing at the time of the overthrow of July 25. They argued that no substantial reforms could be undertaken until the population of the occupied regions had the chance to express their will. In the rural districts of Sicily and other parts of liberated Italy the feudal survivals were preserved intact. The course adopted was to sabotage all effective measures to improve the lot of the landless and unemployed rural masses. The bulk of the population was denied any share in the political life and economic rehabilitation of the country. All attempts to eliminate the remnants of fascism or to punish the fascist criminals were systematically foiled. Notorious fascists were allowed for a long time to retain their posts in the leadership and machinery of the local, and even of some of the central, government bodies.

The national liberation committees and the local branches of the democratic parties were ignored; in some places they were even persecuted and attacked by reactionary elements and by the emboldened fascists. The reactionary forces and their press worked hard to disintegrate the ranks of the national liberation movement, freely resorting to lies, demagogy and provocation. In Sicily a reactionary separatist movement arose with the connivance of the authorities and virtually controlled by fascist elements, latifundists and their venal agents.

Having no broad support among the masses, the reactionary forces resorted in their fight against the Left parties to the services of shady, unscrupulous, anti-national and downright criminal elements. There was a distinct tendency to create and employ against the democratic patriotic forces a sort of "Grand Maffia," which would unite reactionaries of all ranks, even some very highly placed ones, with criminals of all types and with direct fascist agents.

Meanwhile, the masses in the occupied part of Italy, on whose inability "openly to express their will" the reactionary forces inside and outside the country were speculating, were demonstrating their will most unambiguously by fighting the Nazi invaders and their Italo-fascist coadjutors, Mussolini's bands, in spite of the odds against them. Their will was expressed in the struggle of the partisans, in big strikes of workers in the important industrial centres of Northern Italy, and in the day-to-day resistance of the patriots to the forces of occupation. The national liberation movement in the occupied part of the country won the sympathy of the democratic public and was recognized by the military command and the governments of the Allied countries. This movement exercised a deep influence on the masses of the liberated part of Italy and on her internal politics. The active part
played by the Italian partisans in the liberation of Rome and other Italian districts during the Allies' campaign on the Italian front in the summer of 1944 was particularly productive of political consequences. One of them was the supersession of the Badoglio government by the Bonomi government at the instance of the Rome Committee of National Liberation, and the departure from the political stage of a number of individuals who in the past had been associated with the fascist regime. One of the major achievements of the Italian patriots was the establishment and consolidation of trade union unity in Italy. A certain amount of progress was indicated by the purge laws passed by the government, by the proclamation of certain reforms, etc. True, the subsequent retardation of the Allied advance on the Italian front and the disarming of the former partisans by the Allies had the effect of slowing down the democratization and the political and economic sanification of Italy. But the steady growth of the patriotic and partisan movement in Northern Italy continued to exercise a powerful stimulating influence on the democratic forces of liberated Italy, and at the same time served as a memento mori to the entrenched reactionary, pro-fascist cliques.

The liberation of Northern Italy, in which the democratic sections of the people took a most active part, cannot but bring about a decisive change in the balance of political forces in the country. It is helping to clarify the political situation, and has robbed the Italian reactionaries and their protectors abroad of their most weighty argument in favour of postponing reforms. In the shape of the ex-partisans and other participants in the patriotic movement, a force is entering the Italian political arena which has been schooled in the struggle for liberty and democracy, which is animated by implacable hatred of fascism and its abettors, and which refuses to stop halfway in the fight to liquidate the fascist heritage. The Italian patriots have emerged from their long and bitter struggle against their oppressors and betrayers with confidence in their own strength, with a realization of the importance of organization and discipline, and with a deep attachment to the unity which enabled them to overcome political and religious divisions in their ranks. The Italian patriots have demonstrated their readiness to play their part in the extirpation of Nazism and fascism and to make their contribution to the effort to ensure peace among nations.

The courage, organization and sense of responsibility of the Italian forces of resistance won the recognition of the progressive people of the world and of the official representatives of the democratic countries. For example, in a statement made by U. S. Under-Secretary of State Grew on May 2, in connection with the surrender of the German armies in Italy, he declared that effective assistance in crushing the enemy had been rendered by the “energy, courage and spirit of responsibility of the Italian patriots.”

Significant, too, is the appreciation of the Italian partisan movement expressed by Spalding, the well-known pianist, now an official of the Italian Department of the U. S. Office of War Information, who for some time maintained contact with the Italian partisans. Speaking at a press conference on April 30, he said that the Italian partisans constituted a progressive united force and were the hope of future Italy. Notwithstanding lack of arms and other handicaps, the Italian partisan movement was splendidly organized and was one of the largest in Europe; it was probably one hundred thousand strong. He further remarked that there was a mistaken tendency in certain circles to distrust the Italian partisans as a future threat to Italy's political system because of their Leftist views. This attitude he disapproved and said that the partisans were progressive groups that came from the ranks of the people—from the peasantry, working class and intelligentsia—and were united by the desire to fight fascism, and that, therefore, they would never agree to a repetition of the tyranny of the past two decades, and wanted to have a share in the democratic government.

Now that Northern Italy has been liberated and the war against Hitler Germany has ended victoriously, all arguments in favour of postponing fundamental reforms fall to the ground. Serious social and political reforms and a ruthless fight against fascism is the determined and unalterable demand of the broad mass of participants in the resistance movement (as the swift and just trial of Mussolini and his near associates vividly demonstrated).

The first demands made of the Rome government by a delegation of the Committee of National Liberation, consisting of representatives of all five affiliated parties (the sixth
affiliate, the Democracy of Labour Party, of which Bonomi is considered a representative, to all appearances is virtually non-existent in Northern Italy], were that the country be vigorously purged of fascism in the political, administrative and economic spheres. That a plan of economic reconstruction be drawn up, the cost of which was to be borne principally by those who had enriched themselves under the fascist regime, and that an agrarian reform be carried out. In the sphere of foreign policy, the delegation demanded the renunciation of all nationalism, pre-fascist as well as fascist. Furthermore, the delegation demanded the reorganization of the government.

These demands undoubtedly represent the will of the people and conform with Italy's vital interests and with the general aim of ensuring peace, security and co-operation among the nations. They are fully in harmony with the decisions of the Crimea Conference, which provide for the extirpation by the liberated nations of the last vestiges of Nazism and fascism and for the creation of democratic institutions of their own choice.

* * *

Naturally, the reactionary, pro-fascist forces of Italy will not surrender their positions without a fight. The union of the reactionary forces of Northern and Southern Italy will add to the ferocity of their resistance. It should be borne in mind that in Northern Italy, especially in Milan, Genoa and Turin, are concentrated the most influential groups of the financial oligarchy, the big monopoly trusts, and the most highly organized and enterprising of the Italian agrarians. It was in Milan that urban fascism arose and developed. The Department of Emilia and the agricultural regions of the Po Valley were the cradle of the ruffian fascist squadre. It was in Northern Italy that the interests of the financial oligarchy and the agrarians were most closely interwoven with the fascist dictatorship. Here the political, administrative and economic purge demanded by the Committee of National Liberation will encounter very stubborn resistance and political difficulties.

These difficulties will be aggravated by the fact that the Italian financial magnates, who were the pillars of the fascist regime and the masters of fascist Italy, have extensive connections with the big and influential international monopolies. These elements enjoy the protection of reactionary circles in the democratic countries. It was the financial oli-
garchs in Northern Italy who supported Mussolini's reckless foreign policy. In the period of the Italo-German alliance and the war they established broad connections and common business interests with German finance capital, with the bosses of German heavy industry. After Mussolini's downfall the bigger Italian financial magnates remained in German-occupied Northern Italy and continued to collaborate with the Nazi invaders. But this in no way injured their prestige in the eyes of the international finance kings. On the contrary, it may be presumed that many of the Italian fascist finance and trust leaders will be willingly utilized by the monopolies in the democratic countries as intermediaries and agents in their business and other relations with the German big capitalists.

One need not be a prophet to foresee that in Northern Italy will be found many "re­pentant" fascists who have "rehabilitated" themselves by taking part in the conspiracy against Mussolini, or merely by sympathizing with the July revolution, or by turning away from and renouncing Mussolini, but who actually remain fascists to the marrow of their bones and believers in fascist methods of suppressing and deceiving the masses. Experience in Southern Italy shows that the reactionary and conservative elements who have donned the mask of "liberals" and "demo­crats" will eagerly fraternize with these "proselytes" and assign them an appropriate role in the fight against the genuinely democratic and patriotic forces.

