



London (by cable)

ALL political and industrial activity is overshadowed by the news on the Eastern Front and the urgency for speeding up the second front to which the government is pledged. The atmosphere here is very different from that which prevailed after Tobruk. Then alarm was mixed with a certain amount of cynicism and a certain doubt whether North Africa was, in any case, a principal front. Now the population fully grasps the fact that the battles west of the Volga are the decisive battles of the world. The feeling is rising rapidly. Not the feeling for aid to the Soviet Union—for that could not have been higher—but the realization of the need for opening a second front as the sole means to retrieve a situation which is equally perilous for all the Allies.

It has been stated here that certain American newspaper correspondents, for reasons best known to themselves, took the opportunity of a recent visit to Colonel Donovan to suggest to him for the President's benefit, that only Communists and Lord Beaverbrook, in Britain, favored the immediate opening of the second front. The news of these suggestions is causing considerable indignation among those who are aware that this travesty on British opinion has been relayed to America by the correspondents concerned. It is patently absurd to suggest that the British people are not enthusiastically behind the second front when all up and down the country, at factory meetings and in soldiers' camps, the demand for the second front is being furiously voiced by the vast majority of the population. Maybe those correspondents who have suggested that Britain is unenthusiastic and unappreciative of the issues at stake are those who are customarily incapable of appreciating any political developments outside the doors of the Savoy.

THE position in reality is this: following the agreement to open the second front, the British public assumed that the government entirely intended to carry out the obligation it had assumed. The public was thereby reassured. The public was prepared to accept secrecy on a large number of details.

True, there is only one way in which an immediate political crisis is possible in Britain—if the public believed that the government and the military authorities were insincere about their obligation to open the second front. In that case, there would be an upheaval and a political crisis of the sharpest

WHAT BRITAIN REALLY THINKS ABOUT THE SECOND FRONT

character. On the other hand, it is obvious that all previous attempts to overthrow the Churchill government have been conducted by the extreme right. These attempts have been directed not toward opening the second front or for the effective prosecution of the war, but the opposite. It is obviously impossible to apply at this crucial moment the sanction which could be applied at other times. Nothing which would reduce production can be attempted. Nobody would wish to attempt it except those who, for one reason or another, are engaged at this moment in a bitter campaign against Churchill, the Soviet government, and the Communist Party. The Trotskyists have come into the news this week. Their paper, *Socialist Appeal*, is campaigning for strikes in the coal fields, for the overthrow of the Churchill government, and against the Anglo-Soviet alliance. The Trotskyists are also declaring it impossible to open the second front on the grounds that the British leadership is totally incompetent and equipment is lacking.

THESE elements have been conducting their campaign for many months. They are able to do so only because of the absence of the *Daily Worker*. Months ago the government was warned of the degree to which these disruptive elements would be able to undermine productive activity in the factories and elsewhere if the constructive elements were strangled by the ban on their newspaper. At this point one can realize the significance and gravity—always remembering France—of this particular attitude toward the press. A representative of the Labor Party, namely Herbert Morrison, suppressed the *Daily Worker*. He has failed to suppress the paper which is obviously in the service of the enemy. Through his police agents at the Home Office, he must be perfectly aware that local Trotskyists are paid and organized by fascist backers. Yet the British Home Secretary who acted so briskly against the Communist paper does not act against the Nazi sheet. This is no trivial matter: it reveals an attitude on the part of the Home Office which throws considerable light on the real activities and real balance of power in at least one government department.

All this would be unimportant, were it not for the fact that the real battle to squeeze every possible hour out of available time for a second front depends above all on

A BRITISH TRIBUTE TO THE RED ARMY



"Writing a New Chapter"

Vichy in the London News Chronicle

—BUT WHERE IS THAT SECOND FRONT?

tightening up activity in the factories. It's a measure of the desperation of enemy activity here that Trotskyites should be conducting an anti-Soviet, pro-strike, anti-government campaign at this moment. If this scum were investigated it would probably be found that among any ten of them there would be three active enemy agents, four provocateurs, and the remainder police inspectors keeping an eye on things. This is the lowest dregs of politics, but do not imagine that there is no significance in the fact that these people should suddenly push themselves to the fore at a moment when activity in the factories is an absolutely crucial element in the organization of an immediate second front. Every delay and sabotage organized by these individuals is seized upon by their unacknowledged allies on the extreme right who thankfully accept this activity as the other half of their own pincer attack.

