

B. PONOMAREV

**THE PEOPLES
OF EUROPE
versus
HITLER**

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**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
MOSCOW 1943**

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The whole of Europe, from Narvik to Athens, from the shores of the Arctic Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea, is seething with hatred against Hitler's "new order." It is a volcano burning beneath the ashes and ruins of the innumerable towns and villages which the fascists have destroyed. Now and again streams of fire burst through the fissures on its slopes, to the discomfiture and alarm of the Nazis, for they are portents of the pent-up fury which is raging below among the nations writhing under the heel of fascist tyranny.

The German fascists have overrun and subjugated Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Yugoslavia, Greece and Denmark, and by means of the most fiendish terrorism are trying to implant the so-called "new order," which in plain words means reducing the West-European continent to the status of a colony of German imperialism, and the nations of Europe to the condition of colonial slaves.

This is an insane and impossible object, however, and is nothing but the product of the diseased minds of the degenerate leaders of German fascism. The nations of Europe have not resigned themselves to the fate that the fascists have prepared for them; nor will they ever do so. They refuse to be the dumb slaves of the Prussian Junkers and of the armament and financial magnates of the Rhine.

The patriots of Yugoslavia, France, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands and other invaded countries do not regard themselves as vanquished, and do not meekly bow their heads to the temporary rulers of Europe. Everywhere they are rising against them.

The statement made by the Soviet Government on October 14, 1942, concerning "The Responsibility of the Hitlerite Aggressors and their Associates for the Crimes they have Committed in the Occupied Countries of Europe" contains a comprehensive description of the national-liberation movement, of the peoples of these countries and gives the Soviet Government's view of the struggle waged by the people in the occupied countries as a highly important factor that will contribute to the utter defeat of the common enemy. This document states:

"... the Soviet Government declares that the German fascists have not succeeded, either by methods of intimidation and bribery, or by instigating racial conflicts, or by plunder and starvation, or by bloody reprisals, in breaking the morale of the European peoples in their struggle against the invaders for the liberation and restoration of the independence of their countries. Undeterred by the inevitable sacrifice which this just struggle for liberation entails, and knowing neither mercy for the enemy nor compromise with him and his accomplices, the patriots in the countries oppressed by Hitler are resorting to every means at their disposal, including an extensive popular guerilla movement, to fight the invader.

“The valiant champions of the honour, freedom and independence of the nations which are oppressed by the Hitlerites are giving their all in order to inflict the greatest possible damage upon the Hitler invaders and the German war machine.”

This is how the Soviet Union defines the role played by patriots in the countries now under the heel of the German imperialists.

Further on we read:

“The most palpable damage has been inflicted on the enemy in those countries —where emulating the great movement of popular guerilla avengers who are fighting the invaders in the districts of the Soviet Union temporarily occupied by the Hitlerites— the loyal patriots have fearlessly taken this path of armed struggle against the invader, as has been done in Yugoslavia in particular.”

The Soviet Union attaches enormous importance to the development of the national-liberation movement as a factor in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany. This movement hastens the day of liberation of these long-suffering nations and will save them from the extermination and extinction with which every day of fascist rule threatens them.

“There can be no doubt,” the Soviet Government states in this document, “that the successful development of this glorious struggle for liberation, in all its manifestations, will become one of the most important factors in the final defeat of the common enemy...”

In the first period after their defeat by Germany, the people in the occupied countries were stunned by the sudden, piratical attack and needed time to recover, to rally their forces, to study the lessons taught by their defeat, and to learn to distinguish the true and devoted friends of the people’s cause from false friends and traitors. As the horrors of the nightmare “new order” introduced by the Hitlerites became apparent, the overwhelming majority of the people in these countries passed into the camp of its enemies, and the progressive sections of this majority began to wage war against it.

A new stage in the national-liberation movement was ushered in when Hitlerite Germany plunged into war against the Soviet Union. The fiendish and wanton attack on the U.S.S.R. and the stern resistance to Hitler’s hordes put up by the Red Army gave a powerful impetus to the anti-Hitler movement in the occupied countries of Europe.

Inspired by the valiant struggle waged by the Soviet people, encouraged by the prospect of liberation from the German yoke which this opened, and acquiring confidence in their own strength, the peoples of Yugoslavia, France, Norway, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Netherlands, Greece and Denmark rose with increasing determination for the struggle against German fascism. The Red Army struck telling blows at the fascist forces which had conquered the European continent. The people

of the occupied countries became convinced that the German army is not invincible, that heavy blows can be inflicted upon it and the way prepared for its utter defeat.

What is the state of the national-liberation movement in the occupied countries of Europe in the fourth year of the piratical war launched by German fascism?

In some countries intense guerilla warfare is raging. Foremost among these is Yugoslavia, where the masses of the people are waging an extensive armed struggle to free their native land from the invader. Guerilla warfare is also being waged in Greece, Albania, Trans-Carpathian Ukraine, in a number of districts of Poland, and in the north of Norway.

Furthermore, in France, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Czechoslovakia, the people are fighting the German invaders by means of sabotage and other disruptive activities in the factories, on the railways, and on lines of communication, and by resisting the orders of the German authorities in all spheres of economic and political life. But even in these countries, attacks on German officers and soldiers are occurring with increasing frequency, and guerilla warfare is breaking out.

GUERRILLA WARFARE IN YUGOSLAVIA

The foremost place in the anti-Hitler front of the European nations is occupied by Yugoslavia.

After the defeat of Yugoslavia in the beginning of 1941, when Hitler's mailed hordes suddenly and wantonly attacked the country, this proud, freedom-loving Slav nation refused to bend the knee to their ancient enemy. In Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Slovenia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and Dalmatia, the best representatives of the people joined guerilla units to fight the invaders. The industrial workers abandoned their machines and tools and took to arms. Masses of peasants joined the guerilla forces. School teachers, students, medical men, journalists, engineers, clerks, men engaged in public affairs and representatives of the world of commerce and industry joined the guerilla units to fight the aggressors.

The first seeps of the guerilla movement were extremely difficult and arduous. Against them the small guerilla units had the colossal war machine of German fascism. The guerillas suffered from a shortage of arms, ammunition and equipment; their forces were not yet united. But they were imbued with the indomitable determination to fight and die rather than become the slaves of German fascism.

After Germany launched her unprovoked attack on the U.S.S.R. and met with the determined resistance of the Red Army, the Soviet guerillas

and of the entire Soviet people, the struggle of the Yugoslav guerillas acquired greater force. The Serbian, Montenegrin, Slovene and other South Slav nationalities were inspired and encouraged by the mighty resistance put up against the enemy by their Slav brothers in the East, and regarded it as the token of their liberation from the German fiends.

They decided not to wait until liberation came as a result of the defeat of German fascism by the anti-Hitler coalition, but to accelerate this defeat by actively combating the "new order" in the rear of the detested fascists. In October and November 1941, the guerillas launched an offensive in many parts of the country. They wiped out the punitive expeditions that were sent into the mountain districts to establish the "new order." They fought pitched battles with the German and Italian troops and then laid siege to towns and beat the enemy out of them. The struggle assumed particularly wide dimensions in Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro. In Serbia, the guerillas succeeded in driving the invaders out of a number of districts where the Serbs again became masters of the land. They even surrounded and besieged Belgrade, the capital.

The struggle raged not only in the districts where the guerillas operated in force, but also in the towns and villages occupied by the enemy, where the patriots fought the Germans and Italians as heroically as those who were fighting in the mountain districts.

One of the most outstanding successes achieved by the Yugoslav people in their fight against the invaders was the destruction of the munition industry of the country, which the fascist invaders had seized and wanted to employ for their war needs. No munitions for the enemy are being manufactured in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia had its own plants for the manufacture of arms, ammunition, automobiles and aeroplanes. In the very first days of the invasion the patriots succeeded in destroying vast quantities of finished arms and ammunition which had been left in the areas occupied by the enemy. They blew up the biggest arsenals and put a large number of munition works out of commission. The guerillas tried capture a number of large industrial centres where munitions were manufactured, such as Kragujevac, for example, and fought for several months to gain possession of them.

The patriots invented the most surprising methods of inflicting damage on the enemy. In the first period after the invasion they had no means of countering the German *Luftwaffe* which bombed peaceful cities and killed men, women and children, but they found a means. The guerillas began to kill off the fascist airmen. In Zagreb, in broad daylight, a motor-bus carrying airmen from their hotel in the city to an adjacent aerodrome was blown up with a bomb and about a dozen airmen were killed. In the same city, a girl telephone operator, a member of the Young Communist League,

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placed an infernal machine in the Telephone Exchange. The place was almost entirely wrecked, and the Germans and their placeman, Pavelić, were thus deprived of an important means of communication. The courageous Young Communist Leaguer managed to escape and joined the guerillas in the mountains.

At the end of 1941, the guerilla units linked up their forces and united, fist within their respective provinces —Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and Slovenia— and then in other parts of the country under a general leadership headed by the Supreme Staff of the guerilla and volunteer army. This greatly increased the efficiency of the guerilla units and helped the movement to achieve greater successes in their fight against the invaders.

Patriots who had been tried in battle against the Germans and Italians have been promoted to the leadership of guerilla units and to the staffs of the combined units. By their deeds these men have proved their devotion to their country and won the respect and backing of the men they led. Among the active leaders of the guerilla movement there are quite a number of officers of the Yugoslavian army, volunteers who had fought the Germans and Italians in the ranks of the Republican Army in Spain, representatives of the Yugoslav intelligentsia, industrial workers, and veteran peasant rebels who had fought the Germans in 1914-18.

Month after month the guerilla units increased in number and strength, and by the end of 1941 they had grown into a formidable army of over 100,000 men. The German Command realized that Yugoslavia had not been conquered as they had imagined. They were obliged to bring up heavy reinforcements and start the war all over again. This war is continuing to this very day.

In October and November 1941 the Germans hurled against the guerillas several divisions. The treacherous politicians of Yugoslavia, who are working hand in glove with the fascist invaders, mustered their troops (the Ustaši) and gendarmes and despatched them to the rural districts of Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia to massacre the inhabitants who sympathized with the guerillas. Pitched battles were fought. Hard pressed by the well-armed and mailed German forces, the guerilla units were compelled to retreat. A number of towns which had been liberated again fell into the hands of the invaders. The latter, however, had to pay a heavy price for these successes. Thousands of German and Italian troops had to pay with their lives for the blood of the Yugoslavian people which they had shed, and for the towns and villages they had destroyed.

With the approach of winter, the invaders counted on obtaining a much needed respite. The Hitlerite troops had not been trained to withstand the hardships of mountain fighting in the winter. They were compelled to stop their offensive and go into winter quarters, keeping mainly to the large inhabited centres. The guerillas, however, gave the invaders no rest. After

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harassing the enemy forces during their forced retreat, the guerillas eventually passed to the offensive and succeeded in driving the Germans out of a number of inhabited centres into the cold and frost.

The news of the defeat of the Germans near Moscow and the liberation of Kalinin, Kaluga, Mozhaisk and a number of other Soviet towns by the Red Army was received by the heroic sons of Yugoslavia with tremendous enthusiasm. It still further stimulated their courage in fighting the enemy. At the end of January and in February 1942, the guerillas routed a large punitive expedition consisting of Germans, Ustaši, and Nedić's gendarmes. This force, numbering over 5,000 men, had been despatched to "pacify" Bosnia, but they were defeated and compelled to retreat after suffering heavy losses. In some of the battles they lost as many as a hundred or two hundred killed. Many of them were taken prisoner, and they lost large quantities of arms and ammunition.

At the beginning of 1942, the Montenegrins achieved important successes. They drove the Italians out of most of the districts they had occupied in the first period of the invasion, and in spite of enemy aeroplanes, tanks, automobiles and machine-guns, they gained control of large areas of their native land.

In the spring of 1942, the German and Italian invaders launched another offensive against the guerillas. They mustered a large force and concentrated large quantities of artillery, machine-guns, automatic rifles and other firearms, aeroplanes and tanks. With this vast superiority of technical forces, the enemy hoped to smash the guerilla movement and to terrorize the liberated districts. General Bader, Hitler's satrap in Yugoslavia, gave the order for the opening of a general offensive. The invaders and their henchmen tried to encircle the districts occupied by the guerillas and exterminate their man power. Large forces were engaged in the fighting on both sides. Guerilla battalions and brigades stood up against Italian and German divisions. In spite of the overwhelming superiority in armaments and technique the guerillas staunchly held on to their positions and inflicted telling blows on the enemy. In Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, fighting lasted for several weeks. The fight for the town of Foča lasted about a month. The town changed hands several times. Hard pressed by superior forces, the guerillas retreated to the mountains and remote districts where they found support among the inhabitants and formed a base in which to recuperate and reinforce their ranks. They resumed their military operations, wearing down the enemy forces and inflicting heavy defeats upon them.

It must not be supposed, however, that the guerillas retreated everywhere in Yugoslavia during these months. In Slovenia, for example, they took the offensive and achieved important successes. The offensive operations in Slovenia and certain other districts prevented the invaders

from concentrating their forces in one spot for a decisive blow at the national-liberation movement.

Slovenia was entirely enveloped in the flames of a popular armed struggle. This struggle raged in the province of Ljubljana and the city of Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, in the district of Trieste, in the towns of Kočevje, Gorica and Divač, in the districts adjacent to Austria, and others. The Italian forces quartered here were attacked in front by the guerilla units and in the rear by the people who had risen in armed revolt. The armed struggle which the Slovenian people waged against the Germans and Italians lasted throughout the summer and autumn of 1942, during which they succeeded in liberating a large part of their country.

Political leadership of the national-liberation movement in Slovenia — in the liberated districts as well as in the towns and villages still occupied by the enemy— is exercised by what is known as the “Liberation Front,” an organization which unites all Slovenian patriots who are fighting to liberate their country from the German and Italian yoke.

In this period the guerillas achieved important successes in Bosanska Krajina, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia and along the entire Adriatic coast. After defeating large forces of Germans, Italians, and Ustaši, they occupied the towns of Konjica, Kreševo, Ljubuški, Prijedor, Prozor, Gornji Vakuf, Glamoč, Bosanski Petrovac, Bosanska Krupa, Dobrlin, Brod, Sanski Most, and others.

This part of the Adriatic Coast is of great strategical importance, and the Italians are doing their utmost to retain it. They cling literally to every inch of soil, but for all that the guerillas succeeded in driving them out of many towns and villages which they had occupied for a dole year.

Many of the battles fought during the summer and autumn of 1942 were of fairly large dimensions.

The Germans and Italians threw entire regiments and divisions against the towns occupied by the guerillas. But the guerillas too employed large units —battalions numbering several hundred men, and brigades numbering several thousands. In some engagements, as for example round the town of Klučaj, the guerillas surrounded and wiped out entire German regiments.

In October 1942 the guerillas wiped out the Eugene of Savoy Division of the Italian army and captured its Staff. General Mazza saved himself by flight.

The successes achieved by the Yugoslav guerillas brought them to the very borders of the German Reich. The flames of the guerilla movement spread from Slovenia to the Austrian provinces of South Carinthia and Styria.

As a result of the summer and autumn offensive waged by the guerillas, the situation in Yugoslavia became extremely alarming for the invaders, so much so that Mussolini arrived in Gorica on the Yugoslav

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frontier and held a conference with General Cavallero, Chief of the General Staff of the Italian forces, and the commanders of the Italian forces in Slovenia and Dalmatia. Three German generals were sent to Croatia. The invaders hurled fresh forces against the guerillas —several divisions supplied with tanks, aeroplanes and artillery. By September 1, 1942, 17 Italian, 4 German, 4 Hungarian and 7 Bulgarian divisions were mustered.

In spite of these reinforcements, however, the invaders could make no headway.

During the fighting in the course of the summer and autumn the Yugoslav guerillas captured large quantities of enemy war material.

By the end of 1942, the Yugoslav guerillas had liberated from the alien invaders an area of 48,000 square kilometres, mainly in Bosnia and Bosanska Krajina. The guerillas also conducted important offensive operations in other parts of the country, such as Croatia, Dalmatia and Slovenia, during which thousands of German and Italian troops perished.

The tactics employed by the Yugoslav guerillas towards the Bulgarian troops are different from those employed against the Germans and Italians. The guerillas appeal to the Bulgarians not to fight against their Slav brothers but to turn their weapons against the common enemy, German fascism. Quite a large number of Bulgarian soldiers have joined the ranks of the guerillas, and several units of Bulgarian guerillas are operating against the German and Italian invaders in the region of the Bulgaria-Yugoslavian frontier.

