Stalin Murdered Krivitsky

The New Proof --- See Page 3

THE MILITANT

formerly the Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

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FRISK OF WAR' ADMITTED BY FDR MEN **GPU Now Attempt To** Free Killers Of Trotsky

First Open Move Is Made To Get Sigueiros Out of Jail, After Judges, In Fear of their Lives, Refuse To Pass On His Case

MEXICO CITY, Feb. 15-The latest move of Stalin's and calculatingly having planted GPU is nothing less than a systematic move to prevent the pun- two women spies near the Trotishment of the GPU assassins who are now in jail awaiting trial sky household (to corrupt the polfor the May 24, 1940 attempt to murder Trotsky and the assassination on August 20.

In addition to the successful assassin, Jacson, a group of men and women, most of whom have admitted their complicity, machine of the GPU-none of this are awaiting trial for the May 24th attempt, in which they murdered Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's American secretary- letter of "Intellectuals and Artguard.

David Alfaro Siqueiros was so completely identified by most of his arrested accomplices as the organizer and leader of the May 24th attempt that Siquei-* ros, when finally caught after move to prepare public opinion being a fugitive for months, (and the judges already softened being a fugitive for months, had to admit he participated in for putting Siqueiros at liberty. despite the fact that Siqueiros the assault.

who is given a year in which to investigate and hand down a fin, al decision. There is no jury.) The first judge who had the case insisted on being replaced. support" to Siqueiros.

His successor declined to take. The letter does not directly ask over the case and refused to give for Siqueiros' release, but prehis reasons for so declining. But pares the way for that by comthe press spoke openly of the fact plete silence about the crime and that the judge had been threaten- much talk about what a "great ed by the GPU, as the first judge artist" (painter) he is. It conhad been. Other judges have also cludes by asking that Siqueiros refused to take the case, and be treated "justly." The implicatherefore the records are now in tion is clearly presented: he is a Mexico City, after a trip from "great" Mexican artist and there-Coyoacan to Villa Obregon and fore should go free.

ice on guard outside) more than three months before the actual attempt. That he did this as a subordinate cog in the murder-

is so much as referred to in this sts.'

Let us recall to these "Intellectuals and Artists" that the enormity of Siqueiros' crime was so obvious that even the brazen Stalinist leadership made no attempt On Februaray 14th El Popular- | had been publicly identified with Yet the case of Siqueiros is Toledano's paper, which prepared the Stalinist movement for fifteen not in the hands of a judge! the ideological ground for Trot years, had been a Majer in the (Under Mexican law, a case is sky's murder by its incessant Stalinist-controlled forces in Loyplaced in the hands of a judge GPU-written slanders against him alist Spain, is president of the ---published a letter signed by Stalinist-front Union of Mexican "Intellectuals and Artists" and ad- Ex-Combatants of Spain, etc. etc. dressed to President Camacho, -the Stalinists made desperate "cheerfully offering our moral attempts to dissociate themselves from Sigueiros.

them.'

STALINIST TESTIMONY Thus David Serrano, member of the Political Buro of the Mexican Communist Party, arrested and awaiting trial in the same case—he was identified as having ordered the purchase of the police uniforms used as disguises by the machine-gunners - proceeded to denounce Siqueiros. Serrano's tesimony, made to the chief of pol

Bandiera Rossa!

NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY, 22 1941

No less an authority than WEHRMACH T, German army military organ, admits the truth of the recent reports that captured Italian soldiers, when informed of the fall of Koritza, sang the revolutionary working class song, "Bandiera Rossa" and other revolutionary songs!

The January, 1941, issue of WEHRMACHT, in its section on foreign military news, page 23, says:

"Reports originating from foreign and enemy sources concerning unrest among Italian front-line units are largely, but unfortunately not wholly, unsubstantiated.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Meissner (German military attache in Athens) has confirmed reports of the singing of revolutionary hymns by Italian prisoners formerly belonging to second class Landsturm regiments now being held in prison camps in Thessaly. The comparative scarcity of such incidents, considering the severity of the fighting on the Greek front and the privations endured by the soldiers of Italy, is a compliment to the endurance and the courage of the Italian Army both now and in the past."

By "Landsturm" regiments, the military organ refers to men between the ages of 35-45, serving mainly for duty behind the lines, and used at the front only in great emergencies. Four regiments of such troops, according to German reports, actually participated in front line actions in Greece in the December battles at Koritza. Far from belittling the significance of the revolutionary demonstration made by these Italian soldiers, the German military organ's "explanation" only serves to confirm the fact and to reveal the desperate plight of Hitler's ally, the fascist regime of Italy.

This is the greatest news that has come out of the war! For the revolutionary ferment in Italy will inevitably spread to both sides of the battlefronts!

And it will inspire the revolutionary forces everywhere, just as did the Russian revolution'in 1917.

It was the Russian revolution that really put an end to the war in 1918. It is the com-•ing Italian revolution and its aftermath of revolution elsewhere that will put an end to this war!



Is Step to Prepare Public for Actual War Involvement; Formula of "All Aid Short of War" Dropped Altogether

Roosevelt's spokesmen in the Senate produced an entirely new formula in the opening speeches in Congress on Monday.

Phrase Is A Part

Of War Move

'Even at the risk of war" was the new formula. And with its appearance the original formula with which the "lend-lease" bill was justified—"all aid short of war"-disappeared from the scene altogether.

It was obvious that the "risk of war" formula was not an accidental interpolation by anybody. It appeared first in the carefully-prepared address of Senator Barkley, majority leader, was repeated by Senator Thomas

of Utah and even more bluntly affirmed by Senator Pepper of Florida. This formula so dominated the itary spokesman - in Hongkong presentation of the proponents of meanwhile announced that "all

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the bill that the New York Times | preparations humanly possible" headline (Feb. 18) was: "Aid bill had been made to defend that urged in Senate even at the risk | colony against any Japanese attack. of war."

Pepper went far: "Call it

war, or do not call it war," he

we will save it anyway."

ropean situation.

Contributing still further to

expeditionary force of thousands

of Australian troops, including

mechanized units, was landed at

Singapore early this week to re-

inforce Scottish, English, Indian

(See story on the Japanese crisis, page 6.)

the galleries, the correspond-ents report—"Lay it down as a What Big Business premise, America will not let Says CIO "Defense England fall to Hitler. If this (bill) will not save England, **Plan**" Really Means

Which Senator Austin of Vernont, assistant Republican lead-The Kiplinger WASHINGer, went one better, dramatically TON LETTER, circulated striding into the center aisle of privately to business men, in the chamber to declare, in solidits Feb. 1 issue urges its employer-subscribers to get and study the "CIO Defense Plan" issued by Philip Murray, CIO

arity with the Democrats: "If ever it becomes necessary for us to fight, we will fight!"

A Japanese army spokesman described the landing as "a belligerent action." The British mil-

FIVE (5) CENTS

declared—and a hush fell over

from there to Xochimilco.

The purpose of GPU pressure to prevent any judge from handling the case is clear. Thus time elapses in which the case, Stalin's in murdering Leon and Natalia as an "undesirable person" and agents hope, will gradually sink Trotsky. That he led a score of "half crazy." Serrano stated he into oblivion.

ON THE WAR FRONTS by GEORGE STERN

The Turkish-Bulgarian "nonaggression" pact is an indisputable victory for Axis diplomacy. It represents a retreat by Turkey from the edge of the conflict-and this retreat was certainly made at the orders and under the pressure of the Kremlin.

Up until a few days ago the Turks stoutly maintained in their controlled press that.German entry into Bulgaria would bring the Turkish army into action in Thrace. British and Turkish staff parleys took place in Ankara. The situation was comparable to that in Moscow in August, 1939, when Stalin entertained an Allied military mission—and confronted them with the Nazi-Soviet pact.

German infiltration into Bulgaria has already been in preparation for some weeks and the new pact between Turkey and Bulgaria seems to indicate that full military occupation of Bulgaria will take place without action by Turkey. There remains in the vagueness of the Turkish-Bulgar . pact grounds for faint Allied hope that this is not the case. In London this hope was eagerly grasped and it was as- | revealed in the march of events. serted that it could be "safely | It is clear enough right now, assumed" that Turkey would ful- however, that Stalin did put fill its obligations under its pact screws on the Turks. Involvewith Britain in the event of a ment of Turkey in hostilities German Balkan move. The Ger- against Germany would have

and in these matters they have on still another Soviet frontier. correct. The Turks have left them-

selves an exit in the pact by stating that it does not affect their obligations under other treaties. These obligations, however, mean that Turkey is supposed to enter the war in case of a German attack on

Greece or the extension of the war to the Eastern Mediterranean. When Turkey failed to fulfill this promise upon Mussolini's Greek move, the British put the best face possible on it and stated that Turkish non-belligerence was maintain-

UNESTHETIC DETAILS

ed by "mutual" agreement. But if in the present juncture Turkey stands aside to let Hitler move to Greece's frontiers it means the loss of British positions in Southeastern Europe and the completion of continental consolidation by Hitler. For Greece will have to bow. What the newspapers are most obscure about is the role undoubtedly played in this development by the Kremlin. There are reports which suggest that the pact is actually another "deal" between Stalin and Hitler under

which Stalin forces Turkey to bow and Hitler promises to keep hands off the Dardanelles.

Other reports even say that Stalin threatened to march against Turkey's eastern provinces unless it did give in to Hitler.

Just what sop Stalin got this time for his help remains to be mans seem to think otherwise brought the Germans into action usually proved to be the more German victory over the Turks would install them directly adjacent to the Caucasus and establish them on a second coast of the Black Sea. This is what Stalin fears and this is what he would seek to avoid in compelling Turkey to meet Hitler's terms in return for a temporary and insecure "safety" from attack.

ice, General Jose Manuel Nunez, That Siqueiros murdered Bob and released to the press on June

men with machine-guns in this at- believed Siqueiros, together with And now has come an open tempt. That he did this coldly Siqueiros' brother, with their friends, were responsible for the attempt on Trotsky. The Communist party, Serrano stated, "for some time had been suspicious of

on Thursday, March 6, at 8 p.m. Thus La Voz de Mexico, official The text of the letter to the Communist Party organ, on June A.L.P. follows: 0, 1940 declared: Dear Sirs and Brothers:

"David Alfaro Sigueiros, who In order that labor may presappears to be responsible for ent a united front against the candidates of the two capitalist the assault, is not a member of the Communist Party of parties in the special Congres-Mexico. Neither are (Siqueiros' sional election in the 17th district, aides) Antonio Pujol, or Luis and Leopoldo Arenal. "The declaration of those

candidate, Eugene Connolly. We war. (Continued on page 5)

Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party informed the New York County Committee of the American Labor Party the American Labor Party (New Harte. That he nearly succeeded 18, 1940, characterized Sigueiros this week that the S.W.P. is prepared to support the A.L.P. candidate for Congressman in the 17th New York District.

The S.W.P. sent a letter to this effect shortly after the news became public that the A.L.P. county committee had named a candidate, Eugene Connolly. As part of the anti-war cam. are motivated in this action by paign in the 17th District, the the burning necessity before the suggest no real alternative to it. S.W.P. will hold a rally at Trans- labor movement of consolidating its forces and building an indeport Hall, 153 West 64th Street.

pendent labor party on a national scale. We should appreciate your informing us: 1. What unions are at present

affiliated with the New York County Committee of the American Labor Party. 2. What the procedure is for we are considering withdrawing securing the adoption by the our candidate, Arthur P. Burch, American Labor Party of our mil-

and urging labor to support your itary program against imperialist lot, page 2.)

We feel that the platform of It was abundantly clear that, over the week-end, a new strat-York County Committee) presents egy meeting of the Roosevelt ina pacifist rather than a militant ner circle had decided to launch proletarian opposition to war. For this new formula and abandon example: You correctly oppose the the "short of war" line of arguwar-mongering "lend-lease" bill ment. now pending in Congress, but you Perhaps the immediate motivation for this decision was the re-

alternative. We call for: Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.

the sharpening of imperialist an-tagonisms in the Far East, an The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.

(See story on the S.W.P. camand Malayan troops, as a measure paign to place Burch on the bal- to bolster the defenses of Britain's Far Eastsern fortress.

head. Commenting on the results of this "Defense Plan," the Letter says:

"Labor is apt to get moreand-more under government control.

"Labor discipline is not good, especially within many newal of the Far Eastern crisis. CIO unions. The chiefs at the rather than the ostensible object top know this and admit it of the "lend-lease" bill: the Eu-(but not for quotation).

> "The Murray plan would put labor chiefs into the government and give them governmental authority WHICH THEY COULD USE ON THE UNIONS in cases of strikes and disturbances which are not controllable now." (Our emphasis.)

(See editorial, page 6)

What U.S. Army Officers Think Of Democracy

Remember the pious speeches about the "democratic process" of conscription that so many army officers spouted to help push the Conscription Act through Congress?

Well, they stopped making those hypocritical speeches. just as soon as Congress and Roosevelt made conscription the law of the land. During the conscription debate it was necessary for the brass hats to be on good behavior; but now that they've got conscription and are beginning to get hold of the first million conscripts, the army officers' corps, reactionary down to their bones, are beginning to behave as they always. have felt. Here is how they are already talking among themselves-we cite an editorial in the February 1st Army and Navy Register, "semi"-official journal of the armed forces: "We hear many loose descriptive words being used

about the American service today. For example, to say that conscription is at base a 'democratic' process is to display an ignorance of the history of conscription. It has been used by empires and monarchies as much as by democracies ... For another example, to speak of the 'democracy of life in the ranks' is the most utter flapdoodle anyone ever enunciated. Any service where a soldier must address his commander as 'The Captain' and is called 'You' in return is hardly democratic. Any mass effort where one is endowed with sole responsibility and given full authority for purposes of efficient action is hardly democratic ... It is no solution to use a mere label 'democracy' and then to continue with more martinet methods.

"The American citizen well understands, and there is Supreme Court authority for it, that he must sur-

render certain of his ordinary rights as a citizen when he enters the service. To make that surrender clear, and still to restrict it only to those things which are essential, is the great leadership problem of the American Army today."

The American citizen "well understands" nothing of the sort, and certainly wasn't given to understand anything of the sort by the propaganda poured out to ease the passage of the Conscription Act. The American citizen-the average workingman and woman-will read these words from the Army and Navy Register with a shock of surprise and consternation, learning from them for the first time, in most cases, what the conscription system really involves, as it is conceived and executed by the reactionary officer caste.

The language used by the Army and Navy Register is so unambiguous that even William Green or Sidney Hillman. can't pretend that these blunt words from the officers really mean that we're going to have a democratic army.