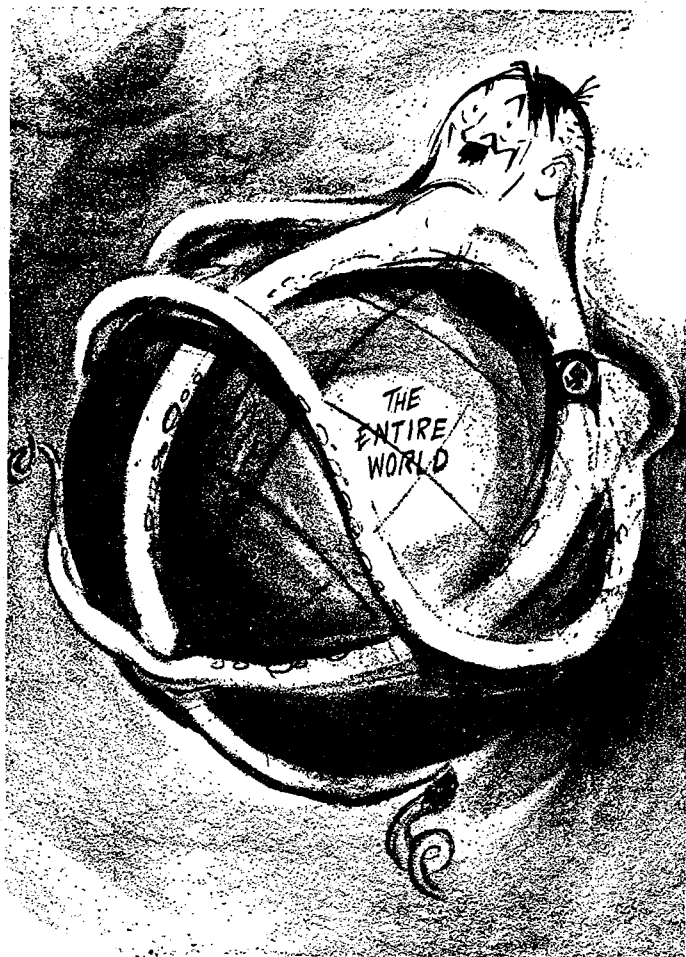
It is to be expected that the government will take action immediately to strangle this type of Nazi activity—which, oddly enough, is defended and justified this week by Mr. Aneurin Bevan in a freely distributed issue of his paper, the *Tribune*. It is also to be expected that all demands of those workers in industry who for months have been pressing for a closer coordination of shop stewards' demands and general directives of management, will be accomplished. Certainly it is true that the atmosphere here grows more tense every day as people look to the government for fulfillment of the second front pledge. In this connection I may say that a story is being spread—doubtless by utterly irresponsible people—to the effect that US General Marshall is now the leader of those who do not want any big action in the West until some "foolproof" offensive can be launched next year. Naturally these same persons suggest that there are individuals in the United States who, following the line of Pershing in 1917 and the early days of 1918, are averse to permitting full action of American forces unless and until those forces reach

a size which justify total command by an American general. Probably it is absurd to attribute any such consideration to American military men. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that this kind of whispering should go on as long as Britain and America fail to open a second front, and I have no doubt that similar whisperings against British generals and others are going on in America. If the British people believe that American influences are actually delaying a second front in the hope that the Russians will hold out for the rest of the summer and winter, that is something which can only be cured by action.

There is nothing here that can't be cured immediately by action—even the curiously headachy statements, hints, and innuendoes which certain government spokesmen have been making—or are alleged to have been making—to American correspondents in particular. And action can cure some other things. For example, as I have repeatedly pointed out, there are forces which, without any direct political sabotage in mind, are nevertheless prepared to try to influence the government, which has agreed to an immediate opening of the second front, to delay this opening until such time as every military pundit is ready to agree that everything is necessary.

There are also those actively and consciously seeking to reverse the decisions reached by the government at the time of Molotov's visit. These will seek to use the grave situation between the Don and the Volga as reason for not acting wholeheartedly, just as they did following Tobruk. I believe the attitude of the American people and press demanding fulfillment of the second front pledge has already proved useful here. Outspoken comment in the United States cannot fail to reinforce the government and its supporters. Within the last week the latter have been insisting more urgently than ever before—through the columns of the *News Chronicle* and *Daily Herald*—that the government has reason for fear only if it fails to carry out those obligations for a second front.

HOW AMERICANS SEE THE WAR



"His idea of living room"

Werner in the *Chicago Sun*



"All in the same boat"

Carlisle in the *New York Herald Tribune*

—BUT WHERE IS THAT SECOND FRONT?

FOR months after the termination of the Polish military campaign, the outside world heard only about the persecutions instituted by the Germans against the Poles, the confiscations and expropriations, the expulsions and deportations of Polish and Jewish populations. The world was being given its first taste of the Nazi "new order." All the resistance of defeated Poland seemed to be crushed; the entire population appeared helpless in the face of brute force. But slowly the outside world learned about various activities, of people fighting against their new masters. It was hardly possible to determine the origin of these reports. Almost from nowhere came the news that a powerful underground movement had developed in Nazi-occupied Poland, accompanied by numerous acts of sabotage. . . .