The guerilla movement in Yugoslavia assumed such wide dimensions, the role it played in the struggle for national liberation became so important, and the number of districts of the country liberated from the invaders increased to such an extent that the need was felt for a popularly elected body to unite and direct the popular struggle. Such a body was formed and is known as the People's Vetche.

The successes of the guerilla movement in Yugoslavia and the influence it exercised on other occupied countries created considerable alarm among the Germans and Italians. This alarm increased still further after the landing of the American and British forces in North Africa and the defeat of Rommel's army. The Yugoslav guerillas are rendering the Anglo-American troops operating in Africa considerable assistance by keeping large German and Italian forces engaged in Yugoslavia, by putting out of action thousands of German and Italian soldiers who were to have been used in Africa, and by constantly harassing the lines of communication along which German and Italian troops are despatched to the Adriatic coast and thence to Tripoli and Tunis. The Yugoslav guerillas will be even a greater menace to the Italian and German bloc when the second front in Europe is opened.

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Bearing these circumstances in mind, the invaders determined to crush the movement for national liberation waged by the peoples of Yugoslavia and to wipe out the guerilla armies. At the end of January 1943 the Germans and Italians launched their fourth campaign against the guerillas. For this purpose they accumulated large forces and an enormous quantity of war materiel including aircraft, tanks and artillery. By the beginning of March 1943 no less than 7 German divisions, 6 Italian Divisions and also the troops of Pavelić and other traitors had been mustered against the territory liberated by the guerillas alone. Military operations developed in the regions of the towns of Bihač, Petrovac, Prozor, Bugojno, Gornji Vakuf and Konjica, on the Sarajevo-Mostar line, and in the basin of the River Neretva. In some directions, where the enemy had concentrated large forces, the guerillas were compelled to retreat, but they retreated in fighting order and inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy. In the sector Glamoč-Mlinište alone the enemy lost several thousand in killed and wounded. In the village of Majka Čapre the guerillas surrounded and smashed up an enemy column of 1,500 men.

The guerillas did not confine themselves to defensive fighting but launched offensive operations against the invaders as a result of which they inflicted a heavy defeat upon them and captured the town of Prozor by storm.

Thus an important enemy base for an offensive against the territory liberated by the guerillas was destroyed. In killed alone the Italians lost 1,150 officers and men. The guerillas captured a large quantity of war materiel, including 5 tanks, 6 guns, about 100 machine-guns, 500 rifles, 400,000 cartridges and 1,000 shells.

After their victory in Prozor the guerillas launched an offensive further along the Mostar-Sarajevo railway by which the Germans and Italians despatched troops and war materiel to the Adriatic coast and then on to North Africa. The guerillas destroyed the railway track for a length of 80 to 100 kilometres, cut communications between the enemy forces and smashed up many enemy units. In the Mostar-Prozor-Konjica sector, the Italian "Murge" Division was almost completely wiped out. In killed alone the division lost 2,000 men and 45 officers; 1,200 men and 25 officers were taken prisoner. In addition, 350 Germans and Pavelić's Ustaši were also killed. Hastily retreating from this district, the Germans and Italians abandoned 17 tanks in good condition, 16 guns, 230 machine-guns, 2,000,000 cartridges and other war materiel. The guerillas achieved their biggest victory in the Gornji Vakuf-Bugojno sector. Here they resisted the assaults of two German divisions and several brigades of Ustaši for eight days and then, passing to the offensive, utterly defeated the enemy. The German 718th and 36th Divisions were smashed up. In one battle alone they lost 850 men killed and several thousand wounded and prisoners. On the

Lich sector, the guerillas wiped out 1,600 Germans, men and officers. The guerillas are inflicting heavy blows on the invading troops in Dalmatia, on the Adriatic coast, and other parts of the country. Not long ago several large guerilla units combined and launched an offensive in the course of which they captured the town of Imotski. Using this town as a base, they are now clearing the territory in the triangle: Imotsko-Ljubuški and the Adriatic coast.

In Slovenia, guerilla detachments are continuously attacking the Italian forces, thus wearing down and destroying the enemy's man power.

Simultaneously with the launching of a big offensive against the guerillas with the aid of large forces, the invaders are doing all they can to disintegrate the ranks of the national-liberation movement by more insidious means. By order of their Berlin masters, the German and Italian agents in Yugoslavia are waging a sordid campaign of lies and slander against the guerillas and spreading the wildest rumours about the alleged aims of the guerilla movement. One of the main cards they are playing in this despicable game is the bogey of the Bolshevik menace which Goebbels recently raised.

These enemies of the people in Yugoslavia are now openly acting on the side of their masters and have placed all the military forces at their disposal for the purpose of waging an armed struggle against the guerillas.

For the purpose of exposing the treacherous game that is being played by the politicians, the leaders of the guerilla army, in conjunction with the popularly elected Vetcha, issued a statement to the people outlining the aims of their struggle.

The fundamental aim of all patriots and of all true sons of Yugoslavia, they state, is to liberate the country from the invaders and to regain its independence. Everything must be subordinated to the achievement of this object.

After the enemy has been expelled from the country, all the important problems of social life and public administration will be dealt with by the freely elected representatives of the entire people.

During the whole period of the war, the manifesto goes on to say, the guerilla units in the liberated territory, as well as in all other parts of the country, have firmly adhered to the principle of the inviolability of private property and private enterprise in industry and commerce, and have made no radical changes in social life or public administration. Everywhere they have supported those representatives of the people who have resolutely opposed the Germans and Italians. The guerillas have firmly adhered to the principle of freedom of conscience both as regards the civilian population and the army. The manifesto also emphasizes that a necessary condition for the success of Yugoslavia's struggle for liberation is the recognition of the national rights of Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia, the peoples of which are in

the course of the stern struggle against the German and Italian yoke laying the best foundations for truly fraternal and friendly relations.

This manifesto issued by the representatives of the guerillas and of the Vetches, in conjunction with a number of other measures taken to explain the position of Yugoslavian patriots, will undoubtedly serve to rally still further all the forces of the Yugoslav peoples for the purpose of fighting for the liberation of their country.

The guerillas are manfully standing up against heavy odds and are encountering enormous difficulties in their struggle to liberate their country. The greatest difficulty they have to meet, is the shortage of arms. Up to now, the guerilla army has been equipped exclusively with arms and munitions captured from the enemy. Every shell and cartridge is precious. The supply of arms and ammunition is a matter of constant concern for the leaders of the guerilla movement as a whole and of the leader of every guerilla unit in particular.

Another difficulty is the food supply. The fascist invaders have looted the country and are shipping all the grain they can to Germany. Where the Germans and Italians are forced to retreat they set fire to and destroy the villages and towns and leave the inhabitants without food. Sometimes the guerillas have to share their last supplies with the dispossessed population. Under present conditions it is extremely difficult and sometimes utterly impossible to ship food from other districts. That is why bread, like arms, must be obtained from the enemy by force of arms.

The inhabitants of the occupied areas found a good way of hindering the Germans in exporting the grain from the country. When the crop ripened the peasants destroyed all the threshing machines, and the enemy had no threshed grain to export. For their own uses, the peasants used flails.

In addition to the difficulties arising from the shortage of arms, ammunition and food, the Yugoslavian patriots are faced with serious political difficulties. They are obliged to fight the puppet governments which the German fascists have set up, such as that of Nedić in Serbia, Pavelić in Croatia, and also other Yugoslavian traitors who claim to be opponents of Hitlerism.

In the first period of the invasion the latter did, indeed, oppose the invaders and thereby succeeded in winning over to their side some part of the Yugoslavian army. But they were scared by the dimensions which the popular guerilla movement was assuming and began to oppose it, at first secretly and then quite openly. They broke away from the general guerilla movement and formed their own detachments. The Germans and Italians, eager to utilize every means of disintegrating the national-liberation movement from within, established connections with the leaders of these detachments, supplied them with arms and incited them against the guerillas.

These anti-democratic groups and detachments operate jointly with the German and Italian troops and often succeed in treacherously stabbing the popular guerilla movement in the back.

On many occasions participants in the guerilla war, including many high officers of the Yugoslav army, publicmen and clergymen, have in their appeals to the people denounced these groups as agents of the invaders. They are now being denounced by the popularly elected Vetche. What does the above description of the national-liberation movement in Yugoslavia show?

First, that the movement covers the whole country. The fight against the invaders is being waged on the front in the regions largely controlled by the guerillas —as well as in the invaders' rear in occupied territory, including Belgrade, the capital, Zagreb, Niš and other large centres. The invaders tried to incite the different nationalities against each other, but they failed. For example, the invaders intended to use Croatia as a base of operations against Serbia, Montenegro and other parts of Yugoslavia, but the guerilla movement is developing in those places too, in spite of Pavelić's strenuous efforts to suppress it.

Secondly, the movement is assuming wider dimensions. The number of patriots who have taken up arms against the invaders is steadily growing.

Thirdly, the guerillas are on the offensive in many parts of the country. During 1942 and the first months of 1943 they conducted a number of large-scale offensive operations and liberated a considerable part of the country from the invaders. They do not confine themselves to defensive tactics and this is a condition and pledge of the success of the national-liberation movement.

Fourthly, the guerillas are well led and well organized.

The national-liberation struggle is now headed by the Vetche, which has been elected by the people of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavian guerilla movement has deep roots among the broad masses of the people and enjoys nationwide support.

The national-liberation movement against German fascism embraces the whole of Europe, from Norway to Greece. As a rule, every movement for national liberation is accompanied by guerilla warfare, for under such circumstances the war against the oppressor is carried out not only by regular armies, but also by the general masses of the people.

In the early period of the German occupation the question as to whether it was possible to conduct guerilla warfare against a modern army equipped with tanks, aeroplanes, artillery and mechanized transport facilities was a matter of debate. The heroic deeds performed by the Yugoslav patriots, however, have settled this point. The struggle they have

waged against the fascist invaders of their country for the past two years has shown that guerilla warfare waged by the masses of the people for their liberation from an alien yoke has every chance of success, and that under the conditions prevailing in Western Europe at present it is the most effective way of resisting the invaders.

True, Yugoslavia presents a particularly favourable field for guerilla warfare. The mountainous nature of the country greatly facilitates guerilla operations. After the defeat of the Yugoslav army large numbers of soldiers retreated into the mountains, taking their arms with them. The people are imbued with the old fighting traditions. But the main factor that facilitated the success of the guerilla movement in Yugoslavia, and this is the primary factor, was the readiness of the broad masses of the people and their progressive representatives to fight to the last gasp for the liberation of their country, in spite of the numerical and technical superiority of the enemy; their readiness to give up for a time their regular habits of life, to suffer loss of property, to shed their blood and sacrifice their very lives in the fight against the hated fascists, native and foreign.

The heroic and successful armed struggle waged against the 'German and Italian robbers by the patriots of Yugoslavia has greatly influenced the struggle throughout the Balkans. The fact that the Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats and Slovenes are making it hot for the fascist invaders is well known in Greece, Albania and Macedonia, and inspires the people in those countries to emulate the Yugoslavs.

THE STRUGGLE IN GREECE

The Greek people displayed wonderful staunchness and courage in resisting the fascist invasion. In spite of its numerical weakness, the Greek army fought long and hard against the Italian army, which was far superior to it in numbers, armament and equipment, and inflicted serious defeats upon it. Only when Germany came to Italy's aid was the Greek army defeated, and Greece occupied. The Germans and Italians gave full vent to their spite for the brave fight the heroic Greek nation put up for its independence. They looted the country and doomed the people to starvation and extinction.

For many months the Greek people were kept on the lowest bread ration in Europe —about 2 oz. per day, and then the ration was stopped entirely. The people were reduced to such straits that they ate grass, water weeds and offal. In Athens, one of the most ancient cities in the world, thousands died of starvation every day.

In spite of all, the brave Greek people did not lay down their arms. They are continuing the fight against the savage invaders to this day. The most widespread form of fighting in Greece is guerilla warfare. There, as well as in Crete, there are small groups of armed guerillas who attack the German and Italian soldiers who roam the streets at night, throw hand grenades through the windows of enemy barracks and commandants' headquarters, wreck automobiles, derail trains, damage the electric-light system at important points, and sometimes attack small enemy garrisons in isolated towns and drive out the invaders.

At the end of 1941, the entire Balkans rang with the news of a general offensive against the German invaders in the region of the town of Drama. In a number of other places armed collisions occurred in which heavy casualties were inflicted on the Germans and Italians.

The Greek people marked the anniversary of Germany's attack on Greece by a number of militant actions. In Athens and other cities, mass demonstrations were organized, at which passionate speeches were delivered calling upon the people to intensify the struggle against the invaders. Leaflets were distributed and posters stuck on the walls of houses and other buildings carrying the slogans of the struggle for national liberation. At night, in Athens, Peiræsus, and other cities, armed attacks were made on enemy soldiers.

A common form of warfare practised by the Greek guerillas against the invaders is that of armed attacks on warehouses, food ships and other vessels ready to sail for Germany with goods the Germans have forcibly taken from the people. The food thus captured is distributed among the starving population.

Eventually, the guerilla movement covered five districts — Thrace, the region of the Rhodope Mountains, Thermopylæ, Parnes and Sparta. The guerillas in the mountain districts frequently swoop down on enemy garrisons in the towns and on the railways, and attack troop trains carrying German and Italian soldiers. After every attack, the guerillas retire to the mountains. The inhabitants of the surrounding countryside and of the towns actively assist these brave fighters.

Representatives of the Greek Government abroad estimate that no less than 30,000 guerillas are operating in the south of Greece alone.

With the Greek guerillas fighting the invaders, there are several thousand Australian and New Zealand troops who were left behind when the British forces retreated.

Exceptionally large groups of guerillas are operating in Crete. Here, in the mountains, there are many places where the Germans dare not penetrate to this day.

A powerful impetus to the guerilla movement in Crete was given by the conclusion of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty. The proximity of the British

forces in Cyprus and the frequent British air raids over Crete all helped to stiffen the resistance of the inhabitants.

The following incident illustrates the temper of the Greek people and their readiness to rise in arms against the Germans and Italians. In July 1942, some Crete fishermen reported that they had seen a large caravan of British ships off the coast. The Greek patriots jumped to the conclusion that the British were about to make a landing in Crete and that this would be the beginning of the second front. They decided to help their British allies by capturing a German aerodrome situated on the outskirts of Herakleion. Several hundred armed Greeks attacked the aerodrome and the military barracks, nearly wiped out the entire garrison and destroyed the planes in the aerodrome. The German Command was able to suppress this armed insurrection only by calling out strong reinforcements.

Since then, influenced by the victorious offensive of the Red Army, and as a result of the "total mobilization" proclaimed by the Hitler clique, the struggle of the Greek people against the invaders has acquired greater intensity.

When the deportation of workers to Germany was announced in Athens, the inhabitants of the capital strongly protested against this. A strike was declared. The factories were brought to a standstill and the workers poured into the streets where, joined by university students and, in fact, by the entire population, they marched through the streets shouting: "Down with forced labour!" "Down with Germany!" "Down with Italy!" Armed collisions occurred in the streets and public squares of the city between the demonstrators on the one hand and the police and German and Italian troops on the other.

In Salonica, the guerrillas wrecked a chemical works which produced chemicals for the Germans. In Thesaly they attacked the Italian garrison and killed forty men. In Western Macedonia they attacked an Italian detachment, defeated it, and captured several villages. They conducted an operation on a still larger scale in Kastoria. They dislodged the invaders and held the town for several days.

The Greek people have once again demonstrated their fighting spirit and their determination to protect their lives and interests with every means in their power.

THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN ALBANIA

Albania, which borders on Greece, is also teeming with a national-liberation movement. This small mountainous country, with its warlike inhabitants and their old fighting traditions in the struggle for independence,

is proving to be it formidable foe to Italy. Although the Italians have been in occupation of the country for several years already, hostilities have never ceased for a moment. The war, as it were, has broken up into thousands of tiny engagements, small pitched battles, which the Albanian patriots fight against their conquerors. When Italy was drawn into the World War and its strength began to be sapped, and when the Albanian people began to receive news of the heroic struggle the Soviet Union is waging against the common enemy, the guerilla warfare in Albania flared up with greater force than ever. As in the case of Greece, this struggle is stimulated by the successes achieved by the guerillas in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav guerillas are in communication with the Albanian patriots and often help them in their struggle against the common enemy. At the present time pitched battles often take place in Albania in which large forces take part on both sides. At the same time, a persistent and uninterrupted struggle is being carried on by small groups, and even individuals.

