

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.

"One-Third Ill-Housed" Will Stay That Way

A newly completed project in South Boston, built under the local Housing Authority, has recently been purchased by the government for housing of "national defense" workers. This means that hundreds of families now living in sub-standard homes with inadequate light, heat and sanitary facilities, are to remain in these unhealthy places although they had already been notified that they were to move into the new project April 1st. Many had given notice to their landlords. The need for a housing project in this particular section of Boston is so blatant that civil groups composed of church officials and the like have been working for years to get such a project. And now the only sop the authorities give the workers in this area is a statement that another project will be built for them and perhaps in another five or ten years it may be ready for occupancy.

B. WISE

Twin Cities Banquet Its 'Militant' Pluggers

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — The new six-page MILITANT was greeted Feb. 6 at a banquet attended by about 75 comrades of the Minneapolis and St. Paul branches. The inner-party banquet honored those comrades who sell and distribute our press and thus make possible the growth and influence of our press and our party.

Comrade Lee, master-of-ceremonies, opened the banquet by saying "We greet the 6-page MILITANT as a step toward a twice-weekly and then a daily. And we pay our respects to those who so faithfully see that our paper gets into the hands of hundreds of workers each week."

PARTY PRESS HISTORY

Comrade Riley told of the history of the party press. As he spoke, he called attention to a display of party papers from the old Militant, beginning Nov. 15, 1938, the New Militant, the New International, the Socialist Call, the Socialist Appeal, Labor Action, to the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and the MILITANT. His stories of the tremendous sacrifices made by the Left Oppositionists in the early years to get out the paper were moving.

Humorously he recalled that period when the Trotskyists entered the Socialist Party and we had to depend upon the innocuous Socialist Call for a few months, with its writings by Norman Thomas and the Reverend Roy Burt. "I'm thankful that the Militant and New Militant never had to disgrace its columns with such scribbling," he said. He also traced the history of our theoretical organ, told of how last April it was "illeged from us by the porch-climbers" and how the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL was established.

PLANTING THE SEEDS

Comrade Jones, in his talk on the party press, pointed out the unique nature of the banquet: that it was the first party banquet devoted solely to our press and to the group of comrades who, with fine understanding and spirit have contributed to the development of the grand ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and our recently murdered Old Man. It is given to the comrades we honor tonight to take the printed word of our movement to hundreds and thousands of workers who, tomorrow and the next day, will be part of the vanguard that will overturn this rotten brutal capitalist system and usher in a decent and humane order."

The highlight of the evening was the presentation of the fourteen most devoted press distributors to the banqueters, and the response two of the distributors made to the chairman and the other comrades.

Comrade Stanley of St. Paul, one of the best press salesmen, said: "Distributing our party press has its ups and downs. The cold nights and the abuse of unfriendly people are definitely the 'downs.' The friendly words of sympathetic workers and the requests for copies of the paper by union men and women are the

Ten Workers Die In Fire-Swept "National Defense" Factory

Was A Fire-Trap Because Boss Wouldn't Spend a Few Dollars; City and Federal Authorities Closed Their Eyes to Bad Conditions

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Feb. 5—Ten workers today paid with their lives for the greed of the bosses, as flames destroyed them in the flimsy firetrap factory building of the New Haven Quilt and Pad Company here.

Three other workers were seriously injured when they jumped from a third floor window to the ground below, unable to escape by any other way because the fire escape was blocked by huge blazing bales of cotton and the only other exit, a fire door, had been ordered closed by the factory superintendent to prevent spread of the flames, despite the fact that these thirteen workers were still in the third floor back room where the fire began.

The factory has been working night and day on an Army order for 578,000 comforters for the new conscript army. Most of these comforters have already been delivered to the Army.

I would like to mention that the problem of housing "defense workers" does exist, and that landlords have taken great advantage of the workers who must be concentrated in a small area in order to get jobs in defense plants. However, as hard a problem as it is for these workers, and I know this from personal experience, it is nothing in comparison with that of families trying to live on much lower incomes.

Boston, Mass.
B. WISE

The report announcing the government purchase also stated that "this is part of the government's plan for more extensive defense utilization of USHA projects now nearing completion." It is well-known that the insignificant number of housing projects already built and under construction hardly touched the problem of housing the admitted one-third who are "ill-housed" in this country. Now even these are to be taken away and handed over to government employees comparatively well able to pay market rents for standard housing.

Cotton bales in front of the fire escape exit flamed up almost instantaneously throwing a huge wall of fire between the trapped workers and the fire escape.

After several workers had escaped through the only other exit, the fire door, the superintendent ordered the door shut, cutting off all possible chance of escape.

ORDERED TO STAY

The doomed men might have escaped in the initial moments after the fire broke out, but they had remained on the orders of a foreman to attempt to save the bales of cotton. In less than five minutes the work room was a howling furnace, so quickly did the flames rage among the piles of exposed cotton and quilting.

One worker, who had escaped through the fire door before it was shut, pleaded with the foreman to open the door telling him that there were workers trapped in the room. The foreman refused him for "spreading rumors."

The building was an obvious fire trap. It was condemned three months ago, it is reported, and three insurance companies had refused to accept insurance policies on it.

SPRINKLERS SHUT OFF

There was an antiquated sprinkler system in the burning building, but workers from the first floor who rushed to the basement to turn it on, found that not only was the system shut off, but the main valve had been sealed. By the time six frantically working men could force open the valve

"ups." I particularly recall distributing our paper to the meeting of the Farmers Union in St. Paul, how the farmers stood in line to get copies, and told me "Good work, young lady. This is MY paper." For several years I have been distributing our paper at the meeting of the Building Laborers Union. At first they would read our paper, warning them of the approaching war, and scoff, asking me how "your war" is coming along. Then the war started. They smile when we described the United States as the leading imperialist power and predicted this nation, too, would be involved. But now they are friendly, they are serious about our party and our paper, and they recognize me and are eager to get copies of the paper, and greet me on the street."

BEGAN AS 8-YEAR OLD

Comrade Stone of Minneapolis spoke next and told how he started in at an early age as a socialist propagandist. "When I was eight years old, I used to have a paper route. A socialist in the neighborhood, John Ryan, used to get a bundle of socialist papers. He was a tired radical and used to get us boys to pass his papers out. I remember many times being chased and hollered at by irate citizens. Why didn't people who understood socialism distribute the paper, so that they could answer questions, I thought?"

"The first time I delivered our own paper, I read it through five times so I wouldn't be stumped. So I could answer all the questions that I might be asked. Every week I ask about five people for subs. I try to be as regular as possible, because that makes an impression on people too."

SUB DRIVE LAUNCHED

The bundle of papers that used to come to our headquarters was small," Comrade Bergerson, literature agent in Minneapolis, reminisced. "It was easy to get into the headquarters, but we had a hard time getting it out. Now it's hard getting the big bundle into headquarters but easy getting it out. This is due primarily to the good work of the fourteen comrades we honor tonight to take the printed word of our movement to hundreds and thousands of workers who, tomorrow and the next day, will be part of the vanguard that will overturn this rotten brutal capitalist system and usher in a decent and humane order."

FORD WORKERS READY

That the Ford workers would rally courageously to a program of action is testified to by the fact that they have poured into the UAW by the thousands.

He outlined the subscription drive for the MILITANT and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, and displayed the post cards listing the combination sub offer. The Minneapolis branch is to be divided into five teams which will compete against one another, the winning team to be honored at a banquet in April.

Following an inspiring discussion, a motion from the floor carried that the Twin Cities set a quota of 500 subs and challenge New York on that basis. The motion carried unanimously. A telegram was sent forthwith to New York: "Reading of challenge to 250 subs met with laughter. Minnesota challenges New York to 500 subs by April 1st."

NOW WHAT?

This leaves the union flatfooted without any recourse except to prepare for strike action. This is about the third time, in recent weeks that Ford has told the union to go plumb to hell. Each time Thomas and Widman bob up again, and go through the whole business again of demanding a collective bargaining meeting with the company, only to be received each time with greater scorn.

The UAW is faced with the immediate necessity of arousing and organizing the rank and file for

boy and men were offerings to the greedy god of boss PROFIT and the negligence of boss politicians.

Wasn't it to Make Profits that the bosses refused to call the Fire Department until it was too late, because the firemen might damage the cotton?

But ten workers' families today are counting their losses in more than dollars and cents. The bosses can't build a new firetrap factory from their profits. But ten fathers, sons and husbands will never be replaced.

While the "Register" and "Journal Courier" (New Haven's only two papers, both owned by John Day Jackson, multi-millionaire and controller of both Democratic and Republican parties here) have begun to write that the coroner finds no criminal negligence, the Socialist Workers Party of New Haven distributed a leaflet, pinning responsibility where it belongs, on the bosses and their stooges, the local and state politicians. The leaflet said in part:

Equally responsible are the officials of the Fire Dept., the Building Dept., and the State Dept. of Labor, all of whom knew of these conditions and that the place was a fire trap!

Resolve Today
... to form unions—strong fighting unions — which would force the bosses to install fireproof equipment and protection.
... to form a Labor Party in New Haven, based on the unions which would sweep these indifferent and inefficient politicians out of office.

DETROIT, Mich., Feb. 10. — The UAW-CIO International Executive Board showed the world how far from the path of unionism they have been pushed by the war scare, when they issued a statement signed by R. J. Thomas and Richard Frankenstein, condemning "mob tactics, wildcat strikes, stoppages etc." and apologizing to a Hudson Motor company foreman who was allegedly thrown out of the plant by a "mob" of union men.

The union officers agreed to punishment of a group of Hudson workers, accused of throwing the foreman out of the building, and the company has laid them off for from four to six months without pay.

