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1935, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1879.FIGHT WITH THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

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

AT HOME:

For:

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

Watch Out For Rats!

The Vultee aircraft strikers deserve the warm congratulations of the entire trade union movement for having carried their strike to a settlement which, though a compromise, nevertheless secured substantial gains. They fought against formidable opposition: the strike branded "communist" by Attorney General Jackson and Dies, a rabid strikebreaking campaign by the entire capitalist press, strong pressure exerted by Sidney Hillman's "labor" section of the National Commission, a united front of all the aircraft companies throughout the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce, etc. It is a tribute to the strikers that they fought their way through this opposition.

It is plain that every strike will face similar pressure, and on an increasing scale. The pressure will be expertly applied against the unions. Violence and deceit will be mingled to paralyze the unions. There is less to fear for the moment from the crudest enemies, like Congressmen Smith and Dies, than from the more clever enemies who pose as friends. The dominant policy in Washington today is not the rabid and stupid one of Dies, but the iron hand in the velvet glove of Roosevelt and Hillman.

The Roosevelt-Hillman policy is aptly formulated in an editorial in the New York Times of November 20, which proposes to "avoid government coercion or elaborate machinery as much as possible," and therefore declares: "The problem of public policy is to eliminate such strikes, or to reduce them to a minimum, with the least possible use of coercion." But, note well, this means the use of as much coercion as is necessary to eliminate strikes. The Times formula, superficially liberal, in reality is identical with the statutory instructions to policemen concerning making arrests: use only so much force as is necessary to subdue the victim.

Despite all the cleverness and power which the employers and their political agents can utilize against the trade unions, the workers would find it relatively easy to win their strikes—were it not for the fact that the employers also have agents within the trade unions. And we don't mean merely stool-pigeons. We mean those trade union leaders and their friends who are succumbing to the employers' propaganda and policies.

One example is the crew that write and publish the New Leader, the weekly organ of the Social Democratic Federation. Its editors are so far-gone in their patriotic frenzy that, in their November 30 issue, they actually boast that they branded the Vultee strike as "communist" before Jackson and Dies had done so! And their headline of the week, based on the Vultee strike, is: "Gov't Fails to Stop C. P. Sabotage of Defense." In other words, a complaint that the government didn't crack down harder on the Vultee strikers! And

in an editorial in the same issue, deliberately suppressing the strikers—the true—story of why they had to strike to get their raise, the New Leader says: "Twelve days have been wasted at the Vultee plant. The increase of twenty-five per cent in basic wages could have been won without a day's stoppage. . . . Such acts will not long be tolerated."

What does the New Leader propose? The putting of "all action affecting labor's part in national defense" into "the hands of a single body, similar to the War Labor Board set up in 1917." As to the anti-labor record of that War Labor Board, we shall have plenty to say in the coming weeks. Today we hurry ahead to give you the pay-off in that New Leader editorial, on how the board will work: "There are men who deserve and enjoy the confidence of the public and who, sitting with representatives of labor, of the employers, and of the administration, can procure harmony of action, not so much by mandatory action as by such fairness and intelligence as will make compulsion unnecessary."

What is the New Leader's formula, but another variation of that of the New York Times? The policeman shouldn't use his club to subdue his victim except as it is necessary.

The New Leader is a little more brazen than are the union leaders who finance it, but it speaks their mind, a mind completely dominated by Washington. As the workers confront the employers, they would do well to guard themselves against a stiletto in the back from these "labor leaders" and their friends. Indeed, one can put it more plainly: the workers will win their battles and extend their gains in the coming period only to the extent that the traitors within the labor movement, typified by the New Leader, are exposed for what they are and rendered incapable of stabbing the workers in the back.

The Draftees' Health

Army officials and the capitalist press are "surprised," "unable to understand" and "disappointed" at the exceptionally high number of rejections for physical disabilities which the draft doctors have been compelled to issue during examination of the first batch of draftees.

