ANDRÉ MARTY TELLS—

WHO BETRAYED FRANCE



WHO in France helped Hitler gain positions, munitions, gold?

WHERE did Hitler get the aluminum, steel and copper for his war machine?

WHO sabotaged airplane production in France?

WHO led the first attack on the people of France?

HOW can the people of France save their country?

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WHO BETRAYED FRANCE?

BY ANDRÉ MARTY
Parliamentary Deputy of Paris

THE awful and terrible war is extending in depth and intensity. Its hideous onslaught has already destroyed thousands of human lives. Immense terror-stricken throngs are sweeping along in flight as during the hours of ancient barbarism. "Total" war is bringing the "crosses of war" even to the cradles.

The French people did not and do not want this war. They were driven into it against their will. And the very people who drove them to slaughter compel the French soldiers to fight with odds of two to one against them.

Why? Because army divisions and air squadrons are mounting guard over the Pyrenees, the third frontier. For the menace of war from Italy implies the possible entry into action of airplanes and the 150,000 Italian troops at present stationed in Spain with their enormous supplies of war materials. With Franco's army added! And to think that it would have been possible to have had in Madrid a People's Government based on, and directly controlled by, the Spanish people, the natural friends of the French people! Even if that had

not saved peace, the French people would today have possessed absolute security on their Pyrenean frontiers.

Who could doubt *for a single moment* that this People's Government at Madrid would have placed the enormous mineral and industrial riches of Spain at the disposal of a similar government of the French people? Who could doubt that the French people would also have had at this tragic moment the inestimable support of the great and enthusiastic Spanish people who proved themselves capable of supreme sacrifice for the ideal of progress, liberty and peace?

Why is this not so? Because at the time when the people of Spain were advancing in a mighty people's movement towards liberty and well being and were destroying the foundations of all social, political and intellectual reaction, there were French Ministers who smashed this movement and cast them into slavery. These men are Blum, Daladier and Bonnet. Consciously, deliberately, persistently, they placed the interests of the French people behind those of Anglo-French finance.

Yes, the soldiers of France are now fighting with odds of two to one against them. Again why? Because there is a whole army in Syria, including Australian and Indian divisions. What are they doing there? Is it to defend France or to serve the interests of the British oil kings and other sharks of their type?

Yes, the French soldiers are inferior in numbers and supplies. But again, why?

Because the French Government—and especially Daladier, Bonnet and Blum—delivered to the German Government the Czech Maginot Line in Sudetenland, a line that was capable of holding forty divisions in case of war! Because these very people—and this does not excuse people like Benes

—yielded up the huge industrial and military centers of Czechoslovakia.

Because in March, 1939, Daladier, Bonnet and Blum, at the instructions of their boss, Chamberlain, gratuitously handed over to Germany in Czechoslovakia 1,582 airplanes, 501 anti-aircraft guns, 2,175 pieces of artillery, 785 trench mortars, 468 tanks, 43,876 machine guns, 114,000 revolvers, 1,090,000 rifles, more than 3,000,000 shells, more than 1,000,000,000 cartridges, and along with this a tremendous quantity of bridge-building materials, sound detectors, searchlights and motorized vehicles.

Soon afterwards they handed over to him gold belonging to the Czech Government and deposited in London and Paris. Why did people like Daladier, Bonnet and Blum display this attitude of continually and systematically arming rival imperialists and quite obviously urging the latter, with increasing energy, on to war?

To understand this one has only to reread in the official *Yellow Book* of the French Government the note written on March 19, 1939, by Robert Coulondre, French Ambassador to Berlin, in an official report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. (The document is entitled: Annexe 10, No. 80. Reproduced, among other things, in a special issue of *l'Europe Nouvelle,* dated December 23, 1939, p. 1434.)

"I would like to try . . . to discover in what direction the pressure of German dynamics can be exercised, to examine if we can still consider these dynamics as directed exclusively towards the East, and to draw some practical conclusions for our conduct."

A precious admission: Daladier, Bonnet, Blum, Reynaud and others were persistently preoccupied with the desire to

turn Germany eastwards, against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

These gentlemen deliberately sacrificed the interests of the people of France, the security and even the independence of the country for the benefit of the financial, reactionary French-British oligarchy.

On the other hand, why were huge supplies of armaments delivered to the Poland of the Becks with such speed by Blum and Daladier? Why were thousands of millions of francs advanced to these corrupt Polish militarists, thieves and liars, whom the French taxpayer still continues to feed with a golden spoon? Why was this reactionary Polish state—the oppressor and plunderer of peoples—endlessly in receipt of these "financial injections" which the Polish gentry immediately transformed into bestial orgies, while the French unemployed and Polish immigrants were pitilessly driven to starvation by the stroke of a pen of a Pomaret* in order to amass these treasures?

The very earth of Poland answers: All fortifications of importance were built facing the U.S.S.R.!

But that did not prevent the official press, led by Leon Blum's *Populaire,* from brazenly attributing the disaster that befell the reactionary Polish state to the entry of the Red Army into Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia, where it brought peace and liberty to 13,000,000 inhabitants. Naturally, they kept silent about the role of Colonel Beck and others who had sold their own people!

And that is not all! The smallest child understands that a modern army without airplanes is doomed to destruction, and

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* Charles Pomaret, Minister of Labor in the French Government in 1938.

that there are no fighting planes without that light metal, aluminum, extracted from bauxite, which France possesses in huge quantities and of which Germany has infinitely small supplies. Yet, during these last years this precious mineral has been sold to Germany at a pace that grew in proportion to the increasing ferocity of the blows dealt by Daladier and Blum to the People's Fronts in France and Spain. German boats even came to load at Toulon, before the eyes of the French Navy. And Monsieur Daladier was Minister of National "Defense" and War!

All this proves that the foreign policy of the capitalist government of France, at an ever-growing pace, since 1936, has been strengthening reactionary Germany economically, politically, industrially and, subsequently, militarily, in a continued effort to turn its government against the Soviet Union! And all this evidently at the expense of the peace and security of France, but to the advantage of Franco-British high finance.

Those mainly responsible for the present war and for the misfortunes that have befallen the peoples are Daladier, Bonnet and Blum. They have been branded by the open insult of the stunning resignation of General Faucher.

* * *

Then came the cataclysm, resulting from this policy of systematic sabotage of peace by the governments of Paris and London.

At first there were eight months of "phony warfare." It is evident today that contrary to their campaign of bluff about defense of the country, Daladier, Blum and Bonnet were preoccupied with quite other thoughts.

What thoughts?

Let us take, for example, the Finnish affair, which proved the marvelous foresight of the Soviet Government and also the extraordinary technical capacity of the Red Army. At that time, in France, the whole of the press (headed by the Socialist press), like the official radio broadcasts, proclaimed the enemy to be not Germany but the U.S.S.R.; Daladier announced in the Chamber that he had sent to Finland 179 airplanes, 472 pieces of artillery, 795,000 shells, 5,100 machine guns and 200,000 hand grenades—so much less for the French Army—and that he had prepared a force of 100,000 men, happily saved by the peace initiative of the Soviet Government.

But there is worse to come. Modern death-dealing machines demand above all copper and iron. But copper is arriving, and does not cease arriving, in Germany via Italy, from one of the richest mines in the world, the Rio Tinto mines in Spain, the capital of which—almost entirely British—is quoted at three times its 1939 value. And the "British grand fleet" lets it all pass.

