THE WAR
and
The Working Class

A FORTNIGHTLY JOURNAL

7

April 1, 1945

PUBLISHED BY THE NEWSPAPER "TRUD", MOSCOW
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The Approaching Rout of Hitler Germany

The first months of the present year will serve as an outstanding landmark in the history of the war the freedom-loving nations are waging against Hitler Germany. This war is now reaching its climax. Even at the turn of the year it seemed as though the Germans still had some chance of putting up a prolonged resistance. At that time the Red Army was on the Vistula and on the border of East Prussia. The Hitlerites were still in control of the entire area of Germany, of all her vitally-important regions. This area was protected by powerful fortifications, which had been erected in the East and in the West in the course of years. In December 1944 the Germans launched an offensive in the West with the object of capturing Belgium and Alsace. A note of alarm prevailed in a number of English and American newspapers and journals at that time. Pessimistic views were expressed about the prospects of the war. The Germans counted on being able to prolong their resistance and on this leading to a split in the camp of the anti-Hitler coalition.

The Red Army’s mighty January offensive shattered the last hopes of the Hitlerites. Smashing the powerful German defences on a stretch of 1,200 kilometres, the Soviet troops, by rapid and skilful operations, hurled the enemy back hundreds of miles to the West. The loss of regions like Silesia, Pomerania and East Prussia sapped Germany’s economic base. Within a short space of time Germany sustained enormous, irreparable losses in manpower and material. Rundstedt’s winter offensive in the West was frustrated, and the armies of our Allies were enabled, in their turn, to pass to the offensive against the Hitler troops.

The offensive operations of the Allied troops in the West were combined with the offensive operations of the Soviet troops in the East, where, as is known, the main forces of Hitler’s army have been concentrated from the beginning of the Soviet-German war to the present day. This was mentioned once again the other day by General Eisenhower, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Expeditionary Force. Weighing up the prospects of a joint offensive against Hitler Germany in the East and in the West at a press conference on March 27, he especially noted that the Soviet troops were contending against the bulk of the German army.

When the Allies landed in Normandy in the summer of 1944 the Germans had about sixty divisions in the West, whereas in the East they had concentrated over two hundred divisions. Subsequently, the German High Command removed contingent after contingent of its best units from the West to the East. Needless to say, the Hitlerites have not transferred a single unit back to the West owing to the Red Army’s continuous offensive since the beginning of this year. As regards the German reserves, they have long been in existence only in the imagination of the Hitler military commentators. Actually, the German reserves have been wiped out on the Soviet-German front.

Under these circumstances, the swift advance of the Allied troops in the West, which in some cases is almost as rapid as that of the Soviet troops after their break-through of the German Vistula front last January, is not surprising. The rapid breach of the Siegfried line and the crossing of so serious a water barrier as the Rhine have proved once again that not obstacles in themselves, but the troops that defend them can hold up powerful attacking armies. The sensational reports of the unhindered advance of numerous columns of Allied troops deep into Germany without meeting any resistance, of towns being surrendered by telephone, and of thousands of untrained Volksstürmers surrendering with-
out firing a shot, confirm the indisputable fact that Kesselring, who has replaced Rundstedt, has only a very inconsiderable number of troops left to resist the numerous American, English, Canadian and French divisions which are advancing from the West. At the same time, the Hitler Command is continuing to hold its main forces in the East and to offer strenuous resistance to the Red Army, which is steadily fighting its way nearer and nearer to Berlin and Vienna.

Comparing the positions on the Western and Eastern fronts, the foreign press, naturally, notes the peculiar situation which has been created by the concentration of the main forces of the German army in the East. Thus, the military correspondent of the London Evening Standard wrote on March 31 that the German army on the Western front "is condemned to overall inferiority by the decision of the German leaders not to reinforce it with units drawn from the Eastern front." It is presumed that by acting in this way the German Command is playing a definite game. Thus Kimche, Reuters' military correspondent, wrote on March 31:

"This completeness of the German collapse in the West while the concentration against the Russians continues is more than suspicious. What is the German game? Having recognized their inability to stop Eisenhower advancing from the West, they decide, after the successful Rhine crossings, to act as if the West no longer concerned them. This move can of course do little to avoid the military catastrophe which faces the Nazis."

And, indeed, Germany is faced with unavoidable military catastrophe. In face of this catastrophe, the fascist ring leaders have remained true to themselves as reckless adventurers and provocateurs. As Reuters' correspondent Kimche says, they are striving "to cause friction between the Allies" and to "stimulate" this friction by their suspicious behaviour, which consists in acting "as if the West no longer concerned them." But this virtually amounts to discontinuing resistance in the West. Numerous reports from war correspondents bear this out. Some observers are even inclined to the opinion that the Germans have "opened the gates in the West." The Germans are obviously doing this with the hope of kindling and fanning disagreement among the Allies, not stopping at weakening, or even completely terminating, resistance in the West, while at the same time increasing their resistance in the East.

Now, in the face of this last and most frantic attempt of the Hitlerites to cause a split in the camp of the Allies, it is clearer than ever that anything that hinders the complete eradication of fascism and of its baneful, and at times skillfully camouflaged agencies, works only to the benefit of the enemy.
Agrarian Reform in Hungary

Z. Razin

At a time when the Red Army was completing the clearing of Hungarian territory of German fascist troops, the Hungarian Provisional Government passed an agrarian reform. This measure is to serve as the cornerstone for the reform of the entire political and economic life of the country on democratic lines. The abolition of the semi-feudal agrarian system in Hungary will cut away the strongest roots of reaction, which dominated the country and determined the whole course of its home and foreign policy. At the same time, it will destroy the economic basis of the forces whose lust for aggrandizement constituted a permanent threat to the peace and security of the Danubian nations.

The agrarian reform is designed to satisfy the Hungarian peasant's age-old hunger for land. The Hungarian people cherish the memory of György Dózsa, the popular hero who in the beginning of the sixteenth century led a powerful peasant army against the landowners. Dózsa's army was defeated, the executioners set him on the "flery throne," but the fire of the struggle for their land was never extinguished in the hearts of the Hungarian peasants. This struggle went on for centuries, and was closely interwoven with the struggle of the Hungarian people against the German enslavers for their liberty and independence. The big aristocratic landowners, who received their vast estates from the Austrian emperors as a reward for their betrayal of Hungary's national interests, always sided with the Germans against their own people.

In the war of national liberation of 1848-49, the Hungarian peasants, united by Kosuth, routed the armies of the Austrian emperor which were led by Hungarian landlords. The Hungarian National Assembly at that time adopted a decision to free the peasants from feudal exactions. However, after the defeat of the national liberation movement, the land remained in the hands of the magnates. The big landowners bound Hungary still more securely to the chariot of the Hapsburg monarchy and, through it, after 1871, to the imperialist Germany of the Hohenzollerns.

With the defeat of Germany in the First World War collapsed the stronghold of feudal reaction and piratical imperialism in South-Eastern Europe—the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. A severe blow was also dealt to the chief prop of the Hapsburg dynasty—feudal land tenure. In the years immediately following the war agrarian reforms were carried out in a number of the succession states which sprang from the ruins of Austria-Hungary, as a result of which some part of the landed estates passed into the hands of the peasants. In Hungary, however, after the reaction suppressed the people's movement of 1918-19 with outside support, the big landlords retained their latifundia in their entirety.

Subsequently, the ruling circles from time to time introduced farcical agrarian reforms in order to allay the growing discontent of the rural population. The only result of these "reforms" was that a few tens of thousands of hectares of the worst land of the big estates were ceded to small peasants on highly unfavourable terms.

In the pattern of land distribution in Hungary, the large estates hold an entirely disproportionate place, side by side with a vast multitude of landless peasants. The official land census of 1935 revealed that 44.5 per cent of the total area of arable and pasture land of the country—4,700,000 hectares—belonged to 16,000 estates of over 100 holds each (1 hold = 0.57 hectares), while, on the other hand, 1,579,000 small peasant holdings of 5 holds or less each comprised 1,300,000 hectares, in other words, only 12.6 per cent of the total area. Most of the big landed estates are aristocratic entailed estates, of which there are 62, with a total area of 823,000 holds. These include the family estates of Count Esterházy, with an area of 209,000 holds, of Count Festetics, with an area of 71,000 holds, of Archduke Karl Ludwig, 42,000 holds, and Margrave Pallavicini, 39,000 holds. While there are in Hungary 1,688 estates with an area of 1,000 holds and over each, aggregating 2,330,000 holds, there are, on the other hand, 1,800,000 landless peasants and agricultural labourers. The significance of this figure will be clear if it is borne in mind that Hungary had a total population of 8,900,000. According to official statistics, out of 3,000,000 farm-hands, agricultural labourers and share croppers, 1,315,000 were "gainfully employed," but only 240,000 had permanent employment, the remainder being seasonal workers employed.
only three to six months in the year, while some of them had no fixed employment at all. Prior to the First World War numbers of the poor emigrated, chiefly to the United States, but after the war this outlet was closed. Rural unemployment became a national scourge, exercising a depressing effect upon the wages of industrial, as well as of agricultural workers.

The undivided rule of the big landowners fettered the economic, political and cultural development of the country. The feudal landlords were the unchallenged masters in the countryside. They had their appointees in the gendarmerie, the courts and on the local government bodies. The landless peasants and agricultural labourers were in a state of semi-feudal dependence upon the big landlords. At the end of the thirties a number of works were published in Hungary by "rural investigators." These were progressive writers who exposed the savagery and ruthlessness of the landlords' reign of terror and described the hopeless plight of the millions of the rural poor who were doomed to degradation and physical extinction.

The Hungarian landowners, who lost a considerable part of their estates in the territories that were ceded to Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, became rabid advocates of an imperialist policy, of a reckless policy of annexation of foreign territory, and of Slav territory in particular. They hoped to realize their schemes in alliance with Mussolini and Hitler. In them, too, the Hungarian feudal lords sought for support against the growing discontent of the rural poor.

After Hitler's accession to power in Germany, the Hungarian landowners promoted Gömbös—the inspirer of Hungarian fascism—to the post of premier. After that Hungary's whole foreign policy followed in the wake of the Axis powers. The Hungarian Economic Federation, a powerful organization of big landowners, adapted agriculture to the needs of Germany's war economy. The landowners made large fortunes by bleeding Hungary's national economy for the benefit of Germany.

For a quarter of a century fear of "bolshevik infection" nourished Hungary's hostile policy towards the Soviet Union. The confiscation of the estates of the Polish magnates in the western regions of the Soviet Ukraine in 1939, and their distribution among the peasants living in close proximity to Hungary's borders, goaded the Hungarian land magnates to even greater fury.

In furtherance of their designs upon the territory of the neighbouring nations, the Hungarian landowners gave full reign to the propagation of the racial theory. They demanded Hungarian hegemony over all the Danubian nations. Having, with the help of Hitler Germany, seized part of the territory of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, the Hungarian occupation authorities perpetrated the most heinous crimes in these territories. The Hungarian landowners took back the land which had been divided up among the peasants twenty years earlier. Hungary's ruling clique could retain hold of the stolen lands only with the support of Hitler Germany. That is one of the chief reasons why the Hungarian landowners converted their country into Germany's most stubborn satellite. When Italy withdrew from the war in 1943, the more realistically-minded of Hungary's ruling circles sought to find a way out of the war, but the pro-fascist big landowners frustrated these efforts and paved the way for the occupation of the country by the Hitlerites.

The Second World War led to the further enslavement of the poor peasants. Large numbers of them were pressed into the militarized labour battalions and made to work for the big landowners under the surveillance of fascist hirelings, without pay and on starvation rations. The gendarmes and police organized regular man-hunts for peasants who "shirked" work. At the demand of the feudal lords, labour concentration camps were set up for condemned agricultural labourers, where they were forced to work to exhaustion for the landowners under the inhuman conditions of a fascist regime of penal servitude.

In its program the Hungarian National Front of Independence, which led the resistance of the people to the Hitlerites, demanded a radical land reform. But it was not until the greater part of Hungary's territory was liberated by the Red Army that the conditions were created which made such a reform possible. In the manifesto of the Provisional Government agrarian reform was proclaimed a task of prime urgency. Four months elapsed before the Government promulgated a law on the subject. This law was based on the draft that was published by the National Peasant Party and the Communist Party in December 1944, and which, in the main, was subsequently endorsed by the other parties of the National Front of Independence.
The agrarian reform provides for the confiscation of all landed estates belonging to fascists, traitors to the country and to war criminals, and for the alienation by purchase of all large estates of an area exceeding 1,000 holds, and of all other landed property exceeding 100 and up to 1,000 holds, the owners of the latter category being allowed to retain 100 holds. All the confiscated or alienated lands go to form a government land fund, which is to be divided up among the landless and small peasants and middle peasants with large families at a reasonable price. The agrarian reform does not extend to peasant holdings of up to 200 holds.

The owners of the land are to receive compensation from the state for alienated lands, structures, and means of production, but to an amount and in a manner to be determined later, depending upon the financial position of the country.

Under the decree about half a million landless and small peasant families are to receive land. For this land the peasants are to pay a definite sum in money or in kind, payment to be spread over a period of 10 to 20 years. Certain reductions of payment will be made in the case of landless peasants and agricultural labourers. The means of production of the big estates are to be turned over to agricultural producers' co-operative societies for joint utilization.

