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TWOPENCE

An Analysis of the Social Basis of the Soviet Union —AND WHY WE DEFEND IT

By E. GRANT.

The Russo-German war is now entering its second month, and this gives us the opportunity to measure the relation of forces. It is clear that the heroic resistance of the Russian workers and peasants has for the first time stemmed the blows of the German blitzkrieg machine. The bitter resistance of the Soviet soldiers has completely upset the Nazi time-table. Already the German soldiery have had to pay the price for their territorial gains in such measure that the Soviet claim to have inflicted a million casualties on the German army cannot be far short of the mark.

In addition to this the "scorched earth" policy announced by Stalin completely deprives the Nazis of any immediate economic gains in the territory occupied by their troops. They conquer only blackened ruins and desolation. Banking on the experience of the campaigns in the West, Hitler had anticipated a relatively cheap and easy victory. Moreover the experience of the Finnish war, which had been decidedly unpopular among the masses of the Russian people, had led the German imperialists to completely underestimate the powers of resistance of the masses when defending themselves against imperialist attack. Napoleon, whom Hitler has desired to render a tyro in the field of world conquest, could have explained in advance to his would-be imitator that the moral factor stands as to the physical in the relation of three to one.

Basing themselves on the oppression of the Russian workers and peasants by the uncontrolled bureaucracy, the German capitalists, and for that matter world imperialism, deluded themselves into the belief that the Russian people could be overwhelmed without too costly an effort. Trotsky had predicted that the idea of the Japanese militarists and German Fascists that the Russian people were only waiting for the armies of the Mikado and Hitler to "liberate" them was fantastic delirium. The capitulations of Stalin in the past two years encouraged this belief in the minds of the German military clique. In spite of the ravages of the bureaucracy, the basic conquests of the October Revolution still remain; the capitalist class have never regained their possessions and private ownership in the means of production has never been restored. It is this that the masses, despite their aversion for the bureaucracy, have rallied to defend, just as the British workers would rally to the defence of their Trade Unions against capitalist attack, in spite of their aversion for the Bevins and Citrines.

Up to now the Nazi army has not had a serious test to face. In France the bourgeoisie were concerned only with saving their property, and the moment the Germans had broken through, they capitulated. The French soldiers and workers had been demoralised by the Stalinists and the actions of the bourgeoisie, and rendered morally

prostrate, which resulted in only half-hearted resistance. Likewise in the other countries the bourgeoisie sold out, and the German military machine marched over Europe as if on military manoeuvres. It was this which gave the Nazis the illusion of invincibility.

But today Goebbels is forced to admit that the Russian soldier fights to the death. "When the machine guns are knocked out by tanks, the Mongol soldier does not surrender; he fights on with a revolver." And behind the German lines of advance the population remains bitterly hostile and continues a guerilla warfare. It is this wave of enthusiasm and self-sacrifice that has served to stem the German advance. And with a correct policy would guarantee the victory of the Russian workers and peasants over the Nazi military machine and the establishment of a Socialist Europe. But as was foreseen, Stalin cannot wage a revolutionary war.

The bureaucracy in Russia are fighting Hitler because he leaves them no alternative, and thus, they do, in a distorted bureaucratic fashion defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet bureaucracy—the army officers, managers, technicians, artists and higher officials, numbering about 10,000,000, intend to continue to devour four-fifths of the goods produced for consumption, while the rest of the population consume one-fifth, and this is what they are fighting for. But in spite of the fact that Stalin desires the defeat of Hitler, he does not wish for a proletarian revolution in Germany. Because a Socialist revolution in Germany would mean a Socialist Europe. And a Socialist Europe would mean that the victorious Russian workers and peasants, imbued with self-confidence by their victory, would return home and soon settle accounts with the Kremlin usurpers by immediately restoring control into their own hands. Stalinism only came to power on the basis of the defeats of the world working-class. A victory of such titanic proportions as the seizure of power by the German proletariat would sweep Stalinism aside!

The organic needs of the bureaucracy in internal policy find expression in the foreign policy of Stalin. If they had placed their confidence in the European and world working-class, by consistent day in and day out leaflets and radio appeals to the German workers explaining the real character of the war on the part of their Nazi rulers, urging them in fraternal collaboration to establish a Socialist Germany—this, coupled with the unyielding resistance of the Russian workers and peasants, would have been the signal for transforming the whole world situation and sound the death knell of world capitalism. Instead of this irrefutable Leninist position, we see the reliance upon Churchill and Roosevelt, the "democratic" imperialists. Not only is the Comintern deceiving the Russian masses as to the nature of the voracious im-

perialists of Britain and America, but is spreading the illusion among the entire world working-class that they are fighting for the liberty of all nations. On the Moscow wireless we hear:

When the German fascist hordes appeared on the shores on the Straits of Dover and the English Channel, and prematurely celebrated their victory over democratic Britain, the British showed in the moment of mortal danger that they were capable, under the leadership of their far-sighted statesmen, of developing the gigantic strength latent within them." In the "Times" of July 17 we read:

"As happened during the lesser crises of recent years, resolutions have come pouring into Moscow from factories and farms throughout the Union. A word from Moscow can usually bring such resolutions at any time. In the past they have not been wholly spontaneous, but their wording is now significant. The Anglo-Soviet Alliance is applauded not merely in the Moscow newspapers: it is being welcomed and praised in all these resolutions, a proof that the Soviet Government is not afraid of letting even the most isolated centres know that it has joined forces with the Power which until lately was denounced as imperialist and capitalist." And we are told by Stalin in his speech:

"In this connection the historic utterances of the British Prime Minister, Churchill, regarding aid to the Soviet Union, and the declaration of the United States Government signifies readiness to render aid to our country, which can only evoke a feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, are fully comprehensible and symptomatic."

Thus we see the deliberate deception of the masses in the Soviet Union as to the real aims of Anglo-American imperialism, the aims of world domination for the continued exploitation of the people of the entire globe and, above all as a long-term perspective, the re-introduction of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, Churchill and the bourgeois statesmen have openly proclaimed their detestation of Communism and by innuendo have made it clear to the class they represent that they intend to settle this account at a more propitious time. Mr. Churchill does not withdraw a word of what he has said about Communism in the past. And Churchill has expressed his preference for Hitler's Nazism to Bolshevism. The support which Churchill will give is based only on the knowledge of the world bourgeoisie on the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism, which the nationalist charlatanism emanating from Moscow has wholly justified. Were it not for this, Churchill would be clutching

at Hitler as a saviour from the menace of Bolshevism.

Confident of the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy within and without Russia, Churchill and Roosevelt are calculating on the mutual exhaustion of Germany and Russia. As a Turkish journalist expressed it: "Wouldn't it be fine if Hitler and Stalin would knock each other out?" Anglo-American imperialism will then be enabled to destroy the Soviet regime and emerge masters of the world. The resistance of Russia has come as much a surprise to them as to Germany. A protracted resistance and its inevitable threat of revolution in Europe would compel Hitler to seek terms at the expense of Russia, and Hitler would be compelled to play the role originally allotted him by world finance.

THE INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION

But what will take place within Soviet Society? To save himself Stalin must appeal to the revolutionary energies of the masses and arm once again tens of millions of workers and peasants. Not for long will these masses be fobbed off by the crimes and stupidities of the bureaucracy. The baneful effects of mismanagement, inefficiency, and corruption which are characteristic of the ignorant and uncontrolled bureaucracy, will be even more glaring under the stress of the war. Meanwhile, war will impose a terrible strain on the industry and transport of the Soviet Union, and the privations of the masses will inevitably become worsened, in the interests of "Everything for the Front." This policy can only be carried through without provoking sharp legitimate dissatisfaction, if, as was the case in Lenin's day, the sacrifices are more or less spread equally over the entire population.

