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REVOLT



IN EUROPE

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SIXPENCE

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THE SITUATION

ALMOST all the peoples of the world are to-day involved in deadly battle, for we are passing through the most violent period of history. It is the most hopeful period too; the end of a period of disharmony and decay and the beginning of a new epoch. We can see already the outlines of a world of economic sanity in which the will and the power of peoples will replace the self-interested manoeuvrings of narrow ruling classes and will apply the great developments of modern technique to make happiness and peace and security a commonplace instead of a distant ideal.

First Destroy Fascism

But we have first to destroy Fascism; on this everything depends. No time can be spared, no help rejected, no weapon left unused, for the complete victory over this foul manifestation of capitalist decay.

One of the most important weapons, sometimes burdened with the uninspiring label of "Political warfare," is the awakening of the spirit of Revolt in Europe. In the end it is on land that the final defeat of Hitler must be achieved: as Maxim Litvinov wrote in *Reynolds News* on September 14th, 1941:

"The decisive blow at Hitler can be delivered solely on the land fronts of the European continent, by annihilating his hordes or, at least, compelling them to make substantial retreats, for retreats by the aggressive side may be utterly fatal.

"Only the infliction of such a defeat on Hitler at the front may stimulate discontent of the population of Germany itself and the active indignation of the peoples of countries occupied by the Fascists to such an extent as to be a factor which, in its turn, may exercise a decisive influence on the issue of the war."

The military defeat of Fascism can be hastened most effectively by revolt among the peoples of the many occupied countries and of Germany itself. Revolt is already brewing; and while it cannot be created from without it can be greatly encouraged—or discouraged—both by propaganda and by the declarations on peace and war aims of the peoples and Governments opposed to Hitler.

The Growth of Revolt

The aim of this pamphlet is to state as clearly as possible the true position as to the growth of Revolt in Europe to-day. It is of vital importance that it should be rightly estimated, for it is essentially a field in which the mass of the people alone can form a sound judgment or policy unaffected by considerations of sectional interests.

Now that the U.S.S.R. is engaged in the war—at present, indeed, more prominently and more successfully engaged than any of her allies—and that she will in due course take a leading part in framing the terms of peace, the spirit of revolt in Germany and in the occupied countries is not merely stimulated but is given a definite cohesion which it could otherwise have achieved only very slowly. Every movement of revolt in Europe to-day, if not "guided into safe channels"—or backwaters—is certain to aim not merely at defeating Hitler but also at consolidating the downfall of Fascism by the establishment of democratic states. It is probably true that no Government, however sincerely it hates Hitler and longs to see an end of him, can speak as vigorously and effectively in its propaganda to the Germans as can the U.S.S.R., which indeed, by its unity of purpose, courage and self-sacrifice, has given an example to the peoples of the world of what a working-class state can do in fighting, in enduring, and in the all-important work of preparing to fight. It is plainly easier for Losovsky than for the statesmen of other countries to make declarations of policy, and promises of future action, than can both command unreserved belief and encourage the forces of revolt in Europe.

It is not, of course, easy to form an estimate of these forces with accuracy. Wishful thinking must be avoided, and the available evidence judged as objectively

as possible ; and it must be remembered that what is available is but fragmentary. Such evidence as finds its way across enemy frontiers is not necessarily the most reliable, and much never comes out at all. (Those who know most, after all, are the underground workers inside the Nazi Reich—and they must be more concerned in keeping knowledge from their oppressors than in imparting it to us.)

Difficulties of Revolt

In forming an estimate, one must remember also that it is not easy for the forces of revolt to develop in the face of modern military repression. The armed might and the deliberate and systematic brutality of the Nazis has a terrible, if limited, effect. ("You can do anything with bayonets," said Bismarck, with that common-sense ruling-class realism that has sent so many millions of workers to death in the service of their exploiters, "*except sit on them!*") While in the long run brutality generates revolt, it is at the same time a strong element in repressing it. Terror operates on the minds of all but the most clear-headed and courageous—in a word, the politically conscious—workers. And even to-day, even in Europe, not nearly enough of the workers are politically developed.

Education, Please!

And it is precisely because not nearly enough of us are politically developed that the mere economic pressure of the need to live from day to day constitutes such an important factor in damping down not merely revolt, but even sabotage or passive resistance ; the alternative between working for your conqueror for something near a living wage and refusing to work, with the attendant risk of death, the concentration camp, or slow starvation, is one on which only a few can make the finer choice ; indeed, those with no political views scarcely see a choice at all. The measure of our hope of revolt in Europe is thus, in the long run, largely the strength of the politically conscious working-class ; it is a hope on which we are entitled by the experience of the last quarter of a century to build our faith in the prospect not merely of revolt but of revolt which will herald permanent improvement. Our faith on this point is reinforced by remarking that in the countries where revolt is brewing the Communist parties are in the forefront of the struggle—so much so that the Nazis everywhere attribute every movement of resistance to the Communists, and even the Right Wing Press of the democratic countries is driven to report such movements as the work of Communists, compromising merely by putting the word in inverted commas. The word "Communist," indeed, is rapidly becoming a term of praise.

How Do We Stand?

And so, not underestimating either the difficulties of revolt or the difficulties of forming an accurate estimate of its growth, can we say there is yet much development? The answer is that we can, if we remember how short a time for development has yet elapsed. The war is not much over two years old ; most of the countries overrun by Hitler have not yet been under his heel for much more than eighteen months ; his weapons of repression are formidable, his use of them ruthless ; and he has been able until recently to supply to the German people that very effective palliative, a series of military successes. Nevertheless, the forces of revolt are growing.

Stalin Speaks

It is interesting to recall what has been said on this point by Stalin, whose words are now recognised throughout the anti-Axis world as having that clarity and accuracy which they have always in fact possessed. In his famous speech of the 6th November, 1941, he said :

"There are three other basic factors whose force is growing from day to day and which must in the near future lead to the inevitable rout of the Hitler robber imperialists. These are: firstly, the instability of the European rear of imperialist Germany, the instability of the 'New Order' in Europe. The German invaders have enslaved the peoples of the European continent from France to the Soviet Baltic, from Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland and Soviet Byelorussia to the Balkans and Soviet Ukraine, deprived them of elementary democratic liberties, deprived them of the right to rule their own destiny, deprived them of grain, meat and raw materials, converted them into their slaves, crucified Poles, Czechs and Serbs, and decided that by achieving the domination of Europe they would on this basis be able to build Germany's world domination. This is what they call the 'New Order in Europe.' But what is this 'basis,' what is this 'New Order'?' Only Hitlerite self-adulating fools fail to see that the 'New Order' in Europe and the notorious 'basis' of this Order constitutes a volcano ready to erupt at any moment and bury the German imperialist house of cards. . . .

"Only Hitlerite fools from Berlin can fail to understand that the enslaved peoples of Europe will fight and will rise against the Hitler tyranny. Who can doubt that the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and U.S.A. will render full aid to the peoples of Europe in their liberation struggle against Hitler-Germany?

"The second basic factor is the instability in the German rear of the Hitlerite invaders. While the Hitlerites were uniting Germany, dismembered under the Versailles Treaty, they could have the support of the German people inspired by the idea of the restoration of Germany. But after this task was solved and the Hitlerites took to the path of Imperialism, to the path of seizure of foreign lands and conquest of foreign peoples, and have converted the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the U.S.S.R. into avowed enemies of present-day Germany, the German people have taken a profound turn in opposition to the war, and are in favour of the liquidation of the war. More than two years of bloody war, the end of which is not in sight; millions of human victims; hunger; pauperisation; epidemics; the hostile atmosphere surrounding the German; Hitler's stupid policy which transformed the peoples of the U.S.S.R. into avowed enemies of present-day Germany—all this could not but turn the German people against the needless and ruinous war. Only the Hitlerite fools can fail to understand that not only the European rear but also the German rear of the German troops represents a volcano, ready to erupt and bury the Hitler adventurers."

And on the following day, speaking in the Red Square, on the anniversary of the October Revolution, he said:

"Hunger and impoverishment reign in Germany to-day. In four months of war Germany has lost four and a half million soldiers. Germany is bleeding white. Her man-power reserves are becoming exhausted. The spirit of indignation is taking grip not only of the peoples of Europe who have fallen under the yoke of the German invaders but also of the German people itself, which sees no end to the war. The German invaders are exerting their last strength. There can be no doubt that Germany cannot stand this tension for long. A few more months, another half-year, perhaps a year, and Hitler-Germany must collapse under the burden of her crimes."

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union issued a set of Calls to Action on the same day, some of which may be quoted:

"Greetings to the enslaved people of Europe fighting for their liberation from Hitlerite terrorism.

"Greetings to the oppressed Slav peoples fighting for their freedom and independence against German, Italian and Hungarian Imperialist robbers!

"Greetings to the German people groaning under the yoke of Hitler's black-guard bands. We wish them victory over bloodthirsty Hitler."

And Professor Eugene Varga, writing in *World's News and Views* of the 31st January, 1942, summed up the prospects as follows :

"It can be forecast that the struggle of the peoples of the occupied countries will, under the influence of Hitler's reverses at the Eastern Front, become more widespread, relentless and dangerous for the Nazis in 1942. . . .

"It can be foreseen that the German people's dissatisfaction with the Hitler régime, which has caused the working people so much suffering, hardship and want, will in 1942 grow in volume and intensity. It is not to be precluded that the overthrow of the Hitler régime will result not directly from military defeat, but from the revolt of the German people against their tyrants."

The position as it had developed by the end of February, 1942, was summed up by the Moscow *Pravda* as follows :

"The enemy's rear is torn by doubts and alarm. The German people are coming more and more to disbelieve in a favourable outcome of the war. Disquietude, which can no longer be hidden by the heads of the Nazi clique, is spreading throughout the country.

"The subject peoples in the rear of the German army have not reconciled themselves to their situation. Underground volcanoes, foreboding a catastrophic explosion, exist throughout Europe."

How Revolt May Come

Revolt will necessarily take different forms in the different countries, according to their economic circumstances, the stage of their development, the time and manner of their seizure by Hitler, and the strength of those sections of their ruling-class which secretly or openly welcome Nazi domination in the hope that it may help them to break the power of their working-class and to avert the "nightmare of Bolshevism." Let us study some of the more important countries, beginning with France.

FRANCE

The position in that country is complicated and delicate. The facts that it has an "unoccupied zone"—that is, one governed insecurely by French Fascists dominated by the Germans, instead of directly by the Germans themselves—and that its working-class has recent memories of a high degree both of organisation and of political strength, provide difficulties in the work of repressing revolt ; and at the same time the country's geographical position and industrial development make it of vital importance. It is natural, therefore, that much should be stirring below—and even above—the surface, and that the student's main difficulty should be not to obtain information but to sift the grain of reliable facts from a large volume of chaff.

