### Stalin Murdered Krivitsky

The New Proof --- See Page 3

# THE MILITANT

formerly the Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

VOL. V-No. 8

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

FIVE (5) CENTS

# 'RISK OF WAR' ADMITTED BY FDR MEN

### GPU Now Attempt To Free Killers Of Trotsky

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

The letter does not directly ask

UNESTHETIC DETAILS

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 Art-

David Alfaro Siqueiros was so completely identified by most of his arrested accomplices as the organizer and leader of the

May 24th attempt that Siqueiros, when finally caught after move to prepare public opinion being a fugitive for months, (and the judges already softened had to admit he participated in for putting Siqueiros at liberty. despite the fact that Siqueiros the assault.

Yet the case of Siqueiros is not in the hands of a judge! the ideological ground for Trot years, had been a Major 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 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 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. from there to Xochimilco.

The purpose of GPU pressure to prevent any judge from handling the case is clear. Thus time

ice on guard outside) more than three months before the actual attempt. That he did this as a subordinate cog in the murderis so much as referred to in this

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 Toledano's paper, which prepared the Stalinist movement for fifteen --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 Siqueiros.

#### 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 tesmony, made to the chief of pol ice, General Jose Manuel Nunez, That Siqueiros murdered Bob and released to the press on June 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 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

> Thus La Voz de Mexico, official Communist Party organ, on June 0, 1940 declared: \

"David Alfaro Siqueiros, who appears to be responsible for the assault, is not a member of the Communist Party of Mexico. Neither are (Siqueiros' aides) Antonio Pujol, or Luis and Leopoldo Arenal.

(Continued on page 5)

### Bandiera Rossa!

No less an authority than WEHRMACHT, 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

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

### S.W.P. Will Back A.L.P. Candidate For Congress

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 example: You correctly oppose the

candidate, Eugene Connolly. on Thursday, March 6, at 8 p.m.

The text of the letter to the A.L.P. follows:

Dear Sirs and Brothers: In order that labor may present a united front against the

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 port Hall, 153 West 64th Street, its forces and building an independent 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 Ameri-

We feel that the platform of York County Committee) presents a pacifist rather than a militant proletarian opposition to war. For now pending in Congress, but you

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

alternative. We call for:

The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and

### Phrase Is A Part Of War Move

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.

'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

This formula so dominated the itary spokesman in Hongkong presentation of the proponents of meanwhile announced that "all the bill that the New York Times | preparations humanly possible"

urged in Senate even at the risk of war." Pepper went far: "Call it war, or do not call it war," he declared—and a hush fell over the galleries, the correspondents report—"Lay it down as a

premise, America will not let

England fall to Hitler. If this

(bill) will not save England, we will save it anyway." Which Senator Austin of Vernont, assistant Republican leader, went one better, dramatically striding into the center aisle of the chamber to declare, in solid-

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

It was abundantly clear that, over the week-end, a new strategy meeting of the Roosevelt inner circle had decided to launch this new formula and abandon the "short of war" line of argument.

Perhaps the immediate motivation for this decision was the renewal of the Far Eastern crisis. rather than the ostensible object of the "lend-lease" bill: the European situation.

Contributing still further to the sharpening of imperialist an-tagonisms in the Far East, an expeditionary force of thousands of Australian troops, including

A Japanese army spokesman described the landing as "a belligerent action." The British milheadline (Feb. 18) was: "Aid bill had been made to defend that colony against any Japanese at-

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

#### What Big Business Says CIO "Defense Plan" Really Means

The Kiplinger WASHING-TON LETTER, circulated privately to business men, in its Feb. 1 issue urges its employer-subscribers to get and study the "CIO Defense Plan" issued by Philip Murray, CIO head.

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

"Labor is apt to get moreand-more under government

"Labor discipline is not good, especially within many CIO unions. The chiefs at the top know this and admit it (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

### 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 Krem-

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 Bul-

garia 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 asserted that it could be "safely assumed" that Turkey would fulfill 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 mans seem to think otherwise brought the Germans into action and in these matters they have on still another Soviet frontier. usually proved to be the more German victory over the Turks

The Turks have left themselves 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 maintained 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 revealed in the march of events. It is clear enough right now however, that Stalin did put 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.

#### candidates of the two capitalist controlled by the trade unions, mechanized units, was landed at can Labor Party. parties in the special Congresto train workers to become of-Singapore early this week to re-2. What the procedure is for sional election in the 17th district, inforce Scottish, English, Indian we are considering withdrawing securing the adoption by the emphasis.) and Malayan troops, as a measure (See story on the S.W.P. camour candidate, Arthur P. Burch, American Labor Party of our mil-(See editorial, page 6) paign to place Burch on the bal- to bolster the defenses of Britand urging labor to support your itary program against imperialist "The declaration of those ain's Far Eastsern fortress. lot, page 2.) candidate, Eugene Connolly. We war.

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:

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.

# ORKERS' SORUM

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"

Comments (sometimes annoythe 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

Also, the tone of voice and general impressions of these individusis 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 over the sentence at the beginning

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 ingly 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 pub haven't read the latest "Bible" of lication in which it is to appear? E. G. S.