In the course of the war the wasteful extravagance and corruption of the generals, admirals and other high bureaucrats will arouse an extreme resentment and hostility among the masses. This is the reason for the unparalleled chauvinist appeals on the basis of "national unity." Lenin taught us always to look beneath formulæ and slogans for the social content. In capitalist states the appeal for "national unity," "union sacree" in time of war is a cloak to gloss over the antagonism of interests in the given society. Of course, in Russia today it is correct to appeal for the defence of the fatherland—but in Lenin's day the emphasis, as always, would be the workers' fatherland. The defence of the Russian workers state would be the defence of the entire world working-class, especially of the workers in Europe and Germany.

Under the fire of British guns in the wars of intervention, both in the internal and ex-

ternal propaganda, the Bolsheviks appealed to the Russian soldiers fighting against the British: "We never forget while English guns and English bombs and English soldiers are raining death upon us that there are two Englands, the England of the workers and the England of finance capitalists." The reason why the Soviet bureaucracy cannot make this simple and true call, internally and externally, is because of the profound gulf which has opened out between the people and the avaricious officialdom. This is the social content of the appeal for "national unity" within the Soviet Union.

If, as we hope, the Nazis fail to score a decisive success—which is the best that can be hoped for with Stalinism in control, the war will become a bloody war of attrition and exhaustion, and the contradictions within Soviet society will reach their extreme limit, beyond which there must be an explosion.

Like all doomed regimes Stalin's preoccupation with preserving his position is shown by the measures which he has dictated for the army. The splitting of the front into three commands is not dictated by the military needs of the Soviet Union. In war a unified command is obviously the best means of conducting operations on the fronts as a planned whole. Stalin's reduction of Timoshenko from Commander-in-Chief is dictated by fear that the reins of power will slip out of the hands of the civil bureaucracy into the hands of the army caste. After the Finnish war the abolition of the control of the political commissars, which were in reality the G.P.U. guards of the civil bureaucracy, was a victory for the army caste. Stalin was compelled, by the disastrous consequences of the G.P.U. control and purges which led to military reverses, to give freer hand to the generals. But now fearful of his position, even in the face of the mightiest foe in world history, Stalin once again has introduced the G. P. U. in order to ensure his control, from below as well as above, in the army. But in any event, this will not prevent at a later stage power passing into the hands of the military bureaucracy as in all Bonapartist regimes.

In industry and transport, through the disruption of economy the heads of the trusts will be compelled more and more to act as if they were the owners of the enterprises. Planned economy, which pre-supposes the conscious co-operation, activity, and control by the masses, managed in spite of the bureaucratic straight-jacket, to maintain a semblance of unified progress in time of peace. In time of war, the bureaucratic strangulation means that planned economy as a whole must crumble. The "Fifteen Year Plan" of 1941 is automatically scrapped. Under the aggravation of the contradictions, the processes speeded up by the war, a section of the bureaucratic tops will

tend to seek the assistance of the capitalist "allies" to solve the contradictions by the restoration of capitalism.

On the other hand the workers and peasants who bear the main brunt of the war will now be armed and organised (it is true under the control of the G.P.U.) and while they have tolerated in the past the Old Man of the Sea on their backs for fear of a worse alternative in the form of capitalist intervention, they will not look with any too indulgent an eye on the excesses and inefficiencies of the bureaucracy. As time passes it will become more and more evident that the bureaucratic control is paralysing the organisation of the defence of the Soviet Union. It will become apparent that only restoration of workers' control in the factories, the restoration of Soviets and Soviet democracy can save the workers' state from disaster. At that time the programme of Lenin and Trotsky will be rejuvenated.

The utopian character of the dream of "Socialism in One Country" has been destroyed in passing by the Nazi attack. Whatever the outcome of the struggle it is obvious that the economy of the Soviet Union will be terribly shattered and weakened. The policy of "scorched earth" with a revolutionary perspective is of course, the only correct one. Nevertheless it is a policy of desperation. Tens of millions of people will flee to the interior of the Soviet Union; the devastated regions will require years to build up again. Even a victory would find Soviet economy more and more dependent upon the rich and mighty "Democracies" of the West.

Even under Czarism the bourgeois democracies bled Russia white in man power and economically. In the salons of St. Petersburg the bourgeois joked that "England is prepared to fight to the last drop of blood . . . of the Russian soldier." At that period, while fighting German imperialism in alliance with Russia, the allied bourgeoisie were not loth to try and transform Russia into an Anglo-French colony. This at a time when they were propping up Russian Czarism as a bulwark of European reaction. Today it is clear that Washington and London regard the attack of Hitler as a gift of Providence to simultaneously bleed their mighty German rival and at the same time obtain an advantageous position for the throttling of the workers' state. The antagonisms between collective ownership in Russia and the capitalist world is the most fundamental of all antagonisms within present-day society.

That is why in spite of all the concessions and cringing of the bureaucracy the Soviet regime, even in its emasculated form, cannot be saved unless the intervention of the workers in the capitalist states takes place. If world capitalism manages to survive the present bloody conflagration it has let loose on

mankind, regardless of the victors, Russia will not escape the engulfment like the rest of the world, of fascist barbarism, and the bourgeois counter-revolution in Russia will be heralded.

THE END OF THE COMINTERN AS AN INTERNATIONAL

This austere, but sober, calculation of the development of events plays its part with the Churchills and Roosevelts. Stalin is assisting them with all his might to transform their calculations into reality. The prostituted Comintern, from being sold together with oil and manganese to placate Hitler, is now bartered for promises of machine tools and Spitfires. Not only in the allied countries, but in the occupied territories, too, the Comintern is dancing to the tune of Churchill. In France and Czechoslovakia, where the Communist Parties probably have the support of the majority of the working-class, they are now placing their followers under the banner of De Gaulle and Benes, who represent London, and nothing else.

But the calculations of world imperialism are built on quicksand. In Germany and Europe, far more than in the Soviet Union itself, the contradictions between the Nazi bureaucracy and the German imperialists on the one side, and the German workers and peasants on the other; the contradiction between German imperialism and the oppressed workers and peasants of the conquered nations, are being strained to breaking point. The development of the war will bring all five continents into the harvest of "blood, toil, tears and sweat" which capitalism has sown. The violent reaction of the masses to this bloody and senseless slaughter will come with absolute certainty. And on this optimistic perspective the Trotskyists base their programme.

In Britain the bourgeoisie is chuckling at the exercising of the "red menace" by the betrayal of the Communist Party. The *Times* notes with satisfaction that Hitler's move into Russia has "placed the dissident Communist minority behind the national effort." This, it is to be hoped, will be the final turn of the already dizzy Comintern. The revolutionary element within the Communist Party will not for long allow themselves to be dragooned into support for Churchill. Perhaps it has been fortunate that the Comintern has not managed to penetrate and corrupt the decisive section of the British working-class. In Europe the lash of fascism is the price which the working-class has paid for the crimes of Social Democracy and Stalinism. But we in Britain have the opportunity to profit from the lessons of the past decades. The British working-class can play a decisive role in the destruction of the

(Continued on page 8)

LEON TROTSKY

One year ago, on August 21st, the name of Leon Trotsky was inscribed on the roll of honour of those who have died on the battle field of the class struggle for the emancipation of toiling humanity. The announcement of the assassination of Trotsky seared, like a tongue of flame, through the hearts of revolutionary socialists the world over.

The life of Trotsky is written into the history of nearly fifty years filled with world transforming events. The story of his life is part and parcel of the three Russian revolutions in 1905 and 1917 and of the tremendous events that have since taken place throughout the world.