Nature of the Movement in France

The movement of revolt in France is less an opposition newly created by an invader than a continuation of active class struggle, well-developed before the outbreak of war in 1939, between the popular mass and the reactionary ruling class. The Communists now lead the only effective opposition. A large part of the ruling class which for years before the war broke out had admired, and sought to emulate, Hitler, and had been hated by the mass of the people as friendly to Fascism, is naturally collaborating with Nazism. And, just as before it was the Communists who united the people to save them from their home-grown Fascists, so since the collapse of France it has been they who have led the people against the combined forces of German and French Fascism. Pétain has not exactly sold himself to Fascism, to which he naturally belonged, but has rather carried to its logical conclusion the pro-Fascist policy of French finance-capital, of heavy industry, of the military caste, in fact of all those sections of the ruling class whom

the French Communists denounced as traitors to democracy for so many years. And supporting him too are all the other sections and individuals who toyed with, admired or kow-towed to Fascism in one form or another. Jointly they are "planning a new France," a "New Order," or to be more exact, a new heaven for reactionaries and a new hell for all who are on the side of progress.

The Communists Lead

Against them are ranged the working-class, led by the Communists, and the widespread "de Gaulle" movement. The latter is well organised in the French Colonies, in Britain and the U.S.A., and has at its disposal a well-equipped army at least 100,000 strong, 2,000 trained pilots and forty warships. Although in France itself only the Communists have constituted an *organised* opposition until quite recently, their splendid underground organisation is now being linked with the broad popular support for de Gaulle since the recent appointment of the General as leader of the entire opposition. Much encouragement has also been given by the recognition of de Gaulle by the Soviet Union.

The spirit of the Communist Party may be illustrated by the following quotation from a letter written by one of its leaders, Gabriel Péri, a deputy and the foreign editor of *L'Humanité*, shortly before his execution in February, 1942:

"Let my friends know that I have remained faithful to the ideal that I have held all my life. Let my countrymen know that I die so that France can live. For the last time I examine my conscience. I have no feelings of remorse. This is what I should like you to tell every one: I would follow the same road if I had to start again. In a few minutes I shall make my contribution to the coming of a radiant dawn. I face death with fortitude. Adieu! And long live France!"

The opposition has of course especial difficulties with which to contend. Millions of actual or potential fighters were scattered in May and June of 1940; hundreds of thousands were taken prisoners by the Germans. Substantial numbers of industrial workers—normally the most advanced in organisation and effective in sabotage and revolt—have been deported to Germany. The country has been split into two parts in such a way as to weaken the whole Left movement by geographical division, for if the South is less developed industrially it has always retained an active tradition of Left-wing political life.

Growth Despite Obstacles

Nevertheless opposition, greatly stimulated by the heroic battle of the Soviet Union against the Nazi war machine, grows both in volume and audacity. The circulation of illegal literature has gone up by leaps and bounds. Many of the trade unions which—because they were "safe," *i.e.*, free of Communist leadership and influence—escaped the suppression that in the winter of 1939-40 became the fate of 625 trade unions at the hands of the—still French—Fascist rulers of France found that by the spring of 1941 the workers were refusing to re-elect or recognise their traitorous leaders, and were themselves uniting in their organisations to fight over living conditions and conditions of labour. Early in the summer of 1941, for example, 50,000 miners and metal workers struck—under the heel of the Nazi occupation—for better conditions.

All these manifestations of opposition, as already mentioned, present the Nazis with enormous difficulties. Repression becomes a dangerous weapon. The bolder opposition grows, the more is repression likely to drive it deeper, there to take firmer root, with the promise of a richer if later harvest. Moreover, as terror grows, and stories of successful Soviet resistance seep through, the opposition movement draws closer together, internal differences are eliminated and the united front for which the Communists have worked becomes more and more a reality. In vain—increasingly in vain—do the Germans, with the connivance and approval of the

Pétain authorities, reply with curfews, shootings, decapitations, arrests. In vain are the "Red" suburbs of Paris, the cafés, the working-class back streets, combed for Communists and de Gaullists. Arrests are made, executions follow, but fresh comrades come forward to take the places of those who have gone. When, for example, raids were carried out by the authorities in St. Etienne, the workers replied by intensified sabotage, and in one arms factory a riot broke out, and the workers fought pitched battles against the police and the military, reckless of the executioner's shadow in the background.

The 14th July, 1941

On 14th July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, the Communists called upon the people to demonstrate under the French national flag, singing the *Marseillaise*. The result exceeded all expectations. Nearly a million people gathered in Paris, and, despite police prohibition, more than half of those present wore tricolour badges. Mass arrests were carried out. German machine guns mounted on lorries and armoured cars patrolled the boulevards. The teeming masses met them with hisses and songs of defiance.

One day at the end of September a trainload of prisoners of war arrived in France. Hitler, gracious for once to Marshal Pétain, had released a few thousand of his slaves. The aged Marshal ordered a reception with brass bands and flowers. When the train drew into the station at Toulouse one cry went up from the prisoners in the carriages, who had presumably been carefully selected as "reliable": "Vive de Gaulle!"

"Accidents"

Attacks upon German soldiers and officials have increased tremendously. Trains used for carrying German soldiers or officials do not always reach their destination. An "accident" occurs on the way and the train is derailed.

The determination and resourcefulness of the opposition is illustrated by the fact that Paul Colette, who fired the shots at Laval and Déat, did so from the ranks of the anti-bolshevist legion! And equally significant are the universal sympathy felt for him throughout France, his reprieve by Pétain, and the complete lack of any sort of sympathy anywhere for Laval and Déat.

Hostages: To Shoot or Not to Shoot

The most striking illustrations at once of the development of revolt and of the difficulties of repression are to be found in the German threats of executions of hostages as a means of reprisal and deterrence in connection with the assassinations of German officials in France. Already in September, 1941, the German military authorities in Paris announced that all Frenchmen arrested—for whatever cause—in occupied France would be treated as hostages, and that at least five of them would be shot whenever a German was killed in France. (Some 200 of those so arrested were persons whose sole offence was that they were found in the streets of the Paris Region between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. during a curfew imposed in that region in the middle of September.) Soon afterwards it was announced that the "tariff" was to be the shooting of fifty hostages per day until the person actually guilty was arrested. This form of terror led Marshal Pétain to appeal for French complicity in capturing those who shoot German officers; but it had less effect on the forces of revolt.

The Nazis proceeded to carry out their threats. In the latter part of October, 1941, at Nantes and Bordeaux, they began to shoot hostages, largely persons rounded up at random in the streets, in batches of fifty, as reprisals for the assassination of two German officers. This frightfulness did not deter the French people, but on the contrary increased resistance in general and the killing of German officials in particular. Nevertheless, the shooting of hostages was largely

abandoned (only one "batch" of fifty being actually executed at Nantes, and one at Bordeaux), and the obsequious Darlan, after a visit to the German authorities in Paris in the first week in November, returned to Vichy to announce that the "murders" of German officers had not impaired the "friendly" relations of Germany and France. Strikes and sabotage continued to occur, and it is plain by now that the Germans dare not react against the killing of their officers by wholesale shootings, or at least have realised that they cannot crush the spirit of revolt by doing so.

Still, what they have actually done is formidable enough as evidence of the extent to which the French people can maintain resistance in the face of terror. They announced officially in the latter part of 1941 the shooting of 250 Frenchmen, mainly since August; the true figures almost certainly exceeded that number and in addition 1,000 had been arrested and had disappeared without trace. At the end of October, an early curfew was imposed on the whole of occupied France, and great black, white and red posters repeatedly honour the Communists by announcing the names of persons executed for "Communist" activities.

Again, in March, 1942, it was officially announced that 20 "Jewish and Communist hostages" had been shot because a German soldier had been killed in Paris, and it was threatened that 20 more would be shot if the actual culprits were not discovered or betrayed.

Potentialities

Many other signs are to be seen of the growing spirit of revolt in France, whether by way of sabotage or strikes, or of attacks on German officers, or of demonstrations of sympathy for British pilots flying over French territory, who often report that, as they fly low over the country, they see people assembling in V formation or giving other signs of welcome. The time is not yet arrived for open revolt in France, but any major set-back to the military fortunes of the Nazis, or any British invasion of France, would at the least bring about a tremendous flare-up of the opposition, which might easily develop into full revolution.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The tale of Czechoslovakia follows a different course. The country has been fully and directly controlled by Hitler for nearly three years, viz., since March, 1939; it had and has far fewer Fascist or Quisling elements in its ruling class; it is more highly industrialised than France. Its population is moreover largely Slav, and wide circles feel a close affinity to the peoples of the U.S.S.R., whilst the whole people has a centuries-old tradition of struggle for independence.

The underground movement is strong and well organised, and increased in power after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union. While the Communists constitute its main strength, opposition elements are now drawing more closely together and presenting a united front. The Czecho-Slovak National Committee in London, of which Benes is the head, has now several Communist members.

Hitler's Anxieties

Both Hitler and his enemies have cherished great hopes of Czechoslovakia: Hitler that it would prove a secure base and above all an arsenal, his enemies that its obstinate and courageous peoples, particularly the Czechs, would overcome the endless difficulties of having to find a living under a conqueror, cause the Nazis infinite trouble, and contribute substantially to their final defeat.

Strikes

In spite of the disappointment of a premature revolt, which was ruthlessly crushed, it is the enemies of Hitler who have had—and are having in increasing degree—the best of the bargain. Already at the end of October, 1940, it was in

Slovakia—erected by Hitler into an “independent” state in April, 1939—that the first great war-strike took place in a country dominated by the Nazis. This was not merely a strike of miners who wanted higher wages; the strikers were largely Slovaks and Germans, with a smaller number of Czechs and Poles. Thus, for the people of Czechoslovakia this strike became a symbol not only of the great advance the opposition against Hitler had made but also an illustration of the way in which unity among the nationalities brings nearer the day of final delivery from the “Nazi occupants.”

The All-Slav Conference in Moscow

Through the early part of the year 1941 the underground opposition developed steadily, and was greatly encouraged first by the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the war, and then by the All-Slav Conference held in Moscow on the 10th and 11th August, which was attended by representatives of every Slav people, and gave concrete expression to the solidarity of the peoples of Eastern Europe in their fight for freedom against the Fascist dictatorship. The conference was opened by the well-known Russian writer, Alexei Tolstoy. He began his speech thus:

“I appeal to all Slavs, Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Slovenes, Ruthenians—all who speak the fraternal languages of the single Slav root, all who once composed a united group of kindred tribes and who waged a battle for independence, for their national culture and for the right to pursue their peaceful existence. The hour has struck when the Slavonic peoples must unite to be liberated from the Hitler yoke once and for all. Our unity shall be the unity of equals. . . . We are not intent on domination nor do we wish to play a leading rôle with regard to other nations. Resolutely and unreservedly we refute the very idea of Pan-Slavism as an utterly reactionary fraud, profoundly hostile to the idea of the equality of the peoples and to the lofty aims of national development of the states and nations.”

He was followed by General Janushaitis of Poland and then by speakers from each of the other Slav peoples. These speeches, calling for war and revolt against Fascism, had an electrifying effect throughout all the Slav communities of Europe.

The Conference issued the following appeal to all Slav peoples in Nazi-occupied territories:

“Oppressed Slav brothers! The hour has struck when the whole Slav world must unite for the earliest and final destruction of German Fascism. . . . The peoples of the Soviet Union and its Red Army are with us. With us is all advanced humanity. Rise for a war of liberation against Hitlerism! Death to the Fascist bands of Hitler and Mussolini, those murderers of the Slav peoples! Long live our victory over bloodthirsty Hitlerism!”