The agrarian reform is a mortal blow to the forces of feudal reaction in Hungary. Speaking of its significance to the democratic development of the country, the decree of the Provisional Government states:

"The abolition of the system of large feudal landowning will guarantee the democratic reform of the country and its future development. The transfer of the landed estates to the Hungarian peasants, who have been oppressed for centuries, opens up for them the path of political, social, economic and intellectual progress."

The passing of the agrarian reform marked the beginning of a decisive phase in the Hungarian peasants' fight for land. Bearing in mind the growing economic dislocation of the country and the vast area of abandoned and uncultivated land, the dilatoriness with which the agrarian reform was drafted is in itself a warning of the danger that the agrarian reform will be sabotaged by reactionaries inside, as well as outside, the National Front of Independence. The Hungarian landlords, who clung so desperately to their estates, will not surrender a single patch of land without a fight. They are already endeavouring, by terrorist methods, by deceit, and by the dissemination of false rumours, to sow dissension in the ranks of the peasants. The experience of Poland, and also of Rumania, shows that the guarantee of success in carrying out the agrarian reform lies in the enlistment of the widest masses of the peasantry in the struggle for its realization. It is necessary to stimulate to the utmost the activity of the peasants who are vitally interested in obtaining land. The successful and expeditious realization of the agrarian reform will depend upon the extent to which the democratic parties affiliated to the National Front of Independence assist the peasants in securing and retaining their land. Unfortunately, up to now these parties have by no means done all that is necessary to carry out this important task. A great responsibility rests upon the Rural Committees of the Land-Needy, whose function it is to bring to light all land and agricultural implements liable to confiscation or alienation, to verify the lists of land-needy peasants, etc.

The agrarian reform is to be completed by October 1, 1945. Its period of realization will thus coincide with the arduous period of sowing and harvesting. Government bodies are to lend organized assistance to the landless peasants in cultivating abandoned land and land liable to confiscation. The Hitlerites carried off nearly all the draught animals and stole agricultural implements and seed stocks. Under these circumstances, agricultural labourers and small peasants will be able to cultivate the land they receive only if they are given the necessary assistance. In the harvest period of 1944, as a result of the sabotage of reactionary and fascist elements, hundreds of thousands of centners of grain and fodder remained ungarnered in the fields at a time when the urban and industrial centres were going hungry. There can be no doubt that the opponents of the democratization of the country will attempt, by sabotaging the agrarian reform and the sowing of the fields, to aggravate the hard lot of the rural poor, and at the same time lay the blame for this on the democratic forces of the country. These enemy designs must be nipped in the bud.

The progressive sections of the Hungarian peasantry, who cherish the glorious traditions of the anti-German struggle of their fathers under the leadership of Rákoczy and Kossuth,
hate the German enslavers. Experience has convinced them of the correctness of Kos-suth's foreign policy, which aimed at maintaining peaceful and friendly relations with the surrounding Danubian nations in order to combat the German menace. Thus a dividing line arose between the big landowners and the peasantry in questions of foreign as well as home policy. In 1944, the overwhelming majority of the land magnates fled together with the Hitlerites; the overwhelming mass of the peasantry, on the other hand, remained on the territory liberated by the Red Army. After the arrival of the Red Army, the Hungarian peasants were convinced by their own experience that they had secured not only liberty and independence, but also land, thanks to the freedom-loving powers, and to the Soviet Union in the first place.

The agrarian reform will rid the Hungarian people of the oppression of the feudal reactionaries and will create the conditions for the democratization of the country's home and foreign policy. Taken in conjunction with the agrarian reforms in Poland and Rumania, the abolition of the feudal estates in Hungary will be a worthy contribution to the eradication of fascist influences and to the maintenance of peaceful relations among the peoples of Eastern Europe. By destroying the most reactionary of the political forces, and by sapping their economic basis, Hungary will remove the chief barrier that divides her from the neighbouring democratic countries which have already broken up their own large feudal estates. This will create a most important prerequisite for the establishment of friendly relations among the Danubian nations, which have always been at odds with one another. By setting firm foot on the road of democracy, Hungary will take her place among the democratic nations of Europe. That is why the agrarian reform in Hungary provoked hysterical outcries on the part of the German fascists and their supporters all over the world. But for the same reason it was greeted with such sympathetic approval by all champions of democracy and progress.

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**International Cartels and Their Agents**

**V. LINETSKY**

LATELY the public in Allied countries has been displaying keen interest in the past, present and future of international cartels. The American press has been devoting particular attention to the agreements between monopolists. This interest is far from academic. It is fostered by at least two circumstances. Firstly, the activities of international cartels are regarded as one of the main obstacles to the expansion of foreign trade after the war. Secondly, the existence of international cartels is regarded as a grave danger to future peace, as a menacing possibility that the economic base of German aggression will be preserved.

Americans still have a lively recollection of the economic crises that followed the First World War, of the industrial undertakings which were engendered by the war and killed by it, of the millions of men who, after donning their military uniforms and turning in their rifles to the arsenals, were unable to find employment. In the light of this experience there is a natural fear that the cartel system, which hinders both international trade and the development of the home market, will hamper the growth of business activities in the United States. The question of post-war markets is a constant theme of discussion in the American general and specialist press. The *Free World* has formulated this problem in the following vivid manner:

"When the war ends," wrote that journal, "we shall find ourselves with... a tremendous supply of goods ranging from blankets and canned peas to trucks and bulldozers, and, most important of all, millions of men and women trained in the techniques of production and eager to keep their skills at work, whether in the laboratory, in the drafting room, at the machine, in the mine, or on the farm."

The cartel system, with its division of the world market into spheres of influence and its screwing up of prices, restricts both the home and the foreign market and by no means helps to reduce the vast superfluous stocks left over after a war or, consequently, the number of potential unemployed. In this connection the book by Wendell Berge, Assistant Attorney General of the United States and Chief of the Anti-Trust Division of the
Department of Justice, which appeared last year, represents a convincing, documented indictment. In this book the author relates a number of edifying facts about the deliberate manufacture of goods of inferior quality when that helps to maintain a monopoly position and increases profits; about the deliberate restriction of new industries; about the artificial raising of prices, abuses of the patent laws, and so forth.

These fruits of cartel activities are compelling those who wish to increase the post-war competitive power of American industry seriously to ponder over this problem. If, as Francis Biddle, the Attorney General of the United States, believes, new opportunities will be created for American industry after the war as a result of the development of technical inventions and improvements, and also as a result of the damage caused to German industrial undertakings by air bombing, the activities of international cartels are hardly likely to facilitate the realization of these hopes. Biddle believes that this danger can be averted by expanding markets and increasing the number of industrial enterprises, which, in his opinion, should hinder the conclusion of monopolist agreements—if, he adds, the peoples allow any such agreements to be concluded at all in the future. It is well known, however, that international cartels exist in opposition to the will of the peoples. It is also well known that their activities are by no means conducted in the interests of the peoples. In discussing the possibility of the revival of international cartel agreements the democratic press quite rightly emphasizes that these agreements harbour the danger of a resumption of economic war among the powers.

But not only economic war. The history of the origin of the Second World War will not remain silent about cartel agreements. Everybody remembers that the activities of international cartels, in which German monopolies played such a prominent role, favoured the growth of the economic power of post-Versailles Germany. They were one of the important means by which the German war machine acquired fresh strength. Furthermore, these agreements enabled the German monopolies not only to control the production of individual branches of American industry, but also to hinder this production in the interests of German militarism. It is sufficient to recall the following facts which we have gleaned from the American press. The comprehensive agreement concerning patents and technological processes existing before the war among the four chief members of the chemical cartel—du Pont de Nemours and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey in America, the British Imperial Chemical Industries and the German I. G. Farbenindustrie—was operated in such a peculiar way that I. G. Farbenindustrie, and, consequently, the German General Staff, obtained extremely full information about the output of the American chemical industry, from insulin to dynamite, and from dyes to explosives. The result of these cartel "gentlemen’s agreements" was that in the decisive hour for the destiny of the United States, which was struck by the guns at Pearl Harbour, branches of American industry of vital importance for the war proved to be insufficiently prepared for the fulfilment of the task that confronted them. This applied to the chemical industry, the synthetic rubber industry, and the manufacture of aluminium, magnesium, optical glass and medicaments. Here the cartels were in command. Here, closely screened from the eyes of the people, dollars were made, which flowed in a broad stream into the underground strong rooms of the banks connected with the international monopolies.

The war disturbed but did not break the connection between the American and German monopoly concerns. The report of the Edward Senate Committee published in America last year contained striking illustrations of the permanence of the agreements, which were sanctioned by a common striving for superprofits. It states that certain American corporations helped German firms to evade the net of the British blockade; that the Standard Oil Company decided to announce its severance from the I. G. Farbenindustrie only on receipt of a summons to appear before a court; that the Bendix Aviation Corporation of America, in the endeavour to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the Department of Justice, tried to obtain the Government’s permission for its representatives, members of the cartel, to go to Germany. This firm could think of no other way of cancelling its cartel agreement with the German monopolies!

For the international cartels the war has been merely a vexatious interlude which has temporarily interrupted their domination of the world markets. They envisage the post-war economic order as an automatic resumption of pre-war relations, and even as an expansion of such connections. As the Iron Age,
which reflects the opinions of big American industrialists, stated quite a year ago, certain spokesmen for business circles in the United States insist on the cartelization of all the most important branches of industry, and in this meet with influential support in Congress.

The chief concern of these circles at present, when the war is in its last stage, is to maintain their positions and to prepare the ground for the international renascence of cartels. They are taking under their protection the property of the enemies of the American people, safeguarding it from confiscation by placing it under the provisional trade names of various American firms, or firms of so-called neutral countries. They demand a complete “free hand” after the war, and are already taking preventative measures to ensure themselves against outside interference likely to upset their plans and calculations. The demand for so-called “free enterprise,” which figured as the Republican Party’s standard in the election campaign last autumn, is directly connected with these narrow and selfish calculations. It was the interests of the big monopolies which fear “state competition” that prompted the fierce campaign waged by so-called business circles for separating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation from the Department of Commerce now headed by the new Secretary, Wallace. According to the Journal of Commerce, Wallace’s appointment to this post gave rise to serious alarm among business circles who fear that Wallace would control the funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, begin to exploit the government war enterprises to manufacture civilian consumers’ goods, and subsidize small industry at the expense of the big.

The practical measures taken by business circles go hand in hand with a sort of theoretical preparation. This is based on the thesis advanced by the well-known ideologist of international cartels, Professor de Haas of Harvard University. De Haas’ philosophy is by no means involved. It consists in the exaltation of international cartel agreements, and even contemplates the inclusion of legislation on cartels in the future peace treaty. It is characteristic that de Haas tries to scare his auditors with the prospect of—Soviet competition! He says that it is impossible to find a proper place for the products of Russian industry in the world market by means of state regulation. This task can be fulfilled only by private manufacturers if they act in sufficient co-ordination to meet the united front of Russian production in an organized manner.

Thus, according to de Haas’ scheme, the private manufacturers will erect a dam across the channel through which the products of Soviet industry might flow into the world market. At the same time they kindly extend a hand to the magnates of German industry. Wendell Berge relates in his book that a clause was inserted in the agreement between Standard Oil and I. G. Farbenindustrie providing that if the operation of the agreement was interrupted by the outbreak of war it was to be resumed after the war “in the spirit of the old,” and, consequently, the two wayfarers could calmly resume their interrupted pilgrimage to the Temple of the Golden Calf.

In the spirit of the old! This is the goal of the political and economic dreams of the American cartels, which even through the acrid fumes of war which divides the world into two camps continue to regard Germany merely as a customer and a partner in a new joint exploitation of world markets.

The American cartels have once before helped their German partners to get on their feet again. The German militarists struck out the disarmament clauses of the Versailles peace treaty with the uncondemned assistance of the American corporations. The benefactions of these corporations accompanied German militarism along its entire road from the Canossa of Versailles to the Munich deal. These dark forces are now resuming their old game.

The role of political agents of the international cartels is being played by the authors of numerous schemes, which, in spite of their different labels, are united by a common object, viz., to create favourable conditions for the preservation of the German monopolies and, consequently, of Germany’s industrial base. The impending consumption of the war, which is bringing Germany inevitable and utter defeat, has activated the bloc of paid and unpaid agents of the German industrial monopolies. United in this bloc are reactionary United States senators supported by du Pont de Nemours, by the newspapers of Hearst who at the very beginning of his shady career inherited metal mines of enormous value, by the McCormick press which is closely connected with the big International Harvester Company, and by a number of journalists who are closely connected with business circles.
Within this bloc, particularly among senators of the type of Wheeler, Bushfield and Revercomb, were hatched the fantastic schemes for a "Federation of European Countries." Here, too, were hatched plans antagonistic to the proposals drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks. One of these plans, for example, is that of Mündl, member of the House of Representatives for South Dakota, who proposed in place of an international security organization an international aircraft patrol of five thousand aeroplanes with bases in American aerodromes in Newfoundland, Scotland, Cairo and Brazil. This bloc of solicitors for the German monopolies also includes Senator Butler of Nebraska, who recently demanded that the German frontiers should be treated with special care and consideration so as not to arouse the dissatisfaction and irritation of the Germans, and described the restitution of lands seized by the Germans to their lawful owners as stupid from the economic point of view.