Around the life of this titanic figure is the history of man's struggle for liberation. Stalin and his journalistic and professional hacks tried with total lack of success to weave a web of lies and falsifications. The living Trotsky towered ever far above his miserable would-be traducers. The Trotsky who has now entered into memory as well as into history will tower still higher as the heavy pressure of events bring home to greater and greater masses everywhere the revolutionary lessons of which he was so great a teacher.

LENIN'S SUMMARY

A succinct summary of Trotsky's political biography appeared as a note to the first edition of Lenin's Collected Works, in Volume XIV, part 2, pages 481-482, published by the State Publishing House in Moscow in 1921. Here in these few lines, edited under the sharp eye of Lenin himself, were the answers to all the lies and falsifications concocted in later years by the usurpers and betrayers of the revolution.

"L. D. Trotsky, born 1881 (1879), active in the worker's circles in the city of Nikolayev; in 1898 exiled to Siberia; soon after escaped abroad and participated in the Iskra. Delegate from the Siberian League at the Second Congress of the Party. After the split in the Party adhered to the Mensheviks. Even prior to the revolution, in 1905, he advanced his own and today particularly noteworthy theory of the permanent revolution, in which he asserted that the bourgeois revolution of 1905 must pass directly into the socialist revolution, being the first of the national

revolutions; he defended his theory in the newspaper Nachalo, the central organ of the Menshevik faction published during November-December 1905 in Petersburg. After the arrest of Khrustalov-Nussar, he was elected chairman of the First Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Arrested together with the Executive Committee on December 3, 1905, he was sent into life exile to Obdorsk, but escaped en route and emigrated abroad.

JOINS BOLSHEVIKS

"Trotsky chose Vienna to live in, and there he issued a popular newspaper, Pravda, to be circulated in Russia. He broke with the Mensheviks and attempted to form a group outside of all factions; however, during the factional struggle abroad he made a block with the Mensheviks and the Vyperod group against the block between Lenin and Plekhanov who fought the liquidators. From the very beginning of the imperialist war he took a clear-cut internationalist position, participated in the publication of Nashe Slovo, in Paris, and adhered to Zimmerwald.

"Deported from France, he went to the United States. On his return from there after the February Revolution, he was arrested by the Government of Kerensky and indicted for 'leading the insurrection,' but was shortly freed through pressure from the Petersburg proletariat. After the Petersburg Soviet went over to the Bolsheviks, he was elected Chairman and in this capacity he organized and led the insurrection of October 25. Standing member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1917; a member of the Council of People's Commissars; Commissar of Foreign Affairs up to the signing of the Brest Treaty, then Peoples Commissar of War."

As Commissar of War, Trotsky organized and led the Red Army to victory in the Civil War, 1918-1922. He formed the left Opposition of the Communist Party in 1923. He was expelled from the party by Stalin in 1927 and exiled to Alma Ata in 1928 and to Turkey in 1929. Then his odyssey led him to France in 1933, to Norway in 1935, and to Mexico in 1940, Stalin's assassins finally took his life.

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

After the thermidorian degeneration of the Soviet Union Trotsky was destined to know

persecution, vilification, imprisonment and exile which had been his lot in copious portion under Czarism. But his revolutionary vigour and his supreme faith in the ultimate victory of the exploited over the oppressed did not flag for a single moment.

The assassination of Trotsky, like the monstrous "purges," the Moscow Frameup Trials; the pact with Hitler and the subsequent territorial annexations—was an act of desperation on the part of Stalin. The explosive character of world events with its attendant revolutionary potentialities must of necessity undermine the bureaucracy, dependent as they are for the continuance of their rule on the maintenance of the status quo.

The perspective of the Bolshevik leadership of October was based on the world proletarian revolution. It was categorically stated not only by Lenin and Trotsky, but also by Stalin, that socialism could not be built in Russia alone. Without the intervention of the Western proletariat, the Russian revolution was assuredly doomed to failure. This was during the heyday of the European revolutionary movement. But when this wave began to subside on the crest of the reaction Stalin abandoned the Marxist position. Two clear cut tendencies crystallised: the one around Trotsky represented the proletarian internationalist wing of the Bolshevik Party; the other around Stalin, the narrow nationalist interests of the officialdom. Nationalism began to rear its head. At first tentatively, later to flower into the full blown theory of "Socialism in One Country." Today's tragic events are the fruits of this theory.

OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL FORMATION

From the basic betrayal of internationalism, of isolating the U.S.S.R. from the struggle of the toilers in the rest of the world; abandoning all reliance on the international working class, except as auxiliary tools in Stalin's manoeuvrings with the imperialist powers, the chain of betrayals extends, leading through China, England, Germany, to France and Spain. At each stage Trotsky warned of the disastrous consequences of the policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy. And his works during these events constitute a model for revolutionary tactics and strategy. They constitute indispensable armoury for an understanding of the revolutionary policy which will lead the coming revolutions to the victory for the proletariat.

The first big victory was scored by Hitler at the polls in 1938. Trotsky, comprehend-

the danger to the European and Russian workers sounded the alarm. Germany was the key to the International situation, he warned. At all costs Hitler must not be allowed to come to power. The victory of fascism in Germany would deal a terrible blow, not only at the German workers but at all Europe and would herald the inevitable war of intervention against the Soviet Union. But, engrossed with the reactionary utopia of "socialism in one country" the Russian bureaucracy were loth to disturb the equilibrium of the status quo. It was this which led to the suicidal policy of the German Communist Party: their theory of "social fascism in Germany would deal a terrible power they were already clamouring "After Hitler our turn."

Prior to the coming to power of Hitler, the Trotskyists operated as the Left Opposition within the Third International. But the miserable role of the Comintern during the fateful events in Germany and their refusal to learn from these events, signified the end of the Communist International as a revolutionary factor and underlined the need for the new international. From the time of Hitler's victory in Germany the Trotskyists have worked for the building of the Fourth International which was established at a World Conference in September 1938. Trotsky was the architect of the Fourth International. He drafted its basic resolutions and policy, as he drafted the main resolutions adopted by the First Four Congresses of the Comintern.

THE DEFENCE OF THE SOVIET STATE

Since its inception the organised Trotskyist movement, whether as the Left Opposition or as the Fourth International, despite Stalin's vilifications to the contrary, has been the most determined and resolute defender of the Worker's State always making clear what we defend, and why. Our position towards the U.S.S.R. and the bureaucracy to day is summed up in the following passage from Trotsky:

On that day when the new International will demonstrate to the Russian workers not only in words but in action that it, and it alone, stands for the defence of the worker's state, the position of the Bolshevik-Leninists inside the Soviet Union will change within 24 hours. **The new International will offer the Stalinist bureaucracy a united front against the common foe.** And if our International represents a force, the bureaucracy will be unable to evade the united front in the moment of

danger. What will then remain of the many years encrustation of lies and slander?

Even in the event of war, the united front with the Stalinist bureaucracy will not imply a holy alliance after the manner of the bourgeois and social-democratic parties, who during the time of an imperialist brawl suspend mutual criticism in order better to dupe the people thereby. No, even in the event of war, we will maintain a critical irreconcilability towards bureaucratic centrism which will not be able to cover up its incapacity to lead a genuine revolutionary war."

