

DRAFTEES OPPOSE EXTENSION

Opposed To War Entry, Conscripts Have No Faith In Roosevelt's Government; Don't Hesitate To Show Their Feelings

By A DRAFTEE

Roosevelt's demand that Congress extend the length of the term of conscription does not express the sentiments of the men in the training camps.

The draftees are virtually unanimous in their opposition to serving any longer than the one year they were originally told they would have to serve.

Today the draftees are thinking hard about all questions connected with the war.

Bad living conditions are not the things the draftees talk about today. Indeed, the man who does discuss them is looked upon as a griper. The questions which the men are discussing and worrying over are the big issues—the extension of the army term, the meaning of the war, the attitude and purposes of the administration.

THEIR COMMON BOND

The draftees feel they are all together in a bad situation. This feeling tends to break down personal barriers between the men. They discuss their problems together. Even the letters they write and receive become the common property of the whole company.

The letters they write home—to their girl-friends, their wives, their mothers—are not individual expressions. Every one in the company has a hand in writing them. These letters tend to a certain uniformity. They indicate not the attitude of single individuals, but of whole companies, indeed, of the entire draftee army.

The letters from home are usually read aloud or passed around. These too have a certain uniformity. The family is having difficulties, rents are going up, prices are rising. The men think and talk about the situation at home. They worry about home and are anxious to return to their families.

That is the greatest desire of the men today—they don't want any more of the army, they want to go home. There is a common note of desperation when they speak of this, as they do all the time.

LET THE ARMY SPEAK

That is why the demand, "Let the Army Speak!" has become one of the most popular expressions of the ranks. "Let the Army Speak"—so that the men can tell the people, the government, what they really feel about staying any longer in the army, about fighting in this war.

Nothing made the soldiers

here more indignant than the official notices posted on the bulletin boards of the regiment forbidding the men to express their opinions through polls and petitions. The soldiers want to speak—and they want to speak above all, right now, about the question of the extension of their service time.

I have yet to meet a draftee who favors the extension. In my own company every single conscript has written to Washington protesting the extension of the army term. When word went around that some were writing such letters, everyone began writing them.

THEY'RE AGAINST THE WAR

There is a deep and fundamental reason for their desire to get out of the army as quickly as possible. They don't like what this army stands for. They hate and fear and oppose getting into this war.

The average soldier sees no reason why he should have to fight in this war. And he expresses a complete lack of faith in the capacity or will of the present government and army leadership to carry out the kind of war for democracy which has been promised.

To the few individuals who do speak in favor of the war, the draftees most often answer that it is a war for the "big shots," for the rich, and not really a war against fascism.

This hatred of the war is shown in many forms. As soon as the average soldier is off duty, he tries to forget about the army and everything connected with it. He tries to escape the war propaganda and to meet only those who feel about the war as he does.

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Negro Soldiers Write Bitter Letters About How They Are Treated

The July 19 issue of the *Chicago Defender* paints a picture of conditions of typical Negro soldiers in army camps today, and it shows that not only are these soldiers dissatisfied, but that they have plenty of reason to be.

And it paints this picture in the words of the soldiers themselves, "some of whom volunteered their services, who live day in and day out in these camps and know from personal experience what conditions are."

The *Defender* has gathered these complaints from letters written to one of its editors and has forwarded them to the War Department with a request for investigation and a report.

The following are a few excerpts from these letters:

THIRD DEGREE USED

PORT CUSTER, Mich.—"Three soldiers were accused of rape while they were in Wisconsin. Later the girl involved and the state dropped the charges. The boys claimed innocence. Yet they were retained in the guard house at Port Custer. A few days ago a major took the boys out and beat up one of them so that he required hospital attention. The other two boys in order to avoid a similar beating at that time were forced to admit guilt."

PROVING GROUND, III.

"There are two cases of mumps. And for three weeks none of us has been allowed to go out. No colored relatives or friends have been allowed to enter the grounds, yet as many white persons as ask are allowed to enter. White boys, white soldiers' kids, and officers' friends coming in for parties are welcomed. They stay on the hill, and we can't go up there at any time, not even to mail a money order. I can't see any difference in this place than in camps in the South. When a post has something

contagious, no one is supposed to enter and no one is supposed to leave. They are not supposed to make a line between the colored and white. This dump is a burning hell on earth."

MISTREATED SOLDIERS

CAMP SHELBY, Miss.—"Mistreated soldiers wrote the War Department about the conditions at camp. An inspection general came to investigate. On the day that the inspection officer came to camp, it was to have been made possible for the individuals who wished to have an interview with the officer. Instead the whole company was sent out on detail that day which kept the men away from the officer. The army is getting very rotten every day. After the men couldn't see the inspection officer, many of them drew up a petition and signed it. They tried to get this presented through an interested officer, but failed."

CAMP SHELBY, Miss.—"When a Negro soldier buys ice cream in the white post exchange, he has to go outside and eat it. This camp being a Jim Crow place, there is no theatre for Negroes. No show of their own. Some companies kill the spirit of their soldiers."

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FIVE (5) CENTS

Why We Have Been Indicted:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY IS THE ANTI-WAR PARTY

Complete text of the indictment drawn up by the Department of Justice against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO members appears on page 2.

By JAMES P. CANNON

Franklin Doublecross Roosevelt has systematically lied to the American people. He has broken promise after promise. At this moment the army training camps are seething with resentment against Roosevelt's latest broken promise: his solemn covenant with the draftees that conscription would be limited to a period of one year. And why is he seeking an indefinite extension of the term of conscription? In order to break his solemn promise of last November that no American soldiers would fight on foreign soil.

Couple with these broken promises Roosevelt's strikebreaking use of troops, his terroristic use of the FBI and other governmental agencies of repression against CIO unions and the Socialist Workers Party, and you have a clear picture of Roosevelt's foul scheme. By a combination of force and fraud he proposes to dragoon the American masses into a war which they do not want and for which they would never vote.

Roosevelt's typical combination of force and fraud is evident in the indictments drawn up by his Department of "Justice" against the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. The basic motivation for those indictments was stated by Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle on June 28, when he sought to justify the FBI's Gestapo raids on the St. Paul and Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. Biddle then cited and quoted from the anti-war sections of the Declaration of Principles adopted by the 1938 convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

But some strategist in Roosevelt's War Party has since realized how unpopular would be a persecution of our Anti-War Party for our anti-war views. Hence, Biddle's assistants have now drawn up an indictment against us which makes no reference whatsoever to the anti-war sections of our 1938 Declaration of Principles—in fact, the word "war" appears nowhere in the indictment!

Carefully though they worked in preparing this indictment, Roosevelt's agents were not quite able to erase the tell-tale indications of the real motivation for this persecution. They give their game away in charge No. 4 of the indictment, which accuses us of urging, counseling and persuading the workers and farmers "that the Government of the United States was imperialistic..."

Yes, we have explained and shall continue to explain to the workers and farmers that the Roosevelt government is imperialistic in its every move.

Imperialism is the motive force behind all Roosevelt's war plans. Like Hitler, he would be master of the entire world. Hitler seeks that mastery as political agent for Germany's bankers; Roosevelt seeks that mastery as political agent for America's Sixty Families, the DuPonts and Morgans and Rockefellers.

By his typical combination of force and fraud Roosevelt is intriguing to secure as cannon-fodder and beasts of burden the masses of South and Central America. Next comes Dakar—that is, the Negro masses of Africa. By bribery and pressure upon Chiang-Kai-shek, Roosevelt seeks to transform China's war of liberation into a war to serve American imperialism.

But before Roosevelt can hope to carry out this gigantic scheme of carnage and world conquest, he must first subjugate the American workers and farmers to his will. This is the aim of all his lies and deceit and broken promises. This is the aim of his acts of violence against the labor movement.

With a brazenness unprecedented in American history, Roosevelt has intervened on the side of Daniel J. Tobin to try to destroy the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO, sixteen of whose members have been indicted along with the Socialist Workers Party members. Thus Roosevelt pays his debt to one of his most servile agents.

But something more is involved. Tobin is a leader of the Fight for Freedom, Inc., which is yelling for immediate shooting war. The leaders of Local 544-CIO are resolute opponents of war. In indicting the Local 544-CIO leadership, Roosevelt's War Party is striking a blow against the anti-war forces in the trade union movement.

As he plunges toward total war, Roosevelt would like first

Indicted Party Leaders



JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary



FARRELL DOBBS
National Labor Secretary

to destroy all leadership and potential leadership of the anti-war forces. Roosevelt and his War Party understand very well that an honest workers' party like ours, with firm principles and cadres steeled and tempered in the class struggle, can tomorrow become the accepted spokesman for the great masses in the struggle to put an end to the war. The Roosevelt War Party would destroy us before that tomorrow comes.

We have adhered to the Bolshevik tradition of struggle against war ever since 1917, as every politically literate person knows. But not since the notorious Palmer raids of 1920 has any government official pretended that we could be indicted for that. Only now under Roosevelt, only now that Roosevelt has become the ally of Stalin, and the Communist Party has become Roosevelt's most vociferous supporter in whooping it up for war—only now does our advocacy of Bolshevism against Stalinism become a cause for indictment.

The "clever" strategists of Roosevelt's War Party are thinking: "We are not going to make the same mistake that the Czar made. In November, 1916 Lenin's party was small and apparently unimportant. Yet a year later, thanks to its irreconcilable opposition to the imperialist war, it won a majority of the workers and peasants. Let us not repeat the Czar's mistake. Let us destroy Trotsky's party before it wins a majority of the workers and farmers of the United States."

This "clever" strategy of Roosevelt's War Party is, in reality, the identical strategy that the Czar pursued. He hounded Lenin's party mercilessly, exiled, imprisoned, executed and tortured its members. The Czar's cruelty became a by-word in the civilized world. Yet all this did not prevent the great masses from abolishing the Czarist autocracy.

We do not fear Roosevelt's repressions, any more than Lenin and Trotsky feared the Czar's repressions. The war into which Roosevelt is plunging the country will be a fiery crucible in which millions upon millions of American workers and farmers will be steeled and tempered for the struggle against imperialism. For every fighter torn from our ranks, by the class enemy, scores will come forward who, in this very struggle between us and Roosevelt's War Party, will learn that every serious fighter against imperialist war belongs in the Socialist Workers Party.

We are no pacifists. We Trotskyists have shown, in China, in Loyalist Spain, in the Red Army, that we are ready to fight on behalf of a just cause. But Roosevelt's war is an imperialist war and we shall oppose it, and nothing shall stop us.

We are no pacifists. We shall not turn the other cheek to Roosevelt's attack on our party. On the contrary, we shall see to it that every worker and farmer in this country hears our true views and learns how Roosevelt has engineered this vile frameup against us. This case will be tried by the government in a courtroom in Minneapolis and we shall defend ourselves there. Far more important, however, we shall defend ourselves before our true judges—the workers and farmers of this country. It is their verdict, above all, that concerns us.

And we are confident of their verdict, once we break through the fraud and deceit with which the Roosevelt War Party seek to conceal the true issue. The Socialist Workers Party is the Anti-War Party. The workers and farmers have no interest in this war. They want no part of it. The anti-war party and the tens of millions opposed to the war will join hands in the course of our battle to free the 29 defendants from Roosevelt's Gestapo.

Bail Put Up For All Defendants

But Government Cooks Up 2 New Charges Against Two Union Leaders; Skoglund Held On \$25,000 Bail For Deportation Hearing

MINNEAPOLIS, July 22—Arrangements were completed yesterday for release on bail of all 29 defendants who were indicted on July 15 on "seditious conspiracy" charges drawn up by Roosevelt's Department of Justice.

Meanwhile, however, new persecutions were begun by federal authorities against two indicted leaders of the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO.

Before bond could be posted for him on the indictment, Carl Skoglund, former President of Local 544 and now Organizer for the union, was seized and jailed on deportation charges, and \$25,000 bail was the figure set for his release on this charge. Skoglund was born in Sweden.

Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544-CIO, one of those indicted, was also indicted on June 14 by the county grand jury, on the preposterous charge pressed by Tobin's agents, of "embezzling" AFL union funds.

That is, of refusing to give AFL Teamsters President Tobin the Local 544 treasury when the local joined the CIO on June 9.

In addition, Postal was informed Saturday by U.S. District Attorney Anderson, there is still another federal indictment against him in Iowa. The significance of this Iowa indictment is not yet clear. Over a year ago the FBI framed up and sent to federal penitentiary six drivers' union leaders, as an outgrowth of a Sioux City bakery drivers' strike.

Miles' B. Dunne, President of Local 544-CIO, was also indicted by the county grand jury along with Postal for refusal to hand over to Tobin the local's funds.