The peoples of Czechoslovakia responded to this call. Following on advice broadcast from London and Moscow, they maintained an almost complete boycott of the Nazi-controlled Press, and increased the number of strikes; and the work of sabotage and ca’ canny, which had already developed so far that productivity per head in the Skoda works, the Zbrojovka arms factory in Brno, and the Poldi Hütte at Kladno, had declined by 30 per cent. in July, 1941, and by 40 per cent. in August.

Heyderich Intervenes

The situation developed dramatically, of course, in September, 1941, when von Neurath, the Nazi “Protector” of Bohemia and Moravia (*i.e.*, of the Czech parts of what was left of Czechoslovakia after Munich), was dismissed as being too “lenient,” and his place was taken by Heyderich, second in command of the Gestapo, and Himmler’s worthy right-hand thug. He immediately arrested a number of the members of the puppet Government of Hacha, and had some of

them shot, whilst scores of patriotic Czechs and Slovaks, workers, business men and generals, perished side by side at the hands of German firing-squads.

Even a Premier is Shot

On 1st October, 1941, General Alois Elias, puppet Premier of the puppet Government of Bohemia and Moravia, was condemned to death for "favouring the enemy and plotting high treason." An overnight transformation in the eyes of the world of a Quisling yes-man into a "national martyr"! The man whom the Nazis had hitherto regarded and employed as their obedient tool had been proved, they claimed, to be at the head of a widespread underground organisation which for weeks past had been running a campaign of sabotage in the factories.

Up to the beginning of November, 1941, according to Berlin reports, Heyderich had had 807 persons put to death in Czechei (Bohemia and Moravia) alone; another report puts the figure of executions at "only" 352, but adds that 1,070 persons were handed over to the Gestapo. Berlin may know—but we and Czechs do not—whether the difference between 807 and 352 was made up out of these 1,070.

Terror Fails

But it seems clear that this terrorism has failed. The "in terrorem" announcements of more executions have ceased, but not because the movement of revolt has been at all crushed. The place of arrested men is taken by others who can continue and widen the underground work, and the weapon of Nazi terror, though still not without effect, is blunted. Hacha, like Pétain, may servilely assure the Nazis of his loyalty, and support the most cruel terror against his own people. But if the Nazis and their few Czechoslovak supporters expect that they can break the people's determination to regain their freedom and independence they are being proved wrong every day. The difficult and dangerous work of sabotage goes on, and the people are ever more inspired by the passion to work for their liberation and the defeat of Fascism and by enthusiasm for the heroic struggle of the Soviet Union. On the 6th and 7th November, 1941, many people took courage to listen to the Moscow broadcasts of Stalin's speech, part of which is quoted above, and verbatim reports of it were duplicated and distributed in Prague. Mass raids by Heyderich's police on working-class districts did not prevent the speech becoming widely known, and tremendous enthusiasm was evoked. Thereafter, the output of munitions factories fell off still further, whilst industry generally became less efficient, and railway sabotage grew in volume.

Already a Danger Spot

It is still too early to hope for an immediate outbreak of revolt in Czechoslovakia; but the country is certainly one more danger-spot for the Nazis. Any major defeat or any breakdown that represented a real weakening of German power would assuredly lead to an explosion in that country with which the Nazis would find it impossible to cope.

NORWAY

Norway, which in a military sense was seized and conquered with almost grotesque ease, through the assistance of the prototype Quisling and many minor quislings, has proved in the outcome to be one of the countries where quislings fail most conspicuously. While it was possible for German Fascism in France and in Czechoslovakia to form Governments composed of traitors, this could not be done in Norway. True, the administration of the country is to a large extent in the hands of Norwegians, but these Norwegians are not mere tools in the hands of German Fascism. The Norwegian Supreme Court threatened to resign rather than become the willing promulgator of Nazi laws. The Norwegian church authorities threatened defiance rather than consent to become officials or even passive spectators of the Quisling's new religious exercises, and their courageous

resistance culminated in February, 1942, in the resignation of the famous Bishop of Oslo, Dr. Berggrav, and six other bishops. Their letter of resignation deserves to be recorded :

"Bishops of the Norwegian Church would not be faithful to their calling if they continued to co-operate with an Administration which, without a vestige of ecclesiastical foundation, violates the community and adds injustice to violence. I, therefore, state that I lay down the execution of my office. That is what the State has delegated to me. The spiritual activity which was entrusted to me when I was ordained before the Lord's altar is still mine, with God and with the right. To be a preacher of the Word, a supervisor of the community, and a confessor of clergymen is, and remains, my calling. I will in future attend to that so far as is possible for a non-official. But to continue administrative co-operation with a State which is exercising violence against the Church would be failing the Holiest."

In the face of a terrorist Nazi occupation, such an attitude indicates a very strong will to resist. A similar position was taken up by school teachers, nearly nine-tenths of whom maintained their resignation from the quisling teachers' organisation even after it had been officially announced that all who so resigned would be dismissed from their posts.

In the same spirit, the Norwegian Physicians' Association accepted the threat of suppression rather than admit to membership quacks who excelled in "aryan theorising on the task of medicine," but could not treat their patients. Norwegian trade unionists risked prosecution and death rather than elect impostors from Quisling's small army of traitors as trade union officials.

Since the north coast of France and the coasts of Holland and Belgium are occupied almost inch by inch by military forces, and Denmark has scarcely yet shown a spark of revolt, Norway is the only country with something of a semblance of a common frontier between Britain and the Continent. No wonder then that there is a constant dribble to our shores of Norwegian refugees from Nazi oppression, or to express it positively, of free people ready to take up the fight against German Fascism on the side of the British armed forces. The German military authorities have recently been driven to order the registration of even the smallest ships, have forbidden any ship to go beyond thirty miles from the Norwegian coast without a special permit, and have built up a large patrol fleet of aeroplanes and war vessels which have orders to fire on Norwegian vessels beyond this thirty-mile limit. They have compelled the evacuation of large stretches of coastal country, including a whole quarter of the city of Bergen, and have forbidden any civilian to enter it. And yet, Norwegians find ever new ways to come over to Britain. (But not all arrive ; in the second half of September, 1941, two steamers with about 100 passengers were sunk near Bergen by German bombers.)

The Workers Resist

While almost the whole of the population is violently anti-Fascist and the original Quisling has less success in his own country than have his equivalents in some other countries, the main and the most effective resistance against German Fascism comes from the workers. Against them the most cruel terrorist measures have been taken recently. The Norwegian workers have always been among the most progressive. Social-democracy, with its tradition of reformism and co-operation, was prominent in Norway as in all other countries under capitalist domination, but it was less influential there than anywhere else. The example of the Soviet Union had made a great impression in Norway and the relations of the Soviet trade unions with the Norwegian unions were closer than those with the unions in any other country. No wonder that under present conditions the

Norwegian trade unions have proved to be the most effective in resisting German Fascism.

Strikes

In spite of the military occupation of the country, a general strike of metal workers was in preparation in the beginning of September, 1941. In Oslo the movement reached such proportions that many other industries and trades were affected. Even more—for the first time in Scandinavian history a strike was in preparation which was favoured by the employers in the interests of the people. The movement for a national united front against German Fascism was reaching extraordinary proportions. The German military got wind of what was happening just as the strike was breaking out in Oslo. Their terror machine struck swiftly and brutally. Oslo was surrounded by German troops. Telephone and telegraph communications were cut off or put under German military control. Hundreds of trade union leaders were arrested. Leading members of the Manufacturers' Association were removed from office and put under house arrest. The two principal Norwegian trade unionists, Rolf Vickström, chairman of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation, and Viggo Hansteen, secretary of the Federation, were shot outright notwithstanding that they had, true to their Social-democratic traditions, done their best to bring the strikes to an end. (Hansteen spent the whole day negotiating with the German and Quisling officials to secure a settlement, and Vickström not merely urged his fellow-workers to remain at work, but remained at work himself.)

World Condemnation

The Congress of the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions spoke for all members of the opposition to German Fascism everywhere in the world, Germany included, when it resolved a few days after such terrible deeds had been committed by the German occupants: "The Norwegian people cannot be subjugated by force and violence. The names of Hansteen and Vickström will go down in the history of the Norwegian people. They are martyrs in the struggle for Norway's freedom."

German military and police combined are unable, despite severe repressive measures, to crush the popular movement. Swedish newspapers report that the Norwegian population tear down the German public announcements from the hoardings and public places and replace them with placards bearing the V sign or expressing solidarity with Britain and the Soviet Union. In a statement to the Norwegian Telegraph Agency the German chief of police in Norway was compelled to admit that opposition had considerably increased since the commencement of hostilities between Germany and the Soviet Union. Even as early as April, 1941, large numbers of leaflets made their appearance in towns and villages, turning up in letter-boxes and even in overcoat pockets! They read: "Norwegians! On 9th April you must devote a full half-hour from 2 to 2.30 p.m. to thoughts about the fall of Norway. Spend this half-hour in your homes. Let no person appear on the street. Surround with hatred and contempt any who dare to disturb this half-hour vow of silence." These leaflets were passed from hand to hand. They were multiplied on typewriters. They appeared everywhere. The police sleuths proved powerless in the face of this type of demonstration and empty streets marked the anniversary of the fall of Norway.

Everywhere the people show their utter contempt for the original Quisling. At a crowded workers' meeting in July, 1941, he appeared on the platform, attempting to "gate-crash" in order to come out with a sermon on his notorious programme of the "New Order." But the entire audience demonstratively left the hall and the sermon went undelivered.

As soon as a Nazi enters a street car or 'bus all the passengers, as if by order, alight at the nearest stop. Persons who join Quisling's party are immediately cut off from their friends. So great is the hatred shown towards storm troopers that they only appear on the streets in groups. One of the most striking examples of passive resistance to the German usurpers is the mass boycott of cinemas. This is the people's reply to an attempt by the Germans to foist upon them German-made films boasting of the successes of the Third Reich.

Sabotage Grows

In spite of repeated warnings that anyone caught in an act of sabotage will be shot, this perilous activity continues to grow. The opposition movement is becoming more and more united and now embraces not only the working class but also the progressive intelligentsia and peasantry. An attempt by the semi-puppet Government to rally the peasants around a "national unity" programme collapsed completely; the peasants wanted unity—but not of that sort! Whilst it is true to say that almost the entire population is violently anti-Fascist, the main resistance comes, as already mentioned, from the workers. When in November, 1941, six workmen were executed in Oslo under the sentence of a German military court, on a charge of having given assistance to the enemy, many protest meetings were held, and numbers of men demonstrated by refusing to work.

Stalin Speaks

In Norway, too, the speech of Stalin in Moscow on the 6th November, 1941, evoked great enthusiasm. On 8th and 9th November the illegal Norwegian broadcasting station called "Liberty Radio," after several broadcasts of a summary of Stalin's speech, made the following announcement:

"Stalin's words about the inevitable doom of the Hitler invaders have evoked universal approval among Norwegians. We have seen for ourselves, by our own bitter experience, that the Hitlerite 'New Order' carries in its wake starvation, ruin, poverty and inequality. Our patience is at an end. The hour of reckoning is near.

"The Russians have given us a brilliant example of how to defend one's honour and freedom. All the patriots in our native land are burning with one desire—to drive the invaders off our soil, to give our people back their freedom. We have brave warriors and sailors, who are waiting for the signal for action. Anti-Fascist Norway has a large mercantile fleet of 1,000 vessels with crews totalling 25,000 seamen, and a Navy of fifty vessels.