The pact of Stalin and Hitler which raised the curtain on the second world war was hailed by the Comintern as a "victory for peace and socialism." For Hitler it was merely a tactical episode in his major strategy of world domination. Yet the toiling masses of Germany and the U.S.S.R. were told by the Kremlin diplomats that their relations were "cemented in blood." A pronouncement, incidentally, which is much more tragically apposite today than on the occasion of Ribbentrop's second visit to Moscow! But the explosion which this hollow mockery has produced is at once the death knell of both the responsible parties. In attacking the U.S.S.R. Hitler has plunged the dagger in his own throat. The ending of the policy of Russian appeasement of Germany signifies also that history no longer has need of Stalin. Either the Soviets will be regenerated, in which case there will be no place for their strangulators, or capitalism will be restored, in which case too, Stalin will receive no gratitude for his services rendered to world imperialism.

TROTSKY IS DEAD —

BUT TROTSKYISM STILL LIVES ON

Like Marx and Engels (the last seventeen years of Trotsky's life were spent as leader of a small minority within the ranks of the international working class. In the ideological struggle against the Stalinist revisionists, Trotsky in a series of brilliant works carried on the tradition of Lenin, and led the revolutionary vanguard in nearly all countries of the world. His Marxist analysis of the problems of the world movement and of the development of events, have been completely confirmed in the past two decades. What has remained of the programmes of reformism and Stalinism? They have been pitilessly destroyed by fire and sword. The programme of a gradual, slow, and peaceful change from capitalism to socialism, has resulted in the victory of fascism over almost the whole of Europe, the traditional home of social demo-

cracy. The programme of Socialism in One Country and the subordination of the international proletariat to the interests of Russian diplomacy has brought the greatest threat to the existence of the Soviet Union since its birth. As internationals, the mighty organisations of the Second and Third Internationals have been reduced to ashes. What remains of their national sections, function as direct tools of imperialism in the one case, and support of imperialism in the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy, in the other. But the Fourth International, the creation of Trotsky, organiser of the October insurrection, alone carries on the fight for world socialism.

World reaction rejoiced at the news of the death of Trotsky. Stalin hoped to banish the threat of the Fourth International for ever by driving a pick-axe through his brain. And indeed our hearts were heavy. The inspiration and guiding light of 40 years experience of the proletarian world movement had been extinguished. The international struggle of mankind for liberation had suffered a terrible blow. Today when the very existence of the Soviet state is at stake, we feel keenly the lack of his masterly analysis and advice. But Trotsky's work is immortal. No Stalin, no Hitler can destroy the programme!

Whatever the vicissitudes of the Homeric struggle being waged between the U.S.S.R. and Germany; whatever the further developments of the world war; the crisis of world imperialism will remain. This crisis of capitalism, the contradictions between the productive forces and the private ownership of the means of production and the national state, is the crisis of human culture. It reduces itself in the last analysis, as Trotsky showed, to the crisis of the leadership of the proletariat.

On the unassailable theoretical foundations laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the Fourth International will lead the toilers to victory, to the Socialist United States of Europe, to the World Federation of Socialist Republics. Today Trotsky's programme is the programme of only the revolutionary vanguard; tomorrow it will become the programme of the entire world proletariat.

On the first anniversary of Trotsky's death we salute our fallen leader. We will immortalise his memory by carrying on his great and noble work. The work of the Fourth International and the inevitable victory of the toiling masses under its banner will be his memorial. As we pay tribute we remember his final words: ". . . Please say to our friends I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go Forward."

'Daily Herald'—A Public Statement, not a Private Admission

We print below the correspondence between ourselves and the "Daily Herald" arising from a report which appeared in their issue of July 16 on the arrest of our American comrades. In the past, it has been the prerogative of the Stalinists to slander and vilify the internationalist wing of the labour movement by amalgams and frameups. Now we see the defenders of "democracy", who held up their hands in horror at the methods of Stalin in the Moscow trials, descending to the same level. The refusal to publish our refutation, even accepting that this report was "included accidentally," shows what will be the position of the internationalists in the coming period. It is the duty of all Labour Party members, Socialists and Trade Unionists to fight against such methods of political struggle in the labour movement.—Editor.

WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Publication: 61 Northdown-street,
Workers' International News. London, N.1.
To the Editor, 21st July, 1941
"Daily Herald."

Dear Sir,

It has been brought to our notice that the issue of the "Daily Herald" dated 16th July, 1941, features a report of the trial of 33 German spies. In this report is contained an amalgam of another, an entirely separate trial, which is in no way connected with this spy case.

This may be accidental or otherwise, but it gives a slanderous impression that the trial of the American leaders of the Minneapolis General Drivers' Union, Local 544, also leaders and supporters of the Socialist Workers' Party (Fourth International) is linked together with the spy trial.

With the trial of the Nazi spies, who will receive their deserts, we are not concerned. But whatever one's opinions of the politics of the revolutionary socialists, they cannot in any way be tarred with the dirty brush of Nazism. They stand for international socialism, "accepting as an ideal formula the Russian Revolution of 1917," and are implacable opponents of Hitler and what he represents. To link them up in this manner is on a par with the slander against Lenin of being a German spy.

This libellous report damages and casts discredit not only on these 29 trade union leaders and the thousands of workers they represent, but also reflects on the whole international socialist movement of the Fourth International, including its British followers who stand irreconcilably for the overthrow of Hitlerism and for the defence of the Soviet Union, and advocate that only a workers' government in Britain can achieve these ends.

We trust that the official organ of the British Labour Party will take immediate steps to dispel the false impression which the report, whether deliberately or accidentally, conveys to the British working-class. In the interests of political honesty we demand the unabridged publication of this letter. Failure to comply with this will brand the "Daily Herald" as a dishonest and slanderous journal.

Signed: E. GRANT.

For the Executive Committee, Workers'
International League

Copy of Reply from the "Daily Herald."
"Daily Herald" Editorial Office.

2-12 Endell-street, July 23, 1941.
Long Acre,
London, W.C.2.

PC/DMS

E. Grant.

Workers' International League,
61 Northdown-street, N.1.

Dear Sir,

I have made a full inquiry into the matter raised in your letter of July 21, and I find that the indictment against 29 leaders of the Minneapolis General Drivers' Union was included accidentally in our report of the trial of alleged Nazi spies.

I cannot agree with you that this is in any way damaging to the Minneapolis Union leaders, since they were not mentioned at all in the report.

In these circumstances I see no point in drawing further attention to the matter by publication of your letter.

Yours faithfully,

PERCY CUDLIFF, Editor.

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European reaction and salvage and regenerate what remains of the October Revolution, but only by waging an ever more implacable and irreconcilable struggle against the government of finance capital. The programme of the Fourth International alone advocates such a path and the revolutionary elements of the Communist Party, who are already voting with their feet, must be drawn to our banner.

The fate of the workers of Europe and the world has been tied in one knot by the imperialist war. Either a Socialist Britain and a Socialist Europe, or a Fascist Britain and Europe and the destruction of the U.S.S.R. as a workers' state.

Behind the Arrests of the American Trotskyists

On July 16th, the London Press carried reports of the arrest in Minneapolis, U.S.A., of twenty-nine of the leading members of the Minneapolis General Drivers' Union, Local 544, section of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, affiliated to the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.). The charges against these leaders are that they are members of the Socialist Workers' Party (American section of the Fourth International), attempting to affect control of the army by the workers, producing explosives and equipment, organising themselves into military units, and accepting as an ideal formula the Russian Revolution of 1917. They were further stated to have received advice from Trotsky during a recent visit to Mexico. The trial of our American comrades, we understand, will take place in September.

These blows at the Socialist Workers' Party are directly the consequence of the fear of the American bourgeoisie of the working-class, given a fighting revolutionary leadership. In this act, the whole programme of American Imperialism and the aim of its intervention in the war is revealed. But to understand the background of these events it is necessary to examine the actions of Roosevelt and the labour bureaucracy—the American Morrisons and Bevins, in the present period.

