

For A Rising Scale  
Of Wage To Meet  
Rising Living Costs !

# THE MILITANT

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## ANTI-LABOR DRIVE GAINS MOMENTUM

### 2 Polish Anti-Fascists Murdered By Stalinists

Alter and Erlich Executed in the USSR  
Following A New 'Moscow Trial' Frameup

By ANTHONY MASSINI

By the murder of the two Polish-Jewish Socialist leaders, Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, admitted for the first time by the Stalinists last week, Stalin struck another blow against the defense of the Soviet Union. While the Red Army and Soviet masses win the admiration of the workers everywhere for their valiant defense of the workers' state, the Stalinist bureaucracy has given

the reactionaries new weapons for alienating the sympathy of the masses from the Soviet Union.

Accompanying the Daily Worker's announcement on Feb. 27 of the executions, reported to have taken place in December, 1941, were the typical vicious slanders which the Stalinists direct against all their political opponents in the working class. "Alter, Erlich Executed As Pro-Nazis," says the Daily Worker of the two men who were described only a month ago by fifteen prominent American labor leaders and liberals, including AFL President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray, as "outstanding and courageous fighters against fascism and Nazism."

The Stalinist story of the "trial" and execution of Alter and Erlich "for hostile anti-Soviet activities" repeats in its main outlines the monstrous Moscow Trial frame-ups 1937-38.

#### HISTORY OF CASE

The two Polish Socialists fell into the hands of the Stalinists in the fall of 1939, after Stalin had invaded eastern Poland. For many years they had been leaders of the Polish labor movement, Erlich being head of the Jewish Workers' Federation (the Bund) and a member of the Executive committee of the Labor and Socialist (Second) International, and Alter being president of the National Council of Trade Unions. Both were aldermen in the city of Warsaw at the time of the Nazi attack on Poland; after the Beck government had fled, they organized and led the workers in resistance against the German armies for a few days.

Taken to the Soviet Union, they were kept in prison until after the Hitler attack on the USSR in

June, 1941 and the signing of a Soviet-Polish pact. After protests from the Polish government-in-exile and American and British labor organizations, Alter and Erlich were released; the last news heard of them until last week was that they had decided to join a Polish Army being raised on Soviet soil, that they had issued a manifesto calling on Polish workers to join this army, and that they had suddenly been rearrested in Kuibyshev.

#### INCREDIBLE STORY

Last week—on Feb. 26—the Soviet Consulate in New York issued an incredible story designed to "explain" why these internationally-known anti-fascists had been murdered.

They were first arrested, says the Feb. 27 Daily Worker, "for working with the Polish espionage service, which participated in activities against the Soviet power. For this crime they were sentenced to death in August, 1941. The sentence was later commuted to ten years imprisonment for each one of them."

This Stalinist report is purposely vague as to the date of this alleged collaboration with the Polish espionage service—not stating whether it occurred before or after Stalin invaded Poland. But its very vagueness suggests that the "crime" with which Erlich and Alter were really charged was their opposition to the Stalin-Hitler pact and the joint Hitler-Stalin partition of Poland.

The Daily Worker story continues: "Representatives of the Polish government-in-exile appealed to the Soviet government to release Erlich and Alter. The Soviet government granted the appeal and in September, 1941, they were

(Continued on page 3)

### VERDICT AWAITED IN TRIAL OF GPU KILLER

Mexican Court Holds Final Hearing On  
'Frank Jacson,' Murderer of Leon Trotsky

By WALTER O'ROURKE

MEXICO, D. F., Feb. 14 (By Mail) — The final hearings in the trial of "Frank Jacson," GPU assassin of Leon Trotsky, were held Feb. 4-8. In his final summation, Octavio Medellin Ostos, the killer's lawyer, entered a plea of homicide following alleged provocation by Trotsky. Most of the defense time was devoted to denying that "Jacson" was a GPU agent.

These hearings were the occasion for both the prosecution and the defense to review the evidence and give their interpretation and respective pleas for verdict and sentence. During the whole procedure the offended party—in this case, Natalia Sedov Trotsky—may participate with the same rights as the other parties.

#### PROSECUTION STAND

The prosecuting attorney, Liborio Espinosa Elenes, introduced an extensive document citing all the important testimony and concluded by asking that Jacson be judged guilty of "qualified" homicide—the most serious verdict, the accused being guilty of one or more of the qualifications of premeditation, betrayal of confidence, advantage. The evidence demonstrating Jacson's GPU origins occupied a considerable place in the prosecution's docu-

ment, although the prosecutor himself did not draw the conclusion.

The statement by Natalia Sedov Trotsky was next read to the court. Natalia sketched Leon Trotsky's life, his role in the October revolution and the successful defense of the Soviet, in the Civil War and the development of the struggle between him and Stalin as representatives of the proletarian versus bureaucratic tendencies. The murder was shown as the logical conclusion to this struggle.

The second day of the hearing was devoted entirely to the reading of parts of the court record asked for by the defense. The reading of these documents was not concluded until 2:30 of the

(Continued on page 2)

### Kremlin Must Like Davies' Version Of Moscow Trials

The Warner Brothers' motion picture, "Mission to Moscow," based on the book by ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, presents a version of the infamous Moscow Trial frameups which is wholly acceptable to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

This was indicated last week when the Hollywood columnist of the N. Y. Post, Sidney Skolsky, reported that "Warners are planning to have premieres of 'Mission to Moscow' in New York, South America, Africa, Russia, China and England simultaneously."

The Kremlin is very careful about the kind of motion pictures produced in other countries which it permits to be shown in the Soviet Union. The fact that it has given its approval to the Davies film, a full reel of which is devoted to the Moscow Trials, is a certain sign that it will present the Stalinist version of the Trials which were held for the purpose of slandering and discrediting the working class opponents of policies as "anti-Soviet elements."

The picture has been given a big advance ballyhoo as the answer to many "misconceptions" about the USSR. Its whitewash of the Moscow Trials will seek to add still another "misconception." Although "shootings" of the picture appears to have been completed, it is still possible that protests may result in the elimination of some of its more slanderous parts. Every advocate of working class democracy and every opponent of the Stalin-Davies school of falsification should send protests to Lowell Mellett, Office of War Information film bureau, Washington, D. C. and to Warner Brothers, Hollywood, Calif.

### Davies' Slanders Are Hit by Writer Louis Fischer

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 28. — "If Hollywood in the pictureization of ex-Ambassador Davies' book ('Mission to Moscow') uses his charges that the Russian generals purged in 1937 were guilty of conspiracy with the Germans and Japanese, then Hollywood will be guilty of a scandalous distortion of history and an injury to the Russian people."

This was the warning issued by Louis Fischer, liberal writer, quoted in yesterday's Los Angeles Times.

Fischer also called attention to the fact that Davies' endorsement of the Stalinist version of the Moscow trials and purges was not arrived at on the basis of any facts.

"Davies has no proof of his charge," Fischer declared, "and it would be lamentable if the American motion picture industry would repeat it. In his book Davies offers no proof whatsoever of it, and I am sure that he has none."

Fischer denied that the Red Army generals purged by Stalin in 1937 were guilty of any treasonous activity. The trials, he declared, "were brought about for varying reasons, one that Stalin was fearful of political rivals and another that he was changing the orientation of the revolution toward a Russian nationalism."

### PRESENT STATUS OF 'THE MILITANT'

The status of *The Militant* remains unchanged. It has not lost its mailing rights; but it does not enjoy unhampered use of these rights. The Biddle request that this paper be barred from the mails has not been withdrawn; the Postmaster General has not yet handed down his decision on the request.

As our regular readers know, the postal authorities began last November to withhold the bundles of *The Militant* as they were deposited in the New York Post Office for delivery. Copies of each issue were sent to Washington which then notified the New York Post Office whether or not to deliver the papers. Four issues of the paper were destroyed, the others finally delivered.

On Jan. 21 the Post Office held a hearing on the case, at which it was learned that the attack on *The Militant* had been initiated by Attorney-General Biddle, who cited 105 excerpts from the paper since Dec., 1941, as "objectionable" and asked the Postmaster General to bar the paper from the mails.

Most of these excerpts consisted of attacks on Big Business, opposition to Jim Crowism, criticisms of the administration's domestic and foreign policies and advocacy of an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' and Farmers' Government. At the hearing Osmond K. Fraenkel, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, characterized the attack on *The Militant* as "the gravest threat to freedom of the press that has thus far arisen in the war."

The hearing was conducted by a board of Post Office officials assigned by Postmaster General Walker to the task of presenting its findings and recommendations to him. To date, no news has been received of the board's recommendations or the Postmaster General's decision. Since Jan. 21 all issues of the paper up until last week have been delivered, but only after delays ranging up to a full week.

It must therefore be clearly understood that although recent issues have all been delivered, the danger to *The Militant's* mailing rights has by no means been removed. The defense of *The Militant* still requires that every labor and liberal organization be acquainted with the facts in the case and asked to protest Biddle's attack on this paper, as several organizations and journals already have done. Advocates of a free press can also help *The Militant's* fight by financial contributions to defray the added expenses and to compensate for the reduced income with which the paper has been burdened during the last four months.

### Prices Keep Going Higher and Higher

High prices were threatening to go still higher last week, with everyone from Congress to the OPA to the black market operators chipping in to do what they could to lower labor's living standards.

The U. S. Senate, by a vote of 78-2, adopted the Bankhead bill which would result in an increase of approximately 5% on corn and wheat price ceilings.

The House Banking Committee received the Bankhead bill, and approved it with some alterations: its members thought price ceilings should be raised more than 5%—they asked for an increase of between 10 and 15%, not merely on corn and wheat, but on all farm price ceilings.

It was announced also that the OPA would soon freeze the price of soft wheat, from which crackers and pastry are made. But simultaneously it will raise the present ceiling price on soft wheat flour in most states by 60 cents a barrel, or 12%. An OPA official wasted some breath by announcing that this would result in "higher prices to consumers."

The OPA had recently put a ceiling on a small number of fresh vegetables. This week the vegetable growing interests were up in the air, declaring that continuation of the ceiling would un-

doubtedly result in a "drop in production."

Threats of this kind—to discontinue production if they don't have their way—usually result in the OPA offering profitable concessions to the business interests. The dairy interests got such concessions in certain cities last month for the price of milk, and it was reported this week that Secretary of Agriculture Wickard was planning to raise milk prices in Philadelphia, Washington and New Orleans.

With the beginning of canned food rationing this week came increased reports of black market operations. One sign of the rapid rise of the black market in the last year was indicated in the report issued in New York last week by the Tanners Council, whose figures for Dec., 1942 showed "movement into sight" of 830,000 hides "from unsuspected sources." The Dec., 1941 figures for hides from such sources was only 472,000 hides.

But even the difference between these two figures does not show the complete rise in the number of cattle sold at higher prices on the black market, for another source reports that the operators in black market beef, trying to cover up their tracks, are destroying, and not bothering to sell the hides.

### V. R. Dunne Will Speak On 'Labor And The 4 Freedoms'

NEW YORK. — V. R. Dunne, nationally known and respected labor leader of the northwest, will be the speaker at the next Sunday Open Forum, to be held at 116 University Place on March 7, 8 P. M.

The topic on which Dunne is scheduled to speak is "Labor and the Four Freedoms." This will be his first public speech in New York City since a year ago, when he stopped here on his nation-wide tour in behalf of

of the newly-published popular pamphlet, "Your Standard of Living," whose speech bears the same title.

Further information about the Forum series can be obtained from the sponsor, the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place.

### Labor-Baiters Bring Up Bills To Hogtie Unions

By Michael Cort

The lynch campaign against labor, which has been gathering momentum since United States entry into the war, reached new heights last week as Congress, state legislatures and the whole apparatus of employer propaganda rang with denunciations of unions and dire threats against workers who have dared to defend their rights.

The reasons for this campaign are: 1. To intimidate the workers into discontinuing their present demands for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living; and 2. To lay the groundwork for combatting militant union struggles, if the workers refuse to be intimidated.

The focal point of the drive is, of course, Congress. A swarm of anti-labor bills dropped into the House and Senate legislative hoppers are now being considered by various committees.

Here, briefly, are the provisions of some of the most important bills pending in Congress:

#### LEGISLATIVE THREATS

The Austin-Wadsworth bill would draft all male workers from 18 to 65 years of age and all female workers from 18 to 50 years of age for assignment to such jobs as are deemed necessary by the employers and the government. This could be used to suspend the operation of union contracts and to further restrict collective bargaining. The bill is supported by Secretary of War Stimson.

The Hobbs bill, already approved by the House Rules Committee, is ostensibly aimed at racketeers, but its provisions against interference with interstate commerce are so broad that practically all trade union activity could be outlawed.

The Connolly bill would empower the administration to seize and operate all plants where "strikes or other labor disturbances occur."

The Byrd bill would require draft boards to draft all strikers from 18 to 65 years of age who refused to end a walk-out.

The Johnson bill empowers the administration to give a "work or fight" ultimatum to all workers in all war industries.

#### STATE BILLS

The all-out nature of this drive is indicated by the fact that it is not confined to Washington, but is being carried directly to the governing bodies of the states. The past month has seen nationwide tours by Edward Rickenbacker, voice of the National Association of Manufacturers, and Lee O'Daniel, poll tax Senator from Texas. These spokesmen for Big Business have been speaking before state legislatures, vilifying labor and urging the passage of repressive legislation. Their tours have not been without success.

Bills which would outlaw everything from picketing to the election of non-property owners as union officers, have been introduced in the legislatures of Ohio, California, Texas, Missouri, Iowa, North Carolina, and elsewhere.

#### LEADERS' COWARDICE

These bills represent a threat to every conceivable function of the union movement; if adopted and enforced, the unions might still exist legally, but they would be unable to do anything in defense of the workers' interests. And yet, in the face of these threats and provocations, the leaders of the trade unions remain criminally passive.

At the beginning of this session of Congress, Philip Murray announced that the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods had decided to organize a joint legislative committee to face labor enemies

in Washington. But nothing further has been said about this decision, and labor's voice has not been heard above the din of union-baiting.

Actually, the labor leaders have directed the majority of their efforts toward restraining the workers rather than leading them against their enemies. Their theory is that labor must depend on its "friends" in the administration and not "provoke" the reactionaries by conducting militant struggles against the employers. Sporadic local struggles by the workers during the past few months have always brought condemnation and threats of discipline from top labor bureaucrats.

#### IMPORTANT SIGNS

But in spite of all the combined pressure of the administration, the employers and the labor bureaucracy, increasing numbers of workers are demonstrating their willingness to fight militantly in defense of their rights and living standards.

The most recent example of the growing resistance of labor is the revolt of west coast aircraft workers who have waited eight long months for the War Labor Board to consider their demands for pay boosts.

On Feb. 25 the Boeing plant at Seattle was shut down as 10,000 members of the AFL International Association of Machinists marched to the City-County Building in protest over the run-around they had received from the WLB. They announced their intention of calling nation-wide work stoppages if the WLB did not hand down an immediate decision on their case.

On March 1 and 2 they were joined in mass meetings of protest by aircraft workers in Los Angeles and San Diego. It was only by heavy pressure from the administration, the army, top union officers and the press that the workers were dissuaded from

### 'Absenteeism' Is Alibi for Firing Shipyard Unionists

BOSTON, Feb. 28. — A CIO mass meeting called here today, to protest the "absenteeism" firing of hundreds of workers at Bethlehem Steel's Fore River Shipyard in Quincy, heard worker after worker get up to charge the management with using the alibi of "absenteeism" as a pretext for firing union men and for covering up their own mismanagement.

Here is the story of some of the men who were discharged: Joseph Russo worked for five and a half months without a day off. Contracting pneumonia, he was forced to remain in bed for 23 days. Fired on his return to the job.

One worker who served seven weeks on a Suffolk County jury was fired when he returned. Another, after a siege in a hospital with hemorrhaging stomach ulcers, went back to work against his doctor's orders and was fired for absenteeism.

Meanwhile, other workers reported, confusion reigned in the yard because of poor management, hundreds of workers have been left standing around while company supervisors looked skyward so as not to see them idle, and the management keeps "piling up man hours on the boats in order to make greater profits."

the time from carrying out their strike program on a wide scale.

Unrest is spreading among the meat packing workers, the miners, the auto workers. Throughout the country, rank and file workers—faced with the problem of paying huge taxes this year while their wages lag behind ever-rising living costs—are beginning to call for an end to the policy of

(Continued on page 2)

### CIO EXPLAINS THE REAL REASONS FOR 'ABSENTEEISM'

The current hue and cry about "absenteeism"—thought up by Big Business and widely peddled by Edward Rickenbacker and other labor-baiters—is one of the most fraudulent campaigns ever directed against the labor movement.

Congress already is considering a number of bills dealing with this question, and needless to say these bills are all based on the charge that "lazy and unpatriotic workers" are to blame

for absences which retard production, when actually the responsibility lies with the profit-greedy employers who maintain working and health conditions that make absenteeism inevitable.

*Economic Outlook*, the monthly economic survey published by the CIO, examines the problem in its March 1943 issue and concludes that voluntary absenteeism is an extremely minor factor, while the following constitute the real causes:

#### HEALTH AND SAFETY

1. A lack of health and safety precautions in industry. The Department of Labor figures reveal that 2,180,000 workers were injured in 1941. 1942 figures are estimated to be higher. 19,200 were killed and 100,000 permanently injured in industrial accidents in 1941. The U. S. Public Health Service estimates that 2,600,000,000 man hours a year are lost through illness.

2. Miserable housing and transportation facilities in many of the war production centers make it impossible for workers to maintain consistent hours.

3. Failure of the government to provide adequate nurseries for working mothers. The necessity of dividing time between home and factory because of children left uncared for, or only partially cared for, cuts many hours from the production line.

4. The inability of industry to plan the most efficient use of its materials and facilities results in many break downs and disrupted production schedules.

5. The almost total national neglect of service, health, and recreational facilities for the enormously increased number of night shift workers.

A factor which *Economic Outlook* did not mention was that government-let contracts on a "cost plus" basis lead many industrialists to artificially slow production and boost costs. By so doing they realize greater profits.



# Alcoa Victimizes Negro Workers In Cleveland

By G. SCHRAUM

CLEVELAND, Feb. 28. — The Aluminum Corporation of America, aided by the army, the WLB, and a vicious press campaign, and with the tacit approval of the Stalinist leadership of Local 755 of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO, is attempting to victimize several hundred Negro workers who have been putting up a valiant fight here to better their conditions.

The case is in 3F department of the smelting plant, manned practically entirely by Negroes. Their chief grievances are that their high production quotas make bonuses nearly impossible, that no mechanical hoisting equipment is provided as in other departments, and that no transfers are granted to other departments when there are openings.

Five weeks ago the workers began working at a normal pace, with no attempt to make the

tremendous further efforts required to make a possible bonus. The management denounced this as a slowdown and called in investigators from the Army Air Force who observed the workers for a month, finally giving orders to fire five workers with long work records, as "not sufficiently qualified, careful, efficient, or reliable."

Other workers in the department struck in sympathy until the plant was closed by the management. On Feb. 24, the WLB ordered the strikers to return or face "disciplinary action."

## JIM CROW POLICIES

The Cleveland Alcoa works is notorious for its anti-labor policies. Workers must depend upon bonuses based on the Bedaux system to augment their low hourly rates.

War expansion has forced the company to hire Negro labor, but it has given the Negroes only the most undesirable jobs. For instance, the smelting plant hires 60% Negro labor which is five or six times the percentage obtaining in the plant as a whole.

While Alcoa employees are generally organized into the Aluminum Workers of America (CIO), the Cleveland works employees are in Local 755 of the MM&SW which has suffered since its inception from the plague of Stalinist leadership. Since the latest Stalinist turn, these misleaders make a pretense of representing the workers' interests only to the extent necessary to prevent sporadic attempts on the part of the AWA, UMW, or AFL to step in and organize the plant. As a result, there have been repeated instances where isolated departments, acting independently

of the union, have had to take their own action to get an adjustment of their grievances.

Edward Radden, president of Local 755, while admitting that the men had grievances and that they had dropped out of the union in the past because their grievances were not settled, nevertheless came to the management's aid by stating, "I want to emphasize that we are not in favor of stoppages and slowdowns and that we have repeatedly pleaded with the men to continue normal production."

## NEED LABOR AID

The Negro workers have turned for leadership to W. O. Walker, editor of the *Call-Post*, leading Cleveland Negro paper, and city councilman. Walker has supported these men in his paper, and will do what he can, no doubt, to aid them.

However, it is very necessary to enlist the labor movement of the city in defense of these workers whose case is the most flagrant example of company and Army persecution of workers in this city since the war began.

## 82 Strikers Fired At Cleveland Plant

MARCH 2 — The Associated Press reported yesterday that production had been resumed at the Cleveland Alcoa smelter plant as workers returned to work under a third order by the regional War Labor Board. But the Alcoa management revealed that third-shift operations in the plant had been suspended pending replacement of 82 strikers fired for ignoring previous WLB orders to return to work.

# Await 'Jackson' Verdict

(Continued from page 1)

third and final day—Monday, Feb. 8.

## ORAL DEBATE

At about 5:45 Monday, the oral debate began. The prosecuting attorney made a short address recounting how Mexico, the only country in the world to do so, had given asylum to Trotsky on condition that he not participate in Mexico's internal affairs, and that he had kept that promise. Jackson, he said, was a dangerous character who had committed a despicable crime and should receive the maximum punishment.

The defense began its address at 6 P. M. and it lasted until about 11. Of these five hours, about four were devoted to denying that Jackson was a GPU agent or that his motives were those of a professional GPU killer. The other hour went to technical debate on the legality of statements made by 'Jackson' before the police.

The GPU lawyer's fundamental attack — even when criticizing the police and governmental procedure — was against the Trotskyists. He complained that the government was "preoccupied" not to permit the slightest doubt to be cast upon it for Trotsky's murder or for the procedure in trying his murderer. This preoccupation, he complained, caused the government to bow to all the desires and suggestions of the Trotskyists and thus "they have directed the case."

## THE GPU LINE

The only one of Jackson's statements that his lawyer admits as valid is his second "confession"—the "New Version" submitted after the trial was officially closed, more than a year after the murder and more than six months after lawyer Ostos took the case!

It was in Ostos' personal attack on the secretaries and guards of

Trotsky that the GPU hand most clearly revealed itself. Lies, slanderous suggestions, demagogic appeals against foreigners plus the stock Stalinist lies about Trotskyist "saboteurs" flowed in abundance, showing that Ostos either knew the tricks of the trade beforehand or learned quickly. His connections with the Stalinist agents, Lombardo Toledano and Narciso Bassols, make the former more probable.

Natalia Sedov Trotsky was pictured by Ostos as a poor old lady, prematurely senile, who was "incapable of thinking" but who was utilized by various "international adventurers" for their own ends; she together with her friends were contemptuously referred to as "Vienna 19"—the address of Trotsky's house in Coyoacan.

Ostos especially singled out Natalia's secretary who was representing her in the trial, and called him a "suspicious" person who described himself as a U. S. citizen, adding that he, Ostos, didn't believe it. Ostos did not explain why he had not asked at the U. S. Consulate in Mexico whether this individual was registered there, as he must be to have his documents in order.

Others of the secretaries and persons mentioned as Trotskyists in the trial, continued Ostos, had been convicted of "sabotage" just before Pearl Harbor; he especially mentioned James P. Cannon and Albert Goldman in this connection. This was his deliberately lying version — similar to stories in the Stalinist press here of the famous Minneapolis labor trial of Cannon, Goldman, and other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 54-CIO.

## DISTORTS MEANING OF MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL

His attack reached its lying culmination when he misquoted a sentence from Natalia Sedov Trotsky's document concerning Trotsky's secretary Robert Sheldon Harte, murdered by Stalinists in their May 24, 1940 attack on Trotsky's house. Natalia wrote: "His (Harte's) political importance was nil for Stalinism" going on to point out that he was killed because he knew the identity of the Stalinist who succeeded in having him open the door to the house during the May attack.

Ostos pretended this sentence was "His political importance was nil for Trotskyism," and followed with a demagogic oration about the attitude of Trotskyists toward one of the guards who had made the supreme sacrifice for the cause. If this was the Trotskyists' own appreciation of a guard, he said, then the judges should disregard all that the other guards had testified.

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## "JACSON'S PASSPORT"

Ostos tried to pass off Jackson's false passport — which had belonged to a member of the GPU-controlled International Brigade who was killed in Spain — by suggesting that the manner of its entry into the court proceedings was not entirely correct.

As to the political content of Jackson's "confession" letter, carried on his person before his crime, not a word did Ostos utter. In that letter, the then current Stalinist line—of the Stalinist-Hitler Pact period—was evident; it stated that Trotsky confided to Jackson that he counted on the aid of a great foreign power and a certain parliamentary committee in sending saboteurs to Russia, i.e., the United States and the Dies Committee.

But the line has been changed again and now Jackson lies that Trotsky is to blame for ruining his military career in the Belgian Army where he could have fought for his country against the Nazis. "I have always considered it an honor to die on a battle field fighting against the forces representing the greatest barbarism, signified by the Nazi hordes," writes Jackson in his new version. If he always thought this, he never hinted about it in his statements previous to June 22, 1941.

## JACSON PROTECTS THE GPU

Jackson could not be an agent of the GPU, Ostos said, for a member of this organization should know how to assume a defensive attitude when arrested. Jackson, he said, did not even attempt to defend himself—not even by

wise obtained increases in intelligence test scores.

Only under a socialist society where there will be an equality of opportunity for all to obtain sufficient food, clothing, education, and general culture, will it be possible to accurately measure individual differences in intelligence. Until then the use of intelligence test results to "prove" the superiority of the white oppressors is completely unscientific. The white workers of the world in conjunction with the millions of colored peoples at home and in the colonies will one day destroy the myth of racial and national superiority and build an international socialist society—a society of the free and the equal.

shutting his mouth until he had a lawyer.

The real point is, of course, that the prime task of a GPU agent is to defend the GPU, and this Jackson carried out to the utmost. It is true that he talked quite vociferously about his past; but early in the trial all this testimony was shown to be pure lies under the questioning of Albert Goldman. In fact, during the first months of the trial, Jackson was so busy trying to cover up his GPU connections that he made confessions about the actual execution of his crime that rendered a legal defense almost impossible. But in doing so he was placing the interests of the GPU before personal interests.

Far from proving lack of connections with Stalin's secret police, his actions prove just the opposite.

Ostos maintained that the use of an alpenstock to kill Trotsky showed that Jackson was not an experienced killer. In reality the use of such a weapon proves just the opposite, for it was chosen with a view to killing silently and then escaping. In case it was necessary to fight his way out, Jackson also carried a dagger—another silent weapon—and as a last resort a 45 calibre automatic. An inexperienced killer, indeed!

## THE "NEW VERSION"

It will be remembered that Jackson used an article he brought as a pretext to obtain a private audience with Trotsky and to put him off his guard—seated at his desk reading—in position to be struck down from behind. In the new version of the crime, Jackson pretends that he wrote the article as a last attempt to convince Trotsky that he would make a better writer than saboteur.

As Natalia's attorney, Franco Sodi, indicated in his reply, Jackson pretends that he went to see Trotsky with two alternatives in mind: either he was to work as a writer, in which case, he carried the article; or being rejected, he refused to work as a saboteur, in which case he carried the murder weapon. A rather contradictory emotion—to loyally serve or to treacherously kill!

Jackson now claims that when Trotsky dismissed his article with an insult, they fought; that Trotsky reached for his gun, and he then struck him from the front with the pick.

When Ostos, presenting the autopsy, argued that a wound proceeding from the front toward the rear of the skull, could only be struck from the front, his presentation reached a high point in the ridiculous. The judges themselves laughed.

Even one who had not studied the case at all could see that a wound in such a direction made with a pick axe could only be made from behind the victim.

Natalia had testified that Trotsky, after being struck down, told her that he sensed that Jackson wanted to attack him. Through another little bit of distortion, Ostos argued that Trotsky "understood" that the attack was coming, that is, he expected it. And that the murder was committed during an expected struggle provoked by Trotsky himself.

The provocations were said to be two: first, the "initial" provocation of the "dilemma" supposedly presented by Trotsky to Jackson of either going to Russia to sabotage and kill Stalin or of having his false documents

denounced to the Mexican authorities by Trotsky and being deported to Belgium where he would be shot as a deserter from the army in time of war. The second "provocation" was the insult by Trotsky on reading Jackson's article.

Thus the very details of the legal defense rest solely and completely on the stock GPU slanders against Trotsky as a saboteur and enemy of the Soviet Union. Admitted that these slanders are false, the defense of Jackson loses its base from beginning to end. The defense has demonstrated better than the partisans of Trotsky the GPU nature of his murder.

## SODI'S REPLY

In his answer on the part of Natalia Trotsky, Carlos Franco Sodi labored under extreme difficulties. It was near midnight and the session had started at nine o'clock in the morning with an interval of two and a half hours for lunch. The defense had been speaking for more than five hours. Therefore Franco Sodi stressed, mainly the legal aspects of the defense and the inner contradictions in the New Version. And there were plenty of these. He spoke 30 or 45 minutes.

Especially did he attack the theory which Medellin Ostos compounded that the murder was not premeditated but was the result of an "obsession" which lasted several days. He pointed out that Ostos' attack on "Vienna 19" in reality was against Natalia Trotsky's intervention in the case—this intervention only being to ask for justice. He insisted that Jackson's confessions made before the police were valid in themselves and also because they were ratified later before the judge.

As for the long list of lies, slanders and distortions which comprise the bulk of the defense's argument, it is planned to answer every one in a written document presented to the court. There are literally so many that the stenographic version of the speech is necessary before the answer can be completed.

It is fitting that the assassin sent by Stalin to destroy his most implacable opponent should rest his case on the slanders and lies heaped by the same Stalin on Trotsky during his lifetime and which he answered so forcefully in his own name. The courtroom scene of Trotsky's murderer attempting to turn the victim into the accused with the new version of "provocation" is in keeping with the "self-assault" theory proposed by the Stalinists in the days following their first attack on the house by a machine-gun band on May 24, 1940. At that time they said that Trotsky himself had organized the assault on his own house in order to compromise the Mexican government.

The judges will probably announce their decision in a month. If Ostos's plea were to win, it would mean about a five year sentence with the possibility of immediate parole on bail. Siqueiros, admitted organizer of the machine-gun assault, was also freed on bail and skipped in about a week.

If the prosecution wins and Jackson receives the maximum, he would be sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for homicide and 2 or 3 more for bearing arms and for assault. The maximum sentence he may receive is 23 years.

# WDL Wins Freedom For Christ Popoff

Christ Popoff, Syracuse militant who was convicted on frameup charges of arson in 1940, is now a free man, it was announced this week by the Workers Defense League, whose efforts in behalf of Popoff saved him from a sentence of 15-25 years in prison.

Popoff has incurred the hatred of reactionary forces for his activity in labor defense and unemployed activities over a period of many years. He was arrested in March, 1940, and charged with attempting, for pay, to set fire to a restaurant in Watertown, N. Y., so that the owner could collect the insurance. He was convicted on the testimony of a confessed firebug and sent to Attica Prison.

The WDL took the case after the conviction, and its lawyers secured a reversal of the conviction from the Appellate Court on the grounds of insufficient evidence. A new trial resulted in a second conviction, and was again reversed on the same grounds last December.

The district attorney of Jefferson County then moved to quash the indictment against Popoff, which was granted.

This is the second victory in recent months for the Workers Defense League in New York State. Two months ago its activities resulted in the release of Carl Gilmore, union teamster and victim of anti-labor and anti-Negro prejudice, who was also sent to jail on a frameup charge.

# Warde Stresses Need For Building Labor Party

The need for an Independent Labor Party was stressed by William F. Warde, speaking on Feb. 28 to an interested audience attending the second session of the regular Sunday Open Forum.

The Republican Party has not always been the reactionary force it is today, Ward pointed out. It came into being in the 1850's as a result of great political and social ferment. A pre-revolutionary situation existed. A few years after its foundation the Republican Party elected its minority presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln.

"Today," Warde continued, "almost ninety years later, the United States is again in a pre-revolutionary state. Great political, economic and social ferment is brewing. Every day the trade union worker becomes more politicized as he sees his normal trade union activity limited and restricted by government agencies and boards. His only economic weapon, the strike, has been taken away from him by the traitorous action of the union bureaucrats, who are tied hand and foot to the Democratic machine.

# The Truth About The 'Race Superiority' Myth

By GRACE CARLSON

(Excerpts from the first of a series of six lectures on "The Colonial Peoples in the Second World War," given in Minneapolis, Feb. 6, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party.)

History will record that under the English Magna Charta, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the American Declaration of Independence, more millions of human beings were enslaved than ever before.

The white peoples—of European descent—constitute only one-third of the population of the globe, but the rulers of this minority hold the other two-thirds—the brown, black and yellow peoples—in subjection. It must be noted that the white capitalist rulers of England, France and the United States likewise exploit the white workers

of their home country, although not so openly and viciously as they exploit the colored workers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

## COLLECTING DUST

The political slogans, "All men are created equal," "Liberty, fraternity, equality," "Equal rights for all," which aided the capitalists of the eighteenth century to seize power from the feudal lords in the political archives. The myth of white racial superiority was evolved in order to justify imperialistic aggressions against the colored peoples of the world, whose rich lands and poorly-paid labor were needed by the white capitalist rulers of the "democracies."

Hitler's vicious persecution of the Jewish people, which he justifies on the basis of Aryan, or more particularly, Nordic superiority, is simply an extension of this widely-accepted theory of "white superiority" to one section of the white race.

The idea of racial superiority is not new in history. Conquerors have always utilized it in order to hold their victims in subjection. "To divide and rule" has been for centuries an accepted method of tyrannical rulers and nations, but tyrants of the past were considerably more honest about their aims and purposes.

One waits until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to see millions of helpless colored peoples enslaved by the white British rulers, who sign about the "white man's burden," and to look upon the spectacle of world-wide slaughter in this war, which the Nazis argue is being fought to save the Aryan peoples from the few million Jews of the world.

## WHAT IS "RACE"?

"Race," in fact, is simply a social or political term, which has no precise scientific definition. Anthropologists tell us that there is no such thing as a "pure" race existing today. "Pure," unmixed races disappeared from the earth 18,000 years ago when general inter-marriages of peoples and the subsequent mixing of races occurred as a result of the migrations south in the last glacial period, during which most of Europe and a great part of North America were covered with ice.

The continually changing climate and geography of the earth of several hundred thousand years ago made the struggle for existence an exceedingly difficult one. Various human races were evolved and spread all over the earth. Only those races could survive in certain areas which evolved the physical characteristics enabling them to carry on a successful struggle for existence.

Under the intense heat of the tropical sun, for example, the only races that could survive were those where the pigmentation of the skin was sufficient. Anthropologists also say that the wider nostrils of some races rep-

resent an expression of the adaptation to life in moist jungle areas.

But as I said before, the early races of man mixed so completely at the time of the last glacial period that it is now completely impossible to distinguish any pure racial strain.

## INTELLIGENCE TESTS

The die-hard Nordic theorist and the believer in white supremacy try to "prove" their unscientific positions by pointing to the results of intelligence testing. It is reported that on the average, Negroes and Indians rate lower than whites on intelligence tests, and that "Nordic" peoples have higher scores than "Slavic" peoples. In order to evaluate these test results, it is necessary to examine the assumptions of intelligence testing.

Psychologists do not measure intelligence directly in the intelligence tests, but indirectly by measuring what the individual has learned. The score earned by a given individual is stated in terms of the scores of another group of individuals who have previously taken the test. Thus a particular individual is considered to be above or below average in intelligence, by the comparison of his score with those of the so-called "standardization" group.

In a recent article on the intelligence of Negro children, Dr. Martin Jenkins of Howard University has made some very significant criticisms of this intelligence test procedure. "It is obvious," he writes, "that such comparisons are valid ONLY if the individual being rated and the standardization group have had an equal opportunity to obtain the experience pre-supposed common by the test."

He then goes on to show that the school facilities for Negro children are decidedly inferior to those provided for white children and that the Negro people as a whole come from homes in the lower economic levels where they have very few opportunities to obtain the type of cultural information which is utilized in intelligence testing.

## IMPORTANT FINDINGS

In discussing the results of intelligence tests Dr. Jenkins points out that the white children coming from working class homes also receive lower scores on tests than do the children from the homes of the well-to-do. They are handicapped just as Negro children are by the lack of opportunity to learn, not by lack of native ability.

Studies made of children who have been placed in foster homes where they had an opportunity to develop culturally, showed an increase in their intelligence test scores.

There is evidence also that Southern Negro school children, whose families have migrated to Washington and New York where the school facilities represented an improvement for them, like-

# March 8th-- International Woman's Day

By REBA AUBREY

March 8 is International Woman's Day, designated by the Socialist Women's Congress at Copenhagen in 1910 as a day to be observed and utilized each year in an effort to unite all working class women in their fight for freedom and equality.

Two years earlier the American Socialist Party had resolved to fix a certain Sunday in each year to be devoted to propaganda for women's suffrage and for general socialist agitation among women. In 1909 Woman's Day was celebrated by Socialist Party organizations in the United States. In New York a mass meeting of 3,000 workers passed a resolution, demanding the vote for women.

The first International Woman's Day was celebrated in Germany in 1911 with mass meetings and demonstrations. During this campaign the militant socialist leader, Clara Zetkin, laid stress on the fact that winning democratic rights for women forms only a part of the struggle for their emancipation, that women will enjoy full freedom, full equality with men, only with the achievement of the complete emancipation of the working class through social revolution. Freedom and equality, she said further, are never given, but must be won.

Since that first celebration, International Woman's Day has been observed by working class women in every country of the world.

In 1914 demonstrations on International Woman's Day became protests against the arrest of Rosa Luxemburg, Polish Socialist leader, and against the first world war.

In 1917, International Woman's Day became the first day of the revolution which was to overthrow Czarism, when women textile workers in the Vyborg district went on strike against the overgrown bread lines and appealed to the mass of workers for support. Thus "the February revolution was begun . . . by the most oppressed and downtrodden part of the proletariat — the women textile workers." ("History of the Russian Revolution" by Leon Trotsky.)

In 1923 Socialist women in Japan organized themselves under the name "Ioka Kai" (Party of the Eighth of March).

In 1942, the *Voice of the Women*, underground newspaper circulated in occupied and unoccupied France, told of numerous demonstrations by the women against shortages of food, clothing, and fuel, and of the results obtained by them sometimes at the risk of death.

International Woman's Day this year comes at a time of extreme tension, crisis and unrest in a world at war. The second World War confronts women workers everywhere with misery and deprivation, frozen wages, exorbitant prices for food products, inadequate housing, inadequate nurseries for children of working mothers, and the abolition of protective legislation.

But International Woman's Day this year also finds millions of women in industry, class-conscious women who are becoming a political factor, fighting for equality with those men whose places they are filling in the factory, on the farm, in the office. There are already 14 million women in the labor force and additional millions who have never been in the labor market before will soon be compelled to take jobs.

That many of these working women realize the power of organized labor is evidenced by the fact that the enrollment of women in trade unions has increased in the last 1½ years from 1,000,000 to 3,500,000. The drive to organize all working women into trade unions, to make them active, independent fighters in those unions, must be carried through to completion.

In the United States this year the way to celebrate International Woman's Day is by continuing and intensifying the struggle for:

Equal pay for equal work by women.

Maintenance of all protective legislation for women workers.

The establishment of price control and food distribution committees of housewives and trade unionists representatives to combat the rising cost of living and increasing shortages.

100% organization of women workers into the trade unions.

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## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

### Randolph's 'Civil Disobedience' Proposal

As was to be expected, the Stalinists and some of their friends in the Negro press dug down into their slanderous past and started throwing mud at A. Philip Randolph when he proposed that the March-On-Washington Movement call on the Negro people to conduct "non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation" activities for a one-week period sometime this year. "Subversive" and "disruptive" and "appeaser" were some of the milder names they hurled at him.

We Trotskyists take an entirely different attitude toward Randolph's proposal. When a course of action against Jim Crow is proposed, we examine it solely in the light of this criterion: will it or will it not be effective in fighting Jim Crow? Our main consideration is therefore completely different from that of the Stalinists, who are concerned primarily with what effect a proposal will have on "national unity." With this made plain, let us review what Randolph proposes.

"In the South," he says, "non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation will take the negative form of boycotting Jim Crow cars on trains and surface lines and calling upon the parents of children to refuse to send their children to school during the week that is designated for the application of the social strategy."

"In the civil rights states, it will take the positive form of Negroes exercising their right to make use of agencies and enter places they do not normally make use of, such as going into the downtown sections of cities as patrons of the hotels, restaurants and places of entertainment..." (The Call, Kansas City, Feb. 5). White advocates of equal rights for Negroes will also be asked not to enter any place or share in any privilege or right denied the Negro citizens of the country.

This, in short, is the Randolph proposal to be presented to the coming national conference of the MOWM to be held in Chicago next May.

Only a fool or a knave could attack this proposal in the terms used by the Stalinists, and generally speaking they are not fools. The real reason for their slander campaign on this issue is their desire to use every possible means of discrediting Randolph and the MOWM, which they fear may become the mobilizing center of militant Negro action in the future.

The "non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation" plan, as presented by Randolph himself, is only a fancy name for a peaceful protest demonstration designed to publicize the opposition of the Negro people to the many discriminatory practices and laws that bar them from equality. And of course we Trotskyists are in favor of protesting Jim Crow in every possible way.

Whether Randolph's protest plan will be effective will depend entirely on how much support it

gets from the ranks of the Negro masses and the labor movement. If many people rally to it, it will be effective; if only a few handfuls of people support the plan in action, naturally it will draw little attention and will do little good. When the MOWM meets in conference in May, it should bear this in mind and determine either to organize the affair properly and on a mass scale or not at all, for a poorly organized demonstration is often worse than none at all.

At this point, however, we must emphasize an aspect of this question which we regard as most important. When we say that the carrying out of Randolph's proposal can be effective with mass support, we give that word effective a very special and limited connotation. A protest demonstration is, after all, only a protest demonstration, and it can be effective in achieving only certain things.

If successful, it can be a demonstration to the broad section of the Negro masses that they are strong and powerful and it can serve to inspire them to further activities in behalf of their own emancipation. It can be a demonstration to the ruling capitalist class that the Negro masses are awakening to the need for militant organization and action, a sign that they do not intend to remain oppressed. As such, it may result in forcing the ruling class to grant certain concessions to the Negro masses.

But a protest demonstration, even one that lasts a week, cannot by itself solve the basic problem of Jim Crow. It cannot do that, big and militant though it may be, because when it is finished, the ruling class which is responsible for Jim Crow will still remain in power. And as long as the capitalists who benefit from Jim Crow remain in power in this country, equality will not be achieved by the Negro people.

Protest demonstrations are necessary, and we favor holding them whenever and wherever possible, regardless of the opposition that will be raised against them by the Stalinists and the Uncle Toms and the advocates of "white supremacy." But protest demonstrations are not enough, and the coming conference of the MOWM will be a big mistake if it confines its program of action only to such demonstrations.

In addition to protest demonstrations, the militant Negroes must take the path of independent political action, aimed at replacing the Jim Crow capitalists with a Workers' and Farmers' Government which will end Jim Crow by ending the possibility for capitalists to benefit from Jim Crow. And to help establish such a Workers' and Farmers' Government, the Negro people must work out an alliance with the labor movement which is also exploited by the capitalists, and must help to build an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions and embracing the militant Negro organizations.

# Trotsky And The Red Army

By JOHN BATES

Twenty-five years ago the Red Army was formed by the first workers' state in order to defend itself from the onslaughts of its imperialist neighbors. It was on Jan. 12, 1918 that the Council of People's Commissars first moved to organize such an army. Acting on a motion made by Leon Trotsky, it issued a decree calling for the "formation of the Socialist Army." February 23 is the anniversary date observed because on that day 25 years ago Red Army forces won their first important victory.

Today this Red Army is driving from the Soviet land the imperialist invaders who hoped to win rich spoils for the German capitalist class.

The heroism and efficiency with which the Red Army is performing its task of liberation has won admiration and praise from all corners of the earth. Within the Soviet Union proud and grateful workers and peasants toasted their army and rededicated themselves to the tasks of supplying the army and participating with it in the defense of the USSR.

### CO-FOUNDER, ORGANIZER

But throughout the Soviet celebrations, the tributes to the glorious traditions of the Red Army made no mention of the real co-founder with Lenin, the organizing genius of the Red Army—Leon Trotsky.

There are many Russian workers and peasant soldiers who lived through the heroic days of 1918-1923, who must have paid silent tribute to Trotsky as they celebrated this twenty-fifth anniversary. Their tribute had to remain silent, however, lest the wrath of the GPU descend upon them.

Since 1923 Trotsky has been slandered by the Stalinist machine. Beginning in 1928 he was driven from exile to exile, and finally in August 1940 was murdered by Stalin's GPU. Having labeled Trotsky a traitor and counter-revolutionist, this reactionary bureaucracy can hardly now pay him honor as the builder of the Red Army in 1918. No, Stalin is forced to falsify history and make it appear that Trotsky played no role in the formation of the army.

But Stalin cannot falsify history for the millions of Russian workers and peasants who knew Trotsky and his work; nor can Stalin falsify history for the conscious workers throughout the world who are staunch class fighters uncorrupted by Stalinism. For all of Stalin's crimes and falsifications, he cannot expunge from history the role of Leon Trotsky.

### THE HANDICAPS

The building of no other army in history was carried on under such handicaps as those facing Lenin and Trotsky during the first years of the civil war. An army is generally as strong as the productive forces of the society it serves. By this yardstick, the Red Army in its formative stages was indeed weak. Russian industry had been thoroughly disrupted by the revolution and the continuing civil war; transportation had collapsed; communication was extremely make-shift; the expropriated class of capitalists and landlords sabotaged the new workers' state to the limit of their strength; and well-equipped armies of the imperialists pounded at the



LEON TROTSKY

gates of Leningrad and Moscow and on 20 other fronts through the length of European and Asiatic Russia.

In the face of these obstacles, an entirely new army had to be built and built quickly. Trotsky

was given this seemingly hopeless task in the summer of 1918. He had available a number of guerilla bands, refugees who had escaped from the White Guard, mobilized peasants, a few detachments of workers from the industrial cen-

ters and a cadre of Communists. Operating against him within Soviet circles was the active "Military Opposition" within the party ranks, which was inspired behind the scene by Stalin. This opposition fought the necessary steps taken by Trotsky to build a compact, disciplined and centrally-controlled fighting machine.

There were critics who favored "guerillaism" rather than a centrally organized army, who decried the use of bourgeois military specialists, and who untiringly plotted the downfall of Commander-in-Chief Trotsky.

Had the army been under the direction of a lesser man than Trotsky, a man of less will and revolutionary courage, a man of less organizing and military skill, the war against the White Guards and the foreign armies of intervention might well have been lost.

But the interventionists were thrown back and the revolution was saved because Trotsky's line was Lenin's line and it carried against the "Military Opposition."

### TROTSKY'S WORK STILL REMAINS

Trotsky's work with the Red Army did not stop with the end of the Civil War—it continued for five more years. It was in the five years of peace and reconstruction that Trotsky was able to lay the ground work for the heroic Red Army we know today. Trotsky created a military staff that was able, even after he had been exiled by Stalin, to carry on his line and lay the firm foundations of the army that today repels Hitler's armies.

Therefore though Trotsky's name is today slandered by the Kremlin, this twenty-fifth anniversary is his as well as the Red Army's.

### The Civil War in Yugoslavia

## The Present Leadership Of The 'Partisans'

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The name of the Kremlin has been virtually from the beginning linked with the civil war in Yugoslavia, and in particular with the Partisans.

The Kremlin has hitherto maintained the diplomatic subterfuge, reported by Louis Adamic, that "the civil war in Yugoslavia was none of its business. It was a purely internal Yugoslav matter." (Sat. Eve. Post, Dec. 19, 1942.) The actual extent of the Kremlin's involvement can be gauged from such facts as these:

The communiques of the Partisan High Command have not only been relayed through Moscow but have been regularly included in the official communiques of the Red Army. Recently the Soviet Information Bureau has also incorporated them and broadcast them abroad. (N. Y. Times, Feb. 25.) Still more recently, the GPU-controlled "military commentators" outside of the USSR, like "Veteran Commander" in the United States, have begun to feature them in their columns. (Daily Worker, March 2.)

### MILITARY HEADS

The direct Stalinist control of Partisan detachments, as well as of the High Command in Yugoslavia closely approximates that wielded in the case of the Chinese guerillas. The mysterious "Tito," Commander-in-Chief of the Yugoslav Partisans, is, according to London dispatches, a Stalinist. Pro-Mikhailovich sources further assert that he is a Russian. Others say he is Hungarian. There is no doubt whatever about the identity of such figures as Kosta Nadj and Petar Dapcevic, two of the principal figures in the High Command and the most prominent field commanders of the Partisans. Both of them are Yugoslav Stalinists of long standing. They served the GPU in the Spanish Civil War.

Kosta Nadj reportedly went to Spain in 1938 as commander of a Croat company and was later promoted to the post of battalion commander in one of the Spanish

International Brigades. After two and half years in Spain, he escaped to France, was interned there and again escaped, presumably to Yugoslavia. Dapcevic has a similar record and background.

Many other "seasoned veterans" of the Spanish Civil War are playing a prominent role both inside and outside Yugoslavia. For example, in Moscow there is one, Velimir Vlahovich who, according to local Stalinist sources, "lost a leg at Madrid while fighting fascism with the International Brigade." ("The Yugoslav Front Against Fascism," by Mirko Markovich, p. 5.)

This Vlahovich serves as one of the figure heads who under various guises, among them that of foreign correspondent of the Partisans, transmits the official Stalinist line to the foreign language press. In this country, Vlahovich is referred to by the Daily Worker as the "foreign correspondent of Slobodna Rech," a bi-weekly Serb paper published in Pittsburgh.

### "INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES"

By last November there were operating in the Partisan ranks two International Brigades, closely patterned after the GPU-controlled formations in Spain. They are composed predominantly of Germans, Austrians, Hungarians and Italians. Other nationalities, among them the English, are likewise represented. On Feb. 2, Vlahovich cabled from Moscow that they "issue leaflets in German, Italian, Bulgarian and Hungarian for secret distribution to the soldiers of the occupation armies." It is claimed that the International Brigades are composed exclusively of deserters from these armies. The text of the Partisan leaflets has not yet been made public.

It is incontestable that the Stalinists possess considerable following among the rank and file. The Communist International had a relatively large membership in Yugoslavia, especially in Montenegro. The heroic defense and the latest victories of the Red Army have raised tremendous prestige of the Stalinists in the occupied countries, and all the more so among the Slavic populations.

It is impossible to estimate the actual strength of the Stalinists, but there are some indications of it. As long ago as June 9, 1942, that is, prior to the open break with Mikhailovich, Pravda featured the news that "twenty shock battalions of guerillas in Yugoslavia are composed entirely of the youth." From the prominence given to these twenty battalions it is safe to assume that they were predominantly Stalinist units. Other detachments given similar prominence are: the Alex Jilas, Baja Sekulic and Matija Ivanic Battalions, the First Bosnia Guerilla Shock Brigade, Third Slovene Guerilla Group, Kraina Guerilla Detachment, the Lika Bands, etc. etc. Of especial interest are reports of workers' detachments. The Stalinist press inside and outside the USSR has singled out the miners of Bosnia.

According to Adamic, the Partisans have been under the "tutelage of Soviet Commissars and Red Army officers who have been in Yugoslavia at least since last June." (Loc. cit.) Similar reports, including the information that the Partisans have been supplied by the Red Army with all sorts of equipment, radio, guns, tanks, planes, ammunition, food, medicines, etc., have repeatedly appeared. It is claimed that the International Brigades are composed exclusively of deserters from these armies. The text of the Partisan leaflets has not yet been made public.

## The Reasons For The Soviet Victories

By M. Morrison

"You explained the defeats suffered by the Red Army by Stalin's execution of the ablest generals and by the lack of revolutionary propaganda. Since these two conditions still exist how do you explain the present victories?" This is the question I have been asked to discuss.

In the first place the question as formulated does not correctly state the propositions made on various occasions in our press. Not all defeats suffered by the Red Army can be attributed to lack of competent generalship. I have said, and I still say, that the chief cause for the defeats in the summer of 1941 was the lack of competent leadership. Nor do we attribute the defeats to lack of revolutionary propaganda. We said, and we still say, that revolutionary propaganda is a powerful weapon which should be used to help defeat the enemy.

In the second place the question assumes that the existence of certain factors responsible for a defeat at a certain time and place must also lead to a defeat at a different time and different place. It fails to take into consideration the different circumstances leading to the present victories of the Red Army. Above all Marxism demands an analysis of the concrete factors involved in any given situation.

In any war between two nations the 'decisive' factor is productive capacity. The nation having the more powerful industrial machine has far greater chances of winning a war. This does not mean that other factors are not important, such as preparedness, quality of military leadership, morale, etc. It is possible that under certain circumstances the industrially more powerful nation may be defeated because of its inability to mobilize its forces. But in any prolonged conflict the nation that has the capacity to produce the machines for war is the one that will come out on top.

The Soviet Union is not immune to the general rule that the nation with the greater productive capacity has the advantage in war. In any war between Germany and the Soviet Union, regardless of the leadership of the Soviet Union, the advantage is with Germany because of its greater productive capacity. It is true that with a revolutionary leadership in the Soviet Union the favorable factors inherent in the nature of the Soviet Union come into play and, would, to a great extent, offset the advantages possessed by Germany because of her superior productive capacity. The attractive power which the Soviet Union naturally has for the masses plus revolutionary propaganda are exceedingly powerful weapons and, if properly utilized, could, given sufficient time, set the masses of Germany against their rulers and thus assure the victory of the Soviet Union. But this does not contradict the proposition that Germany, because of its more powerful industrial machine, has greater chances of winning a war against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, under any leadership, has tremendous powers of resistance. That is sometimes attributed simply to the morale of the people. This is not altogether correct. The decisive factor in the resistance of the Soviet Union is the powerful industry which was built because the October Revolution brought planned economy to the Soviet Union. Morale is exceedingly important but without the machines of war the Red Army would be helpless against the Nazi invader.

Another factor explaining the survival of the Soviet Union in spite of the tremendous blows dealt it by the Nazi army is the immense extent of the country. In comparing the capitulation of France with the continued resistance of the Soviet Union the emphasis is correctly placed on the fact that the capitalists of France did not want to continue the war and lose all of their wealth. But it must not be forgotten that the French army had no place to retreat except to the colonies. Whereas the Soviet armies could and did find an escape in retreat.

And it must also not be forgotten that fighting against Germany at the same time that Germany is waging war against the Soviet Union are the two most

powerful capitalist nations. This fortunate circumstance prevents German imperialism from concentrating all its power against the Soviet Union, in addition to affording the Soviet Union an opportunity to get material aid.

On the basis of the above general propositions one can orientate himself to the military aspects of the war as a whole. But when it comes to explaining the fortunes of the various participants in particular battles and campaigns, it is necessary to analyze the factors involved in those battles and campaigns.

In the American Civil War the North had a preponderance of industrial power. The probability of victory for the North was therefore very great. But that was only in the long run and provided the North had a chance to mobilize its resources. The greater industrial power of the North did not prevent a succession of serious defeats for the Northern armies. The explanation for these defeats must be sought in such factors as preparedness, generalship, etc.

If, in the case of the Soviet Union, its ability to resist must be explained by the October Revolution, enabling the Soviet Union to build powerful industries and giving the people a high morale, plus its vast spaces, the explanation for the initial defeats and for the present victories must be sought in secondary but more immediate factors.

It is now generally agreed that, at the time of the attack by Hitler, the Soviet and Nazi armies were approximately equal in quantity and quality of material with the Soviet Union having superiority in man power. Both the Soviet Union and Hitler were preparing for a clash and it must be assumed, in spite of Stalin's claim of surprise, that he knew, shortly before the attack was launched, that it was coming.

In the initial period the relationship of forces was such that a victory for the Red Army was just as possible as a victory for the German army. There can be only one reason for the colossal defeats of the Red Army in the summer of 1941—the inadequacy of the leadership, due to the extermination by Stalin of the most capable commanders. Stalin is directly responsible for the defeats of the Red Army in the initial period of the war.

The attempt by Stalinist "experts" to picture the seizure of vast territories by Hitler as a strategic retreat is utter nonsense. On that basis every defeat and subsequent retreat can be interpreted as a strategic withdrawal. With as much justification one could claim that the Japanese seizure of the Philippines, Singapore, the Dutch East Indies and Malaya were strategic withdrawals by the British and American forces.

But the Red Army did not disintegrate. The industrial power of the Soviet Union, built up as a result of the revolution, though severely crippled, was not smashed. The people who knew that they are fighting for the gains of October remained steadfast. Factors favorable to the Soviet Union came into play with the second winter of fighting. The spaces of the Soviet Union plus the determination of the Red Army to defy the Nazi armies. Their lines of communication were extended to a dangerous point. The Soviet Union was receiving considerable help from England and the United States. The threat of invasion in the west and the actual invasion of North Africa compelled Hitler to reduce his forces in the east.

The many months of fighting plus the bitter defeats enabled new and more capable generals to come to the front in the Soviet Union. Compelled to fight for his life Stalin had to look for capable people and not subservient bureaucrats.

All these factors enabled the Red Army to launch an offensive which has had phenomenal success.

Only the most superficial thinking or ulterior motives can attribute the success of the Red Army to Stalinist leadership. What we have said with reference to the Stalinist leadership in relation to the military events in the Soviet Union is just as true now as it was when the Red Army was suffering defeat after defeat. If the Soviet Union is defeated it will be because of Stalinist leadership; if it is victorious, it will be in spite of Stalinist leadership.

Above all, what we have said in general with reference to defeat or victory of the Soviet Union, is just as true now as ever. There can be no lasting victory for the Soviet Union without a socialist victory in the European countries, at the very least. This, our thesis, has been established beyond the peradventure of a doubt. But of this, more, at some other time.

## 2 Polish Anti-Fascists Murdered By Stalinists

(Continued from page 1)

both released. Despite this, Alter and Erlich resumed their anti-Soviet work after their release...

The hostile anti-Soviet activities of Erlich and Alter went so far that they called upon the Soviet soldiers to cease the shedding of blood and to conclude a peace with Germany.

"Erlich and Alter were once again arrested for these activities. On Dec. 23, 1941, they were tried by the highest Soviet court and were both sentenced to the highest punishment. The sentence was executed."

### WHY THE LONG SILENCE?

Who will believe this brazen lie that lifelong anti-fascists and Jewish leaders, who realized that the Polish labor movement and Jews could be liberated only by the defeat of Hitlerism, would call on the Soviet masses to conclude a peace with Germany? Who will believe that these men, who fought against Hitler's armies and were eager to continue to fight them, would attempt to conclude peace between the Soviet Union and Hitler in the period between September and December, 1941, when such a peace at that time would certainly mean the continued domination of Poland by the Nazis?

Why, if the charges against Erlich and Alter are true, do the Stalinists not produce a single shred of evidence in substantia-

tion? Why do they offer nothing but charges which fly in the face of everything that is known about the victims, everything they represented and fought for all their lives?

And why, if these vile charges were valid, did the Stalinists keep the "trial" and murders such a deep secret for 14 months, during which period appeals on behalf of the victims were repeatedly made to the Soviet government by such figures as Clement Attlee of the British War Cabinet; Walter Citrine, head of the British Trades Union Congress; William Green, Philip Murray and numerous others?

## Alter, Erlich On The Moscow Trials

Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, the Polish Socialist leaders who were revealed last week to have been murdered on frame-up charges in the Soviet Union, were themselves opponents of the frameups used by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Moscow Trials. Along with the other members of the Central Committee of the Jewish Workers' Federation (Jewish Bund), they passed a resolution condemning these trials. The resolution, printed in the Sept., 1936 issue of *Myst Socialistyent*, reiterated the traditional sympathy of the Jew-

ish Bund toward the Soviet Union, and continued:

"The most deplorable fact is that the staging of the trial occurred at the moment when the fascist criminals put the liberty of the Spanish workers in mortal danger, at a moment when the danger of war is extremely grave. The trial gave a weapon to international reaction and fascism, a weapon which will help the carrying on of the fight of reaction against the international and against the USSR. The staging of the trial filled the heart of every worker with the most painful feelings; the feeling became infinitely more painful because of

the sentencing of the accused. However, even after the verdict we hoped that the proletarian sense of justice would not permit the execution of the sentence. Our most modest hopes were betrayed and the most terrible of all verdicts was executed with the greatest possible cruelty. In the name of proletarian and socialist justice we raise our voice in protesting against this crime. At the same time we express our conviction that the Russian proletariat, which was steered in the battles of the revolution, understands all the horror of this act, and will not permit the repetition of similar trials."

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# THE MILITANT

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. Defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

## UAW And Prices

The United Auto Workers, CIO, has decided to establish mass committees to watch for violations of price-ceilings and rationing laws, according to a statement by Walter Reuther.

That union action on these questions is needed becomes clearer every day. For prices, continue to rise — with government consent; and black markets are flourishing — despite the ineffective, feeble opposition of the government.

As prices rise, the real wage of the worker goes down. The purchasing power of his money wages diminishes. The task of unions is to improve the wages, hours and working conditions of the workers. Thus the question of prices and supplies is

clearly on the order of the day in every union and working farmers' organization.

It is not only necessary to do something, it is also necessary to do the right thing. The UAW's action is a groping move in the right direction, but it does not attack the cause of price rises at the roots or even near the roots.

Under present conditions the government has great power in the setting of price levels. The government is subservient to the capitalist idea that profits are necessary. All the capitalists have to do is to appeal to the government on the basis that their profits will be curtailed unless prices increase, and they are generally permitted to raise prices. This process goes on every day, as ceilings on item after item are lifted.

It is obvious, therefore, that merely enforcing the prices set by the government agencies will not keep prices from rising and living standards from sinking. The most important task facing the unions with respect to price control is to obtain the power to decide what the policies of price control should be.

The Militant believes that the capitalist class offers nothing to society, and that therefore its claim as to the inviolability of profits, which is at the basis of the government's present price policies, should be rejected. If this is done, then the greatest incentive to price rises will be removed.

But only the workers, whose economic interests are opposite to those of the capitalists, can carry through such a policy. To do it, they must unite into committees with labor's economic allies — working farmers' organizations, housewives and small retailers — establishing the power to regulate and control prices, rationing and the distribution of the necessary commodities.

## U. S. Aid To Fascism

Last summer President Roosevelt promised General Franco that the United States would aid in putting fascist Spain "on its feet economically" after the war ended. It now appears that the American program of aid to butcher Franco is far ahead of schedule.

Speaking before the American Chamber of Commerce in Barcelona on Feb. 26, U. S. Ambassador Carlton J. H. Hayes revealed that the Spanish fascist regime has been receiving great quantities of oil and vital raw materials for the past several months. According to Hayes, here is what Franco has received from America since Dec., 1942:

All the oil and petroleum that all the Spanish tankers could transport in continuous operation; 25,000 tons of sulphate ammonia; 10,000 tons of cotton. And quantities of peas, beans, coal, cellulose, carbon and industrial chemicals.

Ambassador Hayes said frankly that the United States could "claim some credit for improving Spain's economy." He also praised the "wise direction of the (Franco) government which, while fostering works of peace at home, has held aloof from war abroad."

Hayes probably said more in this speech than he intended, or perhaps it wasn't supposed to be publicized in this country. At any rate, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles felt it necessary to issue a statement to take some of the sting out of Hayes' remarks.

Welles' statement dealt largely with the question of U. S. trade with Franco; his chief argument was that the U. S. needs some of Spain's products just as Spain needs some of this country's, and that it is better for this country to get what Spain has than for Hitler to get them. Welles, of course, was far too diplomatic to repeat Hayes' endorsement of Franco's "works of peace at home," that is, his brutal fascist repression of the Spanish workers and peasants.

But Welles could not deny what is a matter of record, that the administration here is giving economic aid for the maintenance of a system which the war is allegedly being fought to destroy. Whether one praises the fascists is far less important than whether one helps them. And the administration's policy in Spain, whether stated crudely by a Hayes or with polish by a Welles, does exactly that.

# WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

## Discusses Standards Of Shipyard Workers

Editor:

The impression seems to have been created that the average shipyard workers are earning \$80 to \$90 per week. Aside from the fact that these figures have been deliberately exaggerated by companies and government alike, there has recently arisen a series of taxes, price increases, etc., which have combined to lower shipyard wages, as well as others, by as much as 20%.

In the first place, the average wage of shipyard workers for an 8 hour day, 6 day week, is much nearer \$45 than \$85. Now, doctors and efficiency experts, alarmed at the number of man-days lost through illness, have urged that workers get at least one day a week off for rest. If, however, against this advice, and in response to the pressure of the company, the worker comes in for the seventh day, his official salary may amount to as much as \$58 weekly. But this is before a single penny has been deducted and is by no means his real salary.

Exactly how much money is really deducted? First of all, there are the traditional social security and state unemployment taxes which amount to 2%. Secondly, there is the war bond pledge which cuts off about 10%. The latest salary slice is the 5% Victory Tax. These three taxes alone total 17%, and additional things such as insurance, USO, etc., easily bring the total to about 20%.

In addition to these direct salary cuts, there are a variety of indirect cuts, the most common of which is price rises. Despite government price fixing, every housewife knows that prices are continually rising. The food manufacturers have shown themselves to be very capable of devising means of getting around price ceilings and the OPA has shown

itself to be very capable of ignoring these methods. Most common are the decreasing of the size or weight of the package and use of inferior ingredients.

And all this in the face of great increases in business profits. In the past the unions were organs of economic struggle; to get wage increases unions were adequate. Today, however, unions are powerless to prevent price rises and unfair taxation (which amount to wage cuts), let alone secure wage increases. Unions are stymied the moment they touch the political field. The only answer to this is to extend unions into the political field.

Just as workers need unions in wage struggles, so they need their own party in politics—a party to act in the interests of the workers—a labor party.

It's time to make our union leaders realize that there's a company union in the political field, and that they've got an organizing job ahead. This new job will be the biggest of their career—the job of organizing labor's own political party.

New Jersey Shipyard Worker.

## On the \$25,000 Salary Limit

Editor:

I am glad to see that there is at least one labor paper which took a sensible position on the dispute over the \$25,000 salary limit.

Of course every worker should be in favor of limiting the salaries of the rich. Most of them have been raised since the war program began anyway. And while we're at it, I would like to see not only their salaries limited, but I would also like to see their other income limited.

But you are 100% right when you point out that this is mostly a symbolical question. It would be good if these big salaries were reduced—but even if they were

reduced to the level of the average worker that is not going to solve our problems. That is not going to make our wages any bigger or food any easier to buy.

You hit the nail right on the head when you said that the main idea of some of these politicians and labor leaders in blowing up this question is to try to make the workers more satisfied with their present conditions. But if the workers will only think this question over the way I have then they will see that they have a double job—to fight for cutting the big salaries and profits, and to fight to raise their own wages. And the second one is the most important.

T. M.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Asks About Present Status of Militant

Editor:

Enclosed is \$2 to help the fight to prevent The Militant from being banned from the mails. I am sorry that I cannot do any more on this at the present time, but it's almost March 15 and I am still trying to scrape together enough money to pay my first installment.

I am a little puzzled about the present status of the case with regard to the Post Office. I have a subscription to your paper, but there does not seem to be any way of knowing for sure whether or not a particular issue will come through the mails, although lately most of them have been arriving sooner or later. Does the fact that I have gotten most of the recent issues in this way indicate any change in the attitude of the Post Office?

S. H.

New York City

(See Page 1 of this issue for report on present status of The Militant.—Ed.)

# Workers' BOOKSHELF

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, Bound Volume of 1942 issues. 384 pages, \$3. Fourth International Publishing Co., 116 University Pl., N. Y. Historians of the labor movement in the not-too-distant future will be able to record the fact that the banner and program of international Marxism were kept intact during the third year of the second world war. The bound volume containing the 1942 issues of the monthly magazine, Fourth International, is testimony to this fact. But we hasten to assure the reader that this volume was not published for the shelves of dry-as-dust librarians. These writings were collected and issued in bound form particularly for those people who seek a precise analysis of the unfolding class struggle; so that they may participate more effectively in the task of bringing society out of the abyss of capitalist disorder and anarchy into the broad daylight of socialism.

What will impress the prospective buyer most is the encyclopedic breadth of vision embodied in the contents of this volume. The contents justify the name of the magazine—it is international both in dealing with the world of living events and in the realm of thought. Whether the articles deal with the effects of militarism on U. S. economy, or the struggle of the colonial peoples, whether it be a discussion of some political party or a problem in dialectical materialism, the reader will find that these varied contributions are unified by the method which the writers share in common. It is the method of Marxism, which can be described briefly as the study of the laws of motion compelling these contradictory changes which are transforming society today.

The impact of the war upon the domestic economy, for example, is examined in a good many articles. How does the war effect the confirmed law of capitalist economy which states that the wealth of the country is concentrated in fewer and fewer hands? Felix Morrow presents a wealth of material to prove that the war accelerates this fatal process of accumulation in favor of the trusts and to the detriment of the middle class. C. Charles proves this same process to be at work among the farmers. His analysis reveals the inevitable drift of the small and middle farmer towards tenancy and outright economic extinction. William Warde deals with the anarchy of capitalism in the throes of military expansion and its reflection in the uncontrollable process of inflation. In short we have a group of writings scientifically describing the objective conditions transforming society, conditions which inevitably lead the masses to struggle in defense of their own interests.

## COLONIAL STRUGGLES

A somewhat different but just as crucial topic is the struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialist domination. The historical background of feudal and English exploitation is sketched for the reader. Against this background new

developments in the colonial countries, in India and China, are given from issue to issue. The Trotskyist position of unequivocal support to the colonial struggle is presented by the writers of Fourth International. A concrete expression of international solidarity is the material exposing the fraudulent nature of the Cripps mission and combatting the attempt of the Anglo-American press to prejudice the working-class against the revolutionary struggle of the Indian workers and peasants. One will also find documents of historical importance, such as the programmatic writings of the Indian Bolshevik-Leninist Party.

Another aspect of this volume which will engross the serious student of applied Marxism is the analysis of the Soviet Union's role in the war. The inherent superiority of nationalized economy over capitalist economy, John G. Wright shows, is reflected in the stubborn ability of the Soviet masses to withstand the mighty blows of the Nazi military colossus from without and the criminal ineptitude of the Soviet bureaucracy from within. Stalin's vicious nationalist program which would inflict another Versailles upon the workers of Germany is shown to be the product of a bureaucratic caste which fears revolution as a threat to its privileges and comforts. This analysis of Stalin's program serves a double purpose—it explains Stalin's reactionary motives and defends the German working class from the slanderous accusations of innate "barbarism" hurled by Stalin and his allies. The program of Lenin and Trotsky, the road of internationalism, is explained as the only salvation for the Soviet Union and the masses of Europe.

In a series of articles dealing with the European struggle against the fascist oppressors, Marc Loris examines the relation of the democratic task of national liberation to the proletarian aim of creating a Socialist United States of Europe. The facts prove it is the workers who take the lead in the struggle against their Nazi oppressors and native collaborators, and the task of the Marxist party is to steer such struggles into class channels and to indicate class methods of struggle. Above all it is necessary, Loris insists, to keep clear the class aim — not of any nebulous democratic regime, but of a workers' and farmers' government.

Although we have had to omit comment on much other valuable material in the volume, we wish to close by calling attention to the very first article with which it opens: a statement on the war by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. It characterizes this war as imperialist, proclaims the solidarity of the Trotskyist party in the U. S. with the working class of every country. Cannon advances the banner of socialism and the slogan, "Workers of the World, Unite," as the only way out for humanity. It is the Marxist answer to capitalist war and oppression.

Reviewed by A. STEIN.

## What Will the Allies Do About the European Jews?

Twenty-two thousand Jews and Gentiles met in a mass demonstration at New York Madison Square Garden on March 1 demanding that steps be taken to rescue as many Jews as possible from almost certain death in Hitler-controlled Europe.

It was more than a meeting—it was a cry of anguish when from the throats of thousands a sob arose as the Hebrew prayer for the dead was intoned.

The keynote of the meeting was sounded by the first speaker who said that "months have passed since the United Nations issued their declaration denouncing the unspeakable atrocities of the Nazis against the Jews and threatening retribution" and promising that "immediate practical steps would be taken to implement it," but that nothing had been done.

Nothing? Well, not quite nothing. Viscount Halifax, British ambassador to the United States, who spoke at the meeting, stated that negotiations had been completed to allow 4000 Jewish children and 500 adults from Bulgaria to go to Palestine and that the British government "has also undertaken to receive in Palestine, if the necessary arrangements can be made, up to 29,000 Jewish children with a proportion of adults by March 31, 1944."

There is the score: with hundreds and thousands dying each day, a tiny handful may be saved. And maybe not most of them—for it is quite possible too that "necessary arrangements" will not be made.

The Militant reported two weeks ago that the Rumanian government had announced its willingness to transfer 70,000 Rumanian Jews out of the country to any place of refuge selected by Allies. This was undoubtedly an offer which came out of the clear blue sky—if the United Nations were really interested in doing something about the Jewish victims of the Nazis, they could probably induce other countries to make similar offers.

The world waits for London and Washington to act. What will the action be? Will they turn away, as before, with pious words while millions are done to death, or will the doors be opened to rescue the tortured Jews, at any rate those of them it is still possible to rescue?

Past performances can often serve as a guide to the future. In this case the past performances of the United Nations inspire no confidence. On the contrary they indicate the need for a great outcry by the masses, both Gentile and Jewish, to compel action from their governments to open the doors to the refugees.

## The State Department and North African Policy

The U. S. State Department doesn't like criticism, especially if it is directed against the "Darlan deal" policy being applied in French North Africa. Its sensitiveness on this subject, and its determination to continue collaboration with the French reactionaries, were both revealed last week by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, who felt it necessary to leave his post as deputy director of the Office of War Information.

Mowrer had been one of the most active opponents of the State Department's policy in the government, but he found that he couldn't both remain in the government and oppose the reactionary policies of the State Department. He left the OWI after a bawling out which made his ears "tingle."

Speaking before the French-American Club on Feb. 25, Mowrer ridiculed the idea that the administration's partnership with the French fascists was "a temporary expedient," and charged that the State Department planned to impose Vichy rule not only on the natives of North Africa, but after the war upon the French workers themselves in the homeland.

In referring to the State Department's policies, he said, "In any controversy involving, let us say, on the one side, labor agitators and workmen, unwashed peasants, suspicious intellectuals . . . and, on the other side, diplomats, dukes, bankers, bishops, wealthy and pretty hostesses, etc., our 'salonnards' (State Department officials) just naturally gravitate to the latter."

Like many other liberals, Mowrer appears to believe in the idea that the pro-Darlan, pro-Giraud line of Washington is the fault of the State Department. This only proves that he is a far better reporter than he is a politician.

No myth rests on a more flimsy basis than the one which pretends there is a fundamental difference between the State Department and the rest of the administration. Can anyone tell us when Roosevelt ever disapproved of a single step taken by the State Department? Can an adult seriously contend that the State Department decides important questions without consultation and direction from the White House?

## SUNDAY OPEN FORUM

THIS WEEK: SUNDAY, MARCH 7, 8 P. M.

### "LABOR AND THE FOUR FREEDOMS"

Speaker: VINCENT R. DUNNE

NEXT WEEK: SUNDAY, MARCH 13, 8 P. M.

### "Your Standard of Living"

Speaker: C. CHARLES

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# THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR MARCH, 1943:

THE MONTH IN REVIEW ..... Editorial Comment  
The Murder of Erlich and Alter Is a Blow Against the Soviet Union  
American Labor Unites Against the Anti-Labor Congress  
Gandhi's Fast Ends But the All-India Crisis Is Just Beginning

The Class Meeting of the Soviet Victories ..... by Felix Morrow  
The Misadventures of the French Bourgeoisie ..... by Marc Loris  
Ten Years of the New Deal ..... by William F. Warde  
The German Revolution in the Leninist Period ..... by Marc Loris  
A New Marxist Classic ..... by John G. Wright

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES:

A Letter from Ireland  
Australia  
Chile

## FROM THE ARSENAL OF MARXISM:

A Note on Plekhanov ..... by Leon Trotsky  
Some British "Friends" of India ..... by Ajit Roy

MANAGER'S COLUMN ..... Inside Front Cover