"Hitler will very soon feel on his back the strength of our blow. In alliance with the freedom-loving peoples, the Norwegian people will gain their liberty. The volcano of the people's vengeance will drown the Fascists."

POLAND

Poland's case, again, presents a number of different aspects. The Poles, like the Czechs, have a long history of struggle for independence; and they have in addition a tradition of underground work in their working-class movement. They are, of course, peculiarly hated and despised by the "racially-superior" Nazi thugs, and, as their country is geographically situated on the line of march to the U.S.S.R., they were bound to be—and are being—treated with peculiar brutality. In spite of their long torture and imprisonment, which began already in September and October, 1939, the spirit of revolt is far from dead among them. Their courage is indeed such that no oppression or torture can quench it. There is evidence, not only the negative evidence that the Germans have been unable to find a single Polish quisling to set up in government, but positive evidence of oppositional activity.

Sabotage

Sabotage continues regularly. Recently a strike occurred in an important railway depot at Czesanov, near Cracow. The German police attempted to break the strike by force, and many people were killed or wounded. Acts of sabotage have caused terrible railway accidents at Dembica, Pruszkow and Radom, in which many German soldiers were killed. Large numbers of Polish railway workers were arrested in consequence. The Nazi-controlled Polish newspaper *Geniec Krakowski* and the German paper *Krakauer Zeitung* announced—in vain—a large reward for the capture of the person or persons responsible. The fight goes on, and on the 14th January, 1942, twenty-two Polish railwaymen were executed for "systematic sabotage work," as the German press described it, at the important junction of Szczakowa.

One of the more brutal acts of shooting of hostages took place at the munition factory at Skarzysko. Polish workers refused to produce munitions for the Germans. The factory was surrounded by the Gestapo and 300 hostages were picked out from the 2,000 workers. After an ultimatum of twenty-four hours, the refusal being maintained, the 300 were shot.

Peasants Hide Grain

The peasants, moreover, are hiding their grain. The Nazi press is furious at the fact that in the Warsaw district only 50 per cent. of the compulsory grain deliveries have been collected. In the Lubelsk region the peasants simply burned the grain stacked in the fields.

Even Polish officials now in German pay are anything but "reliable." The Nazi governor of Cracow, Wachter, accused them not only of lacking any desire to collaborate, but of downright sabotage of their elementary duty! The Polish people can indeed be proud that Poland has produced no Quislings or Hachas, and that Hitler has failed to establish a puppet Government. The Poles are unanimous as never before.

Illegal Printing

The illegal Polish press is a source of particular annoyance to the German authorities, who are aware of its existence but are powerless against it. Printing machines are hidden in forests and other remote places and are frequently transferred from one place to another. A woman suspected of having knowledge of an underground press was arrested in Warsaw early in August, 1941. A Soviet report tells how she died under torture; but her secret, so far as the Nazis were concerned, died with her.

The police now endeavour to spread confusion among the population by distributing faked "underground" newspapers, and arresting those who accept them. A police agent recently obtained by this means the names of 300 people, all of whom were arrested and a large proportion of whom were shot. But their deaths were quickly avenged, for within a few days the agent had himself been shot, and indignation at his act of treachery brought hundreds more into the anti-Nazi struggle. A report which reached this country via Geneva told how news of the Polish-Soviet agreement in August, 1941, spread through Warsaw at lightning speed and was everywhere met with unconcealed jubilation. An illegal radio station situated in occupied Poland broadcast the terms of the agreement and followed it up with an appeal to the Polish people which began: "Poles, hope to-day is returning to us. Our Russian brothers are with us," and continued: "We Poles never gave up the struggle, even for a single day. . . . Arise then, great Polish people, to struggle against the enemy. . . . Do not work for your enslavers! Give them neither grain nor goods. Continue sabotage until the sacred hour of liberation comes. . . . Soon the dawn of freedom will rise over our blood-

stained country!" Even there, where Nazi repression has been most severe, the people are unconquerable. Drawing their inspiration from the deathless sacrifices of the Soviet masses, these proud people have refused to be degraded and defiled, but plan and organise for the day of reckoning.

Influence of Military Events

The spirit of revolt in Poland has, not unnaturally, flared up and died down with the fortunes of the military struggle in Europe. A definite guerrilla movement grew up during the German offensive in France in May, 1940. The guerrillas even captured the towns of Skernevitsi and Lowitch, and held them for several hours. Stubborn fighting in the Tucholsk forests and the Kielce district continued for weeks.

But this wave of the liberation movement was quickly subdued after the defeat of France. It lacked sufficient mass support and political perspective. Since then, however, the position has again changed drastically, and the struggle is on the upsurge.

The turning point was reached when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, and the Soviet-Polish agreement was concluded.

Throughout the country the people are watching developments in the war with tense attention, and most people listen in to the illegal radio, whose secret messages spread through Warsaw like lightning. The illegal radio bulletin is published broadcast and Warsaw citizens often find copies in their letter-boxes.

When General Guderian suffered a defeat at Briansk people in Warsaw said: "This is payment for Warsaw." When news came of the mass execution of Poles in Lvov, of the shooting of Professor Bartel, of the annexation of Byelostok to Eastern Prussia and of the destruction of Grodno, Polish indignation grew rapidly. The Poles were also greatly encouraged by the all-Slav Conference in Moscow which is described above.

Shootings are of No Avail

Frequent shootings of Poles have not succeeded in breaking the Polish spirit of resistance, and in March, 1942, their resistance was still so determined that the German governor of Warsaw, Fischer, attempted to repress it by officially threatening that if there were any more attacks on German officials the Polish population of Warsaw would be starved. At the same time, he announced that in reprisal for the death of a German policeman and the wounding of another, one hundred Poles had been shot in the city. For once they were described not as Communists or Jews, but as members of Polish patriotic organisations.

A Tribute from the Nazis

The tenacity with which the Poles have kept alive the spirit of revolt received a tribute from Frank, the Nazi Governor of the "Government-General" (the central areas of Poland, which Germany has not formally annexed to the Reich, as it has annexed Polish Pomerania, Posen and Silesia). Speaking to a meeting of German officials in Warsaw, he dwelt on the Poles' underground organisation of resistance and sabotage, and declared that the Poles were fools who, in spite of all the German victories from Narvik to Africa and in the East, "have never ceased to believe in the victory of the democratic States and have never given up their struggle for State independence." The way in which the Poles maintain the struggle with unbroken spirit, in spite of murder and imprisonment and low feeding, is in fact one of the abiding wonders of this war.

Poland is of course of particular interest as likely to prove the first major country to see the Germans retreating through her territory before the advance of the liberating Red Army. Of one thing at any rate the spirit of the Polish people and

the soulless brutality of the Nazis combine to make sure, namely that Polish revolt against the German oppressor will begin at the very moment the definite German retreat becomes an accomplished fact.

YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia presents yet another picture. Whilst her territory was overrun suddenly in April, 1941, largely by means of quislings, her people have never been subdued, and even a large part of her armies have remained intact, carrying on hostilities against the German invaders that deserve the title of war rather than of guerrilla. The spirit of revolt in this country is indeed neither dormant nor expressed merely in strikes and sabotage; it is clamant in open warfare.

Guerrillas

After the German army had "conquered" the country, parts of the army and vast numbers of irregular guerrilla fighters retired to the mountains and forests. In some parts their numbers are such that the territories they occupy become almost completely independent—bases for unending revolutionary activity. The guerrillas, both in fearlessness and ingenuity of tactics, are equalled only by their Soviet counterparts. These fighters have as their allies almost the entire population and carry out endless raids into German-controlled territory, where they wipe out outposts of the German army, cause railway accidents, harry transport columns and bear the torch of revolt from one part of the country to another.

A few examples only of many daring exploits can be given here. On 3rd September a Serbian illegal radio broadcast an account of the blowing up of a German-operated mine in Bogavina, eastern Serbia. The guerrillas who carried out this act escaped without a single man being caught. On 6th October a group of Yugoslav guerrillas attacked the town of Petronets. Two hand grenades were hurled at a motor-bus carrying German soldiers, a number of whom were killed or injured. The German military commandant, Col. Richter, offered a reward of 10,000 marks to anyone giving information. But the people know who are their friends and 10,000 marks are still going begging. So frequent were attacks upon German soldiers in Zagreb that an order was issued that no one was to be allowed on the streets after 9 p.m. in the evening. In spite of this, however, the attacks continue.

National Conference of Guerrillas

So strong is the position of the guerrilla fighters that in August, 1941, they held a national conference in the Bosnian mountains! One fighter after another reported on what had been achieved during six weeks of conflict. The balance was an imposing one: 12,000 officers and men had been annihilated, over 200 bridges blown up, between 300 and 400 petrol, munition and food depots burnt and 17 trains wrecked!

The German-Italian command, in its efforts to stamp out the guerrillas, resorts to the most brutal reprisals against the population. In the first half of August alone the Germans sent 10,000 Serbs to concentration camps. The Italians, not to be outdone, shot hundreds of guerrillas in Slovenia and Croatia.

In the same month of August, at a secret meeting in Pancovo, Serbian partisan fighters, after hearing the appeal which had gone out from the All-Slav Conference in Moscow mentioned above, took a vow not to lay down arms until all Slavonic people are freed from the Fascist yoke. Within three days the All-Slav appeal along with the text of the partisans' vow had been illegally printed in large numbers and widely circulated throughout the country.

The guerrillas employ tactics to which the Nazis have no answer. They are everywhere. No sooner is the flame temporarily damped down in one spot than it flares up more brightly than ever somewhere else. The army of occupation is

steadily being increased so that it now assumes considerable proportions. —An Istanbul report in the middle of September gave a vivid picture of the lengths to which the revolt has gone. Three more German divisions had been moved in; guerrilla sallies had become small-scale campaigns; tanks, dive bombers and heavy artillery had been brought in against them; * railway lines were put completely out of action. In return, the Germans had bombed towns and burned villages. The number of guerrilla units in the mountains of Bosnia and Montenegro are said to be about 150, all ceaselessly at work destroying and killing.

Stalin's Speech

In this country, too, Stalin's speech of 6th November gave great inspiration to the movement of revolt. Guerrilla committees in Valjevo distributed the speech in leaflet form. The appeal which prefaced the text of the speech stated:

"Peoples of Yugoslavia! The great leader of Soviet Russia, Stalin, says that the collapse of Hitlerite Germany will inevitably come. So it will. Let us intensify our struggle against the German invaders who have drenched our towns and villages in blood. All capable of carrying arms should join the guerrilla detachments.

"Serbs, Slovaks, Montenegrins and Croats—be merciless in the struggle against the enemy. Implacable vengeance, utter annihilation of the Hitlerite dogs—that is our answer to Stalin's call."

Conference of "Conqueror" and Guerrillas

A few days after this, about the 10th November, guerrilla troops even appeared before Belgrade, penning the Nazi forces inside the capital. At this time they harried the Germans so fiercely that General Neditch, the Serbian quisling leader, was driven to invite Colonel Mihailovich, the guerrilla chief, to meet him at Valjevo, near Belgrade, and discuss terms for an armistice! Mihailovich accepted the invitation and presented his terms, demanding that the Germans should immediately evacuate the whole country except Belgrade and Nish. If the Serbs were allowed to live in peace, he said, he could restore order in a few days. After consulting the German High Command, Neditch refused. Mihailovich went back to his troops.

After this the fighting increased in intensity. Regular Serbian troops, many of whom had been hiding in comparative inactivity, leaving the guerrilla warfare to irregulars, now began to take the field under Col. Mihailovich and carried out daring raids in various parts of Serbia. Regular battles were fought at Kraguyevatz, Pojarevatz and Kurustevatz, some of which lasted for two days and involved heavy casualties on both sides. Once again the Germans had to reinforce their armies, sending it is said three more divisions.

Uneasy Quislings

Yugoslavia is, in short, a country where no Nazi or Nazi-adherent is safe. Quislings sleep uneasily in all lands but nowhere more so than in Serbia. The quisling Government periodically offers its resignation to Hitler. Croatia has a "king" who dare not enter his "kingdom." The place of this Italian duke and would-be king is taken for the time by the murderer of King Alexander who, not content with the murder of a king, now assists in the attempted murder of a nation. It is largely by Mussolini's Fascist troops that Croatia has been occupied, but the jackal of Europe has been no more successful at holding down his turbulent slaves than has Hitler. In fact, one can say that Yugoslavia is "held" by the German occupants pretty much in the same way as East China is

* Train wrecking has become so widespread that orders were recently issued to cut down all trees and bushes within 500 yards on each side of all railway lines.

held by the Japanese military ; a certain number of key points are occupied, in the remaining part of the country occasional terror parties appear, but in a large part of the country the guerrillas, supported by the people, have effective control and carry on definite warfare against the armies of occupation.

Nazi Reprisals

It is not surprising that the Nazis have shot many thousands of civilians in vain efforts to terrorise the Yugoslav forces into abandoning resistance. Notices in the German-controlled newspapers that fifty people have been shot after the assassination of one German soldier are almost a daily occurrence. Thus the *Donau Zeitung*, published in Belgrade, stated on 4th September : " This morning a German soldier was shot in a street in Belgrade by Communist bandits. As a reprisal of this cowardly murder fifty Communists were immediately shot." (If everyone fighting against the Germans in Yugoslavia is a Communist, the Party must have a large membership, for the numbers of men actually fighting in organised bodies is understood to be between 70,000 and 80,000 !) The number of hostages shot is not officially stated, but from the accumulated evidence it appears that, in addition to the massacres committed by Germans, Hungarians, and bandit gangs of Ustashi, more than 5,000 people have been executed by the Germans as hostages in the last three months.

BELGIUM

Belgium, a small country close to Western Germany, relatively easily garrisoned, and with a coastline of necessity densely occupied, cannot find it easy to manifest a spirit of revolt. Nevertheless a strong anti-German movement has developed, overriding political and religious divisions. Communists, Social-Democrats and Liberals, Catholics and Flemish Separatists unite in the movement. Workers and peasants, students and professors, small rentiers and civil servants, business men and industrialists, all play an active part in the struggle. Of the several thousand priests in the country, only one could be found to express agreement with war against the U.S.S.R. The feeling of the need for uniting to throw off the Hitler yoke has even smoothed out the quarrels between Flemings and Walloons.

The Nazis attempted for some time to " collaborate " with the Belgians, but in December, 1941, illegal activities had grown to such an extent that they began to change their tactics. Communist and Socialist deputies and leaders were arrested, and some of them were executed.

Strikes and Sabotage

It is more in the field of strikes and sabotage that the people of this highly industrialised country can show their spirit and serve the cause of their and our liberation. Early in the summer of 1941, metal workers at Liège, one of Belgium's most important industrial centres, went on strike, demanding double food rations and a 25 per cent. increase in wages. The strike extended to miners, tramwaymen and textile workers, and the numbers involved soon reached 125,000. A central strike committee was elected and generous support was received from peasants and from many middle-class people.

Constant reports are published of Belgians being sentenced by the courts for acts of sabotage. An example may be given of a heavy trainload of metal goods for war production, which was delayed in unloading at Haine St. Pierre for several days owing to the brakes of the waggons being damaged by sand. Again, a generator was destroyed in an Ostend factory. It was replaced, and again destroyed. Finally the Germans gave it up and closed the factory until a new staff could be found. In reply to a command of the occupation authorities in September to increase output in the munitions works, Belgian patriots reduced both the quantity and quality of their output. During September, too, a fire

blazed for several days on end in a forest near Antwerp. The puzzling thing about it was the explosions which occurred at intermittent intervals whilst the fire raged. It later transpired that members of the opposition movement had discovered that the wood was being used by the Germans for the storage of ammunition and other war material, all of which was destroyed in the fire.

Potentialities

The people of Belgium may be farther from active revolt than those of some other countries; but they may be relied upon to remain at least as hostile to the Nazis as they were to the Germans of the First Reich a quarter of a century ago.

THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands, too, the spirit of revolt can only show itself—and does show itself—in sabotage and in rioting. When, in February, 1941, nearly 600 Jews were simply rounded up in the streets, bundled into motor-cars and taken away, the Dutch in Amsterdam rose. There were fights between S.A. men and citizens. Many people were killed by the Germans in their efforts to stamp out this revolt.

The riots and strikes spread to Delft, Hilversum, Utrecht and Zaandam. Martial law was proclaimed. Enormous fines were imposed upon the cities concerned. Amsterdam's richer people were fined a total amount of 15,000,000 guilders (£2,000,000), which had to be paid immediately.

By the end of July 130 of those young Dutch Jews had died at Mauthausen concentration camp. At the end of October the death roll there had risen to nearly 500. These young men, aged between 18 and 35, had—it is reported privately from Holland—been sent to work in saltpetre mines unprotected by any mask, which meant slow but certain death.

Dangerous Canals

There was a time when Nazi soldiers took a stroll at night down the peaceful canal banks. But the soldier who was seen leaving for a stroll down the bank at night was all too often found floating down the canal in the morning and in the end instructions had to be issued to the effect that canals are "out of bounds."

Sabotage

In defiance of German terror the Dutch people are sabotaging the work of industrial enterprises now being used to supply arms for Germany. One night recently the engine-room of a large machine-building works was blown sky-high and the main departments were out of action for a week. In a town where there are a number of munition plants the power-plant ceased to function one evening in August. It was found that the generators had been damaged—and repairs took several days. The following day a train travelling between Appeldoorn and Deventer, loaded with anti-aircraft guns and trucks, was derailed and much of its freight destroyed. During the course of the next week the Gestapo arrested 500 workers who were suspected of wrecking activities. But within a few days a new outbreak of sabotage had occurred, this time in an aircraft works. The story went around in Holland that several thousand youths between the ages of 18 and 25 had been taken from Amsterdam and had been used for experiments with anti-cholera serum which was injected into them after they had been infected with cholera bacilli. The story was never confirmed—but it sent a new wave of sabotage rippling throughout the factories.

The death penalty, already in force for those helping crews of British aeroplanes forced down in the Netherlands, has recently been imposed for sabotage as well. As resistance increases, more and more people are being carried away into captivity in concentration camps on one pretext or another.

Not Enough Dutch Nazis

One major sign—if a negative one—of the success of the spirit of revolt in the people of the Netherlands is the fact that Hitler has not so far succeeded in establishing a Dutch Nazi Government, a move which he regards as calculated, if he can successfully carry it through, to make his rear safer while he is fighting in the East. The Nazi Commissioner, the infamous Seyss-Inquart, was summoned to Berlin in November, 1941, to discuss this scheme, and the danger of revolt which it involved. It is significant both of the difficulties of the scheme and of the general development of the spirit of revolt in Holland that on his return from Berlin he did no more—and no less—than broadcast warnings of the serious consequences that would follow the discovery of those responsible for firing granaries, destroying agricultural implements, falsifying ration books, and illegally slaughtering cattle. Ever since assuming office he has had the difficulty that he has been obliged, on Hitler's instructions, to be lenient and stern in turns, in ineffectual efforts to secure the co-operation of the Dutch population.

Trade Unions Resist

It is noteworthy too that, since the trade unions in the Netherlands were placed under a Nazi Commission, their membership has fallen, despite every Nazi cajolement, from 400,000 to about 150,000, most of whom only retain their membership because without it they lose their employment, and no funds are available for their relief.

BULGARIA AND GREECE

Little news—beyond tragic stories of starvation—filters through from the Greeks, a people who showed by their heroic fights against the Italians and Germans that they would not lightly abandon the struggle for their national independence. From Bulgaria, a country whose Government is strongly pro-German, and whose people are so well-disposed to Soviet Russia that her army cannot be sent to the Eastern front, news is also scanty; and the position is complicated by the fact that Bulgarian troops have lately been employed (so much against their will that they have to be moved secretly in small detachments) to occupy Eastern Serbia.

Anti-German Reactions

Nevertheless, some news of revolt comes from both these countries. The Bulgarian people, who had been persuaded by their Government that Germany and the U.S.S.R. were definitely friends and allies, were greatly surprised by Hitler's attack in June, 1941, and reacted violently in hostility to the Germans.

Open opposition burst out through the whole country. In Sofia two German stores were burnt in July; at Varna the Bulgarians a dozen times during the black-out attacked German anti-aircraft batteries. At Varna railway station, too, three oil trains were blown up in the first days of September. At Plovdiv (Philippopolis) four German military aircraft were set on fire in October, and the Russe oil refinery was blown up, with heavy casualties, in November. German military trains have been attacked repeatedly, and sabotage in factories has reached a large scale.

One German officer and four men were killed in Sofia on 3rd August, and an unknown but substantial number of Germans killed in the provinces. At Slivno armed clashes in which the police were helped by Germans in attacking workers lasted two days, and more than 300 workers escaped to the mountains. On 4th September an armed group of Bulgarian patriots even attacked the chief Bulgarian concentration camp near Plovdiv, where 600 Democratic, Progressive and Communist Deputies, ex-Ministers, diplomatists, journalists, lawyers, doctors

and farmers were detained in frightful conditions. The attack lasted for eight hours, and the attackers were not dispersed until a whole regiment of soldiers had arrived to help 200 policemen guarding the camp.

Bulgars and Greeks Unite in Revolt

The most serious revolt occurred early in October, near Drama, and was falsely described from Sofia as "a local clash between Greek irregular bands and the police." In reality it was a joint rising of Bulgarians and Greeks, led by three Bulgarian and three Greek Communists. The insurgents occupied fifteen villages, proclaimed a provisional Government, and appealed for the formation of a Balkan Federation. They then attacked the town of Drama, where they occupied the railway station, hoisted the Red Flag on the building and fought for several days. The rebels were at last crushed by special German and Bulgarian police forces and by German Stuka bombers, with such barbarity that the Bulgarian Governor of the district resigned his post in protest.

Government Repression

The Bulgarian Government, accomplice of its Nazi masters, has met the popular resistance to the Germans by savage "judicial" repression. In January, 1942, courts martial sentenced over sixty persons to death by hanging.

At the end of January a Sofia court martial sentenced fifteen persons to various terms of imprisonment, including one of life imprisonment, for belonging to an anti-Fascist organisation and "anti-State activities."

On 30th January five persons were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for the circulation of anti-Fascist leaflets in Plevna and Sofia. The court martial at Plovdiv sentenced four residents of the town of Karlovo to be hanged for belonging to anti-Fascist organisations. In addition, twenty persons were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Many of the convicted persons are under 21 years of age.

A particularly large number of death sentences are passed in the army. Recently five soldiers of the Plovdiv garrison were executed because they discussed a report broadcast on the foreign radio.

ITALY

Italy should not go without mention in a pamphlet dealing with Revolt in Europe. Sooner or later, the Italian people must rebel against the yoke of Hitler, or that of Mussolini, or both. It must be tolerably clear to them that only the defeat of the Nazis will ever remove them from Italy. ("You are better off than we are," said an Italian officer to a French one; "you have at least an unoccupied zone.")

Little Evidence

But the evidence of unrest or incipient revolt is scanty; reports here too are all to the effect that any change in the military fortunes of Hitler would speedily bring about an up-surge of revolt in Italy, but that meanwhile little is to be expected, in spite of the widespread hostility in almost all classes of the population towards both Italian and German Fascism. Nevertheless, recent mass trials of some seventy-one people charged with treasonably conspiring to end Nazi control, to negotiate a separate peace with Britain, and to establish a free anti-Fascist Italian Government, indicate that revolt is simmering under the surface. This lends point to a leaflet recently distributed in the teeth of the Fascist terror by the Communist Party of Italy, which runs in part: "Across the trenches and the war fronts we must stretch a hand of comradeship to the British workers. We must join them in a struggle to put an end to the horrors of war."

GERMANY

What of Germany itself? Too many people who expect immediate and striking developments are guilty of underrating the difficulties of revolt for a people engaged in warfare against enemies who, as it has been persuaded, threaten to humiliate and dismember it when once it is defeated. They forget, too, that such difficulties are greatly increased by the fact that more than half the population of Germany knows exactly what military defeat means, and recollects from its own personal experience the discomforts, hardships and humiliations produced by similar experiences after the war of 1914-18. Before it can be ripe for revolt the civilian population must suffer yet more, or see grave defeats at the front, or be encouraged by more effective Allied propaganda on the subject of war and peace aims. The argument of Hitler and Goebbels that victory must be achieved at any cost in order to avoid dismemberment and oppression, should be countered not merely by showing that it is not true, but by positive demonstration that it is Nazism that brings war after war, that no Hitler victory can end war, and that peace and freedom and national unity can only be won by the actual defeat of Hitler.

Army Troubles?

There have been a certain number of mass desertions from the German Army in the East even before December, 1941, but it is too much to expect many mass desertions from an army whose every unit is filled with agents of the military police, an army moreover which until lately has been marching forward in something like triumph; there is no record in history of mass desertions from an unbeaten army, even when suffering heavy losses. The losses have no doubt been terrible, but the war against the U.S.S.R. is barely nine months old. It is well to remember what Carlyle wrote: "Insurrection is difficult; each individual uncertain even of his distant neighbours, what strength is in him and what strength is against him; certain only that, in case of failure, his individual portion is the gallows."

Magnificent Opposition Movement

Of one thing we can be certain. The German opposition movement, mainly under Communist leadership, is fully aware of its responsibilities, and of the historic task it is called upon to perform, and is working day and night to fulfil its task. But the people of Germany have suffered under the barbarities of Nazism longer than any others. For eight long soul-destroying years the iron heel has been upon them. For eight years their bravest elements have been conducting the struggle and all too often taking the fatal consequences. Concentration camps, prisons and torture chambers have seen the end of struggle for many of the most fearless underground workers. Side by side with the physical destruction of large numbers of the opposition has gone the deliberate Nazi policy of destroying the spirit and soul of the people. Eight years in hell have left their mark on the bodies and minds of the German masses. While long hours and poor food have undermined their physique, years of oppression and persecution have deadened the political consciousness of many. In some the will to resist has been undermined, their sensibilities blunted, their spirit killed. Years of Nazi "culture" have had their effect, especially (and this is the saddest reflection) upon the youth, regimented and corrupted in schools and camps and in the Hitler Jugend; and hopelessness and disillusionment have gripped the minds of others. Deep wounds have thus been inflicted; to overlook that fact is to delude oneself, for these are the things with which the underground fighters have to contend.

Who Profits by Nazism?

Against them are ranged a million or more people for whom Nazism is a good thing, the people who constitute Hitler's chief support, not only the big industrialists and landowners, the chief executives in state and local government, the military chiefs and heads of conquered countries, but also the hundreds of thousands of S.S. men—picked thugs in whom every vestige of decency and humanity has been destroyed.

Growth Underground

And yet, despite all the difficulties and dangers, the struggle has gone on unceasingly and in recent weeks has developed considerably. The attack on the Soviet Union came as a shock to the masses of the people, who had believed Hitler's professions of friendship with the U.S.S.R. News of the mounting casualties on the Eastern Front, now running into millions, is spreading fury and alarm. Everything possible is done to conceal the magnitude of the losses, but the news seeps through. A strike of dockers and shipyard workers recently brought Hamburg (home of the Communist leader, Thaelmann) to a standstill. The strikers' demand was simply for publication of the list of names of fallen soldiers. The doubt which is in everyone's mind is slowly undermining the authority of the state machine, and influencing the women as well as the men. Long ago they coined a phrase, "Hitler's victory means new war," and the uncertain prospect of a victory on the Eastern Front has been no compensation for the terrible losses. The Communist Party in this situation is fulfilling its task. Social-democrats, trade unionists, and others are more and more drawn towards the party which has gained so much experience of illegal work and has earned the respect of all by its absolute integrity. Its leadership is felt in the factories, in the market-places and at the front. Sabotage is on the increase. "Dud" shells on the Eastern Front become more and more common. Valuable machinery is wrecked or put out of action. Almost nightly the Moscow Radio instructs German listeners in new methods of sabotage, and the listening workers pass the lessons on from mouth to mouth, translating them into action on every possible occasion. In the month of July, 1941, alone 500 workers were beheaded for acts of sabotage.

At the front desertions are frequent, although for obvious reasons individual desertions are not encouraged; an anti-Fascist in the German ranks is more valuable than one on the other side, and only mass desertions are regarded as useful. To organise them is not easy, as already mentioned, when the army is full of police agents and no man knows who is friend or foe; yet they take place in growing numbers, particularly since the Soviet advance began in December, 1941. The Soviet propaganda machine assists tremendously in encouraging desertion. "German soldiers!" booms out the voice of loudspeakers over the trenches, "Why have you come to our land? What does the war hold in store for you?"

Dangerous Thoughts

"Your artillery strikes terror in our hearts," say German prisoners to the Red Army men, "and your radio makes us think!"

Yes, the German people are thinking. Their letters, found on prisoners taken on the Eastern Front, are evidence of this. And they are waiting to act. A few serious reverses would give the opposition its chance. In even greater numbers they are coming to see their common interest with the peoples of the occupied countries, to see themselves as a part of the great anti-Fascist front which stretches right across Europe.

As evidence that, in spite of all the difficulties, there was already long before the reverses of December, 1941, substantial incipient revolt both at home in Germany and in the forces on the Eastern Front, one may instance a report of the Soviet High Command dated as early as 3rd September, which says :

"On the south-western front seventy-three soldiers of the 80th regiment of the 95th German infantry division gave themselves up. Before coming over to the Soviet troops, the German soldiers killed their company commander who was driving them forward under threat of shooting them. One of these soldiers said : 'We are tired of this accursed war, brought about by Hitler's thirst for power and for world domination.'"

German War Prisoners Attack Hitler

Then, on 11th November, 1941, a somewhat remarkable conference of 158 German war prisoners was held at Kuibyshev, the temporary seat of government of the U.S.S.R., at which the following appeal to the German people was drawn up, and subsequently distributed through Soviet channels to the German troops in the East.

"We German soldiers are workers, peasants, employees just like you. We are now war prisoners in the Soviet Union. We have devoted much time to thinking about the war and the fate of Germany. We are convinced that our words express the thoughts of millions of you.

"We love our country and our people just as you do. Everyone of you who will seriously consider the situation will arrive at the conclusion that Hitler has led our country into a blind alley. One must be mad to believe that Hitler can win the war against the three greatest Powers : the Soviet Union—a country with the greatest land forces, England—a country with the greatest navy, and the U.S.A.—with its colossal, almost inexhaustible economic might.

"Therefore our sacrifices are senseless and futile. Our comrades are dying for a completely hopeless cause. By continuing to take part in Hitler's war the German soldiers are prolonging this hopeless war and immeasurably increasing the sufferings of our people.

"No one has ever brought our people so much grief and suffering as has Hitler. The people wanted peaceful work—Hitler wanted war. In order to make the people an obedient instrument of his plans of conquest and suppress every aspiration for freedom, Hitler deprived 70 million Germans of the most elementary rights. Hitler is the worst and bitterest enemy of our country and of our people.

"Had the majority of our people been able openly to express their thoughts, they would have loudly declared that Hitler and his Nazi Party could not be identified with Germany.

"There are two Germanies : the Germany of the Nazi parasites and the Germany of the working people.

"There is the Germany of the mad megalomaniac rulers who strive to preserve their rule by a hopeless war to the last German soldier ; but there is another Germany which curses Hitler and his Fascist terrorism. There is a People's Germany which demands that the war be immediately ended.

"The German people need, not the enslavement of other peoples, but their own liberation from Nazi slavery. The German people must purge their own home of the Nazi plague which has doomed them to hunger, privation and endless war. In order to put a speedy end to the war the German people must begin a popular struggle against Hitler's rule and against the war.

"The German people must prove, not in words but in deeds, that they have nothing in common with Hitler.

"Hitler's overthrow will make the German people the masters of their own destiny. It will create a new Germany where the people will be masters in their own home. In this new Germany a truly democratic constitution will ensure to the people their rights and liberties.

"The real unity of the people, destroyed by Nazi terrorism and the privileges of the capitalist plutocrats, will arise in a new Germany on the basis of equal rights and duties of all German citizens. All workers will receive the opportunity to work, not for war but for peaceful construction. All compulsory measures which weigh heavily on the peasant household will be abolished for ever. The German people will compel the war to be paid for by the war profiteers and not by the poor who shed their blood in the war.

"The true unity of the people can be realised only after the flagrant contradiction between the wealth of some and the poverty of others has been abolished. The birth of such a Germany will be the greatest victory of our people in this war.

"Comrades in the army, German men and women at home, we call you to the self-sacrificing struggle for a new Germany. Down with the war! Down with Hitler! Long live a free and independent Germany!"

Large numbers of German prisoners have subsequently added their signatures to those of the original 158. A similar declaration made subsequently by a number of writers and others is printed in the Appendix.

Trench Confessions

It is perhaps even more remarkable that early in December, 1941, in the first days of the Soviet advance on the Moscow front, one section of trenches was captured without a shot being fired, and the Red Army men found in two separate dugouts the following inscriptions, scratched on the walls with a knife:

"Comrades of the Red Army. Fight stubbornly against Hitler. You will win. Greetings. A group of German soldiers."

"Fascism exterminates the people. Nazis outrage the peaceful population. Valiant Russian fighters—destroy Hitlerism. With greetings. German Soldiers."

German Communists Call for Revolt

But the most remarkable piece of evidence is the appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, a copy of which was found on a German N.C.O. killed in action in November, 1941. This splendid and inspiring document deserves to be quoted in full. It runs:

"To the German people and the German army!

"Workers, peasants, citizens!

"For over two years the German people have been bled for the sake of Hitler's mad plans of world domination. In these fateful days the Communist Party of Germany addresses its message to the German people and the German army.

"We Communists repeatedly warned you of the great danger which Hitler presented for our people and country. We called upon you to fight this monster. We told you that Hitler meant immeasurable want, unprecedented shame and endless war for our country.

"But never before was our national misfortune so great as it is to-day. Hitler's military successes in Holland, Belgium, France and in the Balkans have not brought peace but new wars, new and even greater sacrifice and hardship. Hitler's foul and perfidious attack on the Soviet Union on 22nd June was the greatest of all crimes ever committed against the German people, and brought on Germany the greatest calamity she has yet known.

"In these four months of war millions of German soldiers have been senselessly sacrificed, and Hitler is now driving the German armies over heaps of corpses in a new bloody offensive. With unparalleled cynicism he promises the tormented

and despairing German soldier that this offensive will bring the final victory and peace.

"But recall the past, German soldiers! One year ago Hitler boasted that the outcome of the war had been decided and that Britain was crushed. That was a lie. Since then Britain has only grown stronger. In July Hitler declared that the Red Army was annihilated. That, too, was a lie, for the Red Army's resistance has become more stubborn and powerful.

"To-day the German soldiers and their families at home are beginning to see more clearly the fatal truth that millions and millions of Germans will never return from the battle which is raging over the vast territory of Soviet Russia. Never before has a German Government heedlessly hurled a whole generation of Germans into the jaws of death as Hitler has done.

"In the face of this bloody catastrophe every German is asking himself: why was this criminal war against Soviet Russia ever begun?

"You remember how shocked we all were at the news of the attack on the Soviet Union. We knew that the Russian people were friends of the German people and had proved this time and again since 1918. Russia supported Germany in the difficult days of Versailles. The Soviet Union concluded the Rapallo Treaty at a time when Germany was isolated.

"We knew that Germany and the Soviet Union had concluded a non-aggression pact. We knew too that the Soviet Union scrupulously adhered to this pact. At no time before 22nd June did Hitler make any complaints or present any claims.

"All Hitler's lying assertions, made after his treacherous attack on the U.S.S.R., are refuted by facts. Millions of our soldiers can confirm that Hitler and not the Soviet Union had concentrated tremendous military forces on the Russian frontiers at the beginning of this year. Hitler despatched German troops to Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria to gain vantage points for an attack on the Soviet Union. Without any warning the German Air Force bombed peaceful Soviet towns on Hitler's orders. Without declaring war Hitler perfidiously hurled the German army against Soviet Russia.

"Had the Soviet Union had any intention of encroaching on Germany it would not have waited for the German army to attack it. It is a known fact that the Soviet Union mobilised its armed forces only after the German army had invaded Soviet territory.

"Facts are against Hitler, and he will never succeed in convincing the German people of the justness of this criminal war or in proving that it was necessary or inevitable. Hitler attacked the Soviet Union only to plunder it and use its raw materials and natural riches for the war against Britain and to prepare war against the United States.

"The greedy German plutocrats and Nazi chieftains want to wax rich on the predatory war against the Soviet Union. But the German people stand to gain nothing in this war. This robber war will make the Goering Concern richer, but the German people still poorer, and it will make the Russian people the irreconcilable foe of Germany.

"In his policy Hitler has turned out to be not only the oppressor of nations but a short-sighted and none too clever statesman. His stupid and short-sighted policy has only created the united front of Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Hitler feared a war on two fronts, but in actual fact he has caused the alliance of three great nations to be formed, and this represents three fronts of mighty powers against Germany. One can hardly conceive of a more stupid and idiotic policy.

"German workers! Is it not your disgrace that you are not hindering Hitler in the prosecution of this war against the world's only Socialist State, that you forge the weapons against a country where the workers and peasants are in power? Do you not realise that you are thereby forging the chains for your own even worse enslavement?"

"German soldiers! Do you wish to shed your blood and perish without honour as the mercenaries of reaction in the war against a people who are courageously defending their country, their liberty and the Socialist system?"

"The German people have had enough of this criminal war. It has brought the Germans only want, misfortune and shame. The German people want peace. But every military success of Hitler only lengthens the war, increases the losses and plunges Germany into a deeper abyss.

"Enfeebled by back-breaking toil, hungry, ill-clad, always trembling for the lives of their sons, and filled with constant alarm, our people enter this third winter of war. The hatred of the peoples who no longer wish to bear slavery and terror is rising around Germany. The war waged by these subjugated and tormented peoples against Hitler is a just war.

"The German people cannot take upon themselves the disgraceful rôle of executioner of the freedom of nations. If Germans wish to be free, if they wish to wipe out the black record of Hitler's crimes, they must support the struggle for liberation of the European peoples and primarily the Soviet Union's great war of liberation.

"This is a hopeless war for the German people. Hitler has thrown all his reserves against the Soviet Union, yet he cannot overcome the Soviet people and the Red Army. The material and moral reserves of the Soviet Union are inexhaustible. Behind every front lurks a new front. Every step forward is paid for by the blood and corpses of German troops."

German Anxieties

This splendid declaration demonstrates not merely the courage of the Communist Party of Germany, but also the extent to which public anxiety has developed in that country. There are other signs of anxiety, too. The propaganda of Hitler and Goebbels, whose bombastic shouts of triumph have hitherto been largely justified by military successes, was bound to face an awkward situation so soon as the tide of advance began to ebb; it kept, so to speak, no cards in its hand.

Explanations

The explanations and apologies which had to be undertaken in December, 1941, by way of breaking the news to the German people that no further attempts would be made to capture either Leningrad or Moscow during the winter, but that on the contrary the armies would fall back some distance, involved the admission that previous boasts that "the road to Moscow is open" and "the Red Army is annihilated" were empty and unfounded. It must not be forgotten that Hitler, who had built up round himself a legend of infallibility and unbroken success, based on very remarkable diplomatic and military achievements, had proclaimed on 2nd October, 1941, that "At last we have created the prerequisites for the final tremendous blow which, before the onset of winter, will lead to the destruction of the enemy," and on the following day had added: "Forty-eight hours ago there commenced new operations of gigantic dimensions. They will lead to the destruction of the enemy in the East. The enemy has already been routed and will never regain his strength."

Large sections of the German population accepted these boasts almost unreservedly, and the recent confessions of failure must of necessity be incomparably more disturbing to them than they would have been to a people who had been told the truth all the time. The explanations were, moreover, accompanied by warnings which for the first time disclosed expressly the existence of doubts, disappointment and opposition among the home population.

Upbraiding the Doubters

German newspapers have already for some months been upbraiding those who are apathetic in the face of the military successes, and have even mentioned—in order sternly to rebuke those responsible for it—the growing currency of the deadly slogan, carrying memories of the last war into fears for this one: “Wir siegen uns tot” (“We are killing ourselves with victories”). But in the second week of December the not unimportant *Westdeutscher Beobachter* published a leading article under the heading, “The complete change in the world picture,” which in its tone and even in its wording resembled the condemned slogan. It is worth quoting:

“The longer the war lasts the more we shall realise its intrinsic laws. When the Polish war ended we thought that a final decision would come soon. After France had been conquered we wondered when the jump across the Channel would be launched. England’s share in the world war developed to a super-dimensional size and behind her appeared the United States. After 22nd June we turned again towards the East. To-day, six months afterwards, we know that nothing was as we had expected it to be. The only thing we know for certain to-day is: *at the end of this war the greatest revolution of all times will take place and a completely new age will begin.*”

Hitler Warns

In the speech which Hitler made about the same time, there were no flamboyant promises or assertions of victory, but instead a sombre note of half-despair, with express mention of internal difficulties. This speech too is worth quoting:

“In September, 1939, I assured you that neither force of arms nor time would overcome Germany. I will now assure my enemies that neither force of arms, nor time, nor any internal doubts, can make us waver in the performance of our duty. When we think of the sacrifices of our soldiers, any sacrifice made on the home front is completely unimportant. . . . Anyone who tries to evade this duty has no claim to be regarded as a fellow-German.

“Just as we were unmercifully hard in our struggle for power, we shall be unmercifully hard in the struggle to maintain our nation. At a time when thousands of our best men are dying nobody must expect to live who tries to depreciate the sacrifices made at the front. No matter under what camouflage he tries to disturb this German front, or to undermine the resistance of our people, or to weaken the authority of the régime, or to sabotage the achievements on the home front, he shall die for it.”

Goebbels Warns

And on the following day, either to confirm or to smooth over Hitler’s warning, Goebbels wrote in *Das Reich*:

“Our German unity is only of recent date. We are still bearing the scars from the divisions of the old party politics. Carefully and jealously we have to watch that they do not reopen even in a single place.”

There is, in addition to what may be drawn from such statements as these, some evidence that further precautions are being taken against possible internal

disorder. Executive police powers in case of emergency or serious military disorder, including the power to arrest and to shoot, are now conferred on wider ranges of officials, such as sanitary inspectors and veterinary officials, as well as A.R.P. men and the "Workers' Guards" that exist in most factories. There are moreover reports that the Gestapo are taking over more apartments in working-class districts in Berlin and other towns.

There is plainly evidence of uneasiness, which may well develop into unrest if retreats continue on the Eastern Front or if Libya is lost—and might equally be allayed if the tide of fortune turned once again. It is certain, at least, that the situation is one in which any major reverse for Germany in the military field will give an opportunity for revolt in that country and that any such revolt might at once deal a death-blow to Fascism, shorten the present world-wide human sacrifice and suffering, and set Germany and other countries on their way to democratic government that can avoid a repetition of such horrors.

CONCLUSION

It is at this point that we have to consider carefully the responsibilities and opportunities of the British people. The situation in Nazi-occupied Europe, and above all in Germany itself, may at any moment become explosive, and can by wise policy be made more explosive more rapidly. The barriers that keep back the forces of revolt are formidable, as we have seen; but if they can be broken we shall be in sight of the only short cut to that complete military destruction of Fascism which is an essential condition of all our futures.

Our Responsibilities

Thus both our responsibilities and our opportunities are great. We are a powerful European nation, vitally interested in the destruction of Fascism, not at some future date but at the earliest possible moment; and we are equally interested in laying the foundations of a peaceful Europe and a peaceful world. We have national unity in the fight against Fascism, backed by immense naval, military and industrial strength. It is unthinkable that we should sit idle, neither making nor even seizing opportunities, until in God's good time Nazi Germany kindly collapses at our feet. It is equally unthinkable that we should sit idle while the magnificent peoples of the U.S.S.R., almost unaided, bear our burdens, face our responsibilities, fulfil our tasks, create opportunities for us, and pay the price of our future with their own lives, their own farms, their own factories and cities. We owe it to ourselves, to them, and to the world, to face our own responsibilities, seize our own opportunities, and put our maximum strength into the battle.

What are our tasks? They are really three. First and foremost, we must utterly destroy Fascism. Finally, we must—however little we can plan it in detail yet awhile—secure foundations on which a peaceful, free and happy world can be built. And intermediately, as an auxiliary to both these tasks, above all to the first, we must encourage and secure Revolt in Germany.