The figures are certainly startling enough. On the basis of previous experience, particularly during the World War draft, rejections should have averaged less than two per cent. The present average for the nine army corps areas is set "conservatively" at 15 percent, ranging in certain areas as high as 25 percent. In the New York area, one out of every four draftees has been rejected as physically unfit.

This is startling, but not "surprising." Eleven years of capitalist depression have eaten into the flesh and bones of the workers. Eleven years of mass hunger, undernourishment, worry and nervous tension and medical neglect, have taken their deadly toll. The bad lungs, weak hearts, intestinal disorders, rotten teeth, faulty eye-sight, neglected hernias are part of the price the working class has paid for eleven more years of capitalist economic anarchy and social chaos.

No, the army officers and the boss press may not be able "to understand" why one out of four of the best and strongest layer of American society is physically unfit for military service. But the workers who have existed on "home relief" and \$36 to \$52 monthly WPA jobs can understand. The youth in the CCC camps and on NYA can understand. The millions of workers who today still average, in the majority, less than \$800 yearly incomes—\$15 per week—they can understand.

And they can and must understand one thing more. The bosses are preparing for a war in which these deprived millions are being asked to give their lives for the purpose of preserving a social system, capitalism, which can only promise more disease, more physical deprivation, more pain and wasting away for the workers.

Not Red, But Yellow

It doesn't often happen, but here is one time we agree 100% with a point made by the Stalinist Daily Worker. It says:

"Entirely out of harmony with the main decisions and the generally progressive character of the CIO convention was the resolution adopted which attempted to lump Communism together with its antithesis, Nazism and fascism, and which lumped together the Workers' State, the USSR, together with the imperialist dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini. . . . (the resolution) gave an opening which the red-baiters and reactionaries of all shades will endeavor to exploit, distort and press to the maximum in order to try and sow confusion, division and strife within the CIO and the entire 'progressive movement.'" (Daily Worker, Nov. 30)

But the Daily Worker doesn't tell the whole story. That red-baiting resolution was voted for by all the Stalinist heroes: voted for by Joseph Curran, Mike Quill, Harry Bridges, the Fur Workers delegation and, in a word, by every Stalinist and Stalinist sympathizer in the convention!

Furthermore, the Stalinists cannot pretend that they were caught off-guard. Every delegation in the convention had caucused, the previous night to decide their policy toward that red-baiting resolution; and also to decide their policy toward a proposal to vote for a motion to close off all debate immediately after introduction of the resolution. The Stalinists also voted—every last one of them—for that motion which prevented any debate on this red-baiting resolution.

And now the Daily Worker, with pious hypocrisy, deprecates that resolution. Why didn't the Daily Worker's comrades and heroes vote against closing debate, speak out against the resolution, and vote against it?

The Stalinists reds? No, they're yellow all the way through.

Why The Farmers Voted
Against RooseveltThey Repudiated The "New Deal" For the Same Reason
That They Voted Against Hoover In 1932By PETER GRAVES
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—In the recent elections the farmers deserted the "New Deal" in droves.

A bloc of seven Midwest farm states voted against Roosevelt, though the President had hoped his selection of Henry Wallace as running mate would again bring in the farm vote. Minnesota remained in the Roosevelt column only because of the heavy vote he received in the urban centers.

The election results came as a surprise to Wallace and his friends. Conservative farm leaders—including many in the Grange and the Farm Bureau—say the election indicates the ruggedly individualistic farmers wanted to be left alone, that they do not want or need any help in solving their problems.

Others like M. W. Thatcher (Democratic Party lobbyist in Farmers Union ranks) scurry about seeking a scapegoat. Interested in protecting Roosevelt at all costs, these people insist that somebody must have been disloyal.

WHY FARMERS SHIFTED

All such explanations are false. The true explanation is simple and exactly what it appears to be: the farmers have repudiated the New Deal because the New Deal was not solving the farmers' problems, because the New Deal was not doing enough for the farmers or was not doing the right things.