As to iron, "to prevent Germany from getting it from Norway," the French Socialist Minister of Blockade, Monnet, the trusted man of Leon Blum, cynically violated Norwegian neutrality, dragging that country into war, and making it necessary to send French soldiers there. But it has been proved that during this period the good ores of Lorraine and Normandy (Monsieur Francois de Wendel, Member No. 13 of the Croix de Feu organization is the owner) *never ceased to pour right across Belgium* into the blast furnaces of Essen, three times faster than during peace time, with profits guaranteed tenfold to the Comité des Forges. And

this "little deal" lasted until May 10 (only interrupted by the arrival of the German army) with special commissions for Messrs. Daladier, Bonnet, Blum and D'Autry, the Armaments Minister. True, iron is returning to France—in the shape of bombs and machine guns!

And these are the people who dare to launch the infamous calumny, alleging treason and a working agreement with Germany against the French Communist Party, and its admirable and devoted militants and against our General Secretary, Maurice Thorez, who, like other responsible members, is at work at the post to which he has been assigned by the Party leadership!

They include Leon Blum, this "bourgeois Socialist," murderer of People's Spain on the joint account of the London City, the Paris Bourse and the Second International.

They include Georges Bonnet, miserable traitor and intermediary of financial affairs, the man whose fortune has been deposited in the United States since the days of the Front Populaire. They include Daladier, Minister of War without break for four years and during nine of the last fifteen years. This man, who is drunk five days out of seven, dares to use the tribune of the Chamber of Parliament to characterize as treason the courageous attitude of Florimond Bonte, faithful to the platform on which he was elected, Bonte whom he had arrested before the full assembly of Deputies, so much did he fear the Communist arguments!

For eight months the High Command communiques spoke of "several clashes between patrols" or more often than not reported that "there is nothing to report." There was a general, other than Gamelin, who was conducting the war with

energy. This other "general" is the Man Friday of the clique of Wendel, Rothschild & Co. We refer to Monsieur Berthoin, Secretary General of the Ministry of Interior and the all-powerful Minister of Police, operating on behalf of Daladier and his masters, Sarraut being decidedly too stupid since his orgies in Indo-China and elsewhere.

The communiques of the ever-present Berthoin, chief organizer of the Cagoulards and of the provocation at Clichy arranged for the benefit of Dormoy,* are far more lively than those of Gamelin. Not a day passed without victories! The balance is a fine one: Suppression of all press that is independent of the 200 families, *l'Humanité* first of all—so that they may be able to lie and slander without let or hindrance; prohibition of open expression of views, of saying what you think, on pain of five years' imprisonment. Six hundred and seventy-five different organizations (including sports organizations) and 620 trade unions dissolved, but to give credit where it is due, thanks to the precious efforts of Messrs. Jouhaux and Blum. Over three hundred municipalities have been dissolved, a minimum of ten thousand deputies, senators, mayors, municipal and county councilors, arbitration representatives, shop stewards, removed from their posts, and including even hospital nurses from clinics in municipalities run by Communists, thrown like dogs on the streets. The magnificent children's homes of the Communist-run Municipal Councils, which could be so useful at this moment, have been transformed into concentration camps.

If General Gamelin was not in a position for eight months

* Marx Dormoy—Socialist Minister of the Interior in the Blum Government. The event referred to at Clichy was a demonstration of workers in 1937, protesting against a meeting of the fascist Croix de Feu organization which took place at Clichy with the permission of Leon Blum and Dormoy. The French gendarmes shot into the masses of workers and many were killed and wounded.

to announce any outstanding prisoners, that is not the case with Berthoin; in a month he has been able to count over 11,400 of them, without, of course, counting the 210,000 Spanish soldiers and International Brigaders, and thousands of revolutionary workers from Germany, Austrians, Italians, etc., arrested at the very beginning. Among these prisoners one can find alongside Communist deputies and mayors, other "criminals" of the type, for example, of the old trade union leaders: Racamond, secretary of the General Confederation of Labor; Pierre Samard, general secretary of the Railwaymen; Costes and Croizat, president and secretary of the Metal Workers; Henri Raynaud and Eugene Henaff, secretaries of the Trades Council of the Paris Region—all of them elected by hundreds of thousands of workers!

What magnificent courage Monsieur Berthoin's men displayed! For example, when for three days and three nights they tortured two young men, Pierre Georges and Marcel Pimpaud, who had been severely wounded in Spain—or the editor of *l'Humanité,* Blache—or during the interrogation of that young woman of Arcueil, whose face is now forever mutilated.

What fine initiative was displayed by these men, for example, in arresting at Gennevilliers an eighty-year-old grandmother in order to make her seventeen year-old granddaughter talk! What delicacy was displayed in dispatching parcels to hundreds of soldiers to make them forget the imprisonment of their wives at Petite Roquette, like Madam Freslon, mother of seven children!

Nor did they forget, in the streets and public squares of our towns, to erase the names of Jean Jaurès and of Marie and Pierre Curie, honored by elected Communists!

Thanks to all this what splendid victories can be credited to the Commander-in-Chief of the "phony war"—the war on the home front—that of Monsieur Berthoin. And what fine conquests: cancellation of social legislation, the pulling down of those fortresses known as collective agreements, the forty-hour week, holidays with pay, the labor code for youth, protection of mother and child, and even including such "old achievements" as the eight-hour day, the weekly rest, the special status of civil servants, public servants and municipal workers, which have been liquidated! The high cost of living undertakes to finish off those whom taxes and surtaxes have not yet made sufficiently hungry!

"Parachute descents," under the command of the police spy Marchand, combined with the Fifth Column—of which Messrs. Jouhaux and Blum are the chiefs—rendered it possible to smash that formidable line of *bread and liberty* known as the General Confederation of Labor.

Democratic liberties have been ended! All this was wiped out in a few weeks thanks—it should be well remembered—to the capacity of those chiefs of lying heavy artillery, Leon Blum and Paul Faure, and to the tenacity of that creature, so unswervingly true of his oath, Monsieur Edouard Daladier, compared with whom Thiers himself could pass as an honest man. And Thiers was the "most perfect intellectual expression of his own class corruption!" (Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France.*)

Thanks, finally, to the energy of the Minister of Justice, Georges Bonnet, that vulgar lackey of Mr. Chamberlain.

The already vertical rise of shares of Schneider, De Wendel, Kulmann, Peyerimhoef, Lehideux, D'Autry-Hotchkiss

and the "Bazar de Mexique" chain stores indicates the importance of the positions conquered.

General Gamelin very much stresses that this offensive was affecting the morale of his soldiers. Daladier, who knows how to assume his responsibilities—with the exception of the case of February 6*—replied by ordering Berthoin to press his advantages home, and that was how there was born the famous decree penalizing for "subjective" propaganda the housewife who complains of being unable to purchase coffee. After which, thanks to the Socialist lawyer Serol, there followed the decree inflicting the death sentence on any person injuring the morale of the nation, as if the lying stories about Norway, Holland and Belgium, spread by the press and radio, directed by M. Louis-Oscar Frossard, did not demoralize them a thousand times faster and better!

Yes, yes, everything is quite clear. Hostilities were opened, not on September 3, 1939, but on August 21, 1938, when Daladier declared war on the French working class, and more particularly on the General Confederation of Labor. Despite his destructive work—particularly in the company of the German Madame, Countess de Crussols—he was able to denounce "laziness" and the "two Sundays" of the French workers.** He decreed general mobilization, not on September 1, 1939, as is generally believed, but on August 26, 1938, when he finally suppressed, by decree, the forty-hour week.

Preparations for the attack? He made them from Marseilles on October 27, 1938, at the Congress of the Radical Socialists, escorted by those great citizens, the gangsters Car-

* February 6, 1934, the day the French people stopped the attacks of fascist groups on the streets of Paris.

** Reference is made to the week-end of rest won for the workers by the Popular Front.

bone and Spirito. And he began this first attack on November 30, 1938.

For it should not be forgotten that on December 1, 1938, Monsieur Daladier closed down all aviation plants of France (those that were nationalized). From the first day there were 600,000 men locked out in aviation and the metal industry alone; in the Marseilles District, 100,000 workers employed in the metal works, the naval dockyards and chemical plants were on the streets; the number further included 80,000 workers in the North (miners and metal workers), 10,000 at Saint-Nazaire, 6,000 at Nantes, etc. In a "vast network of trenches" the best workers—rebels—were thrown out during the month which preceded the "phony war," particularly in the marine arsenals, the arms plants (Saint Etienne, etc.), the powder plants (Bourges, etc.). This was an unrestrained drive against the leading workers in the factories. Daladier killed two birds with one stone, for since these workers were Communists and highly skilled men, their dismissal disorganized production and weakened the fighting power of the working class.

Costes, chairman of the Paris Metal Workers Union, and Croizat, secretary of the Metal Workers Federation—both of them members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—at that time denounced those who were sabotaging the security of the country and of peace. That has now cost them five years' imprisonment, loss of their parliamentary mandates and their trade union positions, and all civil and political rights! And that is why the French air force is numerically backward!

In addition, since September, all the scoundrels who waged the anti-Communist campaign have, as though by accident,

become government advisers, censors of the press and of radio, administrators replacing the deposed city mayors, stool pigeons of the police, and in a number of cases secretaries of the reorganized trade unions. Now we see the last of the Cagoulards set at liberty!

The pretext is made that the only motive of this repression is the unswerving fidelity of Communists toward the Soviet Union, our guarantee and our supreme hope, and to the Communist International, the faithful continuer of the First International of Camelinat, Varlin and the Paris Commune. But did not Etienne Fajon declare to the full session of the Chamber of Deputies, in which not a single Minister or Deputy uttered a single word, that: "In the *Yellow Book* about to be published by the Government one can read—Document 149—the following note of Monsieur Georges Bonnet, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, about his conversation with the German Ambassador in Paris: 'I finally told the German Ambassador . . . elections would be suspended, public meetings stopped . . . Communists brought to their senses.' "

That was on July 1, 1939, two months before the war was "officially" declared!

The plot against France is clear, then, for all to see. And that is why neither Bonnet, Daladier nor Blum dared put in an appearance at the trial of the Communist Deputies, "that miserable pretext for getting rid of adversaries who might be an obstacle to the continuation of the war at home," as the Communist Deputy, Professor Joanny Berlioz, declared to the tribunal!

Since we were accused of treason, these gentlemen had a magnificent opportunity there, with all the doors wide open, to prove the fact of this treason to the French people. They

did not do so, because they could not do so; for the proceedings would show that they, and they alone, are the traitors to the people of France.

After the first Sedan (1870), the real enemies, in the eyes of the government of Monsieur Thiers, were the workers of Paris. And while he was coming to an agreement with Bismarck jointly to crush the Commune, he was preparing the monstrous massacre of the people of Paris, while accusing the Communards, and above all the supporters of the First International, of being German agents. Similarly in our day everything was set into motion, particularly after the days of the People's Front, to weaken the French people and the working class from within and without.

The eight months which have just come to an end were a convenient pretext for waging furious warfare on the workers, on the people of France. To the financial aristocracy, the absolute masters of the Government of France, the only real enemies, for two years already, have been the workers, the Communists. And like Thiers, these gentlemen continued during these eight months to negotiate with the "enemy" (against whom?) as Chamberlain declared to the full session of the House of Commons following the arrest in Holland of one of his envoys, a captain of the intelligence service!

And today? Today . . . it is worse than ever!

The present government is truly that of "Union Sacrée" [sacred union] of those who in the name of war for liberty are strangling popular liberties. The Union Sacrée, ranging from Blum to de la Rocque! For Ybarnegaray is the creature of the rebel colonel (de la Rocque) just as Monnet (Socialist Minister of Blockade) is the lapdog of Blum.

The working masses, thanks to the efforts of the Commu-

nist Party, in enthusiastic struggle created the Popular Front against political and social reaction, as symbolized by Reynaud-Laval. Today Reynaud is Prime Minister.

This Popular Front was set up against the rebel leagues. Today de la Rocque is represented in the Government by Ybarnegaray, of February 6 fame, a close acquaintance of Franco.

The Popular Front was welded together to defend the *peace and security of the country.* Today, Marin is in the Government along with President LeBrun, representing the Comité des Forges, controlled by Francois de Wendel, cousin of Herr von Wendel of the German heavy industry, both of them members of that bloody international, the European Steel Cartel.

Working underground under the protection of this gang are the sinister Flandin, the puppet Fernand-Laurent and Frossard and Marcel Deat, each of them thrice renegades in fifteen years from three different parties!

In the meantime, continuing their infamous anti-working class activities, Paul Faure and his paper, *Pays Socialiste,* and Belin-Dumoulin and their paper, *Syndicats,* dare to slander the Communists, while their two papers were established and paid for by the foreign gold of Bonnet-Abetz.

How clear are the events in Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, when one recalls the terrible accusation—left unanswered—that was made three months ago in the full Chamber of Deputies: "More dangerous than the Communists are *those who are working against the interests of the country in the leading bodies of all parties and who are to be found here in all groups without exception.*"

The French people, the ardent, magnificent working class

of France, the splendid youth of France, are suffering and paying for the monstrous crimes against peace and humanity committed by all these people, traitors to the French people and perjurers of their most solemn oaths.

But, by a just turn of the wheel of events, and by the implacable dialectical law of history, the catastrophe which they themselves provoked bears within it, in the wrath of the popular masses, the punishment which is their due.

ANDRE MARTY,
Parliamentary Deputy of Paris,
Just recently in France.

"WE ACCUSE!"

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

IN these grave and tragic hours when the war rages and is already spreading over the soil of France, when five million French workers and peasants, among them more than a million Communists and sympathizers, are compelled to shed their blood, we—the Communists, the true representatives of the people—consider it our sacred duty to tell our people once again the whole truth.

If the duty of our brothers, the workers of Germany enlightened by the Party of Thaelmann, is to wage a vigorous struggle against German imperialism and to unmask its criminal designs, then our task as the Communists of France is to denounce those in our own country who contributed to the outbreak of the present war, those who by their imperialist and reactionary policy paved the way for the invaders. For to tell the truth to the people is to defend their interests.

We accuse the French bourgeoisie of having sacrificed the interests of our people, the lives of millions of French workers and peasants, in order to maintain their capitalist privileges and to maintain their domination over their colonial slaves.

We accuse the French bourgeoisie of having brought on the present war by enslaving the German people through the

monstrous provisions of the Versailles Treaty, that imperialist endorsement of an imperialist war.

We accuse the French bourgeoisie of having fed the flames of chauvinist propaganda and the spirit of revenge, of reaction in Germany, notably by its policy of compulsion and the occupation of the Ruhr, and of having installed it in power in some degree.

We accuse Daladier of having smashed the People's Front in complicity with Blum and Jouhaux because it was a powerful force of resistance to war, an obstacle to the imperialist policy of the French bourgeoisie, an essential factor for rallying and organizing the working masses opposed to reaction and war.

We accuse Daladier, Bonnet and Blum of having through "non-intervention" contributed to the crushing of the Spanish people, whose heroic armed struggle against international reaction immobilized the military forces of the imperialists, prevented the outbreak of the European war and assured the security of the French frontier on the Pyrenees.

We accuse the Daladier-Bonnet gang, the accomplices of the sinister Chamberlain, of having delivered to German imperialism—along with Czechoslovakia and the Skoda arms works—1,582 airplanes, 501 anti-aircraft guns, 2,175 pieces of artillery, 468 tanks, 43,876 machine guns, 114,000 revolvers and 1,090,000 rifles, which are today spewing their fire against French soldiers.

We accuse the Daladier-Bonnet gang of having sabotaged the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact which was an essential guarantee of peace and security for our country. We accuse them of having systematically rejected and brought to naught the repeated proposals of the Soviet Union for the

organization of collective security and peace, as our people desired. We accuse them of having prepared the present war, of having provoked the misfortunes which are now raining down on our country, by their policy aimed at driving Germany into war against the Soviet Union.

We accuse them of having since September persevered in this criminal design of an anti-Soviet war, of having incited the White Guard Finns, whom they supplied with large quantities of war materials, of having tried to prevent a successful conclusion of peace between the Soviet Union and Finland while the German bourgeoisie was prepared to invade France.

We accuse Daladier, Blum and Jouhaux of having undermined, disintegrated and weakened the vital forces of our people by their reactionary policy of splitting the ranks of the working class and of disrupting the People's Front, by the policy which led to the destruction of the social achievements of the workers, to the suppression of all liberties, to the establishment of a hateful regime of license and terror in France. We accuse them of having thus brought on the war and the invasion.

We accuse the Daladier-Bonnet gang of having encouraged the crimes of the Cagoulards, spies, provocateurs and other agents of Abetz, the men of the Fifth Column in the service of capital and of foreign countries, whose representatives are today in the government with Marin and Ybarnegaray.

We accuse Daladier, who was the War Minister for four years and Premier for two years, of having vilely abused the confidence of the people by leading them to believe that all military measures were being taken to assure their security.

Daladier is the man mainly responsible for the present disasters, for the massacre of the best sons of our people, for the destruction of our towns and villages.

We accuse Daladier and the former so-called ministers of "national defense" of having wasted hundreds of billions of francs while in reality they were pursuing an imperialist policy of "national desertion" which facilitated and precipitated the foreign invasion.

We accuse Daladier of having wilfully sabotaged the air force by disorganizing the production of airplanes, as was proved by the Communist leaders of the Metal Workers Union, imprisoned for having served the cause of the people, and by driving out of the air force the young pilots trained by the popular aviation movements.

We accuse Daladier of having deliberately planned beforehand the massacre of the civilian population, in particular of the Paris region, by sabotaging air-raid precaution measures, by driving the Communist representatives out of the suburban municipal councils and replacing them by agents of reaction and police spies who disregard the needs and sufferings of the people.

We accuse Daladier, Bonnet, Blum and Frossard of attempting to escape the terrible responsibility for their crimes, to cover up their incapacity and their treason, by persecuting and contemptibly slandering the Communists, whose ardent and courageous voice never ceased to proclaim the truth, whose policy is in entire conformity with the present and future interests of our people and would have saved our country from war and invasion.

We have openly accused the culprits, the traitors who piled defeat on defeat and who threaten to hurl our people into

catastrophe. To avert this catastrophe, to face all perils from wherever they may come, it is necessary to resort to other measures than those undertaken by the government. *It is necessary, above all, to take the measures to re-establish the rights of the people.*

It is necessary in particular immediately to restore their freedom to the Communists and all imprisoned militants, to abolish the exceptional measures taken against the workers and their organizations, to re-establish democratic liberties, to restore to the working class and the people their great newspaper *l'Humanité,* to restore their mandate to the elected representatives of the people. Treason and traitors towards the people must be destroyed, starting with those who still occupy the highest posts, like Daladier.

The distress of the poor must be alleviated and the rich must be made to pay the costs of this unjust war.

The people of France must impose its will, must take its fate into its own hands.

We are sure that then there will arise from among our people all the material and moral forces that will enable them to avert the catastrophe and to safeguard their future.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE.

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