The Italia Nuova, organ of the monarchist Democratic Party, frankly declared the other day that that party would admit into its ranks political leaders who served fascism conscientiously "until their eyes were opened." Benedetto Croce, leader of the Italian Liberals, publicly expressed regret that there was no "Right" party in Italy. Evidently, monarchists of the type of the contributors to the Italia Nuova and their ilk are not Right enough for Croce. The leader of the Liberals appealed to the conservative forces, "who cannot be denied the right to defend their interests," to have the "boldness to form a party and constitute a Right, which does not exist in Italy today." All this is indicative of the intention of certain "liberal" and quasi-democratic circles, who enjoy definite support abroad, to pave the way for a united front of conservative and pro-fascist forces against the forces of democracy and progress.

Nor should it be forgotten that Mussolini
and his clique, following Hitler's example and instructions, were extremely active in past months in establishing all over Italy, and especially in the occupied regions, a network of underground organizations and in drawing up plans for subversive, provocateur activities by their followers after Italy's liberation. The internal and external foes of a democratic Italy will undoubtedly strive to draw the utmost advantage from the activities of these organizations and will not scorn, if necessary, directly to resort to the services of fascists and other unscrupulous adventurers, as they have repeatedly done in Southern Italy.

In face of the approaching "storm from the North," the reactionary, pro-fascist elements are capable of the most vicious acts and of betraying the interests of the country in order to suppress the movement of emancipation of the Italian people. If they were to succeed in such an attempt, it might lead to the "Sicilization" of Italy, i.e., to the greater impoverishment and disfranchisement of the Italian masses, on the pattern of Sicily, and to the conversion of the Apennine Peninsula into an arena of chronic social conflict and popular unrest. This would mean for Europe the creation in one of its largest countries of a hotbed of fascist and pro-fascist machination and intrigue against the peace and security of nations.

But such an issue of the struggle for emancipation on the part of Italy's forty-five millions, who in the fight for national liberation have displayed their hatred of fascism and its abettors and their determination to create a free, independent and democratic Italy, is hardly probable. And it is still less probable in view of the universal spirit of moral and political elation that has been roused in Europe by the supreme victory mankind has won over the most dangerous and malignant forces of reaction and oppression. The lofty sentiment of civic responsibility displayed by the Italian patriots in the fight for the liberation of their country from the German invaders, and the interest the progressive forces of the world have in the existence of a free and democratic Italy inspire us with confidence that the criminal schemes of the Italian reactionary, pro-fascist forces are doomed to failure.

---

**Stern Retribution for the War Criminals**

**Review of the Foreign Press**

**L. Volfinsky**

The full list of the German fascist chiefs who have been captured, or have surrendered themselves to the Allied military authorities in Germany and in other countries, has not yet been published. Many members of the shattered Hitlerite gang have vanished, have gone underground. Not a few of them have found refuge among their foreign friends and abettors. Some of the fascist miscreants preferred to cut short their contemptible existence and committed suicide. Nevertheless, the names of the Hitler bosses now in the hands of the Allied Command are eloquent of much. They constitute a rogues' gallery unexampled in the history of crime.

The Allies have now in custody the most prominent of the fascist criminals, members of the Hitler government. These are Reichsmarshals Hermann Göring, the head of the vast piratical concern which bears his name, the incendiary who set fire to the Reichstag, the organizer of the villainous raids of the German Luftwaffe upon the peaceful cities of Spain, Poland, Great Britain, France, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and the butcher of innumerable women and children; Minister of Economy Funk; Postmaster-General Ohnesorge; ex-Minister for Food and Agriculture Walter Darre—one of the sponsors and organizers of the system of enslaving foreign workers driven to Germany; and Chief of the Reichs-Chancellery Lamers. Among the "victims" of the Hitler government who have been liberated by the Allies is the ex-Minister for Economy and ex-President of the Reichsbank Hjalmar Schacht, who was sent to a concentration camp obviously as a blind with the insidious purpose of utilizing this shrewd financier and his extensive foreign connections in the event of Germany's defeat. Next come the Hitler diplomats: Franz
von Pappen, formerly Hitler's Vice Chancellor, ex-Ambassador in Turkey, spy and saboteur, whose record goes back to the First World War, and whose residence in Ankara was marked by innumerable acts of provocation; Baron Konstantin von Neurath, ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs and "Protector" of Bohemia and Moravia, who has on his evil conscience the death of innumerable peaceful inhabitants of Czechoslovakia and heads the list of war criminals drawn up by the Czechoslovak Government; Baron Hans Georg von Mackensen, ex-Ambassador to Rome and actually Hitler's Gauleiter in Italy; and Ribbentrop's advisers Manfred Zapp and von Schmieden. Parallel with this list is that of the pillars of the predatory "new order in Europe," such as Hans Frank, Governor-General and butcher of Poland; Seyss-Inquart, the butcher of Austria and Holland; and Colonel General Falkenhorst, the butcher of Norway. Then come the villainous army commanders who trampled upon all the laws of humanity, upon all the laws of war: Field Marshal von Leeb, monster and sadist, who commanded the bombardment and hunger blockade of Leningrad; Field Marshal von Weichs, who is responsible for the massacre of aged people, women and children in Yugoslavia and whose extradition the Yugoslav authorities are demanding; Field Marshals von Busch, Rundstedt, Kleist, List and Kesselring; General Guerdien; that notorious butcher, SS General Sepp Dietrich, and many other Hitler generals who carried out the "desert zone" policy, the revolting hostage system, and the mass extermination of civilians and prisoners of war. The list of war criminals in the hands of the Allied authorities is supplemented by the names of the true masters of the Hitler gang, those who elevated it to power, the representatives of bellicose German imperialism such as Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Duisberg, head of the chemical trust, and a number of other industrial magnates. The list, which also includes numerous Gauleiters and Kreisleiters, is crowned with the names of two sons of Kaiser Wilhelm II: ex-Crown Prince Wilhelm, who already in the First World War earned the sobriquet of "the grinning assassin of Verdun," and the notorious "Prince Auwi," i.e., August Wilhelm, one of the Führer's most zealous henchmen.

Now that the criminal adventure of German imperialism has come to an end and the members of the Hitler gang have been caught red-handed, one would think that they would be held and kept in a manner dictated by their status as captured robbers and murderers. Numerous reports in the foreign press testify, however, that this is not the case. The war criminals now in the hands of the Anglo-American authorities are living in great comfort, behave as if they were on an equal footing with the representatives of the Allied Command, make political pronouncements and give interviews to representatives of news agencies and press correspondents.

Kesselring was even given the opportunity to arrange something in the nature of press conferences. Encouraged by this treatment, the beaten Nazi Field Marshal threw off all restraint. According to the United Press he

"in a press interview clearly indicated his continued intense support of Hitler, and attempted to spread Nazi propaganda against the Soviet Union.... He praised various Anglo-American commanders."

Still more scandalous is the behaviour of Göring. As the London News Chronicle states in an article which bears the eloquent title "Shaking Hands with a Murderer," all the reports which the press has received up to now indicate that Göring was in splendid mental and physical condition. We are told that he took a bath, put on his uniform and medals, and told the photographers to hurry because he was hungry. Evidently, rightly comments the News Chronicle, nobody reminded him that the prisoners in Buchenwald, Belsen and Dachau had also had normal appetites.

As Reuter's special correspondent Oakeshot reports from Augsburg, the ex-Reichsmarshal even enters into political and military controversy.

"He denied," writes Oakeshot, "that the fire [of the Reichstag] was made an excuse for the arrest of the Communists and said that a round-up had been planned for that very night. The fire was 'just a coincidence.'"

Denying the crimes he has committed Göring boasts and brags. General Patch, the Commander of the United States 7th Army, told Oakeshot that he had asked Göring

"why Germany, having overrun France, did not overrun Spain and Gibraltar and so bottle up the British fleet in the Mediterranean. 'He flew into a tantrum and nearly hit the ceiling,' said Patch.
He shouted: "That was, always my advice—always, always, and it was never, never taken..."

While certain newspapers like the Daily Mail single out arch-criminals like Göring and Hess in a special category and argue that according to the Geneva Convention they are prisoners of war and "are entitled to the privileges accorded to persons of their rank," numerous organs of the British and American press express indignation at the conditions enjoyed by the war criminals and demand their speedy trial and stern punishment. They urge that this "cordial reception" and "generous treatment" can only embolden the Hitler miscreants and encourage the hope that they will get off scot free. On the other hand, the press points out, this sort of treatment of the fascist fiends is an insult to the memory of the innumerable victims of Hitlerism.