KANGAROO MOVES

This multiplication of charges is involuntary testimony of the

government's lack of confidence in its ability to convince the workers of Minneapolis and the country that its July 15 indictment is justifiable. Throw enough mud and maybe some of it will stick—that's Hitler's motto and it is now being aped by the Roosevelt War Party's kangaroo proceeding.

This multiplication of charges is also mute testimony of the failure of the government's indictments to get the hoped-for results for Daniel J. Tobin and the AFL against the CIO. The July 15 indictment got nowhere in its design of intimidating the Minneapolis motor transport workers. Local 544-CIO is continuing to press the State Labor Board for elections at which the workers throughout the motor transport

(Continued on page 3)

Indictments Are Under Notorious Smith Act

By MICHAEL CORT

The 29 Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party members who have been indicted in St. Paul will be prosecuted mainly under Sections 9, 10 and 11, Title 18 of the U. S. Criminal Code. These sections were added to the criminal code by the notorious Smith Act, better known as the Omnibus Gag Law, which was pushed through Congress in 1940.

The most monstrous piece of anti-labor legislation ever to pass Congress, it was introduced by Howard (poll-tax) W. Smith of Virginia. Only a poll-tax Congressman, safe from reprisals from the people, would have dared to initiate such a measure.

The bill was a compendium of all the anti-radical bills pending in 1939, and was so reactionary that for some time even its sponsors held little hope of seeing it become law.

ROOSEVELT HELPED BILL

They figured, however, without the subtle hand of the boss politician in the White House. Just as the repressive legislation appeared to be foundering, Roosevelt sent to Congress a "modest" request for authority to fingerprint and register all aliens. Smith and his friends were quick to see the line.

The fingerprinting and registration provisions were tacked onto the Smith bill to serve as window-dressing.

Ostensibly aimed at the "alien

criminal," the bill actually struck at both citizen and non-citizen, to quell all opposition to Roosevelt and his war lust.

BILL CHARACTERIZED

A small group of Congressmen attempted to oppose some of the more vicious provisions of the Smith Bill. Here is what they said at the time:

Rep. Coffey of Washington: "Labor leaders and unions (will be)... persecuted and prosecuted by reason of their strike and picketing activities."

(Continued on page 5)

FBI Terrorizes Federal Workers, CIO Union Charges, Cites Cases

Like Gestapo, Says CIO Federal Workers In Letter To Unions

WASHINGTON, July 20 — Federal government employees affiliated with CIO unions are being persecuted by "a virtual reign of terror in which Gestapo methods are being used by high government officials," it was declared in a letter sent today to all CIO unions by the United Federal Workers (UFW).

The letter, which was signed by Eleanor Nelson, secretary-treasurer of the UFW, followed the holding of a protest mass meeting here in a campaign to secure the reinstatement of Helen Miller, an active UFW local leader, who was fired from her job with the U. S. Labor Department by Secretary Perkins with the statement:

"There can be no collective bargaining in the government service."

Miss Miller was notified last Friday by Madame Perkins that she was suspended pending a hearing on charges which included alleged membership in organizations which "have promoted the policies of the Communist Party."

MANY CASES CITED

Asserting that the action against Miss Miller, as a leader of the UFW local here, is "typical of widespread attacks against the union," the circular letter declared:

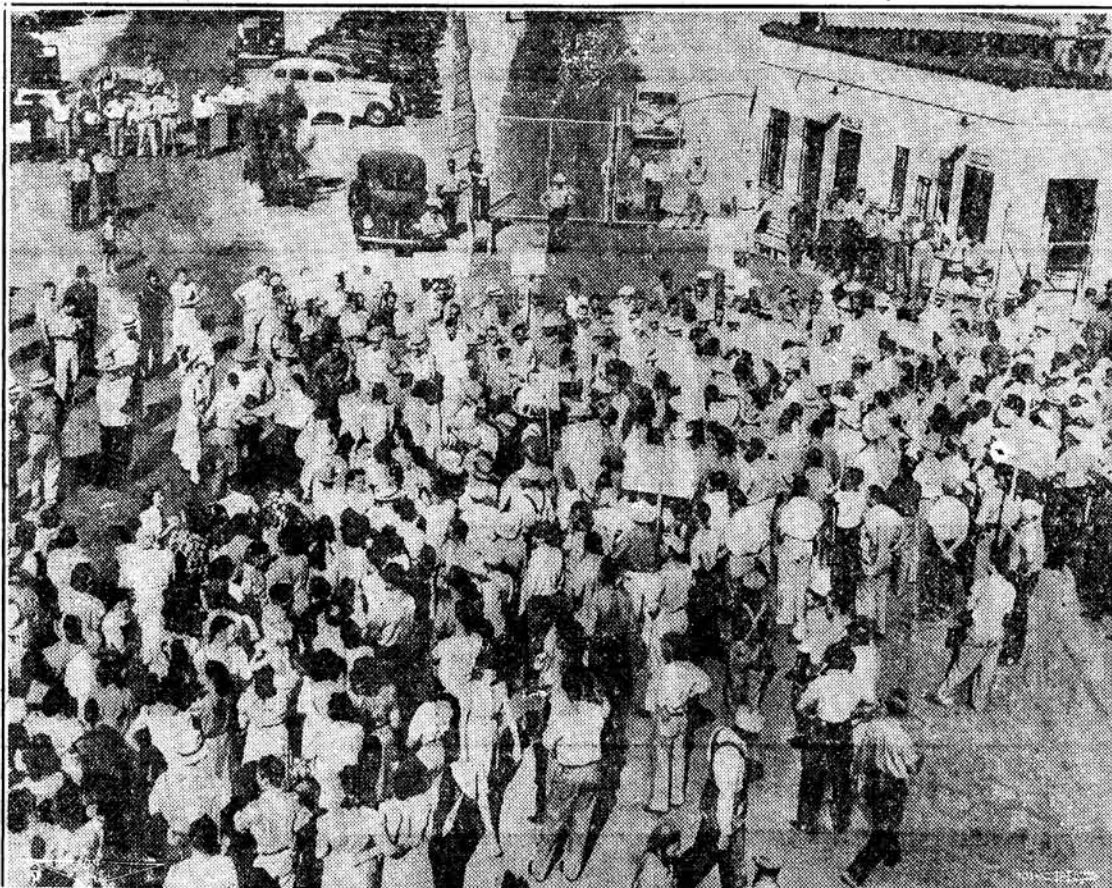
"Prominent trade union officials and members of various organizations are being given extensive grillings, behind locked doors and with no witnesses present, by department officials and by the Civil Service Commission. FBI agents are questioning landladies, maids, personal friends of Federal workers."

"Government workers, on the basis of the work of these civil service investigators, department officials and the FBI, are being dismissed with no charges placed against them other than vague allegations that they are inimical to national defense, are subversive or are undesirable employees of the Federal Government."

"GESTAPO OUTRAGES"

The letter details some of the

Pickets Stop Boss Move



A "back-to-work" movement organized by the management of the British-owned American Potash & Chemical Company, located in the desert at Trona, California, was shattered against this solid wall of fighting union pickets, during the strike led by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO)

outrages perpetrated in recent weeks against active CIO members:

"In the War and Navy Departments, mass suspensions and dismissals are taking place in Gestapo fashion with armed guards or marines with fixed bayonets going through the yards and arsenals, tapping employes on the shoulder, marching them out through the most public passageways, so that all employes may see, stripping them of their badges and dismissing them with no reason being given for the discharge."

Among the incidents recorded were the following:

In Philadelphia "twenty-three men, including ten active members of the union, were conducted

out of the yard by marines with fixed bayonets."

At Bremerton, Washington, the president of the UFW local in the navy yard was "similarly suspended after nineteen years of government service."

At the navy yard at Mare Island, California, a large number of workers, including many active union members, were "rounded up while on their jobs by armed guards and discharged."

"A common Gestapo pattern runs through all these cases," the UFW statement adds.

Among the questions which federal employes are asked in the grillings they have been receiving at the hands of FBI and other government agents are:

FBI QUESTIONS
"Do you belong to the Communist Party, the Nazi Bund or the CIO?"

"What books have you read last year?"

"Were you transferred from another bureau because of over-enthusiastic union activity?"

The FBI persecution and indictments against the Socialist Workers Party leaders and the leaders of Minneapolis Local 544-CIO Motor Transport Workers are no exceptional action. As the terrorism against the CIO government employes shows, Roosevelt is determined to smash progressive workers' organizations everywhere as an essential part of his war preparations.

Newark SWP Candidate Stresses Anti-War Fight

NEWARK, N. J.—The day after the indictments against SWP members were handed down in St. Paul, the Essex County Committee of the Socialist Workers Party announced its nomination of George Breitman as a candidate for State Assembly in the general elections to be held next November "so that there would be a candidate who stood on the basis of a militant, working class opposition to war and the suppression of civil rights and liberties."

The following statement was issued by George Breitman upon receiving the nomination:

"It is evident from the charges in the indictments that the government is attacking our party because of our anti-war stand. Two points in our program appear to be particularly obnoxious to Roosevelt and his war-mongers. These points are:

(1) The formation of Union Defense Guards or Workers Defense Guards to protect the rights of labor against the attacks on them by vigilante and fascist groups, and

(2) Our demand for a system of military training, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions, as an alternative to the present control of military training by a hardened, anti-labor, anti-Negro military bureaucracy.

"Since the government has chosen to make these the issues in the St. Paul indictments, I am more than willing, as a candidate for the General Assembly, to appear before the workers of this county and to present as the main points in my platform precisely those points in the Socialist Workers Party platform for which Roosevelt and the Gestapo-FBI are trying to suppress us.

"This case, involving as it does a most flagrant attempt at violation of civil rights and suppression of the Anti-War Party, has become a national issue. But that is not the only reason that it is important for New Jersey workers.

RECALLS HAGUE FIGHT

"This question of the need for Workers Defense Guards was first presented by our party in New Jersey. Back in 1938 Mayor Hague of Jersey City was carrying out a series of attacks, beatings, kidnappings and deportations of CIO organizers. The federal government was asked to intervene

after Hague ran Norman Thomas out. Many people waited for something to happen, for the Department of Justice to do something. It began an investigation but never finished it, for after all Hague was for the third term too.

"(Incidentally Henry Schweinhaut of the Justice Department, was in charge of the Hague investigation just as he is of the St. Paul case. Only when he was out here, he laid low; the idea of raiding Mayor Hague's place never occurred to him).

"Finally Hague sent over a large gang to Newark at a time Norman Thomas was to speak there and broke that meeting up too. It was after this that the Socialist Workers Party in Essex County appealed to the workers to form Workers Defense Guards to protect their civil rights against the revolutionary attacks of the Hague machine. Those rights of free speech and free assembly were being violated every day, and the police and federal forces weren't lifting a finger against it. Only slave-minded people will refuse to protect their rights in such a situation.

"The same Department of Justice that wouldn't lift a finger to stop the Jersey City Hitler from violating all the provisions of the Bill of Rights three years ago is today persecuting workers because they saw the need for organizing to defend themselves against fascist groups in their state.

"Yes, we advocated Union Defense Guards then, and we advocate them now. We advocated military training under the control of the trade unions before the conscription bill was passed, and we advocate it now after the use of troops by the government to break strikes. We believe that the great majority of the workers of this country will learn that we are right in advocating these demands and that they will join with us in the struggle to achieve them."

War Chest Hits Home Stretch; Finish Sprint On

Youngstown and Seattle this week joined the over-100 per cent branches. Detroit, Newark and Louisiana reached the 100 per cent mark. A total of 14 branches have now reached the 100 per cent mark or surpassed it.

With 68 per cent of the \$10,000 War Chest already in, we are heading down the home stretch. What we do need now is a finish sprint. The emergency is already upon us. We must get the War Chest completed and out of the way in order to organize the party for the biggest defense campaign in American labor history. Every day that the completion of the War Chest is delayed holds up the organization of the defense campaign.

Several thousand dollars were required to pay the costs of the bail bonds, thanks to which the Socialist Workers Party members under federal indictment are now free pending trial. This money was secured by loans which must be repaid in short order. Once the War Chest, providing for the maintenance of the party's regular work, is completed and out of the way, we shall launch the defense drive. Let's see that finish sprint this coming week!

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
BUFFALO	\$ 60.00	\$ 98.50	164
READING	25.00	38.30	153
YOUNGSTOWN	150.00	160.00	107
SEATTLE	25.00	26.00	104
Cleveland	150.00	150.00	100
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Akron	50.00	50.90	100
Portland	30.00	30.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Quakertown	25.00	25.00	100
Toledo	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	500.00	500.00	100
Louisiana	25.00	25.00	100
Newark	500.00	500.25	100
Rochester	50.00	46.25	93
Chicago	1200.00	1054.12	88
Boston	350.00	305.00	87
St. Paul	300.00	257.00	86
Philadelphia	125.00	101.00	81
Allentown	25.00	19.50	78
Pittsburgh	40.00	30.00	75
New Haven	50.00	37.00	74
Baltimore	10.00	7.00	70
Milwaukee	55.00	36.00	65
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	675.83	61
New York City	2500.00	1385.78	55
Texas	20.00	10.00	50
Flint	200.00	80.00	40
Los Angeles	500.00	180.00	36
Minneapolis	1200.00	385.00	32
South Chicago	125.00	0.00	00
Fresno	80.00	0.00	00
Members-at-Large	475.00	498.30	105
TOTAL	\$10,000.00	\$6,846.73	68%

George Frosig, Emil Orgon, Ray Rainbolt, Grant Dunne, Harold Swanson, Walter Hagstrom, and Nick Wagner, hereinafter referred to as "defendants," then and there being, did unlawfully, willfully, knowingly and feloniously conspire, plan, combine, confederate and agree together and with each other, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jurors unknown, hereinafter referred to as "co-conspirators," to commit certain acts prohibited by certain statutes of the United States, namely, Sections 9 and 10 of Title 18 of the United States Code, in that they in the Cities of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, State and District of Minnesota, and elsewhere, and during the period of time alleged in this count:

1. With the intent to interfere with, impair and influence the loyalty, morale and discipline of the military and naval forces of the United States would

a. Advise, counsel, urge, and cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, and refusal of duty by members of the military and naval forces of the United States, and

b. Distribute written and printed matter which advised, counseled, and urged insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty by members of the military and naval forces of the United States, and

2. Knowingly and willfully would, and they did, advocate, abet, advise and teach the duty, necessity, desirability and propriety of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence, and

3. With the intent to cause the overthrow and destruction of

the Government of the United States would, and they did, print, publish, edit, issue, circulate, sell, distribute and publicly display written and printed matter advocating, advising, and teaching the duty, necessity, desirability and propriety of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence, and

4. Would, and they did, organize and help to organize societies, groups and assemblies of persons to teach, advocate and encourage the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and

5. Would be, and did, become members of and affiliated with such societies, groups and assemblies knowing the purpose thereof.

And the Grand Jurors do present that the said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, attempt to carry out and accomplish said conspiracy in the manner set out in numbered paragraphs 1 to 13, inclusive, in the first count of this indictment; Contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 11 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States.

Dated July 15, 1941

WENDELL BERGE,
Assistant Attorney General
HENRY A. SCHWEINHAUT
Special Assistant to the Attorney General
VICTOR E. ANDERSON,
United States Attorney for the District of Minnesota.

Text Of Federal Indictment Of SWP Leaders

ST. PAUL, Minn., July 15—The following is the verbatim text of the indictment, drawn up by the U. S. Department of Justice and voted by a federal grand jury convened here, which was handed down today against 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO:

At a stated term of the District court of the United States of America for the district of Minnesota begun and held at the City of St. Paul, within and for the district and division aforesaid, on the first Tuesday in April, being the first day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one, by a duly empaneled, charged, and sworn grand jury of the United States of America within and for said district, it is presented in manner and form following, that is to say:

The Grand Jurors of the United States of America within and for said district in the name and by the authority of the said United States of America, upon their oaths present that from and before the 16th day of July, 1938, and continuously thereafter until the day of the filing of this indictment, in the Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, in the State and District of Minnesota, and within the jurisdiction of this Court, and in the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, and in the City and State of New York, and elsewhere, one

Vincent Ray Dunne, Carl Skoglund, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Miles E. Dunne, Felix Morrow, Grace Carlson, Oscar Coover, Harry DeBoer, Jake Cooper, Max Goldman, Carlos Hudson, Alfred Russell, Edward Palmquist, Rose Seiler, Albert Goldman, Oscar Schoenfeld, George Frosig, Emil Hanson, Dorothy Schultz, Kelly Postal, Clarence Hamel, Carl Kuehn, Roy Orgon, Ray Rainbolt, Grant Dunne, Harold Swanson, Walter Hagstrom and Nick Wagner hereinafter referred to as "defendants," then and there being, did unlawfully, willfully, knowingly, and feloniously conspire, plan, combine, confederate, and agree together and with each other, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jurors unknown, hereinafter referred to as "co-conspirators," to overthrow, put down, and to destroy by force the Government of the United States of America, and to oppose by force the authority thereof.

And the Grand Jurors do present that as part of said conspiracy and as ways and means by which it would be accomplished, the following steps, among others, were to be and were taken, all in the City of Minneapolis, State and District aforesaid, and elsewhere within the period of time alleged in this indictment:

1. The defendants, who were officers, leaders, active members, and in control of a certain political party or organization known as the Socialist Workers Party, which said party or organization was composed of a large number of persons, the exact number be-

conspirators could procure and induce to engage therein.

4. Said workers, laborers and farmers would be by the defendants and their co-conspirators urged, counseled, and persuaded that the Government of the United States was imperialistic, capitalistic and organized and constituted for the purpose of subjecting workers and laborers to various and sundry deprivations and for the purpose of denying to them an alleged right to own, control and manage all property and industry in the United States, all to the end that said workers and laborers would be willing to take part in the armed revolution envisaged and projected by said defendants.

5. Members of the Socialist Workers Party would be placed in key positions in all major industries, among others the transportation, mining, lumbering, farming, shipping and manufacturing industries, so that said party members could and would induce, persuade, and procure the workers and laborers in said industries to join said party, embrace its principles and objectives and obey the commands of its leaders, thereby enabling the defendants and other leaders of said Socialist Workers Party to obtain and exercise absolute control of all industries in the United States to the end that by paralyzing the same, said projected armed revolution could be more easily and successfully accomplished.

6. Members of the Socialist Workers Party would be placed in key positions in all trade unions and said party members would especially endeavor to obtain absolute control over such trade unions, so that the members thereof, comprising a vast number of workers and laborers in the United States, would be subject to the will and commands of said party leaders, thus enabling the de-

fendants and their co-conspirators to bring about a complete stoppage of work in the major industries of the United States at any given time, and preventing thereby the duly constituted Government of the United States from adequately defending itself against the armed revolution the defendants conspired to bring about.

7. The defendants and their co-conspirators would endeavor by any means at their disposal to procure members of the military and naval forces of the United States to become undisciplined, to complain about food, living conditions, and missions to which they would be assigned, to create dissension, dissatisfaction and insubordination among the armed forces, to impair the loyalty and morale thereof, and finally to seek to gain control of said naval and military forces so that the enlisted personnel thereof would revolt against its officers, thereby enabling said defendants to overcome and put down by force and arms the constitutional Government of the United States.

throw, destroy, and put down by force the Government of the United States.

10. Workers and laborers would be, and they were, organized into military units which would be armed and drilled and taught how skillfully to use pistols and rifles, which said units would be, and were, called "Union Defense Guard"; said units would ostensibly be used for protection against violent attempts to destroy trade unions, but were in truth and in fact, designed and intended to be used ultimately to overthrow, destroy, and put down by force the duly constituted, constitutional Government of the United States.

11. The said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, by and for the use of themselves and other persons to the Grand Jurors unknown, procure certain explosives, fire-arms, ammunition, weapons and military equipment, for the aforesaid purpose.

12. The said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, accept as the ideal formula for the carrying out of their said objectives the Russian Revolution of 1917, whereby the then existing Government of Russia was overthrown by force and violence, and the principles, teachings, writings, counsel and advice of the leaders of that revolution, chiefly of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, would be, and they were, looked to, relied on, followed and held out to others as catechisms and textbooks directing the manner and means by which the aforesaid aim of the defendants could, and would be, accomplished; and accordingly, certain of the defendants would, and they did, go from the City of Minneapolis, State and District of Minnesota, and from other cities in the United States to Mexico City, Mexico, there to advise

Second Count

And the Grand Jurors aforesaid, upon their oaths aforesaid, do further present that heretofore, to-wit: beginning the 28th day of June, 1940, and continuously thereafter until the day of the filing of this indictment, at the Cities of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, in the State and District of Minnesota, and within the jurisdiction of this Court, and in the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, and in the City and State of New York, and elsewhere, one Vincent Ray Dunne, Carl Skoglund, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Miles E. Dunne, Felix Morrow, Grace Carlson, Oscar Coover, Harry De Boer, Jake Cooper, Max Goldman, Carlos Hudson, Alfred Russell, Edward Palmquist, Rose Seiler, Albert Goldman, Oscar Schoenfeld,

Union Defense Guards Stopped Silver Shirts

Fascist Gangs Talked Big, Until Local 544 Established Guards; Federal Indictment Tries To Twist Real Meaning Of 544 Guard

By DON DORE

One of the allegations against the 29 leaders of Minneapolis Local 544-CIO Motor Transport Workers and the Socialist Workers Party in the indictment drawn up by Roosevelt's Department of Justice, is that the defendants "did unlawfully, wilfully, knowingly and feloniously conspire" to the end that:

"Workers and laborers would be, and they were, organized into military units which would be armed and drilled and taught how skillfully to use pistols and rifles, which said units would be, and were, called 'Union Defense Guards'; said units would ostensibly be used for protection against violent attempts to destroy trade unions, but were in truth and fact, designed and intended to overthrow, destroy and put down by force the duly constituted, constitutional Government of the United States."

Presumably this refers to the Local 544 Defense Guard.

What are the facts? They are easily ascertained for far from being a "conspiracy," 544's Union Defense Guard was known throughout the country.

To begin with, the Local 544 Union Defense Guard was composed of about 600 union men who conducted their activities in the same fashion as any other committee or division of the union—by open discussion and democratic vote. Thus, it is obvious, that if this was a "conspiracy" it was entered into and directed not by 29 individuals, as the indictment would imply, but by no less than 600 union men.

MEMBERSHIP SET IT UP

These 600 actual participants of the Union Defense Guard, however, were not free lances. They did not set themselves up independently of the union local itself. On the contrary, the Union Defense Guard was established by direction of the Local 544 membership, and conducted its activities only with the consent of that membership.

Thus, this was a "conspiracy" not of 29, or even 600 persons. It was a "conspiracy" of some 6,000 union men.

Furthermore, this "conspiracy" was peculiar in that any active member of the union was able to join it. And, moreover, once he had joined, he immediately advertised the fact by wearing a button which proclaimed that he was a member of the Local Union Defense Guard. At large gatherings and public affairs of the union, the members of the Guard acting as ushers, went even further, they sported their "conspiracy" on their sleeves with large bright-colored arm-bands lettered: "544 Union Defense Guard."

PRESS DESCRIBED IT

The story of the Union Defense Guard was published in the daily press, and was spread all over the official Minneapolis teamsters' pa-

per, *The Northwest Organizer*, copies of which were sent all over the United States to unions and labor organizations.

Leaving at random through the files of the *Northwest Organizer*—then the official organ of the Minneapolis Joint Teamsters Council, representing every drivers local and a union membership of some 12,000 to 15,000 in Minneapolis and vicinity—we come across many items about the Local 544 Union Defense Guard.

On the front page of the *Northwest Organizer* of December 1, 1938, just a few months after the Guard was organized, the entire labor movement of Minneapolis was publicly invited to aid this "conspiracy." The headline of this invitation read: "UNION GUARD TO SPONSOR DANCE AND RAFFLE."

We thumb through hundreds of pages of back copies of the *Northwest Organizer*. Public dances, Christmas parties, picnics—for a dime, or two bits, the "conspirators" would let anyone in on it, and guarantee him a good time, to boot.

As late as two years after the "conspiracy" was originally entered into, we read in the *Northwest Organizer*, November 21, 1940: "The Union Defense Guard has a reputation for staging outstanding parties, and this year's Round-Up will be better than ever. Hundreds of friends of the guard are expected to attend."

In the *Northwest Organizer*, July 18, 1940, under the headlines, "25,000 Make Merry At 544's Outing," we get a glimpse of the Union Defense Guard at work, in the following: "The Union Defense Guard kept order and supervised the parking of the more than 4,000 autos, without a single untoward incident."

WHY GUARD ORGANIZED
But there was a deeper purpose to the 544 Defense Guard. Here is why it was organized: "The *Northwest Organizer*, November 3, 1938, carried the following front-page story, headlined, 'Silver Shirts Meet Again, Denounce 544': 'Well-guarded by the St. Paul

police to whom they had appealed for protection, the Fascist Silver Shirts held a meeting at Minneapolis Hall in St. Paul, last Friday night.

"The speaker was Roy Zachary, national Silver Shirt leader. His speech contained several virulent references to the *Northwest Organizer* and the drivers' union.

"Zachary, apparently alarmed by his agents' reports of the militant response of 544 members to his call for armed raids on 544 headquarters at a meeting last month, declared that he had 'only meant that 544 members themselves get together to clean out the hall.' "Zachary boasted that police would protect Silver Shirt meetings not only in St. Paul but also in Minneapolis and declared... 'The police know that some day they'll need our support and that's why they're supporting us now.'"

RISE OF SILVER SHIRTS
But this humble-pie tone of fascist Zachary came only after Local 544 had organized—and let it be known it had organized—the Union Defense Guard.

On July 29, 1938, the Silver Shirts had held a meeting in Minneapolis, at which one of the most enthusiastic individuals in attendance was George K. Beldon, head of the Minneapolis Associated Industries. Admission to this meeting was by invitation only, and it was attended by a crowd of the "best people" in the town. First the crowd was inflamed with a lot of Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda and then it was called upon to organize armed raids upon Local 544's union hall.

These Silver Shirt meetings went on several times a week thereafter, each time becoming more vicious, more inflammatory in their demands for the organization of armed gangs of storm-troopers to attack and smash Local 544. Big-shot business men attended these meetings, joined in the incitement and applause.

THE FASCIST MENACE
This was the period when, throughout the United States, native pro-fascist and pro-Nazi groups, financed by wealthy anti-labor interests, were first rearing their ugly heads in open menace to the union movement. Coughlin's "Christian Front" gangs were assaulting individuals openly on the streets of New York City. Coughlin was boasting over a nation-wide radio network that his "Christian Front" was prepar-

ing to deal with the union movement "in Franco's way."

The Silver Shirts, the Nazi Bund, and scores of other fascist outfits, were meeting in every part of the country—meeting openly, drilling uniformed storm-troopers, preparing to smash the union movement. In most places, the public officials winked at these fascist mobilizations, or actually supported them. SOCIAL JUSTICE, Coughlin's publication, could publicly boast that in New York City alone, over 5,000 policemen were members of the "Christian Front."

In Minneapolis, as elsewhere, the unions could meet this challenge of fascist gangs not by reliance on the local police authorities—who condoned and protected the fascist mobilizations and, in many instances, joined them—but by setting up their own Union Defense Guards.

LOCAL 544 ACTS

Local 544's Union Defense Guard was set up only after it became clear that Minneapolis employers were supporting the fascist move to physically assault Local 544 with storm-troopers. That, and that alone, was the basis for

Government Strikebreakers



This is the scene at Camp Edwards, Massachusetts, on July 11, as draftees were being instructed in what one officer termed "a typical duty of troops.... necessary as part of the nation's preparedness program"—that is, the beating, shooting and gassing of striking workers. 300 draftees (in steel helmets) are shown trying to "subdue" about 100 of their fellows who played the part of "strikers" (wearing cloth hats).

According to their instructions the troops were to march up Signal Hill, where the "strikers" were concentrated around a tower representing a "mine shaft", and were to surround the "rioters" in a "ring of steel" and then parade their captives before the reviewing officers.

But the "strikers", although outnumbered three to one, suddenly formed a flying wedge, at a pre-arranged signal, and rammed into the "ring of steel." A number of the "strikers", who had volunteered for the role, were union men.

A free-for-all followed, with clubs, gun-butt and fists flying unrestrainedly, and officers frantically attempting to halt the melee, which was strictly against what the Army manuals indicated was supposed to happen when a group of "strikers" are surrounded by a "ring of steel."

Several of the "strikers" and soldiers were badly cut and bruised before the "make-believe" hostilities were halted, with the soldiers finally herding the "strikers" into a concentration camp.

the organization of the Local 544 Defense Guard.

Its formation and purpose was announced to the entire country in no uncertain or ambiguous terms.

OUR FIRST REPORT

The *Socialist Appeal*, sold in thousands on the streets and leading news-stands of large cities, carried a story on September 17, 1938, announcing the formation of the Guard, as follows:

"MINNEAPOLIS — Formation of a Union Defense Guard was the answer of Local 544, militant teamsters' union of Minneapolis, to the open threats of the Silver Shirts' and other employer-sponsored groups to conduct armed raids against union halls.

"Confronted with one of the strongest and most determined labor movements in the country, Minneapolis employers have been extremely active recently in attempting to organize bands of hoodlums and thugs, primed to use strong-arm methods against the unions. Chief object of their attack is Local 544, whose militant example and leadership has led to a resurgence of organized labor throughout the Northwest.

"The spectacle of unprepared workers being mercilessly beat-

on and, in some cases, driven from their homes by armed vigilantes and hired thugs, a sight becoming more and more prevalent throughout the United States, led the executive board of the union to confer with groups of union members to seek a way to combat any such tactics on the part of the bosses here. From these meetings evolved the defense groups, formed of men willing and determined to guard the union from attack."

PRACTICE MOBILIZATION

Amongst the "evidence" which the FBI claims to have just "discovered" is an instance of the mobilization of the Guard in November, 1938. This "discovery" was made from the files of the *Socialist Appeal* which, in a story about the 544 Union Defense Guard, reported on April 28, 1939:

"Every man who so proudly wears the little gold badge—544UDG—is dead serious about his membership in his Union Guard... Last November, for example, on one hour's notice, the Guard met for a trial mobilization on a vacant lot in the center of the city. Only three people knew whether the occasion was a real crisis. Three hundred men in fighting clothes poured into the vacant lot and formed ranks under direction of their Captains. It was only after short talks by the Guard leaders, followed by the announcement that it was just a test mobilization to be celebrated afterward at a local theatre, that the grimness turned into merriment."

Everybody in town knew it. The police watched it.

There, the captains of the Guard spoke publicly, explaining that the practice mobilization was a warning to the Silver Shirts if the fascists should dare to carry out their threat of raiding the union's hall. If this was "conspiracy," then it was connived in by the whole town.

It was not until two-and-a-half years later—when Roosevelt and Tobin wanted to prevent the Minneapolis truck drivers from joining the CIO—that it was suddenly discovered that the Union Defense Guard was only "ostensibly" to protect the union, that this "conspiracy" known to every child, as well as every cop, dick and fink in Minneapolis—known to Tobin and his agents—was a "plot" to "put down by force the duly constituted, constitutional Government of the United States."

JUDGE RULED ON THIS

And what about the fact that the leading union officials possessed arms, revolvers, and that they practiced in the use of these deadly weapons?

This fact was referred to in a court decision in Minneapolis, less than a year ago.

In the court decision of District Judge Paul S. Carroll, in which the judge gave a clean bill of health to the Local 544 officers in the famous three-year "Fink

Biddle No Radical

Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle's name will soon be sent to the Senate by Roosevelt, for confirmation as the permanent Attorney General, replacing Jackson who becomes a Supreme Court Judge.

The one obstacle Biddle had to hurdle to get the Attorney Generalship permanently has been a controversy he has been involved with in the Department of Justice with some arch-reactionary members of the Department, who have accused him of having radical sympathies. A fantastic charge—but one that had to be answered if Biddle was to get the nomination of Attorney General.

Then came Daniel J. Tobin's appeal for aid against the Minneapolis motor transport workers. What better way could Biddle demonstrate to the arch-reactionaries his willingness to serve their interests? His engineering of the indictments against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO leaders undoubtedly assures Biddle of the support of the reactionaries when his nomination comes up.

FBI Frameup Against SWOC Falls Apart

FBI Abandons Case Against Shop Steward, Who Was Seized On Eve of NLRB Vote

BAYONNE, N. J. — A two-month old FBI frameup against Charles Virok, SWOC shop steward at the plant of John Roebling Sons & Co., in Roebling, N. J., has just collapsed like a pricked balloon. The FBI couldn't cook up a case that even the boss courts could stomach.

In May 1941, the Roebling workers, after long and fruitless efforts to bargain collectively with the boss through their CIO union, went out on strike. A settlement was won, providing for an NLRB election.

In a desperate attempt to turn the tide, Roebling sent a hurry call to the FBI. On the night before the NLRB election was scheduled, the American Gestapo swooped down and arrested Virok in an effort to discredit the union.

The official charge was that Virok had violated the Federal Anti-Sabotage Act by closing switches controlling power

blocks "with intent to obstruct the defense of the United States.

This terrorism was lost on the workers and the next day they voted for the union by more than 2 to 1.

Having failed in its main purpose of influencing the outcome of the election, the FBI was stuck with a prisoner against whom they couldn't present the flimsiest of cases. What to do?

Two months of silence in the hope the workers would forget the whole thing. Then, this week, Thorne Lord, U. S. Assistant District Attorney, quietly announced that the case had been dropped for "insufficient evidence."

Insufficient evidence that Virok was a saboteur all right—but plenty of evidence on what the FBI is up to these days.

Civil Liberties Union Condemns Indictments

Says Law Under Which SWP, CIO Members Are Charged, Is Violation Of Constitution

MINNEAPOLIS, July 17—In a telegram sent to the press here, and published in all papers, the American Civil Liberties Union, through its general counsel, Arthur Garfield Hays, announced that it would aid the 29 indicted persons and that it believed the sections of the U. S. code under which the indictments are brought are unconstitutional.

These sections were added to the code last year by Congressional passage of the notorious anti-labor Smith "Omnibus Gag Law."

"These new sections of the code penalize opinions and advocacies even in the absence of overt acts," said the Civil Liberties Union.

"The American Civil Liberties Union went on record in opposition to the act when it was introduced in Congress, and after its passage in 1940 the union announced its intention to test the constitutionality when and if the occasion arose. Such an occasion, we believe, is at hand now in these first cases under the law.

"We hold that these provisions of this statute are a violation of constitutional guarantees and a potential instrument of oppression against unpopular minorities and organized labor."

Rents Soaring In Defense Homes

BUFFALO, N. Y.—A July 16 Washington dispatch reports that "President Roosevelt indicated today the need for control of rents in areas subject to housing shortages..."

What this "control" will amount to is indicated by the notices just received by the tenants of the government's Baker Home, Lackawanna Housing Project, a suburb of Buffalo. These notices inform the tenants that, starting August 1 they will have to pay rent equivalent to 20 per cent of their 1940 earnings—which means that their present rents will be hiked 25 to 100 per cent. Some tenants now paying \$22 per month have been notified to pay \$43.30.

The tenants of the project are almost entirely workers employed at the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Prior to 1940, they had suffered long unemployment, few of them working more than nine months a year. Last year was the first time most of them were able to work a full year. And now the government will swallow a large part of their additional earnings.

Bail Put Up For All 29 Defendants...

(Continued from page 1)

industry can cast their ballots for the union of their choice.

Everyone, friendly or hostile, knows that in such elections Local 544-CIO is certain to prove that it represents the overwhelming majority of the workers. The AFL is opposing elections and has asked the Labor Board to dismiss Local 544-CIO's petitions for elections.

BAIL REDUCTIONS WON

Bail for all 29 defendants was originally set at \$5,000 each—a total of \$145,000. Protests finally led Federal Judge Robert C. Bell to sign two orders Saturday. One of them reduced the bail to \$2,500 each for the sixteen defendants who are members of Local 544-CIO. The other reduced the bail for 10 others to \$2,500 each, while the remaining three—Rose Sessler, Dorothy Schultz and Albert Goldman—were released on their own recognizance.

By yesterday the CIO had posted bail for all union members, except Carl Skoglund who remains in jail on the deportation charge while the CIO is making every effort to secure reduction of the monstrous figure of \$25,000 bail set for him. The other fifteen union members surrendered to be fingerprinted and booked, and then were released.

Later in the day Grace Carlson, Oscar Coover, Karl Kuehn, Harold Swanson and Farrell Dobbs had \$2,500 bail posted for them and were likewise fingerprinted and booked before being released. The remaining defendants—

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Felix Morrow, Editor of THE MILDANT; Oscar Schoenfeld and Alfred Russell—will surrender in New York where arrangements have been made for them to surrender and post bail.

NATIONAL CIO AIDS

The national CIO speedily came to the aid of the indicted unionists. Less than 24 hours after the indictments were made public, the national CIO had wired bail funds to Minneapolis for all members of Local 544-CIO.

Frank Barnhart, regional director of the CIO United Construction Workers Organizing Committee and personal representative of John L. Lewis, after a telephone conference with national CIO officials announced:

"The national CIO has already set in motion the necessary machinery to insure that adequate bonds will be forthcoming to gain the speedy release of the persecuted unionists.

"The national CIO will not be deterred by the indictments, but will continue to carry forward with all the resources at its command the campaign to organize the motor transport and allied workers in Minneapolis and the nation."

LOCAL 544 STATEMENT

Local 544-CIO issued a statement when the indictments were made public, declaring:

"The indictments represent a new stage in Daniel Tobin's campaign, waged in connivance with

government officials, to smear the CIO, with the aim of terrorizing the workers into accepting his reactionary dictatorship and his anti-quoted craft-union setup."

The union recalled its statement of June 28, anticipating the indictments, when it said:

"Unable to bend the workers to his will by the other vicious tactics which he has employed, Daniel J. Tobin has persuaded Roosevelt to carry out this action in payment of his political debt to Tobin for past services rendered."

NEW UNION PAPER

The courts came to the aid of Tobin in still another way during the week, when Local 544-CIO was restrained from publishing its weekly, the *Northwest Organizer*, or to use the paper's mailing lists.

Local 544-CIO answered Tobin's theft of the *Northwest Organizer* by issuing, without interruption, the first issue of its new weekly, the *Industrial Organizer*. The weekly is now located at 1328 Second Street North, Minneapolis.

AFL "UNION" A FLOP

All Tobin's moves do not get him any membership. On July 14 his "reorganized" AFL local held its monthly membership meeting. Exactly 29 members were present!

Symbolic of the AFL's failure is the fact that Meyer Lewis, personal representative of AFL President William Green, sent here to take charge of the fight against 544-CIO, has quit—to take an executive job with a West Coast cannery.

The employers, while they in-

initely prefer Tobin to Local 544-CIO, know better than to sign up with Tobin's "union." These bosses are still hoping that Roosevelt's blows against the CIO union will do what Tobin has been unable to do.

These are the same bosses who thought they could lick the union in great strikes of 1934. Their

What The FBI Is Trying To Save For Tobin By Hounding Local 544

If Local 544 organizes the Midwest truck drivers into the CIO and starts unraveling Tobin's International, do you know what Tobin stands to lose?

Not only his \$30,000 per year salary plus \$12 a day hotel expenses when away from home, plus \$5 a day for incidental expenses. That's only part of what Tobin may lose.

In addition there is, for example, the magnificent arrangements Tobin has written into his International's Constitution to finance his many trips abroad. Here it is in black and white:

"ARTICLE V, Section 2: The General President, for the purpose of promoting the interests and welfare of the International and the making of diplomatic contacts with other organizations and institutions, and for the purpose of conserving his health, may in his discretion travel in this country and abroad and may take periodic rests. The General Executive Board shall provide all expenses of the General President when performing the services mentioned herein or when in this country and abroad, the full and complete maintenance taking periodic rests; the said expenses shall include travel of his wife so that she can accompany the General President, and all secretarial help and services which he deems necessary while engaged as afore referred to. The expenses provided for herein are in addition to all other constitutional compensation and allowances."

With a clause like that at stake, no wonder Tobin is so ferocious! No wonder he sends hundreds of thugs to crush Local 544!

No wonder he has insisted that his friend Roosevelt send the FBI into Minneapolis to wipe out those who would jeopardize those provisions for Tobin's health and periodic rests!

On The War Fronts

Red Army Forces Still Intact

Soviet Masses Are Fighting To Defend October's Gains

By GEORGE STERN

The Red Army has taken the full impact of the Nazi war machine for more than five weeks. It has given way slowly, yielding territory at terrific cost to the invaders. The main forces of the Red Army are still intact and so long as it is not dispersed and destroyed, Hitler's major military objectives in his Eastern campaign remain unrealized. This is the central military fact of the present situation in the war.

The quality of Red Army resistance to the Nazi machine has "surprised" the military experts. Those who looked for a swift Nazi victory in a matter of weeks have had to revise their timetable guesses. The capitalist press has given grudging recognition to the fact that of all the countries invaded by Hitler, the Soviet Union alone has not provided him with the help of a fifth column. The Nazi armies are marching into territory stripped bare. Every Red Army soldier fights fiercely to the last.

Behind the propaganda fog of the communiques and the sparseness of direct reports we can see one thing clearly: the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union have surged forward in defense of their revolutionary conquests. The years of slow strangulation at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy could not and did not dissipate the profound energies and resources imparted to these masses by the October revolution. And this will become an even more marked and perhaps decisive feature of the war should Hitler succeed in conquering the principal areas of Western Russia.

STALIN'S LATEST MOVES

Several moves made by Stalin last week provided a refraction of this mass surge — for the very first to feel its effects would be the Stalinist bureaucracy itself. The war mobilized into the Red Army millions of workers and peasants. It placed these great masses in a somewhat better position in facing the bureaucracy. The war has undoubtedly brought forward in the ranks the veteran fighters of the revolution who still exist in their many thousands despite the Stalin purges.

This very fact constitutes a prime danger for the bureaucracy, for the Stalin machine. And Stalin's re-institution of the political commissar system in the Red Army is his way of trying to meet that danger.

The political commissar system, first used during the civil war of

1918-22, was instituted at a time when the young Bolshevik revolution was still utilizing the services of many Czarist officers and unstable and unreliable army elements. The political commissars represented the Bolshevik Party and the masses of the soldiers at the officers' council tables. The system worked and served its purpose.

Today the use of political commissars could mean the establishment of a vast propaganda machine at the front aimed at the Nazi army. But this is not what Stalin is aiming at. In Stalin's hand this system becomes a weapon of the bureaucracy, Stalin's own police force placed on guard against anti-bureaucracy tendencies in the ranks of the Red Army, among officers and men alike.

STALIN'S LACKEYS FAIL HIM

The other significant political development was the further contraction of the Kremlin hierarchy under which Stalin personally took over the Defense and the National Security commissariats. This too is a reflex of the danger to the bureaucracy inherent in the war situation.

Just as he was compelled to assume the premiership himself under the threat of the invasion, Stalin is compelled to assume full personal responsibility for his military and police machines. The lackeys he has gathered around him in these years of degeneration are not men who can be trusted in time of crisis to defend either the bureaucracy itself or the broader interests of the country at war.

STALIN'S CONSERVATISM

The political weapons placed in the hands of the Red Army and the Soviet masses by the October revolution have not yet been used in the war against the Nazi invaders. Stalin knows that to arouse the German and European masses to revolutionary upsurge is just as mortal a danger to him as the Nazis are. Thus, even in the midst of the war crisis itself, he remains what he has always been, a stone around the neck of the revolution.

Yet the gathering forces are there and will prove stronger than him. Out of the still untapped resources of the revolution will come the forces that will defeat Hitler.

Captured by the Red Army



All the "blitz" has been taken out of these Nazi troops captured by the Soviet Army. They are shown in this radiophoto from Moscow as they are being moved to the rear under the guard of Red Army troops.

Draftees On Extension...

(Continued from page 1)

You see their real anti-war attitude expressed most clearly in the movie houses, where they are least liable to be spotted by officers. They greet all war propaganda pictures, all displays of the flag, with silence.

In the movies, Roosevelt is openly hissed whenever there are draftees in attendance. It is Roosevelt's opponents, like Wheeler and Lindbergh, or anyone else whom they think represents their own anti-war sentiments, whom they applaud. Lindbergh, despite his reactionary ideas, has become the idol of a surprisingly great number of the men in the training camps.

That is because the men are looking for leadership—any leadership—which will carry on the fight against the war. Unfortunately, they hear of no other leadership but that of Lindbergh and the "isolationists" like Wheeler. And it is to these elements they are rapidly turning.

Nothing has so turned the soldiers against the war as the character of the army and the army leadership. They know that an army directed and controlled and regulated like the present army would not fight a war for democracy. For the very nature of the army regime is a negation of democracy.

The average draftee has nothing but contempt for the officer staff, which exists in a world com-

pletely apart from the common soldiers and is absolutely indifferent to the ordinary private's needs and desires.

The resentment against the officer caste is shown by the fact that a draftee will avoid, saluting an officer whenever possible. Draftees would sooner walk out of their way than come within the prescribed six feet of an officer and be forced to salute.

One hear frequently remarks like: "What's the difference between living under Hitler and being in this army?"

The conception of "discipline" held by the officers explains why the men feel this way. A man who has been AWOL for two to five days is forced to run around a field holding a gun over his head and carrying a full field pack weighing 96 pounds. For seven days AWOL he must dig a hole four feet wide and six feet deep in hard soil. For being AWOL over ten days, soldiers are frequently sentenced to six months at hard labor.

This same type of harsh "discipline" follows every single infraction of the innumerable regulations. For every match-stick or piece of paper found on the grounds during inspection, we are given one hour's restriction, confinement or after-hours duty. And the inspection always reveals some hidden pieces of paper, which gives a good opportunity for "discipline."

OFFICERS ARE IGNORANT

The men have contempt for the officers, particularly because most of the officers are incompetent and ignorant of modern military techniques and methods.

The officers staff is now composed largely of reserve officers. These come from the college ROTC's, mainly young fellows coming from middle-class and wealthy homes. Most of them try to teach close-order drill and other outmoded methods. These college-bred officers are not really interested in learning anything.

Among the draftees who would make competent officers, there are few who want to apply for the jobs. Officers, for the most part, are so thoroughly disliked, that the men have little use for those few draftees who aspire to step up into the officer class. Moreover, an officer's post represents a career in the army, and most of the men are against the army because they are against the war. In our regiment, only one man in a company of 239 volunteered for officer training.

The officers staff, in their handling of actual military problems, demonstrate stupidity and inefficiency. During recent practice in war tactics in my regiment, the officers maneuvered men of the same company into facing and shooting at each other. The soldiers and non-coms understood what was happening, but said nothing. They were not interested in giving advice to the officers.

It is a common sight to see long lines of trucks in the motorized regiments rolling along almost empty, with soldiers on foot strung out behind for distances of twenty and thirty miles. In real warfare, this would lead to exhaustion and annihilation.

At the end of these marches, during which many are forced to fall out sick and exhausted, the men are supposed to go into immediate combat tactics. The officers consider this "toughening up" the soldiers for war. They themselves usually ride in "jeeps", stopping once in a while to view the exhausted troops.

There are some few — a very few — officers whom the men respect. These are some of the non-coms who mix with and talk more freely with privates. These few, however, are old-timers who were through the last war and know what it is all about. It is surprising how much contempt they have for the present war propaganda. They frequently talk to the men and give them an unvarnished picture of the last war.

DANGERS TO LABOR

But the failure of the trade union movement to take up the problems of the draftees, to champion their interests, has forced a great many draftees into an attitude of apathy toward the labor movement.

Given no program or leadership from the unions, the draftees turn elsewhere. Anti-semitism is growing in the army, fanned particularly by Christian Front elements, who are able to put over their reactionary ideas behind their fake anti-war front.

It is a danger signal to labor that most of the soldiers do not oppose or express resentment to the lectures and demonstrations by the officers on how to break strikes, all of which is part of the regular army training. A few soldiers comment, "This isn't what we came into the army for. We came to fight Hitler." But for the most part the attitude is one of indifference.

Such indifference can be turned into anti-labor channels, if the trade-union movement appears to be supporting the administration and the war.

DRAFTEES ARE GOOD SOLDIERS

There is quite a difference between the draftees and the regular soldiers. The regular soldiers come from the ranks of the unemployed, young men who have never held down a job in private industry.

The conscripts are largely workers. They include not a few union men who have had experience in fighting the bosses. These workers make better soldiers than the regulars, as even the officers are compelled to admit. They pick up mechanical techniques quickly, and easily learn how to handle guns and mechanized equipment. It is not such a far step from

Our Military Policy--And The FBI's False Version

The Lessons of Two World Wars Dictate Our Party's Program For Military Training, Government-Financed, Union-Controlled

By GEORGE BREITMAN

The key charges in the indictments handed down against the Socialist Workers Party last week revolve around our party's anti-war stand and the concretization of our anti-war stand in our proletarian military policy.

It would not serve the purpose of Roosevelt's Department of Justice to present our real military policy, as it was actually adopted at our national conference last September and as it has been presented countless times in our press, in our public meetings and in the election platforms of our candidates for office.

For the truth would completely discredit and disprove the Roosevelt Administration's charges.

An examination of these charges in the indictment, numbered 7, 8 and 9, — supposed to describe our military policy—clearly demonstrates the purpose of the prosecutions. Because what they accuse us of is not the policy we really advocate, but a falsified and distorted version, cooked up for the purposes of a frameup.

Number 7 of the indictment charges that:

"The defendants and their co-conspirators would endeavor by any means at their disposal to procure members of the military and naval forces of the United States to become undisciplined, to complain about food, living conditions, and missions to which they would be assigned, to create dissension, dissatisfaction and insubordination among the armed forces, to impair the loyalty and morale thereof, and FINALLY TO SEEK TO GAIN CONTROL OF SAID NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCES so that the enlisted personnel thereof would revolt against its officers, thereby enabling said defendants to overcome and put down by force and arms the constitutional government of the United States."

Paragraph 9 makes substantially the same charge. Our military policy has nothing in common with the police-mind version fabricated by the Department of Justice. Here is what we advocate:

We recognize in this period of universal militarism and the deadly advances of fascism, the need for military training of the workers. We never succumbed for a minute to the fatal ideas of pacifism. On the contrary we pointed out that workers could overcome fascism only by fighting it, and that pacifism would only disarm the workers.

But the experiences of both the first and second World Wars have taught us that the best interests of the workers cannot be entrusted to the bosses or their agents on the military field any more than in the factories.

The downfall of France, we have pointed out, contained a great lesson for American workers. There the government had built a great army in the name of a war against fascism. But instead of carrying this war through, the army bureaucrats capitulated and delivered the French workers to Hitler.

The way the U. S. Army, is constituted, we said, offers us no assurances that the same thing that happened in France will not happen here.

THE ANTI-LABOR MILITARY HIERARCHY

The army is run by a hardened bureaucratic caste that is distinguished, as a result of its background, training and traditions, by the following characteristics:

1. It is anti-labor and anti-democratic.
2. It is composed almost exclusively of men drawn from that part of society that is most alien to and separated from the needs and interests of the working class.
3. It bases itself on a harsh barracks discipline that tends to destroy the independent thought and initiative of the worker-soldiers.
4. It is conservative in its military thinking and strategy.

No informed person would dispute these characterizations. As a matter of fact, they are openly admitted by many "liberal" supporters of Roosevelt's war, and program, and even by some of the more observant sections of the army bureaucracy itself, who are trying to effect some reforms in order to make the army regime more satisfactory for their own purposes and more acceptable in the eyes of the masses.

There is no question, either, but that the workers look with suspicion and distrust on this military caste. Nor is there any question about the existence of a widespread dissatisfaction with it among American workers. The war mongers may attempt through this frameup of the Socialist Workers Party to attribute this dissatisfaction to our activities. But everyone knows that we are not responsible for these conditions. We did not "create" them, we only discuss them. They were created by Roosevelt and his class.

OUR PROGRAM FOR MILITANT TRAINING

We told the workers: If we are forced to depend on such a set-up, what may result, in spite of all the workers' sacrifices, is the definitive victory of fascism and the establishment of an American Vichy regime by the very forces that today tell us there is no other way to fight fascism than by joining the army and supporting the Roosevelt war program and everything that goes with it.

But there is another way. It is briefly expressed in the slogan raised by our party: "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."

Our program of military training under trade union control is to be achieved, not by gaining control of the existing governmental armed forces, but as a result of independent pressure on the government for appropriations to be used to train the workers and to train worker-officers in special camps to be set up for this express purpose and to be operated by the trade unions.

We recognize very well that only a disciplined armed force can successfully fight off fascist attacks. But lack of discipline does not arise from "agitation" or "propaganda". It arises in the armed forces as in industry and everywhere else, only as a result of rotten conditions and the lack of machinery for correcting them.

It is precisely the fact that the nature of the present military regime prohibits correction that lends weight to our argument for the establishment of a system of military training, which by its nature will be democratically operated, will permit the handling and satisfaction of legitimate grievances, and will thus automatically build and create the kind of discipline which no fascist army, itself chock full of barracks discipline and dissatisfaction, could possibly withstand.

WHAT WE DO WHEN WE ARE CONSCRIBED

Paragraph 8 of the indictments charges that:

"When the Selective Service Act was passed, the members of said Socialist Workers Party would be urged to willingly accept service, but after being inducted into the army of the United States, to do everything in their power to disrupt, hinder, and impair the efficient functioning thereof, and when the appropriate time came to turn their weapons against their officers."

The indictment does not err in stating that we advised class-conscious workers not to seek an individual solution of their problem by refusing to go when drafted. But it falsifies from beginning to end what we advise workers to do after they were drafted.

One quotation from many in the record will prove this. In our official Resolution on Proletarian Military Policy, we said:

"Under conditions of mass militarization the revolutionary worker cannot evade military exploitation any more than he can evade exploitation in the factory. He does not seek a personal solution of the problem of war by evading military service. That is nothing but a desertion of class duty. The proletarian revolutionist goes with the masses. He becomes a soldier when they become soldiers, and goes to war when they go to war. The proletarian revolutionist strives to become the most skilled among the worker-soldiers, and demonstrates in action that he is most concerned for the general welfare and protection of his comrades. Only in this way, as in the factory, can the proletarian revolutionist gain the confidence of his comrades in arms and become an influential leader among them."

Obviously, far from urging the class conscious worker to follow a policy of "disrupting, hindering and impairing" — a policy which could only place his fellow soldiers as well as himself in the greatest danger, especially in time of combat — we urged him to become "the most skilled" among the soldiers.

We tell the workers to learn the military arts because they have to learn them if they do not want to be crushed by fascism, of either the foreign or domestic variety.

We tell them to demand training under trusted leadership so that not only will they be able to defeat foreign fascism, but also to prevent an American capitulation and the establishment of fascism from within. In other words, we are serious about this business of fighting fascism.

Thus, we see, the government is preparing to suppress us on charges that we are trying to impede and interfere with a war against fascism, when actually it is preparing to suppress the only party with a program that will really guarantee the defeat of fascism of all kinds!

Bethlehem Steel Plant In "Slow-Down"

BUFFALO, New York — The 15,000 workers at the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation are preparing the way for another showdown on the picket-lines, as the management continues to stall and evade the signing of a union contract with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO). The SWOC brought the corporation to its knees in a militant strike last February and won sole bargaining rights in an NLRB election.

Workers at the ore dock for the past six weeks have successfully resisted the efforts of the company to reduce their work week to two and three days, following the installation of new machinery and equipment. The men are continuing to work six days a week, as production has failed to accelerate despite the additional speedup facilities.

Whole crews of spotters and stop-watch time-study men have been attempting to end the so-called "slow-down" but their highly-paid endeavors have proved a dead loss to the company.

The resistance of the ore dock workers is having repercussions throughout the entire plant, and the men in every department are expressing demands for concerted action. They know the company is chiseling them out of \$1,000,000 more pay every week that the contract remains unsigned.

The workers have seen U. S. Steel, the Ford Motor Company and General Motors forced to sign on the dotted line. They intend to make Eugene Grace do likewise in short order.

operating factory machines to operating modern war machines.

These draftees can become valuable allies of labor, or deadly enemies. It is up to organized labor to determine the path they will go. If labor does not come out in support of the draftees, fails to provide leadership in the anti-war fight, the soldiers will turn to fascists like Lindbergh. It is to preserve the labor movement itself, that the unions must now come forth as the boldest champions of the rights, needs and aspirations of the drafted soldiers.

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The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

Defend Our Party Against Roosevelt

The Socialist Workers Party is under attack from the war-monger, Roosevelt and his Gestapo-FBI because of our opposition to the war. In the indictments against the 29 defendants handed down by the St. Paul Grand Jury last week, it was charged that they were trying to get "members of the military and naval forces of the United States to become undisciplined, to complain about food, living conditions and missions to which they would be assigned, to create dissension, dissatisfaction and insubordination among the armed forces. . . ."

In other words, the government is trying to find a scapegoat to blame for the fact that black and white workers are dissatisfied with the present anti-labor, Jim Crow regime in the army and navy.

But every Negro who is at all acquainted with the way Negro soldiers and sailors are segregated and discriminated against in the armed forces will quickly understand what the government is up to. This attack on the Socialist Workers Party, which has consistently fought for the rights of all workers, is also an attack on the right of the workers, to seek equal and just treatment in the armed forces. For if the Socialist Workers Party can be indicted and suppressed because the party fights for an end to Jim Crowism in the armed forces, so can everyone else.

That is why Negro workers must rally to defense of the 29 defendants.

Why Negroes Dislike the Army

But aside from this, every Negro worker must be thinking to himself: "How ridiculous is this business of seeking a scapegoat for dissatisfaction with the way we are treated in this army! Roosevelt knows very well who is responsible for our being dissatisfied—it is Roosevelt himself, and his Jim Crow cabinet who are responsible. The conditions to which we object were not created by the Socialist Workers Party—they are upheld and maintained by the government itself."

The Socialist Workers Party is not responsible for Roosevelt's orders that Negro and white soldiers must be segregated and kept completely separate in all phases of army life.

The Socialist Workers Party is not responsible for Secretary of the Navy Knox's order that Negroes can serve only as mess stewards and dishwashers on board the ships of the U.S. Navy.

Roosevelt justifies his Jim Crow position on the grounds that to maintain mixed regiments of both colored and white soldiers "would be destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparations for national defense." Knox says that to let Negroes serve in the Navy on the same basis as white sailors would be "a dangerous experiment."

What they mean is that, if they even pretended to grant equality to the Negroes in the armed forces, the poll-tax South might not support Roosevelt's war plans so eagerly. They are really afraid that the end of Jim Crow in the armed forces would be "destructive" to white supremacy, "detrimental" to the continued existence of Jim Crow in civilian life, and "a dangerous experiment" to the capitalists who profit by keeping white and Negro workers divided.

But by following a policy of appeasing Jim Crow, Roosevelt and his gang have only exposed to the Negroes the hypocrisy of their slogans about fighting for democracy.

And now that the Negro people are dissatisfied and complaining, Roosevelt seeks to attribute the cause of this to "agitators" who are trying to "overthrow the government."

How to Satisfy the Worker-Soldier

There is a way for Roosevelt to get rid of this dissatisfaction in the armed forces. First of all, let him wipe out discrimination and segregation of all kinds. Then let him permit the soldiers to have the right to choose their own officers, the kind of men they can trust to look out for their welfare. Then let them have the right to elect committees from their own ranks, who will represent them when they have any grievances. Then let Roosevelt tell them why the armed forces are being built up and what he intends to use them for; let him try to prove that it is really a war against fascism that he wants to fight and not another war for bosses' profits, by clearly announcing his war aims and by preventing war profiteering in all spheres.

If he would do this, dissatisfaction would disappear. But he cannot do this because he is interested above everything else in protecting boss profits and the system that goes with it.

We know that he cannot do it, and that is why we have raised our own program and demands: Let us have military training, financed by the government, but under the control of the trade unions which the workers can trust and through which they will be able to correct their grievances.

Under such a system, maybe the war-mongers and the profiteers and the lynch mobs would be dissatisfied. But not the workers!

Roosevelt may attempt to suppress the activities of the Socialist Workers Party because of its consistent opposition to his war plans and its demand for military training under the trade unions—but that will not remove the smallest part of the dissatisfaction that now exists, any more than it will prevent our continued struggle against war, fascism, Jim Crowism and unemployment.

The Comintern And Germany

Stalinist Program Cannot Inspire German Masses To Overthrow Hitler

The *Sunday Worker* of July 20 has finally printed a manifesto of the Communist Party of Germany addressed to the German people on the Nazi war against the Soviet Union.

The manifesto is hailed by the Stalinists here as a "vigorous" and "defiant" document. Actually it is but a crude substitute for a revolutionary appeal to the German working class.

Far from speaking the only tongue that can decisively influence the German workers—the language of revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and its by-products, fascism and war—far from attacking and exposing the whole character of Hitler's crimes against the workers, it devotes most of its space to a moaning and a weeping about the breaking by Hitler of his 1939 pact with Stalin.

Breaking the pact is, says the Manifesto, "a most dishonorable blow against loyalty and trust, right and custom. It is a crime that has besmirched the most noble feelings and traditions of our people."

It continues in a nostalgic tone about the dear, departed days: "Our people greeted with relief the year 1939—the year of the strengthening of the friendship between the German and Soviet peoples. No single treaty aroused such profound satisfaction among the people as the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact."

No class-conscious German worker would be able to read beyond this without spitting in disgust at this cynical glorification of the pact. For the Stalinists everything was all right in Germany, so long as the pact was in effect.

Do the Stalinists really expect to influence the German workers in a pro-Soviet direction when they continue to flaunt yesterday's acquiescence with Hitler's policies, to flaunt this in the faces of the workers who suffered under Hitler's lash equally before, during and after the pact with Stalin?

Then follows ancient, pre-Soviet history, of the kind so profusely cited by the Stalinists nowadays. "Friendship with Russia in the past always proved beneficial to Germany. The highest point of our people's advance—its emancipation from Napoleonic domination—was closely bound up with German-Russian friendship. This was quite some time ago when 'German-Russian friendship' defied feudal serfdom, but what difference does that make to yesterday's advocates of Soviet 'friendship' with Hitler!"

"Our people might have expected that the 1939 treaty would lead to happy joint work between the two biggest peoples of Europe." But no, such as Stalin "fulfilled with precision the agreement in which was expressed the German peoples' will"—yes, the Stalinists call Hitler's pact the people's will! Hitler "grossly renounced the meaning and content of this agreement."

FANCY STALINIST DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN WAR-MONGERS

And now that the pact is broken: "All honest Germans must know that the German peoples' real enemies are those treacherous war-mongers who inflicted serious damage on our vital interests and have drawn our people into a bloody war of which the end is not to be seen."

Thus the real enemies of the German people are "those treacherous war-mongers" who led them into the war with the Soviet Union. There is criticism of them, but not of the other treacherous war-mongers who led them into the war with England.

There is even a bid for Nazi support of the correct Stalinist line. "Honest National Socialists can NOW have no doubt that Hitler's chatter about 'German Socialism' was a lie, for on Hitler's orders war is being unfolded against the German people."

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that opened up the second World War. The treaty that gave the green light to new and added sufferings for the German proletariat, say the Stalinists, aroused "profound satisfaction." The year of the destruction of Poland was "greeted with relief."

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Why Stalin Has Again Instituted Army Commissars

By JACK WEBER

The capitalist press sees in the restoration of political commissars in the Red Army an ominous sign. We also see in this an ominous sign, but our interpretation is not that of the bourgeoisie.

They interpret Stalin's move as an indication that there are symptoms of weakening and demoralization which Stalin wishes to check. Stalin does not fully trust some of his officers and wishes to forestall any attempts at betrayal. Hence the dual command, officers plus political commissars.

This interpretation evades the entire history of the Soviet Union under Stalin's rule. The power usurped by the bureaucracy could be maintained by the Stalinists only through the use of that instrument of terror, the GPU. The political commissars of Stalin form merely one arm of this secret state police.

The origin of political commissars goes back to the period of civil war from 1919 to 1922, after the October Revolution. Faced with the truly Herculean task of building the Red Army from the ground up, the great founder of that Army, Leon Trotsky, saw that it was necessary for the Soviet State to make use of specialists from the old Czarist army. The idea of utilizing these enemies of the working class met with considerable opposition, but was finally adopted. But the Bolsheviks recognized the danger of entrusting their armed forces to generals and colonels of the old regime who might at any moment attempt through treachery to bring about defeat of the Red Army in the interests of capitalist restoration. Hence, side by side with these officers, there were placed the most highly trusted communists who had received some training in leadership in the course of the Revolution.

These commissars had to approve the plan of campaign of the officers, but did not interfere during actual operations in the field. It was recognized that this system was cumbersome, but nothing else was possible at that time. Furthermore the entire system was looked upon as temporary. As soon as officers could be trained from the ranks of the working class, they would take over command of the Red Army, the remnants of the old regime would be replaced, whereupon more or less automatically the cumbersome system of dual command would disappear. And dual command did disappear, from 1922-1935.

Stalin's Removal of the Commissars

The system of political commissars was revived just before the Moscow Trials, no longer for the purpose of keeping an eye on enemies of the Soviet, but in order to keep an eye on the enemies of Stalin or those who could not be sufficiently corrupted to become fitting henchmen of Stalin. In short the political commissars became nothing but Stalin's spies in the army so that Stalin could maintain complete control there as elsewhere. In pursuit of this one aim of establishing his complete dictatorship, Stalin beheaded the army in the great purges of 1936-1938.

The Finnish campaign showed the effects not only of the purges, but of the pernicious spy network which robbed the officers of all initiative. So obvious was this that during the Finnish campaign Stalin was obliged to abolish the political commissars (except for the topmost rung of officers). This was done, as was announced at the time, in the interest of Red Army efficiency. The officers were to be allowed to exercise their real initiative and to take real responsibility on their shoulders.

Why has Stalin restored at this time a vicious institution which can only reintroduce inefficiency at the most critical period in the history of the Soviet Union? The Red Army has surprised the entire world by the strength of its resistance to the seasoned German armies. It has given an excellent account of itself, all things considered. Is it true that certain disloyalties have developed and that Stalin wishes to strengthen the army by restoring the commissars? The capitalist press accepts or pretends to accept this version of the matter. We do not accept it for one moment as the real reason.

The sudden descent on the Soviet Union by Hitler came as a surprise to Stalin. Stalin was prepared to make all the concessions possible to make Hitler's attack unnecessary—so Stalin thought. Thus, for the time being, the Red Army had to act without any interference from the paralyzed Stalin. But after the first confusion, the Stalinist clique has recovered a little of its composure. It is once more engaged in the attempt (quite vain this time) to assure its future, in victory or defeat.

Stalin feared nothing so much as war. This war has completely negated every "theory" and every policy of the Soviet dictator. Stalin stands completely responsible for the present situation and its outcome. In the past, Stalin stood in the background and laid all blame for failures or shortcomings on scapegoats. No doubt Stalin would like to employ this method in the present war. The commissars may help him find victims in case things go badly. If this be one reason for the new move, Stalin errs badly. The war will not leave in Stalin's hands the concentrated power that he once had.

In fact, the feeling that he cannot maneuver with the war and its effects as with previous happenings, is already evident. The army needs immediate life-and-death direction and commands. It cannot now be subjected to the devious rule of Stalin. The ruler feels this and is making another attempt to subordinate the army to his complete control. Once again we see Stalin working, not in the interest of the Soviet Union, but in his own interests. His move will not strengthen the army, but will weaken it. But it is most unlikely that the bureaucratic system can be really restored in a period of warfare when vast armies are locked in battle.

Soldiers In Many Camps Protest Despite Threats

Draftees in training camps in all parts of the eastern and southern sections of the country are reported to have sent letters and telegrams in protest against the extension of their one-year army term. These protests have come from Fort Dix, Fort Meade, Camp Lewis, Pine Camp, Fort Knox and camps in Georgia and Louisiana, and were sent to Senators Wheeler and Taft, who reported receiving them.

A number of members of Company A, 74th Quartermaster Battalion, Fort Meade, Maryland, who stated their sentiments in letters to Senators Wheeler and Taft, have been confined to camp and some to quarters as punishment for appealing to Congress.

Two companies of the 174th Infantry, a western New York regiment stationed at Fort Dix, New Jersey, have attacked the proposal, in telegrams sent to Senator Wheeler.

This and other expressions by draftees of their opposition comes in the face of possible court martial for what army spokesmen term a "violation" of the Articles of War.

The press reports affirm that the message to Senator Wheeler expresses the majority sentiment of Companies I and L of the Third Battalion, 174th Infantry. The units protesting were among the first of those inducted from the National Guard into Federal army service for a year's training with the Forty-fourth Division last September 15.

Colonel Joseph Becker, commander of the 174th Infantry stated: "This is certainly a surprise to me because I never heard of anything of this kind throughout the regiment. The morale of the men has been excellent, particularly in the Third Battalion, which just two days ago received commendation from the commanding general for having the best appearing battalion area on the entire reservation."

This, then, is the sentiment of troops representing the best in the new army.

THE GENERAL'S ANSWER

The response of the Army command to these telegrams was the usual threat of court martial against the soldiers involved.

A statement issued under the authorization of Major General Powell, commander of the 4th Division, declared: "It is against regulations for any member of the military to attempt to influence legislation in any manner."

"Men charged with this offense can be prosecuted under one of the Articles of War."

However, General Powell may have to court-martial the entire 174th regiment, if he is to curb all those who are outspoken against what the soldiers are calling the government's "double-cross."

SOLDIERS SPEAK OUT

The *New York Times*, July 13, reported: "Questioned by reporters this afternoon, soldiers of the companies of the regiment were almost unanimous in saying that the telegrams expressed the opinion of the majority of the enlisted men."

One Company soldier declared: "If we are required to stay in longer than a year, we'll be getting a dirty double-cross. Why didn't they tell us we would be in longer than a year at the beginning. I quit my job in October to volunteer for a year's service and get it over with so that I might get married. Now they want me to stay longer."

A South Jersey draftee said: "I'm certainly all for opposing extension of our year's service. I was married two months when drafted in December. I'm losing my home, and my wife has been sick, losing twenty pounds in weight. I don't blame the boys in those two companies a bit."

From a Company C soldier came the following: "If you don't think the boys are discouraged and disappointed about the possibility of additional service you should watch their expressions when they group around the radio at night listening to radio broadcasts. And then all they hear is bad news."

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To defend the USSR as the main
fortress of the world proletariat,
against all assaults of world imperial-
ism 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. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.
5. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
6. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
7. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Roosevelt's Amalgams

In attempting to send the leaders of our party to prison, Roosevelt and his gang of war-mongers do not dare to name the fundamental issue: our irreconcilable opposition to Roosevelt's war plans. If Roosevelt dragged us into court on this, the real issue, he would meet the opposition not only of our party and of the most progressive sections of the trade union movement, but would also find arrayed against him the overwhelming majority of the people of this country, who are opposed to American entry into the war. Roosevelt dare not attack the Socialist Workers Party for what it really is: the most consistent opponent of imperialism. He must find other pretexts for his attempt to send our comrades to prison. His agents try to do this by constructing AMALGAMS in which our party is falsely connected with alleged crimes and activities which we never committed but which are hated by the people. By these amalgams the Roosevelt War Party hopes to smear us and to prevent us from securing the support of the great masses against this frameup.

One such amalgam was tried out the day the indictments were handed down. By a "coincidence" which was not in the slightest degree accidental, the indictments against the Trotskyists were made public Tuesday afternoon, July 15, at the same time as federal indictments were also made public against 33 alleged Nazi spies. By this "coincidence" Roosevelt's Department of Justice deliberately sought to give the public, hearing both "plot" stories during the same hour, the impression that the indictments against the Trotskyists and those against the Nazis were connected with each other.

The big capitalist newspapers the next morning carried the government amalgam still further. Perhaps the vilest trick was that of the *New York Times*. In its early edition it carries entirely separate stories about the indictments against the Trotskyists and the Nazis. By the time of the Late City Edition, the *New York Times* editors hit upon the "clever" idea of COMBINING the Trotskyists and the Nazis into ONE front-page story! The headlines on that story read as follows: "33 Indicted Here as a Spy Network Operated by Reich; Brooklyn Grand Jury Names Germany as Conspirator in 39-page True Bill; 29 Trotskyites Accused; St. Paul Indictment Charges They Planned Armed Revolt 'When Time Is Propitious.'" Those headlines were deliberately constructed to give the reader the impression that the Nazis and Trotskyists

were part of one and the same government roundup prosecution. In this way it was hoped that the hatred which all decent people have against Nazis would be extended to the Trotskyists.

The *New York Herald Tribune* used a variation of this amalgam, printing the Nazi and Trotskyist indictment stories side by side on the front page, with headlines over each story both including the word "plot." Other papers used other variations.

The indictment against the Trotskyists, drawn up by Roosevelt's Department of Justice, is full of similar amalgams. Every politically literate person knows that the aim of our party is to educate and convince a majority of the workers and farmers and their families—i.e., a majority of the population—to support our program for socialism. But the two Assistant Attorney-Generals who drew up the indictment pretend that the aim of the Socialist Workers Party is to bring socialism about by the arbitrary and dictatorial compulsion of a minority. The two gentlemen who assert this, Messrs. Wendell Berge and Henry A. Schweinhaut, are "liberals" who happen to know that what they have written is a lie. But they need that lie, in order to seek to prejudice against us the great masses of the public who have a healthy hatred against minority rule. Likewise nobody likes a conspiracy. So Messrs. Berge and Schweinhaut falsely accuse us of a conspiracy. For the same reason they falsely accuse us of advocating force and violence. All trade unionists hate union officials who manipulate unions for their own purposes. So Messrs. Berge and Schweinhaut falsely accuse us of manipulating unions behind the backs of the members. Anything to smear us—that is the deliberate design of Roosevelt's lieutenants in this vile frameup.

Such amalgams are not new. They are employed by all reactionary regimes against progressives.

When Stalin, in the Moscow Frameup Trials, constructed amalgams between the Trotskyists and Hitler and the Mikado, some people sought to prove that Stalin's amoral methods flowed from the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky. This charge was utterly untrue. Precisely his use of amalgams show that Stalin has nothing in common with Bolshevism. Lenin and Trotsky could fight any opponent precisely and explicitly for what he was, because Lenin and Trotsky were fighting for the interests of the great masses. Stalin, however, like Roosevelt, dare not attack his revolutionary opponents for what they really stand for.

Stalin did not invent the use of amalgams. He merely borrowed this weapon from the arsenal of capitalist reaction. The Thermidoreans, traitors to the French Revolution, put to death Babeuf and other defenders of the revolution—as Royalists. Hitler beheads revolutionary socialists as "agents of foreign powers." Czar Nicholas destroyed revolutionists as enemies of Christianity. Bismarck outlawed the socialists as assassins and enemies of order. The French Republic attacked the Jews by framing Dreyfus as a spy. One could add a hundred other examples to the list.

Wherever amalgams are employed, they are the sure sign of a reactionary regime, whose aims are opposed to the interests of the great majority. The victims of the amalgams represent the interests of the great majority and therefore cannot be attacked for their real aims but must be smeared with aims and activities with which the victims have nothing to do. And so it is in this case. Roosevelt and his War Party dare not attack the Socialist Workers Party for its anti-war aims which correspond to the interests of the great majority. Roosevelt and the War Party therefore must resort to amalgams in order to conceal, if they can, the reactionary aim they are pursuing in attempting to destroy the Anti-War Party.

We Defend the USSR

Why has Stalin again resorted to the system of political commissars and the consequent divided authority in the Red Army? Many bourgeois commentators say they believe this is a sign of dissension in the ranks, a rift in Red Army morale.

These commentators are undoubtedly mistaken. They appear to have arrived at their false conclusions by taking at face value the language of the Soviet government's announcement of the new setup: "It is the military commissar's duty to inspire the troops for struggle... the military commissar is obliged to wage ruthless struggle against cowards, panic-mongers and deserters..."

The truth is that all evidence, including the admissions from Berlin and Rome, go to prove that the morale of the Red Army is splendid. The Soviet workers and peasants are fighting with the courage and unity that flows from their realization that defeat would mean the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Indeed, it is clear from all reports that the Red Army soldiers are displaying remarkable initiative, self-action, to make up for the weaknesses of the officer corps, which was so ruthlessly purged by Stalin from 1935 to 1938. We believe that, when the facts are at hand, it will be found that the commissars were reintroduced, not to build the morale of the soldiers but to reinforce the Kremlin's grip on them.

As for the speculation of commentators about Trotskyist leadership of alleged dissension, that can only be said by people who do not understand that we Trotskyists subordinate all considerations to the defense of the Soviet Union. Yes, we remain as always irreconcilable opponents of Stalin, precisely because he has endangered the USSR. But, as our Manifesto pointed out (THE MILITANT, July 12, 1941): "For the sake of the Soviet Union and of the World Socialist Revolution, the workers' struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy must be subordinated to the struggle against the main enemy—the armies of Hitler Germany. Everything that we say or do must have as its primary object the victory of the Red Army." We do not suspend our struggle against Stalin but we subordinate it to the Soviet Union's struggle against Hitlerism. In a word, we defend the Soviet Union even with Stalin in control.

New York 'Post' Readers Blast Its War Program

War-Mongering Sheet Has To Admit 68 Per Cent of Readers Don't Agree With Call For War; Other Polls Show Anti-War Sentiment

The *New York Post* published an editorial across the top of its front page on July 10, proclaiming:

"The *New York Post* calls on the United States to declare war immediately on Nazi Germany."

The *Post* got war, only it is a war by the American people against the *Post*.

READERS BLAST 'POST'

Exactly one week after sticking its neck out, the *Post* was compelled, on July 17, to publish more than half a page of what it termed "a small fraction of all the comment" that came in response to its "war declaration."

This "declaration," as the *Post* was forced to admit in the editorial introduction to the letters it published, "touched a sensitive nerve in the public." And adds: "The response was swift and voluminous."

What was the tenor of that "swift and voluminous" response? In the words of the *Post*:

"On the strict count of letters and postcards, here is the score:

Approving the editorial... 32 per cent.
Disapproving the editorial... 68 per cent."

In an endeavor to explain away

this overwhelming repudiation of its war-mongering policy, the *Post*, in its leading editorial of the same issue, states:

"It is doubtful if these voluntary letters are a true cross-section of the public mind. But the count of 32 percent already in favor of undertaking the sternest duty in human experience is, of itself, a mighty voice."

GALLUP POLL FIGURES

The *Post's* figures are, indeed, no "true cross-section of the public mind."

A more accurate index of the public mind is the Gallup survey on the same question—reported in the *New York Times*, July 20—which shows that 79 per cent of the general American public are opposed to entering the war.

In fact, every single recent survey on the same question gives the same overwhelming answer against the war. The largest yet undertaken, that of the *New York Daily News* and the *Chicago Tribune*, the results of which were made public last week, show 70.5

per cent of the New York voters — New York is considered the leading interventionist center of the country — opposed to war entry, and in Illinois those against entry finished in the lead by four to one.

BOSSSES WANT WAR

Who in this country does want war? The American Institute of Public Opinion, popularly known as the Gallup Poll, last Sunday also published a survey of "informed opinion, rather than mass opinion," that it, a poll of those listed in "Who's Who in America."

Here, among the big-shots, the business men and capitalist politicians, the army generals and newspaper editors, is the real motive force of the war drive. Dr. George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, writes:

"A comparison of results shows that the Who's Who group is twice as much in favor of entering a shooting war now as the general public is, and considerably more in favor of convoys than the public is."

The 'Nation' Whines As Idol Makes 'Mistakes'

The *Nation*, which calls itself "America's Leading Liberal Weekly," defends unconditionally the war policies of the Roosevelt administration.

Yet the latest issue of the *Nation*, July 19, is a particularly striking illustration of that liberal magazine's inability to bolster its own claim that Roosevelt's war is a war for democracy.

From cover to cover, the latest issue of the *Nation* is one long whine and lament about aspects of Roosevelt's domestic policies.

Three typical examples of the things which the *Nation* feels constrained to deplore are the following:

1. "The dollar-a-year men at the OPM and Congressmen like some of those on the House Military Affairs Committee are more interested in safeguarding the aluminum monopoly than in protecting their country."

These friends of the aluminum trust are, of course, Roosevelt's own men.

2. Freda Kirchwey, editor of the *Nation*, denounces the State Department ruling that refugees with relatives in Nazi-occupied countries may not enter the United States. After refuting the State Department's excuses for this ruling, she states:

"The State Department story is a canard. It is invented to cover one of the most shocking administrative rulings ever laid down by our most reactionary department."

The State Department is of course the one that reflects most directly the will of the Administration.

ROOSEVELT'S ROLE IN ANTI-LABOR BILLS

3. The loudest complaint of the *Nation* comes in the article by

advance of the CIO meeting, it would have cut the ground from under Lewis and strengthened the pro-Roosevelt forces at that skillfully packed gathering. By waiting until the day after to let it be known that he opposed the May bill the President handed his bitter enemy a triumph."

The *Nation* is thus complaining that Roosevelt's anti-labor policies are hurting the Hillmanite pro-war, pro-Roosevelt forces in the CIO, that is, those forces which like the *Nation* are trying to justify Roosevelt's war program.

The *Nation* is being put in an embarrassing position by Roosevelt. Of course, it tries to white-wash him as much as possible, and puts forth the false indication that Roosevelt's timing was poor, but that he was fundamentally opposed to the May bill and similar anti-labor measures.

It is precisely because Roosevelt is for the war that he is fundamentally opposed to such measures. And it is precisely because the *Nation* is also for the war, that tomorrow, when the war has been formally declared, it too will accept all the anti-labor consequences of that war.

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Where Hitler Has Miscalculated In Invading USSR

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

On the eve of the Second Imperialist War, on June 21, 1939, Leon Trotsky not only predicted the Stalin-Hitler pact, but made the following analysis of Hitler's future violation of this pact and of Hitler's calculations in invading the Soviet Union:

"In order to seize the French and British colonies Hitler must first protect his rear and he is cherishing the idea of a preventive war against the USSR. True enough, the German High Command—on the basis of its own past experience—is well aware of the difficulties of occupying Russia, or even only the Ukraine; Hitler, however, is basing his calculations on the instability of Stalin's regime. He reasons that a few serious defeats of the Red Army would suffice for the overthrow of the Kremlin government. And inasmuch as there are no other organized forces in the country, and since the White Guard emigres are completely alien to the people, therefore once Stalin is overthrown chaos would ensue for a long time. And such a condition Hitler could utilize, on the one side, for outright economic plunder, the seizure of the gold reserves, export of all sorts of raw materials, etc.; and, on the other, for a blow against the West." (*The Enigma of the USSR*, Bulletin of the Russian Opposition No. 79-80).

Hitler's Calculations Were False

Today there can be no question that Hitler's calculations are those that Trotsky described. Without in any way attempting at this early date to draw the final balance sheet of the invasion, it is nevertheless already possible to say that Hitler miscalculated gravely in identifying the strength of the resistance of the USSR with the strength of Stalin's regime.

In his plans to plunder the country Hitler has already met with an unexpected surprise. Obviously, one of his immediate objectives was the seizure of the ripening crops of the Ukraine. This called for decisive military victories on the Southern front, and the occupation of the Ukraine by not later than the last week in July. Otherwise the crops could be readily harvested and removed or just as readily destroyed. The resistance of the Red Army has made it well nigh impossible to seize the current crops. This means that the German imperialists, even in the event of an ultimate occupation of the Ukraine, can only bank on next year's harvest. Under the conditions of armed occupation, this is by no means a favorable perspective, as the lessons of the last German occupation of the Ukraine testify. Any further disruption of the High Command's timetable can only aggravate this serious blow to the calculations of the German imperialists.

Far more important, however, is the fact that an equally unwelcome surprise is developing for the Nazis in the field of their political calculations so far as the Soviet Union is concerned. The crisis of the Kremlin regime is not at all unfolding along the lines envisaged by the Nazi strategists. It is becoming more and more self-evident that the crisis of Stalin's government is beginning to assume forms without precedent in history.

Thus, the effect of the war on the regime is contrary to what might have been expected. It is almost an axiom that the shakiest regimes are stabilized by war, if only temporarily. As a matter of fact, innumerable instances can be cited of ruling classes deliberately plunging into military adventures precisely in the hope of thus forestalling their own overthrow. Suffice it to recall the case of Russian Czarism. The Romanov dynasty was greatly strengthened at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, and was even able for a time to survive military blows far greater than those which almost brought about its downfall in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905.

Although Stalin's government is unlike any other in history, it too was unquestionably strengthened internally at the very moment that Hitler issued marching orders to his armies. Yet in the face of this indubitable, even if temporary, stabilization, Stalin pursues a course which seems on the surface inexplicable.

All Key Posts In Stalin's Hands

In the brief space of a week, the ruler who holds the post of Premier, not only constituted a special, all-powerful War Cabinet with himself as Chairman, i. e., avowed dictator, but also gathered into his own hands every single thread of state power. He reshuffled the General Staff; restored dual authority in the Red Army by reviving the institution of political commissars, thus strengthening his own hold on the Army by dealing a blow to the power and authority of the officer-caste he had himself created only last year. Still more, he assumed direct military command, replacing Timoshenko as Commissar of Army and Navy. His latest step is to take personal charge of the entire police apparatus—the "united" GPU—which he had himself reorganized only last February.

Such measures have been applied before,—by other governments. But as a rule, only in dire straits. Why are such exceptional measures needed?

If Stalin's regime had a genuine class base, if it rested on the support of a genuine ruling class, then such measures would not have been necessary at this time. But Stalin lacks such a base. His regime has from the outset rested on the bureaucracy, and its various appendages. The Kremlin's bureaucratic prop has crumbled beyond repair. This is no longer a prognosis but a fact. Stalin acknowledges it by his decrees which are tantamount to his saying openly that he can now maintain himself in power only if he has personal control of the military-police apparatus. No other "normal" channels remain. This unprecedented condition of a single man, surrounded by a handful of handpicked stooges—whose composition, moreover, changes almost daily—trying to maintain himself in power in war time constitutes, of course, an equation with many unknowns, and many surprises.

But one thing can be stated with certainty, the class forces in the USSR—the proletariat and the peasantry—cannot be laced into such an artificial dictatorial strait jacket for any protracted period of time. It is precisely against this contingency—namely, the return of the Soviet proletariat and Soviet peasantry as independent political forces on the historical arena—that Stalin is girding himself. That is the real meaning of his acts of desperation.