Such are the activities of the political agents of the international cartels in America. They constitute an attempt, on the one hand, to preserve German industry, and, consequently, the base of new German aggression, and, on the other hand, to isolate the Soviet Union in the post-war world politically and economically.

The adventurist sortie against the decision of the Crimea Conference to "eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production" sufficiently reveal the real faces of the agents of the cartels. These faces are distinctly seen even by the New York Post which sometimes suffers from severe attacks of myopia. This newspaper wrote:

"The fight against the Crimea decisions is the old fight to exclude the Soviet Union from Europe and to preserve the same forces which made the present war inevitable."

These forces do not slumber. They are sending their friends across the ocean signals of distress. Their dreams of a "symbolical defeat," of a "soft peace," of a second edition of the Versailles peace, find, as we see, energetic support in definite circles which are closely connected with the American branches of the international cartels. They are already sending their agents and emissaries to the different so-called neutral countries. It was no accident that Stinnes' arrival in Switzerland and Schnurrer's in Sweden coincided with the battles of the Oder and the Rhine.

Now that the hands of the clock of Hitler Germany are already drawing near to the hour of twelve, Stinnes, as the France-Presse agency reports, deems it opportune to commence negotiations with representatives of the international cartels for the preservation of the war industry of the Ruhr.

These activities leave no trace of the legend that the international cartels are "non-political." Wendell Berge writes:

"The American producers, whether they knew it or not, were entering into an international game to divide markets in which every market and every type of product was involved if the full scope of the cartel agreements of their partners were revealed. They were dealing in secret international diplomacy."

But the veil of secrecy has already been torn from this "international diplomacy" which obtains its inspiration from fireproof safes.

International cartels are inimical to the cause of peace. They are inimical to democracy. Naturally, the democratic public in the Trans-Atlantic Republic are aware of the harm which cartels cause their country and the danger they represent to the vital interests of the peoples. In spite of all the artificial obstacles which might be raised to its solution, and no matter to what farces trials for violations of the Anti-Trust Law may sometimes be reduced, the problem of what is to become of the cartels is attracting increasing attention among broad democratic circles in America. Lately voices are being heard in that country demanding ever more loudly and persistently energetic measures to curb the cartels, to destroy their omnipotence, and to annul international cartel agreements. Indicating the methods by which the chains of the cartel system can be smashed, the subcommittee of the United States Senate headed by Senator Kilgore proposes that "international cartels be outlawed."

The public in all democratic countries are vitally interested in ridding the world of the underground smirch of war and in clearing the path to such an organization of international economic ties as will be consonant with the interests of the peace-loving nations. Vigilance in regard to the designs of the international monopolist organizations in the economic as well as in the political field is particularly essential now, on the eve of the consummation of the war and of the laying of the foundations of the post-war arrangement of the world.
The Political Situation in India

A. Dyakov

A number of signs go to show that events of grave importance are maturing in India. It is in this light that we must regard the progress of the negotiations between the representatives of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, the recent debates on a number of important political questions in the Indian Legislative Assembly, and the lively discussion that has unfolded in the Indian press in connection with the report of William Phillips, President Roosevelt's former personal representative in India.

Lately, Hindu-Moslem relations have become one of the foremost questions in the political life of India. Many Englishmen prominent in politics are even inclined to regard Hindu-Moslem strife as the main obstacle to the democratization of the political system of India. Although such an assertion is undoubtedly an exaggeration, since the main obstacle to the democratization of India has been and remains its dependent status, one cannot but admit, however, that, as a result of a number of measures carried through by the British authorities in India during the last thirty or forty years, Hindu-Moslem antagonisms, which played no role at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, have now come into the forefront of the political life of the country. Religious community representation in the legislative bodies and the methods of staffing the Civil Service, the Army and the educational institutions have served to intensify religious strife in India and, as Leopold Amery, the Secretary of State for India, has admitted, have widened the gulf between the two main religious communities in India—Hindus and Moslems. It is not surprising, therefore, that the political organizations in India which are striving to unite all the forces of the Indian people in the struggle for independence have been lately making serious efforts to eliminate Hindu-Moslem antagonisms.

With this object in view, Gandhi and the leader of the Muslim League, Jinnah, conducted negotiations in September 1944. As we stated in our preceding article (Cf. No. 2 of this journal for this year), these negotiations were not crowned with success, and this served as grounds for pessimistic forecasts on the part of certain circles—mainly British—which began to doubt whether it was at all possible to solve the Hindu-Moslem problem. The events which took place subsequent to the Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations, however, showed that these negotiations had not been as fruitless as had first appeared. At all events, they helped fully to clarify the different points of view and proved to the mass of Congress members and members of the Muslim League that it is quite possible to reach agreement. According to reports in the press, Jinnah stated at a press conference in Ahmadabad, in January 1945, that he agreed with many points of the Congress resolution of August 1942, which, as is known, demanded the immediate formation in India of a national government and the granting of independence to India. He also expressed the view that the formation of two separate states—Moslem Pakistan and Hindu Hindustan—would be possible only if mutual agreement and the independence of India were achieved. If this report is true, it shows that Jinnah has retreated somewhat from his former uncompromising attitude towards the Indian National Congress.

The breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations not only failed to cool but, on the contrary, still further stimulated the desire of the bulk of the membership of the Indian National Congress and of the Muslim League to reach an agreement. This desire is reflected in the new attempt to reach an agreement made by Desai, the Congress leader in the Indian Legislative Assembly, and Liakat Ali Khan, the Secretary of the Muslim League. According to information available, this attempt proved successful and an agreement was reached concerning the formation of a central government in India in which the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League are each to have forty per cent of the ministerial posts, while twenty per cent are to be distributed among representatives of the Sikhs, the "untouchables," and other groups. Although this agreement has not yet been endorsed either by the Indian National Congress or by the Muslim League, nevertheless the press of both organizations commented upon it favourably. A number of concrete proposals for solving
Hindu-Moslem problems on the basis of the recognition of the right to self-determination have been advanced by the labour organizations of India.

These facts would seem to indicate that the Hindu-Moslem problem is nearing solution. Indirect evidence of this is also provided by the uneasiness betrayed in circles which are interested in internal dissensions in India. A number of reactionary groups are even betraying a tendency to unite their forces for the purpose of opposing the united forces of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League in the event of an agreement between them being reached. Thus Dr. Ambedkar, the Minister of Labour in the Indian Government, who claims to be the leader of the lower castes, the so-called “untouchables,” stated at a meeting in Hyderabad that if the National Congress consented to the formation of Pakistan, the “untouchables,” who, like the Moslems, constitute a separate nation, would demand the formation of a separate state of their own; Frank R. Anthony, English member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, has proposed that a “minority party” be formed, consisting of representatives of the European residents in India, Indian Christians, the “untouchables” and of the Sikhs if they desire to join. In Southern India, Nimballkar Naik, one of the leaders of the so-called Justice Party, the reactionary party of the Indian landlords, has suggested the formation in Southern India of a separate state of Dravidistan, and so forth. The object of these manoeuvres is obvious. It is either to prevent the solution of the Hindu-Moslem problem or, in the event of its solution, to create a base for a struggle against the united front of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League.

Symptoms of the maturing of great political events in India are the conflicts that have occurred lately between the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Indian Government.

The Indian Legislative Assembly cannot be regarded as a body that represents the broad masses of the people of India, and still less can the Council of State be so regarded. Only 1,250,000 citizens are entitled to vote in the election of the Indian Legislative Assembly, and only 32,000 in the election of the Council of State. Furthermore, of the total of 141 members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, only 102 are elected by the electorate, while 39 are appointed by the Viceroy.

Of the members of the Council of State, 32 are elected and 26 are appointed. The right to vote is restricted by all sorts of qualifications: property, educational, occupational, and so forth. It is natural, therefore, that these bodies should, as a rule, be much more favourably inclined towards the Anglo-Indian Government than the broad masses of the people.

Nevertheless, as Amery, the Secretary of State for India, has admitted, these central legislative bodies have lately, on six occasions, rejected bills submitted to them by the Government. The Indian Legislative Assembly refused to approve the Budget of the Indian Government. After the debate on the Budget it passed a resolution moved by Abdul Qaiyum, a member of the Indian National Congress and representative of the Northwest Frontier Province, to reduce the sum assigned for the maintenance of the Government to one rupee in view of its bad administration. As reported in the press, Abdul Qaiyum stated that the censure which this implied was directed not only against the Indian Government, but also against the British Government whose agent it was. The war, he said, was being waged in the interests of democracy, and yet one-fifth of the inhabitants of the globe were governed in accordance with entirely different principles. He denounced the Indian Government for bombing districts in the Northwest Frontier Province inhabited by a number of Indian tribes. Qaiyum asked whether a civilized government could resort to the bombing of the civil population. The motion was seconded by Liakat Ali Khan, representative of the Muslim League, who stated:

“The world knows that the Indian Government has neither the backing nor the co-operation of the people.”

Abdul Qaiyum’s motion was passed by 61 votes against 53. Commenting on this resolution passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly the Hindustan Times, a Right-Wing Congress newspaper, stated:

“The passing of this motion will not remove the present Government from office or make any difference in the Government’s policy, but it demonstrates to the world that though there may be a so-called Indian majority in the Government, it has not the confidence of the people.”

A heated debate also took place in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the conflict
between India and the Union of South Africa. The gist of this conflict is as follows. In South Africa there are about 250,000 Indians. In 1944 the Government of the Natal Province, where the majority of the Indian settlers reside, passed a law prohibiting Indians from acquiring land. This roused a storm of protest in India. As a result General Smuts, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, refused to sanction this law; this did not, however, help to allay high feeling in India.

Indian public opinion appraised this incident as a glaring example of race discrimination, as a demonstration of the disfranchised colonial status of India and the Indians in the British Empire.

The liberal Indian newspaper The Leader wrote in this connection that if Indians are humiliated in South Africa and are treated as an inferior race it is only because they are not masters in their own country. The Government of the Union of South Africa would not dare to treat Indians in this way if India were free and could take reprisals.

It was precisely this general aspect of the problem that caused this sharp reaction. Indian public opinion regards the policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa as one that stands in sharp contradiction to all the declarations of the United Nations. The representatives of the most diverse political groups in the Indian Legislative Assembly were quite unanimous on this point. They demanded that the Indian Government should place an embargo on trade with the Union of South Africa. Members of the Assembly accused the Government of failing adequately to protect the interests of Indians. The speeches were couched in terms of extreme acerbity.

The question of India's status in the British Empire came up again in connection with the appointment of delegates to the conference of the United Nations in San Francisco. In the beginning of March a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly asked Sir Olaf Caroe, the English Secretary of the External Affairs Department, whether the Indian delegation to the San Francisco conference would include unofficial representatives of the Indian political organizations. Sir Olaf Caroe replied that the San Francisco conference would be a conference of Ministers and that, in all probability, India would be represented by three delegates, viz., Sir Firoz Khan Noon or Sir Sultan Ahmed, both members of the Executive Council, Dr. Ambedkar, and a ruler of one of the principalities. Upon this a number of members of the Indian Legislative Assembly got up and stated that the present Government of India did not reflect the opinion of the country, and demanded that the delegates to the San Francisco conference be appointed by the national Indian government, the formation of which Desai, the leader of the Congressists in the Legislative Assembly, and Liakat Ali Khan, the representative of the Muslim League, had agreed upon.

Of undoubted interest as a characterization of the political situation in India is also the reaction of the Indian press towards the report of William Phillips, President Roosevelt's former personal representative in India, with which our readers are already familiar. It is well known that in his report to the President Phillips expressed the view that India's effort in the struggle against Japan was inadequate. He said that

"the Indian people are at war only in a legal sense, Indians feel they have no voice in the Government and therefore no responsibility in the conduct of the war. They feel that they have nothing to fight for, as they are convinced that the professed war aims of the United Nations do not apply to them."

Characterizing the Indian Army and the temper of the people Phillips wrote:

"The present Indian Army is purely mercenary. General Stilwell has expressed his concern over the situation and in particular in regard to the poor morale of the Indian officers. The attitude of the general public towards the war is even worse. Lassitude and indifference and bitterness have increased as a result of the famine conditions, the growing high cost of living... All have one object in common—eventual freedom and independence."

He went on to say that a noble gesture on the part of Britain could change all this, and that India could be of great assistance to the United States against Japan.

The English press declared the report to be full of insinuations and an insult to the Indian people. Phillips was proclaimed persona non grata. The majority of the Indian newspapers, however, including important newspapers like the Tribune, Amrita Bazar Patrika and The Hindu, fully associated themselves with the characterization of the situation in India given in Phillips' report.

The Tribune wrote that there was an immense difference between what India could do now, when she is in bondage, and what
she could do if she were free. This is what Phillips wanted to say, said the paper, but the bureaucratic Indian Government and its masters in Britain cannot tolerate such criticism.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika wrote that it had never subscribed to the view that the Indian problem was solely Britain’s internal affair. Primarily, the Indian problem was the affair of India and next the affair of all the United Nations, which have expressed their readiness to fight for the liberation of the oppressed peoples and for the well-being of mankind. The newspaper went on to say that the main reason for the dissatisfaction of American business circles with the political situation in India was not so much their sympathy for the Indians as America’s concern that the fullest use be made of her resources during the war and of her markets after the war.

Nor was any indignation aroused in India by Phillips’ characterization of the Indian Army. The Star of India, for example, associating itself with Phillips’ opinion, wrote that the Indian soldier was fighting like a slave, and the behaviour of the Government was proving to him that he was probably fighting to perpetuate his slavery.

Further developments in India in the near future will be largely determined by the policy the British Government pursues in India. Certain hopes have been roused by the arrival in London of Field Marshal Viscount Wavell, the Viceroy of India. Although no official statement has yet been made concerning this visit, members of the British Parliament, as well as English newspapers, have expressed the view that the Viceroy’s visit may serve to remove the deadlock reached on certain extremely vital questions.

Judging by the answers given by Amery, Secretary of State for India, to questions put to him in the House of Commons regarding Wavell’s visit, the British authorities continue to regard the Cripps proposals as the basis for the settlement of the “Indian crisis.” But even that part of the press which is favourable to the Government (Times of India, the Observer) has expressed the opinion that agreement with the major political parties in India is impossible on the basis of these proposals, and that it will be necessary at once to make more substantial concessions to demands which are backed by nearly the whole of the Indian people.

All these facts show that, far from relaxing, the political atmosphere in India is becoming more tense. The situation that has arisen in India indicates that an alignment of forces has taken place for a more determined struggle; and it is only the most reactionary elements, which have a very narrow social base in the country—the princes and the big landowners—who support the present colonial regime whereas the main sections of Indian society are uniting more and more closely for the struggle for India’s independence.
The Problem of Nationalization in France

L. VOLINSKY

During the past weeks France has been earnestly discussing a project for so-called "structural reforms," which broad sections of the public regard as the cornerstone of the national and political rehabilitation of France. They include, in the first place, the nationalization of the big banks and the major branches of industry; the removal of these "main levers of administration," as the French press calls them, from the hands of monopolistic concerns and their transfer to the state.

The demand for nationalization, as a profound democratic reform, was embodied in the program adopted by the Council of National Resistance on March 15, 1944, even prior to the liberation of France. The section of the program in question provides for the carrying out, immediately after the liberation of the country, of the following measures:

"Depriving the big financial magnates of economic control; restoration to the nation of the monopolized large-scale means of production, the fruit of common labor, power resources, mineral wealth, insurance companies and big banks, as well as the confiscation of the property of traitors and profiteers."

In a speech he delivered on April 20, 1943, General de Gaulle, head of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, affirmed that, after the ejection of the invaders from France, there would be set up

"an economic and social regime under which no monopoly and no coalition will be able to dominate the state or decide the fate of the people."

The demand for these structural reforms is dictated by the entire past experience of the Third Republic, and in particular by the bitter lessons of the last five years. Upon the French monopolistic amalgamations, which the people call the "Bastilles of reaction," lies the grave responsibility for the defeat of France, for her unpreparedness for war, for the capitulation, and for "collaboration" with the German occupation authorities. Virtual masters of France, and skillfully directing the machinery of home government and the activities of French diplomacy in their own narrow and selfish interests, the notorious "two hundred families," by their "appeasement"

policy, brought France to the shame of Munich, to the collapse of the French alliance system of security, and to war. During the period of the "phony war," which lasted from September 1939 to May 1940, when Hitler's hordes were making their final preparations for the invasion of France, the magnates of the Paris Bourse and the uncrowned steel kings continued to trade with the German trusts, with which they had been connected for decades by joint holdings in industrial enterprises and bank consortiums. Even the few facts which have come to light are enough to brand the treacherous behavior of these barterers of their country.

Harper's Magazine, in its issue of March 1940, published the disclosures of Frank C. Hanighen, under the title "Selling to the Enemy," in which that American journalist writes:

"Behind the Maginot and Siegfried lines a remarkable traffic has been going on since the outbreak of war. While French and German armies have been fighting, French and German industrialists have been doing business with each other. These industrialists have been selling each other the materials out of which shells and cannon are made. Within sound of the artillery duels, trainloads of these materials have met and passed each other, each bound for enemy territory."

This traffic proceeded through Belgium and Luxembourg, which, up to the German invasion, had remained neutral.

Such were the sinister activities of the "two hundred families," which still continued to practice "collaboration" on the eve of the disaster into which they plunged France. The facts relative to their extensive co-operation with the Germans after the occupation of France, under the signboard of the Vichy regime, are still fresh in the mind of the democratic public of the world.

Even today, after having sustained complete moral and political defeat, the fascist knights of the strong room and inspirers of Pétain, Laval and Doriot are striving to create difficulties for the liberated country, in the belief that they, being "indispensable," will not be removed from the captain's bridge, and that all their crimes will be forgotten. They are sabotaging the efforts of the Government and
people to rehabilitate the national economy and to re-start the industrial plants that are essential for the arming and equipment of the army and for the satisfaction of the needs of the population. Concealed stocks of wool and cotton were discovered in warehouses in Lyons at a time when the Textile Manufacturers' Association refused to accept orders from the War Department for the army on the grounds of—lack of raw material. The newspapers cite another instance of a similar nature, namely, the refusal of a chemical trust to manufacture penicillin for army hospitals. A third case relates to the Berliet automobile plant, whose owner, although supplying trucks to the Germans, displayed a provocative passivity with regard to supplying the French army. Only after Berliet's arrest and the setting up of a new management consisting of workers, engineers and technicians did the automobile plant begin to produce. The fight against the sabotage of the "two hundred families" is thus interwoven with the task of purging the country of traitors.

The forces of reaction in France have so compromised themselves, have ruined the country and undermined its position in foreign affairs to such an extent, that the broadest sections of the French public are now openly opposed to a return to the pre-war situation, to the regime of the "republic on a partnership basis," and are demanding the immediate passage of the structural reforms. This urgent problem was the subject of a debate at the March session of the Consultative Assembly which evoked extensive comment in the press. The debate was preceded by a lengthy programmatic speech in the Assembly by the head of the Provisional Government, and by the publication of a joint manifesto by the Socialist and Communist Parties.

It was revealed in the course of the debate that the need for the reform, and for nationalization in the first place, is very widely recognized. Nor, evidently, does the proposal to nationalize only the principal monopolized industries and banks arouse any difference of opinion.

"The concentration of capital has now reached such a pitch," the manifesto of the Socialist and Communist Parties states, "that it is only necessary to bring a dozen or so concerns under the new regime, for that regime to embrace two-thirds of production and labour power. For example, four groups of power plants produce two-thirds of our electricity, whereas thirty thousand small plants account for only four per cent. We do not propose to interfere with the latter: small industry, like small trade, will remain free within the framework of the general economic plan."

This idea is on the whole shared by the Government, as is evident from the statement made by General de Gaulle in the Consultative Assembly on March 2:

"While we do not conceive the future French economy without a 'free sector,' and possibly an even more extensive one, we do declare that the state must control the levers of administration."

And later in the speech he specified that the state itself was to ensure

"the exploitation of the major sources of power—coal, electricity, oil—as well as the principal means of rail, maritime and air transportation and means of communication.... The state must raise the basic iron and steel production to the necessary level. The state must distribute credits, in order to be able to direct the national savings into large-scale capital investment and to make it impossible for private interest groups to work against the general interest."

From a France-Presse report, which quotes the Minister of Economy, it is to be inferred that the Government has not yet come to a final decision on the subject but that it is intended to create three sectors: a "free," unregulated sector of economy, a sector of state-controlled enterprises and a sector of nationalized enterprises and branches of industry. But this at once gives rise to questions which still remain unanswered. Who will manage the nationalized enterprises and branches of industry? The program of the Council of National Resistance speaks of taking the administration of economy out of the hands of the big financial magnates. The idea is to place the management of these enterprises and branches of industry under bodies made up of delegates from the workers, clerical staffs, engineers and technicians, and of representatives of state interests (ministries and general and municipal councils) under the control of the people's elected representatives, and to invest these management bodies with considerable administrative, commercial and technical autonomy. The Government, as was vaguely hinted by Minister of Information Teitjen at a press conference, intends that the management bodies shall be made up of representatives of the Government, of all sections of employees, and of the consumers.

Daniel Mayer, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, speaking in the debate in the
Consultative Assembly, declared that the participation of private capital in the management of the nationalized enterprises would be a "travesty of nationalization."

"If the information at our disposal is correct," remarked Jacques Duclos, representative of the Communist Party in the Consultative Assembly, in this connection, "it is intended to form national concerns in which a majority of the shares will belong to the state. But in these concerns the present heads of the enterprises and firms liable to nationalization are to participate, and are to retain, without a doubt, forty-nine per cent of the shares, as was the case with the Railway Company. We thus see that the dominant part in the national concerns will continue to be played by the bank, electricity, insurance, iron and steel and other magnates."

Since it is still unclear whether the owners will have a part in the management of the nationalized enterprises, the methods and extent of compensation likewise remain uncertain. The resistance organizations, which agree with the Government that "nationalization does not imply expropriation," suggest the following solution. The former owners shall be paid life annuities in definitely limited amounts; in the event of their death annuities shall be paid to their children for a period of ten years, or until they attain their majority.

But all these are details. The chief divergence of opinion, which has assumed an acute character, is over the time when nationalization shall be introduced. The Government holds that the final decision should be postponed until after the elections, on the ground, among others, that no government administrators and controllers are available and that they must first be trained. The organizations affiliated with the Council of National Resistance insistently demand that the iron be struck while it is hot.

"Delayed reforms," writes Marcel Bridoux in the Populaire, "are discredited reforms. Passive democracy will soon become conservative democracy. De Gaulle requested the Assembly not to take advantage of the dissatisfaction, but would it not be wiser and more politic not to give cause for dissatisfaction?"

"It is now perfectly clear," remarks the Franc-Tireur, "that if the Government does not display sufficient confidence in the will for reform it will lose its best and only support. And all its present enemies will again win confidence and surround the Government with a compromising and suspicious friendship."

"The battle must be won today. Tomorrow's success may be frustrated," declares the manifesto of the two parties already quoted. "The trusts, which behaved with circumspection in the period of the liberation, are raising their heads, rebuilding their power, already have several newspapers, are increasing their pressure on the Government, and are again placing their own people in key positions. To wait for the elections to the Consultative Assembly in order to decide their fate would be to give them every opportunity to reorganize their forces."

These fears are not unfounded. The fact of the matter is that nationalization is not a new problem in France. In varying forms and degrees it figured in the election platforms not only of the Left but also of the so-called moderate parties ever since the time of Gambetta, who in 1869, under the Second Empire, promised the electors the nationalization of "socially important enterprises." Nationalization figures in the program of the Radical Party. Roughly every ten years, this reform was the subject of debates, always fruitless, however, in the Chamber, and was sometimes even included in government statements. The "two hundred families" and their tools in the government and in parliament fully appreciated the true value of these futile projects, which were designed to catch votes without any serious intention of eliminating, or even of limiting, the power of the financial oligarchy. What is more, they possessed abundant means and opportunities to curb or call to book the "destroyers of the foundations of society."

A curious incident took place in the Chamber of Deputies in 1910, when Briand made a ministerial declaration containing a program of radical reforms. It might have been expected that the Rights would have voted against the Government, but nothing of the kind! Deputy Aynard, the placeman of banking circles, declared:

"The Government's program consists of two parts: one is actual and, if one may say so, permanent, containing general principles (conservative), which have just been affirmed by the Prime Minister, and which he solemnly promised to adhere to. That is the most essential. That is why we shall vote for it.... All the rest (the reforms) are only what the notaries call literary flourishes...."

Evidently, the "two hundred families" are inclined even now to regard the nationalization project as a "literary flourish." This is indicated, for example, by the tactics of the newspaper Monde, which is nothing but the Temps, the organ of the monopolistic heavy
industry concerns, resurrected under a new name. Conditions being what they are, this newspaper naturally does not dare to strike from the shoulder, to come out openly against nationalism. It resorts to the tried tactics of verbal “frills” and delicate handling of acute subjects, and writes:

"Reforms are necessary. But to represent them as a universal panacea would be sheer demagogy. What France needs most of all is articles of prime necessity, which are at present lacking, as well as people capable of taking advantage of these reforms in all branches in a genuine spirit of public duty."

In other words, nationalization had better be delayed, postponed. Meanwhile: wait and see; perhaps it will be possible to shelve the nationalization projects indefinitely, as has happened before.

Nor is there a lack of attempts to intimidate the Government. The directors of the Bondholders' Association, in a circular to its members, wrote:

"It would be regrettable in every way if the opinion were to arise that the group which events have brought to power are in a hurry to lay their hands upon all the economic activities of the country on the lines practiced in totalitarian countries. This cannot be the case. General de Gaulle has sufficient information at his disposal to dissuade him from cautiously taking this path."

The *Populaire* in printing this circular, which is signed by Georges Lecomte, a prominent business-man, remarks:

"It would perhaps be useful to bring this document to the attention of General de Gaulle on the day following the broad debate in the Consultative Assembly. With Georges Lecomte and the trusts, or with the people—that is the question."

As we see, yesterday's Munichites, capitolators and clients of the invaders, seeing that they are going unpunished, have plucked up heart and, exploiting the freedom of intrigue they are allowed to enjoy, have no intention of surrendering their shaken positions. They believe that time is working in their favour.

It matters little to the French reactionaries that the structural reforms, which would meet the vital interests of the people, are the guarantee of the genuine democratic rehabilitation of France and the regeneration of her might. These phantoms of an ugly past, who nearly ruined France and who caused deep and not easily repairable damage to her international prestige and status, want to govern the country again. But the French people are striving to wrest the levers of administration from the bankrupt financial oligarchy in order to restore their country to its appropriate place in the ranks of the Great Powers.

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**The Worsening of Japan's Military and Political Situation**

A. ARKADYEV

The 86th session of the Japanese parliament, which lasted from December 26, 1944, to February 13, 1945, heard statements by the Prime Minister, the Minister for War and the Minister for the Navy, and approved over twenty bills and also the budget for 1945-1946. The situation which existed at the time the Japanese parliament met was eloquently summed up in the following sentence of the appeal issued by the Lower House to the army:

"The present juncture is extremely grave, and it is precisely at this moment, under the blows of enemy bombers, that the 86th session of parliament has met."

This was the second session of parliament to be held under the new Kio Cabinet, which took the place of the Tojo Cabinet in July last year, after Japan had sustained a series of grave military reverses. The Japanese press, sharply criticizing Tojo, welcomed the assumption of office by the Kio Cabinet and placed great hopes in it. The Mainichi Shimbun, describing it as a "powerful wartime Cabinet," emphasized that the formation of a new government would "infuse a new spirit into the people, and precisely define the country's prospects in the war." The Nippon Times wrote concerning the Tojo Cabinet that:
"The divergent currents of variegated civilian life had to be channelized in a single direction of waging war, and the government had perforce to make both effective and quick use of authoritarian means."

From the very outset of his activities, the new Japanese Prime Minister Koiso tried to grapple with the situation that had arisen by enlarging the basis of his Cabinet. This found reflection in the enlistment of representatives of the dissolved political parties and of business circles for the task of governing the country.

Judging by the utterances of Japanese public men and newspapers the Koiso Cabinet was expected to solve the following urgent problems: improve the war situation in the Pacific and ward off the menace to Japan proper; to achieve a radical improvement in the work of the war industry, and of the aircraft industry in particular; to solve the food problem at all cost, and, by solving these problems, to raise the fighting spirit of the people which, on the admission of the Japanese leaders, had markedly fallen.

Since the Koiso Cabinet has been in power, however, it has failed to solve any of the complex problems raised by the war. The military situation has steadily grown worse. Never since the beginning of the war in the Pacific have the Japanese armed forces sustained such severe defeats on land, on the sea, and in the air as they have sustained during the past few months. The events which took place in February and March signify an accelerated development of the war in the Pacific and its swift approach to the shores of Japan.

The battle of the Philippines, into which the United States Command hurled large forces, coincided with an intense activation of combat operations by American aircraft over Japan. On November 24, after a series of reconnoitring flights by single Flying Fortresses, regular formations of powerful B-29 bombers appeared over Tokyo, thus marking the beginning of systematic raids on the capital and other vital centres of the country. After dropping explosive and incendiary bombs on the industrial environs of Tokyo the American aircraft demonstratively flew over the centre of the city in close formation and by their very appearance dispelled the legend about the "impregnable anti-aircraft defence" of the Japanese capital.

The landing in the Philippines and the energetic operations of American aircraft over the Japanese islands were taken as evidence of grave danger. Iguchi, the spokesman for the Japanese Board of Information, stated at a press conference on January 12 that "with the landing of enemy forces on Luzon Island the decisive battle of the war of Greater East Asia has begun." This idea was deciphered by the Domei Tsushin Agency in its review of January 12 in the following words:

"American strategy in attacking the Philippines is obviously to cut off the Japanese mainland from all the rich southern regions and to convert the Philippine area into a vast base of aggression for an attack on the Japanese mainland."

In view of the worsened situation, the session of parliament was resumed on March 11. In their statements at the session, the representatives of the Japanese government emphasized the gravity of the situation that had arisen.

During February and March the United States troops gained almost complete possession of the largest of the Philippine Islands, i.e., Luzon, its naval base Cavite, Manila, the capital of the Philippines, and Corregidor Island which guards the entrance to Manila Bay, to which American ships now have free access, and landed on a number of other islands in the Philippine archipelago, including Mindanao. We can take it, therefore, that the battle of the Philippines has been won by the Americans.

On February 16, events occurred which revealed the fatal vulnerability of the Japanese islands. On that day a powerful American task squadron approached Japan within a distance of three hundred miles, after which American naval aircraft proceeded to subject Japanese military objectives, including those in the region of Tokyo, to a fierce bombing. In this attack, which continued without interruption all through the 16th and 17th of February, a large number of aircraft took part. Massed bombing was repeated on February 25. On both occasions the American fleet operated unhindered in Japan's coastal waters. At the same time Flying Fortresses bombed the capital. These raids caused serious damage in the city, particularly in the centre. The Japanese Command was obliged to admit the effectiveness of the raids.

In the middle of February, after fierce air bombing and bombardment from ships, American troops landed on Iwo Island, one of the Volcano Islands north of the Marianas archipelago. The strategical importance of this small island is very great, for its occupa-
tion signifies the breach of the inner line of the Japanese defences. Concerning the fighting on Iwo Island the Tokyo radio stated on February 22:

"On Iwojima there are two aerodromes from which our aircraft attacked Saipan Island [the Flying Fortress base]. Here, also, there is an important observation station which reported the approach of enemy aircraft to Japan. If the Americans succeed in capturing this island they will be able to make raids on Japan with ordinary B-24 and B-25 bombers. From this island fighter planes could also take off and protect Flying Fortresses proceeding to Japan. Consequently, after capturing Iwojima the Allies could greatly intensify the bombing of Japan and also create serious difficulties for the Japanese Navy."

The importance of Iwo Island explains the desperate resistance put up by the Japanese troops. This resistance was broken, however; the Japanese garrison was wiped out and on March 20 the island passed entirely into the hands of the Americans and is already serving as a base for American aircraft.

In the middle of March American heavy aircraft commenced the concentrated bombing of the four largest industrial centres of Japan—Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka and Kobe. As a result of the bombing these centres suffered enormous damage and extremely heavy casualties. The Asahi described the American air raid on Tokyo of March 10 as the "devastating bombing of the city." Iguchi, the spokesman for the Japanese Board of Information, stated at a press conference that as a result of the raid on Tokyo "hundreds of thousands of persons were injured." Summing up the war situation of the country Koiso stated in the speech he delivered at the session of parliament on March 11:

"We must be prepared for the time when our metropolis will be transformed into a battlefield."

The combined operations of the American troops in the region of the Philippines and the Volcano Islands, the intense activation of the United States Navy and the beginning of mass raids by American aircraft on Japanese centres, and on Tokyo in particular, must be regarded as marking a new stage of the war in the Pacific. This new stage is the beginning of the blockade of Japan by sea and air and her isolation from the territories she has seized. The course and results of these operations clearly show that the main feature of the war in the Pacific is the overwhelming superiority of forces of the Anglo-American bloc. In the beginning of March the Asahi wrote in terms of deep chagrin:

"To our regret, the hegemony of the sea and the air is in enemy hands." Clearly the premise of this hegemony of the armed forces of the Allies is their enormous industrial and economic potential, with which Japan is unable to compete.

The sharp change in the war situation in the Pacific evoked anxious comment in the Japanese press. The Asahi wrote:

"The enemy's present landing on Iwojima, parallel with the Philippine campaign, represents a step towards the invasion of Japan. The enemy's ultimate strategic objective is to invade the Japanese mainland. Just as the enemy repeatedly carried out large-scale bombings in Germany before the opening of the second front, the enemy, in pursuing the same tactics, is more than likely to carry out large-scale bombings in Japan, with the object of smashing our munitions producing power, communication network and military establishments. The war situation is really grave."

The inevitable invasion by Anglo-American troops—such is now the foremost topic of discussion in the Japanese press. It is interesting to note that, copying the Germans, the Japanese press asserts that "a pitched battle on the Japanese mainland will provide a favourable opportunity for the achievement of victory."

Simultaneously with the growing acuteness of the war situation, Japan's economic position is becoming tense. The weakness of her economic basis, the shortage of the necessary skilled labour, growing financial difficulties and, lastly, the food shortage, are all problems that are becoming increasingly acute as the war develops. Exceptionally great are the difficulties in the field of production. Japanese industry is lagging far behind the requirements of the war. The shortage of strategic raw materials is being felt more and more acutely now that Japan is beginning rapidly to lose her former gains. Of still greater importance is the disastrous shortage of skilled labour. The powerful raids by American aircraft on the industrial centres are inevitably lowering the standard of output, and this is making itself felt particularly as a consequence of Japan's rapidly growing losses in the air and on the sea.

Leading Japanese admit the weakness of the country's war economy. In one of his speeches, Koiso emphasized that "the growth of production fails to satisfy current requirements." In this connection the recent measures taken by the Japanese government in the direction of state control of the armament in-
industry, and primarily of the aircraft industry, and also the plan to transfer part of Japanese industry to Manchukuo, are matters of great interest. Under certain conditions the government’s measures to control industry may even involve the complete transfer of enterprises to the state.

According to a decision adopted at a meeting of the Cabinet in the beginning of March, the most important war plants will be transferred to the state not later than April 1. It is doubtful, however, whether this measure will have the desired effect. The war situation calls for a two or three-fold increase of output of the Japanese war plants, and this, as is well known, cannot be achieved by the method proposed. It is difficult to say as yet how the Japanese industrialists will react to this measure, although there can be no doubt that in view of the growing damage caused by air raids a certain section of them are directly interested in having the government carry the risk for the further functioning and even existence of their plants.

As for the plans to transfer part of Japanese industry to Manchukuo, these are not new; but the increasing raids by American aircraft have compelled the Japanese authorities to speed up the solution of this problem. The Tokyo Shim bun stated that in view of the continuous air bombing it is necessary to hasten the transfer of industry to Manchukuo.

“The strategic importance of Manchukuo,” wrote that paper, “must be evaluated most highly at the present moment when it is anticipated that the decisive battlefield between Japan and America will be on the continent in the near future.”

The Japanese authorities are making extensive preparations for carrying out this plan. This, however, cannot save Japanese industry from the blows of Allied aircraft. American aircraft had already made raids on the industrial centres of Manchukuo, and the continued pushing forward of Allied air bases will enable them greatly to increase the scale of bombing in the very near future.

A number of measures taken by the Japanese government are emergency measures. Such, for example, are: the order that all the inhabitants of Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka, Nagoya and Kobe not employed in important enterprises should leave those cities; the institution in Tokyo of an emergency police system; the closing of schools in the capital, etc. An extremely acute problem is, as the press emphasizes, that of supplying the population with provisions, and with the staple food, rice, a considerable quantity of which Japan imports from Korea, Formosa and French Indo-China. The newspapers report that rice imports have actually ceased owing to the shortage of transport facilities and the interruption of sea communications. The Asahi wrote that “Japan can no longer rely on Formosa and Korea for her food supply but must grow her own.” The country’s internal food resources are inadequate, however. Fish products already play scarcely any part in the country’s food supply as the fishing industry has utterly declined. As is well known, the Japanese people consumed very little meat products even before the war; now the meat supply has practically ceased. Already in the winter the Mainichi Shim bun wrote that “during the past two months there has been only one issue of meat products to the inhabitants of Tokyo; in October the monthly meat ration was fixed at ten mommes per head” (1 momme=3.75 grams); as a matter of fact, neither in October nor in the subsequent months was this amount issued. Another Japanese newspaper, the Nippon Sangyo, reported that horse meat was being issued to the inhabitants of Tokyo. Japan’s food prospects are extremely unfavourable.

Notwithstanding the censorship, the newspapers note the alarming processes that are going on in the internal political life of the country. The jingo intoxication which swept through Japan during the first months of the war has given way to a feeling of uneasiness and growing anxiety. Wide circles of the population are becoming more and more clearly to realize that the aggressive war launched by the Japanese imperialists lacks all prospects of success. The Japanese can judge from what their ally, Hitler Germany, is going through today what hard times they will have to face, for the battle of Japan proper has not yet really begun.

The Asahi’s “soothing” statement that “the past year has been a year of trial for Japan, but this trial has been insignificant compared with Germany’s bitter experience” is scarcely likely to soothe anybody. Another newspaper, the Mainichi Shim bun, stated in great ire that “the time for lectures on the national crisis has passed away and the people no longer wish to hear these senseless lectures.” Even the leaders of Japan can no longer conceal the serious influence the extremely unfavourable war and political situation is hav-
ing upon the morale of the people. They are seeking for ways and means of raising the rapidly drooping spirit of the Japanese and of strengthening their extremely precarious position among the people at large, and also among those circles which are beginning to realize the hopelessness of the war launched by the Japanese imperialists. This is precisely why so much publicity is being given to the formation of a new political party and to the proposed dissolution of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association.

But this is not all. These organizations were the expression of the so-called “new political structure,” i.e., the fascization of the country for the purpose of pursuing a war policy. The builders of this structure exerted no little effort to create a political system similar to that of Hitler Germany, with certain modifications, of course, to suit the “specific features” of the Japanese state system. It looks as though this resemblance no longer suits certain Japanese leaders under the new conditions. They are now dreaming of forming a political party as a first step towards the liquidation of this fascist “new political structure.”

For a number of years the Japanese fascist elements have attacked every manifestation of the “party” spirit in the political life of the country. Now the members of parliament are counting on being able to legalize at least one “united” party as a beginning, and to make this party the sole prop of the government, to bring about the liquidation of semifascist organizations like the Imperial Rule Assistance Association in order, to some extent, at least, to dissociate themselves from the discredited fascist political forms. Some (and by no means few) members of parliament and government officials are trying to create the semblance of a return to constitutional parliamentary institutions, which, in their opinion, may prove useful in the forthcoming difficult period.

The new party, which is to be called Dainippon Seijikai (Japanese Political Association), is to be organized by Kobayashi, the president of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, who for the purpose has resigned his post as Minister without Portfolio in the Koiso Cabinet. All the evidence goes to show that the composition of this new party, if it is formed, will be the same as that of the old parties, the Minseito and the Seiyukai, i.e., members of parliament and government officials. As is well known, Japan never had mass parties with wide memberships; and it is scarcely likely that Kobayashi will succeed in forming such a party under present conditions.

The position of the Koiso Cabinet is unstable. This is evidenced among other things by its constant reorganizations. The past careers of the men whom Koiso has enlisted in his government indicate to some extent that preference is given to men who have not compromised themselves too much by association with fascist circles and who are regarded in Japan as moderate conservatives. Such a reputation is enjoyed, in particular, by Tsushima, the new Minister for Finance, and Ishiwata, the Minister without Portfolio and Secretary General of the Cabinet. Evidently the reorganization of the Koiso Cabinet is not yet completed. The Mainichi Shim bun wrote in this connection:

“There is every ground for assuming that further changes in the Cabinet will take place in the future.”

The military and political events that have taken place in the Pacific during the past few months irrefutably testify to the rapid worsening of Japan’s situation. Clearly, the root of the acute military and political crisis into which Japan has entered must be sought in the fundamental change that has taken place in the entire international situation, in the bankruptcy of the “Axis,” and in the rapidly approaching collapse of Hitler Germany.
INTERNATIONAL LIFE

WAITING FOR THE UNEXPECTED

After flinging into prison those Poles who want to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army against the Germans, General Anders held a review of the troops over which he has been placed in command. This ceremony took place, as the London radio of the impostor émigré Polish “government” reported, “in the public square of an Italian city.” General Anders delivered a speech. He could not, of course, answer the question that was agitating the minds of his soldiers, viz., why they were being forcibly kept far away from their liberated country, far away from the battlefield on which the soldiers of new Poland were, side by side with the Red Army, wiping out the main forces of Hitler Germany. Instead of answering this question Anders decided to frighten his auditors.

“Today,” he said, “when the war is drawing to a close, we hear whispers about a partition of Poland, and attempts are being made to institute in our country a government that is alien to the Polish people.”

Unfortunately, Anders forgot to tell his soldiers who was doing these things, for it is precisely Anders’ masters, the impostors in the reactionary Raczkiewicz-Arciszewski clique that have bestowed the pompous title of “Acting Supreme Commander-in-Chief” upon him, who indulge in sordid business of this kind. It is they who now “whisper” and now shout aloud about a partition of Poland; it is they who want to institute in that country a government that is alien and hostile to the Polish people. But nothing will come of their efforts, of course.

Anders did not limit himself to this involuntary self-exposure.

“Soldiers!” he said. “The war is not yet over, and we may be the witnesses of the most unexpected events.”

The question naturally arises: what unexpected events was Anders hinting at? The liberation of Poland is an unalterable fact—what can there be unexpected here? The forthcoming utter rout of Hitler Germany can also no longer be regarded as unexpected—everybody knows perfectly well that events are irresistibly moving towards this.

Evidently, Anders had something else in mind. It is not difficult to guess what “unexpected events” this ex-Pole is looking forward to. These anticipations are revealed, in particular, by Stevens, the correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor. In a book of his, recently published, he describes his meetings in Teheran with Polish officers of Anders’ entourage. These officers, according to the American journalist, openly stated that “war with the Soviet Union is not only inevitable but desirable.”

Stevens relates what has been known for a long time when he writes that the Polish émigré “government” is in the hands of elements who are extremely hostile towards the Soviet Union and that among them are men who are dreaming of extending Poland’s frontiers to the Dnieper. These men, according to Stevens, place their hopes on the outbreak of “a conflict between the Western powers and the Soviet Union, and are doing their best to promote discord between the two groups.”

Such are the “unexpected events” which Anders and his friends are waiting for. The mentality of these men, who have lost all connection with their country and are blinded by their hatred of their own people, is quite intelligible. Much less intelligible is the tolerance that is displayed towards these people, for they talk, act and are preparing their “unexpected events” in a country where to this day they are accorded a totally unjustified but, nevertheless, rather cordial hospitality.

AN SS BUTCHER—A “CIVILIAN”

Rhona Churchill, the Daily Mail correspondent on the Western front, has reported an interview she had with a 22-year-old SS man named Helmuth Kleber whom she met in Crefeld. Kleber had served in the notorious death camp at Majdanek, near Lublin, the name of which will go into history as the symbol of the most horrible and inhuman crimes committed by the Germans. Kleber described the wholesale massacre of women, children and aged people with the coolness of a professional murderer and calmly related details which make the blood freeze in one’s
veins. Asked whether even a single German soldier had ever protested against these atrocities, Kleber gave the customary excuse that the soldiers were not to blame; they had merely "obeyed orders."

Concerning Kleber the English correspondent wrote:

"It meant nothing to him that sixteen thousand innocent men, women and children had been slaughtered and burnt at Lublin. He told me the story of what he had seen and done in Lublin as dispassionately as you or I might describe a sports meeting which we had found rather dull."

Of SS men like Kleber, who regard the wholesale extermination of absolutely innocent people as an ordinary, everyday and even boring affair, there are no few in Hitler Germany. All the more strange is it, therefore, that this individual, as the same correspondent reports, enjoys complete freedom as a "civilian" in Crefeld, which is occupied by Allied troops. Nobody thinks of taking him into custody and putting him on trial. The question naturally arises: what are the people doing who have been entrusted with the task of hunting out war criminals and bringing them to book? After all, the declarations concerning the ruthless punishment of those responsible for the Hitler atrocities are made from such lofty tribunes, and so loudly, that only those who are stone-deaf can fail to hear them.

AN ITALIAN-AMERICAN PROFESSOR'S TWO SOULS

The American journal *Life*, which readily provides in its columns a haven for the enemies of co-operation among the United Nations, published an article by Professor Borgese, formerly of the Milan University and now of the Chicago University. This article bears the very significant and comprehensive title "Europe Wants Freedom from Shame. A Realistic Warning—America Is Forsaking Its Idealism." These fruits of Professor Borgese's reflections are prefaced by an editorial comment which states in part:

"Borgese as an American realizes how deeply this country desires the closest co-operation among the three powers. But Borgese as a European senses the humiliation growing throughout the Old World, born from resentment against the arbitrary receivership which the Big Three are seemingly establishing for division among themselves."

And so, one professor possesses two souls. As an Italian-American, he is in favour of "the closest co-operation." As an American-Italian, he senses "humiliation" and "resentment."

What does this newly-hatched Faust resent? It appears that he resents the decisions of the Crimea Conference which, he alleges, provide for "Europe's partition among overlords—the dismemberment of Europe—the East becoming part of the Russian orbit and the West, or at least, the South-West, Britain's." Professor Borgese then dolefully declares that Britain is not strong enough to exercise control over half of Europe, and therefore a vacuum will be created; and this will inevitably cause "the expansion of the U.S.S.R." and the formation of a "Eurasian empire ... extending from Antwerp to Vladivostok and Shanghai." Professor Borgese prophesies that the United States will become an "encircled island" where social strife will break out and the population will be divided into "pro-Russian and anti-Russian parties."

This is, indeed, enough to make anybody despondent! Fortunately, however, Professor Borgese is in possession of an excellent means of averting unpleasantness of this kind. It is only necessary for the United States to undertake the "moral leadership" of the whole world with the right of political and economic intervention. The object of this world tutelage of the United States is, of course, to ensure "freedom and justice."

Thus, the spiritual conflict that went on within the American-European professor has been happily resolved. He explains the aim of his cogitations with enchanting candour. All his gushing sentiment was poured out only for the purpose of proving how "just" it would be for Uncle Sam to put the whole of Europe in his breast-pocket. Such is the finale of the reflections, which begin with an admission of the necessity of "the closest co-operation" among the Allies. The Milan-Chicago professor's two souls have safely merged in the single soul of the avowedly imperialist contributor to the American journal *Life*. 
The Slav Meeting in Sofia

Nikolai TIKHONOV

Our plane banked steeply and descended to the valley of the Isker. We had left behind us the snow-capped peaks of the Stara Planina, the turbid spring waters of the Danube, and the hamlets scattered on the hill slopes, looking as if they were embroidered on a dark and russet background formed by the mountains with their narrow, fantastically-winding gorges. Below us stretched a plain, dappled with patches of snow. Ahead of us, in the south, rose the massive bulk of the Vitosha, with its sienna cliffs and snow-covered fields. The Isker serpented through the valley, glistening in the evening sun. Sofia revealed itself to us suddenly, with its numerous buildings and spacious aerodrome, where we were welcomed with great warmth and brotherly cordiality.

We drove through streets decorated with the flags of the Slav nations. The gay colours of Yugoslavia alternated with the red and white standard of Poland, the green, red and white flags of Bulgaria with the flags of Czechoslovakia. But most numerous of all, perhaps, were red flags with the hammer and sickle. On many of the streets were to be seen portraits of Stalin, Tito, Beneš and Dimitrov. The whole city seemed to be in a state of elation. It was lavishly adorning itself for the coming festival.

The prevailing animation could be felt everywhere: in the reception accorded to the delegates, in the eager questions showered upon them, in the busiling activity of the newspaper correspondents, in the salutes of the military men, and in the greetings of the populace in the streets to the passing automobiles conveying the visitors. The festival of March 3, the day Bulgaria was first liberated, was this year celebrated as a day of Slav unity, as a day on which representatives from all the Slav nations were gathering together to pay tribute to the idea of Slav solidarity.

It was sixty-seven years ago that the Russian armies had won Bulgaria her liberty. Together with the Bulgarian popular levies, they had fought in the plains and the mountains, had crossed the Balkans; together they had defended the immortal heights of Shipka and had shed their blood on the Green Mountains outside Plevna. Since then the Bulgarian people had lived through many a gloomy day: they had been led into the wildness of alienation from the rest of the Slavs, into the camp of the Slavs' mortal foe—German imperialism. The last thirty years had witnessed the brutal persecution of everything progressive and democratic, of everything that sprang from the people. It was the reign of the hangman and the jailer, who thrice plunged the Bulgarian people into national disaster. Tens of thousands of people were done to death by these German underlings, who even went to the length of declaring that the Bulgarians were more akin to the Finns and the Hungarians than to the Slavs—to the Serbs, Czechs, Russians and Poles. There were no means of deceit, however vile, which were not employed by the enemies of the Bulgarian people, by their corrupt rulers, to prevent the Bulgarians from maintaining any intercourse with the Russians. The penalty for reading a Russian poem or singing a Russian song was the gallow's or the dungeon.

The rod and the gallows failed to cow the Bulgarian people during these years. The democratic forces united, raised the standard of the Patriotic Front, and fought the invaders implacably. The partisans and underground fighters paid a toll of bloody sacrifice, but struck hard blows at the enemy who was robbing and tormenting the country. On September 9 they came out to meet the Red Army and stormed the last lurking places of fascism, destroyed its underlings, and placed power in the hands of the people.

The day the Red Army entered Bulgaria marked the second liberation of the country from the sinister forces of the past, this time from fascism and German oppression. That is why one could see so many beaming faces, so many radiant young folk on the streets.

The whole country eagerly looked forward to March 3. The day had been celebrated annually, even under fascist rule. It is deeply engraven in the hearts of the Bulgarians. But this year it carried a special message.

The first Slav Congress was held in Sofia thirty-five years ago. But it was the pillars of Slavophilism that foregathered then. Pencho Slaveikov called them "acrobats of the Slav idea." They were followers of a Slavophilism which had become petrified in its ob-
duracy and was incapable of bringing the Slav peoples together. They were reactionary die-hards with obsolete ideas. How could they infuse a fresh spirit into the life and struggle for emancipation of the Slav peoples?

But this time all Bulgaria was alive to the deep significance of this day, when not supporters of a decrepit Pan-Slavism were foregathering in Sofia, but delegates of a genuine Slav unity, devoted to the idea of the equality of status and rights of all Slavs and united in the face of the threat offered by German fascism, which had been beaten but not yet destroyed, and by its myrmidons.

Both in the capital and in the most out-of-the-way villages preparations had been made for this meeting. Delegates were sent to Sofia, festive banners were made and endless slogans written.

The Bulgarians were deeply stirred by the arrival in their country of representatives from all the Slav countries. You found confirmation of this in the press, in the talks you had in the streets, and in your numerous meetings with public figures.

At last the day of March 3 dawned.

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It was a fresh morning. A white flag fluttered over the crown of Vitoša—a tiny cloud, an inoffensive sign that there would be snow. But no weather could dampen the festival spirit.

Alexander II Square was thronged. People climbed on the statues, so that the bronze figures of the warriors were festooned with enthusiasts who were determined not to miss a thing. The roofs of the nearby houses were crowded with townsfolk. All the windows were open in the buildings looking out on the square and in the neighbouring streets. Although the weather steadily deteriorated, more and more people kept arriving.

The government stand was decorated with garlands. From it rose green columns hung with the portraits of leaders of the Slav peoples. A demonstration, the like of which Sofia had never seen, began to file past. It was the people, hailing the festival of Slav solidarity. It was a sincere and joyous manifestation of popular sentiment. This was the long-awaited day, a day which will remain forever in the memory of those who witnessed and took part in it.

Regiments marched past in military formation, keeping perfect step, the incarnation of military discipline and restraint. Cadet schools were wildly greeted by the people. Large columns of young people, students and scholars, filed past the stands, headed by their teachers and carrying placards on which the idea of Slav unity was formulated in the most original ways. Huge stars floated by, with portraits of Stalin, Dimitrov and Tito in their centres, and all sorts of posters—large, artistically-executed ones, and small naive ones, made by the loving hands of workers and artisans. Songs could be heard in all the Slav languages.

Shouts of greeting reverberated from end to end of the vast square, bordered by the stark skeletons of wrecked buildings, which, as it were, testified that the war that had threatened the country with utter destruction had been warded off by the gallant Red Army from this people, who had now set foot on the sure and honest road of fraternal solidarity, on the road of the struggle for liberty and a brighter future for all the Slav nations.

And still they came and came. The districts of Sofia were followed by delegations from all parts of the country. Their gay costumes lent beauty and animation to the countless masses of demonstrators.

Snow began to fall in isolated whirling flakes, which grew thicker and thicker. The sky turned a sombre grey. But the demonstrators kept marching and marching, with bared heads, singing and dancing. Peasant wedding parties passed in all their rural magnificence, with dancers and musicians. They would halt before the stands and perform their dances. Radio workers filed past carrying a tall mast from which shafts of lightning darted to all the capitals of the Slav world. Postal employees held aloft a huge telegram, twice a man’s height, addressed to Stalin in Moscow from the Slav Meeting.

A truck rolled by representing the armed forces of the Slavs—youths clad in the uniforms of all the Slav armies engaged in the fight against German fascism. On another truck scenes from the Battle of Shipka Pass were depicted by tableaux vivants. Slogan was succeeded by slogan as ever fresh columns debouched into the square.

Yes, Sofia had never witnessed such a spectacle. Not a single person quit the ranks although the snow fell heavier and heavier. It already covered the green stands, the saddle of the statue of Alexander II, and the bare heads of the marching people. The second hundred thousand were already filing past the stands. Textile workers carried hanks of
cotton fastened to sticks. Miners strode past in their black jackets, with lamps in their caps and picks on their shoulders; young girls, volunteers of the People’s Army, former partisans; schoolchildren, peasants from the environs of Sofia, Czechs in festive costume, Gypsies. Endless movement, gaiety and joy.

Most numerous of all were the placards which bore the words: September the 9th. This is a red-letter day in the history of the struggles and victories of the Bulgarian people. The German foes of the Slavs had tried to kill the spirit of Slav brotherhood and friendship in the Bulgarians. But their efforts were in vain. March 3 demonstrated this convincingly.

* * *

The Slav Meeting was held in Sofia’s Grand Theatre. The joyous animation which reigned in the streets and squares of Sofia was to be felt here too, within the walls of the theatre, which was packed to overflowing. All present enthusiastically applauded the election to the honorary presidium of the meeting of Marshal Stalin, Georgi Dimitrov, Marshal Tito, President Beneš of Czechoslovakia and President Bierut of the National Council of Poland.

The meeting was addressed by the Bulgarian Premier, Kikon Georgiev. He expressed the fundamental thoughts of the numerous succeeding Bulgarian speakers. In conclusion, he said:

“We Slavs fully recognize that we owe a debt of eternal gratitude to our biggest brother, the great Soviet Union, for thanks to it and its glorious Red Army, led by the military genius of Marshal Stalin, the Slav peoples have liberated themselves from the Teuton yoke and have now every ground to look forward to a brighter future. It is with such thoughts and feelings that I welcome you once more from the bottom of my heart. May eternal friendship reign among all Slavs. May happiness brighten our lives.”

It would be impossible to recapitulate all the speeches that were delivered at this meeting, but it is worth dwelling on their general tenor. This meeting of representatives of the Slav peoples took place in Sofia, the capital of the Bulgarian people, upon whose fate all Slavs had looked with pain and sorrow. Fettered by the chains of fascist tyranny, they were long severed from the common struggle, and only their heroic sons, the partisans and underground fighters, fought the mortal enemy of their country, to the best of their ability. The stern lessons of the past could not be forgotten.

These speeches were made at the meeting at a moment when the gallant Red Army was drawing nearer to the gates of Berlin, and when the forces of all the Slav peoples, for the first time in many centuries, stood shoulder to shoulder on the eve of the decisive round of the great duel between the freedom-loving nations and German fascism. Hitler Germany, gripped in an iron vise, is doomed to utter defeat. For a thousand years the Germans strove to force a road through the Slav lands in the South and East, and now the centuries-old struggle is being consummated by a victory for the United Slavs.

The speeches at the meeting were highly noteworthy. The Yugoslavs, Lalić and Djilas, recalling how the Bulgarian fascists harried their land, now hailed the free Bulgarian people and extended the hand of brotherhood to them. Dimitry Vlahkou, a Macedonian, representative of a people whose land had always been an object of intrigue and machination for all the vile and crafty foes of the Slavs, told of the fight of the Macedonians against the invaders and of the freely-adopted decision of the people to join the Yugoslav federation.

Professor Banach, on behalf of new, democratic Poland, hailed the friendship of the Slav nations. He spoke of Poland, which, like Bulgaria, was liberated from the Germans by the invincible Red Army, of the vengeance that is to be exacted of the Germans for Warsaw, Majdanek and Oswiecim and for the five years of slavery and oppression. Maria Švermová, a delegate from Czechoslovakia, spoke significantly of the struggle of the peoples of Czechoslovakia against the Germans for three hundred years, in the course of which the source of hope had always been help from the great Russian people.

Lieutenant General Gundorov, Chairman of the All-Slav Committee, expressed deep satisfaction that in the fire of the greatest war in history was born and steel a genuine, sincere and indestructible fellowship-in-arms of the Slav peoples. The Slavs look upon this fighting alliance against fascism as a pledge of stable peace in Europe and of the peaceful progress and prosperity of the nations.

Greetings were also expressed by Derzhavin, Member of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., by the Ukrainian poet Tychina, and by Zhebrak, Member of the Academy of Sciences of Byelorussia.

Bulgarian public men spoke of the liberation of their country from the “maniacs and
tyrants,” and of the Bulgarians’ determination to do everything in their power to hasten the complete defeat of Hitler Germany, and to preserve as the apple of their eye and to strengthen in every way the friendship-in-arms and solidarity of the Slavs.

There was revealed to the eyes of the world a picture of Slav unity which has nothing in common with the ideas of the old and obsolete Pan-Slavism, for it is based on the principle of equality and serves as a defense against the common foe of the Slavs and of free humanity in general. This new Slav unity is one of the best guarantees against a recurrence of aggression, a guarantee of stable peace in the Balkans and in Europe generally.

Why have voices been suddenly raised chanting the song with which we are familiar from the records of Goebbels’ Radio Danube? We heard in the Turkish press the voice of Cavit Oral, who wrote:

“Pan-Slavism is developing rapidly.... The Balkans are on the eve of grave events. Especially after the speeches and demonstrations at the Slav Congress in Sofia, it has become clear that the situation is not only grave, but that it has in some degree disturbed public tranquility.”

He was seconded by the notorious Yalcin of the newspaper Tanin. This old mischief-monger demanded a change in Greece’s strategical frontiers on the grounds that the threat allegedly held out by the Slav countries will not permit Greece to live in peace any longer. The new Yugoslavia and the Bulgaria of the Patriotic Front, he asserts, have formed a “bloc of Slav countries for the purpose of dismembering Greece.”

These mischievous voices can no longer deceive anybody. The Yalcins and Orals are the mouthpieces of those who are seeking for new opportunities to continue their intrigues and to incite the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula one against the other. These gentry do not want enduring peace, nor friendship and cooperation among the nations; what they want is national discord, those troubled waters of intrigue in which they are accustomed to fish.

These shady outsiders are doomed to disappointment. The brotherhood between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia is unbreakable. The power that can shake this friendship does not exist. After having suffered the cruellest oppression the Balkan peoples are not likely to succumb again to the blindness of misunderstanding.

We drove through Bulgaria and familiarized ourselves with the mood of the people everywhere. We saw their unfeigned joy, their sincerity and their desire to do everything in their power to prevent Bulgaria from swerving from the path on which she set foot on September 9 last year. Nowhere did we see even a hint of hostility towards neighbouring nations, or of any cherished designs against anybody, except the fascists, the enemies of the Slavs.

We left Bulgaria cherishing the warmest memories of the days spent in this land of an industrious and honest people who had for so long been severed from the life of their brothers, the other Slav nations.

As our plane soared over the mountains and valleys of Bulgaria all the signs of spring were already in evidence. And, indeed, the spring of liberty had come to Bulgaria. That is just, and it is irreversible.

Conferences in Paris

INTERVIEW WITH M. P. TARASOV, SECRETARY OF THE ALL-UNION CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS AND SOVIET TRADE UNION REPRESENTATIVE ON THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

ON THE MORNING of February 26 our aeroplane took off from the Hendon aerodrome. Down below, in the haze, we caught the last glimpses of the roofs of London. Soon it is behind us, the city of yellow mists, splashed with the bright red patches of motor buses and tram cars. Behind us is a month of hard work: the sessions of the World Trade Union Conference and later of the Committee of that conference and of the Administrative Committee. The work will be continued in Paris. The bodies elected by the conference to prepare for the World Trade Union Congress are moving to France. Our
English comrades strongly urged us to leave the Administrative Committee in London.

"It is cold in Paris," they said. "It is even hard to get ink and paper; but here you have the apparatus of the T.U.C. at your disposal and all conveniences."

Nevertheless, Paris seems the most convenient centre for preparing for the convocation of the World Trade Union Congress, the more so that Louis Saillant has been elected General Secretary of the Administrative Committee, and it would have been difficult for him to have directed the work if the committee had remained in London.

We did not regret having moved to Paris. The French trade unionists gave us such a hearty welcome and so cordially placed at the disposal of the Administrative Committee all their, one must frankly say, very modest facilities and resources, that from the very first day we felt convinced that the work which had been entrusted to us would be carried out.

I can understand those who say that one cannot help loving Paris. It is a beautiful city. In contrast to somewhat gloomy London it seemed to us to be bright, affable and cosy. The city has not sustained very much damage. Only individual buildings, such as the premises which had been occupied by the German Staff, the offices of the Police Prefect, and so forth, have suffered from air and artillery bombardment. But the city has been thoroughly looted. The German invaders carried off everything they could. Evidence of France's impoverishment is encountered at every step. The shops are almost empty. The bread ration amounts to 250-350 grams per day. The washing of clothes is an insoluble problem in Paris—there is no soap. A new arrival finds it a complicated business to get a dinner, although there are a few small restaurants in the city. Leather footwear is scarcely to be seen. Most women wear shoes with wooden soles. True to type, however, the Parisian women insist on being in the fashion. They wear three-storey hats of an amazing shape and equally amazing coiffures—evidently the very latest style.

In spite of everything, Paris is seething with life. People are beginning to build up their homes again, under difficult circumstances and trying conditions, but with boundless confidence in the future.

We, particularly, were aware of this, because we came in contact every day with the French trade unions and the active trade unionists, with the leaders who had passed through all the trials of the German occupation and borne the brunt of the struggle against the Hitler invaders. They have restored their trade unions and are now restoring the public, political and economic life of the country. They feel that they are members of the great family of democratic peoples, and are conscious and active fighters for the idea of international unity among the organized workers.

"We are proud of the fact that the committee which is making preparations for the organization of the World Federation of Trade Unions will have its headquarters in Paris," said Hénaf, the Secretary of the Paris Federation of Trade Unions. "We, of course, will do all in our power to help the committee in its work."

The same sentiments were expressed by many other French trade union leaders, especially after hearing V. V. Kuznetsov's speech at a meeting at which he said that the international trade union movement was expecting the French trade unions to render active assistance in the work of the bodies elected by the World Trade Union Conference, which will have their headquarters in Paris.

Our Administrative Committee received this help and support on the very first day of its arrival and in the very first steps it took. An entire floor was put at the disposal of the committee in the vast and well-preserved Maison des Syndicats. The apprehensions expressed by our English friends proved groundless. Sufficient quantities of both paper and ink were found in Paris, and the premises were not so cold. Louis Saillant has entered upon his duties as General Secretary. A small apparatus has already been organized. Circulars have been sent to the trade union centres which were represented at the World Conference in London containing the resolutions that were adopted at the conference, as well as the official announcement that the Administrative Committee has commenced to function, etc.