General Eisenhower's recent order prohibiting "fraternization" with the fascist miscreants has failed to calm public opinion. The London Evening News writes editorially:

"Eisenhower rebukes the Allied officers for shaking hands with the Nazi leaders. But what is going to happen to these war criminals? Where are they going? What arrangements have been made to bring them to justice? We see pictures of Kesselring lounging in a deep armchair with coffee and liquors set before him as he chats with some Allied general."

The press demands that an end be put to such carryings-on, and the sooner the better. In the light of the revolting crimes committed by the Hitlerites, writes the conservative American newspaper The Post, no punishment will be too severe. They must learn from their own experience the tortures that were endured in the fascist dungeons by the Poles, Russians, Czechs, Greeks and other peoples.

Göring should be shot out of hand, said the American radio commentator Heatter. Probably the German leaders are harbouring the illusion that they will be treated as equals. They believe that, having capitulated, they will be left at large. But now, Heatter continued, the only clemency which the Allies will, perhaps, show them will be the choice between the noose and the bullet.

The noose or the bullet—such is the demand of the overwhelming section of public opinion all over the world. Public organizations, the press and the masses of the people in the countries which united to fight Hitler Germany unanimously insist on the ruthless punishment of the Nazi murderers and the apprehension of those who are still at large. Stern retribution for these criminals, the like of whom the world has never seen, is one of the conditions and one of the guarantees of post-war peace and security.
**INTERNATIONAL LIFE**

**NOTES**

**OTTO STRASSER'S PLANS**

Otto Strasser, one of the “Führer’s” earlier henchmen, who has been whiling away the time in Canada, responded to the inglorious collapse of the Third Reich in an interesting interview which was reported in the Canadian Star. According to Strasser, “Hitlerism was founded on Hitler without any idea” and the German fascist party itself represented an “unpolitical fellowship,” consisting of Hitler’s followers who “were never politically minded.” While the Hitlerites in Germany are trying to camouflage themselves and conceal their forces, their friend Strasser stretches out a helping hand to them from far-off Canada and tries to camouflage and save from retribution, not individual Hitlerites, but Hitlerism in toto, all the fascists to a man. What account can be demanded of people who are “not politically minded”?

The loquacious Strasser announced that he was preparing to leave Canada for Germany, where “real German friends” are awaiting him, and where the “bewildered” Germans stand in need of “encouragement and leadership.” He readily volunteered an explanation of what he meant by “encouragement and leadership.” He expressed the hope that, together with his “German friends” and the “Christian churches,” he would be able to found a “new Germany.” He made a reservation, which, indeed, constitutes the whole sum and substance of his plan. His “new Germany” is to be created in the zones occupied by the Western Allies, and completely isolated from the zone occupied by the Soviet armies....

We thus see that the German fascist circles whom Otto Strasser represents have very definite plans. Their object is to assist German imperialism to emerge intact from the ocean of blood they have shed and to secure the opportunity of clandestinely preparing for a third world war. For the attainment of this end they hope to employ the old method of playing off the Western powers against the Soviet Union. The fascists cannot possibly part with the poisoned weapon of intrigue; it is always ready for action.

---

**“KEEP THEM AWAY FROM THE PRESS”**

These are trying times for the correspondents of some of the American and British newspapers. In their pursuit of sensations like an interview with Laval, who is sheltering in Spain, or with Rudolf Hess, who is residing in South Wales, they are encountering insuperable difficulties. The only thing the correspondents have so far succeeded in learning about the Vichy ex-Premier is that among his baggage he has two trunks crammed with “political documents.” Not much of a haul! In addition, they have gleaned a few details as to the way Laval spends his time and his state of mind. According to the journalists, he looks “optimistic and is in good spirits.” He insisted on having the apartment he occupies appointed with elegant furniture, chandeliers hung and carpets laid. He is supplied with champagne and oysters from the Hotel Ritz.

American reporters offered the sentries five thousand dollars for a chance to interview Laval, but even this sum didn’t work the trick.

No more successful was the chase after Hess. A correspondent of the Daily Mirror, who made a special trip to South Wales to get an interview with this “prisoner,” was deeply disappointed by the strict precautions taken by the authorities. The latter have given the guards and the secret service men instructions “to keep Hess away from the press.”

The correspondents are disappointed: what a wonderful quarry has slipped away, right from under their pens! But, frankly, we cannot sympathize with them. Before the war, the sensational press boosted notorious murderers, robbers and gangsters. Whole pages were dedicated to their doings. The reporter who was lucky enough—by bribery or with the help of some other device—to secure an “interview” with a notorious gangster could consider himself made for life. But such are the ethics of a press whose concern is not so much to educate and enlighten the people as to distract their attention from things that affect their vital interests.

But this newspaper fuss over individuals like
Laval and Hess is even more unsavoury. These are gangsters whose hands reek of the blood of millions of innocent people. These arch-criminals should not be interviewed, but treated with the stern and swift justice they have earned a hundred times over so that they shall “keep away from the press” for good and all.

JUSTICE WITH UNBANDAGED EYES

After a long trial the Stockholm court passed its verdict on the two Gestapo agents, Polson and Lonnegren. The scandalous exploits of these Nazi agents, who enjoyed the protection of the Swedish authorities, were dealt with in this journal (No. 3), and the story roused deep indignation among very wide sections of the Swedish public. We shall briefly repeat the story.

Lonnegren until recently was the manager of the Skandinavisk Telegrambyra press agency, which was virtually a branch of the German Ministry for Propaganda. His activities in Stockholm were multifarious: he wrote pro-fascist articles, supplied the Swedish press with “information” transmitted to him from Berlin, stirred up feeling against anti-fascists, engaged in espionage and traded in Swedish passports. For a suitable price Lonnegren would arrange fictitious marriages for Germans so that they might acquire Swedish citizenship.

Polson held the official post of inspector of the Commission for the Affairs of Foreigners which was under the Ministry of Social Affairs. Concurrently, he was a high official of the Swedish secret police and an active collaborator of Lonnegren’s. Polson specialized as an informer. Through his chief he turned over to the Gestapo, on the basis of espionage data gathered by himself, numerous anti-fascists, who were subsequently done to death in Germany.

Later on it transpired that both Lonnegren and Polson were closely associated with Möller, Social-Democratic Minister of Social Affairs. The doors of ministries and editorial offices were thrown wide open to them...

Owing to the pressure of indignant public opinion the case of Lonnegren and Polson had to be proceeded with. The trial lasted several months. In the end the mountain brought forth a mouse. Polson was sentenced to one year and ten months’ hard labour, while Lonnegren was remanded, as it was suddenly discovered that his “mental condition” needed investigation.

And so, even now when Hitler Germany has collapsed Swedish Justice continues to dispense her mercies in the old way as if nothing had happened. The Gestapo is no more, but the old predilections are as strong as ever. The result of the Stockholm trial is all the more deserving of attention for the reason that Sweden, as repeated newspaper reports affirm, is becoming one of the promised lands in which the German war criminals are seeking refuge.

CHAMELEONS

Unusual animation reigns these days in Portugal’s ruling spheres. The chameleons who constitute the entourage of Salazar, the Lisbon “Führer,” cannot adapt their colours fast enough to the swiftly changing scene.

On May 4 a requiem was held for Hitler in Lisbon and two days’ mourning for the vanished cannibal was proclaimed. On May 5 a requiem for Mussolini was held in the great Church of the Martyrs in the capital city, although to do so the church authorities had to cancel a mass ordered by the Belgian Legation to celebrate the liberation of Brussels.

The prayers for Hitler bore the character of an open demonstration of solidarity with the German fascists. Monsignor Wulzer, the chaplain, said that the “Führer” had “perished in the knightly fight,” and expressed himself very optimistically regarding the future of German fascism.

“If the Germans pray hard enough and work hard enough,” he said, “the tide will one day be driven back and the great deeds of the German Führer and of the people of this generation will be matched by those who come after them.”

But events developed with disastrous speed for the German fascists, and Portugal, five minutes past the stroke of twelve, “broke off relations” with Germany. Soon after, through her Minister in Washington, Bianci, she officially expressed her “great satisfaction with the conclusion of the war” and her “great admiration of the United States efforts and sacrifices.”

