

FREE THE 12!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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BIG BUSINESS SPURS OPEN SHOP DRIVE

CRDC Opens Christmas Fund Drive To Aid 18

The Civil Rights Defense Committee this week announced the launching of a Christmas Fund Campaign to raise \$5,000 for the relief of the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case victims still in prison and to provide aid and Christmas presents for their wives and dependents.

In its announcement of the campaign to all local committees throughout the country, the CRDC declared: "We need this fund not only to provide relief and Christmas presents for the families and children of the prisoners, but to give each of the twelve who are still in prison a coming-out' purse of \$100 each as we did for the six already released. We also need money to provide transportation for the twelve who will be released in January.

"In addition we need funds to prepare for the next stages in our CRDC work: to fight for the repeal of the Smith 'Gag' Act; to regain the civil rights of the 18 prisoners; to combat the efforts of the Immigration Department to deport Carl Skoglund and to gain a full pardon for Kelly Postal."

The Civil Rights Defense Committee has organized the defense campaign for the 18 imprisoned Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders since the beginning of the Minneapolis Labor Case in July 1941. It raised the large sum needed for the defense during the trial and subsequent appeals to higher courts.

Since the 18 went to prison last December 31 after the U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to even review the case, the CRDC has provided relief for prisoners, their wives and children, and has mobilized the support of over 350 labor and progressive organizations, representing more than 3,500,000 members in nation-wide demand for an unconditional presidential pardon for the 18.

The CRDC is also engaged in attempting to secure a full and unconditional pardon for Kelly Postal.

Education In Our 'Democracy'

American Education Week was being celebrated in Washington, D. C. this week by a series of teachers' meetings in which Negro and white teachers of the District of Columbia public schools gathered separately under a rigid segregation arrangement.

Dr. Rayford Logan, Negro educator and author, protested against this "travesty and mockery" in a telegram to the D. C. school superintendent, Robert Haycock, who replied denying responsibility for the meeting arrangements. Another lesson in official Jim Crowism.

Overflow Meeting For Jackson Talk On Negro Struggle

NEW YORK, Nov. 12—Charles Jackson, writer of the widely-acclaimed *Militant* column, "The Negro Struggle," tonight addressed a record audience of worker-readers of the Trotskyist weekly at the Sunday Night Forum of the N. Y. School of Social Science at 116 University Place.

The *Militant* urges all its readers and all organized labor bodies to respond liberally to this Christmas Fund appeal of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The working class must give full support to these militant fighters for labor's rights who have been victimized by capitalist "justice." Send all contributions to James T. Farrell, Chairman Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Norman Thomas Brings Libel Suit Against Daniel J. Tobin

The unbridled slander campaign being conducted by Daniel J. Tobin, czar of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, in his personal organ, *International Teamster*, has involved Tobin and his assistant editor Lester M. Hunt, in a \$500,000 suit for "malicious libel." This suit has been brought by the Socialist Party leader, Norman Thomas.

The basis for the libel action is an article written by Hunt and recently published in Tobin's magazine which endorsed peace-time conscription and accused Thomas of being an ally and agent of Hitler. "Norman Thomas has a postwar plan," Hunt wrote. "His 'plan' fits in perfectly with Hitler's plan for future conquest, which is not surprising when you remember that Thomas is the head of the Socialist Party in the United States while Hitler is the leader of the Socialist Party of Germany."

Through his poison penman Hunt, Tobin has lifted this type of scurrilous accusation right out of the Stalinist press and applied it—a bit crudely—for his own reactionary purposes. The Stalinists, it is well-known, accuse everyone in the labor movement who will not go along with their program of sell-out to Wall Street and to the Roosevelt war-machine, as "agents of Hitler," "fifth columnists," etc.

UNITED FRONT

Tobin first took over this smear technique from the red-baiting Stalinist press when he formed a united front with them against the 18 Trotskyists whom he helped railroad to prison in the Minneapolis Labor frameups. Every issue of his magazine in the past half year has carried articles repeating the Stalinist lies and adding a few of his own invention.



against the imprisoned Socialist Workers Party and CIO Truck-drivers leaders.

In the August issue of *International Teamster*, for example, Tobin's executive assistant, Thomas E. Flinn, sought to whip up a lynch spirit against the Trotskyists in the following manner. "The Trotskyists," Flinn wrote, "were wrong in Russia. They were wrong in the United States. Fortunately Trotsky is now dead. Unfortunately, too many of his followers are not." In an exchange of courtesies these and other slanders were widely reprinted in the Stalinist sheets.

Tobin employs these vicious methods for the same reasons that he engineered the original frameup in the Minneapolis case. He aims thereby to smokescreen his own crimes against the labor movement and to vilify and suppress all those in labor's ranks who oppose in any way his reactionary political and trade-union policies. Progressive labor must unite in the fight

(Continued on page 2)

Two Ends Of The Same Chain



Why Chiang Keeps Blockade Of Stalinist Area In China

By Li Fu-Jen

The deepening crisis in China, and the manifest attempts of the American imperialists to exploit the crisis for their own predatory ends, has brought back into the news, with increasing insistence, the question of the Stalinists (the "so-called Communists" as the capitalist press refers to them) and their significance on the China scene.

The strategists of American imperialism, as we pointed out in *The Militant* last week, are bringing pressure to bear on Chiang Kai-shek to conclude a political truce with his Stalinist opponents and convert his

Kuomintang-military dictatorship into a "coalition" which would take them in and give them seats in the government.

Chiang has thus far resolutely refused to admit the Stalinists to his government. Although formally in a "united front" with them, he keeps the large areas which they control under a tight blockade and has announced that he will consider nothing less than the dissolution of this dual power.

A survey of these areas disclosing their geographic extent and location and their military, political and economic physiognomy, will reveal the reasons for Chiang's intransigence.

STALINIST CHINA

The Stalinist-controlled areas total roughly 1,000,000 square miles, which is nearly one-quarter of the entire country if the latter is taken to include Manchuria and other outlying territories. Their population has been computed at about 80,000,000, which is between one-fifth and one-sixth of China's total population.

The main area is an unbroken, though by no means symmetrical, territory covering parts of the northwestern provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Smaller

(Continued on page 5)

Canada Trotskyists Map Action Program

CANADA — A national conference of the Canadian Trotskyists, with representation from major population centers, was held recently to discuss the major political and organizational tasks confronting the Trotskyist movement in Canada during

the coming period. Due to wartime repressions and restrictions, this was the first conference on a national scale which the Canadian Trotskyists have been able to convene in several years. It reflected the tremendous increase in the economic and political activity of the Canadian masses, who have been moving steadily leftward in the recent period as shown by the electoral successes of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the Canadian counterpart of the British Labor Party, and the huge growth of the trade union movement.

Representatives at the conference included active trade unionists and participants in the CCF movement. In the spirit of greatest optimism for the future of the revolutionary socialist movement in Canada and internationally, they discussed the perspectives of the working class and adopted a program of action for the Canadian Trotskyists in the coming period.

Representatives at the conference

(Continued on page 2)

State Anti-Labor Laws Strike New Blows At Union Security

Anti-Union Amendments Adopted In Florida And Arkansas; Defeated In California Poll

By R. Bell

The big business open-shoppers have succeeded during the recent election campaign in striking dangerous blows at the organized labor movement through the adoption of state constitutional amendments outlawing union and closed shop agreements.

Spearheading a national open shop offensive that is mounting in fury and intensity, the Southern Democratic Bourbon ruling class in the pro-Roosevelt states of Florida and Arkansas have shoved through precedent-making constitutional amendments aimed at undermining all union security safeguards and paving the way for the direct smashing of the labor movement.

State of California read: "Every person has the right to work, and to seek, obtain and hold employment, without interference with or impairment or abridgement of said right because he does or does not belong to or pay money to a labor organization." Florida's adopted measure provides: "The right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in any labor union, or labor organization." The Arkansas measure states: "No person shall be denied employment, nor shall any individual, corporation or association be denied the right to employ any person because of that person's membership in or affiliation with, or resignation from a labor union, or because of his failure or refusal to join or affiliate with a labor union, etc."

Seizing upon the opportunity

(Continued on page 3)

The Lessons For Labor In The 1944 Elections

By C. Thomas

The largest single factor in the election of Roosevelt for a fourth term was the overwhelming labor vote cast for the candidate of the Democratic party. In those states which were considered in the "doubtful" column, the labor vote in the large industrial centers proved decisive. It was conceded at the very beginning of the campaign that unless the workers were aroused to active participation the chances for Roosevelt's reelection were questionable. As it was expressed by political commentators, a "small" vote would favor Dewey, a "large" vote, Roosevelt. The CIO Political Committee thus played a major role in overcoming the apathy of the workers and herding them to the polls in record numbers to cast their ballots for Roosevelt. This was no small accomplishment.

The campaign was distinguished by the lack of any discernible differences, either on foreign or domestic policy, between the contending capitalist candidates and parties. The burning issues confronting the American workers were buried beneath an avalanche of campaign oratory and propaganda, compounded of demagogic fantasy and fear. Where dema-

tic consequence of the decaying capitalist system.

The CIO-PAC lent its aid to this deception. Dewey was equated with Hoover and the economic crisis. Roosevelt was portrayed as the "saviour" who rescued the workers after the 1929 crash through the social reforms of the New Deal. This refrain was unceasingly dinned into the ears of the workers. The method was crude but effective. The image of job lines and hunger marches, of eviction riots and Hoovervilles, was paraded before the workers in a calculated effort to frighten them out of their apathy. Millions of leaflets and pamphlets, editorials and articles in the union papers, speeches at countless union meetings, concentrated on this "scare" propaganda.

The labor bureaucrats carefully refrained from mentioning the labor record of the past Roosevelt administration. The wage and job freeze, the rising cost of living, the fraud of Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" program, labor conscription, anti-strike laws and anti-labor repressions, the fact that Roosevelt himself had declared the New Deal dead, found no place in the campaign literature of the CIO-PAC. All of this was blanketed by a cloud of demagogic in an effort to obfuscate everything but the memory of the "Republican" depression. Every gain made by labor in the past decade was credited to Roosevelt whose responsibility for a host of anti-labor measures adopted in recent years was care-

fully refrained from mentioning the question of "jobs" the central theme of their campaign speeches. Dewey harped on the fact that under the "New Deal" this country remained in the throes of an economic crisis which extended over a longer period than any other "depression" in the history of America — and was ended only by the war. Roosevelt pointed to the Hoover era to prove that the Democrats had "inherited" the Great Depression from the Republicans. By this exchange of recriminations, both candidates aimed to obscure the fact that crises and wars are an

(Continued on page 3)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Close-up View Of Stalinist Skullduggery

As practitioners of bureaucratic skullduggery and violence to union democracy, there are no more brazen and unrestrained elements in the labor movement than the Stalinists. These reactionary exponents of the capitalist "war for democracy" are conducting a ruthless war of their own against democracy in the trade unions.

Several weeks ago we received a description from a Chicago International Harvester tractor plant worker of what the Stalinist machine did in Local 101, CIO Farm Equipment and Metal Workers Union. This description of how the Stalinist goons stole an election in Local 101 typifies the methods they employ wherever they gain a stranglehold on a union body.

Even so, the Stalinists took no chances. Here is what happened according to the eye-witness account of the Local 101 member who wrote to us:

"Two leaders of the Rank and File caucus were kidnapped and imprisoned in rooms below. When one of them, Harry Devereaux, went to the wash room on the floor below, two Stalinist 'sergeants-at-arms' strong-armed him and locked him in a room by himself. Being a daring character, Devereaux jumped out of the window from the second floor and tried to get back into the meeting. But the 'sergeants-at-arms' locked the street door and refused him entrance.

"He shouted up to the members at the meeting which was on the third floor. Those at the windows heard him and in turn informed the meeting of Harry's kidnapping and exclusion from the hall. The members were all stirred up. Finally, a 'sergeant-at-arms' and a rank and file member had to go down and escort Harry back into the meeting. When Harry tried to take the floor and tell what had happened, the Stalinist Chairman, Isadore Lind, refused him the floor. When this decision was challenged and a vote taken, the 'sergeants-at-arms' hastily made a show of counting the votes—'one for you and two for me'—and announced the chair was upheld."

Before the vote on the elections committee, the chairman hand-picked 5 loyal henchmen to tally the vote. The result was a foregone conclusion. They reported a 100% Stalinist slate elected.

Last summer, prior to the election of convention delegates, the Stalinist-dominated executive board of Local 101 trumped up charges against 6 workers of the anti-Stalinist tendency, whose summary expulsion after a farcical "kangaroo court" trial by a committee of international representatives was announced. The expelled workers were accused of "organizing a faction" and constituting a "dual movement" to the CIO, the Stalinist method of misrepresenting every rank and file opposition. The Stalinist clique itself is an unscrupulous faction operating under the guise of union office and using union funds and facilities to further its factional purposes.

When at a subsequent membership meeting the local Stalinist officials, backed by several international representatives, tried to pronounce expulsion of the six, the membership demonstratively rejected the star-chamber "Kangaroo court" action of the Stalinists. The leadership arbitrarily adjourned the meeting, preventing the expelled workers from receiving an open hearing and trial before the membership.

The next scheduled meeting had as the main order of business the selection of the elections committee to supervise the coming election of convention delegates. Having expelled leading spokesmen of the opposition, the Stalinists then proceeded to secure an election committee which would be certain to see that the election "went right" regardless of how the voting went.

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Pamphlet Sales Reach 90 Percent

By Campaign Manager

With one more week to go in the Literature Campaign, many branches are too busy completing their quotas to send in detailed reports. But indications are that they will finish the campaign in fine style. Meanwhile, we publish from our recent mail more of the interesting comments made by readers of *The Militant* who are showing an ever-greater appreciation of the ideas of Trotskyism. The Minneapolis Case pamphlet set, including "Socialism on Trial," "In Defense of Socialism," "Who Are the 18?" and "Why We Are In Prison," comprise the simplest, quickest introduction to Marxist ideas that we have yet seen.

From Our Mailbag

Buffalo: We sold 72 more Minneapolis Case pamphlets this week—much of interest, but we will make the report later.

Los Angeles: Our total to date includes 369 pamphlet sets, plus 46 individual Minneapolis Case pamphlets. This puts us over the top. One friend has sold 19 sets in his plant within the last month, in addition to obtaining 25 new trial subs, 6 sets, as well as 22 single copies of "Socialism on Trial," were sold to a meeting of longshoremen in San Pedro. Our Sunday mobilization, which had such great possibilities, was cut short by heavy rains. However, in about an hour we did sell 40 pamphlets and obtain 5 subscription renewals.

It is interesting to observe that several readers of *The Militant* who had previously said they were "not interested," have shown a change of mind in the period of a month, and now like *The Militant* and are interested in the pamphlet sets. Very few people are antagonistic.

Minneapolis: We have sold 320 Minneapolis Case pamphlets so far, most of them at union meetings. Five sets were sold this Sunday noon at a local UAW-CIO meeting.

Seattle: We have already sold a hundred sets of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets and in the next couple of weeks we should sell a lot more. Not included in the score are a number of copies of "Wartime Crimes of Big Business" and the various Negro pamphlets which were also sold in visiting *Militant* readers. One reader we spoke to said he likes Kovalsky's column because it expressed the sentiments he felt when he worked in the steel mills in Birmingham for seven years.

Detroit: Some of the reports jotted down by our comrades after visiting readers of *The Militant* are interesting: "Likes Jackson column very much. Wife reads paper too. Asked us to stop by again for names of friends for premium subs." "Bought set of Minneapolis Case pamphlets, 'History of American Trotskyism,' and renewed his subscription for 6 months. This reader, active in the UAW, voted for rescinding the no-strike pledge." "One subscriber bought THREE sets of the pamphlets. Incidentally, practically all of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets we have sold have been in complete sets."

Toledo: We meet with good response in our sale of pamphlets. Our lack of time and forces limit our work, but we will not let up until the deadline arrives. We have yet to receive any comments critical of the pamphlets or *The Militant*.

New York: We spent the week concentrating on inviting readers of *The Militant* to the Charles Jackson meeting, where we sold six sets of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets, as well as other literature, and had some very good discussions.

One of the many new readers of the paper who came to the meeting was a longshoreman who had been reading *The Militant* for only six or seven weeks. He first saw a copy of the paper when his wife found it in the mailbox and brought it to him. He read his first copy while taking care of the children that night, and liked its ideas. He found out later that his brother, a Militant subscriber, had sent the paper to him as a premium sub. This worker is a great admirer of the Soviet Union because the workers have taken power there, and is 100 percent for a labor party in New York. He felt that the hundreds of thousands of workers who voted for Democratic candidates on the ALP and Liberal Party line showed that what they really wanted was an independent candidate for labor. At the meeting he bought a six-month sub to the paper.

The New York totals to date are: 2672 pamphlets sold; one 2-yr. sub; 13 one-year subs; 392 six-month subs; 257 premium subs for friends and shopmates of the new subscribers; and 83 new trial subscriptions.

SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Sold	Percent
Flint	10	32	320
Toledo	160	464	223
Milwaukee	80	156	195
Reading	90	152	169
Philadelphia	80	100	125
Buffalo	400	492	123
St. Paul	140	156	112
San Francisco	350	388	111
Cleveland	200	212	106
Los Angeles	1500	1524	102
Rochester	140	140	100
Minneapolis	330	320	97
Youngstown	120	116	97
New York	2800	2872	95
Allentown	40	36	90
Detroit	1000	876	88
Seattle	500	400	80
Chicago	700	376	54
Newark	700	216	31
San Diego	80	24	30
Akron	70	20	29
Bayonne	180	44	24
Boston	230	40	17
New Haven	40	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Quakertown	10	0	0
St. Louis	10	0	0
Texas	30	0	0
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Thomas Files Suit For Libel Against Daniel J. Tobin

(Continued from page 1)

against these Tobin-Stalinist attempts to introduce the poisonous methods of slander, lynch incitement, and political character assassination into its ranks. These vile methods which belong in the arsenal of capitalist reaction must be exposed and expelled by the entire labor movement.

READ
'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive container, are being offered to new readers of *THE MILITANT* for only 25 cents, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 40 cents.

NMU Officials Aim To Scuttle Union Hiring Hall System

(Continued from page 1)

manded this conference, they said, to get a decision on the following questions:

"1) Stop the exodus from the industry and retain to a man the full labor force active in the industry.

"2) Enforce wartime shipping rules strictly on a uniform national scale.

"3) Use every available man at his top skill.

"4) Set up centralized manning apparatus, able to handle large shifts of manpower from one area to another, to pool all available manpower, no matter where registered for shipping, and to guarantee the availability of seamen in all ratings to every company in the industry, including the Army Transport Service."

Such well-known Stalinists as Joseph Curran, Frederick N. Myers, Howard McKenzie, Joseph Stack, and Walter Avellar came to the conference, prepared to prove the need for a government-controlled shipping pool by presenting facts to show that the NMU is the only union in the field that has substituted the wartime shipping rules of the War Shipping Administration for the union system of rotary shipping. According to the government's wartime shipping rules a man cannot stay on the beach longer than thirty days. If he has been aboard ship less than four months before quitting, he is allowed one week ashore for every month at sea.

In their attempts to enforce these rules the Stalinists do nothing to maintain union standards aboard ship but instead have instituted a permanent trial committee in the NMU which hauls up all delinquents and, if they can provide no excuse for being a few days over-leave, reports them immediately to their draft boards. This dictatorial practice has created wide-spread revolution in the NMU ranks against the Stalinist leadership. The revolution has so far expressed itself through the exodus from the industry of large numbers of seamen who have shipped through NMU halls, and by NMU men dropping their books to ship through the Army Transport Service where they are allowed more time on the beach after long trips, or by signing up with unorganized companies such as Standard Oil.

The Stalinists, in attempting to have more rigid government controls applied to shipping, are seeking to protect their pie-cards against the rising wave of revolt in the NMU which their self-out policies have engendered.

Trotskyist Action Program Is Mapped At Canada Meeting

(Continued from page 1)

nzized the necessity for overcoming the war-imposed isolation, coordinating their activities and placing the program of Trotskyism before the workers of Canada.

A drive was begun for a national organizational fund, over 25% of which was immediately raised. In addition, a regular national monthly sustaining fund was pledged by all branches. Two of the major activities planned are a national recruiting drive and a coordinated program of Marxist education through the branches. The national committee was instructed to draft the organizational details of the program of action and initiate it as quickly as possible.

The conference sent fraternal greetings to their Trotskyist co-thinkers in the United States and England and messages of solidarity to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International.

The whole tone of the conference was one of confidence in the ability of the Canadian Trotskyist movement to expand its influence among the Canadian workers and realize the excellent possibilities for the growth of the party in the Dominions.

The conference marked a big step forward for the Canadian organization. Many important political questions were clarified and the practical organizational program was set into motion for the building of a proletarian vanguard party which will play a major role in the forthcoming struggles of Canadian and world labor.

In answer to our Special Offer letter, one subscriber wrote as follows:

"What do you mean my three-month subscription is up. I haven't received even one paper yet. How long does this sort of a thing go on. I send two bits, get no paper. Send more money, get paper? Maybe so, maybe no. Well thanks for the envelope. At least I am not stuck for a stamp to send in this request for at least one paper, even if it is an old back issue that has been kicked around the office for the last couple of months. Thanking you for the enjoyment I could have had if I had received *The Militant* that I didn't get because my three months' subscription was up before I received it."

We will do everything possible to see that this subscriber gets *The Militant* for three months. We urge every subscriber to write us immediately if even one issue of the paper fails to arrive, so that we can check our records.

Our Toledo agent writes about the audience was his description of the relation of the party to the individual, and the reciprocal relation of the individual to the party. In this connection he

"I would like to explain this one of several methods we employ

pledge at the Convention."

Spanish Trotskyists Commemorate Anniversary Of The "Red October"

(In October, 1934, a general strike and armed insurrection swept over Spain in spontaneous protest against the entrance of three Fascist ministers into the government. In the vanguard of the strike were the militant miners of Asturias, surrendering only after weeks of attack by air and land troops decimated their ranks. The following article commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of this Spanish Red October was published in the most recent issue of *Contra La Corriente*, official organ of the Trotskyist Spanish Section in Mexico.)

* * *

Exactly ten years ago, the heroic Spanish proletariat wrote in its own blood an unforgettable date in the struggle for its emancipation. The Spanish Red October cannot help but awaken in the world proletariat a profound respect for the revolutionary actions and perseverance of the Spanish revolutionists who will fight on until the establishment of a new society shall give to every man, woman and child the opportunity to live in brotherhood.

October 1934, a tragic date written in blood and grief, is also a glorious date of optimism and confidence. The road to the liberation of the working class is marked with such red dates, which recall each year the living protest of the working class against a society dominated by private property. Each year these dates proclaim anew the optimism and confidence of the proletariat in the building of a new society which shall realize the freedom and brotherhood of all peoples and all races.

October 1934, the date on which the Spanish proletariat irrefutably demonstrated its aspirations for liberation, makes us recall how the Spanish workers gave their blood and their very lives for the struggle to make a living reality of their hopes for the future of humanity. That red blood shed by the heroic proletariat, those lives sacrificed in the battle, are immortal. They find new life in the revolutionary action of the working class that is inspired by the deeds of the past. And each new revolutionary action is stronger, and clearer, a sharper expression of the determination to wipe out the monstrous and ignominious exploitation of man by man.

Now in October 1944, when capitalism—of both the fascist and the "democratic" varieties—has so far degenerated that it threatens all humanity with a return to barbarism—now the blood and the lives of the martyrs of October have more meaning than ever before. Today capitalism organizes collective death, spreads hunger in lands of abundance, and destroys all the treasures accumulated in centuries of civilization. Now capitalism celebrates its impending exit from the historical scene by piling up mountains of cadavers, as it amuses itself with the hunger of men, women and children, with the destruction of cities, peoples, and races.

Only the revolutionary action of the working class, written in its very blood, can put an end to this barbarism of capitalism. The dead of Asturias speak today in a living voice accusing all the traitors of yesterday, today, and tomorrow. The hands which fired the shots against capitalism, still point the way to the revolutionary road, and reach out in solidarity to all those who today take that road.

UNITE, BROTHER WORKERS! was the slogan of the red Spanish October. The slogan of yesterday is the slogan of today and tomorrow as well, for it was born in the heat of proletarian struggle. And today, more than ever before in Spain—and in all Europe—the workers' organizations which do not respond to the call for unity will be unable to exist, for the alternative that faces them is clear-cut: either they must take the high road of proletarian revolution, or they will be destroyed.

The Spanish group of the Fourth International in Mexico, reaffirms once again its fidelity to the Spanish proletariat which spoke in revolutionary terms in October 1934—in July 1936—and in May 1937, and pays its deepest homage to the fallen martyrs of October.

BIG BUSINESS SPEEDS OPEN SHOP OFFENSIVE

(Continued from page 1)

provided by the war reaction, the open shop fraternity has been pushing forward its program of legislating the unions out of existence. Since the outbreak of the war, 14 states have adopted repressive anti-labor legislation designed to strangle the unions in a legislative noose. Such measures had previously been adopted by both Arkansas and Florida and were being fought in the courts by organized labor.

It was with the intention of averting an unfavorable court decision that the open-shoppers submitted the proposals as constitutional amendments, thereby hoping to banish the union shop in those states for all time. The Arkansas amendment, which is particularly vicious, would even ban the WLB "maintenance-of-membership" clause, for which the top union leaders traded away labor's right to strike.

The union-busting campaign is being fronted by a group of native fascist-minded scum organized under the name of the "Christian American Association," which has its stronghold in the southern poll-tax states. "The Christian American Association," writes a labor investigator, "some of whose professional promoters have long dealt in anti-Semitism, anti-Negro activity, and the organization of anti-union lobbies, has sponsored anti-labor laws in forty-four states and has succeeded in having them passed in nine."

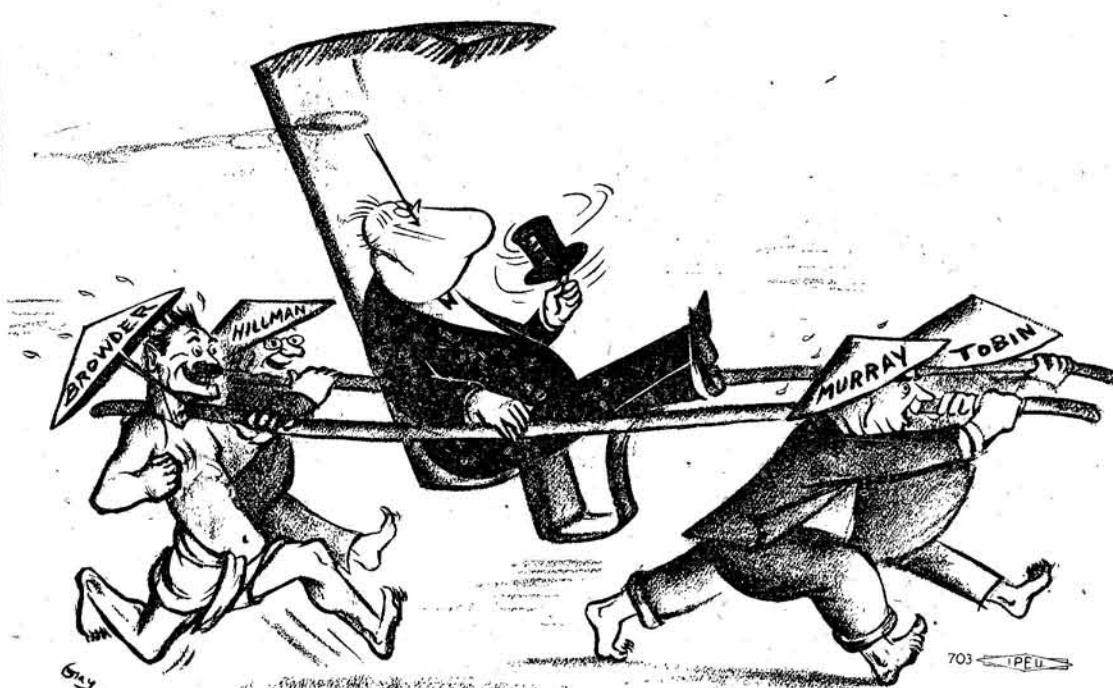
This combination of anti-Semitism, anti-Negro activity and anti-unionism, — the unmistakable mark of the fascist beast—is nourished by liberal contributions from the coffers of Big Business. This is the reality behind the fraudulent slogan of "national unity" under which reaction advances the interests of the exploiting class.

The Militant

may now be purchased at

242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

Roosevelt's Coolies



The Lessons For Labor In The 1944 Elections

(Continued from page 1)

fully screened by the labor "statesmen."

The choice as presented by the union bureaucrats to the workers was:

Dewey and Depression or Roosevelt and Reform. Cutbacks and plant shutdowns had raised

the specter of mass unemployment in the "post-war" period.

The workers were greatly concerned over jobs. Every other issue was subordinate to the one of economic security.

In his Chicago speech, Roosevelt promised 60 million jobs — five million more than were employed at the peak of war-time production and seven million more than are employed today. Dewey promised full employment on the basis of government assistance.

How were these promises to be realized? Both candidates endorsed the Baruch plan. The major sections of the Baruch plan are already embodied in legislative form. This legislation provides generous payments for war contractors, the "free enterprise" disposal of government-owned plant and equipment, and "states rights" compensation as low as \$2 a week for the unemployed. Both candidates agreed that "Business" was to be given a free hand to perform "miracles of production." But this was precisely Hoover's method of dealing with the problem and it

can lead to no better results than before. That is why it was possible for such outspoken agents of Wall Street as the *New York Times* and Walter Lippman, to endorse Roosevelt.

FEAR OF FUTURE

The workers were primarily concerned about the future. Under the circumstances the labor leaders found it more expedient to talk about the past. Not of the immediate past, to be sure, but of the economic crisis of the '30's. Finding it impossible to inspire the workers or arouse their enthusiasm for the Big Business program which both candidates espoused, Hillman and Co., resorted to the weapon of fear to shake the apathy of labor's ranks. Fear was Hillman's substitute for an independent labor program and party.

The CIO-PAC was formed for the express purpose of heading off the growing sentiment for labor's independent political action. The labor skates were well aware of the fact that the workers were turning their backs on the discredited capitalist parties. This tendency was manifested by an apathy on the part of the workers toward elections in which they were given no choice but to vote for the candidates of the Republican or Democratic parties. In the 1942 elections the workers stayed away from the polls in

droves — with the exception of New York and Minnesota where they were given the opportunity of voting for independent candidates. The establishment of the CIO-PAC was intended to create the illusion of independent political action by mobilizing the workers behind Roosevelt, separately and apart from the apparatus of the Democratic party.

The frenzied campaign of the CIO-PAC to get the workers to register and vote was launched with the knowledge that the workers had broken irrevocably with the Republican Party but still had illusions about Roosevelt — illusions that have been sedulously fostered by the labor bureaucrats. A large labor vote would therefore mean the reelection of Roosevelt. That was the meaning of the vigorous campaign to register the labor vote. But although millions of labor votes were cast, not a single labor representative was elected to Congress although the results indicate that a number could have been elected.

In New York, for example, 800,000 voters cast their ballots for the candidates of Hillman's American Labor Party and Dubinsky's Liberal Party — but not a single one of these candidates represented the labor movement. Each faction had endorsed the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Despite the lack of independent labor candidates, 800,000 New York voters expressed their preference for labor's own political party, by casting their ballots for the ALP & LP. Where

the workers had a chance to do so, they showed their opposition to the two-party system under which the political agents of Wall Street maintain their political monopoly.

The answer to this question Cannon points out, "is not and cannot be determined simply by the desire or whim of the party or the party leadership", but by "the size and capacity of the group, the period of the development of the class struggle, the relation of forces in the political movement" These were the factors that in the final analysis determined the development of the Trotskyist movement in this country.

Following the expulsions from the official Communist Party in 1928, the next ten years were an against-the-current struggle to build a party. This job was completed with the founding of the Socialist Workers Party on New Year's day 1938. The tasks of these ten years differed according to two clearly defined periods, which were divided by the world-shaking events of 1933.

For the first five years (1928-33) the original Trotskyist nucleus remained handful. Stalinism, clothed in the prestige of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 in Russia, consequently attracted the most militant section of the American working class. The Communist International, suffering Stalinist degeneration, still lived. The labor movement here was quiescent, not yet ready to launch a counter-offensive against the employers' open-shop drive of the earlier '20s. These were the basic conditions that dictated Trotskyist strategy and tactics during the first five years of their existence as a clearly defined tendency in the radical labor movement.

During these first years the Trotskyists addressed themselves almost exclusively to the rank and file of the Communist Party, attempting patiently to explain and win them back to the program of International Socialism. Despite Stalinist slander, ostracism and gangsterism (Cannon's stories of how the Trotskyists protected themselves by organizing workers defense guards during this early period are among the most interesting pages of his book), the Trotskyists made quite a few converts from among the best elements of the Communist Party. But this was slow work, carried on for programmatic clarity over questions that seemed far away to the average worker, even those with the revolutionary courage and conviction to join the Communist Party of that time.

These early days of the depression were a time of world-wide reaction. This weighed heavily upon the vanguard groupings in the workers' movement. Nevertheless the Trotskyists stuck doggedly to the limited tasks imposed upon them by the circumstances. They continued to propagandize for a return to the program of internationalism, directing their main attention to the most radical section of the American working class within and around the Communist Party.

The CIO convention must reflect this bankrupt policy of depending on the capitalist "friends" of labor to defend the interests of the workers and take the necessary steps to launch labor's own political party to advance labor's own program for economic security

American Trotskyism--A Record Of Struggle

By F. J. Lang

In the spring of 1942 James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, delivered a series of lectures for comrades and sympathizers of the party. As one of the founders of the Communist Party of America and leader of the Trotskyist movement in this country since its inception, he drew upon his experiences to teach young workers the significant lessons of the past so they need not repeat the mistakes of earlier days but can go forward to build the revolutionary party on the tested principles of Bolshevism. In book form these lectures are now available under the title of "The History of American Trotskyism" to the wide audience of militant workers in the trade-union movement of this country.

From page one to his closing remarks Cannon's theme is that Trotskyism "is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival, of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the early days of the Communist International."

International solidarity of the working class is the battlecry of scientific socialism. Thus the Trotskyist movement began to take shape here in America around the "Russian question" because "it is the question of the revolution itself, one that actually took place and still lives." The problems of the Chinese Revolution (1925-27) also became a "Trotskyist issue." Similarly the events in Spain (1936-38) were studied and analyzed more carefully by the Trotskyists than any other group in the radical labor movement. It was the Trotskyists who exposed the Moscow frame-up trials of the same period.

Today the first point on the Trotskyist agenda is the developing European Revolution. Cannon reminds his readers that "As far back as 1928 it had been recognized by our enemies, even the most ignorant, that Trotskyism is no provincial dogma. Trotskyism is movement of world scope and world perspective. Trotskyism proceeds from the standpoint of internationalism and concerns itself with the problems of the proletariat in all parts of the world."

The Program And Its Application

The basic lesson of Cannon's book is summed up in one phrase — program is decisive. There is no substitute for a correct program whatever the field of activity — whether in the arena of world revolution or in the local trade-union scene. Trotskyists never compromise on programmatic questions. That is what distinguishes them from all others.

The program is essential, but it alone will not suffice. Given a correct program upon which to build, the important question for any political party or group at every stage of its development is: What to do next? How this question was answered at various stages in their movement by the American Trotskyists is told by Cannon in the informal manner of a teacher who knows how to highlight the lessons with intimate details of the struggle.

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opposition from the strong German Communist Party demonstrated the total bankruptcy of the Stalinized Third International. The world-wide depression was arousing a whole new layer of American workers to revolutionary action.

This new awakening was manifested in the formation of independent radical groupings, the development of a left wing in the Socialist Party, an organized mass movement of the unemployed, and sporadic strikes. These strikes were harbingers of the great wave of resurgence that swept through the labor movement in the following year and culminated in the 1934 strikes that occurred in every section of the country and affected such vast industries as maritime, rubber, textile and motor transportation.

In the face of these changed conditions the Trotskyists called for the formation of new revolutionary parties throughout the world. "From a faction of the Communist International we announced ourselves as the heralds of a new party and a new International," Cannon notes. Summarizing the decision of the American Trotskyists, he adds: "The time had come to transform our whole activity, to make the turn to mass work. Just as in our first days we had rejected the premature demand that we — with our little handful of people — drop everything and jump into the mass movement, so now, toward the end of 1933, having completed our preliminary work and prepared ourselves, we adopted the slogan: 'Turn from a propaganda circle to mass work'."

This decision marked the beginning of a new period in which the Trotskyists were to demonstrate for the first time before the entire labor movement of America the power of their program and the practical advantages of its application to the immediate problems that the workers face in their union struggles for better wages and conditions.

The Trotskyists undertook to consolidate the whole leftward moving section of American radicals into a powerful combat party. The first step was fusion with the American Workers' Party under the leadership of A. J. Muste. When the time was opportune to enter the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas and carry the program of Trotskyism to the young workers who had recently joined that party, the Trotskyists went in.

Throughout both these maneuvers on the political field — the fusion with the Muste group and the entry into the SP — the Trotskyists paid close attention to trade union work. They were able to demonstrate in the strike situations of that period the advantages of a correct revolutionary program. In this way they won the core of worker militants in the Muste group to their banner and took hundreds of promising youngsters — the YPSL on masse — with them when they were expelled by Thomas and his group from the bourgeois Socialist Party.

Cannon's book is not for tired radicals who want to read and reminisce about old faction fights, although he presents incisive portraits of all the leaders of the Communist Party and many other prominent renegades from Marxism. But these people are dealt with only insofar as they "were significant as representatives of the main ideological currents within the movement", as is well explained by Joseph Hansen in his excellent introduction to the book. In this light many well known figures in the American radical movement are introduced as they cross the path of American Trotskyism — William Z. Foster, Jay Lovestone, Ben Gitlow (I Confess), Joseph Zack, B. J. Field, Hugo Oehler, A. J. Muste, Professors Hook and Burnham, the infamous Salsky-Hardman ("half and half" man), Herbert Zam, Eugene Lyons, Ludwig Lore, Paul Porter, and Norman Thomas.

Pointed To The Future Of American Labor

But these are all people of the past. This book is addressed to the class-conscious militant worker who looks to the future. He will be more interested in the names of such men as Vincent R. Dunne (to whom the book is dedicated), Farrell Dobbs, Oscar Coover, Karl Skoglund and others who together with Cannon, are now serving prison terms for their revolutionary ideas. These are the type of men who represent the future. It was they who demonstrated that the ideas of Trotskyism have real meaning for all American workers. They were among the leaders of the great Minneapolis truckdrivers' strikes of 1934.

Cannon devotes an entire lecture to this strike, one of the most instructive of the series of twelve. Here we see the relation between the revolutionary workingclass party — the organization of the most serious and advanced socialist workers — and the mass movement, the unions. The Trotskyists organized the 1934 strikes in Minneapolis. These strikes were directed within the framework of the AFL against one of the most powerfully organized groups of open-shoppers in this country. The 1934 strikes transformed Minneapolis from an open-shop town into a union fortress. The new unions under Trotskyist leadership reduced the hours of work, created new jobs for the unemployed, won substantial increases in pay.

Within the unions the Trotskyists are the most selfless fighters, striving always to strengthen the unions and prepare them for the bigger struggles ahead. Their tactics are determined by the needs of the workers and the possibility for action within any given situation.

"The Great Minneapolis Strikes" is a chapter in Cannon's book which every union militant will want to read. It is a chapter in the history of American Trotskyism that points to the future of our movement. These "Minneapolis strikes" will occur again on a higher level of development in a hundred different cities throughout this country in the period ahead.

Pioneer Paragraphs

TROTSKYISTS SOUNDED ALARM WHEN HITLER ROSE TO POWER

by our young movement, first of all with the assistance of the theoretical writings and interpretations of Comrade Trotsky.

We took time in those days of isolation to study the Chinese question. I mentioned last week that during this difficult period our movement, despite all its poverty and weakness, managed to publish a full-sized book, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*.

This book contained suppressed theses, articles and expositions of the Russian Opposition, written in the decisive days of the Chinese revolution, 1925, '26 and '27. That

great world historical battle had

unfolded, you may say, behind

the backs of the blindfolded mem-

What The October 1917 Revolution Signifies For The Workers Today

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by Comrade E. R. Frank at the meeting held at Irving Plaza, Sunday, Nov. 4 by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party in celebration of the 27th Anniversary of the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

By E. R. Frank

We meet tonight to celebrate the 27th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, amidst the thunder and ruin and death of the second world slaughter, which is now already entering into its sixth year. We celebrate this 27th anniversary as the European peoples, repressed, tortured, starving and dying, are beginning to revolt against their exploiters and enslavers, are beginning to revolt against the imperialist barbarians, against the war-makers. Europe is moving forward with all the finality and grim invincibility of a glacial formation to the greatest revolutionary crisis in history.

We have celebrated the Russian Revolution for many years and under many different circumstances. But today we celebrate it in a spirit of revolutionary optimism, with joy and hope that after so many years of darkness and black reaction and sorrow, the skies are again clearing, a strong invigorating wind is again beginning to blow, and the clear outlines of the new red dawn are again visible on the horizon. We celebrate the Russian Revolution on its 27th anniversary with the conviction that the masses of France, of Italy, of Greece, of Belgium, of all Europe are beginning the fateful revolutionary march which will lead them to their own October Revolutions, where they, like the workers and peasants of Russia in 1917, will overthrow their landlords and capitalists, take over the factories and the farms, and proceed to build a new society on socialist foundations.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is one of the greatest events of human history. The Russian Revolution took the body of theory of socialism, perfected by Karl Marx and Engels and added to by other brilliant Marxist theoreticians and publicists, and proved its correctness in action, without the possibility of any further doubts. It proved that the working class can take the power and can run society. This great idea of Marx, which set him off from all the utopians, the pacifist do-gooders, middle class social workers and upholders, this idea so often scoffed at and laughed at by intellectuals and middle class snobs, was gloriously and in the most thorough-going fashion vindicated in the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Russian Revolution proved furthermore that the working class can create a revolutionary party out of its ranks that is fully capable of rallying the masses behind its banner and leading the struggle to victory.

THE WORLD STRUGGLE OF THE TOILERS

The Russian Revolution exerted its magnetic influence over the working masses the world over. What enthusiasm, what new hope, what courage, what heroism it evoked in the peoples of the world, especially among the youth. All of humanity was stirred to its very depths. It inspired and lifted up to its feet all the millions of down-trodden, of despised, the wage slaves, the household drudges, the plodding farm laborers, the colonial coolies and slaves, and it showed them that they can fight and win a new world, a new and better life. The Russian Revolution was thus not simply a Russian affair.

It was the beginning of the great world struggle of all toiling humanity to organize, to gather its forces, to prepare for the heroic work of destroying the rule of the tyrants and blood-suckers and to build a new government of the toilers, build the foundations of the socialist society, a society of equality, of peace, and of opportunity for all.

The celebrations of the Russian Revolution in the early years after 1917 were tremendous, tempestuous events. The working masses poured out by the thousands and tens of thousands, to pledge their support to the Russian Revolution and to the Soviet Union, the first workers' state, which emerged from the revolution. But these celebrations were far more than that. They constituted the oath of the revolutionary masses that they were prepared to march and fight and die, if need be, under the banner of the Russian Revolution, under the banner of its leaders, Lenin and Trotsky. Hopes ran high in those days. And the working class militants were convinced that the workers' revolution which had started in Russia, would spread from country to country, sweeping away the rapacious rule of the capitalists and landlords and replacing it with the rule of the toilers.

Well, they were not utterly wrong. The working class revolution did sweep like a terrible storm throughout Europe, in Germany, in Austria, in Italy, in Hungary. It looked for a time as if the whole rotted and putrid capitalist system which had brought the world the calamity, the blood bath of the world war, would go down under the blows of the revolutionary onslaught. But the path of human progress, of human advancement, is not an easy one. It is not strewn with roses, but rocks and it has many pitfalls and obstructions. The revolutions in Germany and every other country all went down to defeat.

Outside of Russia, the revolutionary leadership was lacking. The old socialist leaders who had sold out the masses to the war machines were able yet once again to betray the revolutionary struggles. The young Communist parties, first organized after the Russian Revolution and in response to its example, proved too inexperienced, too weak, too young to do the job.

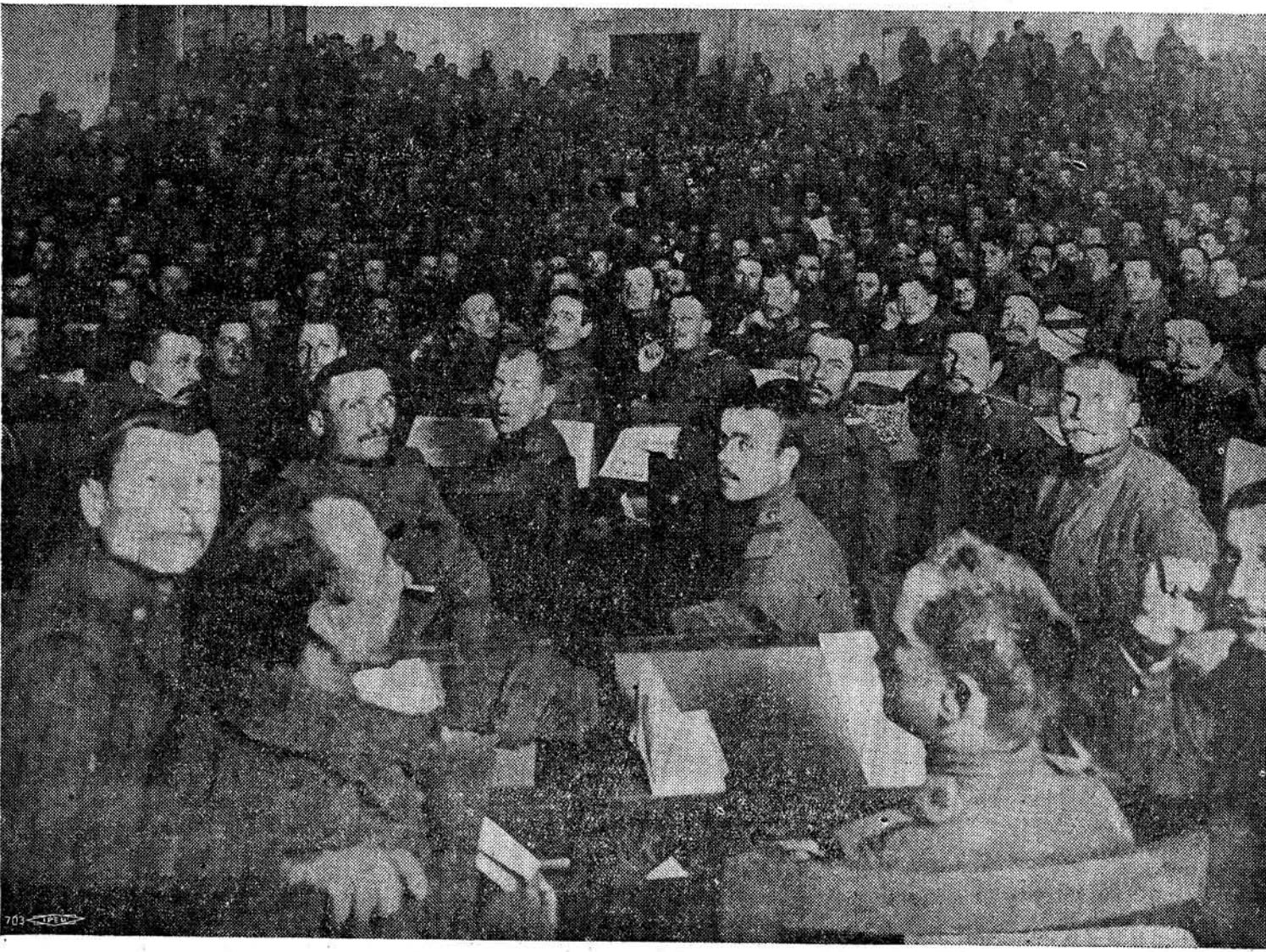
With the defeat of the revolutions, the capitalists had a breathing spell in which to stabilize their rule. The Soviet Union thus found itself isolated, beset on all sides by enemies who were ready to tear it apart at the first opportunity. The country, which was impoverished and backward to begin with—its heritage from the Czarist days—was further ravaged by four years of imperialist war and three more years of ferocious civil wars and wars of intervention. The Russian people were starving, the economy of the country was wrecked. After the definitive defeat of the revolutions in Europe, and especially the dashing of the high hopes of successful revolution in Germany, a great apathy and tiredness seized the Soviet masses.

THE STALINIST BUREAUCRACY AND THE USSR

This mood of pessimism was accompanied by a sharp political reaction which saw the state power usurped by a new parasitic bureaucracy, headed by Stalin—a bureaucracy that was essentially nationalistic. Stalin and his henchmen had lost faith in the European revolution, they had lost faith in the insurgent masses. The Kremlin bureaucracy gradually abolished the democratic rights of the Soviet masses, it ruled as an iron dictatorship. It began bringing back reaction inside the Soviet Union all along the line and it was attempting to make peace with the capitalists on the outside.

But despite the frightful reaction, despite all of the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucrats, despite the fact that they destroyed the Bolshevik party, the Soviets, the trade unions, a whole generation of the leaders of the revolution, capped by the murder of Lenin's co-worker, Comrade Trotsky, the founder of the Red Army, the organizer of the October Insurrection, despite all these crimes they still could not and did not murder the Revolution itself. Debased and desecrated though it is, the Revolution has still survived in its basic economic conquest, nationalized industry and planned production. So Herculean, so volcanic have been the powers unleashed by the Russian Revolution of 1917, that despite all these blows, it has still not been crushed and still stands as a labor bastion and as a monument of what the working class can do.

Trotsky Addressing Soldiers' Soviet



A remarkable photograph of the Council of Soldiers' Deputies in session in the Duma at Petrograd, 1917. Comrade Trotsky, addressing the session, is at the speakers' rostrum in the upper left hand section of the picture.

The superiority of the soviet system over capitalism, its greater dynamic power, was demonstrated in the most dramatic fashion possible in peace and now in war. While the whole world was hurtling downward in the convulsive economic crisis that gripped capitalism in 1929, the Soviet Union, despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, was recording economic progress and achievements, in the period of the Five-Year Plans, on an unheard of scale.

And in the crucial and decisive test of war, the Russian Revolution has proved itself, has vindicated itself once again. The whole capitalist world, including all the generals, admirals, all of its military experts, all of its statesmen and publicists and advisers have been astounded by the invincible power displayed by the Red Army. The whole capitalist world, including Hitler and his Nazi gang, counted on a rapid defeat of the Soviet Union. They, just as we Trotskyists, understood the lack of viability of the murderous Stalinist caste. They, just as we, understood that the Soviet masses had and despised the greedy and tyrannical Kremlin oligarchy.

FUNDAMENTAL CONQUEST OF REVOLUTION REMAINS

But we saw further, we saw beyond that. We saw that the fundamental conquest of the Russian Revolution still remained, that therefore despite Stalin and against Stalin, the Soviet Union had to be defended. And that is exactly the way the Soviet masses understood it too. They performed miracles in beating back the enemy, in saving the Soviet Union from capitalist depradation. The whole history of military warfare has no precedent of a nation that was able to absorb the defeats and blows which the Red Armies suffered, survive despite these defeats, and then unleash an offensive of such superb proportions, and in such a sustained manner. With the unprecedented victories of the Red Army, the Soviet Union has emerged as a first class military power.

But these victories, far from giving the Stalinist bureaucracy new hope and faith in the working class and in the working class revolution, has thrown them even further into the arms of world imperialism. Twenty years ago, Stalin and his gang of cynical bureaucrats lost faith in the working class revolution and proclaimed his nationalistic and utopian concept of building socialism in Russia alone. Today, Stalin and the Kremlin bureaucracy stand in deadly fear of this same working class revolution which they denied and repudiated two decades ago. This bureaucracy stands in total contradiction to the economy of the Soviet Union and its needs, it is distrusted and hated by the Soviet masses. The Kremlin bureaucracy understands that a revolution in Europe would again lift up to their feet the Soviet masses, would revive their revolutionary courage and perspective, that these masses would proceed to overthrow the infamous Stalinist caste and restore the Soviet Union on the political foundations of its founders, Lenin and Trotsky, on the foundations of Soviet, of working-class democracy.

It is this specter of the European revolution that has already clearly announced itself in Italy and France and elsewhere. It is this specter that strikes terror in the heart of Stalin just as it strikes terror in the hearts of all the imperialists. It is this specter that has thrown Stalin into the arms of Roosevelt and Churchill. It is this fear that has brought them together at Teheran to plot and scheme and conspire against the insurgent masses of Europe, to attempt to side-track, to deflect and if necessary to strangle the revolution.

They have tremendous powers, these three evil old men, that met behind closed doors at Teheran. They have armies and navies and air fleets at their disposal and subject to their command. And it is this military power that they count on in their counter-revolutionary plans. But the revolution also has resources at its command. The Russian Revolution proved over and over again that once the people are determined to take their fate into their own hands, they become inured to hardship and contemptuous of death.

THE COMING REVOLUTIONARY WAVE

The hot breath of the revolution pervades everywhere, including the armies, which are made up in the main of workers and farmers. Before the power of the revolution, armies have been known to melt away; to go over at times to the side of the revolution; before the onslaught of the revolution, thrones have toppled and kingdoms hundreds of years old have perished. And the revolutionary wave which will sweep across Europe in this coming period will be more widespread, more powerful, stronger than the wave of revolutions of 1917 to 1923.

The rebellion has already started against the torments, the brutalities, the horrors of the war, of decaying and decomposing capitalism. The masses thirst for a decisive change; they are groping for a way out of the capitalist madhouse. Far more likely than the definitive crushing of this wave of revolution by the mili-

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANIPULATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Lessons Of November 7th

Why did Negroes in the industrial and metropolitan centers turn out and vote overwhelmingly for Roosevelt in the recent election regardless of the fact that under his administration they have experienced segregation in the armed forces and official relegation to second class citizenship?

The first, and least significant, reason is that some of them were duped by Roosevelt's slick political maneuvers. For example, as the campaign was going into the home stretch, he has his brass hats in the Navy announce that henceforth Negro women would no longer be barred from the WAVES and SPARS. This act, although set forth as a concession, reminded thinking Negroes that the reactionary policy had existed all along without previous remedy. Furthermore there were indications that both of these groups were soon to be disbanded and that what few Negro women were accepted would, in general, be used on a segregated basis.

Then there was the order abolishing discrimination on the army post exchanges and the change of plans in regard to segregated rest centers for returning veterans. These were puny midges of concession compared to the complete equality in the armed forces that the Negroes had demanded.

Many Negroes, no doubt, also remembered the FEPC and the social security legislation which had been introduced under Roosevelt. What they didn't realize, of course, was that Roosevelt has not given these things of his own free will. Invariably, he did so to stave off mounting unrest in the labor movement, or militant mass action on the part of the Negro people.

"LESSER EVIL"

In 1917, only Lenin and the Bolsheviks were prepared for action.

The superiority of the soviet system over capitalism and of the Kremlin bureaucracy, is the fraternization of the revolutionary masses with the rank and file soldiers and the flames of the revolution leaping over and catching fire in England and in the Soviet Union and making its effects felt even across the Atlantic. Because the tinder is dry and awaits but the spark.

In 1917, only Lenin and the Bolsheviks were prepared for action. The revolutionary forces throughout the rest of Europe were weak, scattered and unprepared. Far different and far more favorable is the situation today in the camp of the revolutionary vanguard. The parties of the Fourth International were organized throughout Europe with a common program and an International organization, long before the outbreak of the war. The great founder and teacher of the Fourth International had done his job well. The treachery of the Social Democrats and Stalinists did not catch us off guard this time, but was fully comprehended and taken into account even before humanity was thrust into the slaughter.

With the outbreak of the war, of course, we lost all contact with Europe. We did not know what the Trotskyists, what the Fourth Internationalists were doing, whether they even survived the double blows of the imperialist war and the Nazi oppression. Europe was converted into a gigantic slaughter-house and torture chamber. Now and then a trickle of news would come through which told us of some heroic Trotskyist who had been shot by the Nazi firing squad or some Trotskyist who had been caught in the Nazi dragnet. But that is all we knew. But we know more than that today. We know that our faith that the Fourth International was indestructible, that it would survive despite all blows and repressions and would cut a path for itself when things began moving, we now know that that faith is justified and has been vindicated.

ACTIVITIES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Just a few weeks ago we learned that right in the heat of events a new Italian Trotskyist party, a section of the Fourth International, had been founded with a considerable following, on the basis of our world program. Just a few days ago we received the inspiring news that five parties of the Fourth International representing the French, Belgian, Greek, Spanish and German sections held a conference in France in February of this year, right within the shadow of the Gestapo, to plan and coordinate their future work and to prepare the forces of the European revolution. We now know that the French Trotskyists played an important and an honorable role in the great Paris uprising in August, and that they took the leadership in many places in seizing the factories and organizing the factory committees.

We now know as a definite fact that the movement built by Trotsky has survived the blows of the war and the Nazi terror machine, that it is active, that it is growing, that it is prepared to shoulder its historic responsibilities. This is the answer, the most effective answer, to all the skeptics, to the faint-hearts, to those of little faith!

We have not reached the position which we hold today without struggle and without sacrifice. Unfortunately our list of martyrs is already disproportionately long. Our French section alone, we have been told, has lost over 100 comrades. And there have been many other victims. Let us take this occasion to honor our martyred dead. And let us vow, that through our work and through our self-sacrifice, we shall keep their memory alive and that their death shall not have been in vain.

Above the din and roar of the battlefields is already being heard the voice of the revolution. Above the mad chorus of reaction, of jingoism and of hate is already being heard the program of the Russian Revolution—the program of Trotsky, the program of the Fourth International. And this voice of the proletarian revolution, this program of the Fourth International, will every day become more and more compelling, more and more insistent, ever louder, ever clearer, as the only answer that can save the peoples of Europe from ruin and enslavement and barbarism, as the only answer out of the madhouse of capitalism and imperialism and its bloody wars, as the only answer to building a new society which will give the people peace, prosperity and freedom.

The European revolution will save and revitalize the Soviet Union and will take the road of continuing the task of liberation that the Russian Revolution first started in 1917.

Notice To New York Readers

NO FORUM SUNDAY, NOV. 19

Hear CHARLES CARSTEN on November 26, Reporting "THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CONVENTION"

SEATTLE

You are invited to attend a Showing of Sergei Eisenstein's

Thunder Over Mexico

Proceeds Xmas Benefit Fund for Wives and Children of 18 MINNEAPOLIS LABOR PRISONERS

CHURCH OF THE PEOPLE

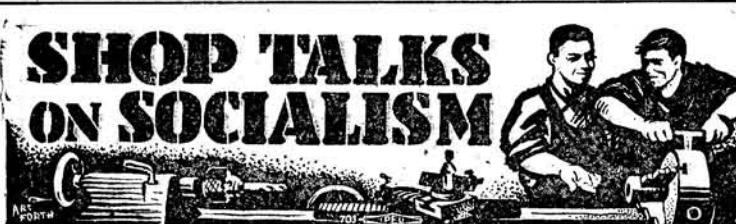
4033 University Way

Saturday, December 9th, 1944 - 8:00 p. m.

Dancing - Refreshments

Auspices Civil Rights Defense Committee

Subscription \$1.00



By V. Grey

Slim went into the washroom a minute early at lunch time, just in time to catch Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man) pinning up a newspaper "ad" on the bulletin board. That's a favorite trick of Scissorbill's. He wants us all to read what Wilbur Whoozis says about hard work being good for the soul, and all that stuff.

But this was different. This was an "ad" of the U. S. Steel Company, telling how many owners they had. Do you think 86,748 people own it? You're wrong. Do you think 204 people own it? Wrong again. U. S. Steel is owned by 222,602 people. You might have thought that J. P. Morgan and his buddies owned it, but how could you still think so when it says right in black and white that 222,602 people own it?

Well, Slim was just starting in on Scissorbill, telling him what he'd do if he caught him pulling that stuff again. Then he started in on what pile of crap the ad was anyway. By this time the fellows were coming in and opening their lunch pails on the benches. And Pop Philiber broke in. "Wait a minute Slim. You mean to say you doubt that company's word? You don't believe them?"

Slim said, "Of course I don't believe them. Don't tell me you do." He sat down and started unwrapping his lunch. And Scissorbill slunk over to the boiler room where he often eats with the janitor.

ONE OF THE OWNERS OF U. S. STEEL

"I didn't think I'd ever have to tell you boys. But you may as well know it now. Here on a dirty bench, eating a baloney sandwich, you see before you one of them 222 thousand owners." Somebody spilled his coffee all over from laughing into it too suddenly. "That is" continued Pop slowly, without paying this impoliteness any attention, "I am an ex-owner. I sold my interest in the firm. It all come about like this:

"I had been working along for years never getting anywhere. But I'm an ambitious cuss even if I am getting old. So when I saved up 60 dollars back in 1937 I says to myself, 'Pop, we're not going to have any more of this foolish spending on clothes and furniture and doctor bills. We're going to put the eggs in a different basket. Yes sir! That's me. Nothing venture—nothing have.' So I looks around for a week or two. And here's this U. S. Steel Co. It seems to be an up and coming concern. I ask the insurance agent what he thinks. I ask the guard at the bank what he thinks. They both say it's all right.

"You see, I read an ad in the paper too—something like this one, it was. Some high and mighty at the bank had a seat on the stock exchange and he could buy a share of U. S. Steel stock for me, and I'd be all set. Well sir, I became an owner of U. S. Steel for 54 dollars and fifty cents. Oh, yes, and three dollars for a 'brokers fee.' Pretty steep. The man said it would have been less if I'd bought more shares. But then what's three bucks when you're buying into a big outfit like that?

"Well I can tell you the problems of ownership set very heavy on my shoulders. I used to read up on all the new-fangled inventions in steel and I'd send in suggestions to my general manager." Pop sucked up some coffee out of an old whisky bottle.

"But what do you think? Do you think they carried out my orders? No sir. They just went on like they'd always been doing. So I figures I been too easy going on my help. I send this general manager a very sharp letter. And I stated the case right, too, I can tell you. I told him plainly that the woods were full of unemployed executives, and he'd better watch out and toe the line a little bit.

"That still didn't get a rise out of him. But in a week or two I got a pretty important letter from my financial office saying that a quarterly dividend was declared. And enclosed is a check for 25 cents. Well if they do that every three months, thinks I, I'll have my three dollars back in three years' time. And I felt a little better about the company. So I keep watching the mail for the next 25 cent check. But I guess I counted my chickens before hatching time. Because when the next three months rolled around I got a letter saying the board decided to pass a dividend. That means no twenty-five cents. It was printed on pretty stationery too," Pop said as he sucked up some more coffee.

WHY POP SOLD OUT HIS INTEREST

"Well sir, you might guess I didn't like this much. No indeed. I wrote letters about it, and I figured and figured. This corporation of mine just seemed to get the jump on me. But wait! That ain't the worst. One day when this thing had me almost goofy trying to figure it out, I gets another letter. Aha, I says, they're passing up a dividend sooner than usual this time.

"But it wasn't that. Nope. It was all about what a wonderful service Mr. Taylor had given the company. What far-sighted man he was and all that, which I didn't deny, never having met the gentleman. But that isn't the point. The letter winds up saying that the board decided to raise this guy's salary to a hundred and sixty-seven thousand dollars a year.

"Well that stopped my clock! Pop Philiber, says I—You always thought you were a cagey fellow. But look at this. Here you are, an owner of a big steel plant and you pay your head man about a hundred and fifty times as much as you get yourself (for working in the shop, that is. I'm not counting the 25 cents dividend). There's something wrong here. So I just about give up.

"You fellows may think I should a tried harder to be firm with my employees. But it just wasn't any go. You can't teach an old dog new tricks you know. And I'm too foolish about high living and extravagance to settle down and try to run a steel corporation. So I sold my interest and bought these here false teeth you see me eating with. I figured that was about the best thing to do."

Us fellows figured it was too.

The sixty richest families in the United States control all the big corporations. Their wealth is so big that no working person—not even a hundred thousand working people together—have as much money as the poorest of them. They can have complete control of a corporation by concentrating their holdings in strategic combinations with each other. Even when the "public" owns an actual majority of the stock, it is too disorganized and spread out to be effective in deciding policy, salaries, etc. And these sixty birds of prey easily manage to keep the voting strength in their own hands.

In order that they have all gravy and no gristle, they let middle class and occasionally even working class people buy small lots of stock—put their money in the company, so if a depression or panic comes, these small stock holders stand the whole loss. In a depression their dividends are "passed," their stock depreciates in value. And the boys at the top take what profits there are for themselves in the form of high salaries and bonuses, "preferred stock" dividends and what not. There are thousands of poor suckers like Pop who get fleeced every year that way. And often much worse than Pop. "Letting the worker share in the profits" this way, is just another slick method for the rich to get richer at the expense of the poor.

Under Socialism, not 222 thousand, but a hundred and thirty million people will own U. S. Steel. And not only U. S. Steel, but Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel, Aircraft, Auto, Coal and Chemical, and every industry you can name as well. We will all own a share in everything. The dividends will come in on tick—every week—in the form of a bigger and bigger income. There'll be steady work because we won't lay ourselves off. There will be new and better methods of production because we want to make it easier for ourselves, and we'll have it done that way.

Chiang Kai-Shek's Enmity To Agrarian Reforms Explains His Blockade Of Former "Red" Areas

(Continued from page 1)

heavily garrisoned by Japanese troops, you will enter territory where these partisans b and s operate. At night they conduct swift raids on Japanese outposts, disappearing in the peasant mass before the punitive troops of the invaders can discover them.

The core of Stalinist China is a parched and forbidding land, part of the arid northwest which stretches through the barren wastes of the Gobi Desert and on to Mongolia. The climate is similar to that of Arizona. Yenan, the capital, nestles in less country and many of the people live in caves burrowed into the hills of yellowish-brown loam. The government offices, institutions and schools are in caves. The country is poor in natural resources and agriculture must be carried on largely by means of artificial irrigation. There is little industry of any kind.

It was here, in 1935-36, that the former Chinese Red Armies settled down after an epic march across the face of the country following their retreat out of Kiangsi province, and part of Fukien, in the south and southeast. Chiang Kai-shek's troops had tightened a cordon on their Kiangsi stronghold, with its capital at Juichin, and forced them into new and less hospitable territory. The Red Armies, predominantly peasant in composition, were the fighting forces of an agrarian revolt which continued to flare up in the interior of China as a belated echo of the great revolution of 1925-27 which the Stalinists led to defeat.

In the northwest, as earlier in the south, the Stalinist leadership carried out a program of agrarian reform. Since the area was so poor and at that time of little strategic significance, since, moreover, there were endless possibilities of retreat farther north and west through sparsely-populated country, Chiang Kai-shek virtually abandoned his attempt to really liquidate "Red China." He contented himself with establishing a blockade to prevent "Red" infiltration into richer lands to the south.

Within the "Red" area, land without title was distributed to the peasants and peasant soldiers. Some of the landlords' tracts—if the landlords were absentees—were broken up and given to peasant families. Landlords who were permitted to retain their lands and continue renting them to working peasants, were forced to take a substantial cut in their rents and were forbidden to evict tenants. To protect the farmers against grain speculators, usurers and rapacious middlemen, producer-consumer cooperatives were established. Schools free to all were opened—and even a university.

These reforms had a magnetic effect on the rest of China, just as had the earlier and more far-reaching reforms carried out by the Stalinists in Kiangsi, but which Chiang Kai-shek liquidated after driving the Red armies from the province. By thousands people flocked to the new Mecca. Students, teachers, professors, peasants, workers, shopkeepers begged or borrowed their way to Sian, the capital of Shensi province. They rode in freight cars or just walked. From Sian they trudged along the dusty paths and through the wild, high mountain country to Yenan. Many had walked hundreds of miles to the new land of hope.

Meanwhile, the storm-clouds of war were gathering. The Stalinist leaders, acting on orders from Moscow, set their program of agrarian reform into reverse in order to achieve a "united front" with Chiang Kai-shek against Japan. The full story of this traitorous about-face, and the motives underlying it, was told in great detail by the writer in an article, "The End of the Chinese Soviets," which appeared in the New International for January, 1938.

Programmatically, the submission of the Stalinists to the Kuomintang was complete, but in the sphere of actual sovereignty there was only a formal submission. "Soviet China" became a Special Administrative District under the nominal authority of the Kuomintang government. The "Red Army" was renamed the Eighth Route Army (now it is the Eighth Group Army) and brought nominally under Chiang Kai-shek's command. But the Stalinists retained administrative control of the former "Red" areas and control of their armed forces. Chiang, for his part, maintained the blockade despite the fact that the Stalinists had "representatives" sitting in the People's Political Council in Chungking.

The programmatic self-renunciation, however, lost for "Soviet

Chinese 8th Army Soldiers



These are soldiers of the Eighth Group Army, which defends the Stalinist-controlled area in northwest China against both the armies of Chiang Kai-shek and the troops of the Japanese imperialists. Until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, they formed part of what was known as the Chinese Red Army.

China" much of its former attractive power. Landlords and capitalists, although subject to restraint, were now protected against the people. Their lands were declared inviolate. In the course of fighting against the Japanese invaders, the Stalinists extended their domain, but in the newly-acquired territories the only reforms carried out were reduction of land rents; abolition of the multifarious taxes and the substitution of a single, graduated tax; establishment of educational facilities, etc. Property relations were left as before.

Together with the back-tracking in the sphere of agrarian reform, and in line with the continuing degeneration of Stalinism on a world scale, went a gradual destruction of the democratic liberties which the Stalinists had inscribed on their banners. The Soviets were converted into hand-picked assemblies. A police regime, cast in the image of Stalin's dictatorship, arose in Yenan, complete with GPU gunmen, prisoners, concentration camps and firing squads.

PRESENT STATE

The tide of immigration into "Soviet China" which marked the years 1936-38 had by 1939-40 become a great exodus from the region. They streamed back by the thousands to be herded into concentration camps prepared for them by Chiang Kai-shek near the blockaded border. Because of the poor industrial development, a high standard of living is impossible. But because, as even the most prejudiced reports declare, there is still a singular honesty and cheapness of administration and little or no graft and corruption; because, too, everyone works (there is no unemployment or vagabondage), there is sufficient to supply the basic needs of life. The earlier equality of the Kiangsi "Red" districts has gone, but no one starves. The soldier has all the rights of the civilian.

What a contrast this affords with Kuomintang China, the China of Chiang Kai-shek! There a voracious system of unbridled landlordism takes 60 percent and sometimes more of the peasant's crop. Equally voracious taxes take another big slice. The peasants—and they constitute between 80 and 90 percent of the population—have so little left over from their labor that they can scarcely feed themselves and are always but a step removed from real famine. The landlords and tax collectors take their crops. The government takes their sons for the army. The government and the army are rot-

ten with graft and corruption. The soldiers are half starved, ill-clad and, for the most part, without medical care. The workers are fearfully exploited and deprived of all liberties, including the right to organize.

In a backward country, where appalling poverty is the general rule, even mild reforms tend to assume a revolutionary significance.

That is why the Stalinist-controlled areas, despite the abandonment of the agrarian revolution, continue to exert a considerable, though reduced, attractive power on the masses in the rest of China. They are a living demonstration of the fact that there is a way out of the awful morass of deprivation, oppression and misery.

That is why Chiang Kai-shek blockades these areas with between 500,000 and 1,000,000 of his troops and sacrifices the defense of China against Japan in order to maintain the blockade. He knows they are a menace—regardless of the reactionary present-day policies of the Stalinists—not only to his regime, but to the whole system of landlord-capitalist oppression for which that regime stands.

If, instead of renouncing their program at the beginning of the war and going cap-in-hand to Chiang for a "united front," the Stalinists had raised still higher the banner of the agrarian revolution, a great nation-wide peasant struggle would have resulted.

This would have brought the soley-pressed workers to their feet once more. The workers would have provided the peasants with the firm proletarian leadership they require in order to vanquish the landlords and complete the agrarian revolution. Together, the workers and peasants would have swept the rotten Kuomintang regime into limbo. In the searing flames of revolution the invading armies of Japan would long since have melted away. The workers and peasants of both China and Japan might by now have their feet set firmly on the broad road leading to a new life under socialism.

The realistic nature of this perspective is sufficiently proved by the fact that sharp and bloody peasant revolts have taken place in Kuomintang China despite the desertion of the agrarian revolution by the Stalinists. In the spring of 1943 there was a violent peasant rebellion in Kansu, close to the border of the Stalinist area. In the summer of the same year there were similar outbreaks in Fukien, far to the southeast, followed by sporadic uprisings in Szechuan (where Chiang's capital of Chungking is situated) and Hupeh. All these revolts were quelled. Leaderless, the peasants were driven once more into submission.

The tasks of the Chinese revolution remain in all their urgency. Despite the Stalinists and against the Stalinists the downtrodden millions of China will take to the road of struggle for a better future, to free their country from imperialist domination and landlord-capitalist oppression. In this great struggle they will find no other leaders but the Trotskyists, who are the consistent, unflinching banner-bearers of the liberating revolution. The Stalinists have abandoned and betrayed.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Tyrants have always been stupid. They have felt well-equipped and safe as long as they have had jails, hangmen, and firing squads. Somehow they never learned that ideas do not die with their originators.

When they shot Joe Hill to death twenty-nine years ago, their murky brains must have held the thought that they were striking a blow against all of labor, against organization of the workers.

They were wrong. They had to be wrong, because they didn't know that Joe Hill wasn't just a man. They didn't know that he was a symbol of his class. The copper bosses pumped their bullets into Joe Hill's body, but the real Joe Hill, the laughter and song, went on to organize.

"Joe Hill ain't dead," he says to me, "Joe Hill ain't never died. 'Where workers strike and organize 'Joe Hill is at their side.'

So says a song about him.

Joe Hill came out of Sweden as a boy into the plains and mountains of the American West. As a man he came into the American labor movement and into the hearts of all its fighters. In those days the I.W.W. was the banner bearer of the working class, so it was into the I.W.W. that Joe Hill brought his courage, his homely humor, and his honesty as an organizer.

He became known as a writer of rebel songs. He was one of those who provided a means of expression of the ideals and aspirations of all workers who banded together to work and fight for a better world. To him, nothing was sacred but the fight, and he laughed at all else. He took the gray and solemn hymns from the churches, colored them with impudent words, and laughingly sang them back into the faces of the shocked preachers and moralists of capitalism. Imitating them, but with a most ungodly twinkle in his eye, Joe offered this advice:

"Work and pray, live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky when you die."

Those workers who selfishly and fearfully took sides with the bosses, resisting organization, Joe Hill lampooned in "Scissor Bill" and "Casey Jones, the Union Scab," who "took a trip to heaven on the S.P. Line."

But always through his songs ran the constant refrain, "Organize! Organize!"

That was his life, and that was his death: to organize the workers, the dispossessed, into a great army to oppose and conquer the expropriators and parasites. During a strike which he organized against the Utah copper mine owners, Joe was arrested on a framed-up murder charge, given a mockery of a trial, and speedily condemned to death by the firing squad.

So twenty-nine years ago tonight, November 19, 1915, Joe Hill sat in his cell, composing his "will": "My will is easy to decide," he wrote with a smile, "For there is nothing to divide." And the next day, before they shot him, he said, "DON'T MOURN FOR ME. ORGANIZE!"

But Joe Hill, the real Joe Hill, didn't die. He lives today. Tomorrow he will be even more alive.

Joe Hill lives in the grins of the American workers. A flash of white teeth in an oil-smeared or coal blackened face, a joke or a song shouted above the roar of machinery—that is Joe Hill.

He lives in every strike. When a worker and a scab swing punches at each other before the gate of a factory, Joe Hill is there.

In the fierce joy of the fight or the smoldering subterranean resentment of bad times, in the laughter and in the anger of the workers, you'll find Joe Hill.

Yes, his will was easy to decide. And there was nothing to divide. What he left us we didn't have to divide, for there was enough to be shared among all workers. He left us his songs, his courage, and his portion of a great fighting tradition. How true are the words of the song:

"Says Joe, 'What they forgot to kill
Went on to organize'."

10 Years Ago In The Militant

NOVEMBER 17, 1934

WASHINGTON—Under the growing pressure of hungry millions of unemployed, Roosevelt produced his "Social Security" plan to hoodwink the American workers. He proposed a fund for future unemployment insurance, to be set up by a payroll tax augmented by taxes on the meager pay of those workers still employed. He left untouched the entire problem of 12,000,000 already jobless workers. Labeling this scheme as "a sort of company union mutual benefit association with very little benefit at that," The Militant pointed out the hearty endorsement of the Big Business mouthpiece, the N. Y. Times: "Business leaders hailed the cautious policy enunciated by the President."

NEW YORK—Completing plans for a gigantic nation-wide demonstration of the unemployed to be held November 24, the National Action Committee in charge issued its program of demands. Eight points included: 1. Federal public works to provide work for the unemployed at trade union rates on the basis of \$30 a week for a 30 hour week. 2. Passage of the Lundein Unemployment Insurance Bill. 3. Immediate direct relief of \$10 weekly for single persons, \$15 for two, and \$4 weekly for each additional dependent. 4. Guaranteed right of organization and collective bargaining for workers on public projects. 5. Recognition of representatives of the organized unemployed by relief agencies. 6. Disability compensation on all public works. 7. Diversion of war funds to relief. 8. A universal 30-hour work week