These incidents indicate how quickly and easily these leaders capitulate to the pressure of the "National Defense" hysteria, and the whole war situation.

The Communist Party elements in the UAW also show no courage or will to fight this kind of flagrant union-busting tactic.

Hudson Men Penalized By Reuther and Thomas

By the Queens Correspondent

QUEENS, New York City—The workers of the Pepsi-Cola Company, organized under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, have succeeded in obtaining important gains in a new contract signed by the bosses.

The new contract continues the 8-hour day, 40-hours a week with time and a half for overtime. Overtime in excess of two hours and Sunday and holiday work will be paid at the rate of double time. The union gained a \$2 increase per week. Wage rates are raised to \$23 minimum for women and \$30-34 for men. All employees receive eleven legal paid holidays with pay and a week's vacation for those employed a year, two weeks for those employed for two years or more. Seniority rights are guaranteed.

The workers at Pepsi-Cola ascribe their victory to the solid front they presented against the company in negotiations. At the Anchor Cap Company, which manufactures bottle caps, the workers, likewise members of the IAM, are preparing to negotiate with the company for renewal of the contract which they gained last spring through strike action. In view of the unity between production workers and machinists they do not expect the trouble they had last spring when the company refused to concede an increase in pay, paid vacations, seniority rights, and immediate discussion of grievances until militant picket lines convinced the bosses a change in policy was in order.

At the Lily Tulip Cup Company in College Point, Long Island, the workers face a more difficult problem. Here the production workers belong to the Printing Pressmen, an AFL craft outfit, while the machinists belong to Local 295 of the IAM. Some concessions have been obtained from the company, but the split in ranks seriously

weakens bargaining power. There is growing sentiment among the employees here for united action of all workers in the plant such as brought the workers at Anchor Cap and Pepsi-Cola major gains.

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Highlights In

The Labor Press

By CARL O'SHEA

The AFL dual union, the American Editorial Association, boasts than three weeks, and that they are broke, thousands of families have no water. Only source of water is from friendly residents in the area who as yet have not suffered the shut-off fate. In many homes, influenza and other sickness is gaining headway. Mrs. Odell Crowley, one tenant, said that "We have managed to get enough water to drink, but hardly enough for bathing and to flush the toilet regularly." Restaurants and cafes in the area, many of them without water, continue to serve patrons under conditions that make sanitation practically impossible. Baths in the area have become a rare luxury. Greedy merchants in the area who still have running water are taking advantage of the Negro families by asking sums from \$2 to \$5 per month for supplying water by the painful to families. Conscienceless landlords are battering on the housing shortage by "pulling down the protective boarding of condemned and abandoned houses, splashing on a thin coat of paint, and asking from \$25 to \$40 per month for five and six rooms . . . and getting it!"

The AFL Washington State LABOR NEWS reports that a Senator Roberts has introduced a bill to foist a \$5 poll tax on voters of the state of Washington. If American "democracy" continues to spread at this rate, the time will shortly come when only the employers can vote.

The CO-OPERATIVE BUILDER, weekly paper of the Northern States Co-op League, carries news of growing protest among Canadian farmers against the government's action in pegging produce prices. On January 10th some 2,000 angry farmers met in London, Ontario, to demand that the Dominion government "be fair to agriculture in administering the war burden." The farmers charged that "the government has fixed the maximum price of butter at three to four cents below current market prices, at a time when the farmer's price for butterfat is still low in comparison with his rising war-time costs of production. Bacon prices are also too low, the farmers charged. Efforts of Minister of Agriculture Gardiner to defend his actions failed to appease the farmers.

This is the second open and flagrant incident in which the Executive Board members of the UAW have sided with the company in disciplining a group of union militants. In the Fisher Body situation in Flint, 17 men were thrown out of the plant by a "mob" of union men. The union officers agreed to punishment of a group of Hudson workers, accused of throwing the foreman out of the building, and the company has laid them off for from four to six months without pay.

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The tragic plight of nearly 3,000 residents in the 11th Ward sector of Cleveland, Ohio, site of a new low-rent housing project, is exposed by the Cleveland CALL POST, Negro weekly. Residents of the slum area face the double dilemma of wholesale water shut-offs and eviction. Approximately 3,000 sub-standard living units are being abolished and the tenants evicted, without considering the fact that there is not one-fifth that amount of living units anywhere available in the city. The City Water Department is turning off water as fast as the property owners sell their property. There is an ordinance that permits the Water Department to demand six months payment in advance to turn the water on. Inasmuch as tenants are legally not permitted to remain in the property for more

ring in Pennsylvania. (Confidentially, we look to that state to play the dark horse in this race. Come on... you Quaker Bolsheviks!)

SCORE-BOARD ON SUBS TO DATE

The readers of THE MILITANT will not object, we are sure, to the inclusion of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL subscriptions in the 'ARMY' scoreboard during the period of the special sub-drive, since these will count along with regular MILITANT and special Combination subs in the final reckoning. To date the score is as follows:

City Subs Points
New York 8 12
Detroit 6 13
New Haven 4 4
Chicago 3 8
Newark 3 3
Minneapolis 2 9
Los Angeles 2 4
Milwaukee 2 2
St. Paul 1 3
Plentywood 1 2
Cleveland 1 2
Kansas 1 2

How Stalin Murdered Trotsky

Jacson And The Mexican Stalinists Who Made Earlier Attempt Are Now On Trial

By JOSEPH HANSEN

The murder of General Walter Krivitsky by Stalin's GPU, recalls the machine gun assault organized by GPU gunmen on Trotsky's bedroom on May 24, 1940, and their assassination of Trotsky on August 20 last year.

In the machine gun assault Robert Sheldon Harte, secretary guard on duty was kidnapped and murdered. His body was found a month later in a shallow grave lined with lime. Whereas Krivitsky was killed with one shot in the temple from a .38 caliber pistol, Harte was shot twice, once at the base of the brain, and once in the temple. The pistol was the same caliber as the one used to kill Krivitsky.

Leon and Natalia Trotsky escaped death on May 24 only by accident. They lay silently in a corner of the room while the score or more of assassins filled the walls and their bed with machine gun slugs. Apparently the assassins, when they made their escape, were convinced that they had succeeded.

Trotsky estimated that it had cost Stalin at least \$10,000 for the material preparations alone of this assault. Only a powerful organization such as the GPU, with unlimited resources and personnel, could have organized such an assault on such a scale.

STALIN LIES LEAD POLICE OFF TRIAL

Immediately following the assault, the Stalinist press began a vicious campaign to throw the guilt for the assault on—Trotsky. They accused him of having organized the assault himself, in conjunction with the Dies Committee. The accused Harte, whom they had just murdered—was before his body was found—of planning the assault in agreement with Trotsky.

The Mexican police, like the Washington police in the case of Krivitsky, were taken at first by the Stalinist propaganda. They began their investigation among Trotsky's friends, and even investigated Diego Rivera the famous mural painter. However all these "clues" ran against a blank wall.

The assassins had left behind a number of incendiary and explosive bombs, the incendiary bombs designed to burn Trotsky's archives. Only Stalin could have an interest in destroying these archives. They left rope ladders,

electric saws, and when they abandoned the automobiles they stole from Trotsky's garage, they left in them some of the police uniforms they had used as disguises in order to surprise the police.

TRAIL LEADS TO COMMUNIST PARTY

Checking of the uniforms led directly to the Communist Party. The police proved that David Serrano, member of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, had ordered certain members of the Communist Party to obtain these uniforms.

Further investigation along these lines brought the arrest of two women Stalinists who had been delegated by the GPU to seduce the police guard stationed at the Trotsky house and act as spies.

One of these women was Serrano's former wife, both were members of the Stalinist organization.

These women revealed the names of other Stalinists involved and likewise the various preparations for the assault such as the renting of a number of houses in Coyoacan and the hiring of Stalinists who had served in the Spanish Civil War to act as the machine gunners.

Police succeeded in arresting a number of the assailants. They were either members of the Communist Party or closely associated with it. A number of those who had participated gave full confessions. These confessions named David Alfaro Siqueiros as organizer of the assault. Siqueiros had been a well-known Stalinist for years, first as a leading member of the party and then as one of the Stalinist minions prominent in Spain in connection with GPU activities there. As late as a few months before the assault Siqueiros had been prominently identified with the Communist Party in Mexico.

Also named in the confessions of the Stalinists were the Arenal brothers and Anthony Pujol.

These three together with Siqueiros were named as the organizers of the assault under the guidance of a mysterious "French Jew" who was evidently the liaison with the GPU circles.

Siqueiros went into hiding. He wrote a number of articles which he sent to the press, attacking Trotsky. He accused Trotsky of having organized a "self-assault."

Krivitsky sent Trotsky an affidavit which Trotsky presented to the Mexican court as part of the



One of the last pictures taken of Leon Trotsky. He is shown with his wife, Natalia, on one of the picnics he enjoyed so much.

Trotsky, he tried to justify the assault as his "own" idea and to shield the GPU.

The Arenal brothers and Pujol are still at large, but Siqueiros and Serrano are in jail. Siqueiros named the Arenals as the ones who actually murdered Harte. The Arenals were known in the United States as prominent Stalinists. Their drawings were featured in the Soviet Intelligence Service in Mexico for many years.

In a careful analysis of the assault, Trotsky showed exactly how the GPU is organized, how its key agents sit in the Central Committee of every Communist Party section and direct its activities.

Ambassador Oumansky, in

evidence he had accumulated irrevocably branding the GPU as organizer of the May 24 assault.

The affidavit described the organization of the GPU, substantiating what Trotsky himself wrote from his own experience concerning the GPU. Stalin undoubtedly chalked up Krivitsky's aid to Trotsky as an additional reason for killing the former head of the Soviet Intelligence Service in Western Europe.

Trotsky predicted another at-

tempt on his life by Stalin's GPU. It would occur, he said during one of the next great cam-

paigns of the war in Europe, so

that the story of attempt or suc-

cess would be lost in the battle-

front headlines. Desperate efforts

were made by friends of Trotsky

working out of Washington where

the GPU last Monday killed Kri-

vitksy. Oumansky is an old career

man in the GPU—he was never

known as a diplomat until he

came to Washington prior to the

organization of the May 24 assault

and the August 20 assassination.

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GPU agent who took the name "Frank Jacson."

Jacson had already succeeded in inveigling himself into the graces of Sylvia Ageloff, who had been known to Trotsky's friends for years as dependable and loyal. He became her husband and thus paved the way for his becoming accepted in the Trotsky household as a person worthy of confidence.

Jacson travelled with apparently unlimited funds. He stayed in the best hotels, bought himself an automobile, journeyed between New York and Mexico by airplane. He gave out the story that he was working for a wealthy merchant, in order to account for his funds, and spread the impression that he was connected with a commission buying material for the Allied powers.

On August 20, by a stratagem,

Jacson succeeded in getting into Trotsky's study alone. Raising a pick axe, he buried it in the brain of the world's greatest living revolutionary. Stalin's long cam-

paign against Trotsky had suc-

ceeded. When Jacson was searched by the police they found in his pocket a "confession." This document was apparently written for the eventuality that Jacson might not succeed in escaping and would be killed by the guards after committing the murder. Unfortunately for Stalin, his agent was seized alive. The "confession" praised Stalin as being "correct" and repeated many phrases concerning alleged connections between Trotsky and the Dies Committee and Wall Street which might have been lifted without a single change out of the Stalinist press. It also claimed that Trotsky had ordered Jacson to go to Shanghai, fly to Russia, and there commence sabotage and attempts against the lives of Soviet leaders.

When he was questioned in court concerning this "confession," Jacson was unable to remember important parts of it, was unable to remember any of the circumstances of his alleged conversations with Trotsky, and finally refused to answer any questions on the subjects mentioned in his confession. It was clear that, since the document had been prepared by the GPU for the eventuality of his death, he had not memorized its contents.

Albert Goldman, attorney for Natalia Trotsky, was easily able to prove in court that Jacson had never carried on the alleged conversations with Trotsky.

Jacson was branded as an agent of the GPU. His "confession" itself became a proof that he was one of the professional killers who constitute Stalin's terror organization.

Jacson stands branded as the greatest Cain of all time. His murder of Krivitsky adds another to the almost incredibly long list of his crimes. But the brazenness of the murder of Trotsky, and now of Krivitsky, measures the closeness of the end for Stalin. In the coming period the workers of the Soviet Union will seize the first opportunity to draw a close to the long bloody score. They will smash the GPU and along with it the monster who was its head rules in the Kremlin.

And the re-awakened Russian revolution will put on its banner Trotsky's last words: "I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!"

Krivitsky Slain By Stalin's GPU

(Continued from Page 1)

Moscow Frameup Trials have similar phrases put in their mouths. Although, having burned their fingers with the Jacson "confession," which tried to justify Stalin, the GPU did not dare put into the Krivitsky "letters" direct reference to Stalin, the GPU still could not resist making Krivitsky "repent" for his fight against Stalin. This phrase is as good as Stalin's signature to this crime."

2. In the letter addressed to his wife, she is urged always to be quiet and never get angry with their seven-year-old son. Krivitsky never would have written this, knowing she had never been otherwise toward the boy."

3. In the letter to Waldman, the signature is "Walter Krivitsky." But Krivitsky never signed such letters other than "Krivitsky" alone.

4. "The reference in one of the letters to his former associate, Dobert, is utterly unlike Krivitsky. He would never have drawn Dobert into the situation by men-

tioning his name in a letter which would automatically become public."

"This was no suicide," concluded Miss LaFollette. "It was murder, murder at the hands of the GPU."

WASHINGTON'S SILENCE

There is obvious resistance from Washington officials to any further investigation into the death of Krivitsky. State Department policy at present is to wheedle Stalin into some form of collaboration, at least in the Far East. That means constant dealing with Ambassador Oumansky—and Oumansky, Trotsky said, is the real head of the GPU apparatus on this continent.

It will be recalled that a similar official wall of silence and buck passing occurred in France, where the GPU carried on its murders with impunity during the period when the French government hoped to wheedle Stalin into a favorable alliance for the war.

Stalin's Murder List Is Long

(Continued from Page 1)

Moulin, leader of the Spanish Fourth Internationalists, met a similar fate in 1937. Erwin Wolf, former secretary to Leon Trotsky, was kidnapped in Barcelona in September of the same year, and has never been heard of since.

OTHER TROTSKYISTS

In 1937 Ignace Reiss, a GPU foreign agent, broke with Stalin, reaffirmed his devotion to the workers' revolution, and solidarized with the Fourth International. On September 4, 1937 his bullet-riddled body was thrown from the car near Lausanne, Switzerland. Swiss and French police later established the guilt of known GPU assassins, one of whom, Rossi, later went to Mexico.

THE GPU IN SPAIN

During the civil war in Spain, leading militants of the Spanish proletariat were picked off one by one by the GPU.

It was Stalin's service to the "democracies." Berneri and Barbieri, anarchists, Andres Nin of the POUM, Marc Rein, son of the 2nd International leader Abramovich, Kurt Landau, Austrian militant, were among those assassinated by Stalin's counter-revolutionary agents in Spain.

The crowning crime of the Kremlin Borgia was the driving of a pick-axe into the brilliant brain of his unconquerable adversary, Leon Trotsky, on August 20, 1940. The full story of that murder is told elsewhere in this issue.

GPU Forged Other Letters

(Continued from Page 1)

terious disappearance of another victim of the Kremlin, Juliet Stuart Poyntz, comes immediately to mind. Clement left his table set for dinner, his room in order, his intimate personal matters unfinished when he left his room for the last time. Juliet Stuart Poyntz went for a walk in New York wearing light clothing, left her personal effects and duties incomplete and never again was seen. Walter Krivitsky was in the midst of preparation for securing the safety and happiness of his family by moving them to a farm for the last time.

The GPU has executed with much skill another political murder. But no skill can cover up the fatal flaws in its crimes. Even this first cursory examination of the circumstances surrounding Krivitsky's death makes clear he was a victim of the GPU.

Grace Carlson Reports On Negro Audiences

By GRACE CARLSON

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 10.—Advertised as the "City of Brotherly Love," Philadelphia is known among Negro workers as one of the most reactionary and vicious of the Northern cities in the treatment of its Negro citizens.

A number of Negro workers, attending yesterday's discussion on "Negroes and the War," nodded their agreement to my expression on our party's position that the oppression of the Negro people will not end until the capitalist system of exploitation is abolished through united action of white and colored workers.

The same agreement was expressed by Negro workers of the Newark audience in the meeting held there the previous Sunday. Over half of the questions directed at me in Newark concerned the question of Jim Crowism in the

armed forces of the United States. Our program for trade union control of military training was easily understood and apparently readily accepted by the Negro questioners.

The good meetings held in Trenton, Allentown, Reading and Quakertown are testimonials to the patient, devoted and self-sacrificing work of true Bolsheviks. Comrades in these places cannot always see the results of their work as can those in larger centers. The success of the meetings, the general interest and enthusiasm shown by those present, demonstrated that the work of weekly distribution of THE MILITANT, regular and sustained contact work, etc., has won support for the program of Trotskyism among new and wider sections of the working class in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Chiang Kai-shek And The Stalinists

Meaning of His Slaughter of the New Fourth Army Is Deliberately Hidden by Browder

By LI FU-JEN

No matter what infamous crimes he commits against the Chinese masses, no matter how brutally and viciously he acts against the rank-and-file followers of the Chinese Communist Party, and notwithstanding his most treacherous sabotage of China's struggle against Japan—Chiang Kai-shek can continue to count upon the slavish support of the Chinese Stalinist leaders.

That is the meaning of the statement made by T. V. Soong, brother-in-law of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, former finance minister of China, and currently the head of a Chinese financial mission in Washington, in an interview with Edgar Ansel Mowrer of the New York Post and Chicago Daily News. Said Soong: "So long as the war against Japan goes on—which means until China has won—there is no chance of the friction between Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communists developing into civil war—current American opinion to the contrary notwithstanding."

Soong's opinions were being sought with regard to the recent battle between the Stalinist-controlled New Fourth Army and Kuomintang troops in central China, which resulted in the disarming of the Stalinist force after it had suffered thousands of casualties, and the arrest of its commander, Yeh Ting. The incident itself was "civil war" on a local scale. What Soong meant, of course, was that it would not be permitted to spread, that it would be settled by "compromise," that is, by Stalinist submission to Chiang's orders.

A Year of Local Civil Wars

News of the battle in central China came as something of a shock to Stalin's rank-and-file followers in America. They did not know that this was the culminating incident in a series of local civil wars between the Kuomintang and the Stalinist-led armies during 1940. Large-scale battles took place last year in northern China between the Stalinist-led Eighth Route Army and provincial Kuomintang troops, in which the casualties sustained by the Eighth Route Army far exceeded those in the recent central China battle. The Stalinists in China and in this country did everything possible to conceal the fact that clashes had taken place, so that the fiction of the "People's Anti-Japanese United Front" might be preserved. Where news of the clashes did leak out, they whitewashed Chiang Kai-shek and attributed his atrocious deeds to sinister advisers. They did

the same thing in 1927 when Chiang beheaded the Chinese revolution.