Asked by correspondents why Portugal had declared mourning for Hitler, Minister Bianci explained that it was demanded by “diplomatic protocol” and by “old Portuguese custom.” Bianci further pointed out that Portugal had also proclaimed mourning on the occasion of the death of President Roosevelt. This unexampled sacrilege is one more proof that there is no limit to the vileness of the Lisbon fascist chameleons.
ANOTHER WASPS' NEST

At the moment when the Czechoslovak people, liberated by the Red Army, are proceeding to resurrect their democratic state, the voice of the Czechoslovak General Prchala is suddenly heard from London. This general, who won no laurels on the field of battle, has decided to try his strength in the political arena. He has formed in London a self-styled "Czech National Committee" which is the rallying ground of a clique of reactionary exiles. One has only to scrutinize the composition of this "committee," and to familiarize oneself with its announced program, to realize what the general is really getting at.

First of all, a word about Prchala himself. He first appeared in the political arena of the republic in the critical months of the autumn of 1938, when the reactionary elements in the government administration and the army were preparing to capitulate to Hitler. It was then already known in Prague not only that Prchala was connected with the leaders of the Agrarian Party—which was responsible for the disaster of 1938—but also that he had suspicious associations with ruling circles in the Poland of Beck. After Munich, Prchala joined the "government" of the Carpathian Ukraine, which consisted of a clique of German and Hungarian agents who plotted against Soviet Ukraine and the independence of Czechoslovakia. When Hitler's hordes occupied Czechoslovakia, Prchala visited the "Protectorate," and then flitted to Poland. But the democratic groups of Czech exiles there refused to have anything to do with this suspicious character. He thereupon went to England, where he established connection with reactionary Czech exiles who were intriguing against the Benes Government and against the policy of friendship and collaboration between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

So much for Prchala, a reactionary intriguer who hates democracy. No better are Prchala's associates on the "Czech National Committee." Borin, one of the members of the "committee," for example, is known as a political adventurer who has belonged to several different parties but has always remained a dyed-in-the-wool fascist.

What are the newly hatched benefactors of the Czech people who call themselves the "National Committee" out for? In its declaration, published in the hospitable columns of the London press, the "committee" announces that its chief aim is to combat "the attempt to impose upon the [Czechoslovak] nation through the enforced puppet government of Mr. Benes the communist dictatorship." As we see, the language which Prchala and his clique employ in London in no way differs from the language which Goebbels employed in Berlin. The frankness of these fascist stooges who operate as the self-styled "Czech National Committee" leaves not the slightest doubt that this organization is designed to serve as one of the centres of anti-popular intrigue in liberated Eastern Europe. But the natural question arises: why is this fascist agency afforded asylum in London?

MIRACULOUS TRANSFORMATIONS

Miraculous transformations have become quite common of late. As though by a wave of the wand SS butchers are metamorphosed into peaceful citizens or anti-Nazis, not infrequently even into victims of the Hitler terror. The neutral countries are especially blessed with these "miracles."

One such reincarnation is reported by the Swedish newspaper Expressen. It appears that Hitlerites belonging to the German Legation in Stockholm are serenely transforming themselves into peaceful farmers.

"Minister Tomsen," the Expressen writes, "bought a villa in the Upland province, Naval Attaché Vahlert has a villa in the Stockholm fjords, while Press Attaché Grossmann is preparing to go in for farming in the Skone province."

Evidently, these virtuous husbandmen have managed to secure the support of influential Swedes, for the newspaper goes on to say:

"We have already received several calls from 'Swedish friends' of certain members of the German Legation requesting us to say 'nothing bad' about these people, so that they may be able to remain in Sweden...."

Equally miraculous transformations occur in another neutral domain—the Vatican. The Servizio Informazioni, reporting a conversation between Baron Ernst von Weizsaecker, German Ambassador to the Vatican, and Monsignor Giovanni Battista Montini of the State Secretariat of the Vatican, significantly adds:

"Vatican quarters point out that the German Embassy was not any more in touch with the Nazi government even when such government still existed."
We see, therefore, that Weizsaecker, who for many years was first assistant to one of the ringleaders of the Hitler gang, Reichsminister Ribbentrop, and who was the initiator and instrument of many a foul Nazi intrigue and villainous enterprise, has also found friends who are already taking measures to provide him with an alibi.

These transformations are one more proof of the necessity to keep a careful watch on the machinations of the Hitlerites and their protectors.

**DUBIOUS SERVICES**

In connection with the defeat of Hitler Germany and her unconditional surrender to the Red Army and the armies of the Allies, the Commander-in-Chief of the Swiss Army issued an order of the day which was recently transmitted over the Swiss radio. In it he says:

"Soldiers, we must be worthy of our achievements. Let future generations inherit your valour..."

What exactly was achieved, and in what the valour consisted, the order of the day does not say. Indeed, what is there to say? Everybody knows that all through the war Switzerland willingly fulfilled German contracts for war material, supplied the Hitlerites with electric power, placed her roads at their disposal for the transit of German goods — in a word, helped Hitler in every way in his piratical war on the freedom-loving nations. Everybody likewise knows that Swiss businessmen did not make a bad thing out of this war, which inflicted so much misery on millions of people.

The Swiss leaders would be wise to keep silent about their "services"....

---

**At the United Nations Conference**

San Francisco Letter

N. SERGEYEVA

WHEN it takes you four or five days to reach San Francisco from Moscow you somehow lose all sense of the vast distance separating this city from Europe.

Just now, during the United Nations Conference, with the help of the radio and the press, San Francisco has focussed on it the attention of the whole world. Here have gathered eminent political leaders of nearly half a hundred states, hundreds of advisers and observers, and thousands of press and radio correspondents. From morning until late at night the streets teem with animated crowds of people from a multitude of nations. Everything in the city reminds one at every step of the great honour that has fallen to its lot of being the seat of the United Nations Conference, which is drafting the charter of the international security organization.

The city authorities assigned for the Conference the buildings in what is called the Civic Centre—the administrative centre of the city, where the municipal offices are concentrated. Set in green lawns with evenly clipped hedges are eleven monumental buildings, among which are the Opera and the Veterans Building, where the Museum of Art is usually housed. The Opera House, with its 3,300 seats, has been assigned for the plenary sessions of the Conference. The Veterans Building next to it is used by the committees and commissions, and also by the press. The entire area, including the adjacent streets, has been closed to all except those who have business with the Conference. On the green lawn, neatly built temporary houses—andments—have been erected for the guards. The flocks of pigeons which were peacefully pecking away on this green on the day we arrived have gone, frightened away by the large crowds.

The delegations and their staffs, press correspondents and guests have been housed in thirteen of the largest hotels in the city. One of the finest cinema theatres in the centre of the city has been placed exclusively at the service of those attending the Conference. Here English, American, Soviet and French films are demonstrated. Telephones, tele-
graph and radio are all at the Conference's disposal. The flags of the United Nations are displayed in shop windows, in the vestibules of hotels and in restaurants. In the shop windows of the large department stores the portraits of Roosevelt, Truman, Stalin and Churchill are exhibited. In some of the shop windows exhibits devoted to the countries participating in the Conference have been arranged. In the middle of an enormous park overgrown with eucalyptus, cyprus and flowering rhododendrons, an enormous sign has been laid out among the flowers: "San Francisco Welcomes the United Nations!"

From morning till night motley crowds besiege the entrances to the hotels where the delegations of the various countries have put up. The photographers literally charge down upon every person who wears the blue-grey badge—the insignia of the Conference delegates. During the first days of the Conference particularly sightseers were attracted by the gorgeous turbans of the Indians and the white burnooses of the Arab delegates, who, incidentally notwithstanding their exotic appearance, speak English with a fine Oxford accent. At certain hours of the day it is impossible to get to the entrance of the St. Francis Hotel, where the visitors are occupied by the Soviet delegation. The hotel administration was obliged to remove from the vestibule the palms and part of the furniture, as so many people gathered there that it was impossible to get to the elevator. Old and young, men and women, boys and girls wait for hours in the hope of catching sight of the head of the Soviet delegation. Crowds of autograph hunters chase after Eden, or wait at the entrance of the Mark Hopkins Hotel until he comes out to get into his car. What goes on at the entrance of Fairmont Hotel, where the American delegation resides and where the meetings of the "Big Three" take place, is indescribable.

The great and intense interest with which the public is watching the Conference is manifested in a typically American effervescence and excitement fostered by all sorts of sensation-mongers.

Thousands of people gather at meetings where with grave and concentrated attention they listen to lectures and speeches on the Conference and its tasks; and other thousands gather in the square outside the Opera House, where the Conference is proceeding, with the sole object of staring at passing delegates.

Over two thousand press and radio correspondents, and also press and cinema photographers, serve the Conference. A special train for press representatives was sent from New York to San Francisco, and one of the biggest hotels in the city—the Palace Hotel—has been placed at the disposal of the press. The larger news agencies, such as the Associated Press, United Press, TASS and Reuters, were provided with offices in the Veterans Building. Here they have a typing department with innumerable typewriters, telephone booths, and special telegraph and radio departments.

In the meeting hall the press occupies the boxes in the first gallery. The press and cinema photographers operate in the parterre. They creep on all fours down the aisles, crowd on the stage and climb on to the bases of columns to get as close as possible to the speaker in the rostrum. The clicking and whirring of cameras, the flares of magnesium lights and the bustling crowds of cameramen are an inseparable part of every session and of every press conference.

The high-pressure methods of the American reporters are truly amazing. To be first is their chief ambition. On leaving the building after a meeting one can buy a newspaper with screaming headlines and a short report about the meeting that one has only just left. An agile reporter succeeds in obtaining a "scoop," and at once telephones it to his paper. He is not particularly concerned about the authenticity of his communication, and as for commenting on the event, that is the function of the editors and of "serious" commentators. This subject deserves to be treated separately, for the reporting of the Conference vividly reveals a characteristic feature of the American press, a certain section of which has done no little to mislead public opinion.

From the press boxes hundreds of eyes closely and eagerly watch everything that goes on in the hall. From here the parterre, where the delegates are seated, is as plainly visible as the palm of one's hand. So also is the stage, which is draped in blue with four yellow columns. For some reason or other, everybody is unanimous in regarding these columns as a symbol, but opinions differ as to whether they represent the four Great Powers, or the four freedoms.

The correspondents of American, British, French, Chinese and Latin American newspapers, correspondents from scores of countries, look down, recognize people, mention their names and freely express their opinions
about them. They watch closely to see with whom Eden is speaking, with whom Halifax is shaking hands, or to whom Bidault is talking. The ninth row, which is occupied by the Soviet delegates, is scrutinized again and again. “Who is that sitting next to Molotov?” “Which one is Admiral Rodionov?” “Where is Kuznetsov?”—are the questions one hears all sides.

Next to the Russian is the United States' delegation. Here are the most outstanding and active figures—the pillars of the Republican Party—Vandenberg and Stassen. From the moment they arrived, even before the Conference opened, they have been giving interviews and addressing press conferences, commenting on events and supplying the sensational press with material for conjectures, rumours and assumptions.

On the opening day of the Conference Stettinius was not seen among the American delegation in the parterre. He was at the presiding table with the Conference Secretary. He opened the first official session in the capacity of temporary President. He also sat at the presiding table on the next day. This was the second day the Conference was proceeding without an official President, and without an agenda! There was lively comment on this in the lobbies and in the press. The American correspondents were obviously displeased. They had taken it for granted that Stettinius would preside, in view of the fact that the Americans were, so to speak, the hosts of the Conference. At the second session, however, this organizational question had been already settled. The heads of the delegations of the four sponsoring powers—China, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States—were to preside in rotation. The audience warmly welcomed the appearance at the presiding table of Soong Tzuwen, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs. V. M. Molotov, the head of the Soviet delegation, was given an ovation on the day he first took up the President's mallet and also when he opened the last plenary session of the Conference before the commissions started work.

The heated discussion that went on in the lobbies and at the restaurant tables in the Palace Hotel as to whether the Soviet delegation was right in insisting on four Presidents ending at last with the admission that this was not a question of prestige, or of “diplomatic courtesy,” but a question of principle affecting the equal rights of the four sponsoring powers even in the matter of guiding the Conference; the more so that the apprehensions that had been expressed about the difficulties likely to arise from the rotation system proved groundless, for the meetings proceeded in a perfectly organized manner. Stettinius retained the post of chairman of the leading bodies of the Conference—the Executive and Steering Committees. This was a recognition of the services he had personally rendered in the preparations for the Conference. His appearance next day in the parterre among the American delegates was greeted with boisterous approval.

***

An American correspondent, no longer young, and wearing spectacles, scrutinized the rows of seats in the parterre on the opening day of the Conference and remarked:

“What a number of familiar faces! It makes you think we were at a meeting of the League of Nations. Will the results be any different?”

This was not the only observation of this kind uttered at that time. During the first days of the Conference the professional pessimists wrote in the columns of some of the American newspapers with a sigh that could almost be heard: “Men of yesterday”; “The same actors, in the same roles.”

The more farseeing commentators, however, realize that the international situation has changed very materially. However many “familiar faces” those who have attended the Geneva talking shop may meet in the hall of the United Nations Conference, times have changed. And even of the League of Nations leaders some have already gone, and others are far away. The most important thing, however, is that the peoples have acquired new experience and have achieved new results. The United States is taking an active part in international affairs—in the war and in preparing for a stable peace; and above all, the Soviet Union is now acting in a capacity different from that in which it acted in the period of the League of Nations. It has come to the Conference in the halo of its victories, conscious not only of its strength, but also of the justice of its cause, which history has confirmed. This factor must not be left out of account.

V. M. Molotov's speech was a blow at the sceptics. He said that the Soviet people attached great importance to the Conference and wished it success in its work. He anticipated difficulties and warned against dan-
gers—in particular, the danger of repeating the mistakes of the League of Nations. It was important that the Conference should give no scope for the forces that were hostile or indifferent to the cause of stable peace among the nations. At the same time, it must not be thought that this Conference provided the last chance of saving mankind from destruction as a result of devastating wars, for if it is found impossible to cope with the task of forming an international security organization with the forces at present available, it will not mean that this task will not be solved in future. The sensitive ears of the press correspondents quickly catch every nuance: the words of the head of the Soviet delegation were afterwards repeated up and down the scale.

The several score of seats of the Soviet, British, American, Chinese and French delegates are lost in the vast rows of seats occupied by the representatives of the other countries. Of Latin American republics alone there are nearly a score. Whereas the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain have sent from eight to eleven delegates each, the list of the delegates from the Latin American countries numbers over a hundred. The Latin American delegates are very active and noticeable at the Conference. Their representatives spoke often at the first plenary sessions.

During one of these speeches I heard the remark from a neighbouring press box: "The smaller the country the longer the speech. Wouldn't it be a good thing if their activity at the Conference was commensurate with the part they played in the war against Hitler?"

The speeches delivered with Latin American temperament took up no little time. Most of those present did not understand Spanish, and so there was plenty of time to exercise one's wit and to indulge in reflections. A TASS correspondent consulted his handbook and discovered that the populations of Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Costa Rica, which are so extensively represented at the Conference, are as large as that of our Kiev or of San Francisco, while that of Panama is only half. Most of the Latin American countries have populations less than Moscow.

The part the "votes of the Latin American republics" is likely to play became a matter of discussion in the lobbies in the very first days of the Conference. Up to a point, as a result of thorough discussion in the leading bodies of the Conference, agreement was reached on a number of questions, such as the President, and the inclusion of the Ukraine and Byelorussia among the initial countries. The plenary sessions of the Conference endorsed these decisions. But the moment arrived when unanimity was not reached in the leading bodies on a most important question. The Argentine question came before the plenary meeting.

Just before the meeting, the head of the Soviet delegation addressed a press conference. In clear and simple language he outlined a position against which practically no argument could be advanced. Who does not know that Argentina is a fascist country? This has been eloquently stated in speech and in writing by Hull and Roosevelt. The Soviet delegation proposed that the question of inviting Argentina to the United Nations Conference should be postponed for a few days, so that the statement, made by those who were in favour of inviting her, that the situation in that country had changed for the better, might be verified. If Argentina were invited and Poland was not, the question would naturally arise: does Poland occupy a less important place among the United Nations than Argentina?

The stern logic of the argument made its impression. One could hear the scratching of pencils, the rustling of notebooks and the clicking of cameras. Several hundred correspondents listened with bated breath. Then came a wild stampehe to the telephones, telegraph, and to the meeting hall. On the way there was an excited exchange of impressions. Somebody already knew that among the "Big Five" France and China were not supporting the United States and Britain on the Argentine question.

In the Conference hall V. M. Molotov read the motion of the Soviet delegation that the question of inviting Argentina be postponed for several days. He was followed by five speakers. Spain from Belgium supported the motion of the Soviet delegation. Colombia, Mexico, Peru and the United States opposed it.

When the voting commenced and the chairman of the delegations rose from their seats, looking down from the press box, could distinctly see that the question was being decided by the votes of the Western hemisphere. Seven countries voted for the Soviet Union's motion and twenty-eight against.
Hence, eleven abstained. Of these twenty-eight votes twenty were American, and only eight of the votes that were cast against the Soviet delegation's motion were those of non-American countries. These were the votes of Great Britain, the Philippines, Liberia, and several of the British dominions. With the exception of Holland, not one of the liberated countries of Europe supported the Americans.

Some commentators grasped the meaning of this "American" victory at the Conference. Walter Lippmann wrote in the New York Herald Tribune: "The combination had a lot of votes, but, unhappily, the nations which did not support us were the very ones with whom, through whom, and by whom peace, when it is made, will have to be maintained."

An American correspondent dashed up to a strapping Yugoslav delegate with a medal pinned to his modest tunic and asked him: "Why did your Subasic vote against Argentina?"

The delegate, pointing to a fresh scar on his temple, calmly answered: "I know very well why he did so. My head still hurts from the German fascist bullet, which contained Argentine metal."

** * **

The press correspondents are allowed to attend only the plenary sessions of the Conference. The meetings of the Executive and Steering Committees are held in private. But the correspondents don't waste any time. In the intervals between sessions, and on the days when no sessions are held, they go after the people they need. In the hotels they besiege the press attachés, delegates and advisers. They almost try to squeeze through the keyhole into the room where the "Four" are in session, or into the hall where a committee is meeting. Can anything be concealed from the ubiquitous American reporter? The more so that the meetings of the Executive Committee, which consists of only fourteen members, are actually attended by several dozen persons, counting the advisers and staffs; and those of the Steering Committee, which has forty-six members, are attended by as many as two hundred to three hundred persons. Is it surprising, therefore, that, with the necessary experience and connections, the correspondents of the American newspapers succeed fairly quickly in getting wind of what is being discussed at a closed conference?

But to get wind of a subject does not mean truthfully reporting and explaining it. Every day, every hour the press, particularly the local press (two Hearst and one Scripps-Howard newspapers are published in San Francisco) is full of assumptions, conjectures and open and concealed provocation. Knowing the attitude of this section of the American press towards our country, one can easily picture to oneself the light in which the position of the Soviet delegation was depicted. Under these circumstances, press conferences occupy an important place in San Francisco. Exceptional interest has been roused by the meetings of the head of the Soviet delegation with the representatives of the press. During the most acute moments, when the reactionary newspapers had raised a hullabaloo around various real or imaginary disagreements among the "Big Three," V. M. Molotov gave precise and comprehensive information to the public at press conferences, during which he answered the most insinuating and tricky questions and dealt with all inventions and distortions in the convincing language of facts. The notorious "Polish question" was the touchstone on which the reactionary newspapers wanted to test the firmness of the ties that bound the leading participants of the Conference. The explanations that were given at press conferences helped, to a large degree, to release the tension. The Polish question was firmly kept separate from the problems which the Conference had met to solve. The malicious attempts to combine the disagreements on the Polish question with the work of the Conference in order to jeopardize its success failed ignominiously. At the last press conference he addressed before his departure, V. M. Molotov expressed the conviction that the Polish question would be settled as favourably as the less complex and difficult question of Yugoslavia had been settled. And, he emphasized, the most important thing was that it should be settled in conformity with the wishes of the Poles. It should be said, in passing, that the most ardent "benefactors" of the Polish people in reactionary quarters stubbornly ignore this point. Great interest was roused by the statement made at this press conference that the four Presidents of the Conference had reached agreement on a number of important amendments which certain delegations had moved on the draft charter of the international security organization drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks.

** * **
The first stage of the work of the Conference has drawn to a successful close. The committees and commissions are now discussing the amendments proposed by the various delegations and preparing section by section, the final draft of the charter of the international security organization. This is a difficult and painstaking task. But it will undoubtedly be crowned with success, provided, of course, the same mutual understanding, willingness to co-operate and the necessary flexibility in solving complex problems affecting different and sometimes contradictory interests is displayed as has been displayed hitherto.

With the departure of the head of the Soviet delegation and of a number of other Foreign Secretaries, a slack season has set in for the press correspondents too. Some of them have left San Francisco. Others, like the delegates, are able, in their spare time, to make themselves familiar with San Francisco. This is one of the most picturesque cities in the Western hemisphere—and one of the youngest. Only a hundred years ago, in 1846, this was a village with several hundred inhabitants. Later gold was discovered in California, and the “gold rush” commenced. Four years later the population of San Francisco had grown to 34,000.

The city grew like a mushroom. In keeping with the traditions of the “gold rush” period, there are more hotels in this city than in any other city of the United States. In addition, there are numerous restaurants, saloons and bars. In the city museum there is a restaurant menu dating from 1850, when bills were paid in gold dust.

Today San Francisco, or Frisco, as the Americans often call it, is a large, modern city, with a population of about three quarters of a million. Together with its adjacent townships and districts, the population runs to over one and a half million. It is an important centre of communications on the Pacific coast. Naval and air bases, docks and aerodromes make the San Francisco Bay area one of the most important United States fortified points in the Pacific.

San Francisco is built on a series of high hills and is situated on the spur of a narrow peninsula almost completely surrounded by water. From the hills one gets a magnificent view of the city’s streets and tall buildings, and one can also see the clear outlines of both peninsulas, the straits and bay, and the huge bridges spanning them. Small street cars race up and down the hilly streets at an amazing speed, putting one in mind of a switchback railway. Market Street, the long main thoroughfare, cuts right across the city. The Stock Exchange and the banks, magnificent and monumental, with columns and statues ornamenting the entrances and vestibules, remind one of ancient temples. A short walk from the centre brings one to Chinatown, with its shop signs in Chinese, Chinese theatres and restaurants, and stereotyped “exotics” in the shop windows.

During the war huge shipbuilding yards have been built in San Francisco, and with them, numerous villages, with hurriedly built houses for the workers, sprang up round the city. In the daytime these villages are quiet and deserted; their inhabitants are at work. But during those hours exceptional animation prevails in the central streets of San Francisco, a city which will go into history when the international security organization is formed at the United Nations Conference.

San Francisco, May 8
NOW THAT fascist Germany has been smashed, problems of the post-war arrangement of Europe acquire exceptional urgency. It is perfectly obvious that on the correct solution of these problems depends the fate of European peace. During the war a fairly extensive literature appeared containing the utterances of numerous statesmen, authors and publicists on the problems concerning the future of Europe. Diverse as the views of the different authors are on many of the fundamental problems of post-war organization, the majority of them emphasize the necessity of learning the lessons of the history of the two wars which German imperialism unleashed in the lifetime of one generation. The peoples of Europe, who have undergone such a stern ordeal, demand that effective measures be taken to prevent a recurrence of German aggression. No writer on post-war problems can, of course, ignore this firm determination of the largest sections of society in the European countries if he wants his voice to be heeded. Nevertheless, some of them come forward with schemes for safeguarding the world against a new German menace which are hardly likely to facilitate the attainment of this object.

A characteristic example of this is the booklet by Sir Walter Layton, How to Deal with Germany. A Plan for European Peace, recently published in London.* Its author is well known not only in Britain, but also far beyond her borders. He is a prominent member of the Liberal Party, a publicist and economist, the chairman of News Chronicle, Ltd. From 1933 to 1938 he was editor of the widely circulated journal The Economist. Sir Walter Layton took part in drafting the Versailles Peace Treaty, was a member of the Advisory Committee under the Young Plan, and director of the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations. During the present war he was engaged for three years in planning war supply. Thus, the very name of the author indicates that his utterances undoubtedly reflect the views of definite circles of the British political and business world.

Although the title of Sir Walter Layton's booklet would lead one to suppose that it deals with Germany, actually it contains a far wider analysis of the problems of the post-war arrangement of Europe. On some problems the author expresses very sound opinions. Thus, in supporting the idea of forming an international security organization he, at the same time, emphasizes that the countries adjacent to Germany will have a special role to play in preventing German aggression in future.

"Those on the spot," he writes, "must do the firewatching and stamp out any smouldering sparks without waiting until they hear the opinion of Chile or Peru."

As is well known, it is precisely this object that is pursued by the treaties which were concluded by the Soviet Union with Great Britain, France, Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, and which have met with the approval of world public opinion. Noting that the hopes that Germany would come to her senses entertained after the First World War were disappointed the author goes on to say, that.

"It is even less possible to assume today that, left alone, Germany will gradually work herself into a better frame of mind."

Sir Walter Layton is in favour of punishing the German war criminals. It would be very inadequate retribution, he thinks, if punishment were confined to "the handful known by name to the Allies," for this "would leave a great number of Hitler's fanatics free to form cells in Germany for plotting and preparing a new war." "It would not be fair either to Europe or to Germany to leave at large any appreciable number of the agents of the Gestapo or the organizers of the Nazi party," Punishment must also be meted out to those "who have profited materially by accepting and co-operating with Nazism."

One cannot help observing that these words sound very opportune, especially at present, when the Allies have in their hands Krupp, Duisberg, Schnitzler, and many other German trust and bank magnates, who not only "profit"ed materially by co-operating with Nazism," but were the actual rulers of Hitler Germany.

The author is also in favour of compelling Germany to make material recompense for
the damage she has caused the countries which became her victims. He writes:

"Germany must supply materials for reconstruction both of houses and of public works—roads, railways, and the like. She must also send labour where it is asked for."

The author admits, at least in words, the necessity of co-operation among the European peoples to prevent a recrudescence of German aggression.

"If the non-German states of Europe," he writes, "are weak, and disunited, a German force will again dominate Europe. If they are strong and can devise means to develop their moral and material resources in wise collaboration, they may hope, with the support of other great countries of the world, to control their own destiny, and keep their place in the van of human progress."

The author is of the opinion that it is insufficient to smash fascism in Germany alone. "We cannot afford to have any breeding ground of fascism left in Europe," he writes. These words are all the more noteworthy for the reason that, as one of the founders of the Friends of Spain Society, Sir Walter Layton knows very well what part in the unleashing of the Second World War was played by Spanish fascism, and what services the latter rendered Hitler Germany throughout the whole course of the war.

Thus it would seem, at first sight, that Sir Walter Layton's booklet is directed against a recrudescence of German aggression.

To draw such a conclusion, however, would be, to say the least, premature. For the author, while recognizing a limited number of the just demands that arise from the experience gained from the war, at the same time propounds views on the question of Germany's future role in Europe, and on the post-war arrangement of Europe as a whole, which testify to his inability, or unwillingness, to draw the necessary conclusions from the lessons of the war.

In the first place, Sir Walter Layton is very anxious that the Allies should not destroy Germany's industrial might, which, in his opinion, is the basis for the revival of the entire economy of Europe. He is opposed to any industrial equipment whatever being taken out of Germany on the grounds that this would lead to Germany's "impoverishment and spoil one of Europe's best markets."

He stresses the point that the Allies must prevent the "impoverishment" of Germany over and over again. If Germany is poor, the whole of Europe will be poor, he argues; and with a wave of his hand, so to speak, he relegates all the countries of Europe except Germany to the category of the "backward." These countries, he assures us, can rise only with the aid of German industry.

If that is the case, however, how does the author propose to have Germany compensate for the damage she has caused? He says nothing definite on this score. He also seems to have forgotten that it was precisely the economic might concentrated in the hands of the German industrial and financial magnates that served as the basis for the development of aggressive German militarism.

Thus, Sir Walter Layton's position on the question of the fate of German industry sharply contradicts the statements he makes at the beginning of his booklet about German aggression and the necessity for curbing it. On the other hand, this position fully harmonizes with the general conception of the post-war arrangement of Europe, and the role Germany is to play in it, that he enunciates in this booklet.

The author advocates the formation of a "European association of nations," which is to include neither Great Britain nor the Soviet Union, nor, of course, the United States. As regards Great Britain, however, the author reiterates that she must establish very close economic and political relations with the "European association," conclude pacts with it, and so forth. Although, according to the author, Great Britain is not to join this association formally, reading between the lines one gathers that he assigns to her the role of its ideological inspirer and protector. He is of the opinion that this role can be best performed by Great Britain because, as he says, the pessimists hold that the Soviet Union takes "a short but realistic view, and is chiefly concerned to make her own borders militarily secure," while the United States is "remote and absorbed in her own political affairs."

Thus we have before us another scheme for a "European federation." No few schemes of this kind appeared during the war, as is well known. There is no need to enumerate these stillborn projects. It is sufficient to recall that they were all prompted by the desire to create a bulwark against the alleged "danger from the East." They were sponsored by pro-fascist circles in the Polish emigration, by the Vatican and the reactionary Catholic politicians associated with it, and also by other abettors and advocates of Hitlerism. It is not surprising that all these schemes, which, in their final analysis, amounted to attempts to revive the cordon sanitaire against the Soviet Union, were condemned by demo-
cratic public opinion. Sir Walter Layton is trying to galvanize this bankrupt idea into life again and last year conducted very active propaganda in favour of it.

He propounded this scheme in a lecture he delivered at the Oxford University in the beginning of 1944, in a letter to the Spectator of March 25, 1944, in a radio speech he delivered on May 21, 1944, in an article in the News Chronicle on March 31, 1944, at a meeting of the London Federation of the League of Nations Union December 12, 1944, again in the News Chronicle of September 12, 1944, and at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in London on January 4, 1945. This is, indeed, zeal worthy of a better cause!

In his booklet Sir Walter Layton reiterates that he is not proposing the formation of a new state organization. He does not even call the organization that he recommends a “federation”; he calls it merely an “association.” On closer examination, however, we find that the “association” he proposes is to have armed forces and a General Staff. His scheme provides for the abolition of “the multitude of Europe’s monetary systems” and for the formation of a vast European cartel in the form of what he calls a “Public Corporation” or “Board” which is to take over the steel and coal industries and “run them through a series of national boards.” In speaking of his “undertaking,” the author, with unconscious irony, calls it “ambitious.”

“It assumes,” he writes, “that there will be an European association which will have not only an executive with military responsibilities, but also one which will perform economic functions of the first importance.”

He proposes that a customs union of the European nations should be formed. That goes without saying, nor does he forget to point out that the “European association” should have “a five or ten-year economic plan,” which is necessary, he says, because “it is only within such a plan that provision can be made for Germany’s future.”

Now we understand why the author objects to any encroachments being made upon Germany’s industrial might. He wants an economically strong Germany, who is to be restored to her former might by ten years of effort on the part of the peoples surrounding her, as a basis, as the core, of the “European association.” We are not surprised, therefore, to read in another part of his booklet:

“The economic unification which the Nazis have imposed subordinates and enslaves for the benefit of Germany. It should not be hastily swept aside and a return made to the old system of each for himself, but should be replaced by a system devised for the benefit of the whole of Europe. It must include authority to regulate European cartels and some power to influence the distribution of industry.”

It should be clear, one would think, that with the preservation of Germany’s former industrial might, the “European association,” which Sir Walter Layton proposes, would merely be a new signboard for German economic domination, on the Continent of Europe. This does not disturb the author, however, for he calculates that the entire “association,” organized in this manner, will serve the interests of Great Britain.

The “European association,” and not each European nation separately, says Sir Walter Layton, should send its representatives to the international security organization. Thus, the author’s denials notwithstanding, what he has in mind is the formation of a huge state, which is to possess centralized political, economic and military authority, and maintain close relations with Great Britain.

Sir Walter asks:

“Can we expect the states of Europe to reach an understanding with one another in the absence of Great Britain?”

Later on he answers this question in the negative. By “understanding” he means, in particular, an arrangement by which the European forces and their General Staff are closely linked with the British armed forces so as to be able to take joint action “if assistance is needed” in Western Europe.

Although the author does not speak openly about the “balance of power” in Europe, his whole scheme to form a “European association,” and his desire to preserve Germany’s economic might, spring precisely from this obsolete idea. The notorious “balance of power policy” has once already subjected Great Britain to the severest of trials and placed her in mortal danger. In one of our previous issues (No. 5, 1945) we discussed the opinions expressed by the reactionary military observer Liddell Hart who, taking the “balance of forces policy” as his premise, went to the length of making barely concealed calls for preparations for a war against the Soviet Union. One would have thought that utterances of this kind by the out-and-out enemies of European peace would have served as a warning for those who are still inclined to examine European problems through the prism of “balance of power policy.” Sir Walter Layton, however, has shown that this bankrupt idea, so dangerous to the state inter-
est of Great Britain, has by no means been shelved by certain influential British circles. Of course, Sir Walter Layton proclaims the necessity of co-operation between Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States.

"But what is wanted in the world of today," he writes, "is not a division of world power, but a synthesis through the triple association of Britain, the United States and Russia."

But evidently this idea of a "synthesis" is remote from Sir Walter Layton's mind. Although he would graciously permit the Soviet Union and the United States to maintain "very close" relations with the "European association," actually he believes that they would have only a remote relation with it. The author, of course, emphasizes over and over again that the "European association" would not be directed against the Soviet Union, but scarcely any of the authors of such schemes have openly confessed that their aim is to isolate the Soviet Union.

Times have changed. The peoples of the entire world are aware of the role the Soviet Union has played in defeating Hitler Germany, in ridding mankind of the fascist plague. Hence, the authors of all the various schemes for the creation of a cordon sanitaire against the Soviet Union most often resort to disguise.

The author of the booklet under review also disguises his intentions towards America. He does not openly say that the spearhead of his scheme for a "European association" is directed against the United States, but, in substance, he has in mind the creation in Europe, under the aegis of Great Britain, of a new, vast state to counterbalance the might of the United States.

In pursuit of this aim Sir Walter Layton is even willing to allow the restoration of Germany's might. But what this means the peoples of Europe already know from bitter experience. After the First World War the shortsighted adherents of the British "balance of power policy" exerted no little effort to put vanquished rapacious Germany on her feet again. Schemes like those concocted by Sir Walter Layton harbour the danger of a revival of that disastrous policy under the new conditions, and are therefore incompatible with the maintenance of peace in Europe and with the security of the European peoples.

---

**CHRONICLE OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS**

**May 1**


Red Army troops captured Brandenburg and Stralsund in Germany, and Bohumin in the zone of the Western Carpathians in Czechoslovakia.

Mass May Day meetings and demonstrations were held in Warsaw and in all the other large towns of Poland. Similar meetings and demonstrations were held in the capitals of Yugoslavia, Italy, Bulgaria and other countries.

The statement was published of V. V. Kuznetsov, President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, made to press representatives in San Francisco on the subject of inviting representatives of the International Trade Unions Federation, now in process of formation, to the United Nations Conference.

---

**May 2**

The German radio reported Hitler's death and that Admiral Dönitz had been appointed his successor.

Troops of the First Byelorussian Front, with the co-operation of troops of the First Ukrainian Front, completely captured Berlin, the capital of Germany, the centre of German imperialism and the seat of German aggression.

Troops of the First Byelorussian and of the First Ukrainian Fronts completed the liquidation of the group of German forces which had been surrounded southeast of Berlin. Troops of the Second Byelorussian Front captured Rostock and Warnemünde, big German ports and important naval bases in the Baltic Sea.

---

**May 3**

The plenary sessions of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco closed, and the commissions formed at the Conference started work.

V. M. Molotov in San Francisco received Philip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Lombardó Toledoano, President of the Confederation of Labour of Latin America, and also members of the Iran delegation.

Wincenty Rzymowski was appointed Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Troops of the Second Byelorussian Front captured Barth and Wittenberge, and on the Wismar-Wittenberge line effected a junction with the British troops.

Troops of the Fourth Ukrainian Front captured Cieszyń.

Yugoslav troops liberated the town and port of Fiume.
Philip Murray, Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the World Trade Union Conference, addressed another appeal to Stettinius and to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco to grant the organized workers representation in the international security organization.

A communiqué of the Extraordinary State Commission for Establishing and Investigating the Atrocities of the German Fascist Invaders and Their Accomplice was published on the monstrous crimes committed by the German government in Auschwitz.

May 8

The act of unconditional surrender of the armed forces of Germany to the Supreme Command of the Red Army and simultaneously to the Supreme Command of the Allied Expeditionary Force was signed in Berlin.

By an edict of the President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. May 9 was proclaimed Victory Holiday.

Red Army troops captured Dresden.

Units of the Yugoslav army liberated Zagreb, capital of Croatia, and Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia.

May 9

J. V. Stalin delivered a radio address to the people on the victory over Germany.

Soviet troops liberated Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia.

Mrs. Clementine Churchill, in Moscow, read over the radio a message of greeting from British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in connection with the capitulation of Germany.

United States forces captured Hermann Göring.

The Danish Riksdag was opened in Copenhagen.

May 10

A Norwegian administration began to function in Oslo. Several leading members of the "government" were arrested.

The Provisional Government of Austria passed an act prohibiting the Nazi party.

A new government, headed by Ibrahim Hakimi (Hakim ol Molk), was formed in Iran.

May 11

The President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. ratified the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Collaboration between the Soviet Union and Poland that was signed in Moscow on April 21, 1945.

In connection with the victory over Germany, the Soviet press published telegrams of greeting from King George VI of Great Britain; and from United States President Harry S. Truman, and the telegrams sent in reply by M. I. Kalinin and J. V. Stalin. The press also published a message from J. V. Stalin to Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, in reply to the latter's message of greeting that was read over the radio by Mrs. Clementine Churchill on May 9.

Mrs. Clementine Churchill, President of the British Red Cross Aid to Russia Fund, and the personnel accompanying her, left Moscow by air for London after a tour of the Soviet Union.

May 12


May 13

A Ministry of Rehabilitation was newly set up in Poland.

May 14

V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., who headed the Soviet delegation at the United Nations Conference, returned to Moscow from San Francisco. With him returned V. V. Kuznetsov, President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, member of the delegation.

May 15

The Soviet Information Bureau issued its last war communiqué announcing that the reception of German prisoners on all fronts had been completed.
BOOK ANNOUNCEMENTS

The books listed in these announcements are in Russian, unless otherwise stated.

**STATE PUBLISHERS OF POLITICAL LITERATURE**

Now on Sale

J. STALIN: Order of the Day of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief No. 20 of May 1, 1945. Moscow. Edition—5,000,000


V. I. LENIN: A Great Beginning, How to Organize Competition. Pp. 34. Price: R. 0.70.


G. M. MOVSHOVICH: The Training of Workers During the Patriotic War. Pp. 52. Price: R. 0.70.


**PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE U.S.S.R.**

To Appear Soon

I. NEWTON: Lectures on Optics.

N. I. LOBACHEVSKY: Geometrical Researches into the Theory of Parallel Lines.


Th. A. ROTHSTEIN, M. Ac. Sc.: Two Prussian Wars.


S. V. KOVALEVSKAYA: Childhood Reminiscences and Autobiographical Sketches.


Military-Medical Symposium No. 2.


THE WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS
PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY IN RUSSIAN, ENGLISH AND FRENCH

THIS JOURNAL is devoted to questions of the foreign policies of the U.S.S.R. and other countries and to current events in international life.

Among the contributors to this journal are scientists, authors, journalists, trade union leaders and other persons prominent in public affairs.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 months</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12s 6d</td>
<td>6s 3d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SINGLE COPY: $0.12 or 7d

TO BE OBTAINED FROM:


GREAT BRITAIN—Collet’s Bookshop, Ltd., Foreign Section, 67 Great Russell Street, London W.C. 2.

U.S.A.—Four Continent Book Corporation, 253 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

CANADA—Progress Book Service, 95 King Street, Toronto, Universal News Co., 138 Hastings St., East Vancouver, B.C.

AUSTRALIA—Current Book Distributors, 14 Rawson Chambers, Sydney.

SOUTH AFRICA—People’s Bookshop, Pty, Ltd., Trades Hall, Kerk Street, Johannesburg.

EGYPT—Librairie Le Rond Point, 3 Place Moustafa Kamel, Le Caire.

CHINA—Fleet’s Book Store, 798 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai.

COLOMBIA—Distribuidora Nacional de Publicaciones, Manuel Abondano H., Apartado Nacional 27-29, Bogota.

CUBA—Editorial Paginas, Apartado 2213, Habana.

NEW ZEALAND—Progressive Publishing Society, P.O. Box 956, Wellington.

PALESTINE—Pales Press Company, Ltd., P.O. Box 844, Tel-Aviv.

BRANCHES:

Pales Press Company, P.O. Box 476, Haifa; Pales Press Company, P.O. Box 619, Jerusalem; Pales Press Company, Ltd. (Mr. Josef Taragan), 36 Souk Tawile, Beirut.

INDIA—People’s Publishing House, 190 B Khatwadi Main Road, Bombay.


Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics