

Introducing the 6-Page 'MILITANT'

TO OUR READERS:

On February 1st, we began publication as a six-page paper. Much important class-struggle news which we were unable to find room for in the four-pager will now be yours each week. In addition, we shall have room now to print more analytical articles on the war and the labor movement. And last, but at least as important as anything else, we shall now be able to print many more letters and articles from our worker-readers.

Help us get THE MILITANT into the hands of the many workers who haven't had a chance to see our paper as yet. To introduce THE MILITANT to new readers, we have made a special arrangement to get it to them at a very nominal price.

It's your paper! Help spread its weekly message!

THE MILITANT

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KRIVITSKY MURDERED BY STALIN'S GPU

Why Krivitsky Was Murdered

Stalin's Regime Is In Mortal Crisis; It Lashes About Like A Dying Monster

BY THE EDITORS

The murder of Walter Krivitsky, the latest in the world-wide series of assassinations perpetrated by the GPU, is a political murder. It can only be understood in the light of Stalin's present critical situation, both foreign and domestic.

Stalin is always motivated by considerations of personal vengeance. This alone, however, does not explain his insistence on the murder of Krivitsky. Stalin has (not for the first time) transplanted to the Western hemisphere the naked terror of the GPU primarily for political reasons.

The desperate nature of the crisis of Stalin's regime drives him to silence all opponents, not only inside but also outside his domain.

The murders have had different immediate purposes. For example, Abramovich, son of the Second International leader, was kidnapped in Spain apparently as part of one of the many abortive attempts to add new "confessions" to the Moscow Trials. Andres Nin, POUM leader, was slaughtered in Spain because his party's criticism was, at that time, the only medium of anti-Stalinist thought within Spain. Ignace Reiss was machine-gunned in Switzerland as a dread warning to all others in Stalin's employ who might decide to break with the GPU. These are but three types of murders ordered by Stalin.

The Specific Motive

It is clear that Krivitsky's case is similar in large part to that of Ignace Reiss. Krivitsky had unquestioned authority as an analyst of GPU methods. He had shown his political acumen by his prediction, long before it happened, of the Stalin-Hitler pact. But he was not a political leader primarily.

He was a menace to Stalin above all because as long as he lived he symbolized the possibility of escaping from Stalin's service. As the crisis has deepened in the Soviet Union, many an agent of Stalin has undoubtedly considered ways and means of breaking away. Krivitsky had done that successfully. Alive he remained a disintegrating influence on Stalin's most important arm, the GPU. Dead by the hand of the GPU, he becomes a name to terrorize into submission all agents of Stalin.

Stalin's desperate need for such means of terrorization of his own "loyal" agents constitutes further proof of the character of a situation which demands such methods. Thus, all these murders flow from one fact: the critical plight of the Stalin regime.

That crisis did not begin yesterday. The contradiction between the economic, political and cultural needs of the Soviet Union, and the obstacle of the Bonapartist Kremlin, has been developing for many years. It reached something of a climax in the desperate Moscow Frameup Trials and the monstrous purges of 1936-38. All that went before was, however, but the beginning. The crisis reached an entirely new stage under the impact of the war and, in particular, the consequences of the Finnish invasion which, as Trotsky forecast before he was murdered by the GPU, mark the beginning of the end for Stalin.

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GRACE CARLSON TOUR THIS WEEK

Grace Carlson, now on a national speaking tour, will speak in the following cities during the coming week.

PITTSBURGH: Friday, Feb. 14, at Moose Hall, 634 Penn Ave., 8:30 P.M. on "War and the Workers."

INDIANAPOLIS: Sunday, Feb. 16, at 2:30 P.M. Third floor of Columbia Securities Bldg., Alabama and Ohio Sts., on "The Right to Life."

ST. LOUIS: Wednesday, Feb. 19, at Jeffla Halls, Jefferson and Lafayette Ave., Room R, on "The Right to Life."

Complete schedule of Carlson tour on page 2.

WALTER KRIVITSKY



Fight Against War Is SWP Election Keynote

Members Welcome Congressional Contest in N. Y.'s 17th District As Chance to Rally Workers Against Both Boss Parties

Arthur Burch's name will be on the ballot in the special Congressional election in the New York 17th District if human flesh and blood can do it.

That was made clear enough last Friday night at a city membership meeting of Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party, where the branches hurled challenges back and forth at each other, running the total number of signatures they pledged to collect way beyond the 3,000 that the law requires on the nominating petitions to place Comrade Burch on the ballot.

Petitions must be filed by the end of February. The election is March 11.

Quite a few of the "people who count" in New York live and vote in the 17th Congressional district, along Park and Madison Avenues. Their man usually goes to Congress.

But in the same 17th District, crowded along the less illustrious avenues, huddled together in the tenements, are the workers—an American melting-pot of Irish, Italians, Negroes, Greeks,

Jews. They make up most of the 110,000 votes cast in that district in the last gubernatorial election. Heretofore, they got "their" voice in Congress from the snootier streets.

One of our young enthusiasts, using the "soft" approach, found himself backed into a corner by an enraged Irishwoman who set upon him before he could indicate his independence of the two old parties. She made clear to him, in plain language indeed, that her opinion of both sets of filthy poli-

ticians was hardly printable. That there was no way of saving the world short of a shillelah over the heads of all the war-mongering "leaders of the people." That it would take a revolution, no less, to teach those up above to respect the ones below. Our comrade came away unharmed only because he managed, finally, to explain our line and our program. She swore that, if our party meant what its principles declared, she would be in the forefront of every fight we put up.

Every signature-gathered reports a deep and sullen disillusionment with both Republicans and Democrats.

We don't have to agitate today about the political unity of the ruling class nor its conspiracy to drag the American workers into war. Today we talk about the program of working-class unity against capitalist oppression.

"Suicide" Notes Branded Forgeries By Friends

Those Named In "Letters" Call Them GPU Fabrications; Contents of "Letters" Are Utterly Unlike Krivitsky

The List of GPU Victims Is Very Long

The Krivitsky killing is the third GPU assassination in rapid succession on this continent. It follows by less than six months the assassination of Leon Trotsky, and by a little more than eight months the killing in Mexico last May of Trotsky's American secretary-guard, Robert Sheldon Harje.

MASS MURDERS

The Moscow Frameup Trials of August 1936, January 1937 and March 1938 "legalized" Stalin's mass murder of virtually all the most prominent of Lenin's collaborators. Among the victims were Gregory Zinoviev, Nikolai Bukharin, L. B. Kamenev, Rykov, Pyatkov and Christian Rakovsky, old Bolsheviks whose contributions to the Russian Revolution are indelibly written into world history. Simultaneous purges without the formality of trial destroyed thousands upon thousands of the Soviet's best militants. The "trial" and execution of the Red Army's leading eight generals was followed by a mass purge that decimated the officer corps of the Red Army and Navy. Equally widespread purges struck at the entire industrial and trade administration of the Soviet Union and of the governments of the various Soviet Republics.

TROTSKY FAMILY DESTROYED

In 1928, after expelling Trotsky from the Soviet Union, Stalin began his vengeful destruction of Trotsky's family. In June, 1928 Trotsky's daughter, Nina, denied

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For the second time within a half year Stalin was able to draw a black line through an important name in his list of scheduled victims, when one of his GPU agents sent a .38 caliber bullet crashing through the right temple of Walter Krivitsky last Monday.

The former head of the Soviet Intelligence Service in Western Europe broke from Stalin in 1937 and wrote a series of articles exposing Stalin's terror organization.

On August 20 an agent of Stalin struck down Leon Trotsky in Mexico City; Krivitsky, next on Stalin's list, was slain on February 10 in a hotel room in the heart of Washington, D. C.

No one heard the shot—perhaps a silencer was used and taken away—in the fifth floor room of the Hotel Bellevue. A maid entered the room with an ordinary pass key and discovered Krivitsky's body on his blood-stained bed. The revolver lay beside him. Three notes were found in the room. They appeared to be skillful forgeries of Krivitsky's handwriting, which is well known to the expert professional forgers of the GPU.

The notes, written on paper with the printed head, "Charlottesville, Va.," did not mention the GPU or Stalin although they purported to be "suicide" notes. Had Krivitsky really been driven to suicide by the hounding of the GPU which has followed him relentlessly for four years and made various previous attempts on his life, it was thought by all his friends, including his wife, he would surely have mentioned this persecution.

POLICE BUNGLER

Washington police, according to Louis Waldman, Krivitsky's attorney, thoroughly bungled the case. While local police are generally in no way conversant with GPU methods, the case did appear to be especially badly bungled. Police did not seal the room, they wrote on the police blotter that Krivitsky was alive for two hours after he was discovered—his head was blown out on the right side—they made no search for finger prints until whatever prints might have been left were completely obliterated by the finger prints of the police themselves. Possible finger prints on the gun were declared by the police to have been wiped out by blood stains.

Since the time of his break with Stalin, Krivitsky had expected death at the hands of the GPU. He envisaged the possibility of their attempting to make it appear suicide and warned: "If they ever try to prove that I took my own life, don't believe it."

At the time Trotsky was murdered, Krivitsky told the press that he was "next on the list."

GPU KILLER HERE

Mrs. Krivitsky revealed that a professional killer of the GPU had been seen in New York, one Hans Bruesse, one of the men who, together with GPU agent Gertrude Shildbach, machine-gunned Ignace Reiss, former associate of Krivitsky in the GPU, on a lonely road near Lausanne, Switzerland, on Sept. 4, 1937.

French and Swiss court investigations established that it was these GPU agents who had murdered Reiss in retaliation for his breaking from Stalin and declaring for the Fourth International.

FORGED "LETTERS"

The three "letters" found beside Krivitsky were one in English, another in Russian, the third in German. Each one, strangely enough, had a postscript, apparently written some time after the letters. Only in the postscripts were there specific references to the circumstances of Krivitsky's trip to Vir-

ginia, where he had gone to see a friend, and had purchased a pistol. He was planning to apply for a permit in New York to carry the pistol. Why was it that the references to the Virginia trip were limited to the postscripts? Was it because only at the last moment, just before the murder, did the GPU learn the details of the Virginia trip and add them to the letters prepared in advance?

The note in English read as follows:

"Dear Mr. Waldman:
"My wife and my boy will need your help. Please do for them what you can. (signed) WALTER KRIVITSKY."

"P. S. I went to Virginia because I knew there I can get a gun. If my friends should have any trouble please help them, they did not know why I bought the gun."

The note in Russian was addressed to his wife and son:

"Dear Tanya and Alek:
"It is very difficult but I want to live very badly. But it is impossible. I love you, my only one."

"It is difficult to write, but think about me and you will understand that I have to go. Don't tell Alek yet where his father is going. I believe that in time you will tell him, because it will be best for him. Forgive, it is very hard to write. Take care of him and be a good mother to him and be always quiet and never get angry at him. He is very good and always very pale. Good people will help you, but not enemies. I think my sins are big. I see you, Tanya and Alek. I embrace you."

"Yours,
"VELLA."

"P. S. On the farm of Dobertov I wrote this yesterday, but I did not have any strength in New York. I did not have any business in Washington. I went to see Dobertov, because that is the only place I could get the firearms."

The note in German was addressed to Suzanne LaFollette:

"Dear Suzanne:
"I trust that you are well, and I am dying with the hope that you will help Tanya and my poor boy. You were a friend."

"Yours, WALTER."

"P. S. I also think about your brother and Dorothy."

LA FOLLETTE'S VIEWS

In an interview with THE MILITANT, Suzanne LaFollette declared the note addressed to her, as well as the other two, as being utterly unlike Krivitsky's style. She found particularly indicative of the GPU authorship of the notes the following points:

1. The phrase "I think my sins are big." Krivitsky was a man to whom such a thought was absolutely alien. "What this phrase really is," said Miss LaFollette, "is the usual GPU 'repentance' formula. All the victims in the (Continued on Page 3)

GPU Forged Letters Like Krivitsky's Before

By LYDIA BEDEL

The Krivitsky murder exhibits the stereotype of the GPU crime. Unhappily for Stalinism, the pattern of circumstances surrounding each of its major political murders has a glaring and betraying flaw, with which, however, it cannot dispense: a written document. The necessity for casting suspicion elsewhere than upon its own bloody head has forced it in each instance to produce documentary evidence of some other perpetrator of the act. That is why, in every case, a letter or several letters appear as "explanations" of the death or disappearance of the victim.

In two major murders preceding that of Krivitsky—the assassination of Leon Trotsky and the murder of Rudolf Klement, secretary of the Fourth International, on July 13, 1938, the technique of the "letter of confession" has been used, each time to the grief of Stalin.

The latest use of the letter has shown only one sign of improvement over the clumsy method employed heretofore. This time, politics and international intrigues are carefully avoided and the

suicide tone is adhered to with religious care.

It was because of glaring discrepancies in historical fact and inconsistencies in philosophy and motivation, that the patent falseness of previous "letters of confession" were proven.

The implications of the letter of Jason, GPU killer of Trotsky, have been admirably and thoroughly treated in a pamphlet by Albert Goldman entitled *The Assassination of Leon Trotsky*, now available through the editorial offices of THE MILITANT. We therefore content ourselves with only one observation in respect to the murder of Leon Trotsky. The mistakes of that Jason letter seem to have taught the crime-sodden minds of the GPU one thing at least: to avoid delving into the political ideas of their tools or victims in their letter-writing exploits.

SAME GPU METHODS USED ON KLEMENT

An examination of the letters forged by the GPU and left as Krivitsky's shows an amazing similarity in important details to a similar letter forged by the GPU when it killed Rudolf Klement, secretary of the Bureau of the Fourth International. Six weeks after the letter, allegedly written and sent in explanation of Klement's "break with Trotsky" the dismembered body of the "writer" of the letter was found in the Seine river.

When the Klement letter was first received—before Klement's body was found—its existence and content seemed entirely inexplicable. The handwriting appeared authentic, even at first to the keen eye of Trotsky himself. Then it became clear that an extremely clever case of forgery had been perpetrated, later substantiated as a forgery by the investigation of handwriting experts in Paris. Krivitsky's lawyer has with great justification raised doubts as to the authenticity of the handwriting in the letters found beside Krivitsky.

There were three copies of the Klement letter prepared by its authors, each one signed with another of the pseudonyms Klement had used in his political work. One bore the signature Frederic; another, Adolf; and the third, Camille. Since the GPU had no way of knowing which was currently used by their victim, they tried

to play safe by using all of them. Their error lay in using the oldest and most completely abandoned (Frederic) in the letter which was sent to Trotsky.

SUSPICIOUS ASPECTS OF THE KRIVITSKY LETTERS

In the case of Krivitsky, too, three letters have been left, signed in three ways: *Walter Krivitsky* for the English letter; *Vella* for the Russian; and *Walter* for the German. There is only one explanation for this: a desperate attempt to make these letters look intimate, legitimate and valid. Incidentally, the writing of a German letter to Suzanne LaFollette is a minor mystery in itself, especially since the victim proves his command of English in the much longer and more complicated letter to his lawyer. The GPU handwriting artists appear to have been determined to show their versatility!

It seems to go beyond the point of accident that the elements of each of the letters which could be written only at the precise moment of the crime appear not in the bodies of the letters but in postscripts. The acquisition of a gun and his trip all the way

to Virginia to get it are handled as an after-thought, even in the letter to his wife. Were the bodies of the letters composed in the mood of imminent suicide somewhere else and some time ago, whereas the specific details of his last trip had to wait until the propitious moment and then be added by the murderers?

A reading of the two more important of the Krivitsky "suicide" notes brings several questions to mind: Why the brevity of the note to his lawyer? Krivitsky was supposedly voluntarily terminating a political life; his lawyer is a prominent co-thinker of his in the labor movement; Krivitsky surely would have had something more to say as a final word to such a confidant than the simple words about his family—and again as in the other letters—the postscript about the purchase of the gun.

Why the tone of the letter to his wife? He offers her no single word of explanation save the silly phrase, "I think my sins are big," a phrase entirely foreign to the tongue of a man engaged as he had been in the conscienceless intrigue of Stalinist politics for decades until his break with the Kremlin late in 1937.

A NEW BLUNDER BY THE GPU

The most incriminating circumstance, however, centers around the absolute absence in any of these letters of mention of the GPU or any of its agents. The fact of his leaving a note to his wife would indicate, presumably, that he felt moved to vindicate himself somehow for an act which he knew was to bring her intense grief. He had a moral alibi if ever a man did: his persecution by the GPU and the Stalinist parties of France, Switzerland and the United States. Yet not a word, even of pathetic complaint, against his having been subjected for years to incessant terror and hounding, appears in any of the letters. In its recently acquired and legitimate fear of political angles to its murder letters, the Kremlin has not so far backward that it has fallen once more!

A final highly significant parallel between the GPU murder of Rudolf Klement and the violent end of Walter Krivitsky appears in the handling of their personal affairs in the final hours of their lives. In this connection, the mys-

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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 Housed" Will Stay That Way

Editor:
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.

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.

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

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 the 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 "fished from us by 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

'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 honored tonight."

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 for 250 subs met with laughter. Minnesota challenges New York to 500 subs by April 1st."

Join the Socialist Workers Party

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.

The fire first broke out, investigators believe, when sparks from a machine used for picking foreign substances out of cotton ignited the exposed and highly inflammable cotton bales near the machine.

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 rebuked him for "spreading rumors."

The building was an obvious fire trap. It was condemned about 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 burned 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

with an iron bar, the ten trapped workers were already doomed.

Workers who managed to escape have testified that after the fire had started, foremen refused to call the fire department for fear some of the quilts might be damaged by water. One worker stated, as quoted in the *New Haven Evening Register* today, "The only time the firemen were called was when they couldn't control it. They figured if the firemen come, they throw too much water and ruin the quilts."

A plant engineer has admitted that a two inch pipe which was supposed to carry water to the open cotton bales and soak them down to prevent them from catching fire from static electricity was shut off. Although aware of the fire menace from electric sparks, there was no grounding device to prevent this menace.

WHITEWASH INDICATED

Shortly after the fire was finally subdued, four separate investigations of the cause of the fire were announced. The FBI, the Army Quartermasters Office, the Municipal Detective Bureau and the local "Fire Marshall's" office have all announced probes.

Just what these "probes" will probably amount to is indicated by a statement of the County Coroner, James J. Corrigan, that an investigation of "sabotage" is being pushed.

The War Department must certainly have known what kind of a firetrap this plant was. It knew what the conditions were in which the workers worked. And any too close a probe might rebound to the discredit of the War Department, and show the kind of conditions the government is tolerating in the manufacture of war orders.

The ten bodies of the burned workers were recovered late tonight, charred beyond recognition. Two bodies were found near the closed fire door, two at the rear of the room, and four near the blocked fire-escape.

The entire plant was gutted at an estimated loss of \$50,000, a mere trifle compared with the profits to be gained from huge war orders produced under the cheapest—and most dangerous—conditions.

But ten workers' families today are counting their losses in more than dollars and cents. The bosses can build a new fire-trap 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: "We extend our deepest sympathy to the relatives and friends of the ten workers who were burned to death in the New Haven Quilt Company fire Wednesday morning. Our sorrow makes it all the more necessary to state that these

poor boys 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?

...that the bosses failed to build a rear stairway exit which could have saved the men?

...that they failed to install exhaust fans to draw off the lint in the air (which made the rapid spread of the fire certain)?

...that they shut off the sprinkler system, because the water would injure the cloth?

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.

Hudson Men Penalized By Reuther and Thomas

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 four to six months without pay.

As if this is not severe enough for union militants who dare to take action, Thomas and Frankenstein go on: "The union hereby serves notice to all employees for the future that any recurrence of similar situations will not be tolerated or so lightly punished. Any future similar situations will subject the participants to summary dismissal if guilty and they will receive no protection from the union."

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, deprived of all seniority, and, of their union rights, in just such a dirty agreement between the company and the Board.

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.

Queens Workers Make New Gains

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

SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR

Fri. Feb. 14	Pittsburgh
Sat. Feb. 15	—
Sun. Feb. 16	Indianapolis
Mon. Feb. 17	Indianapolis
Tues. Feb. 18	—
Wed. Feb. 19	St. Louis
Thurs. Feb. 20	—
Fri. Feb. 21	Memphis
Sat. Feb. 22	—
Sun. Feb. 23	Arkansas
Mon. Feb. 24	Arkansas
Tues. Feb. 25	Texas
Wed. Feb. 26	Texas
Thurs. Feb. 27	—
to Thurs. Mar. 13	—
Fri. March 14	Los Angeles and vicinity
Sat. March 15	—
Sun. March 16	—
Mon. March 17	—
Tues. March 18	—
Wed. March 19	—
Thurs. March 20	—
Fri. March 21	—
Sat. March 22	San Francisco
Sun. March 23	—
Mon. March 24	—
Tues. March 25	—
Wed. March 26	—
Thurs. March 27	—
Fri. March 28	—
Sat. March 29	—
Sun. March 30	Portland
Mon. March 31	—
Tues. April 1	Seattle
Wed. April 2	—
Thurs. April 3	—
Fri. April 4	Plentywood
Sat. April 5	Williston
Sund. April 6	—
Mon. April 7	Fargo
Tues. April 8	—
Wed. April 9	Twin Cities

Highlights In The Labor Press

By CARL O'SHEA

The AFL dual union, the American Editorial Association, boasts that Anthony Berardi, one of the international vice-presidents of the CIO American Newspaper Guild, has quit the guild and joined the Chicago local of the Editorial Association. Chalk up another black mark to the AFL for trying to create a dual union in an industry dominated by the CIO Guild. If Guild members don't like the Stalinist policies of the Guild leadership, the place to work to change those policies is INSIDE the Guild.

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."

The Summit County LABOR NEWS for January 31 reports that the Goodyear Local of the Rubber Workers has served demands on the company for a general 10% hourly wage increase, and an upward adjustment of piecework rates considered by the union to be out of line with present living costs. Negotiations are now under way.

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

than three weeks, and that they 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 pailful to families. Conscienceless landlords are batten 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!"

Upton Sinclair is a nice enough guy in between wars. But today he is again beating the war drums, just as he did in World War I. In a recent issue of the NEW LEADER he goes Roosevelt one better in anticipating a Nazi invasion of the United States. Just as in 1918, he paints a cozy lying picture of what the war aims of the "democracies" are. Listen to him: "We have to make plain to the totalitarian powers that democracy does not permit them to destroy democratic Britain, or to hold the people they have conquered... We ought to exact pledges in advance from Britain that she will join with us at the conclusion of the war, to form a federation of states, to guarantee freedom and independence to all peoples, and to make it forever impossible for this horror to befall the world again. We must not only form a world government, but join it and make it work, as our forefathers did with our own federal union. We have to set up a world police force," etc.

Officials of the Iowa State Federation of Labor are sending throughout the nation appeals for support of the Des Moines Building Trades Council's stand not to permit union workers to work on war projects done under WPA, the Des Moines FEDERATIONIST for January 2nd reports.

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 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
TOTAL	34	Subs

(Points are given in recognition of the amounts of money sent in, since special combination subs yield only half-a-dollar each to the one, two or three dollars of regular subs. However, competition is still on the basis of quantity of subs...)

CHALLENGES FLYING THICK AND FAST
Coast-to-coast challenges to date in the sub drive are as follows:

Challenger	Defender
New Haven	— Rochester
Flint	— Youngstown
Boston	— Chicago
	(Chicago)
Detroit	— (Boston)
	(Newark)
	(Boston)
Chicago	— (Detroit)
	(Newark)
Rochester	— New Haven
	(Chicago)
Newark	— (Boston)
Milwaukee	— Texas
Minnesota	— New York

Any day now we should be hearing from the west coast, and the rest of the auto centers. Also we understand things are stir-



How Stalin Murdered Trotsky

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

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.

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 TRAIL

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—this 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 in 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 to 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 Coahuacan 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 higher 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." When he was captured by the police after the murder of Trot-



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.

sky, 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 Stalinist press 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 Trotsky's opinion, heads the GPU at present in North America, working out of Washington where the GPU last Monday killed Krivitsky. 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.

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

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 attempt on his life by Stalin's GPU. It would occur, he said during one of the next great campaigns of the war in Europe, so that the story of attempt or success would be lost in the battle-front headlines. Desperate efforts were made by friends of Trotsky to strengthen the fortifications of the house.

The GPU, however, had been preparing for some time, an alternative method of doing away with Trotsky. In the spring of 1939 the GPU had altered a Canadian passport taken from a dead member of the Stalinist-controlled International Brigades

in Spain, and placed on it the picture of a 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 campaign against Trotsky had succeeded.

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.

Stalin 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 as 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!"

Stalin's Murder List Is Long

(Continued from Page 1)

medical care, died of tuberculosis in Moscow. Her sister, Zinaida, in Berlin in January, 1933, persecuted, separated from her husband, and prevented by Stalin from returning to him, committed suicide. Their brother Sergei, a scientific worker who shunned politics, was arrested by Stalin in 1937, accused of mass poisoning of workers, and was never heard of again. Trotsky's last son, Leon Sedov, his close friend and co-worker, died suddenly, February 15, 1938, in a Paris hospital which was discovered to be linked to the GPU. The French police—it was the honeymoon of the Stalin-Laval pact—under GPU pressure, refused to investigate.

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.

Rudolf Klement, secretary of the Fourth International, was kidnapped in Paris on July 13, 1938. Two weeks later his headless and legless body was fished from the Seine. 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.

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 this week 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 Mower 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. As it was, Earl Browder was obliged to come out with a statement in the Sunday Worker on Feb. 2.

The leader of the American Stalinists pretends to have arrived at the conclusion 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 dull-wits. Let us recall that when Chiang beheaded 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.

This miserable line was necessary in order to conceal—not the fictitious "betrayal" by Chiang Kai-shek, who served the imperialists and their native allies well, but the very real betrayal of which Stalin and his Chinese followers were guilty, the utter treachery of their policy which led to the massacre of the revolutionary forces. Today it is also necessary for them to cover up the bankruptcy of the "People's Anti-Japanese United Front," counterpart of the 1925-27 "bloc of four classes," which has produced the hopeless impasse into which the war against Japan has been led.

Browder's Alibi Examined

Browder, while trying to cover up all the tracks and to avoid laying bare the class basis of Chiang's attack on the New Fourth Army, nevertheless makes some damning admissions.

"What the high generals of the Kuomintang could not forgive the Chinese Communists," he declares, "was precisely the victories won (by the New Fourth Army against the Japanese), which exposed their own consistent defeats; what above all they could not forgive was the qualities and virtues which made those victories possible, exposing the corruption and incapacity of the ruling generals... In China, to win victories against the Japanese invaders is being interpreted as treason! That is because the capitulators, the Chinese bourgeoisie and generals, have seized control again, with the understanding that Washington and London, as well as Berlin and Tokyo, will back them up in delivering China again to the flames of civil war, and thus to the mercy of the Japanese invaders."

Who are the "high generals" of the Kuomintang? As a matter of fact, there is only one "high general"—Chiang Kai-shek himself. Why isn't he named? For the same reason that he wasn't named, in time, in 1927: it would still further strain the fiction of national unity.

Moreover, what possible interest could the American imperialists (or the British, for that matter) have in fomenting civil war in China, and thus aiding Japan at a time when Washington is actively preparing for war against the Island Empire? The reactions of the big imperialist press in America, which has expressed the greatest concern over Chiang's attack on the New Fourth Army and the possibility that it may lead to widespread civil war, gives the lie complete to Browder's nonsensical assertion. The American imperialists, of course, have no love for the Stalinist forces in China, but their im-

mediate concern is to see that Chiang Kai-shek expends his efforts against Japan and not against his internal foes.

Browder's most astonishing assertion is that "the capitulators, the Chinese bourgeoisie and generals, have seized control again." This implies that the bourgeoisie and the generals have been out of power up to now. Perhaps Browder can be induced to explain when and by whom they were replaced and how it all came about. Was the recent attack on the New Fourth Army perchance a revolution which restored lost power to the generals, the bourgeoisie—to Chiang Kai-shek? Perhaps Browder has secret information as to when and how the Chinese bourgeoisie lost power.

Bourgeoisie Admits the Truth

T. V. Soong had a much more intelligible, and accurate, explanation for Chiang Kai-shek's attack on the New Fourth Army. Said he: "The Fourth Army was disbanded for insubordination, not for being Communist. But admittedly the situation around Shanghai had become acute, for, naturally, the Communists were trying to increase their strength and spread their doctrines and it is equally natural that the government should oppose it." He also revealed that the New Fourth Army "lack the proper arms. They get none from the Russians. And the government has no interest in keeping them too well armed. You understand, after fighting them for ten years..."

Here is an open admission that the bourgeoisie-Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek has deliberately starved the New Fourth Army of the means of warfare, despite the fact that that army has fought exclusively against the marauding armies of Japanese imperialism. Why has this been done? Because the situation around Shanghai has become "acute" due to the Communists trying to increase their strength and spread their doctrines.

Reduced to concrete terms this means that the presence of the New Fourth Army, in spite of its class collaborationist policy in the "People's Anti-Japanese United Front" with Chiang Kai-shek, has stimulated peasant activity in the area near Shanghai where it has been operating. Of this fact there is plenty of evidence. Peasants have seized landlords' estates despite frantic efforts by the Stalinists to squelch the movement in the interests of the "united front."

(A second article on Chiang Kai-shek and the Stalinists will appear next week.)

GPU Forged Other Letters

(Continued from Page 1)

terious disappearance of another victim of the Kremlin, Juliet Stuart Poyntz, comes immediately to mind. Klement 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

in Virginia, had applied for the right to protect his life by carrying arms and was in the midst of work which he considered important. In a word, these "suicides" gave no indication whatever of not desiring to continue their lives.

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.

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 Commune," official organ of the Chkalov province:

"ORDERS OF THE GOVERNMENT VIOLATED"
 "MOST OF THE GRAIN LEFT UNTHRASHED"
 "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." (Izvestiya, Nov. 7, 1940). "Serious difficulties" is an absolutely new phrase from Stalinist boasters.

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 in 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." (Izvestiya, 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 hirelings 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,

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 employes 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 employes 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 per cent 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) (Izvestia, 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 "villifiers": 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 every thing—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."

"As organizations," Trotsky explained, "the GPU and the Comintern are not identical but they are indissoluble. They are subordinated to one another, and moreover it is not the Comintern

that gives orders to the GPU but on the contrary it is the GPU that completely dominates the Comintern. This domination finds its expression in the sudden changes of Central Committees of all the sections, as Moscow wills it; in the purges which are carried out by mysterious hands, behind the party's back."

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 murder planned and executed with

resources of the American section of the Comintern.

This GPU agent's power is all embracing. He not only determines the amount and oversees the distribution of all subsidies from Moscow, but he has veto power on policy and sees to it that the party's conduct does not in any way run contrary to the interests of the GPU. Since there is no democratic discussion concerning his decisions, the agent can force any party member, under penalty of moral and sometimes physical annihilation, to carry out the directives of the GPU.

This GPU agent on the Central Committee is also charged with the creation and direction of a local—in this case, American—section of the GPU. Gitlow, one of the founders of the Communist Party in the United States, 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 GPU's control over its agents once they have been recruited, is

bribery. Whatever revolutionary phrases may be used to cloak the ugliness, bribery is the foundation of the relationship. Compared to ordinary party functionaries, GPU agents live on a lavish scale. They always travel first class, stop at the best hotels and have prodigious accounts.

FINANCIAL POWERS OF THE GPU

The funds at the disposal of the GPU stagger the imagination. They are nothing less than all that Stalin plunders from the Soviet masses. These funds are sent from the Kremlin for work abroad under the stamp of the Comintern, or International Red Aid, or Society for International Cultural Relations, or Friends of the Soviet Union, etc., etc. One sure means of transportation of the funds was revealed by Krivitsky in his book "In Stalin's Secret Service." He wrote:

"One of the favorite methods

of transmitting money and instructions from Moscow to a foreign country for the use of the local Communist Party is through the diplomatic pouches, which are immune from search... From Moscow... in packages, bearing the seal of the Soviet government, (arrive) rolls of banknotes together with sealed instructions for their distribution. He (the GPU agent) personally delivers the roll of bills to the Communist leader, with whom he maintains direct contact."

NO ANALOGY WITH CLASSICAL TERRORISM

The GPU's efficiency begins to be understandable. Its superiority to any system of espionage ever before conceived by man is based, first, upon the Russian masses who are plundered to support it in lavish style; secondly upon the Comintern which supplies unlimited numbers of operatives of all races, nationality and citizenship;

and thirdly upon the carefully planned and implacable persecution meted out to all agents who deviate from their orders one iota.

There are many rank and file Communists with grave misgivings concerning the GPU. Some of them try privately, to rationalize the acts of violence committed by the GPU against the Czar, etc. But such individual terror, which Marxists have always opposed, had a revolutionary history and connotation that is far removed from the bloody chapters now being written by the GPU.

Trotsky wrote on this question: "It is impossible not to underscore the vast difference between the use of terror by revolutionary parties and by the gangs of the GPU. Russia was the classic country for individual terror. The revolutionary parties used to assume openly the responsibility for every sanguinary act they committed. Polish and Irish terrorists behaved similarly in their struggle for national independence. It is entirely otherwise with the Stalinists. After perpetrating a scheduled murder they not only disown their own handiwork, but seek to foist it on their political opponents. They do not act in the interests of the people, but in the interests of the totalitarian gang. They are compelled to deceive the people. This cowardly duplicity invests the terror of the GPU with a dishonest and repulsive character."

Krivitsky was murdered in Washington, which means that he was murdered by the American section of the GPU. This is the master that Browder knowingly accepts. This is the master that the rank and file Communist party members unknowingly accept.

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 assemblage, 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 be 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

Every atom of aluminum contained in American products, from coffee pots to super bombers, comes from the Aluminum Company of America. Through that company has been heaped up the billion dollar fortune of the Mellon Family, fourth on the list of America's Sixty Families.

As early as 1912, the Aluminum Company of America was termed a monopoly by the Federal courts. In 1924, 1928 and 1930 the Federal Trade Commission filed complaints against this corporation, charging that it was an absolute monopoly. In 1937, the government again filed suit against ALCOA to break it up. The net effects of all these complaints and suits was—the rebate of millions of dollars of taxes to the Mellon estate.

Now again a new set of indictments are brought by a U. S. Grand Jury against the Aluminum Company of America, together with five other corporations under its direct or indirect control, for conspiracy, in collaboration with the German dye trust, to violate

the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and establish 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 on a purely arbitrary basis, entirely eliminate competition.

After the last war, several com-

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.

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 limitless 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 this monopoly was maintained were:

The conspiring firms worked under an agreement under which each declined orders from the customers of the others. Prices were fixed by agreement.

Until recently, the carload price of magnesium in America was 30 cents a pound, and is now 27 cents a pound. Yet magnesium exported to Germany was sold, delivered to the docks in Germany, at 21 cents a pound.

The monopoly was not undertaken for profit—from magnesium. On the contrary, it was undertaken to limit to a minimum the production of magnesium altogether.

The chief American conspirator, ALCOA, did not, and does not, want to produce magnesium. It is interested exclusively in aluminum.

The many and devious means 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 expansions 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 Farmer-Labor movement must base itself upon the union movement, which in this state means the AFL. Since Olson died, no Farmer-Labor leadership has arisen capable of grasping this elementary fact. And the Farmer-Laborites have gone down twice to defeat.

PRO-WAR ELEMENT
Most of the right-wing Farmer-Laborites are pro-Roosevelt and pro-war and would feel more at home in the out-and-out boss party than they did in the Farmer-Labor movement.

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 nicety, 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 out over Charles Munn on the second ballot by a vote of 256 1/2 to 252 1/2. 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-

FBI Pushing Adoption Of Wire Tapping Bill

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.

JUST OFF THE PRESS

The Assassination of Leon Trotsky

THE PROOFS OF STALIN'S GUILT

By

Albert Goldman

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

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Batista's Latest Ukase Against Cuba's Workers

By ROSAS

HAVANA, Cuba, Jan. 30—In a sweeping decree promulgated on January 30, the "democratic" government of Col. Fulgencio Batista legalized all international organizations and annulled the democratic liberties guaranteed by the constitution. Severe penalties are provided for those carrying on revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

Ostensibly aimed at "organizations, centers and individuals who endeavor in their activities to propagate totalitarian political ideals," the decree in reality is directed against the political and trade union organizations of the working class especially those of a revolutionary character. Even the Communist Party, which has been a loyal lackey of Batista, and still vociferously supports the government, is confronted with a none too bright future. However, the government will still make use of the valuable services rendered by Stalinism. Two members of the cabinet declared that the decree will apply to the Communist Party only in case of war.

In the lengthy decree one reads that the measure is directed against organizations and individuals who "conspire against the sovereignty and independence of the nations of this continent; foment disturbances and difficulties in the unfolding of their internal life; try to disrupt American unity, the good neighbor policy and understanding between their peoples, and continental solidarity in order to prepare in this manner, by means of well organized propaganda, political penetration, the loss of our liberties and the breakdown of our institutions."

Batista Obeys His Master's Voice

One can hear in this the voice of master Cordell Hull behind the yelping of Col. Batista. The good neighbor policy by which Wall Street strives to attain imperialist hegemony over Latin America must be fostered at all costs. And if the workers and their organizations dare to protest against the inordinate pretensions of Uncle Sam, why that is "totalitarian" propaganda!

The following are important extracts from the decree:

1. "Any organization or association, whatever its form or apparent aim, which has connections with international organizations, or which strives to win over followers against the republican, representative and democratic regime of Cuba, or which in any manner proceeds against national sovereignty, is declared illegal and prohibited."
2. "The use of flags, emblems and insignia contrary to the regime of the democratic and republican government of Cuba are prohibited."
3. "Hymns, songs, marches and other musical compositions, theatrical and motion picture productions, radio broadcasts, greetings, paintings, photographs, drawings, books, magazines, newspapers and other means whose purpose it is to affirm and spread totalitarian ideology and doctrine or which aim in any way to attack the democratic principles consecrated in the constitution of the Republic, are prohibited."
3. "The authorities will arrest and turn over to the Tribunals of Justice. . . those who commit the following acts:
 - a. "Receive money from a foreign power or from any person, layman or official, native or foreigner for the realization of an oral or written campaign against the democratic regime established in Cuba.
 - b. "Issue stamps, seals, medals, slugs or other similar objects with the purpose of collecting funds for the propagation of ideas or principles contrary to the democratic regime.
 - c. "Make attempts to collect money with which to spread propaganda against the regime of democratic, representative government of the Republic of Cuba, or against national sovereignty."
 6. "All postal, telegraphic, radiotelegraphic, and radiotelephonic correspondence which carries on propaganda in favor of totalitarian regimes and against the democratic regime is illegal and, consequently, non-transmittable and subject to seizure."
 7. "The granting of licenses or authorizations to carry firearms is prohibited, and those granted up to date are evoked. . ."
 8. "Foreigners who carry on totalitarian propaganda or other acts contrary to the peace of the republic or the stability of its institutions will be expelled."
 9. "If this decree gives rise to any doubts, such doubts will be resolved by the Minister of Justice."
 10. "All decrees and dispositions of the executive power which in any form conflict with the present decree are abolished."

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1939, 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 co-operation 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 deterrent to the GPU. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, 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 Jason, 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 BillFortunately, 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 virtually drafting all American seamen into the Naval Reserve. Such a storm of protest arose against this proposed regimentation of the sea-going workers that even a group of shipowners began to call for the withdrawal of this proposal.

After beating a retreat, the Navy High Command and Rep. Dirksen hit upon the new scheme incorporated in H. R. 2662. It proposes the abolition of the union hiring hall; the introduction of compulsory arbitration and mediation machinery with a 30-day strike "announcement" clause such as big business has been clamoring for in respect to labor as a whole; the prohibition, on board ship, of all literature which the *ships master* may regard as subversive; a new clamp on the hiring of foreign-born union seamen and, last but not least, the introduction of the compulsory "Fink Book," a virtual labor passport system with particularly vicious black-listing provisions.

OMNIBUS BILL
The strategists behind the Dirksen Bill have thus included in it every last anti-union measure fought by maritime labor in the past few years. This time they hope the hue and cry about "national defense" will help push it through where it failed previously. Each and every section of this Bill is an intended blow to unionism on the high seas. It is no wonder then, that without exception every union of seafaring men—AFL as well as CIO, National Maritime Union as well as Sailors Union of the Pacific and Seafarers International Union, etc.—

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 rec-

ords 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 act on 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 cats' paws for John Shipowner in smashing the NMU—for they know that the objective of the seamen's enemies is the smashing of all unionism as such. As against this objective, every union seaman realizes that one common struggle is the need of the day.

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.

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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, singers, 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 Stalinist 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. Defend civil liberties. 6. Repeal the Alien Registration Act. 7. Enact the Anti-Lynching Bill. 8. Enact the Anti-Poll Tax Bill. 9. Fight to repeal the Conscription Act, failing that, "make it more democratic."

APM's foreign policy is: 1. Keep America out of war. 2. No aid to Britain until she practices the democracy she preaches. 3. Real aid to China. 4. Friendship with the Soviet Union. 5. Complete embargo against Japan and Spain.

With the exception of the call for friendship with the Soviet Union (i.e., another pact like that with Laval or Hitler) there is not a single plank in the entire platform that every drooling pacifist in the country couldn't support with both hands and both lungs. As Dr. Walter Scott Neff, executive Secretary of APM's New York Council, said in a published address, "The American Peace Mobilization is not designed to serve the interests of any special part of the people—it exists for all of America." Neither from Dr. Neff, nor from APM as a whole, is there a breath of the class struggle.

"The Yanks are not coming," "Keep America out of War," are the two chief slogans shouted at all APM demonstrations. By these slogans the Stalinists are exploiting the masses' natural love for peace and diverting it from its proper channel—the class struggle. Lenin often warned of "dull-witted and treacherous slogans of peace." In 1915, when fighting to stem the rising tide of social patriotism then sweeping the Second International, he wrote, "Avoid all pacifist snares... A clear, full, exact declaration of principles is more important for us than anything. Without this all the so called programs of action are mere phrases, mere deceptions."

Like All Previous Stalinist "Fronts"

Stalinism has always turned to the "good" bourgeoisie for support against war. The Amsterdam Congress Against War, the Paris Congress Against Fascism, and the American League for Peace and Democracy were all organized by the Third International and remain classic examples of the replacement of revolutionary class struggle by vague, classless (i.e., bourgeois-pacifist) formulations. The heterogeneous elements artificially brought together by back-stage manipulation scattered in all directions once they were confronted with a concrete war arising from capitalist contradictions. This disintegration of forces, this demoralization and disorientation of the proletarian elements, will be repeated in APM. The replacement of a fighting agreement of working class organizations against war, by a bloc with petty-bourgeois pacifists always leads to the adoption of the tactics of the pacifists.

APM has been prodigious in its production of pamphlets, leaflets, letters, etc. In all this output there is no word of revolutionary internationalism, no word of proletarianism. In a pamphlet entitled "Foreign Policy and Peace," Dr. Neff is quoted as saying, "It is my job to speak for all... for working people, organized and unorganized, for the young and the old, for women as for men, for the Jews and the Negroes, and for all national and religious groups." Just about everybody! Who makes war, then? Even his phraseology is borrowed from the capitalist politicians: In picturing the consequences of war, he says, "The American way of life... will perish absolutely."

Pious Appeals to Morality

APM is so far from a class outlook that it sums up its arguments in terms of abstract morality. In the pamphlet "What is APM" we find this, "The issues on which APM is ready to fight are simple ones—the sort of issues for which decent people have always been ready to fight." Capitalists and coupon clippers are not excluded from APM's circle of "decent people."

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.

There is no doubt that this pacifist propaganda of the Stalinists is now having a certain success: it corresponds to the immature outlook of a section of the workers, enabling them thus to express their hatred of war. These same workers, however, will tomorrow begin to face the fundamental question: HOW to really fight against the imperialist war. The Stalinist pacifist propaganda retards the development of these workers, but it cannot prevent it. Tomorrow these workers will turn to us, to the Leninist answer to imperialist war.

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 churches, 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. Bradby, 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 lived 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 combating 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."

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

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