In 1942, considerable activity was displayed by the guerilla units operating in the north-west and north-east of Albania. In July last year fighting took place on the outskirts of the towns of Kerch, Argyrokastro, Valona and Kichevo, in South Albania. Fighting was particularly heavy in the vicinity of Kichevo.

In this district, which is of great strategical importance for the Italians, the guerillas struck particularly severe blows at the enemy. Last summer, in spite of the reinforced guard, the Kichevo-Valona pipeline was destroyed three times and oil tanks and fuel stores were blown up.

Quite often the Albanian guerillas conduct armed operations near the capital, Tirana, and sometimes within the capital itself.

After losing 4,000 men on the Yugoslav-Albanian frontier, the Italians proclaimed martial law in Albania. Citizens were not allowed to collect in the streets, and groups of more than five persons were shot at without warning. The death penalty was introduced for distributing anti-Italian leaflets, for being in possession of duplicating apparatus, and for being in the streets after dark; The terrified invaders gave their patrols orders to tear the veils from the faces of Albanian women in the streets, fearing that armed guerillas might wear veils as a means of disguise.

These measures, however, had no effect whatever upon the guerilla movement. The Albanian people are continuing their struggle for national liberation with unflagging zeal.

THE SITUATION IN POLAND

The Germans have converted Poland into a veritable inferno for the people. They are pursuing their policy of exterminating the Poles with incredible barbarism and brutal ferocity. They have ruthlessly plundered the country, systematically exterminating the population, outraging the religious sentiments of the people and committing the most unspeakable outrages against all classes.

Nevertheless, the spirit of the Polish people has not been broken. The country has not been subdued. The people are continuing to resist the fascist invaders. Although they have occupied the country for over three years the Germans have failed to carry out their objects. They have not consolidated their power, and have failed to convert the people into docile slaves. Their position in Poland today is more precarious than it was in the early period of the occupation. They are able to carry out their measures in Poland only by force of arms. The national-liberation movement in Poland is far stronger and more organized than it was two or three years ago.

There are immense possibilities in Poland for developing the national-liberation movement, and the large areas of the country covered with forests, the large numbers of men and officers of the army who were scattered all over the country after the defeat in autumn of 1939, the large quantity of arms that remained in the hands of the population, and the proximity of the Soviet Union, all create favourable conditions for the operations of the Polish patriots.

All the conditions exist in the country for making life a hell for the Germans and for rousing the millions against them.

The forces of the national-liberation movement in Poland, however, have not yet been brought into action to anything like the extent they could be.

This is seen from the activities of the masses of the people. The struggle against the Germans was revived in the summer of 1942. A new wave of active operations by Polish patriots swept the country. The killing of German gendarmes, soldiers and officers became more frequent.

The German press is compelled to admit that the guerilla movement had revived in many parts of Poland. The *Konigsberger Zeitung*, for example, reported that guerillas are operating all over the Posen Region. They attack not only transports and supply columns on the roads, but also small German garrisons. In the vicinity of Suwalki a large guerilla unit attacked the German barracks and killed a large number of soldiers.

The Polish patriots dealt the invaders a series of heavy blows in the summer of 1942. In the Lublin area they fought a pitched battle with fascist gendarmes, in the course of which fifty gendarmes were killed and hundreds wounded. Among those killed was the Chief of the Gestapo in the Lublin Region.

Almost every day the German newspapers published in Poland

reported the sentences pronounced by German courts and tribunals on Poles convicted of subversive acts against the invaders.

On April 18, 1942, the *Breslauer Nachrichten*, for example, announced that the German police in Katowice had offered a reward of 10,000 zloti to any person who gave information leading to the apprehension of armed Polish groups. One such group is operating in the district of Bielsko-Rybnik-Pszczyna and Cieszyn. It attacks German troop trains proceeding to the Soviet-German front and damages the railway track. A number of brutal sentences have been passed on Poles for sheltering English and Soviet prisoners of war who had escaped from German concentration camps.

On the night of June 22, last year, on the anniversary of Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, Polish guerillas derailed a German munition train on the Cracow-Lwow Railway. They caused a big rail way smash at the Holuszki Railway Station. The *Krakauer Zeitung* reported scores of sentences passed by the German authorities for anti-German acts on the railways. The Polish guerillas operate not only in the remotest districts and isolated localities, but also in the heart of the country. Very often they operate in Warsaw itself.

In addition to the guerilla movement, the struggle against the German invaders assumes other forms, such as sabotage and incendiarism in the factories, on the railways, at supply bases and stores. The peasants refuse to deliver agricultural produce. The workers do everything to evade deportation for work in Germany and the performance of forced labour for the German army.

In eighteen towns the occupation authorities put up gallows on which were hanged many workers suspected of disruptive activities on the railways. In connection with acts of sabotage at a munition factory in Pabjanice, the Gestapo hanged a number of workers right in the workshop.

To intimidate the rest of the workers they prohibited the bodies from being taken down for a whole week. These brutal reprisals, however, only served to fan the anger of the Polish population and to intensify their efforts. For example, at the end of October the Germans executed fifty innocent hostages as a reprisal for the wrecking of a train which was proceeding towards the Soviet front. In retaliation the guerillas threw bombs in cafes and other premises in the centre of Warsaw frequented by German army officers and officials of the Gestapo and killed over a hundred of them. The anxiety the invaders are feeling at the growing resistance they are encountering in Poland is reflected in an order recently issued to the effect that every German in Poland between the age of sixteen and sixty-five must carry arms "in view of special political circumstances." The Polish patriots who are fighting for the liberation of their country are not only obliged to fight the Germans, but also to break down the resistance of those Polish circles which are advocating a policy of passive waiting in anticipation that

Poland will be liberated as a result of the defeat of Germany by the other united countries. The masses of the people, however, are beginning to realize more and more that such a policy is useless and fatal. Every day of German fascist rule inflicts untold suffering and hardship upon the inhabitants of Poland and causes the death of thousands. The total mobilization now being carried out in Poland dooms millions of Poles to slavery and death from overwork, starvation and sickness. Hence, those Poles who do not wish to be uncomplaining victims of Hitler's "new order" are ignoring the advice of those who advocate the policy of "waiting" and are taking to arms to defend their lives and to fight for the liberation of their country. They are aware that every blow struck at the invaders hastens the day of defeat of Hitlerite Germany and saves the lives of many Poles.

In Warsaw the Germans searched all the houses, dragged tens of thousands of Poles into the streets and then packed them off to concentration camps in Germany in sealed railway cars. In retaliation to this, the guerillas threw bombs in the Central railway station and in German cinemas, as a result of which thirty-four Hitlerites were killed or wounded. A group of guerillas raided the Mint, killed the German officials, captured a large quantity of arms and safely got away. In Warsaw, too, Polish patriot killed Colonel Reszezynsky, who had sold himself to the Germans. On the Lublin-Warsaw line the guerillas held up a train carrying hundreds of Polish workers to Germany. They killed the guard and liberated the prisoners.

The guerillas in the Radom district captured the township of Klenbow, killed the German garrison, dispersed the police and destroyed the lists of tax payers and of those liable to mobilization. Another guerilla unit captured the town of Ostrow-Zabelski. The guerillas in the Lublin district captured the town of Tomaszow, which the Germans had converted into a concentration centre for people to be despatched to Germany. They exterminated the garrison and annulled the fascist laws. For a brief space the inhabitants of these towns breathed freely for the first time since the Germans invaded the country. They became convinced that there was real hope of liberation from the inferno of German occupation if they resolutely set out to achieve it.

Poland is one of the countries which has rich experience of the underground movement for national liberation inherited from the past. Numerous secret organizations operating in different parts the country, resort to the old underground methods of communication and action. They possess a widely ramified press, by means of which they stimulate resistance to the German invaders. These organizing centres could become important factors in converting the present activities of the masses of the people into effective, militant action.

THE NATIONAL FRONT IN FRANCE

A large country, with a developed industry and agriculture, and a population of over 40 million, France holds the most important place among the occupied countries of Europe. In 1940, mainly as a result of the treacherous capitulation of its reactionary ruling classes, France was defeated, and until November 11, 1942, was divided into an occupied and non-occupied zone.

For two and a half years the Hitlerites have been robbing the country with impunity. They have trampled upon the national dignity of the French people and have robbed them of their ancient democratic liberties. They have wiped out hundreds of thousands of the population and have converted the country into a vast torture chamber. But this did not satisfy the Hitlerites. On November 11, 1942, after United States and British forces landed in North Africa the Hitlerites unceremoniously tore up the armistice treaty and occupied the whole of France.

On occupying the country in 1940, the German at first tried to ingratiate themselves with the French people to consolidate their victory with the aid of their French mercenaries. The Germans had their agents and followers in France before the war in the persons of Laval, Doriot, Deat, Marquet, De Brignon and other traitors. These now openly went over to the side of their masters and tried to arrange "collaboration" with the conquerors, in other words, tried to help the latter to tie the French people hand and foot and sell them into perpetual slavery.

The French people, however, spurned the policy of "collaboration," and in spite of all the efforts of Pétain, Laval and their henchmen, they refused to resign themselves to defeat or bend the knee to the fascist conquerors.

The best sons of France took up the task of organizing the forces of their nation for a prolonged and determined struggle against the alien enemy. They called upon the French people in all walks of life, upon all political parties and industrial, cultural, religious and other organizations to take up this struggle. General de Gaulle undertook the task of continuing the war against the Germans and to secure their expulsion from France.

The resistance of the masses of the French people to the German invaders assumed the most diverse forms. In the first period of the German occupation it took the form of the publication of illegal literature, the boycott of German soldiers and officers, the formation of a network of underground organizations, sabotage in the factories, and sometimes, the assassination of individual Germans.

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In November 1940, for example, a procession of students which was wending its way to the grave of the Unknown Soldier encountered a detachment of German troops and a sanguinary battle ensued.

The movement for national liberation in France took a great spurt, after Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. Hitler's hordes, which had been accustomed to "lightning" victories, encountered the stubborn and heroic resistance of the Red Army. Like the other peoples of occupied Europe, the French people realized that the Soviet Union was a force capable of crushing Hitlerite Germany, and henceforth regarded it as the bulwark in the struggle for the liberation of all the countries trampled upon by Germany. From merely expressing protest, from boycotting Pétain, Lava and other flunkys of the Hitler clique, from chalking slogans on walls and other forms of passive resistance, the French people gradually passed to more militant, operations against the invaders.

On July 14, 1941, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, a demonstration was held in the streets of Paris in which over a million persons participated.

Spontaneous demonstrations occurred in many other parts of the country, in the occupied as well as the unoccupied zone. In these demonstrations the masses of the French people for the first time since France's defeat openly expressed their hatred of the German conquerors and their French lackeys, and their readiness to fight for their national liberation.

Still larger numbers of the people took part in the anti- Hitler "V" campaign that was conducted in July and August, 1941. The letter "V" stood for "Victoire" —victory— and became the symbol of the uncompromising struggle of the people for their liberation from the German-fascist yoke. This movement rapidly spread to all other occupied countries in Europe. The letter "V" was chalked on the walls of houses and of German army barracks, on factory chimneys and shop windows, on theatrical posters and the orders of the German Command; it was chalked on the pavements of all the streets. The occupation authorities were furious, but they could do nothing to check this movement.

This campaign lasted several months in France and in the other occupied countries, and was the most widespread form of passive resistance hitherto displayed.

At the same time, sabotage assumed wider dimensions. The workers found a variety of ways and means of delaying and even preventing the fulfilment of war contracts. In many aircraft and engine plants the Germans were forced to stop assembling aeroplanes because the aircraft produced at them fell to pieces in the air. They had only the parts of the planes and engines produced at these plants and assembled them in Germany. At the Renault, Gnome et Rhone, Citroen, and other plants were employed thousands of workers brought from Germany because the invaders could not

crust the French workers.

At one plant, 450 and at another 300 aeroplane engines were damaged. At one of the plants in Paris the electric motor was blown up as the result of which 2,000 workers had to cease work. At the Hotchkiss Small Arms Factory 3,000 machine-guns were damaged.

The Minister of Post and Telegraphs estimated that in one month alone the telegraph and telephone lines used by the Germans were damaged 15,000 times. At different plants throughout France the French patriots damaged the most important batteries of machines, damaged finished goods, and in a number of cases blew up entire plants producing supplies for the Germans.

It was in this atmosphere that Paul Collette, the young French patriot, fired at the traitor Laval at a parade at which Laval was to give his blessing to the crowd of criminals and cutthroats who had been recruited by Hitler's mercenaries to be despatched to the Soviet front. Collette's bullet not only knocked the bottom out of this despicable anti-Soviet scheme but also expressed the uncompromising hostility of the French people towards those who were serving German fascism.

The Hitlerite invaders, fully aware that their position in France was precarious, introduced a frightful reign of terror. September, October and November, 1941 were marked by another outbreak of fascist brutality in France as well as in the other occupied countries.

The brunt of these reprisals was borne by the Communists. The Hitler clique knew that the Communists were fighting bravely and devotedly to liberate France, that they were operating on the most dangerous sectors of the national-liberation movement, and at daily risk to their lives were working among the masses, rallying and organizing them for the struggle against the invaders.

Hitler's myrmidons threw into prison and concentration camps tens of thousands of French Communists, including many members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and well-known members of the Chamber of Deputies. Gabriel Peri and L. Sampaix, the editors of l'Humanite, the central organ of the Communist Party, Pierre Semard, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and a popular railwaymen's leader, Jean Catelas, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and many other French patriots were flung into jail and later executed.

The German invaders flung into jail, tortured and executed as hostages thousands of other French patriots, including many army officers, statesmen, men prominent in public affairs, and scientists famous throughout the world.

The Hitlerite butchers imagined that by means of this terrorism they would be able to check the rising wave of mass resistance and prevent the individual acts from growing into open mass actions. But the terrorism of

the Hitlerite cannibals was of no avail. It failed to subdue the French people or compel them to cease their struggle. They retaliated to the atrocities of the brutal Hitlerites by strikes, protest demonstrations and demonstrations of their veneration of the martyrs for their country.

Portentous events occurred in France on October 31, and on November 11, 1941. On the initiative of the workers in the Brest Arsenal, the leaders of the patriotic movement called upon the French people to declare a five-minute strike and demonstration of silence as a protest against the shooting of hostages. On October 31, hundreds of factories, mines, offices, banks and the railways ceased work. In the world-famous plants which are now supplying the Germans-Hotchkiss, Renault, Gnome et Rhone and Valsin, 80 to 90 per cent of the workers ceased work and stood in solemn silence. The huge Schneider-Creusot Ordnance Works, which the Germans themselves are directly controlling, came to a standstill. Work ceased at the factories in Bordeaux, Tours, Niort, La Rochelle, in the Department of the Oise, in the Bassés-Pyrénées, Landes and other places. In scores of insurance company offices, banks and commercial houses of Paris and other cities, the clerks also demonstratively stopped work. In many places on the railways, traffic was stopped in spite of the repressive measures of the police and the German "Commandants." On the subway and in the streets of many cities of France traffic ceased.

On November 11, 1941, the French people celebrated their annual holiday in commemoration of the defeat of German imperialism in 1918. On the eve of that day the occupation authorities took many precautionary measures of a repressive nature in the hope of preventing a popular demonstration. Detachments of police and troops were stationed in many factories and at street corners. Large numbers of French patriots were arrested. On the morning of November 11, the streets of Paris were filled with police and soldiers. Martial law was proclaimed in the Latin Quarter. Soldiers were posted in all the colleges and universities, including the Sorbonne.

But this had no effect whatever. On November 11, strikes were declared in numerous factories; and in the rural districts the peasants stopped working in their fields and organized protest demonstrations.

On October 31, as well as on November 11, 1941, thousands of buildings in France displayed the tricolour, the French national flag. In the factories where executed hostages had worked, the workers placed bouquets of red white and blue flowers on their late workmates' machines. Processions marched to the graves of these victims of fascist terrorism carrying flags inscribed with patriotic slogans. Speeches were delivered calling upon the people 37

not to bend the knee to the hated fascist invaders, not to allow themselves to be intimidated, and to continue the struggle.

Infuriated by the stubborn resistance of the French people the Germans began to increase their bloody reprisals and terrorism. In Paris a state of emergency was proclaimed. Thousands of new victims filled the jails. In one day the Hitlerite cannibals shot 100 hostages and did not publish their names.