On the basis of the colossal rearmament drive millions of hitherto unemployed workers have been absorbed into war industries. The unprecedented profits which the American bourgeoisie are reaping in contrast to the conditions of the working-class in relation to the soaring cost of living, has impelled them to go forward for increased wages. The American workers, especially in mass production industries, auto, steel, rubber, etc., are rapidly in the process of becoming unionised to an unprecedented degree. In order to secure their legitimate demands in the face of the unrelenting opposition of the employers, they have waged bitter and hard-fought strikes. In the first period, the employers, in spite of their use of private armed thugs and gangsters, failed to intimidate the workers, who met the employers' violence with counter-violence. Even the intervention of the armed police could not open the way through the picket lines. During the last few months, in strike after strike, the workers have been victorious. Even the noto-

rious anti-labour, anti-unionist Henry Ford, has been compelled to admit defeat at the hands of the workers.

The employers, of course, held forth the usual demagogy about the treachery of the masses stabbing the nation's defence industries in the back, while they reaped the greatest profits in the history of capitalism. But finding that on their private resources, and even with the aid of the armed police, they were unsuccessful in quelling the rising spirit of the workers, they called for the intervention of the Government to assist them. Roosevelt was compelled, sooner than he had anticipated, to show himself in his true colours. He ordered the army to act openly in the interests of the employers to break strikes. But although he succeeded in temporarily bewildering the workers, the supposed "friend of Labour," Franklin D. Roosevelt, has provided the workers with a major political lesson by his acts, and what is more, he knows that the workers will return to the attack. Even so, without the assistance of the trade union leadership, especially the A. F. of L. officialdom, this temporary set-back would not have been possible. The large majority of strikes have taken place among workers in the mass production industries, only recently organised. These fresh workers are, in the main organised into the Committee for Industrial Organisations (C.I.O.). Under the pressure of the rank and file the leadership of the C.I.O., Lewis, Murray, etc., have been compelled to take a more progressive stand than the conservative and even reactionary A.F. of L. Because of the pressure of the tremendous impetus of the American working class, the C.I.O. leaders have been forced to proceed with caution, while the leaders of the A.F.L. representing the craft unions and the aristocracy of labour, have come out openly against the workers, even to the extent of ordering their members to participate in breaking C.I.O. strikes. This is the reason for the bitter struggle which is raging between the C.I.O. and A.F.L. The A.F.L. leaders stand openly and completely behind Roosevelt and the employers. It is significant to record here that on his recent visit to the States, Sir Walter Citrine maintained relations only with the A.F.L. leadership and made no attempt to open discussions with the C.I.O., this in spite of the fact that more

than half of the organised American working class are in the ranks of the C.I.O. and it is recruiting hundreds of thousands each month.

The American Trotskyists have established a militant tradition in the T.U.s since 1934 when they led a fighting campaign in Minneapolis which resulted in the organisation of 200,000 lorry drivers. Their leadership of the teamsters Local 544 is recognised as the most revolutionary in the country. In their present desire to smash down the resistance of the workers, the employers must destroy that group which will lead the way for the whole of the working class. As a first move in this direction, Mr. Daniel Tobin, President of the A.F. of L.'s International Brotherhood of Teamsters, acting as bosses' agent attempted to oust the militant leaders of Local 544 which stood in the way of the reactionary pro-employer policies of the A.F. of L. officialdom. Bureaucratically and arbitrarily an attempt was made to oust the leadership and impose on the drivers an agreement with the bosses. Not one of the charges contained in a bulky manuscript against local 544 leadership, was of a trade union character. Tobin was forced to admit that it was these leaders who had built the union; had won great strikes in wages and conditions; had helped build the teamsters movement in that area; that they were fighters and knew how to fight their employers. But, he stated, "we can't have them in our International, because they are radicals and members of the Socialist Workers Party."

Naturally, the rank and file who had become attached to their leaders who had led them to victories in many bitterly fought strikes and had proven their loyalty over a period of years, laughed to scorn Tobin's attempts.

Faced with Tobin's provocation, the teamsters' leaders headed by the Dunne brothers, Farrel Dobbs, Postal Kelly, Ray Rainbolt and others called a mass meeting to explain the position. At this meeting which was attended by 4,000 workers, with thousands crowding the door ways, it was decided, with one or two dissentients to secede from the conservative and ossified A.F. of L. and go over to the more progressive C.I.O. This move would have been the signal for the concerted movement on the part of the national teamsters locals to join Local 544. Not only this. A large section of the already discontented A.F.L. workers would have been affected. This would have led to a crisis in the A.F. of L. With a leaven of revolutionary fighters the forward move of the C.I.O. workers would be directed into far reaching anti-capitalist channels. The *New York Times*, organ of big business, carried lengthy articles dealing with the question and their comment is as follows:

"In labour circles it is predicted that a civil war among teamsters, which is likely to have broad repercussions in the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. and the defence programme, will soon be under way as the result of the step taken by the Minneapolis teamsters to leave the Tobin organisation. Local 544 led by Miles and Vincent Dunne, known in Minnesota as adherents of the Socialist (Trotskyist) Workers Party, is regarded as one of the most militant unions amongst teamsters and was one of the leaders in the movement that ended with union contracts for 200,000 "over the road" truckers in the Middle Western States."

"... Mr. Tobin in his statement issued in Indianapolis today states: "They (the leaders of local 544) were requested to dissociate themselves from the radical Trotsky organisation which they were furthering and fostering, aiding and abetting. They were using the teamsters union to further this Trotsky movement in our country, which is operated under the name of the Socialist Workers Party. One department of the Federal Government has this to say about them: "The main specific task of the Socialist (Trotskyist) Workers Party is the mobilisation of the American masses for struggle against American capitalism and its overthrow. Our information is that apparently one of the strongest and most militant sections of the party is located in Minneapolis. This group is referred to as General Drivers Union, Local 544. Local 544 is led by the Dunne brothers. Miles, Vincent and Grant, and has developed a wide reputation for strikes and disorders. Their radical element is organised into a 'defence guard.' The defence guard is based around five men, four men and a captain."

Tobin's statement concludes: "We feel that while our country is in a dangerous position, these disturbers who believe in the policies of foreign, radical governments, must be in some way prevented from pursuing this dangerous course—dangerous first to the trade unions, dangerous to industry, and above all, dangerous to the nation."

When the programme of the Trotskyists was put forward in a period of reaction, and apathy, the American bourgeoisie felt no need to take measures against its exponents. But in the present situation when they are compelled to take open repressive measures against labour, even resorting to using the army, then this programme becomes a living reality with a receptive working class.

Armed at the turn of events Tobin immediately appealed to Roosevelt for assistance in suppressing the workers and re-

(Continued on page 16)

HOW PARIS FELL

By **TERENCE PHELAN**

As bourgeois culture goes, it is indisputable that Paris was the heart of civilisation. It was "the city of light," the world's artistic Mecca. In the amenities of daily living, in poetry, painting and music, it was unsurpassed. Lenin, no sentimentalist, loved Paris and called it "the capital of the world."

For a rare once, then, we can agree with the petty-bourgeois intellectuals the world over to whom the fall of Paris symbolised the end of an era of civilisation.

They mourn, they lament and they weep, but they refuse to face the question of greatest importance. Why was the foremost citadel of bourgeois culture abandoned to Nazi barbarism without a shot being fired in its defence? Let us try to answer it for them. This is how I saw Paris as it fell.

THE BREAKDOWN

OF THE FRENCH BOURGEOISIE

Paris as it fell was tragically beautiful. Late on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 12th of June, the petroleum and gasolene reserves in all the suburban refineries were set on fire by retreating French troops. Paris was ringed with monumental and sinister columns of jet, oily smoke. These, meeting at the zenith, far above the white cumulus clouds, slowly blotted out the sun, and spread a black pall over the doomed and deserted city. The blotting out of "the city of light" by that cloud was a sort of grim apocalypse.