If not for the fact that foreign correspondents in China secured news of the central China clash (similar occurrences in the more remote north were not known about until months later and then only vaguely), the Stalinists might have been spared the task of thinking up alibis for the latest conduct of the hangman of the Chinese revolution.

Earl Browder was obliged to come out with a statement in the Sunday Worker to the effect that Chiang Kai-shek attacked the New Fourth Army because he had been "given to understand that American help (the recent loans) required him to deal with Chinese Communists as the Roosevelt Administration deals with American Communists, that American help required him to draw away from the Soviet Union and approximate Roosevelt's hostility toward that country. It is utter nonsense to speak as if this break originated in China, or with Chiang. It was pressed upon the Kuomintang from without as well as from within, and from without the pressure came from Japan, Germany, England and the United States. The ruling circles of all four powers, despite their quarrels, agreed to press upon Chiang the demand for military liquidation of the Chinese Communists."

This crude attempt to divorce Chiang's action from the class politics of the Kuomintang regime, and to depict it as the exclusive product of foreign machination, will deceive none but dolt-wits. Let us recall that when Chiang headed the Chinese revolution in 1927, and let loose a reign of terror against the workers and peasants, he acted as the agent of imperialism and its subordinate native partners, the Chinese bourgeoisie and the landlords. This was no plot cooked up in foreign chancelleries, but the end result of a polarization of class forces which Stalin's infamous policy of the "bloc of four classes" had only thinly veiled.

Had the Chinese Communist Party recognized in Chiang—as Trotsky and the Left Opposition did—the political representative of the Chinese exploiters and their imperialist mentors, had it maintained its political independence and taught the masses to distrust Chiang, it could have led the Chinese revolution to victory instead of to the slaughter-pen. But it clung to Chiang's coat-tails, strangled the revolutionary initiative of the masses. "Chiang will not betray us," said Stalin.

Why Krivitsky Was Murdered By Stalin's GPU

(Continued from page 1)

We need only cite some of the recent events in the Soviet Union to picture the death agony of Stalinism.

Stalin's Involuntary Testimony

The Ukases of the Kremlin, the columns of the Moscow press, reveal the real situation. The provincial Russian press is even more tell-tale. For example, we select at random from the headlines which appeared in mid-October, 1940, in the "Chkalov Comune," official organ of the Chkalov province:

"ORDERS OF THE GOVERNMENT VIOLATED"
"MOST OF THE GRAIN LEFT UNTHRESHED"
"INDIFFERENCE TOWARD NEXT YEAR'S HARVEST"
"CATTLE PILFERED FROM COLLECTIVES IN PAVLOVSK DISTRICT"
"LOSSES FROM DEFECTIVE GOODS"
"DIRE CONSEQUENCES OF SHORTCOMINGS IN CONSTRUCTION"
"UNCONCERNED ADMINISTRATORS"
"NO CHECK-UP ON PARTY DECISIONS"
"NO QUORUM AT MEETINGS"
"STATUTES VIOLATED"
"HOOLIGAN ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS"
"STRANGE ATTITUDE TOWARD PROPAGANDA"
"OBLIGATIONS TO THE STATE POORLY FULFILLED"

Another example: Kalinin began his speech in commemoration of the Twenty-Third Anniversary of the October Revolution with the following cautious but murderous admission: "At the beginning of this year," he said, "we faced serious difficulties in the fulfillment of the production plan in industry." (Izvestya, Nov. 7, 1940). "Serious difficulties" is an absolutely new phrase from Stalinist doctoress.

Walter Duranty was permitted to cable that "conditions were admittedly difficult" at the beginning of 1940 (N.Y. Times, Jan. 22). This was done so as to give an appearance of truth to his glowing pictures of astounding improvements since that time.

All facts, however, point to the contrary. The crisis rages more violently than before.

That is why Stalin has to silence opponents not only in Moscow but in Washington. That is why the GPU received instructions to put the murder of Krivitsky at the head of its agenda, once the assassination of Trotsky was successful. That is how Stalin seeks to "emerge" from the crisis—outside of Russia.

Stalin's Desperate Ukases

And here is how he is seeking to stabilize his regime internally. Here is what he is trying to hide from world-labor:

The Soviet Labor Code in force since Lenin died has been completely abrogated by a series of 1940 Ukases. Hours have been lengthened, wages slashed. No correspondent was permitted to cable out of Moscow so much as a single line from the text of these Ukases.

The Daily Worker never even mentioned them. . . .

For arriving more than twenty minutes late, a Soviet worker today faces penal-labor. If he skips a day's work, he is sentenced to penal labor. If he tries to leave his job he goes to jail. (Ukase of June 26, 1940).

If he produces a defective article, he goes to jail (Ukase of July 10, 1940).

If he has an accident in the factory he faces jail on the charge of hooliganism (Ukase of August 10, 1940). Example: "A worker Gavrilov while dismantling a kiln in the Nogin factory in Leningrad, dropped a plank which fell on window frames lying on the floor. Several panes of glass were broken. Gavrilov was arrested and brought to court on the charge of hooliganism." (Pravda, October 12, 1940)

If a worker takes so much as a nail, he is guilty of theft and goes to jail. "Petty theft, regardless of the amount, committed in institutions and enterprises is punishable by a term of one year in jail"—text of Ukase of August 10, 1940.

A worker dare not even raise his voice to object to any order from his superiors. That also comes under the head of "disorganizing production."

A woman worker, Rennzova, in a factory in Leningrad was bold enough to ask for a discharge because "she did not like the working conditions . . . Rennzova was sentenced to four months in jail and immediately placed under the police surveillance." (Pravda, July 7, 1940. Our emphasis). A woman worker has the audacity to disagree about working conditions and demands a discharge—To jail with her! The G.P.U. has other methods to convince those outside of the Soviet Union.

Only bureaucrats mad with fear and drunk with power would dream of instituting such working conditions. It is a lie that the workers have "greeted" these laws. They are resisting bitterly. All the more reason, therefore, for the GPU's orders: Shoot to kill! No voice of protest must be heard even abroad. It might penetrate into the Soviet Union!

By Ukase of October 19, 1940, this compulsory labor legislation has been extended to the administrative and technical staffs of Soviet institutions, thus in effect converting managers, engineers, technicians, etc., into wardens, turnkeys, and trustees of these virtual prison-factories.

Even the most brazen apologist of Stalinism cannot unload everything on the war danger. Any honest reader of the Daily Worker must ask himself: If conditions are wonderful as Browder-Foster and Co. say, why were such unheard-of laws necessary?



LEON SEDOV

This week marks the anniversary of the death, in 1938, of Trotsky's last son, killed by the GPU.

What must have been the real terrible conditions up to now, if such legislation is necessary today?

Just how is the Soviet Union strengthened by reducing workers to the status of prison labor?

Modern large-scale industry, let alone planned economy, cannot be operated by prison labor. It is impossible to run large-scale industry under a prison administration. By his decrees against labor, Stalin has gravely weakened the defensive power of the Soviet Union. Every thinking worker must understand this.

Small wonder that Soviet industry suffers chronically from a labor shortage. Under Stalin conditions in factories have become so intolerable—especially after the passage of the 1940 laws—that no peasant—to say nothing of city dwellers—would dream of voluntarily entering a factory. This fact was admitted by Kalinin: "The reserves of labor power in the cities" he said, "have been drained and its influx from the villages has ceased." (Izvestya, Nov. 7, 1940).

The Resort to Child Labor

That is why the Kremlin has abolished free education and has driven the children of workers and peasants from schools into the labor reserve. (Ukases of October 2, 1940)

More than 800,000 children and adolescents from fourteen to seventeen have been drafted from December 1, 1940 to February 1, 1941 as a conscript labor force.

According to the Daily Worker, they are attending "industrial training schools" which will "graduate workers for—first and foremost—the coal mining, ore mining, metallurgical, and oil industries, and the building trades." The latest dispatches tell that children are also being "graduated" for the timber industry, i.e. the lumber camps. "In this way," explains the Daily Worker, "in 1941 the . . . schools will be able to give socialist industry approximately 800,000 workers." (Daily Worker, Feb. 7, 1941).

Are the children at least getting adult wages for being forced to do adult labor?

"By decision of the Soviet Government," lies the Daily Worker, "all the net receipts for production orders executed by the schools for the state will remain in the industrial training Schools." (Daily Worker, Feb. 7, 1941).

We confront these scoundrels who peddle their lies behind GPU guns with the text of Order No. 1 of the Labor Reserves Administration. Article 19 of this Order follows:

"It is hereby established that one-third of the revenues accruing from the fulfillment of these orders as well as for the work done by the students during their training in industry is assigned to the state budget; one-third remains at the disposal of Directors . . . master-workmen (foremen) and instructors; and

one-third is to be given into the hands of the students fulfilling the work." (PRAVDA, October 5, 1940).

The children get only one-third of the product of their "school-work." The term "schools" is a revolting cover for the legalization of child labor in the Soviet Union.

If in the United States, Stalin's flunkies explain child-labor away as an unfortunate but indispensable war-defense measure, then in the Soviet Union on the contrary they hail it—just as they hail the abrogation of free education—as a great historic triumph.

Free Education Becomes "Evil"

Free education, to believe Pravda, is not only unnecessary, it is a great evil. It demoralizes the pupils: "Many of our students haven't really appreciated the boons of higher education which they received without any exertion on their part." It demoralizes the parents: "Free education has to certain extents lowered the value of education in the eyes of a section of parents and students" (Pravda, October 22, 1940). The American hooligans of the Kremlin go further. Education itself is no great asset: "In the USSR one does not need to attend college to be an honored member of society" (Soviet Russia Today, January 1941). These are the insane rationalizations of desperate men.

The Crisis in Agriculture

To believe Duranty and the Kremlin, Soviet agriculture is flourishing. The 1940 crop has been a bumper crop, they claim. They forget to tell the workers the following facts:

There are 23 million more souls in the Soviet Federation. The per-capita production of foodstuffs is therefore lower than ever before.

Vast quantities of basic crops have to be diverted for the army, for reserve, to say nothing about the deliveries to Hitler.

The losses in harvesting the crops, from neglect, pest damage, etc. were larger than in 1939, when millions of tons were literally left to rot in the fields.

The collectives are being torn apart by all the contradictions of Soviet agriculture, which have been driven inside the collectives.

A whole series of punitive measures against the peasantry were promulgated in 1940. The June 26 laws were extended to the personnel of the Machine and Tractor Stations.

There has been a return to masked forms of grain collections and forced deliveries of foodstuffs and industrial crops to the State. Compulsory fulfillment of "labor day" quotas has been instituted. The peasant, unable to cultivate his own land strips, neglects the fulfillment of state deliveries. A further restriction of private land-strips has been projected. In the face of all these measures, an intensive growth of individual tendencies in agriculture has been taking place. The Kremlin admits to 1,600,000 handicraftsmen who "account for about 18 percent of the total industrial output of the Soviet Union." (Daily Worker, Jan. 25, 1941).

In other words, capitalist elements inside the Soviet Union account for almost one-fifth of the national production—and this on the "threshold of Communism"! In the market the specific weight of these tendencies is of course even greater. And this more than ten years after Stalin proclaimed the "complete abolition" of the N.E.P., i.e. of all capitalist elements in Soviet economy. These tendencies will tend to increase in the immediate future.

Rising Prices—Index of Crisis

Small wonder that speculation is assuming more and more monstrous proportions; that prices are constantly rising as commodities become more and more scarce.

Washington has, on the basis of information supplied by its diplomatic personnel in the Soviet Union, released in the August issue of the "Monthly Labor Review," the state prices for a whole number of commodities from January 1, 1939 to April 10, 1940. According to the statistics compiled by the American Department of Labor, the prices of essential goods have skyrocketed in the USSR by 50 to 100 percent and more since 1939.

In his very first dispatch, Duranty wrote, "For the first time since the gaudy days of the New Economic Policy (the N.E.P.) . . . Moscow stores have a greater supply of goods than the public demands. Prices, of course, are high" (N.Y. Times, Jan. 22, 1941).

The prices are so high that not even the privileged bureaucrats are able to strip the shelves of Moscow stores! This is what Duranty's boast really means. And this statement alone rips the veils from the secrecy with which the Kremlin surrounds the cost of living in the Soviet Union. If the bureaucrats cannot buy, what can the workers do? Stalin's solution is to reintroduce for every factory its own vegetable patch, pig farms, dairy farms, fish ponds, etc. One of the major current campaigns has this as its task.

In other words, if the workers want to eat, they will have to raise their own food!

Stalinism—compelled to reveal itself for what it is: the mortal enemy of the Soviet masses, workers, peasants and the youth—has no other weapon in its arsenal except to intensify its already incredible terror.

If, outside the Soviet Union, Stalin has ordered the murder of his opponents above all, Trotsky and then Krivitsky, then inside the country he has unleashed a new silent "bloodless" purge.

As was to be expected, those organizations which are most directly subject to mass pressure were the first to feel the blows, in

UKASE OF THE PRAESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE USSR ON THE CHANGE TO THE 8-HOUR WORKING DAY AND 7-DAY WORKING WEEK; AND THE PROHIBITION OF SELF-WILLED DEPARTURE OF WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES FROM ENTERPRISES AND INSTITUTIONS:

Article 5: Workers and employees who arbitrarily leave state, cooperative and public enterprises and/or institutions are remitted to court and by sentence of People's Judges incarcerated in prisons for a term of 2 to 4 months.

For stopping or skipping work without serious reason workers and employees of state, cooperative and public enterprises and/or institutions are remitted to court and sentenced by People's Judges to terms up to six months of penal labor at place of employment, and up to 25 percent of their wages withheld.

Ukase dated June 26, 1940, first published June 27, 1940.

namely the Komsomols (the Russian Y.C.L.) and the trade unions.

It is officially admitted that 29,637 out of a reported total of 45,580 Komsomol functionaries were purged in July 1940, i.e., 65 percent.

At the same time 128,000 out of a reported total of 203,821 trade union functionaries were purged as "do-nothing scoundrels" (bezdelniki) and "scoundrels who eat the bread that they haven't earned" (darmoyedniki) (Itzvestia, July 30, 1940). Again, a majority purged!

Not a single Peoples' Commissariat has escaped the purge. Here is an abbreviated list:

The removal of Voroshilov, Budenny, Shaposhnikov, from the Commissariat of war only reflect at the top the mass purge below in the army ranks.

A Jan. 7 Associated Press dispatch reports the removal of Smetanin from his post as Vice Commissar of Light Industry at his own request. Smetanin was one of the original famous Stakhanovists.

A Feb. 5 AP dispatch reported still another "reorganization" of three Commissariats—the Commissariats of Trade, Building Industry, and Communications. On the same day, the news was released of the removal of Beria from his post as the head of the GPU, and the "reorganization" of Stalin's secret police, under one V. Merkulov.

Even the pampered intellectuals have not been spared. We list only the better-known authors, dramatists, etc., who were purged as "villifers": A. Avdeyenko, L. Leonov, Valentin Katayev, S. Gerassimov, M. Kozakov, M. Pogodin, K. Simonov, M. Levidov.

The actual number of those involved in the new purge will probably never be known. News arrives daily of factory directors, engineers, foremen, etc. sent to jail for terms of three, five and ten years. Officials are shot for embezzlement, graft, etc., while the super-thieves and grafters in the Kremlin remain unscathed. The number of victims certainly runs already into hundreds of thousands.

New Measures of Desperation

But this time, the purge alone did not suffice. The apparatus had crumbled. Stalin found it necessary to "reorganize" the apparatus of domination and repression from top to bottom.

The Army has been completely transformed. A new officers' corps has been instituted from Marshals and Generals down to non-commissioned officers.

The Commanders now wield the power of life-and-death over the soldiers. "In case of insubordination, the commander has the right to apply all measures of coercion up to and including the application of force of arms" (Red Star, No. 242, October 15, 1940). Without any control from any side whatever, a superior officer has the right in peace-time to shoot down a Red Army soldier for either questioning or not fulfilling a command—not for mutiny, not for insurrection, but for insubordination!

On December 20, 1940, news came that a vital section of Soviet industry, the defense industry—which can include everything—had been placed under Army control, i.e. militarized.

These last two facts epitomize the regime: an Army ruled by an officers' corps which has the power to shoot its subordinates and the power to run industry under the same military life-and-death powers. Nothing more need be known except these two facts, and one could characterize the regime: remorselessly cruel as only a regime is when it is in its death agony.

A regime which can perpetrate these multitudinous crimes against the many-millioned peoples of the Soviet Union would scarcely halt at any steps to murder its opponents outside its boundaries, except to execute the crimes skillfully.

And that is what has happened to Walter Krivitsky.

If this latest crime of the Kremlin does nothing else, it should shock thinking workers into a close examination of the regime which must resort to such methods. We have sought to outline the findings of such an examination. But we urge every worker to examine the facts independently for himself. We are sure that, if he does so, he will arrive at the same finding of facts that we have outlined. It is not the Soviet Union, but the mortal enemy of the Soviet which has committed these crimes: the Bonapartist Kremlin.

Browder Knows The Man Who Shot Krivitsky

Stalin's GPU Murder Machine Uses The "Communist" Party In Each Country For Its Gangster Work

The murder of Walter Krivitsky brings into sharp focus once again the international murder machine which not only disposes of the Kremlin's political enemies, but terrorizes all sections of the Third International.

By now, there can be no question but that the GPU excels even the Gestapo in diabolical efficiency. The chief reason for this is that the GPU has the various sections of the Comintern at its disposal. Just before his assassination, Trotsky explained in great detail the relationship between the GPU and the Comintern. His analysis was published after his death in the November issue of the *Fourth International*, under the title, "The Comintern and the GPU."

POWERS OF THE GPU'S AMERICAN AGENT

The GPU, Trotsky went on to show, dominates the Comintern's actions, by placing one of its agents upon the Central Committee of each section. This agent is seldom known for what he is except by one or two of the top leaders. On the Central Committee of the American section it is Browder, and possibly Foster, who knows the true identity of the GPU agent. It is Browder who knowingly sits beside the organizer of the Krivitsky murder; a member of its Central Committee for many years, member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and of the Presidium of the

Comintern, explained the procedure as follows:

"Directly upon the request of the GPU, the Party supplied it with Party members who could be added to its espionage staff. These Party members became full-fledged GPU agents, employed and paid by the Soviet government. These agents were the link between the Party and the GPU. Contacts were made for them by the Party Secretariat, who from time to time advised them how to proceed. A Party member who became a GPU agent dropped out of Party activity the moment he was selected. He became subject to the severe discipline which the GPU imposes upon its agents. Only a very few of the Party leaders knew when a Party member became a GPU agent, and they kept this information strictly confidential."

The principal source of the

The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

Randolph, The Judas Goat

Four or five months ago A. Philip Randolph, head of the Pullman Porters union, issued a statement called "The Battle for Britain," which called for support by the Negro people of all aid, short of war, to Great Britain.

Randolph was immediately answered by George Schuyler, *Pittsburgh Courier* columnist, who took up each of his arguments point by point and tore them to pieces. Randolph did not try to answer Schuyler; and Randolph's statement was widely distributed by the war-mongering Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

This week again Randolph, undaunted by the weakness and falseness of his arguments, has issued another statement, "England's Fight Our Cause."

"Negroes," he begins, "should support 'all out aid,' including the Lend-Lease Bill, to Great Britain, short of war, because she is fighting the cause of democracy, the only hope and salvation of minority groups."

Did Randolph ever hear about the British Empire? Does he know that it is the greatest corporation of slave colonies the world has ever seen? Does he know that it has more than 400,000,000 colored people under its control, that the "cause of democracy" for which it is fighting is not intended to include "these 400,000,000, that the democracy of Great Britain means oppression, exploitation, dictatorial rule, discrimination, segregation, excessive taxation, denial of every kind of liberty but the liberty to work for the lowest wages in the world or starve?"

Randolph of course must know what this democracy means to the Negro, not only in the British Empire, but right here in the United States where he is Jim-Crowed and discriminated against everywhere and in everything.

Two Kinds of Imperialism?

"Now, of course," he continues, "there are those who say that this is an imperialist war . . . It is true . . . in the sense that Germany, Great Britain and Italy are imperialist nations, and that Great Britain has been and is an oppressor of the darker races. But it does not follow that Great Britain, Germany and Italy represent equal degrees of evil and danger to the darker races and to . . . progress and the cause of peace . . ."

Then follows an attempt to differentiate between imperialist Germany and imperialist Britain.

Hitler has shown his contempt and disdain of the Negro people in "Mein Kampf" where he calls them half-apes and sub-human. The Nazis in France pulled down Negro statues and drove the Negroes out of the country. "In other words, Hitler preaches and practices, unashamedly, his hellish hatred of all Negroes."

Randolph then contrasts to this his version of the behavior of British imperialism. Does he say a word about the policies it is still carrying on in Africa and India and the West Indies, the denial of all rights of free speech, free press and free assembly, the arrests of all who speak up against the war, the intensification during the war of the exploitation of the Africans to raise the money to run the war? Not a word. For then he would have to admit that while Hitler *preaches and practices* Negro oppression, England *keeps quiet and practices* it, that while Hitler *calls* the Negro inferior, England *keeps quiet and treats* him as an inferior.

Instead, Randolph points to the "co-operation Britain is giving Emperor Haile Selassie" in driving the fascists out of Ethiopia. He also points to the fact that since the raids over London, West Indian Negroes have been permitted to join the RAF. And beyond that, he has nothing to say.

The fact that he can point to so few specific things which can be offered in England's favor is proof itself of the bankruptcy of Randolph's position.

The Truth About Ethiopia

Imperialist Britain, which was largely responsible for Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, is now described as helping to free Ethiopia today! Even Randolph knows that this is a little too much to get people to swallow; so he tries to qualify it. "There are those who cynically remark that England's support of the freedom of Ethiopia is inspired by a selfish interest. There would be no point in denying this. It is true. But what is wrong with it? The motivation of all great power nations is self interest. Self interest is not to be condemned if it is not anti-social and reactionary. Here, the self interest of Great Britain takes the form of fighting to help restore the independence and liberty of a smaller, defenseless nation, and thereby serves the cause of humanity and justice, though, verily, this course of action is belated."

Thus, according to Randolph, England isn't fighting Germany because these two gangs of bandits each want control of the colonies and their markets. England isn't fighting because it wants to continue its exploitation of the 400,000,000—it's fighting because it is interested in the freedom of Ethiopia!

"Therefore," he says, "the Battle of Britain is the Battle of America, and the Battle of America is the Battle of the Negro . . ."

If England's fight to maintain its death grip on the colonies is the Battle of the Negro, one may logically ask, why give only aid "short of war"? Randolph's only answer, when Roosevelt and the Sixty Families give the word, will be: "That's right, we've got to get into the war too. And again, Randolph will have no answer to those who try to point the correct path to the workers of the world: uniting Negro and white against the imperialist gangsters on both sides and taking power to set up a socialist society."

The Aluminum Monopoly On Trial

It Controlled Magnesium To Prevent It From Being Produced

By DON DORE

the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and established a monopoly over a basic resource.

And though ALCOA looms large in the picture of this conspiracy, it does not concern directly the metal aluminum, but another and competitive metal—magnesium.

Magnesium is considered today one of the basic and essential war materials. It is a tough, readily fabricated metal, one-third lighter than aluminum. It is the best and lightest metal now commercially available for use in the fabrication of airplane bodies and parts. Magnesium is as common as the brine under the earth's surface and sea water, from which it is refined. But its refinement and fabrication present a very special technological problem. And thereby hangs a tale.

A VAST INTERNATIONAL TRUST CONSPIRACY

The indictment just handed down discloses a gigantic international conspiracy to control the supply of magnesium, fix prices and their licenses became the exclusive fabricators! Thus, despite the almost illimitable possibilities for the expansion of the magnesium industry, the supply of this

peting companies began to produce magnesium in this country. In a short time, the field was narrowed to just two companies, Dow Chemical and American Magnesium.

Between 1920 and 1927, ALCOA moved into the picture by acquiring control of American Magnesium. In August 1927, the first big step of the monopoly conspiracy was taken. American Magnesium agreed to stop producing magnesium and to buy its supply from Dow Chemical at a price below that required of any other purchasers.

The next step was the getting together of the defendants in this case to control and share entirely among themselves the American magnesium field by pooling all the essential patents, including those held by the German dye trust.

DESIGNED TO PREVENT USE OF MAGNESIUM

From this point on, by common agreement, Dow Chemical became the sole American producer of magnesium, while the other firms and their licenses became the exclusive fabricators! Thus, despite the almost illimitable possibilities for the expansion of the magnesium industry, the supply of this

important and useful metal was reduced to a minimum.

The actual directors of this conspiracy are in reality just two, ALCOA and the German dye trust, I. G. Farben.

The Germans work through the General Aniline and Film Corporation, which they own and which shares with ALCOA the ownership of the American Magnesium Corporation, largest fabricator in America.

The Magnesium Development Corporation of Newark is also owned and controlled jointly by ALCOA and the German dye trust.

The Dow Chemical Company, in return for the exclusive right to produce magnesium, sells its product only to these fabricating companies which are all in the hands of ALCOA and I. G. Farben.

DESIGNED TO PREVENT USE OF MAGNESIUM

Among the specific practices whereby ALCOA secured its hold over the production of magnesium were intended to limit the magnesium industry as a competitive industry to that of aluminum.

It does not matter to the Mellon Family that magnesium is a better and cheaper metal than aluminum for many essential products. It does not matter to the Mellon Family that this is an essential war product. Sentiment didn't build that billion dollar fortune.

One thing we can be certain of, ALCOA is not too worried by the present indictment brought against it. It has faced similar situations before, and knows just how far the capitalist government is prepared to go against any of the ruling aggregates of capital in America.

Thurman Arnold's "anti-trust war" may succeed in placing behind bars trade union officials who have helped to maintain the closed shop and union wages. But he doesn't dare to trifle too much with the heirs and assignees of old Andy Mellon.

No indeed! Instead, the government will continue, as in the past, to lay cash on the line for ALCOA for every ounce of aluminum it uses in its war preparations, from field kitchen equipment to flying fortresses.

* * *

On February 6, subsequent to the writing of the foregoing article, the Aluminum Company of America announced that it had taken over complete control of the American Magnesium Corporation, buying out the half interest of the General Aniline and Film Corporation, which is in turn controlled by I. G. Farben, the German dye trust.

The announcement stated also: "As requested by the Office of Production Management of the national defense program, the Aluminum Company of America will start immediately the further expansion of American Magnesium Corporation so that the manufacture of magnesium products will be greatly increased . . . The magnesium business has been an unprofitable one but magnesium is an essential material in a number of important aluminum alloys and is highly important at this time because of various applications in which it is valuable for defense materials."

Evidently the Aluminum Company is formally dissociating from its German connections, and is preparing to engage in the "unprofitable" production of magnesium—for which there is a 20 times greater demand now than two years ago. On the same day as the Aluminum Company's announcement, the individual defendants in the "anti-trust" trial were released on a bail of \$1000 apiece. We'll bet you any amount they never go to trial.

The Stalinists Capture The Corpse Of The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Communist Party packed the state convention of the Farmer-Labor Association, January 30-31 in St. Paul, and took over the corpse of the once-powerful Farmer-Labor movement of this state.

Badly defeated in the last two elections, the Farmer-Labor movement has floundered rudderless, a field of battle between the Stalinists and the conscious and unconscious social-democrats. Neither faction was capable of putting forward a bold program of independent labor action upon which to rebuild the movement; both factions vied in ignoring and thrusting aside the trade union movement. It was a foregone conclusion that ownership of the remains would finally fall into the hands of the better-organized of the two opportunist factions, which was, of course, the Communist Party apparatus.

In the organization of the convention, each of the two groups sought to gain an advantage over the other. The right-wingers managed to have the convention held on a Thursday and Friday, hoping that the Stalinists would be unable to bring enough delegates from paper organizations on a week day to gain control of the meeting. The Stalinists inserted in the convention call a provision permitting the registration fee of \$1 per delegate to be paid at any time up to the close of the convention.

CONTROL SEE-SAWS

The right-wingers took control of the convention Thursday when state senator George Lommen was elected chairman over Howard Y. Williams, 296 votes to 193. But they reckoned without the capacity of the Stalinist machine to pour paper delegates into the gathering.

Friday noon the Stalinist-controlled Hennepin County Farmer-Labor association plunked down \$23 for twenty-three more delegates. The amount had been calculated to a nicely, as was apparent when the elections for state officers came up in the afternoon.

If the 1941 convention of the Farmer-Labor Association ever goes down in history (which is doubtful), it will be remembered as the convention purchased by the Communist Party for \$23.

The Stalinists elected as state chairman of the Association ex-Governor Elmer Benson; who won over Charles Munn on the second ballot by a vote of 256% to 252%. Munn moved to make it unanimous. Benson came forward on the platform and made a strange acceptance speech in which he said truly: "I am not half so radical as some of you people think."

At this point the trade union delegates from St. Paul walked out. They comprised about all the union representatives at the convention, the Minneapolis unions long since having severed connections, save for the few CIO unions and a dozen small AFL locals.

As the *Northwest Organizer*, Minneapolis teamsters' organ, said: "From a union viewpoint there was little to choose between the contesting group" in St. Paul. Both groups have shown themselves as unfriendly to the union movement; neither has shown any desire to give the unions their rightful place in control of the Farmer-Labor movement.

"The late Floyd B. Olson, an astute politician, understood that to win elections in Minnesota the Farmer-Labor movement must win a large majority of votes from the three metropolitan areas in order to offset the conservative vote from rural reaction. Olson understood that this meant that

completely from the Farmer-Labor Association and working towards a local labor party set up whereby representatives from all local unions would hold city political conventions, much after the manner in which the last St. Paul municipal campaign developed.

There is a possibility that similar municipal labor parties may arise in Minneapolis and Duluth.

Should this trend occur, it would be the duty of all progressive unionists to enter such movements, to press for progressive platforms and trade union can-

didates, to set up a machinery that can control the candidates once elected, and to keep the movement constantly pointed towards a national labor party. Such a nation-wide labor party will have its main base, not in Minnesota, not from the remnants of the Farmer-Labor Association now in the clutches of the Stalinists, but in the centers of heavy industry, where the huge concentrations of workers will soon start marching towards independent labor political action.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, which is preparing to become the American equivalent of the Nazi Gestapo, is quietly pushing a wire-tapping bill through Congress which will enable the government not only to spy upon labor organizations, but which will permit wire-tapping evidence to be used as admissible evidence in the courts.

The bill would permit any investigator for any U.S. government agency to tap wires upon its own findings that a felony "may have been committed, is being committed, or may be about to be committed."

Under the pretext that a felony "may be about to be committed" the FBI could with full legality spy upon any labor union during strikes, or wherever a labor conflict is brewing. It could compile information of internal plans of the unions and the masses of members for a black-list.

The bill was introduced quietly into the House of Representatives two weeks ago by Rep. Hobbs, Alabama poll-tax Democrat and author of a proposal to establish

concentration camps for deportable aliens.

In order to secure the most favorable hearing for the bill, which is really an amendment to the Federal Communications Act, it has been called a bill to "amend the judicial code." By this device, the sponsors of the bill are routing it around the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee and into the hands of the Senate Judiciary Committee, an ultra-reactionary body which is known to favor wire-tapping.

It is no secret that this measure originated with the FBI. This agency is citing the urgency of the bill for "national defense." While wire-tapping is a usual thing with the FBI, so far it has been employed merely to secure information. Wire-tapping evidence is not admissible in the courts, as yet.

The CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods have condemned the bill as the most serious menace to labor and civil rights likely to be passed at this time by Congress.

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1938, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under
the Act of March 3, 1879."FIGHT WITH THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

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

AT HOME:

For:

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

Fight The GPU!

Walter Krivitsky was no friend of ours. On the contrary, he was a political enemy. He had been too long in Stalin's service (it is unlikely that Krivitsky himself would have taken the initiative to leave that service; he did so only when he felt himself endangered by the great purges) and it had left in his bones the outlook of the bureaucrat: he had little faith in the capacity of the proletarian masses. That is why he became a supporter of the "democracies." He looked to them to institute his notion of liberty in Europe. He never grasped the Trotskyist analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet regime, a degeneration which flows precisely from the fact that the "democracies"—in the "democratic" period of 1918-1933—exerted their utmost pressure to destroy the Soviet Union, first by using their own armies and financing the White armies, then by economic pressure. The isolation of the Soviet Union in a hostile capitalist world gave rise to Stalinism. Krivitsky didn't understand this, his years as a Stalinist bureaucrat prevented him from understanding this, and he passed into the camp of the Social-Democratic agents of the "democratic" imperialists.

But the revelations he made concerning the methods and techniques which he had employed as head of Stalin's secret service in Europe have been of great value to the working class. Independently of Krivitsky's politics—it would be even more accurate to say in spite of Krivitsky's politics, for workers who, like ourselves, remain defenders of the Soviet Union, sometimes found difficulty in separating Krivitsky's political animus from his factual evidence—his description of the GPU methods have taught the advanced workers how to guard themselves against Stalin's murder-machine. That machine has succeeded in murdering Krivitsky, as it did Trotsky. No protection against the assassination of an individual can be perfect, especially when the assassination machine has at its disposal the resources of a state power. But many will be saved by what Krivitsky was able to tell before he was murdered.

Although we were political opponents, we were ready to do anything in our power to save Krivitsky. We had in common with him at least this:

we were ready to join hands to rid the labor movement of terrorist methods of struggle against opponents. We are ready to join hands with any section of the labor movement, no matter what its politics, for this task is apart from political differences, in joint struggle against the GPU. The GPU, which substitutes for political struggle the methods of gangsterism, must be destroyed. The fight against the GPU is an elementary measure of political sanitation—to save the labor movement as a whole from this terrible syphilis.

Krivitsky's death should awaken all sections of the labor movement to the urgent need for cooperation in this urgent task. We have no desire to enter into recriminations concerning the past, although the utter failure of the rest of the labor movement to join in arousing labor opinion when Trotsky was murdered might well be cited as a partial cause of the success of the GPU in assassinating Krivitsky. Hereafter there must be a clear understanding that the struggle against the GPU is the common task of the labor movement.

Stalin's Alibi

After cautiously waiting one day—on which it merely printed the United Press dispatch on Krivitsky's death, "suitably" edited—the *Daily Worker* (February 12) has now come forward with Stalin's alibi. It consists of just two points, each of which is well worth examining.

1. Alibi No. 1 is presented in a signed article by Sender Garlin. That choice of writer is not accidental! Garlin is a graduate of the top Moscow circles, from which he recently returned after several years. In addition, he is just the type through which the GPU maintains its connections with the American party: he never had the slightest spark of idealism in him, was a cynical observer, then a beneficiary in terms of higher posts, of the expulsions of left and right wing from the Communist Party. Just the man for this dirty job.

The crux of Garlin's article is the following assertion:

"Krivitsky left three letters, containing intimate personal details clearly proving his plan to end his own life..."

A very risky assertion! An indiscretion for which he may pay to Stalin with his head—Garlin or the GPU agent who dictated it. For who is Garlin, or his superior, to judge whether or not the "personal details" were actually "intimate," i.e., true? Krivitsky's wife says they are not, and so does Suzanne LaFollette, as we report elsewhere in this issue. Is this another one of those instances in which the vainglorious boasting of the GPU shows its hand in the murder? Has Garlin read numerous GPU reports on Krivitsky's personal life and habits, his manner of speaking and writing, his relations with his wife and son, etc., etc., that Garlin is so certain that the "personal, intimate details" were well-sprinkled into the "letters"?

2. The second of the *Daily Worker*'s alibis for Stalin takes the form of the leading editorial in that issue, with the heading, "... My Sins Are Big." In the text of the editorial appears the following:

"Krivitsky tells the last chapter of the story with the words: 'I think my sins are big.'

"The truth was told in these words by a petty adventurer... Krivitsky was a petty tool, but his use was big. He began to understand his role and he tried to tell why he 'had to go'... That he became sick of his role is understandable even when one knows the type of tool he was."

As Suzanne LaFollette pointed out in our interview with her, (reported elsewhere in this issue), precisely this phrase in the Krivitsky "letters"—"My sins are big"—is the most indicative of GPU authorship of the text of those notes. She says it was utterly unlike Krivitsky to say that, even if he were going to commit suicide. Weighed down intolerably with the pressure of being hounded, he might kill himself, but under no conditions is it conceivable that he would die leaving behind him a note thus repudiating his work of the last years and implicitly justifying Stalin—the implication which the *Daily Worker* brings out very well and with complete accuracy. We can add to what Miss LaFollette says the testimony of those of us who knew Krivitsky: he was utterly incapable of such a death-bed "repentance."

But if Krivitsky was incapable of it, that was no detriment to the GPU. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bulganin, Rakovsky, and all the other Old Bolsheviks murdered in the Moscow "Trials" were also incapable of such "repentance" and justification of Stalin. Nevertheless it was put into their mouths. Read the reports of the Moscow Frameup Trials of 1937 and 1938, and you will find, over and over again, exactly the same pattern as is found in this "repentant" note of Krivitsky. Then and now, Stalin finds it not enough to murder his victims; they must also absolve Stalin of wrongdoing on their death-beds.

There is a distinct aura of insanity to this Stalinist pattern. Having burned their fingers so badly with using that pattern in the 1937-38 trials, in the "letter" of Rudolph Klement, in the "confession" of the assassin Jacson, etc., the GPU forgers did not dare go so far in Krivitsky's case as to mention Stalin by name. But all their past crimes require, in each new crime, new justification and, despite their caution, they were driven to make Krivitsky "repent" as did all his predecessors. Here is the cloven hoof peeping out of the Stalinist alibi.

Maritime Unions Faced
By Dirksen's New Bill

Fortunately, All Unions, AFL and CIO Alike Know That This Is A Common Danger Which All Must Join in Fighting Against

WASHINGTON, D. C.—All maritime labor unions reacted to a man when Rep. Dirksen of Illinois introduced his anti-labor House Resolution 2662. The unions have adopted resolutions condemning this measure and declaring a fight to the finish against it.

H.R. 2662 is the result of a great deal of behind-the-scenes activity recently by the shipowners and the Navy High Command with regard to the future status of the merchant marine. Dirksen launched a trial balloon a few weeks ago when he announced he would present a bill to the House virtually drafting all American

Such a storm of protest arose

has gone on record to fight this monstrous piece of legislation head-on.

It is to be expected that, if the bill as a whole does not go through the strategists behind it will try to push over sections of it. That is the meaning of the action taken by Dirksen in attempting to get an anti-union-hiring-hall amendment tacked on to an appropriations bill last week. The amendment was defeated by the close vote of 73 to 51 and shows that the possibility of such attacks on the seamen being enacted is dangerously real.

UNION TASKS

To oppose this well thought out and minutely prepared strategy of the shipowners and the Navy High Command, the unions will have to go far beyond the negative position of combating legislative attacks when they are sprung on maritime labor. The idea behind the Navy's strategy is to keep labor on edge, to retain initiative on the side of the shipowners and the brass hats, to use the element of surprise with which to wear down the seamen's resistance.

The unanimity with which the maritime unions have risen up against the enactment of the Dirksen Bill is ground for a belief that the vast majority of the rank and file of American seamen are aware of the danger and are in a fighting mood. No matter what differences exist between CIO and AFL, in this field, and there are plenty, no matter how foul the past record

ord of the Stalinist-controlled NMU, has been in respect to such legislation—particularly in the "People's Front" days when the Stalinists were working practically in cahoots with the Maritime Commission—the impending attack is realized as affecting the very existence of unionism on the high seas.

Despite the rotten sell-outs of the C. P. "top fractions" in the past, the SUP and SIU actions in respect to the Dirksen Bill show that they do not intend to be derailed from meeting this all-around attack by yielding to the red-baiting propaganda of the shipowners and their stooges. They do not intend to be caught pawns for John Shipowner in smashing the NMU—for the very existence of unionism on the high seas.

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A UNION OFFENSIVE

But the nefarious objective of the enemies of maritime labor can be defended not merely by a defensive struggle against vicious legislation. To be successful, the unions must carry the attack over into the enemy's territory.

United action for a rise in wages commensurate with the enormous rising profits of the shipowners is one thing they must take the offensive on.

Still more important is a drive to organize into the unions the increasing number of merchant ships that are now being transferred into the Army and Navy transport service and, under the Naval Reserve, into the auxiliary service of the Navy. By taking the offensive on these objectives now, the unions can make the shipowners and the brass hats too busy to get on with their present vicious legislation.

As in all struggles, for the seamen too the best defense is the offensive.

Ford's Anti-Union Game
Is To Divide The Races

By ALBERT PARKER

For a long time it has been a practice in this country for the bosses to refuse to hire Negro workers in their plants, placing the blame for this on the white workers. Thus the bosses stored up a labor force among the Negroes that could be used for union-smashing and strike-breaking when the white workers began to organize.

On certain occasions, employers have brazenly referred to this policy of creating resentment between black and white as "strike insurance."

Henry Ford has played a shrewd variation of this same game. Realizing that the time would come when the unions would begin to make some headway in organizing his Empire, he began to employ Negroes in his plants, to build up the idea that he was a friend and benefactor of the Negro people and deserved their support in his bitter struggles against unionization.

He established a special division of employment of colored personnel and through this began to hire Negroes in large numbers. Today it is estimated that he has 10,000 Negro employees, representing about 10% of his labor force. As part of his plan Ford has also contributed to certain Negro organizations and individuals.

UNCLE TOM BANQUET

A highlight in Ford's anti-union campaign was a recent banquet for 300 people in Detroit by Donald J. Marshall, director of colored personnel for the Ford Motor Company.

In attendance was "nearly every colored minister in the city, who came at special invitation to get the free meal and to listen to Marshall's harangue against the CIO. Those Negro ministers in Detroit who have expressed sympathy for the CIO were not invited; of them it was said, "The time has come to let our unfaithful leaders know we do not need them."

"We are appealing to the ministers to try to help us keep our feet on the ground," said Marshall.

He then launched an attack on the unions in which he blamed them because Negroes are not hired in great numbers in the other auto plants.

For instance, he showed that Knudsen, now head of the National Defense Commission, had refused to let Negroes hold skilled jobs in General Motors. What fol-

lows from that, according to Marshall? That the union which Knudsen fought so bitterly is responsible for this situation which existed long before the union was founded.

FORD THREATENS NEGROES

He finished this attack by making a not-too-veiled hint that if the Negro workers in Ford's plants didn't support him, they would be sorry:

"The open shop of Henry Ford has two Negroes out there to see that the Negroes get at least part of their rights (meaning himself and his assistant). The Negro will regret the day if he helps to turn the Ford shop over to the CIO."

By this he meant that if the CIO organizes the Ford plants, Ford will have no further use for Negroes and will try to get rid of them. "It will be a sad day for us if the Ford Company changes its policy," moaned the Rev. Mr. Brady, to emphasize the point.

TASK OF CIO

Horace R. Cayton, one of the authors of "Black Workers in the New Unions," has in two articles in recent issues of the Pittsburgh Courier dealt with the subject in a way that could be of use to the CIO in tackling this problem.

After explaining how Ford by his financial contributions has "given substance to the myth that Ford had a sympathetic interest in the problems of the Negro," and showing that "many Negro professional men and Negro leaders who live on the back of these Ford employees, fearful of anything which might disrupt (even momentarily) their sources of income, are violently pro-Ford and anti-union," Cayton goes on:

"Ford's policy toward the Negroes, however, is one that had been born of self-interest and has not offered the Negro much except employment. That Ford has hired more Negroes than other companies is a matter of fact. He has done this, however, to provide himself with 'strike insurance.'

"It is the testimony of most persons familiar with the Ford plant that Negroes are definitely limited in their ability to be promoted within the Ford plant and are pretty largely confined to the lower wage income brackets.

"Likewise, all workers in the Ford plant, including Negro workers, suffered from the speed up, the possibility of brutal treatment

from Ford's service men, and enjoy a wage which is about ten cents an hour below that of workers in other automobile plants."

WHY NEGROES HESITATE

Cayton explains clearly why Negro workers are hesitant about joining the union. First of all, they're glad they've got jobs, and they're not sure that Ford would keep them on if the union won out. Secondly, the Negro is under terrific pressure from Harry Bennett's thugs and from Donald Marshall and the other "leaders." Thirdly, they don't know whether they can trust the unions, because many of them have had experiences of discrimination, or have heard of discrimination, by white workers even in the union movement.

In this situation, it is imperative that the CIO pay special attention to the Negro workers. True, R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, has written a letter which has received some publicity, in which he promises that there will be no discrimination by the union against Negro Ford workers. He urges that those who are interested should check in the other plants that have been organized and determine for themselves whether the Negro worker has been discriminated against. "They will find upon checking that in the Detroit plants Negroes now receive more money and have better jobs than they had prior to the advent of the union . . ."

But when the scoundrels who call themselves leaders are so active in prejudicing the Negroes against the union, it is not enough to suggest that "anyone who is concerned about such rumors, (of discrimination) check in other automobile plants . . ." Every one of the 10,000 Negro workers in Ford is very much concerned about these vicious rumors. To tell them to go and check in the other automobile plants is not very helpful. It is up to the UAW to bring them the proofs that there will be no discrimination, and to spend a lot of time combatting these rumors and spreading the truth that, as Cayton puts it, "the CIO has made a desperate effort to break down color barriers and it presents the greatest hope for Negro laborers since the Knights of Labor" and that "certainly Negro workers in the Ford plant will suffer greatly, both as workers and as Negroes, in the long run if they are instrumental in defeating unionism in Ford's plants."

You will search APM in vain for a ghost of a shadow of a proletarian program. No mention of the class need for military training for workers under trade union control; no mention of expropriating the Sixty Families or the war industries; no manifesto against capitalism. No word but "peace." A groveling, hypocritical peace built upon the quicksands of the profit system. The experiences of the last war, the rich revolutionary heritage of Lenin, have been thrust aside.

Pacifist Clap-Trap
Is "Anti-War"
Stalinist Program

By MICHAEL CORT

The Communist Party is now conducting a drive "for the preservation of peace." Congressmen are receiving floods of mail, having their homes picketed, their offices deluged with shouting demonstrators. Picket lines and demonstrations are good working class weapons. But what are the slogans?

The American Peace Mobilization is the Popular Front organization now absorbing most of the Communist Party's efforts. APM's National Council consists of Protestant ministers, Catholic priests, professional pacifists, teachers, novelists, actors, evangelists and a core of Stalinist trade unionists. This predominantly bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Council may be passed off privately by the Stalinists as "merely a front," but in reality, as we shall see, it typifies the program of APM.

Just what is the struggle against imperialist war? Lenin taught us that it is the struggle against capitalism, nothing more or less. The way to stop or bring an end to the war is to overthrow capitalism. That is why Lenin called for a struggle against the pacifists, who separate the fight against war from the fight against capitalism. And that is what the Stalinists have failed to do, for APM is a purely pacifist organization.

According to the official pamphlet "What is APM" the following is its complete domestic program: 1. Insure conscripts of their constitutional rights under the Conscription Act. 2. Bar war profiteering. 3. Check the increases in the cost of living. 4. Fight evictions. 5