But even this unprecedented terrorism failed to break the resistance of the French people. Many French patriots set the world an example of unforgettable heroism. When the authorities in the Nantes Prison and in the concentration camp at Châteaubriant published the decision to execute a group of prisoners, the latter greeted the news by singing the *Internationale* and the *Marseillaise*. Twenty-three Communists who were included in the list of those sentenced to execution drew up a declaration before their death which ended with the following passionate appeal: "Comrades, who remain among the living! Be brave and of good cheer; have confidence in the future." They died with the cry on their lips: "Vive Free France!" "Vive the U.S.S.R!" "Vive -Stalin!" "Death to Hitler!"

Next day the whole of Bretagne was flooded with leaflets devoted to the memory and courage of the executed men and calling upon the people to continue the struggle.

The news of the successes of the Red Army on the Soviet- German front in December 1941 gave a fresh impetus to the nation-wide struggle against German fascism.

The question of uniting all the forces of the French nation against the enemy arose in the very first days of the invasion. Immediately after France's defeat, the Communists issued a public appeal to all Frenchmen and to all French organizations to unite their efforts, following which they energetically set to work to establish this unity.

In the factories and on the railways workers belonging to the Communist Party, the Radical Party and the Socialist Party, to the Catholic Trade Unions and other organizations, as well as those who belonged to no organizations at all, jointly organized strikes, acts of sabotage and other forms of fighting the invaders. In the towns, workers, office employees, small shopkeepers, students and others joined in all forms of demonstrations against the Germans.

In the rural districts, the peasants of different degrees of prosperity and belonging to different organizations jointly hid their crops from the Germans, denounced them for the horrors they had brought to France, and together demanded the repatriation of their sons from German captivity.

In the prisons and vast concentration camps were herded Frenchmen holding different political views and belonging to different classes, all sharing a common fate at the hands of the alien invaders.

Thus, in the ordinary course of life and in the process of resisting the Hitler yoke, unity of action arose, and a united national front from below

was formed. At the same time, the conditions of the struggle created the necessity of giving this unity definite organizational form. Representatives of the Communist Party, of the de Gaulle movement, and of other organizations established communication with each other; and in order to harass the Germans more successfully and to organize the forces for the impending big battles against the invaders, various groups of French patriots agreed to combine their forces on the basis of a common political platform. A number of agreements were concluded and their signatories appealed to the entire French people to unite their efforts everywhere against the German invaders and their French lackeys. One of these appeals, which was published at the end of January 1942, was adopted at a meeting held in the occupied zone attended by representatives of the Communist Party and of other political groups, the leaders of a number of peasant organizations, representatives of the small manufacturers and shopkeepers and by prominent representatives of art and science. It announced the formation of an "Organizing Committee of the National Front of Struggle for the Independence of France," and, in part, read as follows:

"All Frenchmen worthy of the name must be on the side of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and of all the enemies of Hitlerism. Such is the answer of 40,000,000 Frenchmen who are striving to throw off the Nazi yoke.

"The Organizing Committee of the National Front of Struggle for the Independence of France," denies the right of the disreputable Vichy Government to speak in our country's name. Not a single Frenchman should obey the orders of this clique, whose only function is to pass on to the French people the orders of Berlin.

"The Organizing Committee declares that the French people cannot simply wait until our country is liberated as the result of a victory gained by Russia and Great Britain. True, this victory will ensure our freedom, but it is the duty of all Frenchmen to do all in their power to hasten this hour of victory in the interests of France.

"We call upon all Frenchmen and French women to pool all their efforts and resources and to direct them into the following channels:

"First, to hinder the utilization of France's resources for the purpose of supporting the Hitlerite war machine.

"Second, to hinder work at French factories which are manufacturing supplies for Hitler. To support the actions of the workers who are defending their bread and the bread of their children, and are serving the cause of France.

"Third, to hinder the transport to Germany over our railways of our national wealth and of the products of our industries.

"Fourth, to organize the peasants to resist the requisition of agricultural produce by the subjugators of our country.

“Fifth, to organize resistance to the repressive measures of Hitler-Vichy; for the activities of the National Front must be supported by everybody, be he atheist or believer, Radical or Communist.

“Sixth, to distribute the literature, appeals and documents of the National Front which systematically expose the lies circulated by the enemy.

“Seventh, to popularize and stimulate the demonstration to the aggressors and their jackals the spirit of patriotism and determination to regain France’s freedom.

“French patriots, rise to the struggle!”

The successes achieved by the Red Army and the consolidation of the forces in France which were fighting the common enemy gave an impetus to anti-German sabotage in the factories. Acts of sabotage became more frequent and skirmishes in the streets between French patriots and the enemy became more common. The workers declared a number of economic strikes to back their demands for increased food rations and higher wages. In retaliation to the murder of hostages they killed invaders and traitors who were serving the enemy. In this way, Parengault, the Vice Minister for the Interior and agent of the Gestapo, was killed.

Spontaneous mass demonstrations against the Germans became more and more frequent. At the beginning of January 1942, the students of Paris came out in a demonstration of protest against the execution of hostages. The government brutally suppressed this demonstration and thirty-two persons were killed. In Montbéliard a large crowd of women came out in a demonstration to demand an improvement in the food supply. In Troyes a crowd of patriots wrecked the headquarters of the German Commandant.

In the latter half of January, demonstrations and unrest broke out in the southern departments of Hérault and Gard and exceptionally large demonstrations occurred in the towns of Montpellier, Nimes, Sete and Arles. The demonstrations started as a protest against the food shortage but assumed a political character and were directed primarily against the fascist invaders and the Vichy Government.

These demonstrations were suppressed with extraordinary brutality. Reprisals assumed colossal dimensions all over the country. The Germans, and the Vichy police acting on the latter’s orders, flung tens of thousands of patriots into jail. Hostages were executed almost daily.

According to the official report of the Minister for the Interior, in the spring of 1942, 60,000 Frenchmen were under arrest; according to numerous foreign sources, 400,000 French people have been subjected to various forms of punishment.

In view of the failure of both the French police and the Gestapo to capture the brave patriots who are wrecking the factories which are producing supplies for the Germans, organizing collisions on the railways

and killing German soldiers and officers, the Hitlerite cannibals are executing hostages. Even according to official reports, in May 1942, 200 persons were executed in the course of only one week.

In spite of these heavy losses, however, the army of staunch and courageous fighters is continuing the struggle. The places of the fallen are taken by others.

In this dark period of subjection to the German fascist yoke, heroes have arisen from the ranks of the French people whose names will be revered by future generations as the symbols of selfless devotion to country and to the cause of liberation from the German yoke. The whole of France now holds sacred the memory of Pierre Semard, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and militant and popular leader of the French railwaymen. The German cutthroats flung him into jail soon after their entry into Paris. They subjected him to inhuman torture in the endeavour to break his spirit and to force him to capitulate; but all the efforts of these butchers were thwarted by the indomitable staunchness of this French working man. In the spring of 1942, they executed Semard. A few moments before his death, Semard succeeded in sending to the French people a last message, which was a passionate appeal to fight the fascist invaders. It read as follows:

“Dear friends! An unexpected opportunity occurs for me to convey to you my last message, for within a few moments I shall be shot. I am awaiting death calmly, and will show my executioners that Communists can die like patriots and revolutionaries. My last thoughts are with you, comrades in the struggle, with all the members of our great Party, with all French patriots, with the heroic warriors of the Red Army and with its great leader, Stalin. I am meeting death convinced that their victory over the fascists is certain, and that France will be free.

“Tell my comrades, the railwaymen, that my last request to them is that they should do nothing that will serve the Hitlerites. They will understand me, they will heed me, they will act, I am quite sure about that.

“Farewell, dear comrades. The hour of my departure into eternity is at hand. But I know that the Hitlerites who will shoot me are already vanquished and that great France will regain the opportunity of continuing the struggle.

“Vivent the U.S.S.R. and her Allies! Vive la France!

Pierre.”

In spite of all the fascist brutalities, the resistance of the French people did not subside. Sabotage, which had been their most widespread form of resistance, continued to grow. In March 1942, Pucheu, the Minister for the Interior, stated that if only the most important cases of sabotage in the factories and on the railways and attacks on German garrisons during the

preceding few months were taken, their number would be 234, that is, several cases, per day. Actually, the number was far higher.

The widespread acts of sabotage and the increasing frequency of mass demonstrations seriously alarmed the German invaders. They decided that Pétain was incapable of keeping the French nation in subordination and docility, and replaced this treacherous marshal by Laval, a still more avowed enemy agent and strangulator of the French nation.

In retaliation to Laval's appointment the masses of the people in numerous towns of France, such as Marseille, Toulon, Montpellier and Rouen, poured into the streets and demonstrated their determination to fight to the last for the liberation of France. In Rouen the people came into collision with the troops.

In April and May 1942, scores of acts of sabotage were committed in airports of the occupied zone, causing palpable damage to the invaders.

Paris and its environs remained one of the most important strongholds of resistance to the invaders. Here, attacks on German officers and soldiers were exceptionally frequent. In the summer of 1942, the Paris broadcasting station which the Germans were using for their propaganda, was blown up and several hotels in the centre of Paris in which German officers were staying were sent sky-high.

In the summer of 1942, a conflict flared up with the Germans over the labour power question. The German army was bleeding on the battlefields in the Soviet Union. It had already lost a million men. But the Hitler clique continued to mobilize fresh forces, combing out large numbers of workers from the munition plants in Germany. This caused a grave shortage of labour in the German munition industry, and as it had become evident by now that the war would be a long one and that the German army would suffer heavy losses, the Berlin rulers decided to deport to Germany several millions of workers from the occupied countries of Europe. They demanded a tribute of blood and bodies from the people of France, Belgium, Norway, and other countries.

Carrying out the orders of Berlin, the Vichy Government took measures to force the French workers to go to work in Germany. They close down about 4,000 French factories and workshops, thus creating a vast amount of unemployment, and "advised" the workers to find work in Germany. Those who refused to do so were deprived of their food ration cards. Furthermore, the government stated that in exchange for the Frenchmen who went to work in Germany, the Germans would release a certain number of prisoners of war, thus making it appear that by going to work in Germany the French workers would be performing a patriotic duty. But neither threats nor cajolery were of any avail. The French workers preferred to starve, or to earn a bare crust of bread in the rural districts, rather than go into penal servitude in Germany.

When this so-called “voluntary” recruiting scheme failed, the Vichy Government passed a law which introduced compulsory labour service for the entire population of France. This was sheer mockery. To pass such a law at a time when a large number of plants had been shut down, when unemployment was rife and there was no prospect of obtaining employment in France, actually meant exercising administrative and, in fact, terroristic pressure on the workers to satisfy the German demand for half a million slaves.

The French patriots retaliated to these measures by intensifying their opposition to the deportation of workers to Germany. In Paris bombs were thrown in four labour recruiting offices as a result of which the premises were wrecked and the Germans in them killed. In a number of other towns demonstrators smashed the windows and doors of these labour recruiting offices. A trainload of volunteers, who had been deceived by promises of good conditions in Germany, was derailed.

The representatives of and organizations affiliated to the “National Front” helped the workers to resist this deportation in every possible way. They appealed to the peasants to provide the workers with food and with employment on their farms and to shelter “deserters” who were hiding from the police. They explained to them how necessary it was to help the unemployed workers to remain at home and to thwart the Germans’ plans. As a result, the labour recruiting campaign failed. Instead of 500,000 men, which the Germans demanded; not more than 50,000 were recruited in the course of six months.

On September 20, 1942, the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Valmy, in which the troops of the young French Republic defeated the Prussian army, a wave of mass demonstration swept through France. On the day before, the Germans arrested large numbers of Frenchmen, and on the day of the anniversary 116 hostages were executed in Paris. In spite of this, however, strikes and street demonstrations took place in many cities. In the unoccupied and in the occupied zone, the patriots celebrated this day by acts of sabotage in munition factories and by their militant activities.

Lately attacks on invaders by French patriots have been more frequent. The French patriots are now attacking not only individual Germans, but whole squads, German barracks, German officers’ hotels, and other places in which German invaders are quartered.

Quite a number of Frenchmen have taken to arms and are constantly harassing the Germans in conformity with the rules of guerilla warfare. In several parts of the country groups of *francs-tireurs* have been formed, following the example of Frenchmen during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. These *francs-tireurs* publish their own journal entitled *France d’abord* (France First) in which they call for the extension of the guerilla movement. They urge that the French people must play the most important

part in the liberation of their country from the German-fascist yoke and that the armed struggle of the brave and faithful sons of France will be a serious contribution to the war against Germany which is being waged by the armed forces of the coalition of democratic countries, and primarily by the Red Army which, for eighteen months, has borne the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of Europe from the German conquerors. They maintain that the most effective form of fighting the subjugators of the French people is guerilla warfare which, combined with other forms of resistance, will stir up a nation-wide attack on the invaders, which is the only means of expelling the alien foe and of securing the liberation of France.

The occupation of the hitherto unoccupied zone creates a new situation in France. The transfer of troops to the hitherto unoccupied zone puts an additional strain on the German forces, which must now be spread over the whole country.

The occupation of the hitherto unoccupied zone also marks the bankruptcy of the Vichy Government's policy. The Vichy rats are already leaving the sinking ship. Pucheu, the Minister for the Interior, and others of his ilk, have already left. It also means an intensification of hostility towards the German invaders all over the country and the expansion of the national anti-Hitler front. As Stalin said in reply to the question put to him by Henry Oassidy, the Moscow correspondent of the *Associated Press*, on November 12, 1942, the passing of the initiative into the hands of the Allies as a result of the African campaign "relieves France from her state of lethargy, mobilizes the anti-Hitler forces and provides a basis for building up an anti-Hitler French army."

The situation in France is becoming more tense every day, and the people's hatred of the invaders is surging to the surface. The blowing up of the French Fleet in Toulon caused a stir throughout the world. The heroic French sailors preferred to sink the fleet rather than let it fall into the Germans' hands. The Berlin clique had long had their eyes on the French Fleet and had tried in many ways to lay their hands on it. When the Germans entered the unoccupied zone of France on November 11, last year, Hitler stated that he would not touch the French Fleet in Toulon; in proof of this the Germans refrained from occupying this naval port. It turned out however, that this was but another of the treacherous manoeuvres of the Hitler clique to put the French sailors off their guard. Hitler feared that a direct attempt to seize the Toulon Fleet would be sternly resisted, and that this resistance would be the signal for a nation-wide revolt against the invaders. He therefore resorted to this ruse with the intention of taking the fleet unawares. On November 26, the Germans suddenly invaded Toulon and demanded the surrender of the fleet. The French sailors, unable to take the ships out of the harbour, as they were covered by the German guns, blew them up, together with the arsenal and the naval buildings in the port

to prevent the detested German invaders from using them.

The events in Toulon revealed to the whole world that the French people had not yielded to the conqueror and were prepared to fight for the liberation of their country. The explosion in Toulon marked the turning point; in the development of the national-liberation movement of the French people and raised it to the higher stage of the armed struggle against the invaders, to the stage of the guerilla movement. Stimulated by the successes of the Red Army, this movement has lately assumed still wider dimensions as a consequence of the proclamation by the Germans of total mobilization.

The protest against the bloody regime of the invaders is to an increasing extent assuming the form of open, mass, militant operations. The most formidable of these were the events which took place in Marseille. The inhabitants of that city proved themselves worthy of the title of the hymn of the French Republic. Soon after the German occupation of the formerly unoccupied zone, the inhabitants of the Old Port offered armed resistance to the establishment of the fascist regime and refused to obey the orders of the German authorities. This resistance threatened to spread to other districts. It was broken only after the German barbarians brought up tanks and heavy artillery and subjected the entire district to a fierce bombardment.

Starting in Paris and in the northern Departments, mainly the mining districts, the French guerilla movement has now spread to most of the provinces of France. New guerilla detachments are being formed. Large numbers of French youths who are threatened with deportation to Germany under the total mobilization scheme, leave their homes and hide in the rural districts, in the forests and mountains, and there join the guerilla detachments in order to fight the invaders. In this respect, Upper Savoy has become world famous. Here, in the Alps, on the frontiers of Switzerland, several thousand guerillas have assembled. They are well armed and imbued with spirit and determination to fight the enemy. Fearing that the influence of the guerilla movement in Upper Savoy would spread through the whole of France, the occupation authorities hastily mustered military forces, consisting mainly of cutthroats from the Gestapo, in order to crush this very formidable centre of the national-liberation movement of the French people as quickly as possible.

In the middle of March the treacherous Vichy Government sent a punitive expedition to this district.

Judging by the reports in the Swiss and English press, however, the guerillas in Upper Savoy are staunchly holding out and repelling the attacks of the enemy. They have blocked all the mountain passes and have erected strong obstacles for the enemy. The whole of occupied Europe is watching the struggle developing in Upper Savoy with eagerness and hope. The French patriotic organizations which are waging this struggle in France and

outside, ardently greet those Frenchmen who have risen in arms for the defence of the French people and are promising them every support.

Thus, the guerilla movement in France is assuming ever wider dimensions and is becoming the primary form of the national-liberation movement of the French people.

The development of active resistance to the fascist fiends and their henchmen in the Petain-Laval camp, and the further growth of the guerilla movement will undoubtedly exercise beneficial influence upon French patriotic circles outside of France and stimulate them to unite their forces, to speed up active operations against the German.

Italian block, and thus hasten the hour of liberation of the French people from the German-fascist conquerors.

THE INDEPENDENCE FRONT IN BELGIUM

In Belgium the traditions of the struggle for national independence against German imperialism are very strong. During the first World War of 1913-18 Belgium groaned under the German heel for nearly four years; but the struggle against the brutal conquerors was kept up during the entire period until the country was liberated as a result of Germany's defeat. During that war Belgium experienced the full force of German brutality and inhumanity and the bitter memories of this were still strong when the Germans again invaded the country on May 10, 1940. Although the Belgian army was defeated, the popular struggle against the invaders commenced almost immediately and the experience gained in the struggle during the first World War served in good stead under the new conditions. Here the anti-Hitler forces united more quickly than in any other occupied country in Western Europe. They set up their organizations, established their secret press and started their practical activities against the invaders.

The unity and solidarity of the Belgian people in their hostility to the fascist invaders were strikingly revealed by the latter's failure to find anybody to play the treacherous part of a Pétain or a Laval. In spite of all their efforts, the Germans could find no one to form a puppet government to carry out their behests. Degrelle and his clique of German-fascist agents, who had been active before the war, issued an appeal for "collaboration" with the invaders, but this met with no response. On the contrary. Far from acquiring new adherents, they encountered the unconcealed hatred and contempt of the Belgian people. A number of Degrelle's followers were killed, notwithstanding the threats of the German authorities to mete out dire punishment to those who harmed their Belgian agents.

Belgium is a highly developed industrial country and the bulk of her

population consists of industrial workers. Hence, strikes soon became one of the most widespread forms of resistance to the invaders. On occupying Belgium, the Germans bent the industry of Belgium to the service of their war machine. They looted the country and forced the Belgian workers into penal servitude and starvation. The workers retaliated to this by acts of sabotage in the factories, and by strikes. In June, July and August 1941, strikes took place in coal mines, steel plants, engineering works and other plants. Numerous strikes occurred in protest against Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. During the latter half of 1942 numerous strikes broke out in the coalfields of Charleroi and Borinage. In many cases mines producing coal for Germany were put out of commission. This was the case at Grizelle and at St. Vaast. When the huge Cockerill plant accepted a German war contract, the workers of this plant went on strike. The Germans arrested the manager and the shop foremen of the plant and offered double pay to workers who would agree to start work, but not a single worker responded.

During the three years of occupation the Belgian people have on many occasions come out in mass demonstrations of protest against the fascist regime of robbery, murder, violence and national oppression. On July 21, 1941, National Independence Day was celebrated with immense enthusiasm. Thousands of Belgians came into the streets of Brussels, Antwerp, Liege and other cities to protest against the German occupation and to express their determination to fight for the liberation of their country. On May 10, 1942, the second anniversary of the German invasion, mass demonstrations, strikes and militant actions again occurred all over the country. Large quantities of leaflets, newspapers and other illegal literature were distributed, and the walls of public buildings were chalked with anti-Hitler slogans. Collisions occurred with Degrelle's supporters and with German soldiers. Numerous acts of sabotage were committed in factories and on the railways.

Sometimes severe conflicts arose between Belgian and German soldiers. This was the case in the summer of 1942, for example, when a conflict broke out over the Brussels University, which soon after the German occupation became a centre of patriotic activity. Views diametrically opposed to fascism were openly advocated in the lecture rooms. The invaders made an attempt to introduce their obscurantist views and wanted to arrange for the study of their "race theory," "geopolitics," and other misanthropic rubbish of that sort on their fascist curriculum, but the professors, among whom there were scholars of high repute, refused to yield to the Prussian drill-sergeant scientists. The Germans expelled these professors from the university and imported their own from Berlin. The students declared a boycott; nobody attended the lectures of the Berlin obscurantists, the lecture rooms remained deserted. Infuriated by the

solidarity displayed by the Belgian professors and students, the Germans closed the university.

Meanwhile, more radical methods of fighting the invaders began to be employed on an increasing scale. At the end of July last year, fires were started in the Belgian forests where the Germans had stored their ammunition. These fires lasted five days. In several parts of the country gasoline stores were set on fire. In Ostend the Union Chimique plant was severely damaged.

It was officially reported that on April 20, 1942, a chemical plant in Tessenderloo, which was fulfilling German army contracts, was blown up. In July the huge Providence Steel Mills in Charleroi were wrecked by an explosion. In Brussels a factory which manufactured magnetos and had been requisitioned by the Germans was also completely wrecked.

The Belgian patriots became bolder in their actions. In July, when the agents of the Gestapo came to a certain factory to arrest one of the workers, they met with armed resistance and eleven of them were killed. At the end of August a group of twenty armed men appeared at the Boisgazier Mine, in Marcinelle, disarmed the guard and compelled them to open the dynamite store. They took away 25 cases of dynamite and 250 fuses and successfully made their escape.

Numerous events of a similar nature occurred in many parts of the country.

The Belgian anti-fascists have also specialized. in train wrecking. According to reports in the British press, in three months of 1942, no less than 125 trams were wrecked in Belgium.

Strikes became still more widespread. During nine months of 1942, 90 strikes occurred, many of them involving tens of thousands of workers and lasting for a week and more.

In the spring and summer of 1942 the guerilla movement developed in Belgium and scores of armed units are now active, inflicting severe damage on the invaders.

The patriotic forces in Belgium are organized by what is known as the Independence Front, to which are affiliated numerous organizations of different political trends which existed before the war. All these organizations now have one common aim-to wage an active struggle against German fascism and to secure the liberation of Belgium. Particularly fierce is the hatred of the Belgians towards the traitors of the Degrelle gang and towards the scum who were recruited for the so-called "Belgian Legion" that was formed to fight against the Soviet Union. They hate them even more than they hate the Germans. These traitors are publicly treated with contumely; threats are chalked on the walls of their houses; repeated attempts are made on their lives. In spite of the strenuous efforts of the Hitlerites and their Belgian hirelings, the recruiting campaign for the

“Legion to Combat Bolshevism” was a miserable failure. They succeeded in gathering a handful of jail-birds and other dregs of society who were tempted by the promise of good time and plenty of loot. During the recruiting campaign Belgian patriots wrecked the recruiting offices and many of the premises belonging to the Degrelle crowd. “When the “Legion” was despatched to the German-Soviet front, trains, railway stations and motor-buses were blown up in Brussels, Carleroi, and other cities. In Brussels numerous armed collisions occurred between Belgian patriots and gangs of Hitler’s hirelings, in the course of which many of the latter were killed and wounded. The rest were saved by the arrival of German troops.

The proclamation of total mobilization gave a further impetus to the strike movement and to guerilla warfare.

On February 24, 1943, three thousand workers employed at the Cockerill Steel Plant, the largest in Liege, went on strike as a protest against the order issued by the invaders to deport a number of the workers to Germany. Within two days the strike spread to all the steel plants in Liège, Flambal, Angleur and Griivegnée, and also to sixteen plants and ten collieries in the Hervé district. On February 27 over sixty thousand workers were on strike. The occupation authorities arrested many of the strikers and proclaimed martial law in all the strike areas.

In spite of this, the Belgian workers remained staunch and indomitable. The strike lasted until March 10, when the Germans at last annulled the order to deport the workers.

Similar demonstrations occurred in other districts of Belgium in the early part of 1943, and thanks to the united and staunch resistance of the workers many Belgians were saved from slavery in Germany.

Simultaneously with the growth of the strike movement, the guerilla movement is also assuming wider dimensions. As is the case in the neighbouring country of France, numerous guerilla detachments are now operating in Belgium. They damage important war factories, cause train smashes on the railways and put to death German invaders as well as the fascist mercenaries belonging to Degrelle’s gang. This hatred of the Belgian people towards the fascists, home and foreign, is being to an increasing degree transmitted into active operations against the German invaders.

THE STRUGGLE IN THE NETHERLANDS

For centuries, the people of the Netherlands had led a life of peace and tranquility, proud of their democratic traditions. During the first World War of 1914-18 the Netherlands managed to remain neutral and keep out of the maelstrom of war. The bulk of the population had not had occasion to take

to arms for a long time past. Capital punishment had been abolished in the country over a hundred years ago.

The Germans counted on subjugating this peaceful and prosperous country without any difficulty. They counted on transforming it into one of their provinces from which to obtain infinite quantities of food, raw materials and labour power, and to use its industry for the purpose of supplying their war needs. Here, least of all, they expected to meet with resistance. The Germans found, however, that they had sadly miscalculated. The defeat and conquest of the country gave rise to a deep-going national-liberation movement.

As was the case in other occupied countries, at first, the population of the Netherlands expressed their hostility to the German invaders in a variety of ways of a passive character. They boycotted them in the streets, in the street-cars and other public places. They chalked anti-Hitler slogans on the walls. They refused to collaborate with the occupational authorities and circulated illegal literature. Gradually, however, passive resistance grew into an active struggle. The invaders overran the country like swarm of locusts, devouring all its stocks of food. They confiscated all the stocks of war materials, oil fuel, arms and metal. The German authorities as a whole, and every individual officer and soldier, grabbed everything they could lay their hands on. Anybody who offered the slightest resistance was ruthlessly dealt with.

The first thing the invaders did was to re-introduce capital punishment. Scores of public organizations were suppressed and many people known for their anti-fascist views were flung into jail. The country was plunged into gloom.

The effects of these stern measures were the very opposite of what their authors expected. This peaceful country did not bend the knee to the conquerors, but took the path of struggle for its liberation. At first this took the form of sabotage of the orders of the occupation authorities. The dimensions this assumed may be seen from the fact that by June 11941, no less than 5,000 persons had been prosecuted for resisting the authorities. At about this time a big conflict broke out with the trade unions when the invaders made an attempt to foist their agents of the Mussert gang upon them as leaders. The Netherlands' workers emphatically refused to accept these traitors and the conflict developed into armed clashes. In all the unions the Mussert gang was broken up and ejected. German troops were detailed to protect them. Next day strikes broke out in Amsterdam. The people backed the strikers; this political strike spread throughout the city. Public excitement reached the highest pitch. The German authorities were scared. They proclaimed martial law and started bloody reprisals. A reign of terror was introduced, but this only led to an intensification of the struggle.

The ancient traditions of the struggle for national freedom and

independence revived among the people, and the “Gueux,” who in the days of long ago had freed their country from the alien foe, now found worthy successors. In the Netherlands, too, the latter half of 1941 witnessed a sudden spurt in the national-liberation movement. Acts of sabotage occurred with increasing frequency in the factories, shipyards and docks, and assaults on German officers and soldiers and assassination of Mussert traitors became more common. Many an invader found a watery grave in the canals which are so numerous in the Netherlands. One of those who met his death in this way was the son of General Christiansen, the Commander-in-Chief of the German forces in the Netherlands.

Sabotage on a large scale began to be conducted in the factories where war materials were produced for the Germans. According to available information, by the end of 1941, output at many of the plants had dropped 50 per cent. In the mining districts the coal output dropped 30 per cent. In Amsterdam a warehouse where 400 tons of oil fuel was stored was blown up. At a certain port a ship laden with foodstuffs ready to leave for Germany was sunk. Two submarines which the Germans had seized were sent to the bottom. On the Rotterdam-Holland Railway a munition train was wrecked and the guard killed. In a city garage forty automobiles were burnt.

The people’s hatred for the invaders found increasing expression in active, militant operations. In the spring of 1942 the country was horrified by the reprisals carried out by the brutal invaders against the Netherlands’ patriots.

At the beginning of May 1942, the German authorities announced that they had discovered a plot against Germany in which, they alleged, a number of Netherlands army and naval officers, former government officials, trade union officials and others were involved. The ruling gang in Berlin were evidently of the opinion that their executioners in the Netherlands were too mild in their treatment of the population and ordered Heydrich, their Lord High Executioner of Moravia to go to Amsterdam. On the very day Heydrich arrived, 72 persons were shot by his order. Several days later scores of others were shot and over a thousand flung into jail. The Gestapo agents scoured the country, searching, arresting and torturing. Nearly all the officers of the Netherlands army were arrested and afterwards deported to Germany. Martial Law was proclaimed in Amsterdam and other cities.

The exposure of the plot and Heydrich’s bloody reprisals did not, however, produce the results the Germans expected. The people of the Netherlands continued their resistance as persistently as ever. Now in one place, then in another, they continued to strike at their foe. Sabotage became the most widespread form of resistance. Going slow at work and the spoiling of finished war materials was the common practice in the factories.

In June and July no less than 40 German freight trains were wrecked. On August 5, near Rotterdam, a big troop train was completely wrecked and hundreds of German soldiers and officers were killed on the spot. The occupation authorities took 1,000 hostages and threatened to shoot them if those responsible for this smash were not surrendered. At the same time a reward of 100,000 gulden was offered to anyone giving information that would lead to the arrest of the culprits. Many of the hostages were executed, but not a single person offered to give information.

In the Netherlands, as in other occupied countries, the Church is actively opposing the invaders. From the pulpit, in their press and in talks with their parishioners the clergy denounce the fascist monstrous race theory and the atrocities which the fascists daily perpetrate against the people.

In the Netherlands, Belgium and France and several other countries the Catholic Church too, with its wide network of parishes, monasteries, and in some countries Catholic Trade Unions, exercise its powerful influence against the German invaders. For this, the fascists began to persecute the Church as they have been doing in Germany.

The Church's opposition to the German invaders and to traitors who have deserted to them was vividly expressed when the mercenaries hired by the Germans returned after fighting against the Red Army on the Soviet-German front. The clergy in the Netherlands, as well as in Belgium and France, refused to offer up prayers for those who had fallen in the service of the fascists and refused to perform any religious rites for the members of their families. In a certain frontier town in the Netherlands the local clergyman forbade the burial of a deceased member of the Mussert gang in the churchyard on the grounds that he was an enemy of Christianity. The clergyman was cajoled and threatened, but he would not give way, and the other members of the gang, afraid to bury their former companion in treachery outside the churchyard and without benefit of clergy, were obliged to carry his body across the frontier and bury him in Germany.

All this testifies to the nation-wide character of the resistance to the invaders in the Netherlands and to its growing intensity.

The Dutch people very clearly demonstrated their hostility towards the Hitlerite invaders by their attitude towards the so called Mussert government. Soon after this long-standing German agent was put into power by the invaders, two of his "Ministers" were killed. In addition, a number of other followers of Mussert were put to death. In February 1943, more than ten high officials of this puppet government were put out of the way. General Zeeford, the only high officer of the Netherlands army to go over to the Germans, was also killed.

The Dutch people are putting up a determined resistance to total mobilization. The voluntary recruiting of workers quickly collapsed, but the

compulsory recruiting is also showing signs of failure. In the beginning of March 1943, the Swiss newspaper *Arbeiterzeitung* wrote: "It has become a common practice in the Netherlands for all those who anticipate being taken as hostages or sent to Germany under the total mobilization scheme to leave their homes and disappear, hiding among their friends and sympathizers, or in hotels. This makes it difficult and even impossible to find saboteurs and guerillas, as is evident from the fact that to this day not one of the persons alleged to be guilty of acts of sabotage committed since February 1 has been detained."

The Hitler gang have converted the peaceful, patriarchal Netherlands into a bloody torture chamber. At the end of January 1943, the invaders shot seventeen Dutchmen for distributing leaflets. On February 1, ten Dutchmen were executed as hostages for the murder of a German army officer. Several days later two more were executed, Hundreds of hostages have been taken and sent to prison in Germany.

Owing to the growth of the anti-Hitler movement a state of emergency has been proclaimed in Amsterdam and the Hague, and nobody is allowed in his streets from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. German fascist terrorism is raging all over the country.

German-fascist tyranny has converted this country into a powder magazine, ready to explode at any moment.

NORWAY STANDS FIRM

Norway is another country which had not known war for many years and for decades had lived in profound peace. With their customary perfidy the German fascists fell upon the country without warning on the false pretext of protecting it from seizure by Great Britain. From the very first moment of the invasion, however, the peaceful Norwegian people proved that they were able and willing to fight for their national independence. The struggle against the fascist invaders in Norway is distinguished for the staunchness, solidarity and militancy of all classes of the population.

It is common knowledge that Norway was the first country in which the Nazis found a willing tool in the person of Quisling, whose name has become synonymous with treachery; but this was also the first country in which their plan to operate with the aid of a "Fifth Column" broke down. The Nazis imagined that by putting Quisling at the head of the Norwegian Government they would be able without difficulty to convert this strategically important country into their obedient vassal province. They were doomed to disappointment, however. Except for a handful of Quisling's followers, the Nazis found nobody in the country willing to serve

as tools for the enslavement of their motherland. The overwhelming majority of the people soon demonstrated their active hostility to the invaders and their agents, the Quislings.

Quisling believed that, like his Berlin masters, he would be able to create a base for his power out of the numerous public organizations in Norway. With this object in view he made an attempt to “incorporate” the Norwegian trade unions, and cultural, sport, peasant and other organizations on fascist lines. He intended to replace the elected leaders of these organizations by his own placemen, to permeate these organizations with the German fascist “ideology” and compel them to help to establish Hitler’s “new order” in Europe. This attempt failed. One after another, all the Norwegian public organizations thwarted his plans.

The Norwegian trade unions, which are very influential in the country, refused to collaborate with the officials appointed by Quisling, or with his German masters. As a reprisal against this sixty leading trade union officials were flung into jail. The trade unions, however, were not intimidated by this. They found means of resisting every new attempt on the part of the invaders and Quisling to capture their organizations. The trade unions in Norway have not been “incorporated” to this day.

As regards the sport organizations, as a protest against the attempt to “incorporate” them they practically ceased to function. All matches and competitions were cancelled, the stadiums remained deserted, and in Norway, where sports were so highly developed, sporting life died out.

The medical profession was even more militant. In the autumn of 1941, all medical men were ordered to join the fictitious “Medical Association formed by the Quislings; but nobody joined it. The authorities then announced that medical men who did not belong to this alleged Medical Association would not be allowed to practise in state hospitals or dispensaries. In retaliation, the medical men all over Norway declared a strike. The strike lasted three weeks and in the end the authorities were obliged to give way.

In the autumn of 1941, in all towns throughout the country, the walls of houses, hoardings and pavements were chalked with slogans protesting against the tyranny of the occupation authorities and expressing solidarity with the Soviet Union and Great Britain. The Norwegian people openly expressed their contempt and hatred for the Quislings, and conflicts with the latter, ending with their getting a good thrashing, became more and more frequent. Sometimes, German soldiers got it hot, too. In Trondheim a collision occurred with the occupational troops in which the latter were so hard pressed that the local authorities were obliged to call for reinforcements from Oslo.

Subversive activities against the invaders began to increase. A gunpowder factory near Drammen was blown up. The same thing happened to a

large ammunition dump in Trondheim and to a nitroglycerine factory in Oslo. The German army camp and aerodrome north of Egerzund were raided and seven aeroplanes were destroyed. In many parts of the country the forest where German military objectives were concealed were set on fire. On the railway near Stavanger a German food train was wrecked. At a port near Bergen two oil tankers were destroyed. Several garages where German cars were parked and hotels where German officers were staying were burnt down.

In the towns, and primarily in Oslo, the capital of Norway, the trade unions, which have a membership of 350,000, were the centres of resistance to the invaders. The trade unions waged a persistent economic struggle against the Germans and their Quisling tools, fighting to maintain standards of wages and to prevent the drain of food and manufactured goods from the country by the Germans.

In the beginning of September 1941, strikes broke out at a number of factories in Oslo. On September 9, it was announced that the workers' food ration would be cut. At the same time the news got abroad that 1,300 head of cattle and a large quantity of milk were being exported from the country to supply the German army in Finland. All the engineering works in Oslo went on strike as a protest. Soon the strike spread to nearly all the factories in the capital and involved about 40,000 workers.

Excitement in the country increased. Preparations were in hand for a general strike all over the country to be declared on September 11. The Quislings got wind of this, however, and informed the German military authorities, who immediately took savage reprisals. On the morning of September 10 martial law was proclaimed in Oslo, Akker, Asker and Berum, and the death penalty was threatened for the slightest act of hostility against the Germans. Hansten and Wikström, two leading trade union officials, were arrested and shot within a few hours. Oslo was surrounded by German troops and cut off from the outside world. Wholesale domiciliary searches and arrests took place. The leaders of the Federation of Trade Unions were flung into jail. Hundreds of other trade union officials, many public personages, well known scientists, authors and artists were arrested. Scores were sentenced to death and long terms of imprisonment. Over 1,000 persons were deported to Germany and flung into the dungeons of the Gestapo. Participation in strikes was proclaimed a crime against the state punishable by penal servitude or death. All the property of the trade unions was confiscated.

At the same time the Germans removed the leading officials of the Norwegian employers' associations, for even here the Germans smelled danger. Obviously, they feared that the proposed general strike was connected with a nation-wide demonstration against the German yoke.

In 1942 the struggle flared up with greater vigour than ever. This time its spearhead was directed against that detested tool of Berlin; Quisling. For a number of reasons the Germans decided to vest in the latter the high authority of "Head of the State," and for this purpose he was called to Berlin where the investiture of this new Norwegian "führer" took place with great pomp and circumstance.

The Norwegian people greeted this appointment with a series of militant acts of hostility. In January, in Kirkenes, bridges which the Germans had built to facilitate traffic through North Norway to Finland, were blown up. Somewhat earlier, the largest fire that ever occurred since the invasion broke out in Oslo; German warehouses and garages were ablaze. In Bergen the Electric Power Station was damaged; in Olesund, fortifications which the Germans had erected were destroyed. Similar acts occurred in all parts of Norway, and the remarkable thing about this is that not a single person responsible for them was discovered.

On February 1, 1942, Quisling's appointment as "Head of the State" was proclaimed, but within the next few days a series of acts of sabotage of unusual dimensions were committed in Oslo and in other parts of the country. In Oslo, just as trains filled with Quislingites were about to leave from the Eastern and Western Railway Stations, terrific explosions occurred and the entire railway junction was set on fire.

The people studiously kept away from the parades and processions organized in honour of Quisling's appointment. During the so-called "national unity parade," there was not a single patriotic Norwegian in the streets of Oslo. The inhabitants loyally heeded the appeal of the patriotic organizations to stay at home.

In the spring of 1942, "the Norwegian patriots carried out a naval operation which was heard of all over Europe. Before the war Norway possessed the fourth largest mercantile marine in the world. After Germany's invasion a large number of ships managed to escape to England and other countries. Some of them got to Göteborg, in Sweden. In April 1942, the crews of ten of these ships decided to break through the German barrier and get to England. They put off one stormy night, but on the way were encountered by some German torpedo boats. Two of the Norwegian ships were sunk, three were severely damaged and were sunk by the crews; the remainder got away and arrived safely in England.

On May 15, a group of young Norwegian patriots boarded a Norwegian ship—which had been seized by the Germans—bound from Flekkefjord for Oslo. On the way they arrested the crew, took charge of the ship and sailed her to the coast of England. Several days later some Norwegian sailors carried off a large yacht under the very noses of the German naval guard and sailed her to England.

Fires are constantly breaking out in all parts of Norway, consuming large quantities of German army supplies.

The invaders themselves admit that Trondheim is a seething cauldron of resistance. The Germans converted this port into one of their chief naval bases in Norway. It serves as an anchorage for German warships and as a naval repair base. The harbour has been converted into a naval fortress. But even here the Norwegian workers engage in active sabotage which greatly hinders work of military importance. Last April the dockers went on strike and refused to load shells and other material on German warships which had arrived from France.

In October 1942, there was serious popular unrest in Trondheim. The situation of the Germans was critical, and only the hasty arrival of reinforcements headed by Hitler's satrap Redis saved them. Martial law was proclaimed in the entire province and scores of Norwegian hostages were shot as a reprisal for these disturbances.

In the north of Norway guerilla units conduct active operations. The guerilla commander Larsen is famous throughout Norway, and his example is being followed by many other brave patriots. During the past three months the Norwegian guerillas have wiped out 400 German officers and soldiers. The guerillas constantly make raids on the roads over which the Germans send reinforcements to Finland. In the region of Kirkenes and Narvik they attack enemy motor columns and lines of communication between Norway and Finland.

All classes of the population and members of different political parties and mass organizations are taking part in the national-liberation movement and are united in the daily struggle against the invaders, and this united anti-Hitler front is becoming more and more cemented as the struggle develops.

The peasants sabotage the delivery of foodstuffs to the German authorities, and thwart all their attempts to form a so-called "National Peasants' Union." When the formation of this "Union" was announced and Quislingites were appointed as its leaders, the peasants refused to join it. To this day the organization merely exists on paper. Last year the Ministry for Education issued a circular ordering school teachers to teach certain subjects in accordance with the fascist curriculum and also to join the Quisling Teachers' Union. The teachers refused to carry out either of the orders and went on strike. Neither the German invaders nor the Quisling authorities were able to break the spirit of the Norwegian school teachers who were fighting to save their schools from fascist obscurantism. About 1,000 teachers were sent to concentration camps or on forced labour, but this did not break the strike; the schools remained closed. Such staunchness was possible only because the teachers felt that they had the backing of the entire people. During the strike the Ministry for Education received about 300,000 letters from parents protesting against the harsh measures taken

against the teachers and against the attempts to Germanize and fascize the schools and the Norwegian children.

The Hitlerites were obliged to yield. In the beginning of May an order was issued, signed by Quisling, stating that it was not obligatory for school teachers to belong to the "Incorporated" Teachers' Union and that school lessons were to be conducted in accordance with the old curriculum.

Soon after the invasion a conflict broke out between the Norwegian clergy on the one side and the German fascists and Quisling on the other. The "new order" with its cynical advocacy of hatred for humanity, its violent "incorporation," of all spiritual life, and its despicable "race theory," roused the opposition of the clergy. When Quisling's Ministry for Public Worship called upon the clergy to preach in the spirit of fascist propaganda, an open collision occurred. The clergy, headed by Bishop Berggrav and other bishops, ceased to preach. Bishop Berggrav was arrested. As a protest against this and against the insolent demands of Quisling, the overwhelming majority of the clergy ceased to conduct services in their churches. This religious strike lasted three months and in the end Quisling was obliged to yield and Bishop Berggrav was released. The resistance of the Norwegian clergy to the invaders is continuing.

In the summer of 1942 Norway, like other occupied countries, was called upon to supply labour power for Germany. The Germans demanded 70,000 skilled workers, but they did not get them. The Norwegian workers boycotted the labour recruiting offices and persistently evaded compulsory registration and other measures introduced by the Quisling authorities. Moreover, owing to the increasing pressure of the Germans and the danger of being forcibly deported to Germany, workers employed in the factories producing supplies for the Germans began to desert *en masse*. Large numbers of workers also left the fortification and other construction work that was being carried on on the coast and hid with the peasants in the mountains and forests. Norway, with its large territory and scattered towns and villages, provides the patriots with many opportunities for escaping from the persecution of the Germans.

In August last, the free Norwegian trade unions issued an appeal to the workers, which was secretly distributed all over the country, calling upon them to resist compulsory mobilization for work on coastal fortifications and for work in Germany, to increase sabotage, to form guerilla units, and to engage in other active forms of resistance to the invaders.

The stubborn resistance of the Norwegian people is having good effect. Disintegration is growing in the ranks of the Quislingites. Realizing the utter hopelessness of their position and the inevitability of Hitlerite Germany's defeat, many of them are deserting their masters like rats from a sinking ship. During the last months of 1942, over 1,000 members of the Quisling organization resigned on various pretexts. Quisling and the

Germans threaten them with all sorts of punishment, but this has no effect. The Norwegians are increasing their resistance, and the harder they strike at the German invaders and their Quisling lackeys the sooner will they liberate their country.

THE STRUGGLE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia was seized by the Germans before the war broke out. She was thrown to the mercy of the fascist tyrants as a result of the Munich policy. She surrendered without a fight. Among the ruling classes there were elements who betrayed the interests of their country and acted as the butchers of their people. The Germans partitioned Czechoslovakia and set up what they call their "Protectorate of Czechia-Moravia." At the head of this "Protectorate" they placed a "president" in the person of Hácha—ex-Ambassador to Italy—and a puppet government which obsequiously served the German invaders. From the moment the Germans invaded the country these traitors tried to induce their people to believe that by surrendering without a fight and throwing themselves on the mercy of the victor they would greatly ease their lot. Their experience of the German yoke since the "protectorate" has been in existence has proved to the people the utter falsity of this slavish argument and has shown that it was only to the advantage of the Hitlerite cliques.

Czechoslovakia is surrounded all sides by Germany, which fact makes it exceptionally difficult for her to maintain contact with the outside world. This affects the activities of the anti-German movement and makes it difficult for information about it to get abroad. But now and again some big action on the part of the Czechoslovak patriots against their oppressors lights up the darkness like a flash of lightning and gives us some idea of what is going on in the country.

Hácha and his followers found themselves isolated. They were posted by the German masters to stand whip in hand over their countrymen to drive them under the German yoke, and a wide gulf separated them from the people. They have totally failed to extend their influence, or to find a basis of support in the country. On the contrary, the number of people who have risen in opposition to the German invaders steadily grew. After the Munich agreement many people believed that peaceful collaboration with the Hitlerites would be possible, but bitter experience taught them that they had been wrong, and they joined the ranks of the opponents of fascist Germany.

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In the first period after the Munich agreement the country was in a state of depression. The war hunched by Germany and her conquests of one European country after another still further crushed the spirit of the Czechoslovak people. They realized that the fact that they had been sacrificed to the Hitlerite aggressors had not saved the other countries of Europe from attack and military defeat by Germany. Deep down in their hearts they grieved at the loss of their national independence for which their ancestors had fought for centuries, and burned with hatred against the German conquerors.

Germany's wanton attack on the Soviet Union still further intensified the hatred of the people of Czechoslovakia for German fascism. At the same time the heroic resistance put up by the Soviet people to Hitler's hordes revived their hopes of recovering their independence. Sympathy towards the Soviet Union had always been strong in Czecho-slovakia. The people there regarded the Russian, Ukrainian and other nations of the U.S.S.R. as their brother Slavs, with whom it was necessary to maintain the closest connection in order to repel the ancient enemies of the Slavs, the German robbers. The position taken up by the Soviet Government during the fatal Munich period had still further strengthened the ties of friendship between the people of Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.

The news of the agreement concluded between the Soviet Government and the Government of Czechoslovakia and of the formation of a Czechoslovak army in Soviet territory to fight against German fascism was received by the people of Czechoslovakia with the greatest rejoicing. In the United States, Great Britain and all other countries where there is a free Czechoslovak press the agreement was heartily welcomed by scores of Czechoslovak immigrant organizations. Thousands of Bohemians, Slovaks and Trans-Carpathian Ukrainians wrote to their newspapers proposing that a campaign be started to recruit volunteers to fight the German barbarians and offering to volunteer themselves.

This fighting spirit spread among large sections of the people in Czechoslovakia itself and strengthened their hope and confidence in a speedy release from the German fascist yoke. At the same time, although more slowly, they began to understand that it was necessary to mobilize their own forces for the purpose of hastening the defeat of the enemy. They began more openly to express their hatred of the German fascists. At first this was displayed by their boycotting of Hácha's followers, by the wide circulation of secret anti-Hitler leaflets and newspapers which refuted the Germans' claims to victories in the East. Soon however, resistance to the invaders assumed a more pronounced form. In July 1941, for the first time since the German occupation, the masses of the people came out in the streets on the day of their national holiday in commemoration of John Huss. In Prague and other cities, big demonstrations were held. The occupation

authorities, not trusting the local police forces, despatched thousands of Storm Troopers to Prague, but this failed to stop the demonstration. In many places the demonstrators came into open collision with the Storm Troopers.