#### We've Done It

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 the pious Dean's fairy tales. We also intend to review the 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 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 will include announcement of the Socialist Workers Party nomination of a candidate.

#### THE MILITANT

may be bought in Newark at Newsstand, Broad & William Confectionery, 11 Springfield

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A MILITANT START FOR THE MILITANT

The New 6-Page MILITANT

announces

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You have reason to be proud of our fine publications!

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#### Battering Down Ford's Bastille



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.

#### Wartime Censoring Has Already Begun, Says Boss Organ

You may have noticed that hick 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-TIONS FOR PUBLIC MOR-ALE." (Our emphasis.)

5.000 were at the meeting, almost

Comrade Burch discussed one of

the ideas expressed at the meet-

ther peace nor democracy," Com-

can lead the way out by opposing

The judge and the attorney,

when they took the floor, were

was neither "peace" nor "democ-

racy" but they argued, like Fath-

er Divine, that the only way out

Father Divine likewise agreed

with the speaker" that there was

neither "neace" nor "democracy

but in his opinion neither the

"laboring classes" nor the "capi

talist class" have a way out. Fath-

er Divine believes "God" is the

Comrade Burch was asked to

take the floor again and he was

able to dwell at greater length on

sion that is visited upon the work-

ers, colored and white, by the ca-

pitalist system. He received con-

Friends, Branches

Geep This Date Open

Anti-War

**Election Rally** 

losing the Campaign in th

17th District

Thursday, March 6

TRANSPORT

WORKERS HALL

153 West 64th Street

New York City

siderable applause.

ing: "Peace and Democracy."

all of them Negroes.

capitalist system.'

was "God."

fense of the "reds." She signed the program of the Socialist Wor-

## Highlights In The Labor Press

JOURNAL that during the past year "a procession of important Furniture Workers Locals previously affiliated with another International have asked to be received within our fold." Among the unions who have switched from the AFL Carpenters and the CIO Woodworkers to the AFL Upholsterers are locals in Paris, Te: as; New London, and Ladysmith, Wis.; Winston-Salem; Hallam, Pa.; Hoquiam, Wash.; Minneapolis, Minn.; and Burlington

Hoffman states "we have added 27 new local unions to the roster of our International during 1940 We have added some 10,000 nev members to our ranks. We have consummated agreements with 2,000 individual firms. Almost onehalf of our Local Unions now have 'one week vacation clauses with pay' . . . The average wage increase gained was 10 cents per hour or \$4 per week per mem

Revolts against the ultra-reac tionary regime of Hutcheson in the Carpenters and against the Stalinist misleaders in the Wood workers explains this situation.

La Follette's PROGRESSIVE or February 8th reprints a com columnist confirming our views that Roosevelt's aid to England 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 aised by the war are so profound that an all-party government car exist only by ignoring them. Since the issues remain, it looks as rade Burch explained to the though the only way of prevent crowd. "Only the working class ing the facade of national unity from being broken by some sor the war and by overthrowing the of social revolution is that Amer ica should finance the war. Amer ican finance would enable us to 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 remain a capitalist democracy."

> Ed like to display to our MIL TANT readers a man whom I would certainly nominate for the best news-poet writing in the United States today, Mr. Charles H. Loeb, who each week composes an "editorial in rhyme" for the Cleveland CALL-POST, Negro paper. Here's his latest, on the housing shortage in Cleveland:

The Blowout ve ever numbed s Brown, Then you'll know you never figger like."

President Sal Hoffman writes On the pressure by the soun' n the AFL UPHOLSTERERS' Cause the limit of compression 'Specially when you got no

Is the limit of the tubin', An' a knowledge of its age. You don't have to go to college

Or read no fancy tracts. To be 'quainted with the logic Of a simple set of facts. You can't crowd no ten-pound

into jes' a two-pound space, Without tube an' casing giving, An' explosion takin' place!

So, the gents who plan our housin'

An' who aim to shut us off From the 'strickly white-folks' buildings.

Aint goin' find the job so soft, 'Cause when houses are exhausted (An' there aint a one in sight) Crampin' black folks into ghettos Is like droppin' dynamite!

director Has the thing all cut an' dried: He may find his Jim-Crow ideals Bouncin' back to skin his hide! You can't crowd no 10-pound

Into normal 2-pound space, Without riskin' that your tire will Blow right smack up in your

Charles Yale Harrison, pro-war Social-Democrat, is now director 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 sinzle line on this important strug-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 officers for "conspiring" against an anti-union truck operator who took a punch at one of the union organizers and was properly repulsed. The case is similar to the fink suit against the Minneapolis General Drivers Union Local 544. Clarence Darrow once aptly des-

cribed the conspiracy indictment as "a legal device which has been used as a modern and ancient Mused my friend, Metheusalah prisonment and death of men whom the ruling class does not

### "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 of the Socialist Workers Party brought gratifying results. Although this district embraces many of the wealthiest and most reactionary families in the country, those gathering signatures report that thousands of workers who live in the poverty-stricken-signature collector to come in and sections were not only willing to sign the nominating petitions, but discussed the anti-war program of the party.

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 sec-

ing signatures for the candidate. EXAMINED PROGRAM

In the homes of the workers 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 where the most desperate poverty was evident, the Negro families refused to sign the petitions on the first visit. "Leave us your prospectus and your newspaper," was the response of many in the building, "we'll read them and if

we agree we'll sign." The comrade circulating the petition reported that when he returned the following day, seventeen registered voters in the building then gave their signatures. The living conditions of the Ne-

cases apprehensive that the La-Guardia administration 'would tions offered their help in secur- groes are heart-rending. Their seek reprisals against them. But flats are unheated although it is 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

> In one home an elderly widow answered the door. Her lights had been cut off because of her inability to pay the bill. She apologized for the darkness, explaining that her husband, formerly on WPA, had died and that she of his visit. A woman nursing a had nothing left but the miserable old-age pension granted by to hush up, and took up the design the petition that would place a révolutionary candidate en the

FRIENDLY RESPONSES

An old man who said that he was born in the West Indies and knew what capitalist democracy was like in practice in the col onies congratulated the signature collector on his part-'- running a

GraceCarlson

Reports On

New Locals

By GRACE CARLSON

PITTSBURGH - The most in-

where until the other day our

party had nothing-Pittsburgh

Today, however, the Socialist

the political map in Pittsburgh.

public commemoration of the an-

niversary of Lenin's death. Twen-

ty-nine workers attended the open

meeting, and indicated by their

interested ouestions and partici-

pation in the discussion a real

interest in the Trotskyist pro-

gram. Subscriptions for THE

MILITANT were obtained and

sold, so we can be confident that

program. There is real promise

in this great steel center.

of a rapid growth of our party

My meeting here was the only

#### NOT SO FRIENDLY It was not all clear sailing, how-

to get on the ballot.

ist system.

ever. At one apartment a welldressed lady answered the bell She refused to sign, "I was a Republican," she said. "I voted for Wendell Willkie. After what has happened since the election, I've decided I'm through with politics." And she slammed the door.

one disturbance in the West In-

dies," he said, "the British sent

a battleship and shot down thou-

sands of workers." He invited the

tell him about the program of the

Those on relief were in many

unemployment under the capital-

In one home, two men playing

cards denounced the "reds" when

the petition circulator rang the

bell and announced the purpose

baby in the same room told them

the petition and said that she was

glad to see the Trotskyists try

A Coughlinite upon learning the mission of the petition circulator smiled bitterly. "We know you fellows," he said. "You stopped our parade." He likewise slammed the door. The memory of how the Trotskyists led the fight against Coughlin is still

PENTHOUSE STALINIST

One comrade decided to try one of the exclusive streets where teresting news of the week on the wealthy live. He picked out the most sumptuous apartment my tour comes from two cities house, rode with the uniformed elevator man to the top floor and started ringing bells. The first door he tried swung open on thick rugs. He caught a glimpse Fri. Workers Party is definitely on of a huge radio, a grand piano, Sat. an oil painting on the wall. A Sun. young man with soft white hands Mon. looked at the hulking worker asking for a signature to help a Trotskyist candidate get on the ballot. "You say you oppose imperialist war and stand for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism?" asked the man in the door. "But I understand the Trotskyists are

other Trotskyist literature was the Soviet Union." "Are you a Stalinist?" asked these workers intend to study our the petition collector in amaze-"Well, not exactly. But all the

counter-revolutionary and against

liberal progressive circles say that Baltimore is another important the Trotskyists are counter-revolsteel center. It is also becoming utionary. I can't sign." He closed a center in the aviation industry. the door. The "open shop" tradition of Bal- The petition collector decided

timore is breaking down as the right then and there that perhaps SWOC and the UAW meet with it was an error to petition the Sat. great success in their organizing penthouse for signatures and rode Sun. the glittering elevator back down The Baltimore branch of the to the street.

party was organized a short time | Last Sunday night Comrade ago. Its first task, successfully Burch was invited by Fatner Div. Thurs. achieved, was to get all of the ine's organization to speak at one Fri. members into basic industry and of his mass meetings in Harlem. Sat. the unions of these industries. We He had invited two prominent Sund. may look forward with confidence whites as guest speakers also, Mon. to other achievements, and soon, Judge Walcott and Mr. Shintag, Tues. a prominent attorney. More than Wed.

#### Feb. 21 Memphis Feb. 22 Feb. 23 Arkansas Feb. 24 Arkansas Feb. 25 Feb. 26 Feb. 27 to Thurs. Mar. 13 March 14 Los Angeles March 15 and vicinity March 16 March 17 March 18 March 19 Thurs. March 20 Fri. March 21 March 22 San Francisc Sat. Sun. March 23

March 24 March 25 March 26 March 27 March 28 March 29 March 30 March 31 April 1 Seattle April 2 April 3

April 5

April 6

April 7

April 8

April 9

Thurs.

April 4 Plentywood

Williston

Twin Cities

Fargo

The cities listed in bold letters not yet made their mark.

proportion to strength you put each week.

SUB DRIVE

GATHERS STEAM With four additional branches

making the record this week, and 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, during the second week of the drive, 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. Here's the score-board, showing the subs for this week, the total thus far, and the total number of points (for half-dollars

- 1	conected):			
		Week's	Total	Tot
	Place	Subs	Subs	Poin
	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
	Boston	3 .	3	3
	Flint	3	3	3
٠	New Haven	2	6	7
:0	Detroit	1	7	15
	Paterson	1	1	2
	Philadelphia	1	1	2
	Albany	1	. 1	2
	Plentywood	0	1	2
	Cleveland	0	1	2
	Kansas	0	1	2
		-	-	
		64	98 Subs	

are current leaders in their Challenge Categories. Some are lead-

some of the best of them to shame!

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-

tion of our paper. "After our covering this local for about two months the workers now come to us and ask for papers. At first they wouldn't even accept them, but now they 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 results we quit and looked around for another place. This was a bad 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 radicals and to have our point of

"However, once factory and union hall work is carried on steadily, the results will inevitably come in. After a large group of workers reads the MILITANT for a number of months its effect is bound to be felt, and this is exactly what is taking place. Now we are starting to get real contacts among these New York union workers.'

The New York comrades lagged a bit behind the rest of the country in learning the value ers by sheer default of the others of mass work with the MILIin the same category, which have TANT—but in the last few months they've been learning The best surprise of the week fast. Now in every borough of was ALLENTOWN, coming the city factories and union halls through with a fistful of subs are covered regularly with our fast enough to place high up on paper. More and more New York the list, along with the big fel- workers are coming to know the lows. Good work, comrades! In MILITANT and are asking for it

#### \_CLIP AND MAIL THIS COUPON NOW \_\_ The Militant 116 University Place

**New York City** 

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### 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

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.

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

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 letter from Paris to Trotsky, "breaking" with him and whitewashing 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

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 forgers and murderers, were

# 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

"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

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

faires. He had been a member of the Communist Party of the USSR since 1919.

In making his declaration, Bar-

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, Barmine 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 statement, he did not know that the complete text of that "letter" told Krivitsky's wife: "Good friends will help you, but not ensist on lying about Malenkov's emies of the Soviet people.")

report? Why does it claim that WHEN BARMINE BROKE "every passing year sees an enormous increase in the gross How could industrial output increase with "every passing year" Moscow Trials on December 1, cause of socialism to which I have 1937. The Moscow Trials, he dedevoted my entire life. under a top-heavy bureaucracy, under "armchair administrators," clared, had finally brought him to the full realization "that a re- in breaking with this government. No real defender of the Soviet actionary dictatorship had instal- I am fully aware of the danger Union would seek to cover up led itself in my country?

the crimes of Stalinism which are 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-Every thinking worker must ask behalf at least of those - my 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." up G.P.U. lies and murders not perhaps living, and against the false and ignoble accusations. I 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 of the Central Committee... 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-"one regular delegate per 10,000 their country again, to risk the had been found riddled with mabullets of the agents of the Secret chine gun slugs in Switzerland on

#### Nazi Press Pleased At the Death of Walter Krivitsky

A Feb. 15 dispatch from Geneva reports that the controlled Nazi press has devoted considerable space to the murder of Krivitsky.

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" and a "Jewish rat."

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

"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. Committee of Inquiry into the It would have been to betray the

to which I expose myself in act-"I would like to make the most ing this way. I am signing my

> Only a few days after Barmine's break with Stalin came that of

### 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 par-

cedented. Far from it. In every critical situation on the world | rulary 18.) arena (China 1925-1927, Ger- | many 1933, Spain 1931-37, etcetera) this "Father of the Peoples"-whose whole political wisdom lies in evading, temporizing and then betraying—has withdrawn to the sidelines to suck his pipe in silence. Indeed, it can be said without any fear of exaggeration that the gravity of any given crisis may be partly gauged by the duration of Stal-

But this is the first time that 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

Still more, the crisis is so grave that Stalin is no longer able to

Not that silence on Stalin's part is in and of itself unpreroborated by Malenkov's speech

and by-Stalin's silence. The crisis in Soviet economy. the complete breakdown of the Third Stalinist Five-Year plan has now been officially acknowledged through the mouth of Ma-

In his speech he admitted that there was a "lag" in "sevas building material and lum- February 17). per": that production costs have 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 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-

"REIGN OF DİRT"

In Soviet "enterprises, shops, rule through the party, as the depots, harbor and railroad avowed dominant force in Sov- works" there was, according to ferred, apart from all other con- Worker unwittingly announced 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 The grave crisis in Soviet econ- Conference. "The All Union Con-

portant industrial areas of the

Union, they would have to repeat

Malenkov's list of backward

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

Walter Duranty was permitted by the Moscow. censors to cable news of serious food shortages, i.e. famine in Siberia, one of the great granaries of the Soviet transport.

"also need something else for food. It is all a matter of trans- | (N. Y. Times, Feb. 17). portation." (N. Y. Times, Feb.

Even the Daily Worker, which was brazen enough to represent Malenkov's report as a picture of glowing progress, had to admit comings."

Small wonder, that Stalin pre-"shortcomings" entered into pub- the incumbent Central Commitlic record under his own name.

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

How Their Own Lies Expose the Liars

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 rubles; 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.

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

Union, due to the breakdown of scapegoats. "A violent attack on Moscow, "has the special right cow. top-heavy bureaucracy and buck-"The Russians," wrote Duranty, passing, blamed for slowing down Soviet industrial output was detheir great Siberian 'empire,' livered before Joseph Stalin."

The world thus learns that a vast purge of the party has been and is in progress. The party apparatus is "top-heavy." Party functionaries are being purged as "bureaucrats," "armchair adminthat he "spoke mainly of short- istrators," "buck-passers," "chatterboxes," etc. etc.

On February 15 the Daily siderations, not to have these that not less than one-fifth of tee would be lopped off at this

omy is blamed, as usual, on | ference," reads the dispatch from of replacing individual members

> Feb. 15). To replace the victims, Malenkov demanded "hard-headed" ex- Party members" (Daily Worker, ecutives and called for "boldly December 21, 1940). promoting new capable workers place. All the more reason for could not be more than 225. keeping quiet in 1941.

But in addition to being purged but in the sphere of economy.

unchallenged authority for in-And to make doubly certain that emphasis). this authority is not infringed

only in Washington but in Mos-

The membership of the C.P.S.U. with initiative." In 1939 at the was officially given, in August a pledge to the Party that no Therefore, the number of "regular more mass purges would take delegates" at this Conference However Stalin made a "spe-

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

will appoint special agents ("sec-

retaries") to enforce the new

If so much is admitted official-

Why has the Daily Worker

Why does the Daily Worker in

ly what must be the real situa-

carried no news at all of the pre

tion in the Soviet Union?

Conference "discussion"?

industrial output"?

'buck-passers" etc?

"law and order" to the letter.

cial" provision. The Central Comthe party has been divested of mittee (alias Stalin) "gave one authority not only in the Army, additional regular mandate to 125 city committees . . . to 30 Party other measures, "undivided and 27 Party organizations in the Federation, were ransacked last dustrial managers and foremen." | Worker, December 21, 1940. Our

The flimsy pretext under which upon, he announced as "contemp- | Stalin violated-not for the first lated" the following organize- time!-his own statutes reads as 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 Conpublics" the City and District ference is the work of Party or-Party Committees, that is the ganizations in industry and transbureaucratic tops, will henceforth | port therefore" it is permissible appoint special secretaries "to to appoint almost as many addidirect the party organizations of tional "regular mandates" as there each industrial branch, and sim- might be "regular delegates." If ilarly...in railway and water that is not packing a Conference transport" (Pravda, February in accordance with the best "democratic" traditions, what is it?

#### 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 revo-

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

#### Police abroad, of those agents who | September 4, 1937. last Party Congress Stalin made 1940 as almost 2 1/4 million. Therefore the number of "regular" Therefore the number of "regular" Therefore the number of "regular" "New Leader" Office

Malenkov demanded, among organizations in railways and to Leader, weekly publication of the found nothing amiss there. ports, sea and river fleets." (Daily Sunday in two separate raids. superintendent again checked the Both offices are located in the New Leader offices, but found ev-Rand School building, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

any money or valuables taken. atic search of all papers, files and documents in the offices. But they left empty handed.

The raiders left clear indications of their purpose. They were documents. All desks, drawers, files and cabinets, as well as a locked safe in the SDF office, had been opened and their contents carefully examined. Representatives of the New

Leader informed this reporter that nothing of any consequence might be found in the offices of was stolen. A few old papers and letters of a completely worthless or such a political group as the letters of a completely worthless | Social Democrats. character had been taken haphazardly from the top of an open done 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, their assigned task.

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

At 12:30 A. M., the building erything in order. The next morning, however, a staff member of No property was damaged, nor the paper entered the editorial office to find that the office had 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 seeking written matter, letters or locked desks and a safe were opened. What type of letters and docu-

> ments were the clandestine searchers after to resort to such desperate expedients? Not any ordinary records or letters which But the intimate ties between

pile in the SDF office. This was the murdered Krivitsky and peror as possible evidence which the might have led the murder gang agents might show their super- to fear their possible possession fors to prove they had carried out of posthumous letters or documents of Krivitsky.

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.

JUST OFF THE PRESS

### The Assassination of Leon Trotsky

THE PROOFS OF STALIN'S GUILT

#### Albert Goldman

Counsel for Leon Trotsky during the Investigation of the Moscow Trials Counsel for Natalia Sedoff Trotsky in the Trial of the GPU Assassin

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### 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

apprehension 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 capital'st 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

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 "denfocratic" 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 dan-

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." "One of the most important functions of the . Special Assistant to the Secretary of War was to 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 as to the attitude of the Department with reference 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."

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 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.)

# How About These Bottlenecks? Work days lost - 1940 worker

through injury and illness as compared to days lost through strikes. How about cracking down on the system that causes the real bottleneck!

#### Youngstown "Quickie" soldiers and the twelve million colored Americans whose loyalty was so sorely tried during the war

#### Widespread Use of "Quickie" Strikes Shows Steel Workers Are Getting Ready For Action

when the company agreed to settle 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 in the open-hearth and conditioning departments of Sheet and Tube became fed up mounting 'back-log' of grievances. Picket lines were formed before two main entrances of the plant to halt the afternoon shift from going into the struck departments.

showing a paid-up union card. A similar walk-out had been in progress at the Youngstown Metal

workers, since Wednesday. While only 650 men were di-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.

1462 of the Steel Workers Organ- the steel profiteers.

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

"QUICKIE" TACTIC

This strike is but the latest and biggest of the many "quickie" stoppages which the Sheet and Tube workers have resorted to in recent weeks. Similar walk-outs have occurred at the hated Republic plant.

The quickie" tactic seems to be gaining headway, and its increaswith the continued refusal of the ing use by the steel workers is management to adjust a rapidly a sign of the growing ferment and desire for action. A two-day 'quickie' was pulled two weeks ago at the Macdonald plant of U.S. Steel, despite the opposition of Workers from other departments the organizer who spoke against were permitted to pass the line on the strike in the name of "national defense." Another strike, that of the Vanadium plant work-Products Company, employing 250 ers at Browersville, Pa., was ended recently only after the regional director of the SWOC attacked the other single family in the world. ficient to demonstrate for whom rectly involved in the Sheet and strike and supported the com-

> These mounting strike actions in the steel industry here and elsewhere indicate the growing The organizer for Lodge No. desire for decisive action against

### Two Blessed Events For The Du Ponts

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 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 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 profits to almost \$97,000,000. This betters, despite increased federal taxes, the figure for 1939

hasn't officially entered the war du Pont family the title, the "Dyn-

In addition to this tidy sum the cent out of the 1940 net "earnings" of General Motors, which amounted to \$195,500,000, compared with the \$183,290,222 earnings

#### 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 paid 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 years. companies and partial holdings; plus millions in huge bonuses and salaries as corporation executives. plus hidden profits, adds up to For the years 1915 through 1918

General Motors profit was "soft- ly \$100,000,000 net profit of the ened" by an additional statement that the company was going to cates a gross revenue, for the first ciple and interest on \$100 apiece war. which the company induced 35, CORRUPTION FLOURISHES 000 G. M. workers to put into a WHERE DU PONTS ARE "savings fund" in 1935.

But General Motors is just a profitable side line for the du du Ponts massed their titanic war Ponts. Their real personal fortune, estimated at well over a billion dollars, has come mainly

#### WHY IT'S CALLED "DYNASTY OF DEATH"

fat on every war in which the er the sale of nitrates to the govness of the duPonts. But they abundant supply of Chilean nitnever 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.

of \$93,218,664. And America is this which has earned for the 000, on a cost-plus fixed-fee basis.

fiction to the effect that the du Pont fortune is based only incidentally on war profits. They 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 Nemours and Co. were \$74,817,826. By the end of 1918, these assets had hundreds of millions of dollars 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

In 1914, the du Pont company had a gross revenue of \$25,179,948. was \$261,000,000, reaching a peak The announcement of the huge of \$329,121,608 for 1918. The neardu Pont company for 1940 indi-

The innumerable corrupt and government, was exposed after the last war by a three year investi-

One choice example was the nitrate 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 corncommon people fought and died ernment, and to get the governteenth century. War is the busi- although there was a cheap and position had been flanked.

plus basis, entailing a huge profit is Pierre du Pont. 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,

tracts recently awarded E. I. du goes back some six generations. In D. Roosevelt, Jr. bama, in the amount of \$47,997, of about one dozen.

building of the plant at a cost- The Delaware Tax Commissioner | ent biographer, the heads of the | had to discontinue the count betrial 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 Now history is repeating itself. a department of their corporation. ily tie with one of the old landed of Great Britain, not excluding

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 for a new smokeless powder plant eral hundred people. But the basic to be located at Childersberg, Ala- fortune remains in the control personal possessions than any tiny of the entire nation, is suf-

The du Pont dynasty controls lily, it has managed to keep its yachts, more pipe organs, more present war is being fought. And of 11 open hearth furnaces and 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 During recent years, the press large adjoining sections of Penn- by in-breeding marriages. In fact, rooms than any other family in fer and die in capitalist wars, the blooming department affected Family, it was announced on Feb. agents of the du Ponts have at-sylvania. The du Ponts build the he marriages of first cousins human history. One investigator until the rule of the parasites like other workers. schools and roads in Delaware, among the du Ponts became so was able to count 723 bathrooms the du Ponts is broken for good collect all the taxes, run the state. frequent, that, according to a rec- on various du Pont estates, but and all.

Among several construction con- The original du Pont fortune fortunes, when she married Frank- the King's Own Life Guards.

aged to accumulate with it more who control the wealth and des-

The du Ponts have more per-

This brief examination of the What do the du Ponts do with "Dynasty of Death," one of that

### 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 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. pay out \$12,500,000 in "bonuses" year 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 best to extinguish it. In this way, they cut themthis "bonus" is really the prin- that of the best period of the last selves off from their mass base. No wonder 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 enstarted with Japan, he realized that the Stalinist large 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 menacc. But when the New Fourth Army was established to the rear of Shanghai soon since the beginning of the nine ment to buy American nitrates, after the war started, Chiang realized that his

#### 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 ed into dollars and cents. And it The du Ponts contracted for the region. His demand became all the more urgent

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

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, Ching 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 discovereft "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

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.

#### THE MILITANT

VOL. V-No. 8

Saturday, February 22, 1941

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place. New York, N. Y. Telephone: Algonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board: ALBERT GOLDMAN FELIX MORROW

Business Manager: RUTH JEFFREY

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

#### FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

#### ON THE WAR FRONT:

#### For:

- 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
- 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
- 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:

- 1. 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.
- 8. \$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 unem-
- 7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade
- 9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

#### It Was A Sham Battle

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, CIO 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 work-

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

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

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.

What the CIO leaders are doing, under the pressure of the war machine, is vicious enough now. They must be prevented from entering the government and thereby doubling their punitive 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, 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.

#### 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 Eu-

### 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 in further with the Americans. It the Philippines. Japan, without

Referring to President Roosthat these two spokesmen of American imperialism had "plainly intimated that Britain is America's first line of defense in the Atlantic, and Australia and New Zealand in the Pacific, thus menacing Japan's position."

#### WORDS FOLLOWED BY WAR MOVES

These challenges flung across the Pacific have been followed by swift moves in the naval and military spheres, leading last week to open talk of war. In Washington and London the belief prevails that Japan will time an attack on Britain's great Singapore fortress to coincide with the expected Nazi blitzkrieg against the British Isles.

Having bullied the administration of French Indo-China into submission, Japanese troops and marines are pounding the streets of Saigon, Japanese planes are using the city's airport. At the same time, Japanese aviation has acquired the use of airfields in neighboring Thailand (Siam). Units of the Japanese fleet are patrolling the whole Indo-China coast, and a powerful Japanese naval squadron has been assembled at Hainan Island, off China's south coast. Thus in the air and at sea Japanese imperialism is poised for a swift descent on Singapore.

Singapore would have to be reduced before Japan could seize and hold the fabulous wealthy Netherlands East Indies. Having already forced the Dutch to make important economic concessions, Japan is now seeking air bases and naval facilities in the islands. If Japan should succeed in taking are resolved to do all you can to over these insular possessions of Dutch imperialism, she would be in position to strike later at Aus-

Preparing to defend Singapore the British have moved sizeable military forces to the northern border of the Malay Peninsula in anticipation of a Japanese land attack by way of Thailand.

The Roosevelt administration is speeding preparations to counter establishment at Pearl Harbor,

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 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 appropriation which provides for the establishment of naval and air bases at Guam and Samoa.

#### BOTH SIDES SEEK TEMPORARY TRUCE

ing out the other in an effort to discover if some basis for a temporary reconciliation does not ex ist. Naturally seeking to avoid giving battle to its challengers simultaneously in the Atlantic and the Pacific, the American imperialists would like to immobil ize Japan for the time being, until Hitler has either won or lost the battle of Britain. Japan, tre mendously exhausted by three and a half years of war in China. an proaches war with the Americar

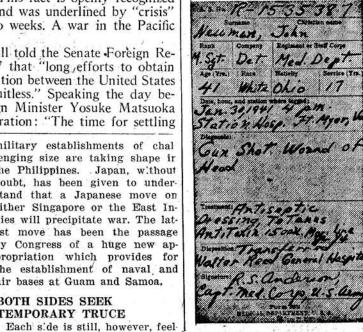
colossus with extreme trepida Hence, after Hull and Mat suoka, came the conciliatory tong of the Roosevelt-Nomura ex changes in Washington last week Said Nomura, the new Japanes ambassador to the United States 'It is needed now more than ever to bring about a better under standing of each other's position in order to secure the interest and well-being of our nations thereby preserving the peace of he Pacific and maintaining the traditional friendship between

Replied Roosevelt: "There are. developments in the relations be tween the United States and Jar an which cause concern. I wel come your assurance that, in the interests of the traditional friendship between our two countries and of the Japanese peoples, you

Earlier, Roosevelt had spoken less honeved words at one of his press conferences, warning that if Japan.

these Japanese plans. The naval to show with each new develop crisis in the Pacific just as they 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.

#### What You'll Get



A filled-out sample of one of the 4,500,000 casualty identification tags recently ordered by the army-"just a routine partment.

to accentuating all the old ones. Caught in this hopeless impasse rom which retreat has become mpossible, Japan is driving for ward to new territorial seizures The virtual subjugation of French Indo-China and of Thaiand (apart from its strategic aspects) was precipitated by an cute rice shortage in Japan, both countries being large producers of the staple. Roosevelt claps embarroes on exports of vital supplies to Japan, including aviation gasoline. Japan is forced to seek supplies elsewhere and casts covetous eyes on the Dutch Islands-where oil is produced in abundance. The growing tempo of these moves and counter-moves indicates that all possibility of "compromise" is fast disappearing.

Any reference to Japanese "totalitarianism" explains this comthe United States should get into ing war as little as does reference war in the Far East, it would to the "war for democracy" exnot affect American deliveries of plain the collision between British war material to Britain. The and German imperialism. Oil, warning was clearly directed to rice, raw materials, markets and fields for capital investment -The coming weeks are likely these stakes of empire explain the

#### procedure" said the War Deannot be reconciled, even temporarily. Japan's economic weaknesses, the pressing need for raw naterials and markets, drove the Tokyo imperialists first to the conquest 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

### War Contract Scandals Begin---Here's No. 1

repeated on a bigger scale.

ferred firms, despite "competitive" for steering contracts to his firm. in the \$1,114,700 profit which he 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

#### **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 banguet of the Anniston (Alabama) Chamber of Commerce, according to an Associated Press dispatch of

"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."

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." A typical example of the meth- struction contract was a member 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

ed" House Military Committee New York City, was revealed to meeting — immediately after the 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 conting names of three contractors tract letting, according to Chair "qualified" to handle a construct man May of the committee. tion job to the chief of construction of the Quartermaster Corps. 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-load-

ing plant in Elwood, Illinois. What aroused the ire of the House Military Affairs Commit- Management, Blossom made the som was obviously using his "ad- disassociate himself from his comhis firm was not neglected in the for the government. war order scramble, but that Blossom was drawing down "two com- executives who work with him, pensations" at the same time from | are perfectly free to look after the the government.

sharing in his firm's fat war pro- corporations. fits. As a matter of fact, he declared, he did not expect any pay from his committee post, thinking he would be just "a dollar-a-

The war contract scandals of that the senior partner of a big year man." He did not know he Blossom is speaking the truth

Francis Blossom, senior part- would split with his partners.

All Blossom is guilty of, accord-

ing to the war profiteers' lights Quite by "accident," it seems, is a little crudity of method. Unpost at the head of General Motors before he took the job of running the Office for Production tee was not the fact that Blos- mistake of failing to technically visory" position to see to it that pany before taking up his duties

Knudsen, and the ex-corporation 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

> Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

#### 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 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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#### Negro Struggle

#### **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."

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,

#### 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

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

### The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF HOW The GPU Murdered Ignace Reiss

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

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 gray 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

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

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

#### 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.

#### 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

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-

sians in Russia" (12, rue de Buic, Paris VIe). This On Saturday, September 4, at the Finhaut railway 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 Rol-I'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

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.

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 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 Kameney 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 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 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

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 GPU agents who had been plotting murder on Erench 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.

# GPU Is Trying To Free How Stalin Stopped Purging the Party Murderers Of Trotsky The time has come," Stalin's According to the Bolshey mouthpiece declared, "for all Party (Nos. 15-16, August 1940) the ty leaders to stop the practice of tal number of members, as of that

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

Thereafter Siqueiros was referred to as "irresponsible" frequently in the Stalinist press.

#### NOW ON OFFENSIVE

But now that several months have elapsed and, the GPU chieftains hope, it is no longer necessary to retreat, they have returned to the offensive, first with the pressure on the judges, and now with this letter of the "Intellectuals and Artists" which, if it gets by, will undoubtedly be followed by still bolder moves.

The letter asks President Camacho "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 butwarks of culture and progress." "In '''s light," the ask, Siqueithat is why their letter "carries out most profound admiration and artistic solidarity for David Alfaro Siqueiros in these difficult ated, there is always danger for moments of trial."

to not exist, as we have already but a promise of eventual openpointed out, because no judge has yet accepted the case. Nor are Siqueiros' 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

porter asks:

"Who would say that the much discussed painter Siqueiros is speaking with these reporters in the patio of the penitentiary? Without doubt, his appearance could not be more elegant during an exposition in some art gallery." The reporter's story adds this to describe the situation of Siqueiros in the jail: "No one would think that it deals with a prisoner."

It has likewise been an open scandal that the assassin Jacson It is clear that the present man-

queiros and Jacson are incarcer. Trotsky. the GPU that their agents will The "difficult moments of trial" talk. Comforts in jail constitute ing of the cell doors.

(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- sassins 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-machine will increase its output a hundred-fold.

gument for Siqueiros' release. Si- 2,000,000 party members and can- many. queiros is a murderer? Yes, but didates had thus been purged by he paints so well, reply the "In- March 1937, leaving approxima- candidates on the rolls as of tellectuals and Artists," and Toleall the necessary space to say it

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 should become a matter of the euvers to release Siqueiros are honor and integrity of genuine "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 preserin this country where civil liber-

ty leaders to stop the practice of tal number of members, as of that

An official report issued at the about 1,400,000.

Stalin again personally pledged that there would be no more mass

words, in a period of 14 months, were admitted, a total number alwho survived the 1937 purge.

vation 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 entered the party in the two-year interval between March 1937 and and the GPU can. Only, they March 1939?

mouthpiece declared, "for all Par- (Nos. 15-16, August 1940) the tomass expulsions." (Pravda, March date, was 2,245,333, while the candidates numbered 1.493.157.

If we subtract the number of time estimated that the party candidates who entered the party membership had fallen off to since April 1, 1939, (i. e., 1,127, 802) from the total number of "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

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 at the Eighteenth Party Congress from March 1937 to March 1939? 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 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 those who joined the party in the 1,733,429 members and candidates two-year period between Pravda's "order" to halt the purge (March most equal to the two million 1937) and Stalin's "promise" of no more purges (March 1939)? But, it may be objected, why There remains, at a very conser-

The Daily Worker can't tell you what happened to them but Stalin 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,