Immediately after the completion of the Polish campaign and the occupation of the country by Nazi Germany, thousands of former Polish soldiers hid in the woods and began their guerrilla warfare. The Germans were constantly combing the forests, but most of the time they could not discover the hiding place of the Polish guerrillas, who enjoyed the support and the refuge of the entire population. These units repeatedly attacked Nazi outposts and thus forced the German high command to maintain a large army of occupation in Poland. . . .

ONE of the most important means of civilian resistance was industrial sabotage. Factories in Poland were forced to operate for the benefit of the German war machine, and most of their workers were kept on. These men developed various tactics to retard or prevent production. One method was direct sabotage of factory equipment. A Polish writer who had worked in a commandeered factory and had escaped from Warsaw by the middle of 1940 reported that a machine needed repairs ten times as frequently in six months as had been necessary in a year under Polish control. . . .

The Poles have now returned to the forms of underground fighting that were so frequently used by them under czarist Russia. While, of course, very little news about these activities is available from German newspapers, the constant clamor against Polish "bands of assassins" shows how widespread the sabotage activities are and to what extent the old Polish underground tactics have been revived.

The essential differences between the former and present-day underground activities seem to be a greater centralization of authority and a well planned movement throughout the country. The Polish government-in-exile has its representatives in Poland, and as far as is feasible, all the underground groups are coordinated and directed by central authorities. A few examples of such coordination can be given here.

Before Sept. 1, 1940, the first anniversary of the outbreak of the war, all the underground newspapers printed an appeal from the Polish government-in-exile calling upon the population to abstain from attending, on September 1, all places of entertainment, movies, theaters, etc. The population was asked not to buy any newspapers published by the Nazis and to remain at home from four to six o'clock in the afternoon.

On Sept. 1, 1940, great Nazi parades were held in Poland. Nazi soldiers marched and sang German patriotic songs, but not a Pole or a Jew was to be seen on the streets. All entertainment places were open but empty. Suddenly, at six o'clock, thousands of Poles and Jews appeared in the streets and began to walk toward patriotic monuments or cemeteries to honor their dead. In Warsaw a considerable number of people streamed toward the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and other national and patriotic monuments. Immediately these monuments were covered by great masses of red and white flowers. . . .

The ubiquitous Gestapo has been baffled by the equally ubiquitous underground press. Occasionally German secret agents discover a printing press, ink and paper supplies, a short-wave receiving set and men in a cellar. But the sheet soon pops up somewhere else. It prints forbidden news, editorials, and

POLAND'S RAGING UNDERGROUND

Everywhere the country's heroic guerrilla fighters obstruct the "new order." Sabotaging factory equipment. The secret newspapers — how they are produced and distributed. A remarkable meeting of delegates from 2,000 democratic groups.

satires. It gives information about the lot of the missing and the revenge taken, and reviews acts of sabotage and their outcome. Naturally it has no established headquarters. Very few of the illegal newspapers in Poland have been discovered, but when the press of the *Dziennik Polski* ("Polish Daily") was found in Warsaw, 170 people were arrested and 120 of them shot. However, this did not decrease the number of illegal newspapers. On the contrary, since then they have considerably increased their circulation. . . .

Every step in underground work is extremely dangerous, from obtaining presses, ink, and paper, to writing, editing, and distributing the finished product. All sorts of controls have been adopted by the Germans to ascertain the destination of every scrap of paper and every bit of printing ink sold in Poland. Yet, despite these strict controls and the continuous searches by the Gestapo, publications by the hundreds continue to circulate. Some are no bigger than a post card; some are almost regular newspaper size.

Because of the difficulties of obtaining paper and the danger of arrest, circulation presents quite a problem. The most popular system of distribution is that in which each member of the editorial staff gives copies to a number of his most trusted friends. Each of these in turn hands his copy on to other trusted acquaintances. . . .

The underground press keeps the people well informed on happenings in Poland and throughout the world. The efficient work of this news service can be seen by a comparison of the dates of international events with the dates on which they are reported in the illegal papers. Day and night, a staff of linguists listens to news broadcasts emanating from the Allied countries. They in turn translate these news items into Polish and send them to the hundreds of basements, cellars, and barns which usually serve as the offices of the underground press. . . .

At the beginning of 1941 representatives of most of the Polish underground organizations met "somewhere in Poland." Over 2,000 groups of workers, peasants, and intellectuals from all parts of the country sent delegates to a convention which gave expression to the resolute and united will of all Polish democratic forces. The meeting instructed the leadership of the movement to bring its resolution before the public opinion of the world as an expression of the aspirations and ideals of