At about this time sabotage commenced in the factories and on the railways serving the needs of the Germans. On the Czechoslovak railways, which at one time were in splendid condition, hundreds of locomotives and freight cars were damaged. Railway traffic became so slow that freights which in the past could be carried from Vienna to Dresden in a few hours took no less than a month to reach their destination, in spite of the fact that they were marked "Urgent."

In a number of places, as for example, in Holešovice and Valašsko, train smashes occurred. In a certain mountain pass a troop train was wrecked, as a result of which many German soldiers and officers were killed. In another place, a train carrying timber to Germany was wrecked. Often, trains of tanks-filled with crude oil and petrol were set on fire on the railways. Such cases were noted in Česká Třebova and Hulin. In Dvukralova, a textile mill producing cloth for the German army was set on fire. At the Škoda Works in Pilsen the transformer in the power station was destroyed as a result of a fire and the works were brought to a standstill for five days. In Náchod an oil fuel store was blown up. In Poldiná Hut' the boiler house at a steel mill was wrecked, a large plant and many other factories were blown up in Vitkovice.

At a munition plant in Vlašim, 20,000,000 cartridges were found to be spoiled and were rejected by the German military authorities. In the store of an aircraft factory in Letova there was a quantity of an exceptionally important alloy necessary in the production of aeroplanes. The workers who went to the store to look for the metal created such a mess that the entire factory had to be stopped for several days until the necessary materials were found. In the same factory the office employees "mis-laid" some documents, one of which was an instruction cancelling a certain order. As a result, for two months the factory went on producing articles that were not needed. At another factory, the office employees also "mis-laid" the specifications of an important order for the German army and a whole week passed before the document was found. As a result of sabotage the volume of industrial output in Czechoslovakia dropped 40 to 60 per cent.

In many cases Germans were sent to replace Czechoslovak workers on the more responsible jobs, but the sabotage went on just the same. The Czechoslovak workers conformed to the slogan which appeared at that time: "The articles we produce must be the worst in the world."

The Hitlerite clique were infuriated by the growth of the national-liberation movement, by the mass demonstrations and increasing sabotage. In September 1941, when the anti-Hitler movement in Czechoslovakia rose to its highest pitch, Heydrich, the most notorious of Hitler's butchers,

arrived in Prague. Berlin appointed him “Protector” of Czechoslovakia and gave him a free hand. General Eliáš the Prime Minister, was dismissed, arrested and taken to Berlin. In the course of a few weeks hundreds of Czechoslovak patriots were executed and thousands were sent to concentration camps or deported to Germany. Among the latter were well-known army officers like Generals Bill, Vojta and Horáček, a number of authors, university professors, school teachers and many other representatives of the Czechoslovak intelligentsia, and hundreds of workers and civil servants. In seven of the main regions of Czechoslovakia — Prague, Brno, Kladno, Moravská, Ostrava, Hradec Králové and Olomouc— a state of emergency was proclaimed and all power was vested in the Gestapo. Bohemia was overrun by units of the Gestapo and Storm Troopers. The fascists believed that in this way they would decapitate and crush the national-liberation movement, but they failed. The fight against the invaders continued without interruption.

Soon after Heydrich’s arrival the Czechoslovak patriots distributed leaflets calling upon the people to continue their resistance to the Germans. A decisive factor in this revival of the anti-Hitler movement in Czechoslovakia was the defeat of the Germans near Moscow and on other sectors of the Soviet-German front.

Even the Germans were obliged to admit that the resistance of the Czechoslovak people was continuing. In the beginning of January 1942, the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* wrote: “Throughout 1941 sabotage was brazenly carried on here (in Czechoslovakia) and plots were hatched against Germany.”

Soon the Germans had more serious proof of the hatred of the Czechoslovak people. On May 24, 1942, Heydrich was killed. As far back as October 1941, when Heydrich was carrying out his savage reprisals in Czechoslovakia, threatening inscriptions were chalked on the walls in many towns in Czechoslovakia, such as; “Death to Heydrich!” “Heydrich will pay dearly for his villainies!” At last this grim sentence of death was carried out and the Czechoslovak people avenged the thousands of victims of Heydrich’s savage rule in different parts of Europe.

The assassination of Heydrich was a severe blow to the Hitlerites. The Hitlerite fury knew no bounds. Gangs of Storm Troopers were brought from Berlin to Prague and other Czechoslovak cities where they hunted in search of the culprits, but all their efforts were in vain. Reprisals followed reprisals with increasing ferocity. Thousands fell victims to the unbridled terror of the Gestapo during these summer months. Not satisfied with exterminating individuals, the Hitlerite savages massacred entire groups of the population. They completely wiped off the map the mining village of Libice. In another village, Lejaki, they shot all the male population and sent all the women and children to a concentration camp. This village, too, was burnt to the ground.

The Hitlerites found no clues to the assassination of Heydrich; but in this district, inhabited mainly by miners and other industrial workers, the most stubborn struggle against the German fascists was waged. Here numerous Storm Troopers were exterminated, and goods ready to be shipped off to Germany destroyed. In this district also, several guerilla units were active.

The patriots who were seized and executed by the Gestapo belonged to the most diverse classes of the population. Among those executed were workers, peasants, high officers as well as privates of the Czechoslovak army, civil servants, well-known members of Parliament, prominent authors and scientists, university professors, medical men, school teachers, engineers, students and lawyers.

The reprisals only served to whip up the hatred of the Czechoslovakian people for their tyrants. The leaders of the movement explained to the masses through their underground press that individual acts like the assassination of Heydrich must be supplemented by mass action and called upon them to follow the example of the Soviet and Yugoslav guerillas who are showing how the German fascists should be fought.

An important part in the struggle against the German invaders is being played by Carpathian Ukraine, which before the war was a part of Czechoslovakia. In the autumn of 1941 a guerilla movement started in the forests near Užhorod. The workers in the salt mines there formed the first guerilla groups. Soon they were joined by thousands of peasants who, driven to desperation by the tyranny of the invaders, rose in revolt against the efforts of the police to confiscate their stocks of food for the benefit of the Germans. Later these guerilla units were joined by privates, non-commissioned officers and several officers of the Czechoslovak army who were eager to take vengeance on the Hitlerites for the humiliation and devastation of Czechoslovakia.

The guerillas obtained arms by capturing them from the enemy. They attacked German gendarmes and the Hungarian detachments which had been sent to the Carpathians to requisition food and to suppress the rebellious Ukrainians, and in this way built up their arsenal. One day the guerillas attacked a Hungarian supply column on the way to the Soviet front and captured all the arms and ammunition. In September 1941, the guerillas surrounded and wiped out an entire company of Hungarian troops which had particularly distinguished itself in its ferocious treatment of the civil population. The guerillas enticed the Hungarians into a gorge near Dukli and there exterminated them. They captured 20 light and 4 heavy machine-guns, a piece of mountain artillery and other weapons, and a large quantity of ammunition.

The masses of the people not only sympathize with and assist the guerillas but are themselves putting up increasing resistance to the government officials and police authorities. The peasants slaughter their

cattle and destroy their crops rather than surrender it to the authorities. When the police threaten the peasants the latter in their turn threaten to appeal to the guerillas for assistance. Very often, on the appearance of the requisitioning troops the peasants slaughter their cattle, bury their property and go out to join the guerillas.

The news of the defeat of Hitler's hordes and their Hungarian hangers-on on the Soviet-German front stimulated the activities of the Carpathian guerillas; and the outrages perpetrated by the invaders against Ukrainian culture, the imposts thrust upon the population and the tyranny of the occupation authorities served still further to intensify their resistance. The army of the national-liberation movement grew and in the beginning of 1942 was estimated to number over 10,000. Sometimes the guerilla units fought pitched battles with enemy punitive expeditions. Near Svalava they derailed a Hungarian munitions train. In another place they reconnoitred the position of the 6th Tank Regiment and raided its base, destroying its fuel store, coal dump and other stores, as a result of which the regiment was put out of action. Near Sevluš the guerillas wiped out a large punitive expedition. Another enemy military unit was attacked in the vicinity of Turka. Often the guerilla units attacked requisitioning detachments and enemy supply transports, exterminated the convoy and distributed the grain, cattle and other produce among the peasants from whom these had been requisitioned.

In the vicinity of Volovec the guerillas captured a German officer who had given the order to shoot fifty hostages, among whom were six women. They took this officer into the mountains and there tried him in public and sentenced him to death. When the sentence was carried out he was ordered to face the direction of the place where the hostages had been shot, and relatives of his victims carried out the court's sentence. In many villages the church bells were rung announcing the execution of this just sentence.

In the summer of 1942, the guerilla movement in Carpathian-Ukraine broke out with renewed force. The guerillas attacked Hungarian troops, wiped out many enemy soldiers and officers and destroyed a large quantity of war material. One such attack was made on a large mechanized column. A pitched battle was fought in the course of which the Hungarians lost a hundred men. In the course of the summer the unit which made this attack wiped out several hundred enemy soldiers and others, blew up an ammunition dump and a train carrying war materials on the way to the Soviet-German front. Another unit, in the course of several engagements, wiped out over a hundred enemy soldiers, blew up an ammunition dump and captured a number of enemy transports.

The information that comes from the Carpathian-Ukraine, scanty though it is, indicates that the guerilla warfare is steadily spading and that

the Carpathian-Ukrainians are fighting staunchly for their national independence against the Hungarian and German invaders.

THE STRUGGLE IN DENMARK

The German imperialists seized Denmark gradually, by force and fraud. First they concluded a pact of non-aggression with her, which was in itself a scoundrelly trick on the part of Berlin, for little, peaceful Denmark, with her 5,000,000 population, could not possibly have had any aggressive designs against Germany. Taking advantage of this pact the Germans gradually increased their influence over the country and, without meeting with any resistance, dictated their will to her. Finally, to consolidate their position, they brought in a large force of Storm Troopers, and the German Ambassador practically became the ruler of the country. The Germans began to drain Denmark of her wealth almost immediately after the conclusion of the pact of non-aggression and soon this developed into wholesale and undisguised plunder. Simultaneously, fascist terrorism in the country increased; Danish patriots were persecuted and Denmark robbed of her national rights.

Naturally, this roused discontent among the Danish people, and their resistance to the German fascist invaders grew. For a long time this was expressed in the form of protests by various public personages, sullen unrest among the masses, and sabotage in the factories, in the ports and on the railways. Eventually the discontent of the Danish people came to the surface in a very open and turbulent form.

In November 1941, Berlin called upon Denmark to join the so-called "Anti-Comintern Pact" with the object of drawing her into the war against the Soviet Union and of making her its vassal as it had done to Hungary, Rumania and other purveyors of cannon fodder.

Scavenius, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs and Hitlerite agent in the Danish Government, was called to Berlin where he consented to Denmark joining the pact. This step, however, was strongly opposed by the other members of the Danish Government and by the entire Danish public. On November 25, when Scavenius returned from Berlin, a huge demonstration was held in Copenhagen, the Danish capital, to protest against Scavenius's treacherous action. Actually this was a demonstration against the subjugation of Denmark by Germany and expressed the determination of the masses of the people to regain their national independence. The demonstrators marched through the streets carrying the national flag and singing the national hymns of Denmark and Norway. On passing the Ministry for Foreign Affairs they shouted "Down with

Seavenius!” “Down with the traitor!” The police tried to break up the demonstration but failed. The authorities feared that an attack would be made on the German Embassy and strong forces of police were hurried to the place, Street traffic was stopped and for a time the demonstrators were masters of the streets. The authorities despatched large forces of police against the demonstrators and it was only by dint of great effort that they succeeded in checking it.

In January 1942, a fresh wave of anti-Hitler resistance swept the entire country, and this time even representatives of the Danish ruling classes took an active part. At that time Germany called upon the Danish Government to pass anti-semitic laws, similar to those in operation in Germany. This demand of the German barbarians was resisted by the Danish Government, Parliament and the King. At a very stormy meeting of the Cabinet only three Hitler agents spoke in favour of passing these laws, while the rest declared that they would resign if such laws were adopted. Parliament unanimously rejected the anti-semitic bills that were introduced.

These events coincided with the defeat of Hitler's hordes near Moscow. The joyous news of the victories of the Soviet troops spread through Denmark like wildfire. Like the other nations of Europe, the Danish people realized how precarious was the position of their tyrants, and their spirits rose. This was expressed in newspaper articles, in the literature published by Danish patriots describing the victories of the Red Army, and in slogans chalked on the walls of public buildings.

In Denmark, as in other countries, the German barbarians imagined they could consolidate their position by means of a reign of terror. They suppressed the Communist Party; arrested many of its members and flung other Danish patriots into jail, including the aged and world famous author Andersen-Nexö. But all this only served to fan the hatred of the Danish people and to stiffen their resistance to their oppressors.

The hatred of the masses towards their oppressors and the miserable clique of traitors headed by Fritz Clausen was transmuted to an increasing degree into open collisions with them. This hatred and contempt for these traitors was strikingly demonstrated at the end of September last year when the so-called “Danish Legion” returned from the Soviet-German front. This riff-raff had been recruited by the Hitlerites in the early part of the year and sent to the Soviet-German front, where they had suffered heavy losses and had to be recalled to Denmark. On learning of their arrival, the Danish patriots arranged a “warm welcome” for these German mercenaries. A huge crowd assembled at the railway station and hurled curses and abuse at them and even stoned them. It was only the intervention of the police, who resorted to arms to disperse the crowd, that saved these contemptible traitors.

In October and November 1942, the situation in Denmark became still

more tense. Scouring the whole of Europe in search of cannon fodder and labour power for their war industries, the Germans tried to compel the Danish people to serve in their army and to work in their factories in Germany. The German Ambassador in Copenhagen was replaced by a murderous official of the Gestapo, Scavenius was appointed Prime Minister.

The first acts of the new rulers of Denmark were to numerous arrests of patriots. Hundreds were flung into jail and numerous death sentences were carried out. The Hitlerites hurled themselves with exceptional ferocity upon the Communist Party, which was waging a heroic struggle for the national liberation of Denmark.

But the Germans cannot break the determination of the Danish people. The latter are continuing and even increasing their resistance.

The growth of the anti-Hitler movement in Denmark was vividly described in a leaflet recently published by the Danish Committee in London. At first, says this leaflet, the movement was feeble. Now, however, it is strong, and finds expression in sabotage at factories producing goods for the Germans, in open, mass, anti-fascist demonstrations, in refusal to go to work in Germany, in incendiarism and acts of diversion with the object of damaging the German war machine, and so forth. The movement has become so active that the German authorities have been compelled to form special detachments to combat it. The invaders are resorting to methods of increasing brutality to suppress the movement. Already, three thousand Danes are languishing in jail for their anti-German activities.

On March 1, 1943, a huge anti-fascist demonstration was held in Copenhagen, at which anti-German slogans were proclaimed and calls were issued to Danish patriots to fight for the independence of their country and to combat the Danish fascists.

The returns of the recent parliamentary elections in Denmark vividly illustrate the present situation in that country. All the anti-German parties and groups polled a larger vote than before, whereas the fascist, pro-German group, lost a large number of its former supporters.

The case of Denmark —formerly one of the most prosperous countries in Europe and now denuded and starving— vividly proves that the longer the Hitler regime lasts in an occupied country the more tyrannical it becomes. But it also shows that the longer the occupation lasts the stiffer becomes the resistance of the masses. Where a year ago only the first symptoms of passive resistance were visible, an active struggle is now proceeding.

During the past three months (January-March 1943) the people of occupied Europe have been living under the impression of the brilliant victories achieved by the Red Army in the war against Hitlerite Germany

and its vassals. The successes have imbued the people of the occupied countries with fresh energy and strength in their struggle against the Hitler conquerors. The severe defeats inflicted on the enemy armies by the Soviet troops during the winter campaign of 1942-43, and especially the Red Army's historic victory at Stalingrad, have laid a firm foundation for victory over the German-fascist armies.

At first, the German liars and bullies tried to hush up their defeats, but the truth came to light. In spite of the obstacles and barriers erected by the occupation authorities and Quislingites, and the barrage of lies put up by the Germans, the true facts about the disastrous defeat of the troops of the Axis Powers reached the broad masses of the population of Europe.

The mourning for the 6th Army proclaimed by Hitler in Germany and then in Norway, Rumania and other countries, served still further to impress upon the people the gravity of the defeat which the Red Army had inflicted upon the troops of Hitler Germany and its vassals. These days of mourning of German fascism were days of rejoicing and exultation for the peoples of the occupied countries and for all freedom-loving mankind.