Many bourgeois foreign correspondents have compared this to the black onrush of Nazis. It reminded me just as strongly of another obfuscatory cloud; that of the fleeing French censorship which, until the very last characteristically refused to disclose the truth to its people. At the very moment that the surrender of Paris was being arranged at its own gate, the censor was still reporting that German troops were being held 40 kilometres away. Through that black, foreboding sky, Parisians who sat by their radios (newspapers having ceased publication) first came in contact with German technique. The German advance had left the French government without enough broadcasting stations to broadcast news itself or to continue its war-long practice of "jamming" German broadcasts. Thus, for the first time the French heard the cold, accurate account of the Germans' advance from the Germans themselves. It was a sobering shock

No less characteristic was the behaviour

of the upper classes. The Paris correspondent of a Chicago paper, with a taste for statistics, calculated that 71 per cent of the metropolitan Parisians and 68 per cent of the suburban Parisians who fled southward were bourgeois and petty-bourgeois. The wealthy quarters were entirely empty as their inhabitants piled into their expensive cars and deserted their capital in panic. This same correspondent aptly called this flight "The Great Bugger-out."

Most characteristic of all was the indecision about Paris on the part of the Government. Contradictory orders were piled on top of one another. An order that all men above 17 were to leave the city at once for the south was followed by a countermanding order whereby they must, under penalty of being considered deserters, remain with their factories in which they had been requisitioned. In a burst of heroic bombast, the government announced that Paris would be defended "street by street and house by house." Three days later came the formal decision that Paris was to be an open city.

THE

NIGHTMARE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

What lay behind such conflicting orders? Why was Paris not defended?

No modern city which is seriously defended can be taken until it is either razed to the ground or starved and thirsted out. Madrid was defended for two years against overwhelming odds. Why, then, was Paris, not only the capital, but the economic nerve centre of all France, abandoned at the last minute without a semblance of struggle?

Was it because the French forces were, as they stated, so devoted to the artistic monument of Paris, so tender toward its populace? Nonsense! If that would have furthered its own ends, the French bourgeoisie of 1940 would have reduced Paris to rubble as it came near to doing in 1871. Was it, as some Anglo-American editors suggested, that France had "degenerated," and French soldiers were cowards? The British Ministry of Information may spread such an explanation, but the French bourgeoisie knew better. It knew that the ordinary poilu was, and remains, as good a fighting man as there is in the world, provided he had something to fight for. In fact, the contrary was the truth. The French rulers were not so much afraid that the poilu lacked courage; it was afraid that he would show it—in other ways than ordered.

The French government and the French bourgeoisie was plagued by a nightmare, a nightmare so terrifying that it thought anything, even the yielding of its capital, preferable. That nightmare was a second Paris Commune.

The heroic proletarian ghost of 1871 rose from the streets of its slaughter to make the French bosses jibber. A Commune! Anything, anything—rather than that!

As a matter of fact, the possessing classes need not have worried so much. Stalinism and reformist socialism had done their dirty work only too well, during the Popular Front period. The workers of Paris were comparatively apathetic, virtually leaderless, wholly disorganised. There was no revolutionary party of mass strength to evoke and direct a proletarian defence. Under the prevailing circumstances, a Commune would have been an almost impossible improvisation. But even that extremely remote possibility was too much for the French bourgeoisie to bear; they were determined that no interlude should intervene long enough to permit the creation of any proletarian defence of their capital. To avoid that greater evil, they raced against time to deliver their city to the "lesser evil"—the oncoming Nazis.

THE TRANSFER OF POWER

No aspect of the collapse of France has been more obscured than this, in the official report. The reason is not hard to find. The cowardly betrayal strips from the French ruling class its masquerade costume of classless national patriotism," which helped it deceive the nation. Its voluntary gift of Paris to the Nazis reveals in all its foul class nakedness the bourgeoisie's preference for an enemy imperialism to defence by its own people.

The delivery of the capital, the transfer of power, was accomplished with a smoothness beyond the French bosses' most optimistic expectations. They were really frightened of their own people. When the ministry fled southward, police began to disappear from the streets, and to be concentrated in barracks in genuine fear of their lives. For 20 years they had snarled at the Paris populace unchecked, ridden it down, arrested it and smashed it over the head. They had good reason to fear that, in any interregnum between the government's flight and the Germans' arrival, the long-abused masses might hunt them down like rats. It was both comical and dream-like to see how few "flics" still showed their ugly mugs as they stood in timid pairs at a good distance from and in obvious terror of groups of discussing Parisians, especially workers massed around closed factory doors. Even those most vicious of professional strike-breakers, the black helmeted and black-hearted "gardes

mobiles" went into terrified hiding. I saw one of them, caught in the open, ostentatiously helping an old lady across a completely traffic-less street in a ridiculous attempt to make himself out as kindhearted.

Meanwhile, the French army emissaries were engaged in hasty parleys with a German Army commission in a villa outside Paris. Working against time, against the fear that the Parisians might take matters into their own hands, they were successful; the military arrangements were agreed to. At 6 p.m., the night before occupation, the civil and police arrangements were likewise being completed at the eastern gates. When late-sleeping Parisians awoke on the morning of Paris's fall, the first thing they saw was the Paris police out in full force again, hauling down the tricolor and running up the swastika on public buildings and boulevard flag-posts.

Within three days the comforting presence of their new masters restored the spirits of the police enough to bring forth their old bullying selves. They demanded "papers" for the purpose of catching political refugees, turning over their archives to the Gestapo, and enforcing the new German regulations. The old blood-hounds who had hunted down revolutionaries and working class militants so long for the French bourgeoisie, went down on all fours before their new masters.

The heart of the French police system is the Prefecture of the Isle de la Cité. Essentially unchanged since the days of the sinister Fouché, this great gray building, grim and grimy, has been the French symbol of secret police terror. There each week went thousands of refugees, driven from their own countries because they struggled against reaction, each with a pathetic ragged purple paper informing him that he must leave France within one week. They came to have this lease on life extended for one week more. This is how the emigré workers and democrats really lived in the greatest and most cultured of bourgeois democracies, renowned for "political asylum."

By the Monday before occupation, the Prefecture was unrecognizable. Amid an atmosphere of burning documents and impending disaster, I saw running about the corridors those powerful functionaries from secret inner offices whose special delight it had been to remain invisible and unapproachable, to condemn a helpless petitioner without ever permitting him to plead his case face to face with them. These formerly omnipotent individuals were scurrying about in a panic that swung between a speechless impatience to get away, and a propitiatory politeness for self-protection. The notorious purple papers, still humbly presented for extension were waved aside with a hasty but significant statement—"papers don't matter

any more, we are beyond the stage of papers."

They spoke the simple truth. The Prefecture's "paper" was worthless, like that of a bankrupt business or financial concern, because it had no material backing. The whole system of state repression had fallen to pieces, was powerless. Only a week before it had been sending men to death, to long imprisonment. It had the power of seizure, of holding incommunicado, of secret torture, of frameup. It had all the terrifying prestige of state power behind it. And now, here it was, dissolving like sugar in water.

THE HOLLOW SHELL

I had read about the breakdown of Czarism and the collapse of Kerensky's regime. But the dissolution of the French State was a sight—and a lesson—never to be forgotten. Literary descriptions can give a theoretical understanding of the process and its significance, but it is quite a different thing to see the state structure crumble before your eyes.

The experience is overwhelming. We do not realise how much we are hypnotised by the apparent power and permanence of the boss state. I thought of the hundreds of good American union members I knew, who were ready to fight any private corporation to a standstill, but who thought that the State was something quite different, something too big and too enduring to struggle against and overthrow. I wish they had been standing beside me and could see with their own eyes what a hollow shell the whole monumental-looking system of boss state repression really is, once it has been shaken to its foundations by a real blow.

It was tragic that in the case of France it had to be another imperialism—a rival bourgeois repression machine—that the French Prefecture was giving way to. But that no-wise affected the fundamental lesson of the collapsibility of the decadent bourgeois state.

For the first time I then realized with my own eyes, ears and heart the profound meaning of the revolutionary cry: "we are so many; they are so few!" I then understood that once the determining sector of the working class take the revolutionary road and moves against the capitalist state, that state will crumble with an ease that will surprise the workers. Under sufficient pressure, the entire apparatus—its cops, its sheriffs and deputies, its army officers, its governors and judges and cabinet ministers and presidents—will run like so many scared rabbits.

In a hour like this one really feels in his own skin, the absolute rightness of the Marxist analysis of the state as the executive committee of the ruling class of government as an instrument of armed repression. One sees how the ruling class maintains itself by bribing a thin segment of the workers

to act as mercenary police against its own class struggle; and realizes how thin that segment is.

THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

Returning home at midnight, between Thursday, the 13th, and Friday, June 14th, though a black and empty Paris, I noticed that the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier under the Arc de Triomphe was deserted. The French Government had fled, the plutocrats had fled, even the paid guards of the Tomb had fled. There yesterday, the French rulers had skillfully and shamelessly exploited the genuine popular mourning for the unknown dead of the last war. On the morrow the army of German imperialism using the same skillful mean of propaganda, were going with their ostentatious orders, to pick up where the French imperialists had left off.

But at the moment between the regime of capitalist repression that had gone and the regime of imperialist oppression that was marching in on the morrow the unknown soldier lay, as the perfect symbol of the completely forgotten man, the plain ordinary guy who gets killed so that one gang of exploiters rather than another can make his widow and children work for less pay and live in more misery. At that moment neither of the gangs had any real interest in him. For a brief hour the unknown soldier was left alone, with only a stray foreign revolutionist standing by to honour him with pity and vengeance in his heart.

THE ENTRY OF THE GERMAN TROOPS

A vague terror pervaded the city before the German troops arrived. The people left in Paris would not have been surprised to see columns of mechanised men marching into the city, after the swift speed of the Nazis' advance. Instead they saw a battalion after a battalion of robust farm boys on sleek, fat horses. The troops entered as though they expected to be received, not as conquerors but as deliverers. Every detail of the capture of Paris was executed with the calculated political aim of at least neutralising the French if not gaining them as allies.

The Parisians had had reason to be frightened. The colonial troops who fell back to the region around Paris, had looted and destroyed in a terrifying manner. These troops were sacrificed by their French commanders with a brutal carelessness beyond belief, and it can well be imagined with what rage and hatred toward the French these colonials had retreated through north-eastern France. French propaganda led the people to expect the same treatment from the Germans.

It can readily be imagined, then, what effect the agreeable occupation of the city by the Germans had upon the people. By pass-

ing their mechanised divisions around Paris to the south the Nazis took over the city with the cheeriest, politest, most fraternising of available troops. Contrasted with the looting of the French colonials the behaviour of the occupying Germans was almost comic in its correctness, so far did they lean over backward in observing legality Reichswehr squads went about making inventories of damages duly witnessed by French civil authorities. They, themselves did no damage at all. Except for such big hotels and chateaux as were needed for officers' quarters, there were very few requisitions. Rare occasions of illegal requisitions or thefts by German soldiers were punished by immediate and ostentatious execution of the soldier involved in the presence of the aggrieved French civilian. An acquaintance of mine witnessed such an execution for the theft of six cakes and 100 francs' (225 dols. in American currency) worth from the woman proprietor of a backe-shop.

During the first week of the occupation, about as many German soldiers were executed for such misdeeds as were French civilians for their resistance to German repression: about 10 Frenchmen were executed; two of them to give the devil his due, were policemen.

As soon as the parades needed for movie consumption at home in Germany were duly completed, the bulk of the occupying troops, given leave, started to visit artistic monuments and talk to the civilians. Most spoke French; all were polite. They were full of their own brand of anti-capitalism and they were perpetually apologising to the French for being there at all.

I overheard one soldier talk as follows: "You Parisians are so polite; we have always heard you were. But we Germans know that you don't like to have us here. We are embarrassed too you know. How can you be expected to like us, when we had to destroy large sections of your country to the north and east and when we have to take over your capital? We don't want to, but we have to, until we have beaten the capitalistic, imperialistic England, which starved and stifled Germany until National Socialism made us strong enough to fight back. But you French will administer Paris; we Germans will try to efface ourselves as much as possible."

The Parisians had expected almost anything except this type of fraternization.

While this source of well-rehearsed and, it is not at all unlikely sincere declarations, were being made by the German soldiers to the people of Paris, the British Broadcasting Co. was accusing the French of cowardice and betrayal, just after the British had scampered out of the Dunkerque pocket abandoning therein the 84,000 French poilus who had covered their retreat. It can be

readily understood why the French people didn't become enthusiastically pro-British after the fall of Paris.

"KILL THEM WITH KINDNESS"

On the road south of Paris, the humanitarianism of the German troops was as striking as their previous terrorism which had originally caused the chaos. The great columns of German trucks, rushing supplies to the fighting in the south became, as they sped northward again for further supplies, the surest transport for returning French refugees. Loaded with women and children, they could almost always spare a bit of food for the hungry or a litre of gasoline for a stalled car. They spread good-nature and puzzlement everywhere. Was this the Hun that the French radios and Press had taught them to expect? the people asked. It was, but not at the moment. Mixing their methods, the clever Nazis outwitted the French by treating them in a totally different fashion than they had anticipated. By "killing them with kindness," the Nazis succeeded in dumbfounding and immobilizing any potential resistance. The conduct of the Germans stood in particular contrast with the attitude of the British old-school-tie officers, who in the pre-Blitz days treated the French in the same lordly way as they were accustomed to treat Gold-Coast natives or Indians.

The sole exception was the fascist Italian residents in Paris, who emerged from hiding after the Germans came, and strutted about like pouter-pigeons, arousing great popular resentment.

Most skilful of all instruments were the news broadcasting trucks which the Germans sent to every quarter of Paris. The Parisians had begun to discard as useless their home radios, from which they received either regular insults from the British or irregular lies from their own fleeing government. To their surprise and sorrow, they received from the German newscasting apparatus restrained and accurate information on the progress of the fighting and the French governmental crisis which ended in the Petain-Laval-Marquet *coup d'etat*. There is no weapon so strong as truth, even when it is pressed into the service of the worst reaction.

Newspapers were encouraged to resume publication; censorship was, in actual fact, milder than under the French regime. Typical was a new daily called "La France au Travail." Its slogan was "national communism." It was of course 200 per cent. patriotic French. While "admitting" that the Germans, having beaten the French in fair fight, had a right to occupy the strategic north until the campaign against England

was completed, it "pressed" for the retirement of the invader at "the earliest possible moment." With obvious access to police archives, it ran a devastatingly documented series of attacks on the late Reynaud Government, proving to the hilt its suppression of civil liberties, its graft, frameups, anti-labour policy, etc. It attacked capitalism savagely, and called for a French renaissance under nationalist slogans. It even discreetly criticised Germany. (The only place the German cloven hoof showed through was in the paper's unremitting attacks against the Vichy Government.)

THE FAILURES OF FASCIST PROPAGANDA

It is difficult to conceive a more accurately aimed, psychologically skilful kind of propaganda than "La France au Travail." And how did the Paris workers react to this super-French Press? To their eternal credit be it reported: they called it "the German Press" and used it to wrap potatoes in when they could find potatoes.

One must report that the French working-class has grown to some extent politically cynical: it has been sold so many times by the socialists and Stalinists, that it tends to distrust all politics, including correct politics. But the vast political experience which the French working-class has undergone has not been in vain, as shown by its immediate hostility to such papers as "La France au Travail."

The very first weeks of German occupation showed, too, that a successful invasion by a fascist power brought no prestige to native fascism. On the contrary. The main fascist group, the Doriot followers, failed to gain any adherents. Under Marchale (Doriot himself being still in the unoccupied territory) the French fascists rushed into print with a new weekly, "La Vie Nationale," and, under German protection, began a drive for membership. But they were soon chased out of workers' districts and finally wandered miserably about in front of fashionable cafes, happy to sell a paper here and there.

Anti-Semitism looked menacing for just a moment, after the occupation, when "Aryans only" signs appeared on some cafes and restaurants and the kept Press started a violent campaign of the most vulgar Jew-baiting. But Anti-Semitism won no converts, did not spread, and was by most people treated as a joke. Students of fascist methods were expecting some frameup, like planting a Jewish grocery full of food-stuffs and then spreading word in the neighbourhood that the Jew was hoarding. But the contempt with which the ordinary Parisian treated the anti-Semitic campaign apparently made the Nazis and their French friends decide it was useless to attempt such a tactic.

As a matter of fact, the only propaganda campaign that had any success was that against the British. The ground it fell on was not barren. There was a widespread feeling among all classes that it was British imperialism which had dragged France into the war and that in military support the British had let them down badly. Still, it is to be doubted whether the anti-British campaign would have had the success it did have, had it not been for Churchill's order to attack the French fleet at Oran. The French were sick of the war; they felt they were out of the war; they believed that preparations had been made to sink the fleet rather than to turn it over to the Germans should the latter violate the armistice terms. It was simply too much then, they felt, when the British, alleging that Hitler was *thinking* of seizing the French fleet in violation of the armistice terms, tried to sink the semi-disarmed fleet, killing some 2,000 French sailors in the process. Fortunately for Churchill, not even the Oran murders could make the French proletariat agree to support of the German war against England. The workers want no more of the bloody and meaningless imperialist war on either side.

HITLER'S "NEW ORDER" BLOSSOMS

In the defeated nation, class distinctions remained sharper than ever. Till at least as late as October, anyone who had the price of 100 francs (2.25 dols.) per head, could stroll into, say, the Restaurant Chez Pierre and have himself a little snack consisting of caviare, langouste, chateaubriand marchand de vins with pommes souffles, salad, wild strawberries with thick creme d'Isigny, the whole washed down with Montrachet Goutte d'Or 1934 and Chambolles-Musigny Clos Comte de Vogue 1915, followed by plenteous coffee with accompanying Grand Marnier Cordon Rouge or a good 50-year-old fine-champagne. But in the workers' suburbs hundreds of women stood in hundreds of interminable lines waiting to buy a single cabbage, swapping tips on where to get a tiny piece of laundry soap or trying to figure out how much truth there was in the rumour that such and such a market would sell one-half pound of potatoes per customer the following day. And those in these lines were the ones who still had some few pitiable savings; far more were standing in other long lines in front of soup-kitchens, waiting for their pint of weak and nearly meatless pot-au-feu. This was Hitler's New Order.

Nearly two million unemployed haunted the closed factories of Paris. What work there was, was mostly at the Citroen plant—completely wiped out by astonishingly accurate German bombing during the one big air-raid on central Paris—helping in wrecking and salvaging operations, or loading immense

quantities of heavy industrial machinery on flat-cars for Germany. Because, much more significant than the rather childish lies of British propaganda, it was not of food that Germany was stripping France, but of all machinery for heavy industry, in accordance with the long-range Nazi plan of reducing France to an agricultural and light-conversion-industry economy.

The Nazis from the first showed little confidence of being able to secure enthusiastic acceptance from the Parisian masses for a perspective of a vassal agricultural state. Even in the first days when the German troops were fraternising with the population, arrests began. They were carried out in the skilful nibbling tactics of the Gestapo. Very secretly, a few at a time, so as not to arouse the masses, the Gestapo began rounding up revolutionists, Stalinists, and militant trade unionists.

No matter how many they may arrest, however, they cannot behead the growing movement against Hitler's "New Order." As the months have passed since the writer's departure he has had indications that the situation has sharpened still further. Nor should one believe the fabrications about France in the American and British Press:

BEHIND THE ARRESTS OF THE AMERICAN TROTSKYISTS

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moving the leadership. And the President took a hand in the dispute himself. With the outbreak of the German-Soviet war the task of Roosevelt became simpler. He now felt certain, and events have justified him in this, that as in Britain, so in America, the Communists, at the behest of the Kremlin, would go completely over to "national unity," that is to the side of the employers. The danger of the pseudo-radicalism of the Stalinists is removed and he can concentrate the full force of reaction against those elements who alone represent the interests of the masses. Coupled with the great strike movements, the American working class is awakening to political consciousness, which has hitherto been dormant, and this consciousness will be crystallised around the demand for an Independent Labour Party, a demand put forward by the Socialist Workers Party.

In the past period the Trotskyists have gone forward on the basis of the genuine revolutionary programme which shows the working class that the only road to the destruction of fascism is the conquest of power by the workers; that Roosevelt and the ruling class are interested only in furthering the profits and aggrandisement of American imperialism. In the recent election in Newark

the resistance against the invader has nothing in common with the "Free France" movement of the segment of French imperialists led by De Gaulle. There is as little hope for France under a restoration of the old national capitalism as there is under Hitler. If Hitler is obliged to reverse the historic process and de-industrialise France, the De Gaullists would do no better. Two wars, the first of which ruined even a victorious France, and the second of which finally destroyed her as an independent nation, have amply proved that the nationalistic anarchy of a divided Europe cannot solve anything, even if it could be restored.

To avoid more such wars and to save and expand the productive forces—that can only be done by the Socialist United States of Europe. That is the only conceivable perspective for the French people. And small but significant beginnings in France today show that history is inevitably moving that way: as a national liberation movement arises, in the form of thousands of little isolated underground committees, they tend to slip over from national movements into social movements, for the reason that there is obviously no longer any economic base in French national capitalism.

our brother party gained 1,352 votes, only 46 less than the Stalinists. This taken in conjunction with the 9,000 votes cast for Grace Carlson in Minnesota and St. Paul in the previous election, is just a harbinger of the future developments. Roosevelt hopes to nip "Trotskyism" in the bud before it gains formidable proportions. All the forces of reaction are uniting in a conspiracy against the programme of Leninism. What Wall Street is fearful of is that the masses will, in the course of the war, they are preparing to enter, take matters into their own hands; take over control of production and expropriate the exploiters; take over control of the entire management of the nation; and finally, take over control of the "war against fascism" in the only way that will guarantee its permanent extinction from the face of the planet—that is the conquest of power by the working class.

It is symbolic of the period that all the forces of reaction from fascism right through the various shades of the labour movement down to the Stalinists, are unanimous on one issue—vilification and persecution of the Trotskyists. Roosevelt's onslaught, which will now receive the support of the Stalinists, is living proof that alone of all tendencies in the Labour movement, Trotskyism faithfully represents the interests of the American masses. These persecutions will not prevent the extension of our influence among the American proletariats and farmers.