To the first of these tasks so much thought and discussion has already been given that in this pamphlet I need not treat it at length. It is enough to say that we must work not only for the maximum industrial production but also for the best-directed and most aggressive naval and military activity against the forces of Fascism in every sea and on every continent.

Blue-Prints are Premature

When we turn to the last of these tasks, we must realise that it would be fatal to play around at this early stage with detailed blue-prints of even a foundation; for when the time comes everything will depend on the alignment of social forces

which as yet have scarcely begun to group themselves and may undergo many changes in the near future. We can accordingly do little more—and certainly must do nothing less—than to make sure that no obstruction is created, either by lost opportunities or by wrong policies, to the road to a peaceful world, which must be trodden by the peoples both of the defeated and the victorious states.

That brings us at once to the task of fomenting Revolt, the one sure way not merely of keeping that road open but also of carrying us all some way along it. What is the present difficulty in fomenting this revolt in Germany, the one vital theatre? It is pretty clear; it is the fact, already mentioned, that large sections of the German people, of varying degrees of political enlightenment and hostility to Fascism and to their present rulers, who would otherwise be ripe for the perilous work of sabotage and revolt, are held back by the fear that the terms of peace which the British and American Governments—in spite of the U.S.S.R.—would impose upon them in the event of defeat would be such that it is actually better to endure and support their present rulers than to work for their defeat. Too many of them remember the years of despair that followed Versailles and led up to Hitler; and, reading the Anglo-French propaganda of 1939–40, and that of Lord Vansittart in 1941, they see no different or better prospect. If the steps already suggested for the removal of that fear be not efficiently taken, we can hardly hope that a sufficient proportion of the German people will be ready to embark on the hard and dangerous road of insurrection against their present brutal rulers. But if they can be brought to trust us, if that fear can be removed, if they can be convinced that the victory of Nazism would frustrate their hopes, and the defeat of Nazi Germany will be followed by a better peace, revolt will be far more likely, far easier, and far more fruitful.

Peace Aims and Propaganda to Aid Revolt

We must accordingly work to secure declarations from our Government as to our war and peace aims, consistent with but far more definite than the Atlantic Charter, which while making it clear that no mercy will be shown to any Nazi, nor even to anyone tainted in any degree with Nazism, will also ensure that the free development of a secure and peaceful future for the German people shall not be obstructed, either by economic hamstringing through frontiers or tariff walls or by the subtler method of choking them to death with cream in the form of nice, kind, new rulers such as Otto Strasser, Hermann Rauschning, or A. B. Hohenzollern, groomed to make Central Europe safe for finance-capital.

We ought, too, to plan our propaganda, in co-operation with our Soviet allies, to make it clear that, whilst the Nazis and their system must be finally destroyed, the non-Nazi masses of Germany have nothing to fear from our victory. On this subject, it is useful to quote portions of Stalin's famous Order of the Day to the Red Army on its 24th Anniversary on the 23rd February, 1942:

"Sometimes the foreign Press engages in prattle to the effect that the Red Army's aim is to exterminate the German people and destroy the German State. This is, of course, a stupid lie and a senseless slander against the Red Army.

"The Red Army has not and cannot have any such idiotic aims. The aim of the Red Army is to oust the German occupationists from our country and liberate Soviet soil from the German Fascist invaders. It is very likely that the war for the liberation of our Soviet land will result in the ousting or destruction of Hitler's clique. We would welcome such an outcome.

"But it would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German State. The experience of history shows that Hitlers come and go, whereas the German people and the German State remain.

"Lastly, the strength of the Red Army lies in the fact that it does not and cannot entertain racial hatred for other peoples, including the German people; that it has been brought up in the spirit of the equality of all peoples and races, in the spirit of respect for the rights of other peoples. The Germans' racial theory and their practice of racial hatred have brought about a situation in which all freedom-loving peoples have become the enemies of Fascist Germany.

"The theory of race equality in the Soviet Union and the practice of respect for the rights of other peoples have brought about a situation in which all freedom-loving peoples have become the friends of the Soviet Union. This is another source of the strength of the Red Army, and this is also a source of the weakness of the German Fascist Army.

"Sometimes the foreign Press engages in prattle that the Soviet people hate the Germans just because they are Germans, and that the Red Army exterminates the German soldiers just because they are Germans, because it hates everything German, and that therefore the Red Army does not take German soldiers prisoner. This, of course, is a similar stupid lie and senseless slander against the Red Army.

"The Red Army is free from feelings of racial hatred. It is free of such humiliating feelings because it has been brought up in the spirit of racial equality and respect for the rights of other peoples. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that in our country any manifestation of racial hatred is punished by law.

"Certainly the Red Army has to annihilate the German Fascist occupationists, who wish to enslave our motherland, or when the enemy soldiers, being surrounded by our troops, refuse to lay down their arms and surrender. The Red Army annihilates them not because of their German origin but because they wish to enslave our motherland. The Red Army, like the army of any other people, is entitled to annihilate, and bound to annihilate, the enslavers of its motherland, irrespective of their natural origin.

"Recently, German garrisons stationed in Kalinin, Klin, Sukhinichi, Andreapol and Toropets were surrounded by our troops who offered them surrender and, in this case, promised to spare their lives. The German garrisons refused to lay down their arms and surrender. It is obvious that they had to be driven out by force and that not a few Germans were killed.

"War is war. The Red Army takes German soldiers and officers prisoner if they surrender and spares their lives. The Red Army annihilates German soldiers and officers if they refuse to lay down their arms and attempt, arms in hand, to enslave our motherland."

Whose Will Shall Prevail?

All this we can do, within the limits and scope of our existing national unity, if we devote our energies to securing that the policy of our Government is rightly guided and earnestly pursued. It must not be deflected or distorted by the sectional interests of bankers and industrialists but must be shaped and determined by that most important element of our country's life, the working class. By its record, its numbers and its sound political background, it is entitled to hold, and must secure, the right to shape its country's policy, and to apply it, among other objects, to this vital task of fomenting Revolt in Europe.

D. N. PRITT.

APPENDIX

GERMANS CALL FOR REVOLT

*Appeal Issued by 57 German Writers, Politicians, Trade Unionists and Artists
(Received in February, 1942)*

Retribution is Near

GRIPPED by profound alarm for the fate of the German people, for their honour and future life, for their existence as a great nation, we accuse Hitler.

To what a state has this butcher reduced our Germany. The motherland of Goethe, Schiller, Bach and Beethoven, of Hegel, Marx and Engels, a country once famous for the achievements of human genius, this Germany is now converted into a den of murderers surrounded by the hatred of the nations.

With all the vehemence of our love for the German people, and of our hatred for those who humiliate them and convert them into the tool of Hitler's black deeds, we address all German men and women, we address German youth.

Do you not see, do you not understand to what an endless abyss of shame Hitler drives you, to what appalling disaster he is dragging you? How long will you shut your eyes to the merciless reality of this accursed Hitlerite war?

You Share the Guilt

German men and German women, you still fail to realise what unexampled crimes are being committed on the Eastern Front, what guilt is borne by your husbands, brothers and sons who take part in them.

You do not want to believe this. But recall the letters which have contained many hints of these crimes. Recall the communiqués of the German Supreme Command which reported the ruthless summary treatment of the non-combatant population in occupied territories. Recall the rivers of blood which Hitler shed in Germany after his seizure of power; recall the people tortured to death in Dachau and Oranienburg.

We are certain that many German soldiers did not sink so low as to take part in these bestial crimes. But millions of Germans at the front and in the rear, because they lack the courage to rise against this shame, become accomplices of the crime.

We desire that on the momentous day of trial the German people will have the right to declare: "We Germans found the strength to rise against the criminals in our country. We dissociated ourselves from them by our deeds and not merely by our words, and we ourselves helped humanity to settle accounts with Hitler and his horde of murderers."

Woe to Germany Unless You Act

Hitler's defeat is imminent, but woe to Germany if he is defeated without the participation of our people. For the salvation of our country, every German who is not a coward, who is not Hitler's henchman or an indifferent, narrow-minded ignoramus, must find the strength and courage to show an example of struggle against Hitler.

All Germans must unite in this struggle. We Germans, now beyond the borders of Nazi Germany, have the opportunity to raise our voices freely in protest against the defamation of the German name by the Nazi brutes, and thereby to serve the cause of our people. We express our profound solidarity with the great Soviet people and our infinite admiration for its heroic Red Army.

The peoples have passed an irrevocable death sentence on Hitler and the Nazi régime, but they have not yet passed sentence on Germany. The whole world is awaiting the voice of the German people. It waits for them to dissociate themselves from Hitler by their deeds. They must help to put an end to the crimes committed by the Nazi bandits. German men and women, German youth, a tremendous responsibility devolves upon our people.

Particularly great is the responsibility of the German working class, which constitutes the overwhelming majority in the country and is the people's most important force. German working people! The decisive battle, the battle of Moscow, has been lost by Hitler. His successes have come to an end. The period of defeat has arrived for this gambler and cheat.

Devastating blows are being dealt from without to the Nazi tyranny. The German people must now utter their decisive word. It is time to act. Rally your ranks in the struggle against Hitler, against the S.S. troops and the Gestapo.

Act without delay, for time presses. Merge your efforts with the sacred war of liberation waged by the peoples against Hitler. Use all possible means to undermine Hitler's war machine. Show by your deeds that the German people do not wish to die for Hitler, but to fight for the freedom, honour and dignity of Germany. Let us save Germany before it is too late.

Create Soldiers' Committees

Soldiers of the German Army, cease this criminal war. Do not obey your officers. Do not fire on Soviet workers and peasants. Create soldiers' anti-war and anti-Hitler committees in all formations and units. Come over with your weapons to the Red Army.

Working men and women of Germany, undermine and destroy Hitler's war machine by every means in your power. Refuse to pay taxes. Protest against compulsory deductions from your wages. Set up illegal factory committees to direct the struggle against war and Hitlerism, for a free Germany. Prepare for mass strikes and demonstrations.

German peasants, men and women, hide your produce from the Nazi officials. Hide your sons, brothers and husbands liable for service in the army. Claim the right to sell your agricultural produce freely. Refuse to pay war taxes.

Stop Departure of Troop Trains

German women, demand that your husbands, brothers and sons be immediately returned from the front and from the occupied European countries. Hold up the departure of troop trains going to the front. Let every mother and wife instruct her son or her husband immediately to stop the war and to return home.

German young people, youths and girls. Hitler robbed you of the most precious thing in your life—youth—and threw you into labour camps. Refuse your service. Escape from the labour camps and return to your families.

Down with Hitler and his gang of butchers! Down with the Nazi régime! Long live free Germany!

Signed—Writers and Artists :

Johannes Becher, Klara Blum, Willi Bredel, Maxim Valentin, Gustav Wangenheim, Erich Weinert, Friedrich Wolf, Ernst Helde, Gregor Hog, Heinz Greif, Hugo Huppert, Alex Keil, Alfred Kurella, Bertha Lask, Lotte Lewinger, Theodor Plivier, Hans Rosenberg, Heinrich Vogler, Hedda Binner, Adam Scharrer, Willi Schaxel, Fritz Erpenbeck.

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