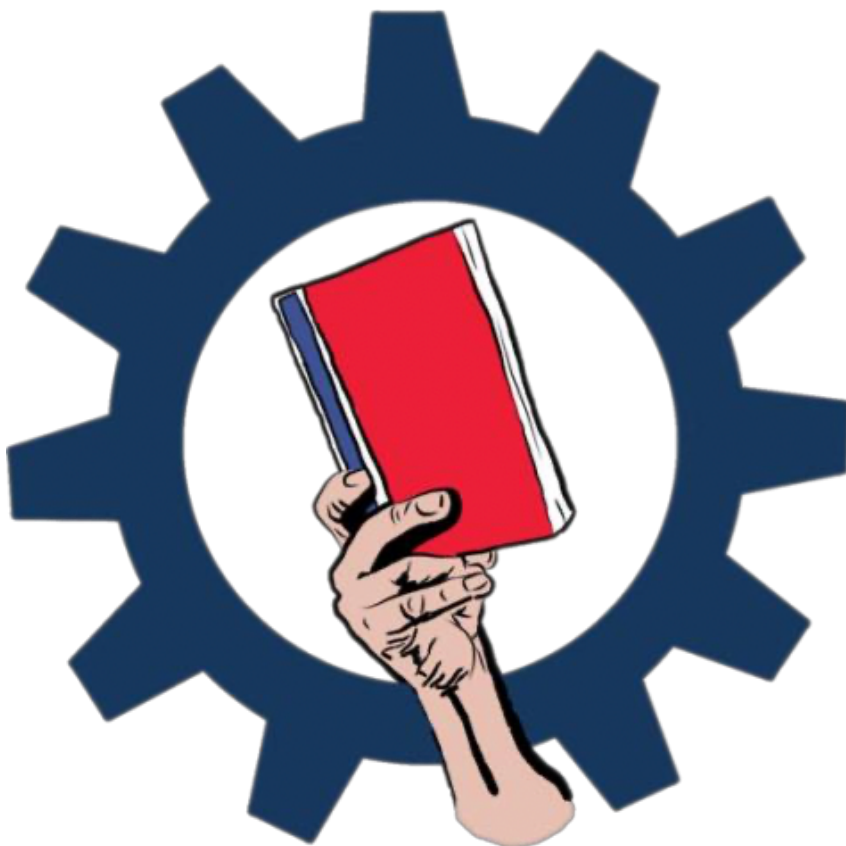


THE COMMUNISTS AND THE
LIBERATION OF EUROPE

By MAXINE LEVI



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	5
YUGOSLAVIA: PARTISANS TRIUMPHANT	10
GREECE: FIRST SERIOUS DEPARTURE FROM THE TEHERAN CONCORD	17
FRANCE: GREATNESS REGAINED	28
ITALY: TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE	39
SPAIN: "IT IS BETTER TO DIE ON YOUR FEET THAN TO LIVE ON YOUR KNEES"	47
AGREEMENTS AND CONFLICTS	55
Belgium	55
Elsewhere in Western Europe	56
Poland	57
The Former Satellites	59
Austria	62
Czechoslovakia	63
E Pluribus Unum	66

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THE COMMUNISTS AND THE LIBERATION OF EUROPE

By MAXINE LEVI

INTRODUCTION

Sinister forces in the world today seek to rob the peoples of the freedom for which so many fought and died.

Hitler, sure now of defeat, hopes to salvage the seed whence fascism grew. He pins his hope on so-called neutrals like Franco Spain: and on the “bogey of Communism” which for a time served him so well.

Hitler is, unfortunately, not the only one who dallies with the theme of anti-Communism.

Within the Allied nations, too, there are some even, among those who helped to chart the democratic path at Teheran, at Moscow, in the British-Soviet Treaty, at Dumbarton Oaks, who have not entirely freed themselves from this bogey.

In Prime Minister Churchill’s justification, of British armed intervention against Greek patriots, Earl Browder regards as “most ominous of all” “the pretext put forth by Mr. Churchill that he is opposing a ‘Communist dictatorship’ in Greece. We have grown familiar with this slogan, which is stamped with the trademark ‘Made in Berlin,’” Browder said. “We heard it in America from Thomas E. Dewey in the late election campaign, when it was used against President Roosevelt with exactly the same legitimacy—and purpose—of Churchill’s use of it against the Greek Liberation Front. We

heard it from William C. Bullitt, in his recent manifesto for preparation of war against the Soviet Union in ten or fifteen years. We are hearing it from every enemy of democracy throughout the world. And it is a bald lie.”

Communism is not the issue. The Communists—as these brief tales illustrate, were and are among the bravest and first in the fight for liberation; for the unity which made self-liberation possible. Communists in each land are integrally a part of the national unity which is being carried over to the period of reconstruction.

Beginning with the national war against Nazi-Fascist intervention in the Spain of 1936-39, European Communists have become intrinsic parts of government coalitions on a broad non-Socialist program upon which the majority of the people can unite to stem fascism, and build a better life.

“Communists everywhere throughout the world offer open and honest collaboration,” wrote Earl Browder in *The Worker* on November 5, 1944. “They are giving their labor and their lives in the common effort; they have subordinated their own political opinions to the necessity of unity; they show a way for the world to progress without the violent revolutions and civil wars which have been the accompaniment of progress in the past.”

So the peoples who fought and bled during these past years of horror count on a Tito, a Togliatti, a Thorez, on the working class leaders and their policies of anti-fascist national unity to see to it that the conditions which gave rise to fascism are destroyed forever. They know that continuation of the coalitions which won liberation within each land—just as continuation, on a greater scale, of the United Nations coalition— is basic to this task.

Attack Resistance

Only thus will fascism be rooted out. Only thus will lasting peace and the world of decency and plenty envisioned at Teheran be assured.

Though this truth is self-evident, the world has recently witnessed inexcusable attacks on the resistance movements in Belgium, Greece, Italy. The lying assertion that the resistance forces are seeking to impose “Communist dictatorships” has been borrowed from Hitler and his quislings by the British Prime Minister himself.

British tanks backed Belgian Premier Hubert Pierlot’s demand that patriots disarm while collaborators still roam free. British troops, side by side with Greek quislings, were turned upon the patriots who had freed all Greece. British pressure caused a crisis almost fatal to Italian anti-fascist governmental unity.

In face of the factual record, no one can honestly pretend that the resistance forces, or the Communists among them, seek to impose “anarchy.” “chaos,” “Communist dictatorship.” Even the Conservative London Times refutes that suggestion, pointing out that the threat to Europe’s tranquility comes rather from the danger that dictatorship-minded quislings may survive after victory.

After twelve years the peoples know that anti-Communism is Hitlerism’s main instrument of aggression and the destruction of national independence. They will not easily or quickly forget this lesson, or allow perpetuation of the damning lie under new auspices.

America's Concern

As the Munich deal with Hitler in September, 1938, revealed, in Britain, and to a lesser degree in the United States, there are persons—often closely associated with Hitler’s cartel network which so effectively undermined pre-1939 Europe—who crave Europe as a colony. In colonies, independence and

self-government is not encouraged. The moderate programs of the various resistance movements—nationalization of key industries, breaking up of landed estates, regulation of banks, freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion—yes, and freedom of enterprise too—are anathema to any dream of world domination still nurtured in the breasts of the few remaining Munichmen.

If we in America want our children to grow up in a world of peace, then we must support with all our strength the peoples' liberation movements in their determination to destroy fascism and fascists. For if fascism is allowed to survive anywhere, and this includes Spain and other so-called neutrals, then there is a very real danger that William C. Bullitt's "war in fifteen years"—not Teheran's "lasting peace"—will triumph.

If we want markets for our enormous productive capacity, markets without which tens of millions here would be unemployed and chaos would result, then we must support the emerging peoples' governments which alone can stabilize their lands' economy.

When you come down to it, there is no escape from the truth that there must be a democratic Europe if democratic America is not to perish.

Americans must come to understand this new Europe—for only by understanding what the peoples' movements are, why they were formed, how they fought, and what they seek, can we effectively oppose the enemies of lasting peace.

America has a great and responsible role to play in the new world that is emerging. We cannot afford ignorance of the program and role of Europe's Communists to impair our necessary contribution to the peaceful, democratic development of each nation—and hence to the world.

Hitler's technique was "divide and conquer"—divide the democracies from the Soviet Union; prevent patriotic unity within each nation by arousing fear of Communism.

Victory is now in sight only because Hitler's scheme was recognized, and rejected; because the capitalist world allied itself with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; because Communists were welcomed as essential forces in each country's liberating struggle.

The devilish instrument of anti-Communism must be abolished forever if that victory is to endure.

So Americans have reason to be alarmed when the anti-Communist cry is used to justify new attacks on the resistance movements.

Acceptance anew of Hitler's weapon of division inevitably would drown the vision of Teheran in an even more terrible ocean of blood.

Rooting out of Hitler's "Red scare" is therefore as vital as destroying Hitler himself.

Because the task is so urgent, this pamphlet undertakes to bring together some of the facts by which we must be guided.

YUGOSLAVIA: PARTISANS TRIUMPHANT

“In Yugoslavia one can see in miniature the new Europe which is being born. Just as partisan warfare should serve as an inspiring example to other enslaved peoples, so the political set-up here should serve as a model for political construction to the other nations of Europe. Marshal Tito has shown himself to be as great a statesman as he is a warrior. I am convinced that the principles of tolerance and liberalism which are so characteristic of the National Liberation Movement will ensure Yugoslavia a happier future.”

Major Randolph Churchill, June, 1944, after spending several months in Yugoslavia as the Prime Minister’s personal representative.

THE PEOPLES Of Yugoslavia overthrew their pro-Axis government on March 27, 1941, and thus gallantly prevented Yugoslavia from becoming an Axis partner. Twenty years of



Marshal Tito

misrule and pro-fascism were not however, simply overcome. Hitler struck on April 6. The army, ridden with treachery and espionage, was catastrophically defeated within ten days. The King and government fled abroad. A reign of terror and extermination set in.

The Nazis, capitalizing on the fears of oppression by Serbian hegemonists, turned brother upon brother. Whole Serbian populations were massacred in Croatia, Bosnia, Hercegovina and elsewhere. Ustachi—the murderous Croatian fascist bandits under Ante Pavelich—were put in power in Croatia; the

quisling Neditch in Serbia—and the Nazis gloatingly watched for the Yugoslav peoples to do away with one another.

Why did their plot fail?

Marshal Tito, the Croatian metal worker, leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party, answered on November 29, 1943, at the Second Convention of the Anti-Fascist Council of Liberation in Jaice:

“In this difficult, most difficult situation in our history, only one organization existed in our country. For twenty years this organization had been kept outside the law, and had been persecuted by all rulers of Yugoslavia, but when the time came it put all its experience and organizational talent, all its proven fighters, in the service of its subjected people.

“The Communist Party was the only one to lead the people to organized uprising. The only one not to lose its spirit but to raise high the banner of liberation struggle, and continue that struggle, together with its people, to this day.”

And Moishe Pijade, Belgrade artist, leading Communist theoretician who had spent 1 years in the grim jail of Srem Mitrovica, explained further, in the December, 1943, issue of *Proleter*, Yugoslav Communist monthly:

“The mighty, popular response shows how much confidence the peoples of Yugoslavia have in the Communist Party. That confidence did not spring only from the appeal for armed resistance to the aggressors—though that appeal inspired confidence in many who doubted before. [It] was the fruit of years of work for the people, of a correct national and political line conducted with great abnegation, stubbornness, strength of character, regardless of the heaviest sacrifices,”

Armed Struggle Develops

Prime Minister Churchill recognized in January, 1944, that “Communist elements had the honor of being the beginners.”

In the beginning, Communists, many of whom had fought against fascism in Spain, went from village to village organizing guerrilla bands. These bands grew rapidly, arming themselves at the expense of the enemy. Local liberation committees, formed to sustain the guerrillas, administered liberated territory, and on November 26, 1942, an anti-Fascist Veceor assembly—of the Peoples Liberation Movement. met in Bihac and delegates came from all parts of the land. Similar regional bodies were democratically elected in Slovenia, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Montenegro, Sandjak, and appointed in Serbia where Axis terror, aggravated by followers of Neditch and Mikhailovitch, would not permit general elections.

Participating in these committees, in addition to the Communist Party, were the Slovene Christian Socialist, Social Democratic, Peasant and Socialist Parties; the Croat Peasant Party; the left wing of the Serbian Democratic Party under Dr. Ivan Ribar who became President of the first Vece; the left wing: of the Serbian Agrarian Party; the labor unions, Sokols (patriotic gymnastic youth organizations) and other groups.

Each people learned that as Yugoslavs they faced a common foe, and undertook the struggle. Much has been written about the heroic resistance which never ceased, though for almost three years no help came from the Anglo-American allies, while the truth about Yugoslavia was concealed behind a myth that Draza Mikhailovitch—he who collaborated with the fascists against the partisans—was Yugoslavia’s savior. British and American support went exclusively to the rotten government-in-exile of which Mikhailovitch was War Minister.

In November, 1943, Tito announced that the peoples’ movement already counted 300,000 active soldiers, other hundreds. of thousands lacking only arms. However, he said,

““We are still being slandered from all sides.... All invaders and their quislings—Pavelich’s Ustachi, Neditch’s gendarmes, Mikhailovitch’s Chetniks and their overlords abroad—have said and say that our struggle of national liberation in Yugoslavia is. a purely Communistic enterprise. They assert we aim at bolshevization of the country, discontinuation of private property, destruction of churches and religions, culture, etc... . Few pay any credence to these lies, and least of all the peoples of Yugoslavia.”

The program of the National Liberation Committee is, in fact, far from Communistic. As announced in a manifesto. broadcast over the Free Yugoslavia radio in February, 1943, it is:

1. The liberation of the country from the occupation forces and the winning of independence and truly democratic rights and liberties of all peoples of Yugoslavia.
2. The inviolability of private property, full opportunity for initiative in industry and the economic field.
3. No radical changes to be introduced in the social life and activities, with the exception of replacing the reactionary district administrations and gendarmes by elected people’s institutions of a truly democratic character. All important. measures in social life and state organizations to be decided after the war by representatives truly and freely elected .by the people.
4. The People’s Liberation Movement, fighting for the freedom of the people, for social and democratic rights, is alien to every form of violence and lawlessness.
5. The People’s Liberation Movement accords full recognition of national rights to Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, as well as the Macedonians and others. This movement is alike in Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia and therefore constitutes a guarantee that the national rights will be won for all peoples of Yugoslavia.

Recognition Won

Ultimately the partisans' victories were too striking to be further ignored. The Soviet Union and the Communist press abroad at first were alone in recognizing the Yugoslav peoples' struggle and achievements—but by the beginning of 1944 regular Anglo-American military missions arrived, followed by some lend-lease support.

The exile government, which had concentrated on defaming the partisans, was reorganized completely in June, and the newly-appointed Premier, Ivan Subasitch, met with Tito and the National Committee of Liberation.

On June 16, Subasitch and Tito signed an agreement whereby the Royal Government agreed that its 'main task is to render all possible aid to the National Liberation Army.' Cooperation "in the struggle against the enemy, in the task of reconstruction and the conduct of foreign policy," they said, would facilitate "the earliest possible creation of a single representative body of the State."

While Tito undertook not to raise the question of the final organization of the Yugoslav State during the war or "exacerbate at the moment the question of the King and the Monarchy," Subasitch pledged to recognize "the national and democratic achievements of the Yugoslav peoples ... by which the foundations of a democratic, federal organization have been laid and a temporary administration of the country set up." The Royal Government also promised to condemn all traitors.

Since this agreement was reached, the Yugoslav peoples have been united on principal objectives. Not long after the thrilling day in November, 1944, when the Red Army and Yugoslav partisans liberated Belgrade, Subasitch met once more with Tito and then went on to Moscow with several members of the Liberation Committee, including Edvard Kardelj, a vice president of the 17-man Committee, and one

of its four Communist members. This visit, late in November, was welcomed as a step toward strengthening ties between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, among Balkan states, and thus the Anglo-Soviet-American grand alliance. These friendships, already cemented in common battle, are vital to the future peace of Europe.

In this connection it should be noted that the new Free Albanian Government under the former schoolmaster Gen. Enver Hoxha, whose partisans in close alliance with Marshal Tito have already liberated their entire land, looks forward to federation with other Balkan countries.

Now that liberation has almost been completed, the reconstruction program of the Yugoslav Liberation Committee is being applied. Great stress is laid on the democratic, federal character of the government—for by granting full national rights to each of the six major nationalities comprising the Yugoslav State, the great weakness which Hitler so drastically exploited will be eliminated.

On November 11, 1944, a Reuters correspondent asked Marshal "Tito:

"Do you expect the Communist Party will, in view of its services to the liberation movement, get the majority in the elections to be held when the whole country is liberated?"

Tito replied: "I have explained once before that not only the Communist Party is involved but all members of the former parties. The vast majority of these have now joined the movement. I am convinced this peoples' front will get at least 80 per cent of the votes at the next elections."

And to the assembled officers and men of the Yugoslav National Army of Liberation gathered in liberated Belgrade, Tito said:

"In our country and abroad there are still some people who speculate on the possibility of civil war. These plans will never materialize. We stretch out a hand of reconciliation to

every honest citizen who is prepared to work together with us in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of our unfortunate, devastated country.

“At the same time we warn all, either at home or abroad, who think that the fruits for which an ocean of blood was given will be lost to us; we shall never give these fruits to anyone.”

GREECE: FIRST SERIOUS DEPARTURE FROM THE TEHERAN CONCORD

AT THIS WRITING the terrible strife which rent liberated Greece for six weeks has come to a pause. But the truce has not eradicated the stain of Greek patriot blood from British hands. The temporary solution whereby two-fifths of Greece remains under British rule and a premier is backed who threatens to annihilate the men and women whose anti-Nazi struggle freed their land, is no solution.



George Siantos

The British intervention in Greece was repudiated by the U. S. State Department, and President Roosevelt expressed the wish that reprisals would not follow the cessation of hostilities and that those problems which led up to the crisis would be settled quickly. For this war against the Greek people was contrary to the spirit and letter of the agreements signed by the United Nations at Moscow and Teheran.

British Tories, unfortunately represented by Prime Minister Churchill, sought to justify the British attack on EAM—the Greek National Liberation Front—and its fighting army, the ELAS, as opposition to a ‘Communist dictatorship.’ They paint EAM-ELAS as harbingers of disorder and strife.

The truth is quite the opposite, as proved by the history of the last four years.

Self Liberation

When British troops landed in Greece they found that three-fifths of the land had already been liberated by the people themselves, Even Churchill admitted that only some 500 members of the British armed forces were killed in the entire Greek campaign before December 3, 1944. Before the British came, local self-government was in effect in most of the mainland, and here the Nazi invader dared not tread.

The Nazi invasion began on April 6, 1941. Greek King George's government was rotten from within, especially since the establishment of the Metaxas fascist government in August, 1936. Some of the most fanatical Royalist officers like Gen-Tsolakoglou—who later became the first quisling premier— surrendered the bulk of the army to the Germans.

Some of the King's cohorts chose to remain in Greece where many became collaborationists. John Rhallis, puppet premier and organizer of the infamous Security Battalions, is best known of these.

Others, including the King, chose exile and hoped the victorious Allies would restore them to the power they “won” in the fraudulent British-backed plebiscite of November, 1935, carried through at bayonet point.

Inside Greece the old political parties, the Liberals and Populists (Royalists) waited to be freed from the outside. In many cases “passive resistance,” combined with “anti-Communism” became outright collaboration with the enemy.

Greek Titos

But there existed vigorous anti-fascist forces inside Greece who would not capitulate or betray, who rejected fascist intrigue and were ready for active resistance to the foe.

First of these to come forward with an appeal for united resistance was the Communist Party of Greece.

The Communists, with 16 deputies in Parliament, tried to forge a people's front to avert the 1936 Monarchist-fascist coup.

After the bloody triumph of Metaxas, the Communists became the special object of his widespread terror.

“Thousands were thrown into jails and sent to perish in deportation isles on the Aegean Sea.

When Mussolini began his abortive attack on Greece in October, 1940, from one of Metaxas' jail cells, Nicholas Zachariadis, general secretary of the Communist Party, called upon the Greek people to unite and throw out the invaders. And he asked the government, for the good of the nation, to release all political prisoners and reorganize itself so that a united people could face the foe.

The Communists again were the first to speak out after the Greek Army had treacherously been delivered up to the Nazis. In May, 1941, they called on all Greeks to unite against the German yoke, to form a national front of liberation so that Greece, cradle of democracy, might once again be a free nation.

The people responded with unmatched speed and understanding. Scarcely a month after the occupation, parties and organizations which had led the underground resistance to the Metaxas dictatorship came together and established the EAM.

Its constituent members were the Agrarian, Socialist and Communist Parties and the Union of Popular Democracy. Soon they were joined by the Liberal Youth, the General Unionist Confederation of Labor—Greece's strongest trade union federation—the Civil Servants and Railwaymen's Unions, various women's organizations and the EPON, National Pan-Hellenic Organization of Youth. Some Liberals, Bishops, and even former Monarchists joined its ranks.

This varied group chose as its secretary a former deputy, a Communist, M. Porphyroyannis, recently succeeded by another Communist, Dimetrius Partsalides.

Thus Greek patriots rejected the anti-Communist hysteria with which first the King and Metaxas and then the Nazis had sought to divide them. Never before had there been such national unity as that forged in defiance of Nazi bayonets.

Liberation Program

People flocked to EAM on a program of:

1. The liberation of Greece and her national restoration as a country really independent and free of foreign rule or influence;

2. The formation, after liberation, of a provisional government pledged to reinstate the people's democratic liberties, to ensure work and food for all, to secure the independence and integrity of Greece, to help in every possible way the antifascist struggle of the Allied nations, to give political amnesty to all anti-fascist fighters and to organize free elections.

At a conference inside Greece at the end of 1942, EAM and many representatives of the old parties joined in another demand: that the King should not return to Greece before the people had freely determined the future form of their government.

During more than three years of resistance, EAM won some unique victories. Athens and its industrial port, Piraeus, were completely tied up by two general strikes in April and September, 1942, after months of cruel famine. These strikes forced the occupation authorities to increase wages and salaries, pay them partly in kind, establish soup kitchens and agree to cease exportation of food. Another general strike and demonstration in March, 1943, compelled cancellation of the order to mobilize forced labor.

In December, 1941, EAM organized the ELAS, a great guerrilla movement welded together from the small, scattered

groups which from the first days of the capitulation had been harassing the occupation troops from the mountains.

Among those who went from village to village with a message of unity, was Aris Velouchiotis (Claras), outstanding ‘Communist leader.

By the end of 1942, ELAS had liberated the whole of continental Greece, except the big towns where the enemy was forced to concentrate. Peasants were armed, elected their own local governments, were paid for food supplied the army and were protected from the invader.

The Germans retaliated savagely. Whole villages—like Distomo—were razed, their populations massacred. It is estimated that 400,000 people died from the terror and famine.

But EAM and ELAS held together, multiplied their contribution to the Allied cause. Milton Bracker, New York Times correspondent, on landing in Greece with the British, wrote: “It is apparent here that the entire visible population—and most notably the clergy—are on the side of the EAM and the ELAS.” Of some seven million Greeks, over two million are members of the EAM. Thus there is an EAM member in almost every family. This is no “Communist minority,” as those who seek to justify the British attack are claiming. Even Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary and Churchill’s right hand man, admitted to the House of Commons in April, 1944, that the EAM represents the overwhelming majority of the Greek people—though he whittled the figure down from 90 per cent to 75 per cent.

The Communist Party, with 200,000 members does not seek to force a socialist program upon this broad, patriotic coalition; it is integrally and unbreakably a part of it.

Struggle for Unity

EAM’s achievements were long concealed and misrepresented by Greek Royalist publicity agents and British

censors. Then as now the underlying motive had to do with the Tory ambition to chain Greece to a new colonialism, to dominate Empire trade routes and to keep extracting usurious interest payments on the Greek loans from London City banks which have been paid over and over again since the 1890's.

Repeated efforts on the part of EAM to unite with the Cairo emigres were rebuffed. The King refused to promise to stay away from Greece until a free plebiscite had been held. EAM delegates to Cairo were held incommunicado. The Royal regime even set small guerrilla groups—EKKE and EDES—to harass the patriot guerrillas. The Royal regime refused to condemn John Rhallis' quisling militia, the so-called Security Battalions. It echoed the slogan beamed to Greece each Sunday night by the Nazi radio: the EAM is Communistic, and the Germans are preferable to the Bolsheviks.

Meanwhile a democratic movement had grown up within the Greek armed forces of the Middle East, which comprised the only mass of Greek citizens outside the homeland. An army protest in March, 1943, forced removal of some fascists from top government and army posts, and inclusion in the cabinet of some members of the old anti-Monarchist Liberal Party.

In Greece, at the end of 1943, guerrilla groups rejected provocations for civil war and came together in Plaka where they agreed to fight Germans, not fellow Greeks. On March 10, 1944, a Political Committee of National Liberation—PEEA—was formed to unite all patriotic forces, political and military, and place them at the disposal of the awaited Allied liberating armies. The PEEA was headed by Prof. Alexander Svolos, well-known authority on constitutional law and head of the Democratic Union Party.

When the PEEA's appeal for a national unity government was ignored in Cairo, great demonstrations of protest broke

out in the Greek Middle East armed forces. A delegation to Premier Emanuel Tsouderos backed the PEEA request.

Agreements Reached

This demonstration was termed a “mutiny” and was forcibly quelled by British forces at the request of Premier Tsouderos. An estimated 87 per cent of the Greek armed forces—heroes of E] Alamein—were confined to British concentration camps, while go were tried at secret court martials and condemned to death.

Indignation flared high. First Tsouderos and then Sophocles Venizelos, his successor, were forced to resign the premiership.

Finally, in May, 1944, just as the delegation of “mutineers” had requested, the new premier, George Papandreou, called together a national conference at Lebanon where representatives of the old parties in exile met with delegates of the PEEA, EAM–ELAS, and Communist Party.

During this meeting the Communist representative, P. Roussos, declared that the Greek Communists demanded national unity on the following principles: total mobilization of the nation, without any reservations, at the side of the Allies for crushing the invader; a democratic solution of the constitutional question, with a free expression of the people's will; creation of a national army under the orders of the government.

“Even though late,” he said, “national unity must be totally achieved, and the Communist Party sincerely offers all ‘its services for this realization.’”

After long discussions, a National Charter was adopted by all participants, providing that the King must make a statement that he would not return to Greece unless there had been a plebiscite favoring him; that the agreement between guerrilla leaders must be strictly observed and that the government-in-exile must repudiate the Security Battalions.

The Charter was never completely honored. The King refused the necessary statement; “mutineers” continued to be sentenced to death for the March-April demonstrations; the Royal regime did not repudiate the quisling militia; many “mutineers” remain in concentration camps and quisling forces were imported to the Middle East from Greece to form a fascist-Royalist unit known as the Mountain Brigade which has since played a sinister role.

As a war necessity, however, EAM insisted on a national unity government which could coordinate the battle for Greece with the whole Allied war effort.

On September 2, 1944, six representatives of the PEEA, EAM and Communist Party entered the Papandreou cabinet. A representative government was at last in formation, a government which, until elections could be held, might command the allegiance of the Greek people and the recognition of Greece’s allies.

In October the government returned to a jubilant Athens, liberated by her own people led by the ELAS. The united cabinet began to tackle the problems of reconstruction and relief. PEEA head, Prof. Alexander Svolos, who was appointed Finance Minister, explained that immediate questions included:

Elimination of all traitors and confiscation of their property;

Relief for the people who lack food and clothing and means to produce;

High taxation on all war profits. Tax those most able to pay; stabilize the drachma (the wildly-inflated currency); protect the consumer; combat black markets;

Encourage investment in productive enterprise, prohibit investment for non-productive purposes;

Nationalize banks (this will help solve the major Greek land problem as farms were generally heavily mortgaged to gouging bankers);

Plebiscite as to whether King George should return.

Clearly this program is not socialistic. Yet all forces in the EAM, including the Communists, agreed that it represents the only way for Greece to emerge from her desperate poverty and German-wrought havoc.

Crisis Provoked

On November 19, the Communist Party held demonstrations throughout Greece in celebration of its 26th anniversary. George Siantos, Party secretary, told 20,000 in Athens that the Party asked “peaceful settlement” of all outstanding issues concerning relief, reconstruction, demobilization of the ELAS and other armed units, the plebiscite and the elections. He appealed to the reactionaries to act patriotically.

ELAS, as Siantos indicated, had agreed voluntarily to disband by December 10, when all other armed units were likewise to demobilize and a new national army was to be formed, as agreed at Lebanon.

But events were not allowed to unfold peacefully. With direct backing from British Maj. Gen. Ronald M. Scobie, supported by Churchill, Papandreou refused to disarm the Mountain Brigade and other Royalist-reactionary outfits, while demanding that ELAS turn in its weapons. Traitors who served the enemy in the Security Battalions were incorporated into a new Home Guard.

EAM ministers were thus forced to resign from the Papandreou government. A general strike was called. On Sunday and Monday, December 3 and 4, Greek police, many of whom had served under the invaders, shot and killed scores of Athenian patriots demonstrating to demand that disarming be bilateral.

Few Greeks rallied to the Papandreou government, which lost popular support when it broke with the democratic.

program agreed on with EAM at Lebanon. It held power solely through British armed support.

Mounting protests in England and refusal of the House of Commons majority to participate in a vote of confidence impelled Prime Minister Churchill late in December, 1944, to go to Athens and hold conferences with government and EAM leaders. "The democratic world hoped that on the spot, Churchill would realize that EAM has majority support and justice on its side.

EAM, in its turn, was willing to compromise—to evacuate the Attica area, and disarm—provided the disguised quislings of the government's armed forces were likewise disarmed, traitors prosecuted, and a democratic army built.

The fighting did not end during Churchill's journey. On his return Churchill persuaded Greek King George II to make way for a Regency under Archbishop Damaskinos. The new Regent appointed Gen. Nicholas Plastiras to replace Papandreou as Premier. Plastiras, brought to Greece by British airplane after some ten years of exile in France, exhibited no readiness to get together with EAM. On January 7, 1945, Plastiras even threatened to raise an army of 200,000—naturally with British help—to "annihilate" the ELAS.

"Four years is a long time to starve and die, to see children murdered, to watch villages burned to rubble and ashes," President Roosevelt said in his message on the liberation of Greece. Indeed it was too long for the people now to be forced to accept fascism, and its anti-Communist weapon of division.

The truth is all too evident. The EAM is not trying to saddle a "Communist dictatorship" on Greece. The only attempt at dictatorship is the attempt to force an unwanted government on the Greek people by foreign arms. Far from creating disorder and strife, as they are accused, the EAM and ELAS made every effort to maintain discipline and order.

Their demonstrations, as M. W. Fodor of the Chicago Sun reported, were conducted with ““calm and dignity.”” The real provocateurs—too few to create a serious problem were it not for British intervention—are the native fascists, Security Battalion men and quisling collaborators.

The Greek people will accept no dictatorship. They insist upon a free and democratic Greece, from which fascism has been completely eradicated. “They hope to “fight all the way to Berlin,” as General Seraphis, ELAS commander, declared.

The declaration of the U. S. State Department made clear that the real issue is not “anarchy” or “Communism,” but the right of liberated peoples to determine their own destinies. Only thus will the United Nations agreements be honored and the Greek people encouraged to stamp out all vestiges of fascism and concentrate on the war, as they want.

The British people, like the Americans, understand this. “There, as in the United States, there have been numerous resolutions, protests and delegations demanding cessation of British intervention against the Greek patriots.

Now the punitive outrage against the EAM is over, but the Greek crisis remains. If the British, retaining control of key sections of Greece, use their power to protect, the pro-Germans; if British-backed Premier Plastiras pursues his ambition of annihilating the ELAS and refuses to form a coalition government, then civil war will again threaten.

But if Plastiras accepts President Roosevelt’s suggestion—made public by the State Department on January 16—that the problems leading up to civil strife be solved quickly, then the quislings will be driven from public life, unwarranted outside intervention will be repudiated and liberation can be completed and reconstruction at last begin.

FRANCE: GREATNESS REGAINED

TWO VOICES pierced the gloom of France's despair and bewilderment on the morrow of the Compiègne capitulation in June, 1940. One came over the London radio—General



Maurice Thorez

Charles de Gaulle calling upon all Frenchmen to resist: "We have lost a battle but we have not lost the war."

The other came in an underground leaflet, distributed at risk of life. It bore a message from Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos, secretaries of the Communist Party of France.

"Never will a great people such as ours become enslaved," these Communist leaders declared. "Around the working class, which is filled with confidence and courage, a

front for France's liberty, independence and rebirth can be built."

From these beginnings, two parallel liberation movements grew: the Gaullists abroad, who kept the French flag flying on the battlefronts, and inside France a movement based on the organized working class which grew until it embraced the whole nation.

First to Act

Inside France, at the beginning, the Communist Party alone survived organizationally intact. Driven underground in September, 1939, by those who already plotted France's betrayal, the Communists had worked illegally during the period of "drole de guerre"—phony war—exposing the Daladier plan to join with Germany against the Soviet Union, and thus bring about France's submission to Hitler.

The Communists had combatted fascist maneuvers since February, 1934. At that time the working class of Paris, behind barricades, had halted an attempted putsch. The working class had taken the lead and fascism was temporarily routed when other democrats accepted the Communists' outstretched hand, and the Front Populaire was formed.

In 1940 again the working class took the lead to rout fascism, to turn defeat into victory.

On October 10 working men and women of Paris walked quietly to the Père Lachaise cemetery, where the Communards of 1871 are buried, to lay flowers on the grave of Paul Vaillant-Couturier, editor of *l'Humanité*, the beloved Communist daily paper. Suddenly Gabriel Peri rose above the crowd and spoke words of courage, resistance, struggle. Gabriel Péri was foreign editor of *l'Humanité*, vice-chairman of the Chamber's Commission on Foreign Affairs. He was a hunted man. Yet he dared to speak and Paris was his protection.

On November 11 students from Paris schools and colleges marched boldly up the Champs Elysées to lay a wreath on the tomb of France's Unknown Soldier. "Their demonstration was | machine-gunned, their schools closed down. But their defiance, as the defiance at Père Lachaise, proved to all France that it was possible to resist.

Resistance Grows

In May, 1941, 120,000 workers in the mines of Pas de Calais went out on strike. A new facet of struggle had been opened:

After June 22, 1941, resistance became even more confident, more open. The French people were convinced—as Parisian Communist Fernand Grenier explains—that Germany, by attacking the Soviet Union, had signed its own death warrant.

Jean Catelas, Communist Deputy from Amiens, went to the guillotine in July, 1941, crying: "Courage!" Shortly thereafter was formed the first guerrilla unit, and it was named "Jean Catelas."

Thus was launched the Francs Tireurs and Partisans, France's first guerrilla army. As each month passed, the communiques of the F.T.P. could tell of more trains derailed, more enemy supply depots blasted, more factories destroyed, more Germans and traitors killed. Later they could speak of more regions wholly liberated by force of arms, of Vichyite authorities replaced by people's representatives. Other smaller guerrilla groups later emerged, and united, not long before D-Day, into the French Forces of the Interior (F.F.I.).

With demonstrations, strikes, guerrilla warfare, the Communists proved that the policy of waiting until help came from outside was wrong, and that a people must struggle for its own liberation.

Other organizations and parties began to follow suit. Gaullist groups formed, began to publish illegal newspapers—Combat, Libération, Résistance. The Socialist Party, weakened by the betrayal of two-thirds of its parliamentary delegation, came forward again, published *Le Populaire*. The trade unions reorganized. The General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.), headed inside France by the Communist, Benoit Frachon, directed the workers how best to strike, to sabotage, to evade deportation to Germany.

From the start, the Communists joined locally with all resistance groups, Catholics, Socialists, Radical-Socialists—even Royalists and former Croix de Feu members. In May, 1941, the Communists launched their first call for a National Front to fight for independence.

On November 11, 1942, the Germans occupied all France. Toulon



Gabriel Peri

— where Frenchmen proudly sank their own ships— was a signal for united action, which had become so desperately urgent.

Unity Achieved

In March, 1943, thirteen underground groups, including Communists and Gaullists, broadcast a joint appeal over the secret Radio France for maximum unity and resistance against Germany's forced labor plans.... Workers, it urged, strike; civil. servants—issue ration cards to those who refuse to work in Germany; peasants—shelter and feed the fugitives; young men—join the patriot fighting detachments “so as to be prepared in the near future to support troop landings with the opening of the second front in Europe”; Allies—“have faith in the will of the French people to struggle.”

By March, 1944, there had come into being a united group which included every resistance organization—33 in all—and reflected the will of fully 90 per cent of France's people. It was called the National Council of Resistance. In its ranks were the Communist, Socialist, Radical-Socialist, Democratic Alliance and Republican Federation Parties; the organizations of the F.F.I; the C.G.T. and the French Confederation of Christian Workers and such resistance groupings as the Front National, Mouvement de la Libération Nationale, Combat and Organisation Civile et Militaire. |

Its immediate program: “to deliver our homeland, cooperating closely with the military operations which French and Allied armies will undertake; to hasten that liberation, to shorten our people's sufferings; to save France's future by ceaselessly intensifying the struggle begun in 1940 against the invaders and their agents.

Events in Algiers

“The French people,” said the Council, “must fight or disappear. They cannot wait for outside aid but will battle and

develop their armed resistance to the point of national insurrection.”

This all-inclusive unity which developed inside France was reflected—though less quickly and completely—in Algiers. The twenty-seven Communist deputies who had been jailed under Daladier’s anti-Communist laws (and who had exposed the anti-French plot at the famous public trial of March, 1940) were released from a North African jail in February, 1943. In June, 1943, the anti-Communist laws were revoked and in early April, 1944, the resistance movement inside France won a measure of recognition in De Gaulle’s cabinet when the Communists, Fernand Grenier and Francois Billoux, were appointed commissioners.

Upon taking office, the two Communists declared: “To carry out the will of the people fighting in France against invaders and traitors, everything must be subordinated to the war. The interests of France at war require that the Communist Party be represented on the French National Committee of Liberation [later called Provisional Government]....We remain under the constant and vigilant control of the people of France.”

The Price of Freedom

The mounting resistance and unity of the vast majority of Frenchmen, were achieved at the cost of great suffering. Some 100,000 Communists were killed in the struggle. They were executed by Germans or Vichyites; they died in jails or prison camps. The Communists were proud that the Nazis called them Public Enemy No. 1. The French people speak respectfully today of them as the Parti des Fusillés—Party of the Executed.

The Communists taught the people how to remain silent under torture, how to safeguard their underground organization, and how to die, if need be, with a heroism bringing inspiration and courage to others.

Gabriel Péri's last words were inscribed on millions of leaflets and engraved in millions of hearts: "“May my friends know that I remained loyal to the ideal of my life; may, my compatriots know that I die so that France may live. I examine my conscience for the last time. It is positive, I would follow the same road if I could begin my life anew. I still believe, this night, as my dear friend Paul Vaillant-Couturier said so truly, ‘Communism is the world’s youth’ and prepares the ‘tomorrows that sing.’ I feel I have the strength to face death. Farewell. And may France live!”

When the fighters of the Corsican Liberation Front liberated their island in advance of the Allied armies, the French people were further inspired to keep on struggling despite sorrows and setbacks. There was the long delay in the second front; the failure to deliver arms to the F.T.P. while Allied arms fell into the hands of those who preferred to wait for outside rescue—or worse; there was the long period when the Allies, except the Soviet Union, did not recognize the legality of De Gaulle's government, and even dealt with Vichy and “repentant” Vichyites. But the people of France kept on preparing for a national insurrection to coincide with the Allied landings.

After June 6, 1944, as American, British and Gaullist troops battled on the Normandy and Mediterranean coast, the people of France arose. The F.F.I. and local committees of Liberation went into action, liberating most of France. During the third week of August, Paris was freed by her people, led by the National Council of Resistance and the Paris Committee of Liberation.

Today's Tasks

The De Gaulle government, having won de facto recognition from the Allies, returned to Paris. The center of gravity, in French politics, shifted to the resistance movement, to the strongest, most reliable and progressive elements in

France, of which the Communist Party, of course, remains a respected and powerful part.

The government, reorganized to include more resistance representatives, is not yet as fully in the image of united France as is the National Council of Resistance. The Consultative Assembly, now predominantly made up of resistance forces, wields important influence.

The National Resistance Council remains in existence to guard the liberty so dearly won.

The French Communist Party recently republished the full program adopted by the Resistance Council in March, 1944, because it "is not yet known to the majority of Frenchmen." The program includes:

Punishment of the traitors, driving from government office and professional life all who dickered with the enemy or were actively associated with the policy of the collaboration governments;

Confiscation of wealth of traitors and black marketeers, introduction of a progressive tax on war profits and profits obtained to the detriment of the people and the nation....;

Establishment of real economic and social democracy, which implies driving out the big economic and financial combines from leadership of the nation's economy.

Intensification of national production according to a plan decided upon by the state after consultation with representatives of all elements of production;

Return to the nation of all the huge, monopolistically-owned means of production, which are the fruit of joint labor, the sources of power, the wealth of the subsoil, the insurance companies and big banks;

Development of and support for buying and selling cooperatives in agriculture and handicrafts;

The right of working people with necessary qualifications to rise to positions of leadership and management in an enterprise; participation of workers in direction of national economy.

A series of demands dealt with wages, hours, social security for workers and farmers, price control and stabilization, benefits for victims of fascist terror, the aged and children, and the extension of all rights to colonial populations.

This program was approved by General de Gaulle, and the Communist Party in republishing it, urged members to help the government put it into effect.

To some extent this is being done. A few factories have been confiscated from traitorous owners. These are placed under labor-management committees which, as in the case of the Acieries du Nord in Bordeaux, are proving capable of increasing production many fold. Mines have been nationalized. Some of the outstanding traitors have been tried and executed. A plan to dissolve the F.F.I. was defeated and its men and officers are being slowly incorporated into the regular army, officers retaining the ranks won in struggle.

A Stony Road

Still there are obstacles on the road to full freedom. Many traitors go free. The Patriot Guard, formed by the National Council of Resistance to root out traitors was summarily disbanded by De Gaulle and his Socialist Minister of Interior, Adrien Tixier, though the regular police had not been cleansed of Vichy spies. (A compromise was worked out, after the National Resistance Council protested, whereby the Patriot Guard enters the regular police force without its arms, which are kept with local mayors for emergency use.)

Many factory owners who kept the shops working for Hitler's war machine are not only at large but often manage to keep their factories shut. The purge has been even less effective in North Africa where the "Cent Seigneurs"—feudal counterpart of the treacherous 200 families—dally with Vichyites and Nazis and prepare to offer North Africa as a

base for assault upon the reborn republic. Fascist Cagouards permeate the government's secret service.

Municipal elections, called for April before the purge will have been thoroughly completed and before some two million Frenchmen in German prisons and forced labor battalions return—threaten to shake national unity. Both the Communists and the Committees of Liberation, which held their first national convention in Paris early in December, propose that the elections be postponed because unity is as necessary to reconstruction as it was to liberation. Their proposal has thus far been officially discouraged.

Unity Reaffirmed

Those Vichyites who find themselves so surprisingly out of jail are acquiring a new boldness. They spread fanciful rumors about the Communists and “unruly” F.F.I. creating a state of terror in the south. Their slanders are relayed to the United States by such correspondents as Harold Callender of the New York Times.

The French men and women of the Resistance are rejecting these provocations. Francois Mauriac, Catholic resistance leader, wrote: “The attitude of the Republican members of the Resistance toward the Communist Party is enlightened by the fact that all anti-Communist movements, any party set against Communism, would rally the scarce fascist forces in the country. It would be absurd, abominable, to attribute suspicious intentions, unavowed aims to the resistance members. Are they not comrades and heirs of those who died for liberty?”

And Daniel Mayer, secretary of the Socialist Party, said at a meeting in Paris in September that his party would “oppose with all our strength those who would wish or would permit an anti-Communist bloc to be formed.”

France has learned the lesson explained by the Communists during the underground period in a pamphlet

entitled, *The National Policy of the French Communist Party*: “““Those who divided Frenchmen by brandishing slogans of anti-Communism are today in the service of Hitler against France. Anti-Communism leads to treason.”

The Communists of France do not set themselves apart from other sections of the resistance; on the contrary they are first to insist on continued unity on a non-Socialist program acceptable to all. This, they assert, is necessary for France's rebirth as a great, free nation.

Denying that Communists intend to socialize enterprises, Benoit Frachon, C.G.T. secretary and leading Communist, told United Press on September 30, 1944: “Our idea is simply to take appropriate means to make war. We don't want to divide everybody's property and we don't want to wreck property.” Jacques Duclos in an interview with the *New York Times* on November 22 said that as for agriculture, the Communists favor strengthening the individual peasant by government aid. In other words, they are pressing to have the government's own program carried out more fully.

“Let us make war” was Maurice Thorez' main plea on November 30, 1944, when he returned to France from exile. He said that 600,000 unemployed, and factories which worked for the Germans, must now work for the Allied war effort. He scored “great employers who now, as in 1936, paralyze the economic life of the country so as to subdue the people, and who have accomplices in the national administration.” He demanded a ruthless purge of Munichmen. He suggested that Socialists and Communists unite in one great workers party.

The success of the patriotic program proposed by the Communists is of vital interest to the United States, for France, the most advanced country in Western Europe, is also key to its progress.

Conclusion of the French-Soviet 20-year pact on December 10, 1944, marks France's resumption of a major responsibility for the maintenance of European peace. And as

Thorez remarked when De Gaulle started out to Moscow, “The French-Soviet alliance does not exclude an alliance with Britain and the United States, but there must be no more Munichs under the form of blocs or any other form.”

France must go forward. France must eliminate traitors and the cartels which were Hitler’s real secret weapon. France must be a partner in the rebuilding of a world from which all fascism is eliminated. Without her, the coalition itself cannot be stabilized.

ITALY: TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE

FOR MANY YEARS Italy was plunged into darkness. Fascist, black-shirted squadristi, ruled with weapons of terror, torture, castor oil. The jails and detention isles were filled with



Palmiro Togliatti

men and women of the working class who had tried to stem the counter-revolution of the great landowners, the high placed financiers who feared the people and spawned a Mussolini.

The outside world knew little of the struggle going on inside Italy. Many praised the Duce who so nobly kept the trains on schedule. Many disdained the people and said Italians were naturally slavish, blindly obedient, lazy.

When Mussolini's legions fought so badly in Spain, doubters claimed that their point was proved. They paid no heed to the living answer: the anti-fascists of the Garibaldi Brigade fighting bravely and well alongside the democratic people of Spain against the Italo-German intervention.

Again, when Italy entered Hitler's war of world conquest, scorners attributed the mass surrendering of Italian troops to cowardice. They did not see the truth: that the Italian masses had no stomach for fascist war.

And so they were surprised when, suddenly it seemed, the Italian people rose up to fight fascism, to join hands with the democratic nations.

A National Committee of Liberation sprang to life, made up of Communist, Socialist, Christian Democratic, Actionist, Liberal and Labor Democratic Parties. In March, 1943, the

workers of Milan, Turin, all the great industrial centers of the north, came out three million strong in general strike. On July 25, 1943, with Allied armies poised in North Africa and Sicily to invade the Italian mainland, Mussolini was forced to abdicate. And on September 8, 1943, a new Italy, giving painful birth to a new democracy, signed an armistice with the Allies and claimed its place in the ranks of free nations fighting Hitler. The National Committee of Liberation today is the driving force behind Italy's anti-fascist government.

Italian partisans were responsible during this past year for killing or capturing 40 per cent of all German and fascist troops eliminated in Italy. This contribution to victory, ignored by most of the American press, was possible only because unity had been forged in Italy under the most difficult conditions, under the nose of the Ovra and the Gestapo.

This unity was long in the forging. And history will record that it was finally achieved only because the Communist Party never wearied in its quest.

How It Began

Before the March on Rome, in 1920 and 1921, fascisti were roaming as terror bands. The bourgeois world, as Mario Montagnana writes in his stirring memoirs, *Under the Guidance of Gramsci*, "smiled, indulgent, and applauded enthusiastic."

Then the Communists, led by Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti (Ercoli) urged: meet force with force, arms with arms. "They turned to the Socialist Party for unity, but the Socialist leaders of that time told the people, in the words of Filippo Turati, 'Be good, be saintly, be cowardly.'"

And because the working class movement was weak and divided, fascism triumphed.

For many years the Italian Communist Party was the only organized underground group to oppose fascist terror. Tens

of thousands of its members—the great leader Antonio Gramsci among them—were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, murdered. Of the 140,000 political prisoners sentenced by Mussolini's courts, 85 per cent were Communists.

The Communists were firm and faithful to their mission of liberating Italy from the gang of thugs who ruled. They printed underground newspapers, pamphlets. They organized strikes and slowdowns.' They led the people to demonstrate openly, courageously against the wars of conquest in Ethiopia, Spain, Albania. They, who learned from the accumulated wisdom of workers' movements everywhere, advised the people how to protect themselves, and how, if arrested, never to betray the secrets of the underground.

Italy's coalition government today has the support and confidence of the people largely because there are in it such men as Palmiro Togliatti, secretary of the Communist Party and now Vice Premier, and because the Communist Party never once compromised with fascism or betrayed the people's trust. And this is also why the Communists have grown to be Italy's largest political movement, with 300,000 members of the Party and 85,000 of the Youth League in the liberated areas alone.

Together with the Socialist Party, the Communists were able to hold the largest political demonstration in Italy's modern history. On Sunday, November 12, 1944, 80,000 people paraded to the ancient Palatine stadium, singing *Bandiera Rossa*, the *Garibaldi Hymn* and the *Internationale*. Mussolini in his heyday never mustered more than a meager 20,000 to his much-publicized balcony discourses.

Most important of all, by last summer, the Communists had organized 180,000 men—that is, 60 of the 75 *Garibaldi* brigades—fighting Nazis in the occupied north. Latest report is that there now are 120 *Garibaldi Brigades*. High in mountain fastnesses they conduct training schools in sabotage and guerrilla warfare. They fight with arms seized at untold cost from the foe.

In the Socialist Party a new leadership emerged which was prepared to take its place in the fight for freedom. And the Communist Party, in 1935, first stretched its hand to Pietro Nenni, Socialist Party secretary, and said: let us unite.

Once the Communists and Socialists had agreed on a common program of struggle, more than half the battle for national unity against fascism was won. The first steps could then be taken for unity of all anti-fascist forces. In October, 1941, the first joint appeal to the people of Italy was issued by a group which later became known as the Italian National Committee of Liberation.

This unity was immeasurably reinforced in June, 1944, when Socialist, Communist and Catholic trade unions merged to form a single Italian General Confederation of Labor (C.G.I.L.). The C.G.I.L. is headed by Giuseppe di Vittorio, Communist, Oreste Lizzadri, Socialist and Achille Grandi, Catholic, it now has more than one million members.

Mussolini's most powerful weapon—the legend that Communists are enemies of the nation and of Christianity—had been rejected. Once cleansed of anti-Communist poison, the people found a new strength, a united strength which led to the overthrow of the dictator, and is leading today to a new Italy, equal and respected in the family of United Nations.

Workers and the Nation

The workers are the core of that united strength.

“The working class,” said Togliatti on September 29, 1944, “abandoning its past role of criticism and stimulus to the democratic forces, today, side by side with other democratic forces, intends to assume, itself, the leading function in the struggle for the liberation of the country and the reconstruction of a democratic regime.”

“Liberation and the reconstruction of a democratic regime.” This is not the aim of the working class alone, but of the whole nation. It is the aim of each Italian who hates Hitler

and yearns for freedom and a better life of plenty. That is why the coalition inside Italy, like that greater coalition among nations, can endure.

The working class parties, bound now in a pact of action and considering eventual merger, are stepping forward to save Italy from the serious difficulties with which she is beset.

These difficulties exist first of all, according to Togliatti, because “the downfall of fascism occurred in such a way that it did not permit the immediate and complete elimination of those responsible for fascism. These are trying to gather their forces and reconstruct an anti-democratic, reactionary Italy, once again pregnant with fascism.”

Fascism's Counter-Offensive

The army in liberated Italy, recently increased to six divisions, remains largely in reactionary, monarchist hands. Fascists have not been purged from many key posts in police and administration. “Thousands of them manipulate prices to their advantage and run a vast black market. Fascist-minded employers ignore the government’s orders relative to wages and working conditions, refuse to abide by the decreed wage increase—and get away with it. When peasants associations, given the right by law to take over untilled lands and lands confiscated from fascist criminals, go to take possession, carabinieri often rout them with gunfire. Fascist provocateurs have launched a violent campaign to separate Sicily from the Italian nation.

Efforts of the Italian anti-fascist government to halt this brazen fascist counter-offensive are stymied by the Allied Commission (the word “control” was dropped with no apparent effect), operating under harsh armistice terms not yet made public.

Foreign forces who hate to see a democratic Italy emerge, and want an Italy, weakened by civil war to be an easy target

for colonialization, give support, direct or indirect, to the fascists and monarchists.

It is self-evident that the more Germans the Italian partisans can kill, the fewer American and British boys will die in the frontal attack. Yet in the summer of 1944, partisans were instructed to undertake large scale activity and arms were promised, but never arrived. When the Garibaldi Brigades were already committed to battle, the order arrived from the Allied command, under British Gen. Sir Harold Alexander: lay low—return to your homes. Thus the Allied command virtually condemned thousands of brave men to death. (When American General Mark Clark replaced Alexander this order was “re-interpreted” —really reversed—and support was promised the partisan forces.)

Partisans who often liberated towns before Allied troops arrived have been disarmed by the Allied Military Government, although fascists still remain at large. Sometimes even their Garibaldi red shirts—traditional symbol of the Italian fighter for freedom—have been torn from their backs by officials who fear “Communism” in everything beloved of and sacred to the common people.

A William C. Bullitt, chumming in Rome with fascist scoundrels, is only one of those who call for Anglo-American war against the Soviet Union to “save” Italy from “Sovietization.” |

Reactionaries, Italian and foreign, try to oust the working class parties from the government coalition. “They hint that such a move would be pleasing to England and the United States, thus beneficial economically. British interference of this ilk, repudiated by the United States State Department, was the reason for the Italian government crisis early in December, 1944.

Communists Foil Plot

While the Committee of National Liberation has agreed to postpone the issue of Republic versus Monarchy until after the war, the bulk of Italians oppose the Monarchy and they want a thorough house-cleaning of fascist influence. So when it became known that Premier Ivanoe Bonomi was lending himself, under British impulsion, to monarchial maneuvers and was preparing to abolish the Purge Commission, the cabinet resigned. The British vetoed Count Carlo Sforza, head of the Purge Commission, as Foreign Minister and thus caused his entire Actionist Party to remain outside the government. The Socialist Party also chose to remain outside the new Bonomi cabinet, whose formation on the basis of four parties of the six-party National Liberation Committee was announced on December 10.

The Communists, however, decided to participate in the government, even though it was weakened by outside control and even though the Socialists had chosen otherwise.

They made this decision because: 1. Premier Bonomi accepted the program of the Committee of Liberation, recognized the Committee in the north as the only legal governing power there, and appointed Communist Mauro Scoccimaro to a new post of Minister for Occupied Territories—which means that increased aid will henceforth go to the partisans and Liberation Committees in the north.

2. Explaining that the Communists regretted being in a government from which the Socialists are absent, *l'Unitá*, Communist daily, said on December 8:

"We would not accept the alternative that the working class be left out of the government, since certainly it is the working class that has a leading function and position in the struggle for the liberation and the democratic reconstruction of our country.

"All measures have been taken, however, to preserve, strengthen and even enlarge our unity with our Socialist

comrades. It is possible that we will have to face many difficulties. We shall overcome them easily. It is also possible that our Party will be from time to time forced to carry burdens and responsibilities for two. We will do so, and for this our Party has sufficient will and forces.”

Togliatti, who was appointed Vice Premier, added to this that the Communists in the cabinet will also feel in a sense that they represent the interests of the Action, as well as the Socialist, Party.

Thus this crisis was solved, and the attempt to foist reactionary, monarchist rulers on the Italian people failed, thanks in large measure to the refusal of the Communists to permit the destruction of national unity and their patient statesmanship under severe provocation. “The world press has been compelled to acknowledge the Communists’ leadership in resolving this difficult situation.

However, unless the reactionary maneuvers are stopped once and for all, they may yet provoke chaos in Italy, which would threaten not Italy alone, but the entire coalition.

The United States State Department took a major step toward strengthening Italian democracy when it disassociated itself on December 5 from the British move to veto Sforza and reaffirmed Italy’s right to settle its own problems. This stand is in keeping with the Moscow Conference declaration on November 1, 1943, that Italian democracy should be encouraged.

Now America must take the initiative to recognize Italy as an ally, provide lend-lease ‘assistance, especially for the partisans, and demand an end of the suffocating control which makes it next to impossible for Italians to purge and rebuild their own land.

SPAIN: "IT IS BETTER TO DIE ON YOUR FEET THAN TO LIVE ON YOUR KNEES"

IT MUST NOT be forgotten that Spain is today the scene of a tremendous liberation movement; that national unity against fascism has been achieved inside Spain to an even greater degree than during those | heroic years of battle when the Spanish people stood almost alone to stem the fascist onslaught in Europe. Hitler, in the last analysis, will not be defeated until Spain is no longer a refuge and breeding ground of Hitlerism and the Spanish people win the democratic republic for which they have been fighting for more than eight years.

Recall the history of the Spanish Popular Front. The Spanish Communist Party first raised the question of unifying all anti-fascist forces to defeat a reactionary government. The "Frente Popular" was formed; won a resounding electoral victory in February, 1936. But this did not eliminate the danger of fascism. As Jose Diaz, late beloved general secretary of the Communist Party warned on June 1, 1936: "The government must act against reaction and fascism which are today encouraged.... The government must oust monarchist and fascist leaders from the army.... It is shameful that such clearly monarchist regiments exist as Franco's and Goded's."

The young Republic did not heed the Communists' warning. Franco's uprising began on July 18, 1936, and most of the army was under his control. Hitler and Mussolini intervened openly to achieve their first European conquest. England, America and France, following the blind policy of



Dolores Ibarruri

"non-intervention" and "neutrality" did not realize that Madrid could become the tomb of fascism; did not recognize that Spain was the first round of a fascist attack on all lands.

The odds against the young Republic seemed almost insuperable. The Soviet Union, separated by great distances, hampered by the "non-intervention" blockade of Spain, sent what supplies she could. Some thousands of anti-fascist fighters from all lands joined in the International Brigades.

And the people of Spain battled against fascism for almost three years.

This they could do because the Republic was based on a broad unity ranging from Communists to the Catholics of the Basque country; because the Republic offered new horizons in education, working conditions, democracy. "This they could do because the Frente Popular had within it a solid core of working class unity—unity between Communists and Socialists; a working agreement—between the two trade union confederations—U.G.T. and C.N.T.

No Pasaran!

The Spanish people's long resistance to fascism drew inspiration and guidance from the Communist Party of Spain. When in November, 1936, the enemy was at the very gates of Madrid, the Communists brought out the working people of the city to fight behind crude barricades, with scarce arms. In the words of La Pasionaria—Dolores Ibarruri—they taught the people that: "It is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees." Those words have since buoyed up peoples of all the occupied lands during the struggle against Hitlerism.

"The Communist Party," Diaz wrote in *Mundo Obrero*, Party newspaper which has never ceased publication to this day, "has not and cannot have any interests apart from those of the entire people. Our Party has never thought that the result of this war can be the installation of a Communist regime. If the working masses, the peasants and petty

bourgeois follow us and love us, it is because they know we are the firmest defenders of national independence, liberty and the Republican constitution.... Our Party will never do anything that would divide the people; rather it fights with all its strength, since the beginning of the war, to unite them, to unite all Spaniards in the struggle for liberty and independence.”

In March, 1939, Madrid the unconquerable was betrayed from within. Craven Social Democrats—Casado, Besteiro, Wenceslao Carrillo—decided they would rather “live on their knees.” The unity of the Frente Popular was broken. The gates of the capital were opened to Franco and his Nazi-Fascist masters.

All Spain was occupied by the enemy; the jails overflowed with half a million of the best fighters; the executioner murdered more men and women than had been killed in the years of open battle.

Bloody But Unbeaten

Nevertheless, the anti-Franco, anti-Hitler unity betrayed in 1939 has been re-forged. Today it is more complete than before. The Supreme Council of National Union (Junta Suprema) includes Catholics who had opposed the Republic and even backed Franco; it includes men who once fought in the ranks of Franco’s army.

To reach this new patriotic, national unity great obstacles had to be overcome. Confusion followed the Casado coup. Enemies of unity poisoned the anti-fascist camp.

In September, 1942, when Franco, disappointed with the lack of recruits for the Blue Division, was intending to join openly in Hitler’s attack on the U.S.S.R., the Communist Party’s famous manifesto posed the essential problem:

“We must put aside the differences, hatreds and passions which have divided us until now, to put above all else the

supreme interest of Spain and save our country from the war and death into which Franco and the Falange seek to plunge it. To achieve this unity in the fight for Spain's salvation, the past must not be an obstacle. The basis on which unity can be built lies in the answer one gives to these pressing questions:

For or against the life of the people? For or against the existence of Spain as an independent State? For or against using the blood of the Spanish people to serve Germany's imperialist aims? There is not and cannot be today any other dividing line among Spaniards. On the one hand, Hitler's agents. On the other, patriots of whatever social origin, political or religious conviction who place above all other interests the vital interests of the nation."

"The call to national unity by the Spanish Communist Party," Dolores Ibarruri wrote in February, 1943, "has deprived the Falangists of their fundamental point of departure in their war policy: the spectre of Communism." Franco had tried to convince Spaniards that no road was open to them other than, that of the Falange, she explained, but the Communists showed that "national unity of all patriots leads to the life and prosperity of the country."

Junta Suprema

The Junta Suprema was born in September, 1943. Republicans, Socialists, Communists; Catalonians, Basques; U.G.T. and C.N.T., the two trade union federations, invited Spaniards "of other creeds, especially Catholics, Monarchists and the army, to participate with us in the Junta Suprema to overthrow Franco and the Falange and institute a government of national unity and Spain's salvation."

The program consisted of five points: (1) to break the ties that bind Spain to the Axis; (2) to achieve amnesty, freedom of thought, press, association, assembly and worship; (3) to

clean out the Falangists from the state apparatus, especially the army; (4) to secure bread and work for all, which will guarantee the elementary conditions of life basic to human existence; (5) to lay the ground for holding as quickly as possible democratic elections for a constituent assembly to which the government of national union will report and which will promulgate a constitution of liberty, independence and prosperity for Spain.

In November, 1943, political leaders of the Spanish Catholics adhered to this program and a few days after the Normandy landings the Popular Catholic Party and the Catholic Agrarian Unions joined the Junta Suprema, thus breaking large sections of conservative opinion away from the Falange.

"The present agreement is not of a temporary nature," T. G. Zamudio pointed out in December, 1944: "It must be extended into the period of rehabilitation and reconstruction of Spain.... It constitutes the guarantee that all honest citizens will work together to carry out these great tasks for the future."

The Junta Suprema has strengthened and united the fighting guerrilla units which ever since Franco's uprising have fought in the mountains of Asturias, Galicia, Leon, Santander; a High Guerrilla Command, established in September, 1944, is forming guerrilla regiments throughout Spain.

In February, 1944, the Communist Party of Spain called on all Spaniards to prepare from that day forth for 'a victorious national insurrection.' Its fighting appeal emphasized the patriotic duty of all Spaniards to sabotage and destroy the Spanish branch of Hitler's war machine and counteract Franco's acts of war against the United Nations. "We are stronger than they and we can win," said the manifesto. "We will defeat them if all the anti-Franco forces join in the struggle, united from this moment. All depends on our daring, courage, decision."

Since that time Spaniards have intensified their sabotage of industry, of Spain's important trans-shipments and exports to Hitler. They have always considered themselves to be part of the United Nations—as evidenced so strikingly by the two-day uprising in Malaga when the invasion of North Africa was believed to be the prelude to Spain's liberation; and by the Galician fishermen who slept on the beaches for two years, hoping to be the first in line to receive Allied guns when the Allies landed to help free Spain.

They Died Fighting

Hundreds of thousands have died in this struggle. The Communist martyrs, as in all occupied lands, are more numerous because they were foremost in the struggle for unity and democratic victory. Remember, for example, Isidoro Diegues, construction worker, secretary of the Madrid Communist Party, and Jesus Larranaga, Basque steel worker, leading Communist. Both these men had found refuge in America, both returned to Spain to take part in the underground struggle. Both were betrayed, captured.

When their turn came in open court, Larranaga spoke first. A witness described the scene: "He said the Communist Party was continuing to fight fascist terror, without vacillation, fear or panic until the complete destruction of the regime of hunger and poverty, exploitation and terror. Smiling, he told them that they 'should learn to die as the Communists do, when their turn comes which will be very soon.'" He explained the policy of national unity and made an ardent defense of the Soviet Union and the democracies. Such was the emotion produced by Larranaga's accusing words that the judge had to demand that the public demonstration cease and threatened to clear the court which had been transformed from a trial against 'traitors' to a tribune for the Communist Party."

Plots Against Free Spain

“It is evident,” commented Vicente Uribe, Communist leader and former Agriculture Minister of the Republican Government, “that there is a contradiction between the spirit and acts of Spanish patriots and what is being brewed in certain international circles in the United Nations in regard to Falangism.”

America and Britain, by continuing diplomatic and trade relations with Franco, by rubbing shoulders with Franco’s agents at the Chicago Airways Conference and the Rye International Businessmen’s Conference, are betraying the Spanish people. Furthermore, by accepting Franco’s fiction of neutrality, even welcoming his protestations that he is not fascist— “only” anti-Communist—we are defeating our own purpose of eliminating Hitlerism from the world; and especially the danger of fascism from this Hemisphere where Franco’s agents spread its germ.

The Spanish people are facing tremendous odds, not only because Hitler seeks desperately to bolster Franco for his own impending hour of need—but because appeasement has hindered the democratic struggle from the beginning.

All kinds of reactionary plots to cheat the Spanish people are being fostered. Diego Martinez Barrio and Indalecio Prieto—politicians who betrayed and deserted their land when they were needed—get an eager hearing for their plan to form a government-in-exile which would ignore the Junta Suprema and the great struggle inside Spain. They dicker, through intermediaries like Miguel Maura, with Franco’s emissaries. They want Franco to give way voluntarily and would then establish an interim regime, perhaps a monarchy, which would continue fascism under some other name. Some forces within Franco’s regime agree that this might be a clever way out of the dilemma in the event of Hitler’s fall; and some support is apparently expected from the same forces in Great Britain which have gone out on a limb to support the reactionary King of Greece.

Dr. Juan Negrin, Premier of the last Republican Government, has broken almost eight years of silence in his London refuge to denounce such maneuvers and to attempt to unify the various democratic groups among the exiles behind a possible government-in-exile.

“It is clear that any proposal or act intended to frustrate exercise of democracy in our country, after the fall of Franco, will lead to nothing but the continuation of the civil war in Spain,” Uribe warned in May, 1944. “The people are not fighting so that another dictatorship can be imposed with the help of the bayonets of certain foreign circles. We have confidence in the people and that all anti-democratic maneuvers will fail.”

Today the people of Spain are in the midst of increasing battles. Allied victory in France cut Franco’s access to his Nazi master; the divisions Hitler maintained across the Pyrenees have been withdrawn, though the Gestapo still is supreme in Spain, as even Lord Templewood, Sir Samuel Hoare, former British Ambassador to Spain and a noted appeaser, felt it necessary to admit in December, 1944.

The Junta Suprema declared, soon after D-Day: “The hour of the second front is the hour of the progressive development of a national uprising in Spain.”

The U.S. Congress of Industrial Organizations, meeting in November, 1944, replied: “The people of Spain shall be protected and assisted in their desire for freedom and a democratic government.”

AGREEMENTS AND CONFLICTS

WHERE THE RESISTANCE movements are strong enough to carry through their essential program of eliminating fascism altogether—as in Yugoslavia, and, on the whole, in France—there is no need to fear “civil strife” and resultant international disturbances.

But there are obstacles to the total purge of fascism from certain countries; there are differences among the Big Three as to how liberating armies should conduct themselves.

We must not lose sight of the fact, however, as Premier Joseph Stalin said on November 7, 1944, twenty-seventh anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, that:

“The surprising thing is not that differences exist, but that there are so few of them and that as a rule, in practically every case, they are resolved in a spirit of unity and coordination among the three great powers.”

Belgium

Differences, not yet solved, exist as we have seen in Greece, Italy and Spain. Another such danger spot is in Belgium, where the resistance forces played an important role in freeing their land—as proved by the rapid, almost unopposed Allied advance.

The Exile Government, headed by Premier Hubert Pierlot and upheld by such appeasement-minded Social Democrats as Paul-Henri Spaak, was brought back intact to the country and set up in power once more by the British authorities.

Pierlot made a minor concession to the resistance movement. He appointed two Communists and a Socialist as its representatives in the cabinet.

Essentially the government remained identical with the one whose long refusal to agree with France on a system of mutual defense is held largely responsible for Germany's swift

victory in May, 1940. Furthermore, this government, before leaving Belgium for its London retreat, instructed Belgian bankers and industrialists to collaborate with the Nazis by keeping production going. The Belgian people know all too well how faithfully these instructions were followed, for these employers thereafter betrayed patriot employees to the Gestapo.

While quislings still hold positions of power in state and industry, the Pierlot government arbitrarily demanded in November, 1944, that the resistance movement surrender its weapons. Resistance members of the cabinet resigned. Mass public protests were met with machine-gun fire backed by British tanks.

Because the Pierlot government opposed the popular will, and because Pierlot, unlike De Gaulle, has made no effort to transform his government in the image of the Resistance, the Belgian Communists have demanded that elections be held immediately to choose a representative regime.

As this pamphlet goes to press, the situation remains unsettled, and the resistance movement's offer to help stem the German counter-offensive has been refused.

Elsewhere in Western Europe

While Dutch Premier Pieter S. Gerbrandy has pledged to avoid a similar crisis in liberated Holland by assuring the Resistance full representation, it remains to be seen what will happen there. The same holds true for Denmark and western Norway. (In the far northern area around Kirkenes, Norwegian patriots have assumed all civil functions in friendly cooperation with the Red Army, to the expressed satisfaction of government officials.)

In all these countries there is a danger that the British government will seek to bolster quislings, to impose undemocratic regimes in a desperate effort to force western

Europe into its exclusive economic sphere, and guard its imperial trade 10ULES.

It is not within the scope of this pamphlet to discuss America's serious responsibility to halt such actions by the British—we must not only employ criticism, though an aroused public opinion and international censure are important—but we must allay Great Britain's not unjustified fear that she will be driven inexorably from all post-war markets by America's immeasurably strengthened capital.

Earl Browder, in his book *Teheran—Our Path in War and Peace*, explains the necessity of assuring Great Britain access to world markets within the democratic, United Nations framework. The recent bloody events in Greece and Belgium demonstrate that such an agreement is already overdue.

Poland

In Eastern Europe we see how the peoples' aspiration for freedom and plenty are being fulfilled as envisioned at Teheran.

Poland is being freed by the Red Army with the cooperation of the patriotic Polish Army under Generals Rola Zymierski and Zygmund Berling. Fighting partisans of the People's Army are doing their share behind enemy lines.



Boleslaw Bierut

The People's Army is the fighting arm of the Polish Committee of National Liberation which has now been transformed into a Provisional Government, with Boleslaw Bierut as President and Edouard Osubka-Morawski as Premier.

The Provisional Government, with headquarters in Lublin, represents the four mass parties in

liberated Poland — Workers, Socialist, Peasant and National Democratic.

Its program, already operative in liberated areas, includes the ruthless purge of traitors; breaking up of all large landed estates, except those of the Church; compulsory universal education; encouragement of small enterprise and nationalization of large industry.

This program, so similar to that, for instance, of the French Government, arises from the deep-rooted aspirations of the Polish people themselves. It is high time that disrupters who speak of Lublin as “Soviet-inspired” or a “Soviet tool” realize that Stalin means what he says when he speaks out for a “strong, free and independent Poland.”

It is the Polish “government-in-exile” which so long has vexed international relationships. The exiles, who have had the formal recognition of London and Washington, while Moscow recognizes the Provisional Government and the anti-Nazi underground, are mainly the feudal landlords and their hangers-on who crave acreage reincorporated into the Soviet Union in 1939.

Anti-Sovietism, anti-Communism is their chief stock in trade, as it is Hitler’s. Thus their small “Home Army” inside occupied Poland was instructed to resist the liberating Red Army’s advance and attack the Polish guerrilla forces. The list of its crimes against the Polish people—including General Bor’s ill-tamed, uncoordinated and irresponsible leadership of the tragic Warsaw uprising in the summer of 1944—is too long to repeat at a time when the exile government is bound to disappear from the international scene.

Prime Minister Churchill, on December 15, 1944, expressed agreement with the Soviet Union’s claim on Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands which Poland had seized from the young Soviet Republic in 1920. He also seconded the Soviet proposal that free Poland be strengthened, as a bastion against any future German plans of aggression, with lands confiscated from defeated Germany. Hysterics about

Soviet border demands having been the emigre government's chief method of disrupting Poland's democratic reconstruction—and incidentally of providing the Allies with a major unsolved difference—its fantastic career on the basis of an illegal and dictatorial constitution is drawing inevitably to a close.

The Former Satellites

In Romania, Bulgaria and Finland, on the basis of the armistice each of these former Hitler satellites signed with the Soviet Union, democracy is being reborn and fascism wholly rooted out in the course of fighting against Hitler at the side of the Red Army.

Bulgaria

The Bulgarian Kimon Georgieff government stems largely from the Fatherland Front—the united liberation movement which fought heroically since its formation in June, 1942, against Nazi and fascist domination and against Bulgaria's part in Hitler's wars of conquest.

Included are the Agrarian, Workers (Communist), Democratic, Socialist and Radical Parties, the cooperatives, democratic army officers and men, and such prominent Church leaders as the Metropolitan of Sofia.

Georgieff's cabinet has faithfully carried out armistice terms. War criminals have been arrested, anti-Jewish laws revoked, and basic democratic reforms instituted. Among these are separation of church from state, equal rights for women, distribution of land, democratization of the educational system.

Romania

A break with fascism, which had permeated its state apparatus as a result of the long ascendancy of the Iron Guard, has not come quickly in Romania. However, reactionaries who considered it opportune to participate in the anti-Nazi coalition at the last moment have not found the same powerful backing in Romania as in Italy.

The Soviet Union, responsible to see that armistice terms are carried out, made it clear that the first government which took shape after fascist Ion Antonescu's ouster and arrest, would have to cease anti-democratic policies or forfeit Allied support.

The Romanian Communist Party—which was already strong enough ten years ago to elect a Communist Mayor in Bucharest, though he was never permitted to take office—held a rally of some 50,000 workers in Bucharest at the beginning of October, 1944. 'The meeting demanded immediate democratization of the government, which was still headed by King Michael's right hand man. Constantin Sanatescu.

Like Italian Communists, Romanian Communists are not demanding' immediate abolition of the monarchy, regarding the war as the prior question, they too seek to build and strengthen working class unity as the core of a broad government coalition and guarantee of democracy.

At the beginning of December, 1944, the Romanian cabinet was reshuffled. Sanatescu was replaced as premier by Gen. Nicolai Padescu, and the National Democratic Front—which is similar to the Bulgarian Fatherland Front—received six cabinet posts while the old—and partly reactionary—Liberal and Peasant Parties received four posts apiece. The Democratic Front consists of Socialist and Communist Parties, the trade unions, the Agrarian Front and the Union of Patriots (mostly professional and intellectual anti-fascists).

A clean break with fascism is in the making.

Finland

In Finland, democratic political prisoners have been freed in accord with armistice terms. The Communist Party, banned in 1930, its ranks decimated by the Mannerheim terror, has been reconstituted. A Communist is now under-secretary of Labor. A Finland-Soviet Union Society, under the honorary presidency of the new premier, Juho Paasikivi, is becoming perhaps the dominant factor in the nation's life, and has seven members in the cabinet. A recently organized Democratic Front will play the central role in forthcoming elections.

Similar developments may be expected in Hungary, where a democratic Provisional Government was formed in Debrecen on December 21, 1944, by delegates freely elected in liberated territories.

Hungary

Establishment of this government is the fruit not only of the magnificent drive of the Red Army which has already freed most of Hungary, and is now in the process of liberating the capital, Budapest, but also to the contribution toward liberation made by the National Front of Independence, formed at the end of 1942. This movement includes the Independent Small Farmers, Democratic and Christian Parties, Peasants League, Trade Union Confederation, Christian and Social Trade Unions and the Social Democratic and Communist Parties which are working closely together.

Its program calls for the eradication of native fascism based on the feudal aristocracy. It is apparently a guiding influence in the new government whose cabinet includes Independent Agrarians, National Peasants, Social Democrats and Communists as well as non-party intellectuals and officers. "The premier is Bela Miklos, former commander of the First Hungarian Army, one of many officers and men who went over to the Red Army.

Count Michael Karolyi, now in London, the acknowledged leader of the world Free Hungary movement, endorsed the formation on liberated soil of a democratic Hungarian Government, based on the internal resistance movement. The Hungarian Council in Britain, which he heads, said on December 23:

“The aim of all Hungarians abroad must be to help Hungarians at home to secure democratic rights and to eliminate fascists and reactionary elements from State and other public institutions; to release and rehabilitate political prisoners who fought against fascism; to punish war criminals and those responsible for the country’s present plight; to distribute the big landed estates among the landless and the small holders; to promote a relationship of close friendship with Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R.; and to establish a new spirit of community with the Soviet Union and our neighbors hardened in the common fight.”

Austria

The problem of Austria is more complicated, for Austria has been to Hitler not simply a puppet or satellite, but a direct adjunct, of the German state, and a sharer of Germany’s war guilt.

An Austrian Freedom Front was established toward the end of 1942, and guerrilla warfare initiated with Marshal Tito’s help. But development of united resistance faces special obstacles.

The working class has been seriously confused by the support Social Democratic leaders gave to the idea that Austria lacked “vital capacity” as a nation; and who even—as did ex-Chancellor Karl Renner—welcomed Hitler’s Anschluss in 1938. as “historic progress.”

Furthermore, the majority of Austrian industrialists, and even many small businessmen, have been won over to Hitler by a share in his war profits. Austria is an arsenal for Hitler.

Austrians willingly entered Hitler's army and even entertained imperialist ambitions.

The Moscow Conference, declaring on December 1, 1943, that Austria should be a free and independent nation, stressed that Austria's future depends on her will to fight for her own freedom.

The Freedom Front—which includes Catholics, Communists, members of the Peasants League, trade unions and Social Democrats—is undertaking to meet this challenge. Austrian officers and soldiers in the German Army have formed secret committees, and mutinies have occurred. There is guerrilla fighting in the south of Carinthia and Styria. There have been sabotage and strikes.

Many brave men and women have fallen in the struggle to break Austria away from Hitler's bonds, to prove that Austria is indeed a free nation.

Just as the Austrian Communist and Social Democratic fighters thrilled the world when they fought for four days in February, 1934, to stem the advance of Dolfuss' clerico-fascism, so the Communist Ferdinand Strasser inspired millions in 1942 when, sentenced for sabotage, he went to his death saying:

“I have but one wish: that all Austrians join hands over my grave—the workers, peasants and townsfolk—that they unite in the struggle for a free and independent Austria.”

As this pamphlet goes to press, the Red Army nears Austria. The ability of Austrians to throw off all pan-Germanism, all tendencies to wait and let others strike the liberating blow, all anti-Communist divisive influences, is about to meet the decisive test.

Czechoslovakia

The story of Czechoslovakia's anti-Nazi struggle is outstanding because, of all countries on the U.S.S.R.'s western border, Czechoslovakia alone withstood all attempts to make



Klement Gottwald

her a partner in anti-Soviet aggression or intrigue. Although the Czechoslovak government, headed by President Eduard Benes, is in no sense socialist, it remained faithful to the one country which was prepared before Munich and before the Nazis marched into Prague in March, 1939, to fulfill its pledge of mutual defense.

Exiled in London, the Benes government on the whole has remained close to the underground struggle, and has made significant contributions to its development.

Most important of these were the 20-year Czechoslovak-Soviet mutual assistance treaty of December, 1943; Benes' appeal to the Czechoslovak people in February, 1944, to break with all tendencies to wait for outside aid and strike a blow for their own freedom; and the democratic approach to nationality questions vexing the Republic since its founding in 1918.

Hailing the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty, Benes told the Czechoslovak National Council in London that it means future cooperation against any future German "Drang nach Osten" for "Lebensraum"; lasting friendship plus 'extensive economic cooperation,' which entails a "new economic independence, especially an independence from Germany and her future influence"; and the prevention "once and for all of the possibility of a repetition of Munich."

In the same speech Benes appealed for armed struggle against the Nazis. This is a policy for which Czechoslovak Communists, headed by Klement Gottwald who is now in Moscow, had been pressing from the beginning.

In September, 1944, completely breaking with all tendencies to wait for rescue, the Slovak people, guided by an all-inclusive Slovak National Council, rose up and—reinforced by mass desertions from the puppet Slovak

army—struck telling blows against the invader, liberating one third of Slovakia.

While the liberation forces were driven temporarily back into the mountains, their courageous action has profound meaning in the development of open struggle throughout Czechoslovakia—to coincide with the Red Army's advance which, at this writing, has already freed the Carpatho-Ukraine and parts of Slovakia.

By agreement, the Red Army immediately relinquishes civil administration in liberated areas to the Czechoslovak government, represented by a delegation headed by Frantisek Nemeck, a leading trade unionist. The delegation, in turn, vests powers directly in the Slovak National Council and in newly-elected liberation councils of the Carpatho-Ukrainians. The same plan exists for the Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia when they are freed. The Benes government has further pledged to resign when Czechoslovakia is fully liberated and re-vamp the government on the basis of Czech, Slovak and Carpatho-Ukrainian resistance movements. Elections are to be held without delay.

The Communist Party cooperates with the Benes government. Five Communists are members of the State Council, or exile parliament. The Communists so far have not entered the cabinet as some differences still exist between them and Benes, although the chief of these—Benes' earlier reluctance to call for armed struggle—has been overcome.

One remaining question is that of long term government policy toward Slovak aspirations for autonomy. They want autonomy within the framework of the Czechoslovak nation—'without a hyphen,' as Laco Novomesky, Slovak Communist leader, told Ralph Parker of the Field Publications on December 16, 1944.

Another problem is that questionable elements—even persons who willingly capitulated to Hitler after Munich—have crept into several high positions in the exile government.

The hard-rock basis of the Slovak National Council is the working class bloc—which was formed during the uprising by the merging of the three working class parties—Communist, Social Democrat and Czech Socialist. Other participants belong to the Democratic Bloc, and one of these, an Agrarian and former Minister for Slovakia, Dr. Vavro Srober, is Council president. The Council passes laws, arrests and tries traitors, handles questions of industry and land reform.

In the Carpatho-Ukraine, now completely freed, partisan warfare was developed earlier and more fully. This is partly explained by the fact that in this section before the war, the Communist Party used to receive 80 per cent of the vote in some cities. And the Czechoslovak Communist Party—like the other Communist organizations throughout Europe—was the only party prepared from the start to conduct underground operations against the enemy.

It is hard to say just what activity is developing in Bohemia and Moravia because the Nazi terror in these provinces is so intense that news does not get out.

With the Red Army today penetrating ever more deeply into Slovakia, aided by Partisan activities which never slackened, despite temporary setbacks, the complete liberation of Czechoslovakia is not far off. It looks now as though the Czechoslovak government, based faithfully on the resistance movements, is going to provide a model of democratic reconstruction.

E Pluribus Unum

From this narrative certain facts stand out, certain similarities between the peoples of the many different liberated lands, and lands still fighting for their freedom.

The European peoples' effort to rid themselves of the fascist incubus, to build a new and decent life has been painful and costly.

It has been too painful, too costly, for them ever again to succumb to the old prejudices and dissensions which proved their undoing.

They want the strength of unity. Each man, each woman, each group is judged today by one criterion alone: what part have they played in the anti-fascist battles?

As Hitler goes down to defeat, every nation faces the central job of wiping out Hitlerism so that never again can it emerge as a danger to world peace and security.

Conflicts and difficulties have arisen only when the peoples are not permitted to get on with this job, when the democratic path of Teheran is ignored, when efforts are made to preserve the old and retard the new vigorous upsurge of peoples who, though battered, have been rejuvenated.

One thing is certain. The new democratic Europe will not be held back, refuses to be thwarted.

Crises will be avoided so long as the great powers adhere faithfully to the Teheran accord.

Any attempt to stay the march of history, to resurrect the old "Communist bogey" under new auspices, is doomed to failure.

The peoples of Europe do not seek to establish Communism. Communism is not at issue. The question is simply this: shall the peoples of Europe, whom Nazism condemned to slavery and extermination, be encouraged to win and retain their independence, their national health and vigor?

That question must be answered not alone by the peoples of Europe, but also "in a spirit of unity and coordination by the three great powers."

Americans have too much at stake to fail to do their share.

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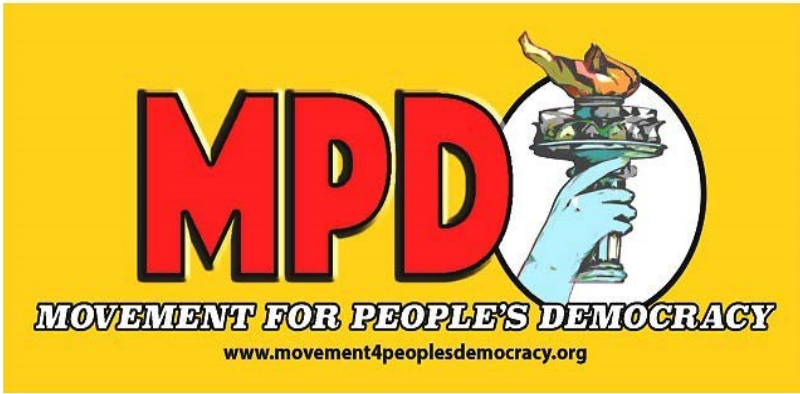
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The aim of all Friends of the Soviet People is international cooperation in building socialism and solidarity with the anti-imperialist forces of the world who are struggling against U.S. Imperialism - the main enemy of humanity.

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AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!

¡UNA HERIDA PARA UNO ES UNA HERIDA PARA TODOS!

Labor Today is published by the Labor United for Class Struggle (LUCS), a nationwide caucus of union and non-represented workers. Our mission is to unite the working class to fight against the power of transnational capital. Currently only 11% of the U.S. workforce is organized into unions. Most of these workers are employed in the public sector and are legally denied the right to strike. The most militant of these workers are the postal workers employed by the U.S. Postal Service. For this reason, they are under attack. However, they are not the only ones. The attacks on the public sector and its workforce are part of a larger plan developed years ago by Milton Friedman and the University of Chicago School of Business. The plan is referred to as neoliberalism and its main feature is austerity. Reducing the number of federal, state, and municipal employees and cutting pensions and Social Security are the first part of the plan which President Ronald Reagan called "starving the beast". Under this plan, all government services are virtually eliminated with the exception of the military, and the Executive, Judicial, and Legislative Branches of government. This is also called Social Darwinism, or survival of the fittest.

Our mission with Labor Today and the LUCS caucus is to unite all of Labor, to give them a voice regardless of industry or type of work without regard to status: union or unrepresented. We provide assistance to the Walmart workers, the Fight for \$15 and a union and other efforts. We are transnational and we support the mission and policies of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

www.labortoday.us



The League of Young Communists USA is the Communist Youth Organization of the Party of Communists USA.

The Party of Communists USA traces its roots from dropped clubs of the Communist Party USA. Members of the New York Transport Workers Union club, the Arts & Entertainment CPUSA club, the Staten Island club, the Buffalo NY club, the Los Angeles club and various comrades scattered around the country, such as in California, Hawaii, Illinois, Minnesota and Texas, were the original founders of the Party of Communists USA. The PCUSA and the LYCUSA are dedicated to upholding Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, internationalism and Socialism-Communism. Our focus is on class struggle, workers' rights, and creating the conditions for a socialist revolution. The PCUSA established the League of Young Communists USA as the successor to the Young Communist League of the CPUSA, which was officially disbanded in 2015. The YCL had been in existence for almost one hundred years.

www.leagueofyoungcommunistsusa.org