A few words about the present stage of the work of forming the new World Federation of Trade Unions. As is known, the conference elected a Committee of the World Conference, consisting of delegates from all the countries represented, to draw up the statutes of the future international organization and to prepare for the convocation of the World Trade Union Congress which is to be held next September. This committee in its turn elected an Administrative Committee of
thirteen. The members of this committee are V. V. Kuznetsov and M. P. Tarasov of the U.S.S.R.; Sir Walter Citrine and E. Edwards of Great Britain; Louis Saillant and Benoît Frachon of France; P. Murray and S. Hillman of the United States; Lombardo Toledano and A. Cofino of Latin America; Liu from China, and lastly, Schevenels representing the Amsterdam International, and Oldenbrook representing the International Trade Union Secretariats.

When the Administrative Committee commenced its work I more than once recalled Lombardo Toledano’s speech at the World Conference in which he uttered a strong warning against the inclusion of representatives of the Amsterdam International in the Administrative Committee. Strictly speaking, there were no grounds for objecting on principle to the participation of representatives of the former, if even imperfect and inadequate, international trade union organizations in the work of preparing for the formation of a new, more effective and virile federation of the working class. All experience, even negative, can usefully be applied in work of this kind—provided, however, there is good will and a sympathetic understanding of those tasks that confront the new organization that is to be created and the working class. Unfortunately, some of the leaders of the Amsterdam International have not revealed such an understanding. At all events, their participation in the work of the Administrative Committee has often hindered rather than helped its work. It has created those “practical difficulties” to which Toledano referred in his speech.

At its very first sessions in London immediately after the World Conference, the Administrative Committee adopted and submitted for endorsement to the Committee of the Conference a manifesto addressed to the working class of all countries, but it had no time to carry out its other task—to draft the statutes of the World Federation of Trade Unions for submission to the committee. The majority of the members of the Administrative Committee were unwilling to discuss the draft drawn up and proposed by Schevenels as it was based on exactly the same principles as those upon which the Amsterdam International operated. The result was that as the Administrative Committee was unable to prepare a draft, and as some of the members of this committee were obliged to leave, it was decided that this work be performed by a sub-committee, for which five members were at first nominated--Hillman, Citrine, Saillant, Liu and Tarasov. On Citrine’s motion Schevenels was added to the committee, and later, Toledano, on the motion of the Soviet delegation.

As a consequence it was in Paris that this sub-committee drafted the main lines of the statutes for submission to the Administrative Committee when the latter meets in Washington on April 10. After the draft is endorsed it will be circulated to the trade union centres of the respective countries. The latter will then send their remarks for consideration by the sub-committee in Paris. On the eve of the World Trade Union Congress in Paris the Committee of the World Trade Union Conference will meet for the final discussion of the statutes with all the proposals sent in by the various trade union centres, and will submit them in their final form for endorsement by the World Congress.

The main lines of the statutes we discussed in Paris for several days at meetings of the sub-committee which commenced on March 1. A number of rather complicated questions evoked heated and prolonged debate.

The most complicated and controversial question that arose in discussing the statutes was that of the International Trade Union Secretariats which internationally unite the trade unions of the various branches of industry in the different countries. Schevenels strongly insisted that these secretariats should be affiliated to the future World Federation of Trade Unions on the same basis as they were affiliated to the Amsterdam International, a basis which allowed them a considerable degree of independence. Before every world congress these secretariats convened international conferences and independently discussed all questions. They were empowered to settle all matters concerning their respective branches of industry.

Neither the Administrative Committee when it sat in London nor the sub-committee in Paris could agree to Schevenels’ proposals on the following grounds: the new World Trade Union Federation must be as solid and united as possible. To achieve this it is necessary to concentrate all the forces of the organized working class. It would be harmful to split these forces by creating separate industrial internationals which would function parallel with the World Federation and, moreover, have double representation in the latter, i.e., through the delegates of their national trade union centres and through the delegates of individual trade unions which are affiliated.
both to the national centres and to the International Secretariats. All the specific questions affecting individual branches of industry on an international scale can easily be solved within the framework of the World Trade Union Federation. If all practical questions were split up according to branches of industry, what would be the function of the World Federation? Moreover, the object pursued by this proposal was obvious to us all—it was not difficult to discern it before—to set off in some degree the International Trade Union Secretariats to the very idea of forming a new World Federation of Trade Unions.

Accordingly, another proposal was made, viz., that the future World Federation should have industrial sections with which the International Trade Union Secretariats should merge. These sections are to exist as departments of the World Federation and function under the direction of its Executive Committee. If necessary, the industrial sections can convene conferences on certain questions affecting any particular branch of industry on an international scale, but only on the decision of the leading body of the World Federation, viz., the Executive Committee, and all decisions adopted at such a conference are to be subject to endorsement by the Executive Committee.

After a long debate on this question Schevenels entered a dissenting opinion for submission to the Administrative Committee when it meets in Washington.

The next question which will have to be finally settled by the Administrative Committee—because on this too the majority on the sub-committee disagreed with Schevenels' proposals—was the question as to whether decisions should be binding. Schevenels proposed that the decisions of the World Congress and of the leading bodies of the World Trade Union Federation elected by it should not be binding upon the affiliated trade union centres. On our proposal, a clause was inserted in the draft to the effect that the decisions of the World Congress and of the General Council elected by it should be binding on the trade union centres affiliated to the World Federation after they had been endorsed by two-thirds of the national trade union centres. It was even specified that no endorsement decisions should be binding upon all organizations, irrespective of whether they were represented at the congress or not.

And lastly, the third question which will be finally settled at the meeting of the Administrative Committee in Washington is that of the manner in which the leading body of the World Federation of Trade Unions, viz., the General Council, was to be formed. In his draft Schevenels proposed that the General Council should not be elected at the World Congress, but be constituted of representatives of the trade union centres of the respective countries. We, on our part, proposed that the General Council be constituted of representatives appointed by the trade union centres, but that its composition as a whole be endorsed by the World Congress.

One of the clauses of the statutes evoked considerable disagreement during the debates in Paris, but it is likely to be challenged later. This is the clause which permits the affiliation to the World Federation of Trade Unions of all trade union centres of all democratic countries even if there is more than one such trade union centre in any given country. At the same time it makes it obligatory for the leading bodies of the World Trade Union Federation to take all necessary measures to achieve trade union unity in those countries where there is more than one trade union federation.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that it was unanimously decided to choose Paris as the headquarters of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

If we leave out of account the tendencies betrayed by Schevenels, who is trying to impose the old and obsolete forms and traditions of the Amsterdam International upon the new World Federation of Trade Unions, we can say that the work of the Administrative Committee and of its sub-committee proceeded successfully and in a friendly spirit. Bearing in mind the general temper of the broad masses of the organized workers in the democratic countries, a temper which was wholly reflected by their representatives at the World Trade Union Conference in London, we have every ground for expecting that at the World Trade Union Congress in September the obsolete Amsterdam stock-in-trade will be thrown overboard and that the World Federation of Trade Unions will be built up on a really new, sound and durable basis.
March 16

The announcement was published that on March 14 notes were exchanged in Washington between the Soviet Ambassador to the U.S.A. Gromyko and the Venezuelan Ambassador to the U.S.A. Escalante on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Venezuelan Republic.

The Congress of Trade Unions of Bulgaria opened in Sofia.

March 17

Eduard Beneš, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, Prime Minister J. Šrámek, and Minister for Foreign Affairs J. Masaryk arrived in Moscow on their way from London to Czechoslovakia.

The Diet elections took place in Finland on the 17th and 18th.

The Provisional Government of Hungary adopted a land reform law.

March 18

After breaking the resistance of the surrounded German garrison, Red Army troops captured the town and port of Kolberg on the Baltic coast.

March 19

M. I. Kalinin, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., received Eduard Beneš, President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

J. V. Stalin, President of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., had a conversation with Eduard Beneš, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and J. Šrámek, Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic.

J. V. Stalin, President of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., received G. Catroux, the Ambassador of the French Republic to the U.S.S.R.

V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., received J. Masaryk, Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs.

In view of the approaching expiration of the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality concluded on December 17, 1925, the Soviet Government informed the Government of the Turkish Republic of its intention to denounce that treaty with all its appendices.

March 20

Red Army troops captured Braunsberg in East Prussia, and Altdamm in Pomerania.

The Rumanian Government adopted a land reform law.

March 21

British troops occupied Mandalay in Burma.

The declaration of the Democratic League of the Finnish People was published in the Finnish press.

March 22

After breaching the enemy's defences on the west and south of Oppeln, the troops of the First Ukrainian Front advanced 40 kilometres in each direction and meeting in the region of Neustadt surrounded and routed the group of German troops southwest of Oppeln. In the course of the attack, the troops of this front captured Neustadt, Kosel, Steinau, Sülz, Krappitz, Ober-Glogau and Falkenberg in German Silesia, and also stormed and captured over 400 other inhabited points.

The France-Presse agency published the French Government's amendments to the proposals for the organization of the International Security Organization that were drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks.

Representatives of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Transjordania signed in Cairo the statutes of the League of Arabian Countries.

The Provisional Government of the Polish Republic sent statements to the Governments of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain and China urging the desirability of Poland's participating in the conference of the United Nations in San Francisco.

March 24

After repelling the attacks of eleven German panzer divisions southwest of Budapest and wearing them down in defensive fighting, the troops of the Third Ukrainian Front passed to the offensive and advanced 70 kilometres on a stretch of over 100 kilometres. In the course of the offensive the troops occupied Székesfehérvár, Mór, Zirc, Veszprém and Enyeni.

Red Army troops captured Neisse and Leobschütz in Silesia, west of the Oder.

Allied troops crossed the Rhine at several points.

March 25

Passing to the offensive, the troops of the Second Ukrainian Front breached the strong German defences in the hills at Vértés-hegység, west of Budapest, routed the group of German troops concentrated in the region of Esztergom and advanced 45 kilometres. In the course of the offensive the troops of this front captured Esztergom, Neszmély, Tata and other towns.

Red Army troops captured Helligenbeil, the last strongpoint in the German defences on the coast of Frisches Halft, southwest of Königsberg.

March 26

Red Army troops captured Ban'ská Bystrica, in Czechoslovakia, and Piapa and Devceser in Hungary.

United States troops occupied Darmstadt in Germany.

David Lloyd George, doyen of the British House of Commons, died.

United States troops landed on the Island of Cebu, Philippines.

March 27

Red Army troops captured Strelchen and Rybnik in Silesia.

The Argentine Government announced that it had declared war on the Axis powers.
The session of the French Confédération Générale du Travail was opened in Paris.

March 28

Red Army troops stormed and captured Gdynia, an important naval base and large port on the Baltic coast. In Hungary, Red Army troops captured Csongrád, Sárvár, Győr and Komárom.

J. V. Stalin, President of the Council of People’s Commissars of the U.S.S.R., gave a dinner in the Kremlin in honour of Dr. Eduard Beneš, President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Vaido-Voervod, ex-Romanian Prime Minister and organizer of the Romanian fascist organization known as the “Iron Guard,” was arrested in Romania.

The Italian Government approved of the decree to form a Consultative Assembly in Italy.

March 29

Troops of the Third Ukrainian Front captured Szombathely and Kapuvár, important railway junctions in Hungary, and, capturing Köszeg, reached the Austrian frontier.

Troops of the Third Byelorussian Front completed the liquidation of the surrounded East Prussian group of German troops southwest of Königsberg.

Allied troops captured Frankfurt on the Main and Mannheim.

March 30

Passing to the offensive, troops of the Second Ukrainian Front crossed the rivers Hron and Nitra, pierced the enemy’s defences on the west banks of these rivers and, advancing fifty kilometres, captured Komárovo, Nové Zamky, Šurany, Komjatice and Vráble, powerful strongpoints in the German defences in the Bratislava direction.

Troops of the Second Byelorussian Front completed the rout of the Danzig group of Germans and stormed and captured the town and fortress of Gdańsk (Danzig).

Continuing their offensive west of Lake Balaton, troops of the Third Ukrainian Front captured Zalaegerszeg and Keszthely. Simultaneously, troops of this front, in conjunction with Bulgarian forces, breached the enemy defences south of Lake Balaton and advancing thirty kilometres captured Nagybajom, Bőhönye, Marcali and Nagyatad, powerful strongpoints in the German defences covering the oil district of Nagykanizsa.

The Government of Yugoslavia recognized the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic.

A new political party known as the Dainippou Seijikai (Political Association of Great Japan) was officially formed in Japan.

March 31

Troops of the First Ukrainian Front occupied Ratibor and Biscou, on the left bank of the Oder. Units of the Third Ukrainian Front captured Vasvár, Körmen and Saint-Gothard. Troops of the Bulgarian army operating on this front occupied Csergo. Troops of the Second Ukrainian Front captured Nitra and also Galanta, an important road junction on the way to Bratislava.

Mr. Eduard Beneš, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, left Moscow. A Soviet-Czechoslovak communiqué was published on the President’s visit to Moscow.

The Council of Ministers of the Provisional Government of Poland decided to establish diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia.
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Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics