

# Stalin Murdered Krivitsky

The New Proof—See Page 3

# THE MILITANT

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# '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

MEXICO CITY, Feb. 15—The latest move of Stalin's GPU is nothing less than a systematic move to prevent the punishment of the GPU assassins who are now in jail awaiting trial for 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, are awaiting trial for the May 24th attempt, in which they murdered Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's American secretary-guard.

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 being a fugitive for months, had to admit he participated in the assault.

Yet the case of Siqueiros is not in the hands of a judge! (Under Mexican law, a case is placed in the hands of a judge who is given a year in which to investigate and hand down a final decision. There is no jury.)

The first judge who had the case insisted on being replaced. His successor declined to take over the case and refused to give his reasons for so declining. But the press spoke openly of the fact that the judge had been threatened by the GPU, as the first judge had been. Other judges have also refused to take the case, and therefore the records are now in Mexico City, after a trip from Coahuacan to Villa Obregon and from there to Xochimilco.

The purpose of GPU pressure to prevent any judge from handling the case is clear. Thus time elapses in which the case, Stalin's agents hope, will gradually sink into oblivion.

And now has come an open

move to prepare public opinion (and the judges already softened up by more forceful private steps) for putting Siqueiros at liberty. On February 14th *El Popular*—Toledano's paper, which prepared the ideological ground for Trotsky's murder by its incessant GPU-written slanders against him—published a letter signed by "Intellectuals and Artists" and addressed to President Camacho, "cheerfully offering our moral support" to Siqueiros.

The letter does not directly ask for Siqueiros' release, but prepares the way for that by complete silence about the crime and much talk about what a "great artist" (painter) he is. It concludes by asking that Siqueiros be treated "justly." The implication is clearly presented: he is a "great" Mexican artist and therefore should go free.

### UNESTHETIC DETAILS

That Siqueiros murdered Bob Harte. That he nearly succeeded in murdering Leon and Natalia Trotsky. That he led a score of men with machine-guns in this attempt. That he did this coldly

and calculatingly having planted two women spies near the Trotsky household (to corrupt the police on guard outside) more than three months before the actual attempt. That he did this as a subordinate cog in the murder-machine of the GPU—none of this is so much as referred to in this letter of "Intellectuals and Artists."

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 to defend him. On the contrary—despite the fact that Siqueiros had been publicly identified with the Stalinist movement for fifteen years, had been a Major in the Stalinist-controlled forces in Loyalist Spain, is president of the Stalinist-front Union of Mexican Ex-Combatants of Spain, etc. etc.—the Stalinists made desperate attempts to dissociate themselves from Siqueiros.

### STALINIST TESTIMONY

Thus David Serrano, member of the Political Bureau 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 testimony, made to the chief of police, General Jose Manuel Nunez, and released to the press on June 18, 1940, characterized Siqueiros as an "undesirable person" and "half crazy." Serrano stated he believed Siqueiros, together with Siqueiros' brother, with their friends, were responsible for the attempt on Trotsky. The Communist party, Serrano stated, "for some time had been suspicious of them."

Thus *La Voz de Mexico*, official Communist Party organ, on June 20, 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.

"The declaration of those (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 songs!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 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 Florida.

This formula so dominated the presentation of the proponents of the bill that the *New York Times* headline (Feb. 18) was: "Aid bill 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 Vermont, assistant Republican leader, went one better, dramatically striding into the center aisle of the chamber to declare, in solidarity 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 antagonisms in the Far East, an expeditionary force of thousands of Australian troops, including mechanized units, was landed at Singapore early this week to reinforce Scottish, English, Indian and Malayan troops, as a measure to bolster the defenses of Britain's Far Eastern fortress.

A Japanese army spokesman described the landing as "a belligerent action." The British military spokesman in Hongkong meanwhile announced that "all preparations humanly possible" had been made to defend that colony against any Japanese attack.

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

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

The Kiplinger WASHINGTON 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 more and more under government control.

"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 emphasis.)

(See editorial, page 6)

## 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 this week that the S.W.P. is prepared to support the A.L.P. candidate for Congressman in the 17th New York District.

The S.W.P. sent a letter to this effect shortly after the news became public that the A.L.P. county committee had named a candidate, Eugene Connolly.

As part of the anti-war campaign in the 17th District, the S.W.P. will hold a rally at Transport Hall, 153 West 64th Street, 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 candidates of the two capitalist parties in the special Congressional election in the 17th district, we are considering withdrawing our candidate, Arthur P. Burch, and urging labor to support your candidate, Eugene Connolly. We

We feel that the platform of the American Labor Party (New York County Committee) presents a pacifist rather than a militant proletarian opposition to war. For example: You correctly oppose the war-mongering "lend-lease" bill now pending in Congress, but you suggest no real alternative to it. Our program does provide a real alternative. We call 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.

(See story on the S.W.P. campaign to place Burch on the ballot, page 2.)

## ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

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

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

German infiltration into Bulgaria has already been in preparation for some weeks and the new pact between Turkey and Bulgaria seems to indicate that full military occupation of Bulgaria will take place without action by Turkey. There remains in the vagueness of the Turkish-Bulgar pact grounds for faint Allied hope that this is not the case. In London this hope was eagerly grasped and it was asserted that it could be "safely assumed" that Turkey would fulfill its obligations under its pact with Britain in the event of a German Balkan move. The Germans seem to think otherwise and in these matters they have usually proved to be the more correct.

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 screws on the Turks. Involvement of Turkey in hostilities against Germany would have brought the Germans into action on still another Soviet frontier. German victory over the Turks would install them directly adjacent to the Caucasus and establish them on a second coast of the Black Sea. This is what Stalin fears and this is what he would seek to avoid in compelling Turkey to meet Hitler's terms in return for a temporary and insecure "safety" from attack.

## 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 flappoodle 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 flappoodle 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.**

# WORKERS' FORUM

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 cops—and 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 annoyingly repetitious and highly laudatory) have been made to me recently in connection with the question of whether I have or haven't read the latest "Bible" of the Communist Party: "The Soviet Power," by the Dean of Canterbury. Inasmuch as my time 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 of this book would aid me considerably. It is possible also that there may be others in my predicament who would also desire a review.

Also, the tone of voice and general impressions of these individuals 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 appeared then count me as one of those who missed it and would greatly appreciate having it brought to my attention. If a review is to be made would you kindly inform me by letter of the issue and publication in which it is to appear? Thank you.

E. G. S. Chicago, Ill.

## 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 book—which 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.

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

"Censorship has started, like war-time, on paper, radio, movies. It's voluntary, by request, not mandatory. It covers certain navy news, unless 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 PROVIDE THE PROPER CONDITIONS FOR PUBLIC MORALE." (Our emphasis.)

## Highlights In The Labor Press

By CARL O'SHEA

President Sal Hoffman writes in the AFL UPHOLSTERSERS' 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 Upholsters are locals in Paris, Texas; New London, and Ladysmith, Wis.; Winston-Salem; Hallam, Pa.; Hoquiam, Wash.; Minneapolis, Minn.; and Burlington Iowa.

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

Revolts against the ultra-reactionary regime of Hutcheson in the Carpenters and against the Stalinist misleaders in the Woodworkers explains this situation.

On the pressure by the soup: 'Cause the limit of compression ('Specially when you got no gauge) 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 pressure

Into jes' a two-pound space, Without tube an' casing giving, An' explosion tak'n' 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!

"Though the Housin' Board 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 pressure

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

## La Follette's PROGRESSIVE

for February 8th reprints a comment from an anonymous English columnist confirming our view that Roosevelt's aid to England can have only reactionary effects. "The National Government remains national, but so does the national dilemma. We can have a National Government only on condition that it is an all-party government. But the domestic issues raised by the war are so profound that an all-party government can exist only by ignoring them. Since the issues remain, it looks as though the only way of preventing the facade of national unity from being broken by some sort of social revolution is that America should finance the war. American finance would enable us to retain the illusion of being a united democracy by sparing us the extra financial pinch that would expose the class cleavage. In other words, America would pay us to remain a capitalist democracy."

"I'd like to display to our MILITANT 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  
"If you've ever pumped a tire up Mused my friend, Methusalem Brown,  
Then you'll know you never figger like."

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 single line on this important struggle." Harrison's late political "friends 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 ink suit against the Minneapolis General Drivers Union Local 544.

Clarence Darrow once aptly described the conspiracy indictment as "a legal device which has been used as a modern and ancient dragnet for compassing the imprisonment and death of men whom the ruling class does not like."

## "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 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 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 sections offered their help in securing 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, seven-teen registered voters in the building then gave their signatures. The living conditions of the Ne-

groes are heart-rending. Their flats are unheated although it is the dead of winter. They are over-crowded and many without lights.

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 had nothing left but the miserable old-age pension granted by the government. She was glad to sign the petition that would place a revolutionary candidate on the ballot.

In another home, two men playing cards denounced the "reds" when the petition circulator rang the bell and announced the purpose of his visit. A woman nursing a baby in the same room told them to hush up, and took up the defense of the "reds." She signed the petition and said that she was glad to see the Trotskyists try to get on the ballot.

### NOT SO FRIENDLY

It was not all clear sailing, however. At one apartment a well-dressed 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.

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 fresh!

### PENTHOUSE STALINIST

One comrade decided to try one of the exclusive streets where the wealthy live. He picked out the most sumptuous apartment house, rode with the uniformed elevator man to the top floor and started ringing bells. The first door he tried swung open on thick rugs. He caught a glimpse of a huge radio, a grand piano, an oil painting on the wall. A young man with soft white hands 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 counter-revolutionary and against the Soviet Union."

"Are you a Stalinist?" asked the petition collector in amazement. "Well, not exactly. But all the liberal progressive circles say that the Trotskyists are counter-revolutionary. I can't sign." He closed the door.

The petition collector decided right then and there that perhaps it was an error to petition the penthouse for signatures and rode the glittering elevator back down to the street.

Last Sunday night Comrade Burch was invited by Fatner Divine's organization to speak at one of his mass meetings in Harlem. He had invited two prominent whites as guest speakers also, Judge Walcott and Mr. Shintag, a prominent attorney. More than

## 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's nomination of a candidate.

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

## QUEENS BRANCH SOCIAL SAT. FEB. 22 8:30 P.M.

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**Grace Carlson Reports On New Locals**

By GRACE CARLSON

PITTSBURGH — The most interesting news of the week on my tour comes from two cities where until the other day our party had nothing—Pittsburgh and Baltimore.

Today, however, the Socialist Workers Party is definitely on the political map in Pittsburgh. My meeting here was the only public commemoration of the anniversary of Lenin's death. Twenty-nine workers attended the open meeting, and indicated by their interested questions and participation in the discussion a real interest in the Trotskyist program. Subscriptions for THE MILITANT were obtained and other Trotskyist literature was sold, so we can be confident that these workers intend to study our program. There is real promise of a rapid growth of our party in this great steel center.

Baltimore is another important steel center. It is also becoming a center in the aviation industry. The "open shop" tradition of Baltimore is breaking down as the SWOC and the UAW meet with great success in their organizing drives.

The Baltimore branch of the party was organized a short time ago. Its first task, successfully achieved, was to get all of the members into basic industry and the unions of these industries. We may look forward with confidence to other achievements, and soon, by the Baltimore branch.

Friends, Branches  
Keep This Date Open

**Anti-War Election Rally**

Closing the Campaign in the 17th District  
Thursday, March 6  
8:30 P.M.

TRANSPORT  
WORKERS HALL  
153 West 64th Street  
New York City

**SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR**

Fri. Sat.	Feb. 21	Memphis
Sun.	Feb. 22	
Mon.	Feb. 23	Arkansas
Tues.	Feb. 24	Arkansas
Wed.	Feb. 25	Texas
Thurs.	Feb. 26	Texas
Thurs.	Feb. 27	
Fri.	March 14	Los Angeles and vicinity
Sat.	March 15	
Sun.	March 16	
Mon.	March 17	
Tues.	March 18	
Wed.	March 19	
Thurs.	March 20	
Fri.	March 21	
Sat.	March 22	San Francisco
Sun.	March 23	
Mon.	March 24	
Tues.	March 25	
Wed.	March 26	
Thurs.	March 27	
Fri.	March 28	
Sat.	March 29	
Sun.	March 30	Portland
Mon.	March 31	
Tues.	April 1	Seattle
Wed.	April 2	
Thurs.	April 3	
Fri.	April 4	Plentywood
Sat.	April 5	Williston
Sund.	April 6	
Mon.	April 7	Fargo
Tues.	April 8	
Wed.	April 9	Twin Cities



## 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 31. 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 collected):

Place	Week's Subs	Total Subs	Total Points
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
New Haven	2	6	7
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

The cities listed in bold letters are current leaders in their Challenge Categories. Some are leaders by sheer default of the others in the same category, which have not yet made their mark.

The best surprise of the week was ALLENTOWN, coming through with a fistful of subs fast enough to place high up on the list, along with the big fellows. Good work, comrades! In proportion to strength you put

some of the best of them to shame!

MASS WORK IN THE BRONX  
BRONX, N. Y.—"Our MILITANT work in an important union hall in the Bronx reveals what results can be obtained by a continued and steady distribution 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 view sink in.

"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 of mass work with the MILITANT—but in the last few months they've been learning fast. Now in every borough of the city factories and union halls are covered regularly with our paper. More and more New York workers are coming to know the MILITANT and are asking for it each week.

# Stalin Assassinated Krivitsky: The New Proof

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

By THE EDITORS

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

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

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

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

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

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

The actual text of those sentences in the photostat reads:

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

We have carefully examined the photostat copy. We can

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

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

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

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

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

But these are not Trotskyists, not real oppositionists?

Then Trotskyists likewise must be made to recant. Rudolph Klement, secretary of the Fourth International, "writes" a 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 poor Klement is fished out of the Seine and mutely explains the "letter."

The debacle of the Klement "letter" drives the Kremlin to cram the murder of Trotsky somehow into the pattern of 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 Bureau 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 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 publicize 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 left behind.

## Krivitsky Slain, Says Barmine

### Ex-Soviet Envoy, On Stalin's List, Warns Friends He Will Never Commit Suicide

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

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

Before his break on December 1, 1937, Barmine had served for 19 years as a Soviet official, first as a soldier and political commissar in the Red Army in 1919, then as a brigade commander, Consul General in Persia, director-general of Imports, first secretary of the Legation of the USSR, then Charge d'Affaires. He had been a member of the Communist Party of the USSR since 1919.

In making his declaration, Barmine 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 enemies of the Soviet people.")

**WHEN BARMINE BROKE**  
Barmine's public break with Stalin was consummated by a statement addressed to the French Committee of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials on December 1, 1937. The Moscow Trials, he declared, had finally brought him to the full realization "that a reactionary dictatorship had installed itself in my country."

"I would like to make the most pressing, most desperate appeal to public opinion," he then said, "in behalf of at least of those — my chiefs and companions, all old Bolsheviks—of whom you are still perhaps living, and against the false and ignoble accusations. I am thinking of my friends remaining at their posts in other countries of Europe, Asia or America, threatened daily with a similar fate and placed before the tragic dilemma: go back to certain death, or renouncing seeing their country again, to risk the bullets of the agents of the Secret Police abroad, of those agents who

quite recently still shadowed my every step.

"To remain in the service of Stalin's government would have been to doom myself to the worst demoralization and to assume my share of the responsibility for the crimes committed every day against the people of my country. It would have been to betray the cause of socialism to which I have devoted my entire life.

"I am obeying my conscience in breaking with this government. I am fully aware of the danger to which I expose myself in acting this way. I am signing my own death warrant and expose myself to the blows of paid killers. This consideration could not modify in any way my line of conduct."

Only a few days after Barmine's break with Stalin came that of Krivitsky, for which the latter has now paid with his life. Only three months before that, the man who, after twenty years of service to the USSR, had preceded Krivitsky and Barmine in breaking with Stalin—Ignace Reiss—had been found riddled with machine gun slugs in Switzerland on September 4, 1937.

### 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.

## 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 Bureau but merely one of the secretaries of the Central Committee. This procedure is without precedent in the history of political parties in general and of the Stalinist Party Conferences in particular.

Not that silence on Stalin's part is in and of itself unprecedented. Far from it. In every arena (China 1925-1927, Germany 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 Stalin's silences.

But this is the first time that the Kremlin Dictator has publicly 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, February 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 Presidential! Why?

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

Still more, the crisis is so grave that Stalin is no longer able to rule through the party, as the avowed dominant force in Soviet life. The party has been shoved aside. Any nonentity may now address it with the voice of authority. Again, this is corroborated 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 Malenkov. In his speech he admitted that there was a "lag" in "several key industries"; that output had decreased "in such industries as building material and lumber"; 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, Yaroslavl, 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 important industrial areas of the Union, they would have to repeat Malenkov's list of backward areas.

### "REIGN OF DIRT"

In Soviet "enterprises, shops, depots, harbor and railroad works" there was, according to the same Malenkov, a "reign of dirt." Many a scoundrel sometimes utters the truth, even if unintentionally. We accent this

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

Pravda, in commenting on Malenkov'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, February 18.)

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 of ores, petroleum, wheat, salt, wood and coal." (N. Y. Times, February 17).

### 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 Union, due to the breakdown of transport.

"The Russians," wrote Duranty, "also need something else for their great Siberian 'empire,' food. It is all a matter of transportation." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 13).

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

Small wonder, that Stalin preferred, apart from all other considerations, not to have these "shortcomings" entered into public record under his own name.

The grave crisis in Soviet econ-

### How Their Own Lies Expose the Liars

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

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

"In 1938 the capital investments... constituted 22.3 billion 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 rubles.

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 bankrupt!

omy is blamed, as usual, on scapegoats. "A violent attack on top-heavy bureaucracy and buck-passing, blamed for slowing down Soviet industrial output was delivered before Joseph Stalin." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 17).

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 administrators," "buck-passers," "chatterboxes," etc. etc.

On February 15 the Daily Worker unwittingly announced that not less than one-fifth of the incumbent Central Committee would be lopped off at this Conference. "The All Union Con-

In other words, Stalin's G.P.U. will appoint special agents ("secretaries") to enforce the new "law and order" to the letter.

If so much is admitted officially what must be the real situation in the Soviet Union?

Why has the Daily Worker carried no news at all of the pre-Conference "discussion"?

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

How could industrial output increase with "every passing year" under a top-heavy bureaucracy, under "armchair administrators," "buck-passers" etc?

No real defender of the Soviet Union would seek to cover up the crimes of Stalinism which are weakening the workers' state literally with every passing hour. Every thinking worker must ask himself why the Stalinists in America are compelled to cover up G.P.U. lies and murders not only in Washington but in Moscow.

When the Daily Worker first printed the call for the Eighteenth Party Conference, it proudly announced that all Party organizations having more than 10,000 members would be represented by "one regular delegate per 10,000 Party members" (Daily Worker, December 21, 1940).

The membership of the C.P.S.U. was officially given, in August 1940 as almost 2 1/4 million. Therefore, the number of "regular delegates" at this Conference could not be more than 225.

However Stalin made a "special" provision. The Central Committee (alias Stalin) "gave one additional regular mandate to 125 city committees... to 30 Party organizations in railways and to 27 Party organizations in the ports, sea and river fleets." (Daily Worker, December 21, 1940. Our emphasis).

The flimsy pretext under which Stalin violated—not for the first time!—his own statutes reads as follows: "In view of the fact that the main question before the Conference is the work of Party organizations in industry and transport therefore" it is permissible to appoint almost as many additional "regular mandates" as there might be "regular delegates." If that is not packing a Conference 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 revolution.

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

## "Thieves" Break Into "New Leader" Office

The offices of the Social Democratic Federation and the New Leader, weekly publication of the Federation, were ransacked last Sunday in two separate raids.

Both offices are located in the Rand School building, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

No property was damaged, nor any money or valuables taken. The raiders simply made a systematic 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 seeking written matter, letters or 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 was stolen. A few old papers and letters of a completely worthless character had been taken haphazardly from the top of an open pile in the SDF office. This was done either to provide a false clue as to what the raiders were after, or as possible evidence which the agents might show their superiors to prove they had carried out their assigned task.

The first raid was made early Sunday afternoon upon the offices of the SDF, on the second floor of the Rand School. The discovery of the raid was made by the building superintendent. He hastened to make a survey of the business

and editorial offices of the New Leader on the fourth floor, but found nothing amiss there.

At 12:30 A. M., the building superintendent again checked the New Leader offices, but found everything in order. The next morning, however, a staff member of 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 locked desks and a safe were opened.

What type of letters and documents were the clandestine searchers after to resort to such desperate expedients? Not any ordinary records or letters which might be found in the offices of such a paper as the New Leader or such a political group as the Social Democrats.

But the intimate ties between the murdered Krivitsky and persons connected with or friendly to the SDF and the New Leader, might have led the murder gang to fear their possible possession of posthumous letters or documents of Krivitsky.

Professional burglars, possessing the skill with which this job was done, would use their talents on much more profitable enterprises than breaking into the offices of a minor political party and a small paper.

JUST OFF THE PRESS

## The Assassination of Leon Trotsky

THE PROOFS OF STALIN'S GUILT

By

Albert Goldman

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

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# The 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 Rosenberg, 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 capitalist society. A small group, however, has managed to carve a fairly comfortable niche for itself within the prevailing order. Its economic position binds it to bourgeois society. This group of "leaders," by virtue of its education and its economic weight, occupies the key positions in the Negro press, the Negro organizations, the Negro schools. This group of "leaders" supported the war and dragged the reluctant Negro masses in its wake. "Without advice or counsel from any organized body, official or otherwise," Moton boasted, "the educated Negroes, professional and business men and educators generally, showed themselves as loyal and patriotic as any other Americans, and not only counseled their people to be loyal, but urged them to avoid loose expressions even in jest which might lead others to misunderstanding. Not only so, but they urged their people to raise food, to buy Liberty Bonds, to respond

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

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

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

The "better class" Negro urged his people to forget that the same class which had oppressed them and continued to oppress them was at the helm of the war government. He declared 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

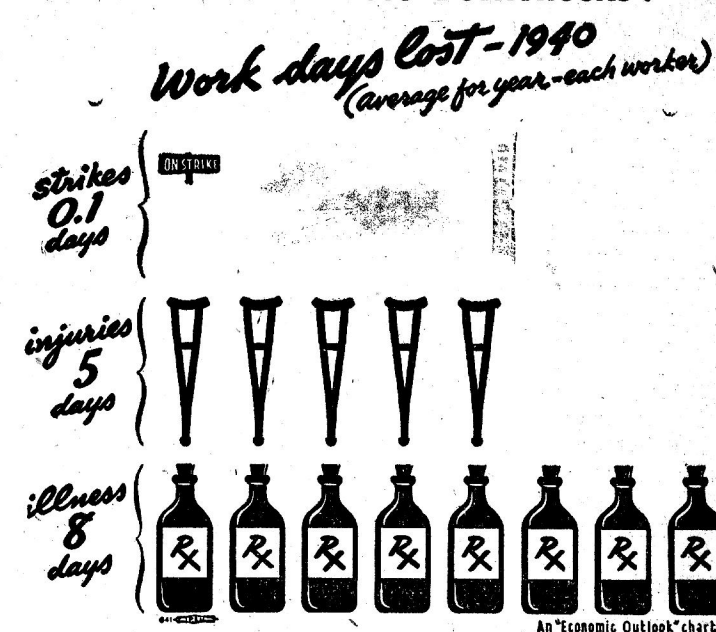
old grievances existing, in even sharper form, with the "democratic" army and navy. In the navy, they found themselves used only as waiters and lackeys. In the army they found themselves segregated, and given the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs.

As the resentment of the Negroes grew, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker appointed Emmet J. Scott as his Special Assistant on Negro matters, thus trying to make the colored masses think they had a defender at court. What actually happened may be told in Scott's words: "It was not possible to accomplish even a small proportion of favorable results in all the matters which arose; and... in many instances the full measure of justice was not accorded Negro soldiers, sailors, and civilians; it yet remains a fact that during the whole period of the war the office of Special Assistant continued to urge a program of One Hundred Per Cent Americanism." "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 soldiers and the twelve million colored Americans 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 "sorely tried"? Why was a "publicity campaign" necessary to "reassure" them? How "reassuring" did it actually prove?

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

### How About These Bottlenecks?



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

## Youngstown "Quickie" Gets Quick Results

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

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Feb. 17.—A strike of over 1,000 workers in the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company and its subsidiary, Youngstown Metal Products Company, which was called last Friday, was ended this week-end when the company agreed to settle the 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 with the continued refusal of the management to adjust a rapidly 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. Workers from other departments were permitted to pass the line on showing a paid-up union card.

A similar walk-out had been in progress at the Youngstown Metal Products Company, employing 250 workers, since Wednesday.

While only 650 men were directly involved in the Sheet and Tube walk-out, the shutting down of 11 open hearth furnaces and the stoppage of steel ingots from the blooming department affected other workers.

The organizer for Lodge No. 1462 of the Steel Workers Organ-

izing Committee (CIO), which called the strike, stated that as a result of this militant action "80 percent of the grievances have been cleared up and arrangements made for handling the other 20 percent."

"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 increasing use by the steel workers is 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 the organizer who spoke against the strike in the name of "national defense." Another strike, that of the Vanadium plant workers at Browsersville, Pa., was ended recently only after the regional director of the SWOC attacked the strike and supported the company.

These mounting strike actions in the steel industry here and elsewhere indicate the growing desire for decisive action against the steel profiteers.

# 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 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

is this which has earned for the du Pont family the title, the "Dynasty of Death."

During recent years, the press agents of the du Ponts have attempted to build up an elaborate 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 nylon, etc. And it is true that these products have sustained the du Ponts rather well through "lean" years of peace.

But what put the du Ponts in the billion dollar class was war.

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 grown to \$508,846,297. Despite the 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 years.

In 1914, the du Pont company had a gross revenue of \$25,179,948. For the years 1915 through 1918 the average annual gross revenue was \$261,000,000, reaching a peak of \$329,121,608 for 1918. The nearly \$100,000,000 net profit of the du Pont company for 1940 indicates a gross revenue, for the first year of the current war, which is already equal to or greater than that of the best period of the last war.

Corruption flourishes where du Ponts are. The innumerable corrupt and thievish practices by which the du Ponts massed their titanic war fortune, in connivance with the government, was exposed after the last war by a three year investigation of the Graham Committee of the House of Representatives.

One choice example was the nitrate conspiracy in which the du Ponts were heavily involved. They organized a scheme to corner the sale of nitrates to the government, and to get the government to buy American nitrates, although there was a cheap and abundant supply of Chilean nitrate.

And although it was entirely unnecessary, the du Ponts for instance, were given \$90,000,000 by the government to build a nitrate plant at Old Hickory, Tennessee. The du Ponts contracted for the

building of the plant at a cost-plus basis, entailing a huge profit in itself. After the war, the plant was sold to the Nashville Industrial Corporation for \$3,500,000.

Now history is repeating itself. Among several construction contracts recently awarded E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company by the War Department, is one for a new smokeless powder plant to be located at Childersburg, Alabama, in the amount of \$47,997,000, on a cost-plus fixed-fee basis.

The du Pont dynasty controls the entire state of Delaware and large adjoining sections of Pennsylvania. The du Ponts build the schools and roads in Delaware, collect all the taxes, run the state,

The Delaware Tax Commissioner is Pierre du Pont. Most of the newspapers in the state are owned, directly or indirectly, by the du Ponts, who run the press like a department of their corporation.

The original du Pont fortune goes back some six generations. Thus the family has many branches today, and numbers several hundred people. But the basic fortune remains in the control of about one dozen.

Despite the growth of the family, it has managed to keep its wealth all together. This was done by in-breeding marriages. In fact, the marriages of first cousins among the du Ponts became so frequent, that, according to a rec-

ent biographer, the heads of the dynasty had to forbid more in-breeding in recent years. In 1937, Ethel du Pont, daughter of Eugene du Pont, made the first family tie with one of the old landed fortunes, when she married Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

What do the du Ponts do with all their wealth? They have managed to accumulate with it more personal possessions than any other single family in the world. They have more estates, more yachts, more pipe organs, more swimming pools and more bath rooms than any other family in human history. One investigator was able to count 723 bathrooms on various du Pont estates, but

had to discontinue the count before it was well under way. The du Ponts have more personal servants to cater to their every want than the Royal Family of Great Britain, not excluding the King's Own Life Guards.

# 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 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 Stalinist-controlled 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 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. And so they damp down the struggle and do their best to extinguish it. In this way, they cut themselves 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 not the whole explanation for Chiang's attack on the New Fourth Army. Chiang has always felt uneasy in the Stalinist embrace. When he made his pact with the C.P. in 1937, before war started with Japan, he realized that the Stalinist armies, free from attack, would be able to enlarge their territories and might grow into really formidable opponents. The Eighth Route Army, main Stalinist force, was virtually bottled up in the northwest and was not then considered a very serious menace. But when the New Fourth Army was established to the rear of Shanghai soon after the war started, Chiang realized that his position had been flanked.

### 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 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 Army.

Matters finally came to a head when Washington advanced sizeable loans to China and intensified its diplomatic pressure against Japan, at the same time stepping up its war preparations in the Pacific. Feeling confident now that Moscow's material aid in the war with Japan could be dispensed with if necessary, Chiang 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. When they had completed their first attack, they then stood aside and looked on while the Japanese took up the battle to smash the Fourth Army. When the fighting was over, the Japanese and Wang Ching-wei (head of the puppet gov't in Nanking) had regained the territory won by the valor and genius of Yeh Ting and his associates. And the national unity of China which had held back the Japanese invaders for more than four years had been given a shattering blow!"

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

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

### The Lie of "National Unity"

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

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

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

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## FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

### ON THE WAR FRONT:

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.
- Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
- Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
- Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—Down with Jim Crowism.
- An end to secret diplomacy.
- A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

### AT HOME:

For:

- A job and decent living for every worker.
- Thirty-thirty—\$50 weekly minimum wage—\$30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
- \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
- Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
- Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
- Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

## It Was A Sham Battle

Why had he attacked the Administration's foreign policy during the election campaign? Wendell Wilkie was asked while he was testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "It was a bit of campaign oratory..." answered Wilkie. (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 workers.

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

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

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

There's your wartime "leadership" of the trade

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 Europe.

# 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 United States through negotiations has passed. It is useless to talk further with the Americans. It is not that they cannot understand, but that they won't."

Referring to President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull as "warmongers," Matsuoka declared that 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."

**BOTH SIDES SEEK TEMPORARY TRUCE**

Each side is still, however, feeling out the other in an effort to discover if some basis for a temporary reconciliation does not exist. Naturally seeking to avoid giving battle to its challengers simultaneously in the Atlantic and the Pacific, the American imperialists would like to immobilize Japan for the time being, until Hitler has either won or lost the battle of Britain. Japan, tremendously exhausted by three and a half years of war in China, approaches war with the American colossus with extreme trepidation.

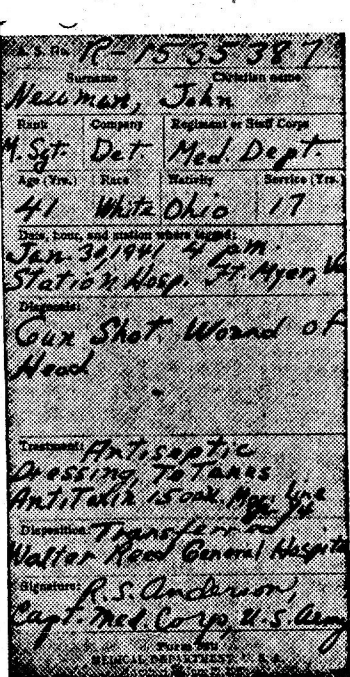
Hence, after Hull and Matsuoka, came the conciliatory tone of the Roosevelt-Nomura exchanges in Washington last week. Said Nomura, the new Japanese ambassador to the United States: "It is needed now more than ever to bring about a better understanding of each other's position in order to secure the interests and well-being of our nations thereby preserving the peace of the Pacific and maintaining the traditional friendship between us."

Replied Roosevelt: "There are developments in the relations between the United States and Japan which cause concern. I welcome your assurance that, in the interests of the traditional friendship between our two countries and of the Japanese peoples, you are resolved to do all you can to bring about a better understanding."

Earlier, Roosevelt had spoken less honeyed words at one of his press conferences, warning that if the United States should get into war in the Far East, it would not affect American deliveries of war material to Britain. The warning was clearly directed to Japan.

The coming weeks are likely to show with each new development that the interests of American and Japanese imperialism

### 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 procedure" said the War Department.

cannot be reconciled, even temporarily. Japan's economic weaknesses, the pressing need for raw materials 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 two years and has produced new economic difficulties in addition to accentuating all the old ones.

Caught in this hopeless impasse, from which retreat has become impossible, Japan is driving forward to new territorial seizures. The virtual subjugation of French Indo-China and of Thailand (apart from its strategic aspects) was precipitated by an acute rice shortage in Japan, both countries being large producers of the staple. Roosevelt claps embargoes 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 coming war as little as does reference to the "war for democracy" explain the collision between British and German imperialism. Oil, rice, raw materials, markets and fields for capital investment—these stakes of empire explain the crisis in the Pacific just as they are the issue in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

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

The war contract scandals of the last war are beginning to be repeated on a bigger scale. A typical example of the methods being used by the bosses and government officials in snaring the profitable war order for preferred firms, despite "competitive" bidding, was brought to light on February 14, when someone spilled the beans before the "shocked" House Military Committee

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

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

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

that the senior partner of a big construction firm working on an \$11,000,000 War Department construction contract was a member of the Army's Construction Advisory Committee, drawing down an incidental salary of \$6,500 yearly for steering contracts to his firm.

Francis Blossom, senior partner in the firm of Anderson and Porter, construction company of New York City, was revealed to be also a member of the committee which has the job of submitting names of three contractors "qualified" to handle a construction job to the chief of construction of the Quartermaster Corps.

Quite by "accident," it seems, Sanderson and Porter has contracted, for a "fixed-fee" profit of \$1,114,700, to build a shell-loading plant in Elwood, Illinois.

What aroused the ire of the House Military Affairs Committee was not the fact that Blossom was obviously using his "advisory" position to see to it that his firm was not neglected in the war order scramble, but that Blossom was drawing down "two compensations" at the same time from the government.

Blossom himself testified before the committee that he saw "nothing improper" about his serving on the advisory committee and sharing in his firm's fat war profits. As a matter of fact, he declared, he did not expect any pay from his committee post, thinking he would be just "a dollara-

year man." He did not know he was getting paid until checks began "dropping into my mail."

Blossom is speaking the truth when he states that he was not interested in his "pay" for the committee post. He was interested in the \$1,114,700 profit which he would split with his partners.

The "aroused" committee went into "executive session"—secret meeting—immediately after the hearing to plan an "investigation" into the whole system of war contract letting, according to Chairman May of the committee.

All Blossom is guilty of, according to the war profiteers' lights, is a little cronyism of method. Unlike William K. Knudsen, who "resigned" from his executive post at the head of General Motors before he took the job of running the Office for Production Management, Blossom made the mistake of failing to technically disassociate himself from his company before taking up his duties for the government.

Knudsen, and the ex-corporation executives who work with him, are perfectly free to look after the interests of Du Ponts, Morgans, etc., to the tune of billions of dollars. And that's OK to the congressmen, because they are no longer "connected" with their corporations.

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."

Let 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 Amharan 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, and 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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