The French Canadian newspaper *Le Jour* published a letter from Paris which indicated the enormous influence the victory of the Red Army at Stalingrad exercised upon the inhabitants of the occupied countries. In this letter we read:

“The spirit here is splendid, because we are getting good news from Russia. You cannot imagine what effect the example of the heroes of Stalingrad has upon the struggle we are waging. That remote city has become our standard.”

In Norway numerous impromptu meetings and demonstrations were held in honour of the victories achieved by the Red Army. The Swedish newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet*, which is well informed about the situation in the neighbouring country of Norway, wrote as follows: “The three days' mourning proclaimed in connection with the defeat of the Germans in Stalingrad developed into a demonstration of exultation.”

The Germans and their henchmen are now compelled to admit that the inhabitants of occupied Europe are well aware of the Red Army's victories and are enthusiastic about them. Recently, that French gutter rag *Effort*, which cringes before the German invaders and Laval, admitted that “the majority of Frenchmen ardently desire the victory of the Russians.”

The people who are suffering in the inferno of the German fascist occupation rejoice at the victories of the Soviet Union because they fully realize how much their own condition and the fate of the nations of Europe depend upon the successes of the Red Army. The blows the Red Army struck at the German troops at Stalingrad, in the North Caucasus, in the Kuban, in the region of the Middle Donetz, Voronezh, Rzhev, Gzhatsk, Vyazma, the region of Demyansk and Leningrad, were felt by the enemy

everywhere. Millions of German soldiers who had trampled the fields of Poland, France, Yugoslavia and Greece and have sown death and destruction far and wide, met with retribution at the hands of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Serbian and Frenchmen, Bohemians and Poles, Belgians and Norwegians know that every Hitlerite killed on the Soviet-German front diminishes the number of fascist butchers in Europe.

For over three years the Hitlerites have been vainly trying to subjugate the countries their hordes have invaded and to convert them into their colonies. It turned out, however, that it was much easier for the Germans to defeat these countries than to entrench themselves in them as conquerors. Their position in Europe is far worse today than it was eighteen months ago. Their European base is cracking up, and it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to hold what they succeeded in capturing by their piratical raids. The Germans resorted to two methods of subjugating occupied Europe and establishing their "new order" there. One was to find support among corrupt and treacherous elements within the different countries, such as Quisling, and the other was to introduce a reign of savage terror. The "Fifth Column" occupied an important place in the German fascist plans to conquer Europe. Before the war the German espionage centre had established connections with the pro-fascists in those countries which Germany was preparing to attack; and long before the war these pro-fascist elements had been urging their countries to surrender to the Germans without a fight. They exaggerated Germany's strength, belittled the possibilities of resisting her, and drew horrible pictures of the sacrifices that such resistance would entail.

After defeating a country the German invaders tried to find supporters among the native population. They tried to enslave the Norwegian people with the aid of traitors, for example, and did the same in France, Czechoslovakia, and in other countries. Their plan was a one, viz., to find a group of corrupt elements in the conquered countries, and use them as their tools, get them to recruit a gang of cutthroats, put these under the command of the Gestapo and allow them to rule the country for the time being until the need for them would pass away and they could throw their puppets on the scrap heap. This plan offered many advantages. In the first place, fewer troops would be required to occupy the conquered countries. Secondly, the German rule would be masked by these puppet governments, which would facilitate the administration of these countries and reduce popular hatred for the invaders by creating the illusion that these countries continued to exist as national entities under German rule.

One of the main objects pursued by these perfidious plans was to split the national-liberation movement in the occupied countries. The function of the Quislings was to break the spirit of resistance to the invaders within their respective countries and to prevent the formation of a united national

anti-Hitler front. In every country they invaded, the Hitlerites tried to create a national base for their “new order.” That is how Quisling came to the front in Norway. In other countries this role of national traitors was played mainly by people who had been long connected with German fascism, or who had sympathized with it, such as Degrelle in Belgium, Mussert in the Netherlands, Laval, Petain and Doriot in France, Nedić in Serbia, Pavelić in Croatia, Hácha and Moravec in Bohemia, Clausen in Denmark, and Cholakoglu in Greece. From the very outset, however, the plans of the Hitlerites were wrecked by the mighty wave of national resistance.

In some of the occupied countries the Germans failed absolutely to find anybody to do their treacherous work. In Poland and Belgium, they had to set up their own administration. In these countries no person of any reputation would agree to play the part of a Quisling, and the Germans saw no purpose in appointing their minor lackeys to this post. But even where puppet governments were set up they could be kept in power only with the aid of German bayonets. Thus, instead of being a support for the Germans, the Quisling traitors have to seek the support of the Germans to protect them from the hatred and wrath of the people.

Many facts go to prove that the Quislings have failed in their mission. In the first place, in no country has the number of these traitors increased. No new personages have come to the front. No new organizations or sections of the people have joined the traitors. On the contrary their numbers are diminishing. Many of them have been killed on the Soviet-German front, many have been wiped out by patriots in their own country, and a good many, realizing that the people are against them, and sensing the danger of having to pay the penalty for their treachery, are trying to save their skins by deserting their leaders.

The Quislings are hated more than their masters, and this hatred finds expression in open attempts to wipe them out. The Quislings have to have strong bodyguards of German troops armed to the teeth. It was no accident that Laval was one of the first targets of the French patriots' bullets. Since then quite a number of traitors have been removed. Doriot dare not move a step without an armed guard, who night and day have to protect him from the wrath of the people. The German authorities in the Netherlands were obliged to issue a special order to their forces to protect the Mussertites because the people of Amsterdam, Hague and other cities beat them up and kill them when they meet them in the streets. This popular retribution that is being meted out to the Quislings of all colours is the best of all proof of their failure. Those whom the people kill like mad dogs cannot serve as a support and protection for their masters.

The main reason for the failure of the Quislings is that the German invaders are the worst enemies of the people in the countries which they have conquered. The German occupation has meant death, ruin and

destruction not for any particular section of the population —workers, peasants, or intellectuals, but for the nation as a whole; it has put an end to national existence, national independence, national culture and national habits and customs, to all that man holds most dear. Large numbers of people in these countries who formerly had thought that it would be possible to find ways and means of coming to an understanding with the conquerors and that their particular class would not suffer very much under the occupation became convinced by bitter experience that collaboration was utterly impossible, and that if they wanted to preserve their native language, their national independence, their property, and even their very lives, they would have to wage a determined struggle against the German barbarians.

The second method which the Germans have resorted to in their endeavour to establish their rule in Europe, viz., the reign of terror: in spite of its ferocity, has likewise failed to crush or even to check the resistance of the masses of the people. From time to time the Germans were able by means of savage reprisals to inflict severe blows on the national-liberation movement, to tear many of its brave fighters from its ranks, and even to intimidate certain sections of the population for a time. But after a short interval a new wave of resistance rises and the struggle against the leaders assumes a fiercer character. Today the tide of the national-liberation movement is rising everywhere in spite of the reign of terror.

The situation in occupied Europe was fully described by Stalin in the speech he delivered on the 25th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on November 6, 1942, when he said:

“... the people in all the occupied countries of Europe —Norway, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece and the occupied regions of the U.S.S.R. —are seething with hatred for the Italo-German tyrants, are causing the Germans and their allies all the damage they can, and are waiting for a favourable opportunity to take revenge on their conquerors for the humiliation and violence to which they are subjected.”

All the occupied countries of Europe are now drawn into the anti-Hitler front. Even in countries like Denmark, where resistance to the invaders grew rather slowly, the hatred for the Germans is now expressed not only in passive forms, but also in active operations on the part of large sections of the population.

The national-liberation movement has long ceased to be the field of activity of individuals, single groups, political parties, or even single classes. It has become a genuinely nation-wide movement in all the occupied countries, embracing the bulk of the population —the workers, peasants, intellectuals, private soldiers and officers, and large sections of the bourgeoisie. In most of the occupied countries a united national front from

below has sprung up in the course of the struggle against the fascist invaders and is being cemented by the militant activities and the blood of patriots. In many countries this unity has taken definite organizational shape in the form of pacts concluded between the different organizations which are fighting for the national liberation of their country.

Both the Catholic and protestant Churches are more and more actively coming out against the German fascists. The latter have even turned the capitalists in the different occupied countries against them. They rob manufacturers and merchants of their businesses, take hostages from among prominent local citizens, rob the country of its national independence, destroy its national culture, violate its democratic traditions, insult and degrade human dignity and threaten completely to enslave and despoil all the inhabitants of the countries that have fallen under their yoke. Not a single class of the population has escaped the plunder, the brutality, the disaster and massacres perpetrated by the German robbers. This explains the universal character of the anti-Hitler front.

The methods by which the people in the various occupied countries resist the invaders also bear a universal character. Starting in most countries with passive resistance, the struggle gradually assumes more active forms. At the present time the struggle is being waged in all its forms, from passive resistance to armed warfare, from chalking anti-Hitler slogans on walls and pavements to the issue of secretly printed literature, boycott of the Quislings, sabotage in the factories and on the railways, to the killing of German officers and soldiers, attacks on German stores and bases, and finally, guerilla warfare. As time goes on the more active forms of warfare become more predominant in the national-liberation movement.

The guerilla movement, which started as a result of the influence of the Red Army's winter offensive, was still further stimulated by the total mobilization proclaimed by Hitler Germany, thereby converting millions of people in occupied Europe into active enemies. Every able-bodied person in occupied Europe is now confronted not only by the duty of defending the interests and independence of his country but also with the task of fighting for his individual safety, for his own life. Those who do not wish to be dumb and docile victims of the German cannibals have only one alternative, and that is, to take part in the guerilla struggle. Only in this way can they save themselves and fight successfully for the independence of their country.

Total mobilization affects the interests of those classes which had hoped to be able to lie low and wait until Germany had been defeated by the other countries. They advocated the policy of waiting and postponing decisive operations against the invaders. Now it is impossible to procrastinate and wait any longer, for the Hitler gang is driving everybody into the gulf of slavery and extinction. At first, the Germans demanded

skilled workers, but now they are mobilizing university students, office employees, even factory owners, ex-soldiers and officers and people in well-to-do circumstances, their children and other relations. This must inevitably widen the basis of the national-liberation movement, and cause it to become more active and adopt the higher forms of struggle. In France, the question of whether a guerilla movement is possible under modern conditions is no longer a subject of controversy as it was a year ago. The facts of life have proved that not only is guerilla warfare possible, but that it is the most effective method of fighting for the liberation of the country and of protecting the interests of every individual Frenchman and French woman.

Total mobilization and the struggle which is developing against it is revealing another extremely important phenomenon, namely, fascist Germany's growing dependence upon occupied Europe. Germany is now more than ever dependent upon the millions of foreign workers, upon the goods manufactured by the French, Belgian, Bohemian, Dutch and other factories which it has seized, and upon the raw materials obtained from the occupied countries. This means that to a very large extent the fate of Germany lies in the hands of the peoples of occupied Europe.

Under these circumstances, a great responsibility rests upon the representatives and organizations who speak on behalf of the peoples of the occupied countries. Of decisive importance is the unity of all the truly patriotic forces and their determination to fight to save their nations and to liberate their countries from the Hitler tyranny. One of the most serious obstacles to this, until recently has been the disagreements that have prevailed about the time when the decisive battles against the invaders should be launched. As a rule, the patriots within the respective countries have been calling for immediate active operations and for the development of the highest forms of national-liberation movement, while the representatives of the occupied countries abroad have been advising the postponement of the general rising against the Hitlerites. Now that the lives of millions of people in the occupied countries are in danger; the unity of the forces of the national anti-Hitler movement in every country and their joint action are of decisive importance. Not everywhere, as yet, does the hatred of the masses find expression in active operations against invaders, and not everywhere as yet have all the forces of the national-liberation movement been brought into action.

For nearly two years the Red Army has borne the brunt of the struggle against the hordes of Hitler, Mussolini, Horty, Antonescu and Mannerheim. In fierce battles Red Army and the Soviet guerilla fighters are destroying the manpower and technique of the armies that have enslaved Europe. The outcome of this struggle will decide the fate of the 150,000,000 population of occupied Europe and the fate of mankind as a whole.

The people of the Soviet Union are giving their all to secure the defeat of the hated enemy. The whole world is watching the courage, staunchness and self-sacrifice of the Soviet people with admiration and awe. The Soviet people know that the enemy cannot be overcome without struggle and sacrifice; that only in this way can victory be achieved and their country and the whole of Europe be liberated from the German fascist yoke. In the light of the heroic feats performed by the Soviet people, the duty of the patriots in the occupied countries of Europe becomes clear. It is their duty to their own country and their own nation to drive out the alien enemy. It is their duty to the Red Army which is fighting for the liberation of Europe and it is their duty to the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition which is fighting the enemy of all mankind.

This duty calls for the mobilization and putting into action of all the forces of the national-liberation movement in all the occupied countries. These forces are enormous. Hatred fills the hearts of the masses against the German oppressors. The sooner this hatred is transmuted into action the sooner will Europe be rid of the nightmare of Hitlerism and millions of lives be saved.

That is why the foremost representatives of the oppressed nations of Europe are, at daily risk to their lives, heroically working among the masses, urging them to adopt more active methods in their fight against the German invaders. They call for the extension of guerilla warfare, which is the most effective form of struggle and is not only a means of defence against the enemy, but also a means of attack. Defence alone, among which must be included sabotage in all its forms, the boycott of the occupation authorities, refusal to deliver foodstuffs and so forth, is not enough to achieve the expulsion of the hated fascist invaders. The inhabitants of the occupied countries must not postpone the hour of revolt; to do so means giving the enemy time to entrench themselves in Europe, it means forging fresh chains for the occupied countries, it means helping the enemies of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States who are fighting the Italo-German coalition. This is being patiently explained to the masses of the people by the best representatives of the European nations.

In this work of explanation these representatives meet with numerous obstacles. Certain sections of the people believe that their country will be liberated from German slavery as a result of the defeat of Germany by the Soviet Union in cooperation with Great Britain and the United States. Other sections of the people are scared themselves and try to scare others with the prospect of the sacrifice entailed by an active struggle for national liberation. The survivals of Social-Democratic ideas are also an obstacle to the transition to militant mass action. For decades the Second International propagated the opportunist idea that it is impossible to conduct mass operations against a modern army armed with artillery, automatic firearms

and aircraft, that street fighting is impossible under modern conditions of warfare, and so forth. The mask active patriots in the occupied countries, however, are proving that these views are wrong and harmful for the cause of national liberation. The bitter and costly experience of the people proves that far more sacrifice and loss are sustained as a result of Hitler's reign of terror. Victory cannot be achieved without sacrifice and by joining the guerillas many people can save themselves from the Gestapo, from deportation to Germany to be treated like slaves, from death, as the result of bombardment and from starvation. Millions of people in the occupied countries of Europe are beginning to understand more and more clearly that the German fascists will stick at nothing in their efforts to hold the countries they have conquered and to save themselves from defeat. They will go to the length of massacring millions of people, of annihilating entire nations, of laying waste to whole cities and regions in order to save their skins.

Faced with the prospect of defeat, the Hitlerite cannibals will try to drag with them to destruction everything they have laid their hands on in Europe. This can be prevented only by the people rising to save themselves and Europe. The occupied countries of Europe have an aggregate population of 145,000,000. This is a formidable force which, if brought into action, would greatly accelerate the liberation of the occupied countries from German fascist barbarism.

For these reasons the valiant fighters and leaders of the national anti-Hitler front are calling upon their respective nations to pass to the offensive against the hated enemy. They do all they can to spread information about the fight carried on by the Soviet guerillas and the guerilla army in Yugoslavia, and are urging their people to follow their example.

Strenuous efforts are being made in all the occupied countries to build up a national anti-Hitler front based on a common platform on which all sections of the people, all forces and all political parties and other organizations can unite their efforts towards the common aim of throwing off the alien fascist yoke and of regaining national independence.

The experience of the struggle for national liberation in all countries shows that unity is an essential condition for a successful struggle against the enemy. That is why genuine patriots in all countries are uniting their forces. In these stern days of trial and suffering for all the nations which are groaning under the horrible nightmare of fascist occupation, the true patriot is tested in the fire of active struggle against the invaders. Only those individuals and political parties who faithfully perform their patriotic duty in these stern days will be worthy of the love and gratitude of the people.

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