Who is going to determine which "ordinary rights as a citizen" are surrendered and which are kept by the Conscripts? That "is the great leadership problem of the American Army today"-in other words the officers are going to decide what rights the conscripts will keep and which "are essential" to surrender to the tender mercies of the officer caste. To call this democracy is, as the Army and Navy Register says, the most "utter flapdoodle anyone ever enunciated."

Why must the conscripts submit to such a system of dictatorship, in which the officers have the powers of life and death over the ranks? The officer caste pretends this is necessary to any army.

But that is not so, not any more than it is necessary to industry. There was a time when the employing class used to insist that industry couldn't be run unless the bosses had the same powers of life and death over the workers as are wielded by the army officers. That was the bosses' justification for punishing all attempts at unionization as "conspiracy" against the established order. It took gigantic struggles of the working class everywhere to smash that boss idea and win the right of unionization, of "interference" in industry.

For the worker, there's no fundamental difference between the factory and the military training camp. The rights he has won by struggle in the factory are rights which he must have in the training camp. Otherwise he becomes a helpless tool in the hands of the reactionary officer caste, which is simply the employing class in fancy uniforms. A helpless tool, to be used, not to save "democracy" but to enslave himself.

There's no justification whatever in military science for putting the rank and file soldiers at the mercy of boss-officers any more than there was justification in industrial science for preventing unionization.

That's why our party stands for:

and the second second

Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.

The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers. in provident the second

ORKERS'

Write to us-tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement-what are the workers thinking about?-tell us what the bosses are up to-and the G-men and the local copsand the Stalinists-send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted-our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Wants Us to Review **Dean of Canterbury's** "Soviet Power"

2

Comments (sometimes annoyingly repetitious and highly lau- appreciate having it brought to datory) have been made to me my attention. If a review is to be recently in connection with the made would you kindly inform question of whether I have or me by letter of the issue and pubhaven't read the latest "Bible" of lication in which it is to appear? the Communist Party: "The So- Thank you. viet Power," by the Dean of Canterbury. Inasmuch as my time Chicago, Ill. has been taken up considerably with other matters, I have as yet had no chance to read it.

I feel, personally, that a review by you or a member of the staff Editor: of this book would aid me considerably. It is possible also that there may be others in my predicament who would also desire a review.

Also, the tone of voice and general impressions of these individuss who recommend the book suggest that it is something really worth looking into. Furthermore. an individual who I believe was telling the truth stated that the original edition of 100.000 had already been subscribed for and plans were being made for the publication of another. Since this book, as stated above, is beginning to appear as a "Bible" for the Stalinists it doubly demands a review. In looking back

We've Done It the pious Dean's fairy tales. We also intend to review the

over the sentence at the beginning from circulation .--- EDITORS.

Newark **Readers!**

Beginning in the next issue of THE MILITANT will be the first of a series of articles analyzing

The Newark City **Commission Elections** dealing with the class forces the candidates, the election issues, and the platform of the Socialist Workers Party,

BY GEORGE BREITMAN In addition, next week's issue of this paragraph regarding "tone of voice," etc. those factors appear nearly always and are not to be taken too seriously. If a review has already appear ed then count me as one of those

who missed it and would greatly E. G. S

Reader Smollett will find an exhaustive review of the Dean of Canterbury's "Soviet Power" in the current (February) issue of our monthly magazine, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. That review will provide him with the direct citations from the Soviet press and Stalin's ukases which give the lie to

Dean soon in THE MILITANT. We'll also bet anybody even money that the Dean's bookwhich hasn't a word on the abolition of free education, the new statutes of the Red Army, the June 26 labor laws, etc. etc.-will soon be withdrawn

QUEENS BRANCH SOCIAL SAT. FEB. 22 8:30 P.M. Remember our last affair???

Bigger and Better! This one? Jamaica Labor Center 92-21 165 St. (near Jamaica

92-21 165 Street (near Jamaica Ave.) (From Manhattan: Take 8th Ave. or BMT to 168 St., Jamaica. 35 minutes from Times ? Square.) *****

In Los Angeles Buy the



Women members of the CIO's United Auto Workers Auxiliary are shown as they aid the Ford Union organizing drive. They are distributing union literature at the River Rouge plant.

"Silk Stocking" District Has Many Poor --- They Like Our Program

Those Who Signed Nominating Petitions For Our Candidate Knew What They Were Supporting: They Made Sure Of That

The campaign to place Arthur Burch on the ballot in the Seventeenth Congressional district in New York as the candidate | revolutionary candidate. "During one disturbance in the West Inof the Socialist Workers Party brought gratifying results. Aldies," he said, "the British sent though this district embraces many of the wealthiest and most a battleship and shot down thoureactionary families in the country, those gathering signatures sands of workers." He invited the report that thousands of workers who live in the poverty-stricken signature collector to come in and capitalist system." sections were not only willing to sign the nominating petitions, tell him about the program of the but discussed the anti-war program of the party. SWP.

The popular response to the anti-war program of the Socialist Workers party is indicated by the fact that small shopkeepers in the working class sections offered their help in secur- groes are heart-rending. Their flats are unheated although it is

ing signatures for the candidate. EXAMINED PROGRAM In the homes of the workers lights the petitions almost invariably received a hearty welcome, especially among the Negroes, but only after they had read the party's material. In one apartment house orized for the darkness, explain-

where the most desperate poverty

was evident, the Negro families

cases apprehensive that the La-Guardia administration would seek reprisals against them. But many signed despite this danger. the dead of winter. They are, The program of Trotskyism has over-crowded and many without a powerful appeal to them, caught as they are in the blind alley of unemployment under the capital-In one home an elderly widow ist system. answered the door. Her lights had In one home, two men playing been cut off because of her incards denounced the "reds" when ability to pay the bill. She apol-

the petition circulator rang the bell and announced the purpose ing that her husband, formerly on WPA, had died and that she of his visit. A woman nursing a refused to sign the petitions on had nothing left but the miserbaby in the same room told them

Wartime Censoring Has Already Begun, Says Boss Organ

You may have noticed that thick fog that is settling down over your morning newspaper. Here's why, according to the Feb. 1 issue of the Kiplinger WASHINGTON LETTER, a weekly confidential bulletin circulated privately to business men:

"Censorship has started, like war-time, on paper, radio, movies. It's voluntary, by request, not mandatory. It covers certain navy news, aunless such news is announced or authorized by the government itself. Editors are complying without much complaint, but it is recognized that the 'request rules' will be extended later to other kinds of news.

"This first dose of censorship-by-request is not a big dose, but it is a foretaste of what is to come when government takes control. The object will be not only to keep valuable secrets from the enemy, BUT ALSO TO PRO-**VIDE THE PROPER CONDI**her TIONS FOR PUBLIC MOR-ALE." (Our emphasis.)

Highlights In The Labor Press

By CARL O'SHEA

President Sal Hoffman writes | On the pressure by the soun' n the AFL UPHOLSTERERS' Cause the limit of compression JOURNAL that during the past "Specially when you got no year "a procession of important gauge) Furniture Workers Locals previ-Is the limit of the tubin', ously affiliated with another In-An' a knowledge of its age. ternational have asked to be re-You don't have to go to college ceived within our fold." Among Or read no fancy tracts. the unions who have switched To be 'quainted with the logic from the AFL Carpenters and the Of a simple set of facts. CIO Woodworkers to the AFL Up-You can't crowd no ten-pound holsterers are locals in Paris, Tex pressure as; New London, and Ladysmith, Into jes' a two-pound space, Wis.; Winston-Salem; Hallam, Without tube an' casing giving, Pa.; Hoquiam, Wash.; Minnea-

An' explosion tak'n' place! polis," Minn.; and Burlington So, the gents who plan our Hoffman states "we have added housin'

27 new local unions to the roster An' who aim to shut us off of our International during 1940. From the 'strickly white-folks' We have added some 10,000 nev buildings. members to our ranks. We have Aint goin' find the job so soft, consummated agreements with 'Cause when houses are exhausted 2,000 individual firms. Almost one-(An' there aint a one in sight) half of our Local Unions now Crampin' black folks into ghettos have 'one week vacation clauses Is like droppin' dynamite! with pay' . . . The average wage

"Though the Housin' Board increase gained was 10 cents per hour or \$4 per week per mem Has the thing all cut an' dried;

* * *

The Blowout

He may find his Jim-Crow ideals Revolts against the ultra-reac Bouncin' back to skin his hide! tionary regime of Hutcheson in You can't crowd no 10-pound the Carpenters and against the Stalinist misleaders in the Wood pressure

Into normal 2-pound space, workers explains this situation. Without riskin' that your tire will Blow right smack up in your La Follette's PROGRESSIVE face!" or February 8th reprints a com

* * *

director

nent from an anonymous English Charles Yale Harrison, pro-war columnist confirming our views Social-Democrat, is now director that Roosevelt's aid to England of public relations of the Electrical Workers Union Local 3 in New York. He used to be featured columnist for the New Leader at which time he defended it against Trotskyist criticism. Now he's written a letter to the Socialist Call telling of the splendid strike of Local 3 against Leviton, and protesting that the New Leader is 'the only newspaper in New York that so far has not printed a sin-;le line on this important struggle." Harrison's late political riends are so busy going to war that they can't find the time or space to defend the workers against the employers.

* * *

Latest union to fall victim to the "conspiracy" charge is the Des Moines Drivers Union Local 90. Blanket indictments have been returned against five union offi-Ed like to display to our MIL cers for "conspiring" against an TANT readers a man whom I anti-union truck operator who would certainly nominate for the took a punch at one of the union best news-poet writing in the organizers and was properly re-United States today, Mr. Charles pulsed. The case is similar to the H. Loeb, who each week composes fink suit against the Minneapolis an "editorial in rhyme" for the General Drivers Union Local 544. Cleveland CALL-POST, Negro pa-Clarence Darrow once aptly desver. Here's his latest, on the houscribed the conspiracy indictment

ing shortage in Cleveland: as "a legal device which has been used as a modern and ancient

5.000 were at the meeting, almost all of them Negroes. Comrade Burch discussed one of the ideas expressed at the meeting: "Peace and Democracy." "Under capitalism there is nei-

rade Burch explained to the crowd. "Only the working class can lead the way out by opposing the war and by overthrowing the

The judge and the attorney, when they took the floor, were Those on relief were in many was neither "peace" nor "democracy" but they argued, like Father Divine, that the only way out was "God."

Father Divine likewise agreed only way out.

the first visit. "Leave us your able old-age pension granted by to hush up, and took up the de the mean of the Granter length on

ther peace nor democracy," Com-

Comrade Burch was asked to take the floor again and he was

can have only reactionary effects 'The National Government re mains national, but so does th national dilemma. We can have National Government only on con dition that it is an all-party gov rnment. But the domestic issue raised by the war are so profoun that an all-party government car exist only by ignoring them. Since

the issues remain, it looks as though the only way of prevent ing the facade of national unity from being broken by some sor of social revolution is that Amer ica should finance the war. Amer

ican finance would enable us t retain the illusion of being a unit forced to agree with Comrade ed democracy by sparing us the Burch that under capitalism there extra financial pinch that would expose the class cleavage. In other words, America would pay us to rémain a capitalist democracy.'

with the speaker" that there was neither "peace" nor "democracy but in his opinion neither the "laboring classes" nor the "capitalist class" have a way out. Father Divine believes "God" is the

An include announcement of the Socialist Workers Party's nomination of a candidate.MILITANTprospectus and your newspaper,' was the response of many in the building, "we'll read them and it we agree we'll sign." The comrade circulating theTHE MILITANT	sign the petition that would place a revolutionary candidate on the ballot.		kers Party in ending the oppres- sion that is visited upon the work- ers, colored and white, by the ca- pitalist system. He received con- siderable applause.	"If you've ever pumped a tire up Mused my friend, Metheusalah Brown, Then you'll know you never figger	prisonment and death of mer whom the ruling class does no
may be bought in Newark at Book Store E. 1st St. *& petition reported that when he returned the following day, seventeen registered voters in the building then gave their signatures. The living conditions of the New State Newsstand, Broad & William Main St. petition reported that when he returned the following day, seventeen registered voters in the building then gave their signatures. The living conditions of the New State	An old man who said that he was born in the West Indies and knew what capitalist democracy	It was not all clear sailing, how- ever. At one apartment a well- dressed lady answered the bell She refused to sign. "I was a Re- publican," she said. "I voted for Wendell Wilkie. After what has happened since the election, I've decided I'm through with politics."	Friends, Branches Keep This Date Open Anti-War		
A MILITANT START FOR THE MILITANT	GraceCarlson Reports On	And she slammed the door. A Coughlinite upon learning the mission of the petition cir- culator smiled bitterly. "We know you fellows," he said. "You stop- ped our parade." He likewise	Closing the Campaign in the 17th District Thursday, March 6 8:30 P.M.	SUB DRIVE GATHERS STEAM With four additional branches making the record this week, and	some of the best of them to shame! MASS WORK
The New 6-Page MILITANT		slammed the door. The memory of how the Trotskyists led the fight against Coughlin is still fresh! PENTHOUSE STALINIST	TRANSPORT WORKERS HALL 153 West 64th Street New York City	the totals of the early birds swelling rapidly, we can really state that the SUB DRIVE is off to an excellent start. Almost twice as many subs came in, dur- ing the second week of the drive,	IN THE BRONX BRONX, N. Y.—"Our MILI TANT work at an important union hall in the Bronx reveals what results can be obtained by a continued and steady distribu-
in conjunction with the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL magazine	PITTSBURGH — The most in- teresting news of the week on my tour contes from two cities where until the other day our party had nothing—Pittsburgh	One comrade decided to try one of the exclusive streets where the wealthy live. He picked out the most sumptuous apartment house, rode [*] with the uniformed elevator man to the top floor and	SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR	as in the first: 64 this week in comparison to last week's 34. Minneapolis brought in the lion's share: 23 subs in one week.	"After our covering this loca for about two months the work- ers now come to us and ask for papers. At first they wouldn' even accept them, but now they
A Special Introductory Offer	and Baltimore. Today, however, the Socialist Workers Party is definitely on the political map in Pittsburgh. My meeting here was the only public commemoration of the an-	door he tried swung open on thick rugs. He caught a glimpse of a huge radio, a grand piano, an oil painting on the wall. A young man with soft white hands	Fri. Feb. 21 Memphis Sat. Feb. 22 Sun. Feb. 23 Arkansas	total thus far, and the total num- ber of points (for half-dollars collected): Week's Total Total Place Subs Subs Points	actually ask for them. And when we miss a week they complain that they've been skipped. "Previously when we covered a factory and didn't get any re sults we quit and looked around
to both publications: 8 issues of THE MILITANT both 50 c 2 issues of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL for 50 c	niversary of Lenin's death. Twen- ty-nine workers attended the open meeting, and indicated by their interested questions and partici- pation in the discussion a real	looked of the bulling monker ork	Tues.Feb. 25TexasWed.Feb. 26TexasThurs.Feb. 27to Thurs. /Mar. 13Fri.March 14Los Angeles	Minnesota 23 26 59 New York 8 16 29 Chicago 8 11 17 Newark 5 8 11 Los Angeles 4 6 15 Allentown 4 4 7	for another place. This was a bac mistake. It finally dawned on us that it takes the workers not a few weeks, but a few months to overcome their initial hostility to
You have reason to be proud of our fine publications! Introduce them to a friend!	interest in the Trotskyist pro- gram. Subscriptions for THE MILITANT were obtained and other Trotskyist literature was sold, so we can be confident that these workers intend to study our	the notition collector in amore	Sat.March 15and vicinitySun.March 16"Mon.March 17"Tues.March 18"Wed.March 19"Thurs.March 20"	Boston 3 3 3 Flint 3 3 3 New Haven 2 6 7 Detroit 1 7 15 Paterson 1 1 2 Philadelphia 1 1 2	radicals and to have our point of view sink in. "However, once factory and union hall work is carried or steadily, the results will inevit ably come in. After a large group
	of a rapid growth of our party in this great steel center. Baltimore is another important	ment. "Well, not exactly. But all the liberal progressive circles say that the Trotskyists are counter-revol- utionary. I can't sign." He closed	Fri.March 21Sat.March 22Sun.March 23Mon.March 24Tues.March 25Wed.March 26	Albony 1 1 0	of workers reads the MILITANT for a number of months its ef- fect is bound to be felt, and this is exactly what is taking place Now we are starting to get rea- contacts among these New York
New York City I enclose 50c. Please send my introductory subscription to:	The "open shop" tradition of Bal- timore is breaking down as the SWOC and the UAW meet with great success in their organizing drives.	The petition collector decided right then and there that perhaps it was an error to petition the penthouse for signatures and rode the glittering elevator back down	Fri. March 28	The cities listed in bold letters are current leaders in their Chal- lenge Categories. Some are lead- ers by sheer default of the others	union workers." The New York comrade lagged a bit behind the rest of the country in learning the value of mass work with the MILL
Name	ago. Its first task, successfully achieved, was to get all of the members into basic industry and the unions of these industries. We	Last Sunday night Comrade Burch was invited by Fatner Div- ine's organization to speak at one of his mass meetings in Harlem. He had invited two prominent	Thurs. April 3 Fri. April 4 Plentywood Sat. April 5 Williston Sund. April 6	in the same category, which have not yet made their mark. The best surprise of the week was ALLENTOWN, coming through with a fistful of subs fast enough to place high up on	months they've been learning fast. Now in every borough o the city factories and union hall are covered regularly with ou
	may look forward with confidence to other achievements, and soon,	whites as guest speakers also, Judge Walcott and Mr. Shintag, a prominent attorney. More than	Mon. April 7 Fargo Tues. April 8 "	the list, along with the big fel- lows. Good work, comrades! In proportion to strength you put	workers are coming to know the MILITANT and are asking for i

FEBRUARY 22, 1941

THE MILITANT

Stalin Assassinated Krivitsky: The New Proof

What The Police Translator "Failed" To Tell Was In The "Suicide" Letter

By THE EDITORS

The imprint of Stalin was plainly visible in the room where Walter Krivitsky was found murdered. But something then happened. The police "failed" to make public Stalin's imprint. Here is the story, which all thinking people can judge for themselves.

When Walter Krivitsky was found dead, the Washington police took possession of the three "suicide" notes and issued, after an inexplicable delay of nearly a day, the text of the letters, including a translation from the Russian of the "letter" to his wife and son. The police insisted on retaining possession of the originals but, again after some delay, released a photostat copy to Louis Waldman, attorney for Mrs. Krivitsky.

For most of the week after Krivitsky's death, Mr. Waldman remained in Washington, vainly attempting to get Federal authorities to conduct an adequate investigation. When it became clear that the coroner was going to be permitted to issue a verdict of suicide without a further investigation, Mr. Waldman threw up his hands and returned to New York.

He brought the photostat copy to Mrs. Krivitsky. As she read it, there stared out at her two tremendous words which had not appeared in the translation issued by the police.

In the translation issued by the police, the crucial sentences had read:

"Good people will help you, but not enemies. I think my sins are big."

The actual text of those sentences in the photostat -reads:

"Good people will help you, but not enemies OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE. I think my sins are big."

We have carefully examined the photostat copy. We can

testify that the words which the police translation "failed" to include occupy enough space to make it impossible to assume that a hasty translator skipped over them.

It was but one of a score of "failures" in the police investigation of Krivitsky's death. None of these "failures" can. be explained by the ignorance of "local police." The Washington police force is perhaps the most modern in the country. It is, indeed, not a local police force at all. Washington is run by the federal government. With the Far Eastern crisis exploding and relations with the Kremlin the crucial question in that crisis, it was the perfect week for a GPU murder in Washington.

Everything worked out perfectly for Stalin. By the time Mrs. Krivitsky had discovered the "omission," the publicity on the case was over; the story had been pushed off the front page and out of the papers by the Far Eastern crisis.

And now, with Mrs. Krivitsky having issued the correct version of the letter, it can appear in the Soviet press as "proof" that all the other death-bed recantations of "sinners" were true, for this one is authoritatively verified by the Washington police as the last words of a suicide.

In each new crime, Stalin has been driven by the logic of his situation to attempt to justify all his previous crimes. The world is skeptical of the truth and sincerity of the numerous recantations which have been "signed" by oppositionists? Stalin proves the truth and sincerity of these recantations by issuing tenfold more. From 1924 to 1927 recantations were relatively infrequent. They are "proved" by an increase in their frequency and volume, from 1927 to 1936. Those are not believed? Then the entire cadre of Lenin's closest collaborators is paraded from 1936 to 1938 in the ritual of recantations of their sins and whitewashings of Stalin.

But these are not Trotskyists, not real oppositionists?

Then Trotskyists-likewise must be made to recant. Rudolph Internent, secretary of the Fourth International, "writes" a letter from Paris to Trotsky, "breaking" with him and white-washing Stalin, in July, 1938; just about the time this "letter" arrives to Trotsky in Mexico, the dismembered body of page Klement, secretary of the Fourth International, "writes" arrives to Trotsky in Mexico, the dismembered body of poor Klement is fished out of the Seine and mutely explains the "letter."

The debacle of the Klement "letter" drives the Kremlin to cram the murder of Trotsky somehow into the pattern of Friends He Will Never Commit Suicide recantations and whitewashings: the assassin Jacson "confesses" that he, too, "broke" with Trotsky, that "perhaps Stalin was right."

And when Jacson's story is broken down in court by Trotsky's attorney, Albert Goldman, and when David Serrano, member of the Political Buro of the Communist Party of Mexico, and the Stalinist, David Alfaro Siqueiros, are held as the organizers of the May 24, 1940 attempt on Trotsky, then Krivitsky must "testify" to the pattern of recantation and whitewashing.

Stalin is irrevocably the prisoner of this fantastic formula. He must repeat it and repeat it and repeat it. Human psychology must be transformed to fit Stalin's murder-pattern, otherwise the long series of murders become known for what they are. If a hundred instances are not conclusive, then the USSR, then Charge d'Af-Stalin will provide a thousand instances.

That is why Stalin had to put his signature to the murder of Krivitsky. Thanks to the "failure" of the police translation to reveal that, this fact will not be widely known except as we and other labor papers can publicise it. One must record this as one of Stalin's better efforts-so far. But we are not finished. Next week we shall deal with other clues which, despite the skill of the forger's and murderers, were left behind.

Krivitsky Slain,

Ex-Soviet Envoy, On Stalin's List, Warns

Alexander G. Barmine, who as Charge d'Affaires of the USSR in Greece broke with Stalin just a few days before Krivitsky did, made the following declaration in New York last week -on February 13-in the presence of his wife and a number of witnesses.

"In the presence of witnesses I hereby declare that under no circumstances do I intend to do away with myself and whatever letters' might be found—in any eventuality—they will not be mine.

Before his break on December 1, 1937, Barmine had served for 19 years as a Soviet official, first as a soldier and political commissar in the Red Army in 1919, then as a brigade commander, Consul General in Persia, director-general of Imports, first secretary of the Legation of

Nazi Press Pleased faires. He had been a member of the Communist Party of the USSR At the Death of since 1919.

In making his declaration, Bar-Walter Krivitsky mine said:

"I have no doubt "whatever that Walter Krivitsky was murdered by Stalin's agents. The letters that were found beside his body prove nothing at all. The GPU has experts who are capable of writing in any handwriting desired, whatever

letters are required." After pointing out that the Kremlin had in its files considerable written material of Krivitsky's which the GPU experts could easily utilize for forgeries, Bar-

The Russian White Guard and anti-Semitic paper in New York, the NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO, is so pleased with the Nazi version of the case that it featured it last week.

> quite recently still shadowed my every step.

A Feb. 15 dispatch from

Geneva reports that the con-

trolled Nazi press has devoted

considerable space to the

The Nazi press takes it for

granted that Krivitsky was

killed and goes on to say that

he deserved to die because he was a Jew named Schmelke

Ginsburg. Besides, the Nazis

add, he was a "Trotskyite"

murder of Krivitsky.

and a "Jewish rat."

"To remain in the service of Stalin's government would have been to doom myself to the worst demoralization and to assume my Barmine's public break with share of the responsibility for the Stalin was consummated by a crimes committed every day statement addressed to the French against the people of my country.

clared, had finally brought him "I am obeying my conscience to the full realization "that a re- in breaking with this government. actionary dictatorship had instal- I am fully aware of the danger to which I expose myself in act-"I would like to make the most ing this way. I am signing my weakening the workers' state pressing, most desperate appeal to own death warrant and expose literally with every passing hour. public opinion," he then said, "in myself to the blows of paid kill-

bullets of the agents of the Secret chine gun slugs in Switzerland on

Police abroad, of those agents who September 4, 1937.

Stalin's 18th Party "Conference" Opens

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

It was not Stalin who delivered the main report to the Eighteenth Party Conference which convened in the Kremlin on February 16th. The main reporter was a petty underling, one Georgi Malenkov, who is not even a prominent member of the Political Buro but merely one of the secretaries of the Central Committee. This procedure is without precedent in the history of political parties in general and of the Stalinist Party Conferences in particular.

Not that silence on Stalin's part is in and of itself unprecedented. Far from it. In every critical situation on the world | rulary 18.) arena (China 1925-1927, Gerroborated by Malenkov's speech many 1933, Spain 1931-37, etand by-Stalin's silence. cetera) this "Father of the The crisis in Soviet economy, Peoples"-whose whole political the complete breakdown of the wisdom lies in evading, temporiz-Third Stalinist Five-Year plan ing and then betraying-has has now been officially acknowlwithdrawn to the sidelines to edged through the mouth of Masuck his pipe in silence. Indeed, lenkov. it can be said without any fear of In his speech he admitted exaggeration that the gravity of that there was a "lag" in "sevany given crisis may be partly gauged by the duration of Stalin's silences.

But this is the first time that as building material and lum- February 17). ber"; that production costs have

characterization of Stalin's rule: The Reign of Dirt!

Pravda, in commenting on Maenkov's speech wrote: "In eight industrial People's Commissariats 33,000 machine tools stood idle. At 7,629 enterprises, 170,000 electric motors were not mounted. The cement industry last year worked only at 64 percent of its capacity." (Daily Worker, Feb-

Malenkov denounced so many People's Commissariats and Commissars as to make it obvious, in this case as in all others, that

"many" really means all. As if to prove this, he referred in his speech to the breakdown

of the railways and of water transport. They have "failed to keep up to schedule in loadings eral key industries"; that output of ores, petroleum, wheat, salt, had decreased "in such industries wood and coal." (N. Y. Times,

FAMINE IN SIBERIA

How Their Own Lies Expose the Liars

Stalin always tries to represent his regime as an idyllic march of progress: successes pile up gradually and steadily. The Kremlin marches from one victory to the next. What do a few purges, "shortcomings," murders, etc. matter, as against such a background?

On February 17, the Daily Worker carried under a Moscow dateline a version of Malenkov's speech obviously designed to gull idiots and infants. We quote the most imposing section:

"In 1938 the capital investments ... constituted 22.3 billion ubles; in 1939, 25.03 billion rubles; in 1940, 27.7 billion rubles" (Daily Worker, February 17). Verily, the march of billions!

Let us confront these liars with their own lies: The official Soviet figure for capital investments in the year 1936 is given as 32 billion roubles.

So that, according to their own figures, in 1938 almost 10 billion rubles less was invested than in 1936; in 1939, almost seven billion less; in 1940, 4.3 billion less. In other words, in the last three years, ----on the "threshold of communism!"---industry has been expanding at a rate far below that during the Second Five Year Plan, namely in 1936.

will appoint special agents ("secretaries") to enforce the new "law and order" to the letter. If so much is admitted officially what must be the real situa-

tion in the Soviet Union? Why has the Daily Worker statement, he did not know that carried no news at all of the pre Conference "discussion"?

Why does the Daily Worker in sist on lying about Malenkov's report? Why does it claim that "every passing year sees an enormous increase in the gross industrial output"? How could industrial output increase with "every passing year"

under a top-heavy bureaucracy, under "armchair administrators," 'buck-passers" etc? No real defender of the Soviet Union would seek to cover up led itself in my country?

the crimes of Stalinism which are

mine declared: "When I read in his 'letter' to his wife the statement, 'I

think my sins are big,' I was very much astonished that there did not follow afterwards: 'Long live Stalin!'" (At the time Barmine made this

the complete text of that "letter" told Krivitsky's wife: "Good friends will help you, but not enemies of the Soviet people.")

WHEN BARMINE BROKE

Committee of Inquiry into the It would have been to betray the Moscow Trials on December 1, cause of socialism to which I have 1937. The Moscow Trials, he de- devoted my entire life.

In other words, Stalin's G.P.U.

the Kremlin Dictator has public ly abdicated his leading role in a Party Conference. "The attention of the whole party," cynically writes Pravda, "and all the Soviet people centers on the Conference." (Daily Worker, Feb.ruary 18). And yet a nonentity takes the floor on the main business before this all-important Conference, while the "General Secretary" sits mum on the Presidium! Why?

• The crisis in the Soviet Union must be very grave indeed if Stalin chooses not to talk. Malenkov's speech alone bears this out to the hilt.

Still more, the crisis is so grave that Stalin is no longer able to rule through the party, as the depots, harbor and railroad iet life. The party has been the same Malenkov, a "reign of shoved aside. Any nonentity may dirt." Many a scoundrel somenow address it with the voice of | times utters the truth, even if authority. Again, this is cor- unintentionally. We accent this

increased, and therefore the productivity of labor has fallen, in such industries as "oil, paper and timber." (N. Y. Times. Feb. 17). There is a "backwardness," declared Malenkov, in "coal, oil and textile industries in the transport. Urals, the Don, Kharkoff, Gorki, Yaroslav, Stalingrad, and Dniepropetrovsk districts." If the editors of the Daily Worker or the

Dean of Canterbury were asked to call the roll of the most im-13).portant industrial areas of the Union, they would have to repeat Malenkov's list of backward areas.

"REIGN OF DIRT" comings." In Soviet "enterprises, shops,

Walter Duranty was permitted by the Moscow. censors to cable news of serious food shortages, i.e. famine in Siberia, one of the "The Russians," wrote Duranty, passing, blamed for slowing down

"also need something else for their great Siberian 'empire,' livered before Joseph Stalin." food. It is all a matter of trans- | (N. Y. Times, Feb. 17). portation." (N. Y. Times, Feb.

and is in progress. The party Even the Daily Worker, which was brazen enough to represent apparatus is "top-heavy." Party Malenkov's report as a picture of functionaries are being purged as "bureaucrats," "armchair adminglowing progress, had to admit that he "spoke mainly of short- | istrators," "buck-passers," "chatterboxes," etc. etc.

Small wonder, that Stalin preavowed dominant force in Sov- works" there was, according to ferred, apart from all other con- Worker unwittingly announced siderations, not to have these that not less than one-fifth of "shortcomings" entered into pub- | the incumbent Central Committee would be lopped off at this lic record under his own name. The grave crisis in Soviet econ- Conference. "The All Union Con-

JUST OFF THE PRESS The Assassination of Leon Trotsky

THE PROOFS OF STALIN'S GUILT

Albert Goldman

By

Counsel for Leon Trotsky during the Investigation of the Moscow Trials Counsel for Natalia Sedoff Trotsky in the Trial of the G P U Assassin

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The levels already attained years ago have not been reached by the fourth year of the Third Five Year Plan. What bankrupts!

great granaries of the Soviet omy is blamed, as usual, on ference," reads the dispatch from Union, due to the breakdown of scapegoats. "A violent attack on Moscow, "has the special right cow. top-heavy bureaucracy and buckof replacing individual members of the Central Committee... Soviet industrial output was de-

> Feb. 15). The world thus learns that a vast purge of the party has been promoting new capable workers

On February 15 the Daily

more mass purges would take delegates" at this Conference place. All the more reason for could not be more than 225. keeping quiet in 1941.

the party has been divested of mittee (alias Stalin) "gave one authority not only in the Army, additional regular mandate to 125 but in the sphere of economy. city committees . . . to 30 Party

Malenkov demanded, among organizations in railways and to Leader, weekly publication of the found nothing amiss there. other measures, "undivided and 27 Party organizations in the Federation, were ransacked last unchallenged authority for industrial managers and foremen." | Worker, December 21, 1940. Our | And to make doubly certain that | emphasis).

this authority is not infringed The flimsy pretext under which upon, he announced as "contemp- Stalin violated-not for the first lated" the following organiza- time!-his own statutes reads as any money or valuables taken. tional "reform": In all "indus- follows: "In view of the fact that The raiders simply made a systemtrialized cities, districts and re- the main question before the Conatic search of all papers, files and

publics" the City and District ference is the work of Party ordocuments in the offices. But they Party Committees, that is the ganizations in industry and transleft empty handed. bureaucratic tops, will henceforth | port therefore" it is permissible The raiders left clear indicaappoint special secretaries "to to appoint almost as many additions of their purpose. They were direct the party organizations of *tional* "regular mandates" as there each industrial branch, and sim- might be "regular delegates." If documents. All desks, drawers, ilarly... in railway and water that is not packing a Conference iles and cabinets, as well as a

transport" (Pravda, February in accordance with the best "delocked safe in the SDF office, had mocratic" traditions, what is it? been opened and their contents

Who Belongs to the Russian Party?

"In one of the old factories of Presnaya, where more than 1,300 workers are employed, the party organization consists of 119," complained Pravda on July 24, 1940.

Red Presnaya was one of the oldest traditional strongholds of the Bolshevik party under Lenin, even in the days of the Czar. Under Stalin, less than 10 percent of the total labor force is enrolled in the party, twenty three years after the October revolution.

The "10 percent" just about covers all the bureaucrats in the factory. This "ten percent" is composed of the self-same people whom Stalin has been purging of late as "scroundrels who eat the bread that they haven't earned" (darmoyedniki) and scoundrels who do nothing" (bezdelniki)-if they happen to be trade union functionaries; and as "armchair administrators," "buck-passers," "chatterers" etcetera-if they happen to be party functionaries.

Every thinking worker must ask behalf at least of those - my ers. This consideration could not himself why the Stalinists in chiefs and companions, all old modify in any way my line of con-America are compelled to cover | Bolsheviks-of them who are still duct."

Only a few days after Barmine's up G.P.U. lies and murders not perhaps living, and against the only in Washington but in Mos- false and ignoble accusations. I break with Stalin came that of am thinking of my friends re- Krivitsky, for which the latter

When the Daily Worker first maining at their posts in other has now paid with his life. Only printed the call for the Eighteenth countries of Europe, Asia or three months before that, the man though the number so replaced Party Conference, it proudly an- America, threatened daily with a who, after twenty years of servmust not exceed one-fifth of the nounced that all Party organiza- similar fate and placed before the ice to the USSR, had preceded total number." (Daily Worker, tions having more than 10,000 tragic dilemma: go back to cer- Krivitsky and Barmine in breakmembers would be represented by tain death, or, renouncing seeing ing with Stalin-Ignace Reiss-

To replace the victims, Malen- "one regular delegate per 10,000 their country again, to risk the had been found riddled with makov demanded "hard-headed" ex- | Party members" (Daily Worker, ecutives and called for "boldly | December 21, 1940).

The membership of the C.P.S.U. with initiative." In 1939 at the was officially given, in August "Thieves" Break Into last Party Congress Stalin made 1940 as almost 2 1 4 million. a pledge to the Party that no Therefore, the number of "regular "New Leader" Office

However Stalin made a "spe-But in addition to being purged | cial" provision. The Central Com-

The offices of the Social Demo-|and editorial offices of the New cratic Federation and the New Leader on the fourth floor, but

Both offices are located in the New Leader offices, but found ev-Rand School building, 7 East 15th erything in order. The next morn-Street, New York City.

been raided.

Trained hands were apparent in the manner in which entrance into the locked offices and building had been made, as well as in the skillful fashion in which eeking written matter, letters or locked desks and a safe were opened.

> What type of letters and documents were the clandestine searchers after to resort to such

carefully examined. desperate expedients? Not any or-Representatives of the New Leader informed this reporter dinary records or letters which that nothing of any consequence might be found in the offices of was stolen. A few old papers and letters of a completely worthless etters of a completely worthless Social Democrats. character had been taken hapha-

But the intimate ties between zardly from the top of an open pile in the SDF office. This was the murdered Krivitsky and perdone either to provide a false clue sons connected with or friendly as to what the raiders were after, to the SDF and the New Leader, or as possible evidence which the might have led the murder gang agents might show their super- to fear their possible possession iors to prove they had carried out of posthumous letters or documents of Krivitsky. their assigned task.

The first raid was made early Professional burglars, possess-Sunday afternoon upon the offices ing the skill with which this job of the SDF, on the second floor was done, would use their talents of the Rand School. The discovery on much more profitable enterof the raid was made by the build- prises than breaking into the ofing superintendent. He hastened fices of a minor political party to make a survey of the business and a small paper.

At 12:30 A. M., the building ports, sea and river fleets." (Daily Sunday in two separate raids. superintendent again checked the

ing, however, a staff member of No property was damaged, nor the paper entered the editorial office to find that the office had

THE MILITANT

The Negro And The U.S. Army

What Is Happening Now Is A Repetition Of What Happened In 1917---

Once again the colored people of America are being exhorted to join the "war for democracy." Once again vague promises are being made them that "after the war" they will be rewarded if they behave now. Negro "leaders", like the Judas Goats that lead cattle to the slaughter, are urging their people to join the war party, and are under-writing the promises of the white rulers.

Once again-for all this is like seeing a very rotten moving picture over again. It all happened in 1917-1918. What the promises of white rulers and Negro "leaders" are worth, what the colored worker-soldiers face in the armed forces, can be accurately judged by recalling the Negro's experiences during the last war. That is what Eugene Varlin has done in this important series of articles which we begin with this issue.-EDITORS.

* * *

By EUGENE VARLIN

When Wilson plunged the United States into a war "to save the world for democracy" in 1917, democracy at home was in a pretty poor state. There lived in this country nearly twelve million Negroes-disfranchised politically, condemned to drudge in the most menial occupations at long hours for low pay. They lived in city ghettos and in ramshackle country shacks, deprived for the most part, of even meager educational opportunities, segregated and persecuted. Wilson's new crusade did not end the miserable conditions of the twentieth century serfs; it aggravated them. "At the outbreak of the war with Germany," wrote Emmett J. Scott, "there seemed to be in America an epidemic of racial disturbances, such as friction due to the rapid emigration of Negro labor from the South to the North, lynchings of Negro men and women in a number of states, etc....

The ruling class displayed widespread anxiety on the attitude of the Negro to the war.

On April 7, 1917, Scott wrote Julius Rosenwald, a member of the National Defense Board, that "throughout the South there is considerable

appreliension at this time as to whether or not the Negro people are going to remain loyal to the country in this crisis." He hastened to add. "There need be no fears on this score." * This was undoubtedly true as far as Scott was concerned. In reality, however, the Negro people were divided on the question of the war. In May, 1918, Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, stated that "some people have ventured the suggestion that this crisis is an opportune time for the Negro to demand 'his rights.'" Unfortunately, only a small minority among the Negro leaders held this point of view. It found its greatest expression not in speeches, nor in editorials, but, rather, in the great struggles of the Negro masses during the war. This was the program to which they turned instinctively.

The overwhelming majority of the Negro people have no stake whatsoever in the existing capitalist society. A small group, however, has managed to carve a fairly comfortable niche for itself within the prevailing order. Its economic position binds it to bourgeois society. This group of "leaders," by virtue of its education and its economic weight, occupies the Key positions in the Negro press, the Negro organizations, the Negro schools. This group of "leaders" supported the war and dragged the reluctant Negro masses in its wake. "Without advice or counsel from any organized body, official or otherwise," Moton boasted, "the educated Negroes, professional and business men and educators generally, showed themselves as loyal and patriotic as any other Americans, and not only counseled their people to be loyal, but urged them to avoid loose expressions even in jest which might lead others to misunderstand. Not only so, but they urged their people to raise food, to buy Liberty Bonds, to respond

* Scott, Emmett J .-- "The American Negro in the World War"-Washington, 1920. This was the "official history" of the Negro in the World War, written by the Secretary of War's Negro advisor.

to every other demand of the Government, and to serve along any lines that would help in the struggle that was being fought for humanity."

These petty-bourgeois and bourgeois Negroes were closer in their outlook to the white bourgeoisie than to their oppressed brothers. Thus Scott could write: "Whenever a THOROUGHLY EDUCATED WHITE MAN meets the EDUCATED TYPE AND BETTER CLASS OF NEGRO MEN the differences connected with the so-called Race Problem are reduced to minimum." (His emphasis.) Hidden in these words of an "educated" Negro is a vast contempt for his oppressed "uneducated" people.

The "better class" Negro urged his people to forget that the same class which had oppressed them and continued to oppress them was at the helm of the war government. He declaimed that the war was not "a white man's war, nor a black man's war, but a war of all the peoples living under the Stars and Stripes for the preservation of human liberties throughout the world." He conceded that the Negro in the United States "does labor under certain handicaps and injustices," but asked the Negro people to rise above these "handicaps and injustices in the face of the national emergency and need."

So the Negro was to fight for liberty in the rest of the world and to tolerate tyranny at home. Once the war was over, the lot of the Negro would be alleviated. Having seen that the Negroes had served their country loyally and unquestioningly, the powers that be would of their own free will emancipate the Negro people. "When through the discipline which it (the world) is now undergoing, it is stripped of arrogance, selfishness. and greed," said Moton, " . . . then we shall have a real democracy in America . . . War is teaching us that we are inseparably linked here in America. Races, creeds, colors, and classes all have their interests interrelated and interdependent . . . '

While Moton and his kind were spouting such fables, the Negro masses were finding all their

old grievances existing, in even sharper form within the "democratic" army and navy. In the navy, they found themselves used only as waiters and lackeys. In the army they found themselves segregated, and given the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs.

As the resentment of the Negroes grew, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker appointed Emmet J. Scott as his Special Assistant on Negro matters, thus trying to make the colored masses think they had a defender at court. What actually happened may be told in Scott's words: "It was not possible to accomplish even a small proportion of favorable results in all the matters which arose; and . . . in many instances the full measure of justice was not accorded Negro soldiers, sailors, and civilians; it yet remains a fact that during the whole period of the war the office of Special Assistant continued to urge a program of One Hundred Per Cent Americanism.' help maintain a healthy morale among the Negro whose loyalty was so sorely tried during the war. In cooperation with the Committee of Public Information, he conducted a systematic campaign of publicity . . . which kept the colored people and the country at large fully informed . . . especially ence to opportunities offered and treatment accorded colored soldiers. This campaign did much to reassure the colored soldier, to maintain the morale of colored Americans generally, and to utilize their efforts toward winning the war."

necessary to "reassure" them? How "reassuring" day, was ended this week-end percent." did it actually prove?

(The second article in this important series will appear in the next issue.)



FEBRUARY 22, 1941

This chart shows how many days each average worker lost through injury and illness as compared to days lost through strikes. How about cracking down on the system that causes the real bottleneck !

"One of the most important functions of the Special Assistant to the Secretary of War was to soldiers and the twelve million colored Americans whose loyalty was so sorely tried during the war

Widespread Use of "Quickie" Strikes Shows as to the attitude of the Department with refer. Steel Workers Are Getting Ready For Action

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Feb. 17. | izing Committee (CIO), which -A strike of over 1,000 workers called the strike, stated that as in the Youngstown Sheet and a result of this militant action Tube Company and its subsidiary, "80 percent of the grievances have Why was the morale of the colored soldiers Youngstown Metal Products Com- been cleared up and arrangements "sorely tried"? Why was a "publicity campaign" pany, which was called last Fri- made for handling the other 20

when the company agreed to set. tle many of the long-standing grievances of the men immediately, and to settle the remainder of unsettled grievances before a federal negotiator at the end of this month. The strike was called when the

workers, since Wednesday.

ublic plant. workers in the open-hearth The quickie" tactic seems to be and conditioning departments of gaining headway, and its increas-Sheet and Tube became fed up with the continued refusal of the ing use by the steel workers is management to adjust a rapidly a sign of the growing ferment mounting 'back-log' of grievances. and desire for action. A two-day Picket lines were formed before 'quickie' was pulled two weeks ago two main entrances of the plant at the Macdonald plant of U.S. to halt the afternoon shift from Steel, despite the opposition of going into the struck departments. Workers from other departments the organizer who spoke against were permitted to pass the line on the strike in the name of "nashowing a paid-up union card. tional defense." Another strike, A similar walk-out had been in that of the Vanadium plant workprogress at the Youngstown Metal

Products Company, employing 250 ers at Browersville, Pa., was ended recently only after the regional While only 650 men were didirector of the SWOC attacked the

> These mounting strike actions in the steel industry here and elsewhere indicate the growing



By DON DORE

The du Pont Family, ninth on the list of America's Sixty Families, has enjoyed two blessed events this month. The joyous financial section of the New York Times.

On February 1, E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Co., chief holding of the famous "Dynasty of Death," announced a net profit for 1940 of \$86,945,173, after deductions for depreciation, interest payments and all taxes. An additional \$10,000,000 was set aside as a "special contingency" fund, which brings the for a new smokeless powder plant eral hundred people. But the basic profits to almost \$97,000,000. This betters, despite increased federal taxes, the figure for 1939 of \$93,218,664. And America is this which has earned for the 000, on a cost-plus fixed-fee basis. hasn't officially entered the war du Pont family the title, the "Dyn-

asty of Death."

building of the plant at a cost- The Delaware Tax Commissioner | ent biographer, the heads of the | had to discontinue the count beplus basis, entailing a huge profit is Pierre du Font. Most of the dynasty had to forbid more in- fore it was well under way. in itself. After the war, the plant newspapers in the state are own- breeding in recent years. In 1937, occasions were not announced by Walter Winchell, but in the was sold to the Nashville Indus- ed, directly or indirectly, by the Ethel du Pont, daughter of Eu- sonal servants to cater to their trial Corporation for \$3,500,000. du Ponts, who run the press like gene du Pont, made the first fam- every want than the Royal Family

Among several construction con- The original du Pont fortune fortunes, when she married Frank- the King's Own Life Guards. tracts recently awarded E. I. du goes back some six generations. In D. Roosevelt, Jr. Pont de Nemours and Company Thus the family has many by the War Department, is one branches today, and numbers sev- all their wealth? They have man- handful of all-powerful families to be located at Childersberg, Ala- fortune remains in the control personal possessions than any tiny of the entire nation, is sufbama, in the amount of \$47,997,- of about one dozen.

The du Pont dynasty controls | ily, it has managed to keep its | yachts, more pipe organs, more | present war is being fought. And | of 11 open hearth furnaces and yet.In addition to this tidy sum the
Family, it was announced on Feb.During recent years, the pressthe entire state of Delaware and
agents of the du Ponts have at-
tempted to build up an elaboratethe entire state of Delaware and
agents of the du Ponts have at-
tempted to build up an elaboratethe entire state of Delaware and
by in-breeding marriages. In fact,
the marriages of first cousins
tempted to build up an elaboratethe entire state of Delaware and
by in-breeding marriages. In fact,
the marriages of first cousins
tempted to build up an elaboratethe organizer
tempted to build up an elaboratethe vertex
tempted to build up an elaborateth the entire state of Delaware and wealth all together. This was done swimming pools and more bath the workers will continue to suf. the stoppage of steel ingots from

The du Ponts have more per-Now history is repeating itself. a department of their corporation. ily tie with one of the old landed of Great Britain, not excluding This brief examination of the

What do the du Ponts do with "Dynasty of Death," one of that aged to accumulate with it more who control the wealth and desother single family in the world. ficient to demonstrate for whom rectly involved in the Sheet and supported the com-Despite the growth of the fam- They have more estates, more the last war was fought, and the Tube walk-out, the shutting down pany.

This strike is but the latest and biggest of the many "quickie"

"QUICKIE" TACTIC

stoppages which the Sheet and Tube workers have resorted to in recent weeks. Similar walk-outs have occurred at the hated Rep-

cent out of the 1940 net "earnings" of General Motors, which amounted to \$195,500,000, comparfor 1939.

SHARE AND SHARE ALIKE WITH THE WORKERS

I. du Pont de Nemours and Co., products have sustained the du most of which goes to the du Pont Ponts rather well through "lean" Family, compares with a total years of peace. wage and salary bill of \$129,-

600,000 paid out by the company the billion dollar class was war. in 1940 to 81,000 employes. If the amount of this wage and salary fund is reduced by what was paid to high salaried company executives and officials, it is seen that the du Ponts took approximately \$1 in profits for every \$1 naid to the du Pont workers.

From General Motors, the du Ponts will get an estimated \$50,-000.000 income for 1940. And this, with the earnings from their munitions and chemical works, plus millions from scores of subsidiary companies and partial holdings; plus millions in huge bonuses and salaries as corporation executives, had a gross revenue of \$25,179,948. Pont Family.

The announcement of the huge of \$329.121.608 for 1918. The nearciple and interest on \$100 apiece war.

"savings fund" in 1935.

But General Motors is just a Ponts. Their real personal fortune, estimated at well over a billion dollars, has come mainly

WHY IT'S CALLED "DYNASTY OF DEATH"

rate conspiracy in which the du The du Pont de Nemours clan, Ponts were heavily involved. "Armorers to the Republic," grew They organized a scheme to cornfat on every war in which the er the sale of nitrates to the gov common people fought and died ernment, and to get the governsince the beginning of the nine- ment to buy American nitrates. after the war started, Chiang realized that his teenth century. War is the busi- although there was a cheap and position had been flanked. ness of the duPonts. But they abundant supply of Chilean uit never wasted any time on battle- rate.

fields. They have merely provided, And although it was entirely at a profit, the bullets, shells and unnecessary, the du Ponts for inhigh explosives for the conduct of stance, were given \$90,000,000 by wars. They have transmuted the the government to build a nitrate blood of the war dead and wound- plant at Old Hickory, Tennessee. ed into dollars and cents. And it The du Ponts contracted for the region. His demand became all the more urgent

fiction to the effect that the du Pont fortune is based only incidentally on war profits. They ed with the \$183,290,222 earnings point to the far-flung purely peacetime commercial enterprises , of the du Pont company, paints, dyes, fertilizers, and a hundred

other chemical products, like ny-The \$96,000,000 earnings of E. | lon, etc. And it is true that these

But what put the du Ponts in At the end of 1913, the total assets of E. I. du Pont de Nem-

ours and Co. were \$74,817,826. By the end of 1918, these assets had of war profits which went to swell the private estates of the various du Ponts, there were still enough profits left to reinvest back into

the company at a rate which increased the company's assets over 100 percent each year for four years. In 1914, the du Pont company

plus hidden profits. adds up to For the years 1915 through 1918 was \$261.000,000, reaching a peak

General Motors profit was "soft- ly \$100,000,000 net profit of the ened" by an additional statement du Pont company for 1940 indithat the company was going to cates a gross revenue, for the first pay out \$12,500,000 in "bonuses" vear of the current war, which And so they damp down the struggle and do their to its employes. It turns out that is already equal to or greater than this "bonus" is really the prin- that of the best period of the last selves off from their mass base. No wonder

which the company induced 35, CORRUPTION FLOURISHES 000 G. M. workers to put into a WHERE DU PONTS ARE

The innumerable corrupt and profitable side line for the du du Ponts massed their titanic war government, was exposed after the last war by a three year investi-

One choice example was the nit-

Events Leading to the Clash

More than a year ago he demanded that this force should transfer to the northwest, there to amalgamate with the Eighth Route Army. Chiang wanted all the Stalinist forces centered in one

schools and roads in Delaware, among the du Ponts became so was able to count 723 bathrooms the du Ponts is broken for good The organizer for Lodge No. desire for decisive action against collect all the taxes, run the state. | frequent, that, according to a rec- on various du Pont estates, but | and all. 1462 of the Steel Workers Organ. the steel profiteers.

Chiang Kai-shek And The Stalinists

Chiang Oppresses Masses Regardless Of Consequences To The War Against Japan

(This is the second of two articles on Chiang Kai-shek's slaughter of the New Fourth Army.)

By LI FU-JEN

The leaders of the Chinese Stalinists are least grown to \$308,846.297. Despite the of all to blame for the renewed activity of the hundreds of millions of dollars peasants in central China which led to the recent attack upon, and the disarming of, the Stalinistcontrolled New Fourth Army.

They are as impotent to halt the class struggle in China as they are in any other country. The debt-laden, poverty-stricken peasants will seize the land wherever they see an opportunity of doing so. They still associate the Communist Party with the agrarian revolution and the expropriation of the landowners. Who can blame them now for disavowing in practice well over \$200,000,000 for the du the average annual gross revenue the desertion of the class struggle by their Stalinist leaders?

The Stalinist leaders, for their part, cannot lead the peasant struggle. The "united front" with Chiang Kai-shek comes before everything. best to extinguish it. In this way, they cut them-Chiang experienced no difficulty in killing 4,000 New Fourth Army soldiers, disarming the rest, and arresting their commander!

Peasant activity to the rear of Shanghai is thievish practices by which the not the whole explanation for Chiang's attack on the New Fourth Army. Chiang has always fortune, in connivance with the felt uneasy in the Stalinist embrace. When he made his pact with the C.P. in 1937, before war from their first and greatest love, gation of the Graham Committee armies, free from attack, would be able to enlarge their territories and might grow into really formidable opponents. The Eighth Route Army, main Stalinist force, was virtually bottled up in the northwest and was not then considered a very serious menace. But when the New Fourth Army was established to the rear of Shanghai soon

when talk arose of a pact between Russia and Japan. After battles had occurred between provincial Kuomintang troops and the Eighth Route Army, which has been continually enlarging its territory, Stalin cut off the stream of military supplies that had been flowing to Chiang, thereby serving notice on Chiang that he was displeased with the latter's attitude toward the Chinese Stalinists. Chiang, as yet unready for a real showdown and hoping to continue getting Russian supplies until America should come through with more decisive aid, agreed to a compromise. No move was made against the New Fourth Army.

Matters finally came to a head when Washington advanced sizeable loans to China and intensified its diplomatic pressure against Japan, at the same time stepping up its war preparations in the Pacific. Feeling confident now that Moscow's material aid in the war with Japan could be dispensed with if necessary, Chilang delivered his final ultimatum to the New Fourth Army and followed with swift action which took the Stalinists almost completely unawares. Rumors of a Soviet-Japanese pact had revived. Chiang was determined to get rid of the menace on his flank in case Stalin and his Chinese henchmen should execute a sudden flip-flop into the camp of Japanese imperialism. He has succeeded.

As the Stalinists place their miserable "united front" with Chiang above the considerations of the class struggle, so Chiang places his interests, and those of the exploiting class which he represents, above the interests of the struggle with Japan. If Browder is to be believed-and it would seem that in this case he told the truth-the Kuomintang armies came into the area held by the New Fourth Army "in agreement and apparent collaboration with the Japanese forces. They had no collisions with the Japanese. Whenthey had completed their first attack, they then stood aside and looked on while the Japanese took up the battle to smash the Fourth Army. When the fighting was over, the Japanese and Wang Ching-wei (head of the puppet gov't in Nanking) had regained the territory won by the valor and genius of Yeh Ting and his associates. And the national unity of China which had held back the Japanese invaders for more than four years had been given a shattering blow!"

When Browder speaks of "national unity," he is referring, of course, to the unprincipled political bloc between the Chinese Communist Party and Chiang Kai-shek. Stifling the initiative of the masses, this bloc, instead of holding back the Japanese invaders, has enormously facilitated their task, for it has served to fortify the Kuomintang regime against the masses and to keep the direction and leadership of the war against Japan in the hands of the reactionary ruling class which, as in the case of the Republican bourgeoisie of Spain, was bound to sabotage the struggle. A passive military strategy throughout (which reflected Chiang's fear of the masses and of potential military challengers to his own clique rule), graft and corruption in all the ruling circles, an endless list of crimes against the army brought the war to the present stalemate.

On all these scores, the Chinese Stalinist leaders have maintained an unbroken silence. Only now does Browder find it possible to refer-and then without naming the criminals-to the "corruption and incapacity of the ruling generals," as if this were a new and sudden development. A question is in order: If the ruling generals (and Chiang Kai-shek surely comes within this category) are corrupt and incapable, how can a bloc with them possibly serve the interests of China's struggle against Japanese imperialism? We may be told that there are "good" generals and "bad" generals, just as the Stalinists once discovered "good" (democratic) imperialists and "bad" (fascist or nazi) imperialists. Then let Browder put one label or the other on Chiang in the light of recent developments. For there is no question but that Chiang himself attacked and destroyed the anti-Japanese New Fourth Army.

The Lie of "National Unity"

"National unity" is a fiction in all countries where there is a class society. There can be no unity between the exploited and the exploiters. If the party of the oppressed masses (which is what the Chinese Communist Party claims to be) enters into a "united front" with the party or parties of the ruling class, and drops its own revolutionary program in order to do so, this means its subordination to the ruling class party and the subordination of the interests of the masses to those of their exploiters and oppressors. In

the language of the revolutionary movement, such a policy is one of outright treachery to the masses, and, in the case of a backward semi-colonial country like China, treachery to the struggle for national liberation from imperialism. For the ruling class, as T. V. Soong's explanation for the attack on the New Fourth Army shows with crystal clarity, places its class interests first. Chiang and his class backers will sabotage the struggle against Japan a thousand times before yielding an inch to the interests of the popular masses.

3

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Although the attack on the New Fourth Army (using Browder's own words) has been a "shattering blow" to China's "national unity," the. Stalinists, as is their custom, have gone crawling on all fours before the hangman of the Chinese revolution, have knuckled under, determined to continue their fatal class-collaborationist policy to the very end. It is necessary to expose this miserable clique of political bankrupts before the broad masses, to reveal the fatal character of their alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, to urge forward the independent movement of the masses under the leadership of the Chinese section of the Fourth International. Only thus will it be possible to drive forward to victory against Japan and all the other imperialist freebooters, to the social liberation of the Chinese people.

Today Chiang attacks the Stalinist-led peasant armies, thereby aiding the Japanese imperialists. Tomorrow, when war breaks out between Japan and the United States, Chiang will draw closer to his imperialist masters in Washington and will seek to subordinate China's struggle against Japan to the interests and war aims of dollar imperialism. , Will the Chinese Stalinists then maintain their unprincipled bloc with Chiang in the name of continued "national unity" against Japan, or will they openly break with him? A break is more than likely if Stalin remains subservient to the Nazi war bloc. Belatedly it will be "discovered" that Chiang is the tool of American imperialism. Will this signify return to an independent revolutionary policy by the Chinese Stalinist leaders? Not at all. They will remain agents of Stalin, serving his counter-revolutionary aims. They will continue to deceive and disorient the Chinese masses. They will continue to be the stranglers of the Chinese revolution.

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ALBERT GOLDMAN

What the CIO leaders are doing, under the powers against the workers.

NO UNION LEADERS IN CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT POSTS. That should become the slogan of all the members of all the unions-CIO,

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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THE MILITANT

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

6

VOL. V-No. 8

FELIX MORROW

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
- 2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
- 3. Confiscation of all war profits-all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
- 4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
- 6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces-Down with Jim' Crowism.
- 7. An end to secret diplomacy.
- 8: A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

AT HOME:

For:

- I. A job and decent living for every worker.
- 2. Thirty-thirty-\$30 weekly minimum wage-30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
- 3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
- 4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
- 5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
- 7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

It Was A Sham Battle

Why had he attacked the Administration's

a a tha mart of the union movement!

But even that's not enough, it appears. Murray and the other CIO top leaders don't feel they have enough power to crack down on "illegal" strikes with sufficient force. They want governmental posts, so that they can do the job even more efficaciously.

No wonder Kiplinger's Washington Letter finds Murray's plan so worthy of note.

The great masses of the CIO should also find it of note-in order to fight it tooth and nail.

pressure of the war machine, is vicious enough now. They must be prevented from entering the government and thereby doubling their punitive

AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods.

Browder And Bridges

Two leading representatives of Stalinist politics in America, Earl Browder and Harry Bridges, have become the target of an intensive attack on the part of the capitalist government. Earl Browder faces a \$2,000 fine and four years in prison. Harry Bridges again faces deportation proceedings in San Francisco.

The attack on these two men can be viewed only as part of the widespread offensive of the capitalist class against the labor movement.

It is doubtful that the FBI can prove that Harry Bridges is actually a member of the Communist Party. As for Browder there is no doubt that the technical violation in obtaining a passport of which he was accused is a flimsy pretext against him. The legal aspects of the two cases are not the point at issue. In the period of the People's Front, when the Stalinists sang the Star Spangled Banner and placed their influence behind Roosevelt, Browder and Bridges were not touched. If that period were still going on, they would never have been hauled up as they have been.

It would be a serious mistake for militant workers to permit their well-justified hatred of Stalinism to blind them to the class lines which are clearly drawn in the cases of Earl Browder and Harry Bridges. It can only harm and weaken the labor movement to permit the capitalists to attack any section of labor. It is labor's duty to clean its own house. This job cannot be farmed out to the class enemy under any condition. If the capitalists get away unscathed with their attack on Browder and Bridges, then they will proceed further with their offensive.

The capitalists are very skillful in picking their openings in their attacks on labor. They choose as targets for their opening barrages those who are most discredited and hated by the workers themselves. They have calculated that the workers will be slow to rally in defense of the Stalinists.

But precisely because of this it is necessary to overcome our revulsion and to defend the Stalinists against the offensive of the bosses. In so doing we are in reality providing the best defense for the labor movement and at the same time making it really possible for the working class itself to clean out Stalinism.

THE MILITANT

The Crisis With Japan Is Over---For A Minute

Both Sides Have Other More Pressing Business And Seek A Temporary Truce; But The Battle For Empire Is Coming

Japan's program of territorial expansion in the Far East, which began with the conquest of Manchuria nearly ten years ago, has come into irreconcilable conflict with the aims and interests of American imperialism. This fact is openly recognized in both Tokyo and Washington and was underlined by "crisis" developments during the past two weeks. A war in the Pacific is in the offing.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 27 that "long efforts to obtain mutual understanding and cooperation between the United States and Japan had been virtually fruitless." Speaking the day before in the Japanese Diet, Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka made the following pointed declaration: "The time for settling misunderstandings with the Unit-*

ed States through negotiations military establishments of chal has passed. It is useless to talk lenging size are taking shape ir further with the Americans. It the Philippines. Japan, without is not that they cannot under-stand, but that they won't." doubt, has been given to under-stand that a Japanese move on stand that a Japanese move on Referring to President Roos- either Singapore or the East Inevelt and Secretary Hull as "war. dies will precipitate war. The latmongers," Matsuoka declared est move has been the passage by Congress of a huge new apthat these two spokesmen of propriation which provides for American imperialism had "plainthe establishment of naval and ly intimated that Britain is Amerair bases at Guam and Samoa.

ica's first line of defense in the Atlantic, and Australia and New BOTH SIDES SEEK Zealand in the Pacific, thus men-**TEMPORARY TRUCE** acing Japan's position."

WAR MOVES

Each side is still, however, feeling out the other in an effort to WORDS FOLLOWED BY discover if some basis for a tem-

porary reconciliation does not ex These challenges flung across ist. Naturally seeking to avoid the Pacific have been followed by giving battle to its challenger swift moves in the naval and milsimultaneously in the Atlantic itary spheres, leading last week and the Pacific, the American imto open talk of war. In Washingperialists would like to immobil ton and London the belief preize Japan for the time being, un vails that Japan will time an attil Hitler has either won or lost tack on Britain's great Singapore the battle of Britain. Japan, tre fortress to coincide with the exmendously exhausted by three and pected Nazi blitzkrieg against the a half years of war in China, ap British Isles.

proaches war with the Americar Having bullied the administracolossus with extreme trepida ion of French Indo-China into tion.

submission, Japanese troops and Hence, after Hull and Mat marines are pounding the streets suoka, came the conciliatory ton of Saigon, Japanese planes are of the Roosevelt-Nomura ex using the city's airport. At the changes in Washington last week same time. Japanese aviation has Said Nomura, the new Japanes acquired the use of airfields in ambassador to the United States. neighboring Thailand (Siam). 'It is needed now more than ever Units of the Japanese fleet are to bring about a better under patrolling the whole Indo-China standing of each other's position coast, and a powerful Japanese in order to secure the interest naval squadron has been assemb and well-being of our nations led at Hainan Island, off China's thereby preserving the peace of south coast. Thus in the air and the Pacific and maintaining the at sea Japanese imperialism is traditional friendship between poised for a swift descent on Singapore.

Replied Roosevelt: "There are. Singapore would have to be relevelopments in the relations be duced before Japan could seize tween the United States and Jap and hold the fabulous wealthy an which cause concern. I wel Netherlands East Indies, Having come your assurance that, in the already forced the Dutch to make interests of the traditional friend important economic concessions. ship between our two countries Japan is now seeking air bases and of the Japanese peoples, you and naval facilities in the islands. are resolved to do all you can to If Japan should succeed in taking

What Britain Means By "Independence" For Ethiopia

It is just about two years and three months since Britain, by the Anglo-Italian accord of November, 1938, placed its seal of approval on Italy's rape of Ethiopia.

Now the wheel has turned, presumably. The British have recognized Haile Selassie as Ethiopia's ruler, free and independent.

It seems, however, according to Minister Eden, that the Negus has intimated that he would need outside help and guidance in leading the native peoples of Ethiopia against the Italian conquerors; and the British government has, of course, agreed to provide it.

This help and guidance could be not only military, but economic and political. While the present war is in progress, the Emperor's forces would need "temporary" military guidance and control. After the war is over, Eden added, the continuation of this military, economic and political "help" and "guidance" "could be" a matter for "international arrangement."

Lest there arise any misunderstanding later on about Britain's aims in Ethiopia, the British censors permitted the American correspondents in London to elaborate a bit on the "independence" in store for Ethiopia.

Raymond Daniell writes from London for the New York Times, February 5:

"While it is probably true that the British have no desire to incorporate Ethiopia in their commonwealth of nations, they definitely have a stake in its future. Naturally, they do not want the country to remain a part of the Italian colonial empire, and there are reasons to lead this correspondent to believe that they may not wish to see it become completely independent if and when they win the war. That complete independence did not work so well in the past and the British colonies in Africa conceivably would not want to see it tried again after this war."

Just what the "British colonies," which are themselves completely subject to the British government, have to say about this or any other question, the correspondent fails to make clear. But he does make clear the fact that British imperialism does not like any "completely independent" nation so close to its own subject African colonies.

Another London dispatch to the Times of the same date adds:

"There was speculation that Britain, under an arrangement with the Emperor, might establish a British mandate over Ethiopia"

Ah, the White Man's "Burden"

William H. Stoneman, London correspondent for the New York Post, writes, February 4:

"The British state emphatically that they have no territorial aspiration in Ethiopia, but they wish to insure that Ethiopia will be modernized and civilized, and past experience has convinced them that it would be too much to ask Haile Selassie alone to guarantee the speedy realization of that process ...

"There is still some question as to the exact extent of 'Ethiopia' and whether it will include all the territories which are included within the frontiers of the former Ethiopia. There seems to be some tendency to limit the authority of the Amharam dynasty (Haile Selassie's royal line) to those territories inhabited principally by the so-called Ethiopian races-Tigreans, Amharans and Shoans. These races, which

FEBRUARY 22, 1941

foreign policy during the election campaign? Wendell Willkie was asked while he was testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"It was a bit of campaign oratory...," answered Willkie. (Not one of the daily newspapers commented on this.)

Philip Murray's Plan

When Big Business likes what a union leader is doing, it's a good time for the rank and file members of the union to get worried.

On page 1 we quoted a spokesman for Big Business, Kiplinger's Washington Letter, which found one thing especially to its liking in the CIO "Defense Plan" issued by Philip Murray, ClO president: "The Murray plan would put labor chiefs into the government and give them governmental authority which they could use on the unions in cases of strikes and disturbances which are not controllable."

This spokesman for Big Business likes the idea. No wonder. Rather than do the job themselves, the bosses would much rather have Murray, Lewis, Green and the other labor "statesmen" do the dirty work of cracking down on the workers.

Even without holding governmental posts, the CIO tops are cracking, down in numerous instances.

In the United Auto Workers there have recently been two particularly outrageous instances. In Fisher Body in Flint, the UAW international executive board agreed to have 17 men thrown out of the plant, deprived of all seniority and union rights, because of an "illegal" stoppage. In the Hudson plant in Detroit, when a foreman was allegedly thrown out of the plant by union men, the union board agreed to have a group of union members laid off for from four to six months without pay and added this threat: "The union hereby serves notice to all employees for the future that any recurrence of similar situations will not be tolerated or so lightly punished. Any future similar situations will subject the participants to summary dismissal if guilty and they will receive no protection from the union."

Now, the press reports, Anthony Federoff, CIO regional director, has agreed to the outright dismissal of four hundred workers who went on strike a week ago Monday at the Vanadium Corporation plant outside of Pittsburgh.

There's your wartime "leadership" of the trade

IT'S STILL THERE!

... "Whereas, a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit,

"It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

"We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every trade and labor organization in America, organized under the Trade Union System."

From the Preamble of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Bandiera Rossa

We learn an amazing fact from the January, 1941, issue of Left, the British labor monthly: the British censorship did not permit the news to appear in England that Italian prisoners of war in Greece had been singing "Bandiera Rossa." The song of the red flag wasn't news fit to print to the British censors, although the story was considered important enough to receive considerable attention in the American press in December. The first knowledge of the story about "Bandiera Rossa" came when the editors of Left read it in an American paper, the Call.

Sardonically, Left asks editorially:

"But where was the B.B.C.'s (broadcasting) observer, Dimbleby at the fall of Koritza? Is his hearing so selective that he could not pick up the strains of 'Bandiera Rossa'?'

The unwillingness of the "democratic"-some say even "revolutionary"-British government to permit the British working class to know this significant event tells a great deal. It tells what the government's attitude is toward the coming Italian revolution-the British "democrats" will try to suppress it as they suppressed this story of the singing of revolutionary songs by the Italian soldiers. It tells, in a word, that the British government, if successful against its enemies, will then take their place as the hangman and jailer of Europe.

oring about a better understand over these insular possessions of ing.' Dutch imperialism, she would be Earlier, Roosevelt had spoken

in position to strike later at Australia.

counter-moves indicates that all possibility of "compromise" is fast disappearing.

What You'll Get

143 m R-1535387

1.Sgt Det Med Dept.

41 White Ohio 17

Jan 30/14/ 4 pm Station Hosp. It Myon

Guy Shot Wornd OI

AntiTalla isona Mar you

Valler Rent General Huse

A filled-out sample of one of

the 4,500,000 casualty identif-

ication tags recently ordered by

the army-"just a routine

procedure" said the War De-

annot be reconciled, even tem-

porarily. Japan's economic weak-

nesses, the pressing need for raw

materials and markets, drove the

Tokyo imperialists first to the con-

ruest of Manchuria and then to

the war with China. The war

with China, instead of ending in

victory for Japan and a lessening

of her economic difficulties, has

been stalemated for more than

wo years and has produced new

economic difficulties in addition

Caught in this hopeless impasse

rom which retreat has become

mpossible, Japan is driving for

ward to new territorial seizures

The virtual subjugation of

Trench Indo-China and of Thai-

and (apart from its strategic as-

pects) was precipitated by an

cute rice shortage in Japan, both

countries being large producers of

the staple. Roosevelt claps embar-

roes on exports of vital supplies

to Japan, including aviation gas

line. Japan is forced to seek sup-

plies elsewhere and casts covetous

eves on the Dutch Islands, where

oil is produced in abundance. The

growing tempo of these moves and

o accentuating all the old ones.

F.S. anderson, The Corp US as

Head

partment.

Neuman, John

less honeved words at one of his Any reference to Japanese "to press conferences, warning that if Preparing to defend Singapore, talitarianism" explains this comthe United States should get into ing war as little as does reference the British have moved sizeable war in the Far East, it would to the "war for democracy" exmilitary forces to the northern not affect American deliveries of plain the collision between British border of the Malay Peninsula in war material to Britain. The and German imperialism. Oil, anticipation of a Japanese land warning was clearly directed to rice, raw materials, markets and attack by way of Thailand. Japan. The Roosevelt administration is fields for capital investment -The coming weeks are likely these stakes of empire explain the speeding preparations to counter these Japanese plans. The naval to show with each new develop-crisis in the Pacific just as they establishment at Pearl Harbor, ment that the interests of Ameri- are the issue in the Atlantic and Hawaii, is in war trim, aerial and can and Japanese imperialism the Mediterranean.



The war contract scandals of that the senior partner of a big | year man." He did not know he the last war are beginning to be construction firm working on an was getting paid until checks be \$11,000,000 War Department con- gan "dropping into my mail." repeated on a bigger scale. A typical example of the meth- struction contract was a member Blossom is speaking the truth ods being used by the bosses and of the Army's Construction Advi- when he states that he was not government officials in snaring sory Committee, drawing down an interested in his "pay" for the the profitable war order for pre-incidental salary of \$6,500 yearly committee post. He was interested ferred firms, despite "competitive" for steering contracts to his firm. in the \$1,114,700 profit which he Francis Blossom, senior part- would split with his partners. bidding, was brought to light on February 14, when someone spil- ner in the firm of Anderson and The "aroused" committee went led the beans before the "shock- Porter, construction company of into "executive session" - secret ed" House Military Committee New York City, was revealed to meeting - immediately after the

the government.

Draftees Won't Go Home at End of Year, Says General

"I don't think we will be going back to our homes when the year is up," Major General William N. Haskell, commanding the 27th Division, said at the annual banquet of the Anniston (Alabama) Chamber of Commerce, according to an Associated Press dispatch of Feb. 7.

"This is a different kind of war from any we have known before," the General said. "It is total war. We of the Army are in it, you are in, we all are in it. And I don't think we will be going back to our homes when the year is up."

be also a member of the commit- hearing to plan an "investigation" tee which has the job of submit- into the whole system of war con ting names of three contractors tract letting, according to Chair "qualified" to handle a construc- man May of the committee. tion job to the chief of construc-All Blossom is guilty of, accordtion of the Quartermaster Corps. ing to the war profiteers' lights Quite by "accident," it seems, is a little crudity of method. Un-Sanderson and Porter has con- like William K. Knudsen, who tracted, for a "fixed-fee" profit of "resigned" from his executive \$1,114,700, to build a shell-loadpost at the head of General Mo ing plant in Elwood, Illinois. tors before he took the job of run-What aroused the ire of the ning the Office for Production House Military Affairs Commit- Management, Blossom made the tee was not the fact that Blos- mistake of failing to technically som was obviously using his "ad- disassociate himself from his comvisory" position to see to it that pany before taking up his duties his firm was not neglected in the for the government.

war order scramble, but that Blos-Knudsen, and the ex-corporation som was drawing down "two com- executives who work with him, pensations" at the same time from | are perfectly free to look after the interests of Du Ponts, Morgans, Blossom himself testified before etc., to the tune of billions of the committee that he saw "noth- dollars. And that's OK to the coning improper" about his serving gressmen, because they are no on the advisory committee and longer "connected" with their sharing in his firm's fat war pro- corporations.

fits. As a matter of fact, he declared, he did not expect any pay Subscribe to the from his committee post, think-"Fourth International" ing he would be just "a dollar-a-l

live in Tigres, Amhara, Gojam and part of Shoa, constitute about one-third of the population, and their native territories cover one-third of Ethiopia."

So this is the picture. Yet there are so-called Negro leaders who are adducing, as one of their main arguments for supporting Britain, that Britain is going to free Ethiopia!

A Note on Greek War Aims

"British Military Intelligence experts in Albania have sought to get specific declarations from the Greeks on their intentions in Albania after the war, but none has been forthcoming. It is clear from official pronouncements that in case of victory, at least a part of the conquered territory would be kept. Many British leaders would like to arm the Albanians, but some of the tribes dislike the Greeks almost as much as the Italians and might shoot in two directions."-New York Times, Feb. 10.

Says Westbrook Pegler, Hearst's Yellow Kid, in defense of aid for Britain as a fine way to defend the United States: "Is this a sordid viewpoint? You bet it is. Nations, are sordid, and our emotionalism is often a mask for sordidness, although often it comes from the heart." Pegler for once is speaking as an expert.

The British government announced that rationing of horse feed went into effect February 1, but exempted army, agriculture and mining horses, snd those in racing and hunting stables. They still have quite a way to go before rationing for animals is as severe as that for human beings.



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FEBRUARY 22, 1941

THE MILITANT



The LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK MARX. HOW The GPU Murdered Ignace Reiss

The Swiss Police Caught One Of The GPU Agents Involved And Solved The Crime

Beware of Judas Goats!

Under the title, "Beware of Disunity," printed in this week's Pittsburgh Courier. Edward Lawson, managing editor of Opportunity Magazine, has written the most nonsensical and disgusting article that has yet appeared anywhere on the question of the Negro in the present war crisis.

Lawson starts off by quoting a recent statement of the National Urban League: "The Negro must guard against the possibility that, in the excitement of the nation-wide defense program, propagandists for various groups will attempt to stir up trouble between white and colored people."

On this he comments: "Today that possibility is a reality. In the press, on the radio, in countless letters and handbills-and even more often by word of mouth-we are hearing today the cry. 'Let's solve our own problems here in the United States before we presume to interfere in the problems that beset the European nations." He points to recent statements of Dr. Robert Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, Dr. Emmett J. Scott, leading Negro Republican and John P. Davis, executive secretary of the National Negro Congress, to show that each (for different reasons) has advocated this view.

Lawson claims he doesn't want to argue about the truth of their statements about conditions in this country, that he is willing to admit that. "But also," he says in the same breath, such statements "are dangerous." And why? " . . . because they paint for us an illusion . . . that all our problems could be solved in one brief period of readjustment . . . because, by oversimplifying a many-faceted situation, they lead to false hope because in their logical development they would set one race against another, here in America, at a time when we need more than anything else • complete unity of spirit and full co-operation . . . because, intentionally or not, they dovetail neatly into Hitler's technique of propaganda against the democracies, which is divide and move in."

Later he asks. "Could it be that Messrs. Hutchins, Scott, Davis, et al, are helping him (Hitler) to do this little job?"

The other little nugget in this treacherous article of Lawson's is the following idea:

"If America were a totalitarian state, and if the dictator were sympathetic and fair-minded in his attitude toward minority groups, everything the Negro now desires could be accomplished overnight, by one stroke of the dictator's pen, or one sweep of his sword.

"Because America is a Democracy, the changes which we all desire for the betterment of our lives must come gradually, through what we call the Democratic process.

"Those who would substitute some other process should first be required to demonstrate that their method would be more advantageous to us than the one we already have."

3

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Now we do not mention all this because we are particularly interested in defending any of the three men whom Lawson attacks. Hutchins. is an isolationist who never before showed any interest in the Negro's problems. Scott is a Republican, seeking to make political capital among the Negroes for his brand of capitalist politics. Davis is a Stalinist, interested in winning support among Negroes for Stalin's foreign policy. With a slight change in the international field, each of these men will drop his interest in the Negro's, problems.

By JOSEPH HANSEN

On September 4, 1937, the Swiss police found the body of a well-dressed man on the Chamblandes road not far from Lausanne. His body was riddled with machine gun slugs. His hand clutched a few strands of grav hair. A Czecho-Slovakian passport in his pocket gave his name as Hans Eberhardt.

This name was already known to the Swiss police. An anonymous denunciation of Eberhardt as a "trafficker in drugs" had been sent previously to police headquarters.

The wife of the victim identified the body. He was Ignace Reiss. He had been a member of the Communist Party of the USSR, a high functionary of the GPU, decorated with the Order of the Red Flag. On June 27 of that year he had broken from the GPU, announced his decision to join the Fourth International, and gone into hiding to escape the GPU killers. The denunciation which had been sent to the Swiss police revealed facts concerning the aliases Reiss had used in line with his GPU dutiesfacts known only to his superiors in the GPU.

The automobile which had been used in the crime. Chevrolet, was discovered. It had been rented from a garage by a woman named Renata Steiner. In the automobile, an overcoat was found bearing the label of a Madrid store.

Already at that time the GPU had launched its campaign of murder against anti-fascist militants in the Spanish Loyalist ranks who opposed Stalinism. Many Loyalist veterans were drawn into the GPU ranks, as was later proved in the spectacular confessions of the Loyalist veterans who participated in the GPU machine gun raid on Trotsky's bedroom on May 24, 1940.

The Assassins Identified

Police were soon able to positively identify one of the assassins of Reiss: Gertrude Schildbach. In her hotel room the police found papers, photographs, and a box of chocolates which had been treated with strychnine. These chocolates had evidently been intended for the Reiss family. The strands of hair found clutched in the hand of the dead man were proved by the police to be from the head of Schildbach. It was she who had lured Reiss into the trap, posing as sympathetic with his break from Stalinism. Schildbach had been brought into the Communist movement by Reiss and had worked with him in the GPU for years.

The police next uncovered the fact that Schildbach had not been alone in the hotel. In the room next to hers he had arrived at the same time and they had asked for connecting rooms-a man had registered under the name of Francois Rossi. They later discovered his real name to be Roland Abbiat, a citizen of Monaco, born in London August 15, 1905. In his baggage, which like that of Schildbach had been left behind, the police discovered a map of Mexico City and the suburb where Trotsky was living. The authorities revealed later that the Russian consulate in Lausanne had previously applied three times for a passport in the name of "Rossi" with his destination listed as Mexico.

The "inseparable friend" of Abbiat, according to the police, was a man named Etienne Charles Martignat, born in 1900 at Culhat, France, who had been formerly employed in a gas factory, and who was accustomed to spend far more than he earned, apparently having a secret source of income.

was a cover name for a nest of GPU agents. Here she became intimate with Pierre Schwarzenberg, who introduced her to Serge Efron, GPU agent who posed as a Russian journalist.

Schwarzenberg soon left Paris for Spain and was not heard from again. Steiner received her pay from Serge Efron. One of her first assignments was to trail Leon Sedov and his wife.

At various times she worked under the direction of Serge Efron on GPU assignments with Marcel Roll'n (alias Dimitri Smirensky, born October 24, 1897, in Russia) with "Bob" (Pierre-Louis Ducomet, a Frenchman born January 18, 1902) with Francois Rossi (Abbiat) and with three other GPU agents whom she knew under the names of "Michel," "Andre," and "Leo" (or "Adolphe"). Among the assignments this group carried out, besides trailing Leon Sedov, were the trailing of Reiss and of his friend in Holland, H. Sneevliet.

Others involved in the crime were the Grosovsky couple and Beletzky, posing as employees of Representation Commerciale Sovietique in Paris, but in reality important GPU agents in Paris. On July 17, 1937, Reiss had informed these people, with whom he had worked many years, of his break with Stalin.

How the GPU Murdered Reiss

The Swiss police were now able to reconstruct the crime from the beginning.

Reiss had been suspected by the GPU heads of "deviations" during the height of the 1937 purge. Michel Spiegelglass, sub-chief of the Foreign Service of the GPU, was in Paris when Reiss decided to write his letter of rupture. Normally it would have gone directly to Moscow, but Spiegelglass, suspicious, obtained it within an hour after its dispatch. The same night Spiegelglass called a conference of a few high GPU functionaries and they decided that Reiss must be killed.

Reiss, however, received a warning from someone in the GPU service. This warning consisted of ringing his telephone several times during the night. Each time Reiss lifted the receiver, the line went dead. Reiss understood. He left Paris at once.

The GPU set out immediately to track him down. Ducomet, traveling with a false passport bearing the name of Woklav Cadek, left with Smirensky for Holland to keep watch on Sneevliet with whom they expected Reiss would maintain contact.

At the beginning of August, Renata Steiner and Smirensky, leaving Ducomet in Amsterdam, followed a lead to a house near Versailles, where they staved four or five days waiting for Reiss to appear.

On August 25, "Michel" made an appointment with Renata Steiner in a cafe in the Place d'Italie at Paris. A Russian 30 or 35 years old met them. He called himself "Leo." The next day she met Leo again and with him "Rossi," who told her to go to Berne, Switzerland, and await orders.

On August 28, Leo saw her off on the train, giving her a letter to deliver, a box of chocolates, and a tube of what appeared to be pills.

Rossi met her in Berne on August 29. She gave him the things Leo had sent, and acting under Rossi's instructions took a room in the City Hotel and then rented a Chevrolet from the Casino garage.

sians in Russia" (12, rue de Buic, Paris VIe). This \ On Saturday, September 4, at the Finhaut railway station she saw Reiss accompanied by his wife and child. She immediately telephoned to Rossi's room in Lausanne.

Gertrude Schildbach answered the telephone. "Uncle has left," said Renata Steiner.

Rossi came to the telephone and told Steiner to come immediately to Lausanne. When she reached Lausanne, Rossi sent her to Territet to search for the house where Mrs. Reiss was staying.

Unsuccessful at Territet, Steiner tried to telephone Rossi, but was unable to get any response to repeated ringing of his room. On September 5, she saw Mrs. Reiss and trailed her to her home. Again she tried Rossi's room without response. On September 6 she read of the crime at Chamblandes, but "attached no importance to it." On the 7th, she began to wonder and wrote to Paris for instructions. On the 8th the police arrested her.

A "Friend" Betrayed Reiss

In response to a letter from Reiss, announcing his split from Stalin, Gertrude Schildbach had written a sympathetic response. She came up from Rome where she was stationed to talk with Reiss. A woman, 43 years of age she was rather short and masculine in appearance, wore glasses, dressed plainly, had graying hair. Her maiden name was Neugebauer; she was born in Germany. For twenty years she had worked with Reiss. At the time Zinoviev and Kamenev were shot, Schildbach had wept in talking about it with Reiss.

Schildbach arrived in Switzerland on September 3. She told Reiss that she was in absolute agreement with him, that she would break with the GPU, but did not know what to do in the future. Reiss told her that it was necessary to make a sharp break with the past and to join the Fourth International.

She asked Reiss to have dinner with her the following night, Saturday. Reiss told her in a joking way, that he was without money. This was no obstacle to Schildbach. She had enough money and invited him to have dinner at her expense. Reiss agreed, although he told his wife that Schildbach, despite their long friendship, had produced in him a very strange and incomprehensible impression.

The police established that Reiss and Schildbach had dinner together and then left the restaurant. As it was quite late, the streets were deserted. They intended to take a taxi, but an automobile drove up. A man sprang out and struck Reiss on the head with a blackjack. Then they shoved him into the car. Reiss fought desperately before they succeeded in killing him. In his hand were wisps of Schildbach's hair when police discovered his body.

Besides those already involved, the police established that the GPU had prepared a second line of attack in case the first failed. GPU agents were stationed at Martigny and Mont-Sacconex under the direction of Vadime Kondratiev, an ex-White Guard. Kondratiev had been stopped by the police at the Lausanne railway station. Marshall Petain was arriving from France to view the maneuvers of the Swiss army and all people in the station were checked. His passport was apparently in order, and they permitted him to continue his pacing back and forth not far from a Chevrolet with the license plates BE-20-662 (the plates of the car in which Schildbach drove up to the hotel to rent a room, the same car Representation Commerciale Sovietique in Paris; and they requested the Paris police to arrest them and hold them for extradition on the charge of complicity in the murder of Reiss.

Grosovsky had already fled to the Soviet Union, however. Beletzky was questioned once by the police without their securing any information. He did not wait to be questioned a second time, but disappeared. Lydia Grosovsky was detained by the police and held for extradition.

But contrary to all precedent, and without permitting it to leak out into the press, until much later, the Paris court in charge of the case released Lydia Grosovsky on bail of 50,000 francs. The Swiss authorities protested vigorously. They had already asked the French police to arrest GPU agents Gertrude Schildbach, Schwarzenberg, Spiegelglass, Serge Efron, Knepyguine, Grosovsky, Beletzsky as well as the others traced to the French border. Now the one GPU agent whom the .French police had succeeded in arresting was permitted to go free! She was naturally never seen again.

The "laxity" of the French authorities was due to pressure from Moscow and the anxiety of the French government to keep in the good graces of Stalin in view of the growing threat from Hitler-this was at the time of the Franco-Soviet pact. From the viewpoint of the "democrats" at the the helm of the French state, it would have been poor diplomacy to permit the Swiss authorities to question the CPU agents who had been plotting murder on Krench soil.

The Plot Against Trotsky and His Son

The Swiss police also established that preparations were under way by this same group of GPU agents to murder Leon Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov. The discovery of the map of Mexico City in the room of Abbiat and the three attempts of the Soviet consulate in Switzerland to obtain a passport for him to Mexico under the name of "Rossi" have already been mentioned. Abbiat, Serge Efron, Renata Steiner, Ducomet, Schwarzenberg, and Smirensky had also been trailing Sedov since 1936. They had succeeded in renting an apartment separated from that of Sedov by no more than a balcony. Renata Steiner succeeded in striking up an acquaintance with Sedov and his wife and made daily reports to Smirensky on the progress of this budding friendship.

In January 1937 Sedov arranged to meet a lawyer, who was defending Trotsky against the defamation of the Stalinists in the Swiss press, at the small French town of Mulhouse. Ducomet, Smirensky, and Renata Steiner were sent to Mulhouse by Serge Efron to wait for Sedov. They took rooms in separate hotels and waited one week for Sedov to keep the appointment. At the end of eight days, Efron told them to return. Sedov had postponed the trip due to illness, and thus had escaped the GPU trap. But not for long. On February 16, 1938, he was dead-finished off in a private Paris hospital.

In a series of letters to the French authorities. Trotsky established the amazing "laxity" of the French police in their perfunctory investigation of Sedov's death, showed that the very minor illness for which Sedov was being treated could not explain his sudden death, that Sedov's entry into the hospital under a pseudonym had been discovered by a Stalinist doctor that the hospital had links the GPU, etc. etc. All in vain. The French authorities refused to investigate further. It was still the honeymoon of the Franco-Soviet pact. A few months later, the same thing happened when Rudolph Klement, secretary of the Fourth International, kidnapped on July 13, 1938, was found. dismembered, in the Seine. There were many clues. French "democracy" would not pursue them-precisely because as in the Reiss case, the Swiss investigation had led to the doors of Soviet institutions abroad, like the Representation Commerciale Sovietique in Paris, and to Soviet agents of the GPU.

What Lauson Really Means

But we ARE interested in defending the idea that Negroes have no reason to support this socalled war for democracy when they themselves are deprived of democracy by the capitalist class preparing this war.

What is the "disunity" that Lawson talks about? He is talking about disunity between the Negro and the bosses who Jim Crow the Negro. To Lawson, asking for equal rights for the Negro is "disunity." "Beware of asking for your rights" is what he is warning the Negro people.

It is fair to ask: "Whose little job is Lawson helping?" Is he helping the Negro, or is he helping Senators Bilbo and Cotton Ed Smith, when he tells the Negro to beware of fighting for his rights? Using Lawson's own logic, one could easily assert that, "intentionally or not," he is helping the cause of white supremacy.

Lawson says, in effect, that Hitler is helped by a struggle for equal rights for Negroes. This is a lie. Hitler could never be helped by a struggle to wipe out racial discrimination, he is greatly weakened in his own country whenever the idea of racial superiority is wiped out anywhere in the entire world. On the contrary, Hitler (and the American Bilbos) are greatly helped whenever anyone tries to tone down the struggle for racial " equality.

No where in his entire article does Lawson advocate a struggle against Jim Crowism in the armed forces or in civilian life. This omission by a so-called Negro leader is treachery to his people.

We ask Lawson: how was the Negro emancipated? By gradualness? Or by civil dar? With Lawson's method, the Negro would still be a slave. And what has happened since 1877? The policy of gradual improvement has been followed, especially as exemplified by Booker T. Washington, and with what results? The Negro doesn't have a single right more today than he had then. Thus history has tested Lawson's method.

We reject both the fairy tale about the benevolent dictator and the falsehood about the gradual method, and we stick to our own policy of Negro and white labor unity against capitalist oppression and discrimination, in peace-time and in war-time.

The First Arrest

The first to be captured was Renata Steiner, who had rented the death car. She was 29 at the time of her arrest. Not as hard, yet, as a Jacson, she finally agreed to talk.

Converted to Stalinism after 1931, she had been to Moscow in 1934 and again in 1935. In 1936 she was offered work by the Soviet consulate in Paris, which sent her to the "Union for the Repatriation of Rus-

On September 1, Rossi sent Renata Steiner back to Paris to deliver a letter to Leo.

Leo met her in Paris on September 2 at the cafe in the Place d'Italie, read the letter she brought, and immediately wrote a reply for her to deliver to Rossi. On September 3, at 8 o'clock, Renata Steiner met Rossi at the railway station in Berne. They left in the Chevrolet together with Gertrude Schildbach. whom Steiner now met for the first time. They traveled as far as Martigny. From this point, Renata Steiner was sent alone to Finhaut to watch for Ignace Reiss.

in which the murder was committed later that day). At nine o'clock in the evening of September 4. Kondratiev had received a telegram from the Hotel Suisse in Martigny which read: "You are free; return home." Police were able to trace his movements until September 9, when he disappeared.

The "Laxity" of the French Police

The Swiss police considered that they had enough evidence to convict Grosovsky, his wife Lydia, and Beletzky, three agents of the GPU stationed at the

GPU is Trying To Free How Stalin Stopped Murderers Of Trotsky "The time has come," Stalin's mouthpiece declared, "for all Par-ty leaders to stop the practice of the mouthpiece of the mouthpie

(Continued from Page 1) under arrest establish clearly their personal responsibility; but not that of the Communist Party."

Thereafter Siqueiros was referporter asks: red to as "irresponsible" frequently in the Stalinist press.

NOW ON OFFENSIVE

ros is speaking with these reporters in the patio of the pen-But now that several months itentiary? Without doubt. his have elapsed and, the GPU chiefappearance could not be more tains hope, it is no longer neceselegant during an exposition in sarv to retreat. they have returnsome art gallery." The reported to the offensive, first with the er's story adds this to describe pressure on the judges, and now the situation of Sigueiros in with this letter of the "Intellecthe jail: "No one would think tuals and Artists" which, if it that it deals with a prisoner." gets by, will undoubtedly be followed by still bolder moves.

It has likewise been an open The letter asks President Camscandal that the assassin Jacson acho "to take into consideration the artistic antecedents" of Siqueiros, and reminds him that 'the artists and the men of sci- son walls.

ence are considered as the bulwarks of culture and progress." "In +' 's light," the osk, Siqueithat is why their letter "carries out most profound admiration and artistic solidarity for David Al- queiros and Jacson are incarcer. Trotsky. faro Siqueiros in these difficult ated, there is always danger for moments of trial." the GPU that their agents will

The "difficult moments of trial" talk. Comforts in jail constitute to not exist, as we have already but a promise of eventual openpointed out, because no judge has ing of the cell doors. vet accepted the case. Nor are Si-

queiros' moments in jail very dif- WHAT IT WOULD MEAN ficult. Three days before this let- If these men get away, the prester of the "Intellectuals and Art- ent boldness with which the GPU ists," the magazine ESTAMPA commits crimes will be as noth- ties are already as dead as the (Feb. 11, 1941) published a report ing to what will come then. dodo.

of a conversation with Siqueiros Agents who will see the actual asin the prison in Mexico City. Un- sassing of Trotsky unpunished der a photo which shows Siquei- will throw all caution to the ros in a very elegant pose, happy winds and do any conceivable and smoking a cigarette, the re- thing their masters in the Kremlin will indicate. The murder-ma-

chine will increase its output a "Who would say that the hundred-fold. much discussed painter Siquei-

> tellectuals and Artists," and Toleall the necessary space to say it in.

In this very incident of the letter of the "Intellectuals and Artdoes very well by himself in pri- ists" one can see how Stalinism son. The GPU knows how to take destroys the roots of art and culcare of its own even behind pri- ture, corrupting every artist and i. e. by purging.

intellectual that 'it touches. It It is clear that the present maneuvers to release Siqueiros are honor and integrity of genuine ros "should be considered," and erful moves to get Jacson out of North America to repudiate this the hands of the authorities, one foul attempt to whitewash with way or another. So long as Si- "art" the murderers of Leon

> The will of Robert Marshall leaves \$1.534.070 for the preser-

in this country where civil liber-

According to the Bolshevik mouthpiece declared, "for all Par- (Nos. 15-16, August 1940) the toty leaders to stop the practice of tal number of members, as of that mass expulsions." (Pravda, March date, was 2,245,333, while the candidates numbered 1.493.157. 13, 1937). If we subtract the number of

An official report issued at the time estimated that the party candidates who entered the party membership had fallen off to since April 1, 1939, (i. e., 1,127,about 1,400,000. 802) from the total number of

queiros is a murderer? Yes, but didates had thus been purged by What happened to the 600,000 he paints so well, reply the "In- March 1937, leaving approxima- candidates on the rolls as of tely 1,400,000 members and 600,- March, 1937? What happened to dano generously provides them 000 candidates still on the rolls. the hundreds of thousands of new Two years later, in March, 1939, candidates in the two-year period

If in August 1940, there were 2.245.333 members, and if only purges in the party. He kept his 605,627 entered the party after second pledge as he kept the first, March 1939, then before that time

there were altogether only 1,539, In July, 1940, Pravda, officially 706 members. (2,245,333 minus should become a matter of the announced that from April 1, 605,627). But in March 1937 there 1939 to June 1, 1940 the number were still some 1,400,000 membut forerunners of far more pow- artistic and intellectual circles of of new party members admitted bers. At most, therefore, it is poswas 605.627 and the number of sible to account by "graduation" new candidates was 1,127,802. only for about 100,000 lost can-(Pravda, July 29, 1940). In other didates. And what happened to words, in a period of 14 months, those who joined the party in the 1,733,429 members and candidates two-year period between Pravda's were admitted, a total number al-"order" to halt the purge (March

most equal to the two million 1937) and Stalin's "promise" of who survived the 1937 purge. no more purges (March 1939)? But, it may be objected, why There remains, at a very conservation of wild life and civil liber- do we overlook the hundreds of vative estimate, a couple of milties. We know a couple of places thousands, if not millions, of those lion or so unaccounted for. members and candidates who en-The Daily Worker can't tell you tered the party in the two-year what happened to them but Stalin interval between March 1937 and and the GPU can. Only, they March 1939? answer questions with bullets.

His New Fireside Companions

THE UNITED STATES NEWS, ultra-conservative weekly, bitterly fought Roosevelt from the time he was nominated for the first time. So you can take its word for this, which appeared in its Feb. 7 issue:

"Roosevelt puts speedy arms production above all other objectives. Private industry alone can give him that production. Result is that the President is listening to advice of industrialists.

"Gloom among New Dealers is increasingly deep. Common inside complaint is that the President is 'selling out' the New Deal; that a 'counter revolution' is occurring."

Daniel R. Topping, 29-year-old Greenwich millionaire sportsman and husband of Sonja Henie. was reported physically unfit for military service by the selective service board of his city. Topping, who had claimed exemption, because of "who would care of the box office" of the Brooklyn pro football team, was placed in class 4F. We wonder where Topping gets the strength to stagger from night club to night club. Incidently, he must wear the panties in his household.

GENTLE CORDELL

Pearson and Allen report that Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, opposed the plan to lend fascist Spain \$100,000,000, on the plea that the American public would not stand for a credit "to a government which was shooting political prisoners on a large scale." (Our emphasis). But Secretary of State Hull calmly replied: "These prisoners are only Communists anyway."

Crown Princess Juliana of Holland entered the White House for a visit with the President and Mrs. Roosevelt. Due to the situation of her country she was not traveling in state-only her lady-in-waiting and a few other personal servants accompanied her. Practically roughing it, you know.

"The report said the Commun- candidates in August 1940 (i. e., ist Party, which once claimed al- 1,493,157) that should give us an most 4,000,000 members and can- approximate number as of the didates for membership, now had date when Stalin gave his no-That is what these "Intellectu- only about 2,000,000 Russians in more-purge pledge in March, 1939. als and Artists" are paving the those categories" (N. Y. Herald- Good, we subtract: 1,493,157 less way for, with their "esthetic" ar- Tribune. March 14, 1937). Some, 1,127,802 equals 275,355. Not very gument for Siqueiros' release. Si- 2,000,000 party members and can- many.

at the Eighteenth Party Congress from March 1937 to March 1939? Stalin again personally pledged that there would be no more mass