It is necessary to recall the recent political shifts in the farm vote. In 1932 the farmers really started hunting for a program to relieve their acute distress. They deserted Hoover and the Republicans, their traditional party, because they were disgusted with the lack of government assistance under Hoover and voted for Roosevelt. They hoped desperately that a fresh face like Roosevelt's would be able to cope with the problem of low farm prices, intolerable debt and interest burdens and the dispossession of thousands of tenants and delinquent borrowers.

In 1940 many farmers voted against Roosevelt, rather than in favor of Willkie whom they knew as a Wall Street man, because they were disappointed in what has been achieved.

WHERE BENEFITS CAME FROM

Some thoughtful farmers realize that what little had been done in easing farm credit, in stopping some foreclosures, the few minor gestures of the Farm Security Administration in rehabilitating busted farmers and reestablishing tenant farmers on the land, had nothing to do with administration good-will. It was due entirely to the militant struggle of the farmers themselves, conducted under the leadership of the Farm Holiday Association and when the As-

sociation became defunct. Washington continued to fear its revival and extension.

Such measures as were won were pitifully inadequate. The relative stabilization of farm prices through the AAA, the Commodity Credit Corporation, etc., were not giving farmers parity income to cover costs of production. Farmers were still being forced off the land because of low farm prices. Technological advances such as tractor improvements, combines and power machinery generally, had actually made necessary larger farms for the most economical use of machinery. The discrimination by the AAA against small operators intensified this trend toward larger farms, thus forcing more farmers off the land to eke out a dreadful existence on WPA in the villages.

HOLIDAY COMMITTEES POINTED THE WAY

If farm leaders had the courage and the sense to tell the truth, the farmers would—as they must eventually—realize that there is only one way in which they can find any answer to their problems. That answer was pointed out years ago by the old Holiday committees: a militant program of organized struggle, carried out together with the exploited workers of the cities, against the common enemy.

Such a program will require a clean sharp break with both the Democratic and Republican parties. Both old parties are owned and controlled by Wall Street and its Sixty Families. These outfits are two wings of the same bird of prey.

A NATIONAL LABOR PARTY!

What all the exploited must do is to unite in organizing their own national party independent of all alliances with all capitalist groups. What is needed is a national labor party controlled and manned and led by the organized workers and farmers.

Such a party need not repeat the errors of the old one-state "third" parties like the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. The Farmer-Labor Party failed, not because it was too radical, but because it was not radical enough. Because opportunist leaders and professional politicians managed to take control of the organization away from the farm and labor organizations. Because such leaders

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STALINISTS SERVED ROOSEVELT

These "practical" politicians, it must be recalled, had as their allies at that time the Communist Party, their most ardent supporters of the New Deal (this was prior to the Hitler-Stalin pact). Thus, under the combined pressure of the politicians and the Communist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party was tied, as we said at that time, like a little dog to the New Deal. But farmers and workers were already then becoming disgusted with the inadequacy of the New Deal—they wanted a REAL program of concrete planks that would answer the most urgent of their immediate needs.

In an "Open Letter to Governor Benson," issued before the 1938 elections, the Socialist Workers Party pointed out such facts as these. We pleaded with the Farmer-Laborites that the party must be armed with a program that would inspire the party and its followers to the utmost efforts. This advice was ignored and the FLP was defeated.

In the 1940 elections the Socialist Workers Party, under the campaign name of the Trotskyist Anti-war Party, ran its own candidate for United States Senator in Minnesota. Dr. Grace Carlson, Dr. Carlson received 8,761 votes, more than the combined vote received by Norman Thomas and Earl Browder. Over half of Dr. Carlson's votes came from the counties outside the metropolitan areas. Several thousand farmers thus indicate they see that they must lock arms with the city workers to build a national labor party and set up a Workers and Farmers Government in Washington.

This is the program that Dr. Carlson urged. Today only the most advanced workers and farmers, the vanguard, see the truth and logic in this program. Tomorrow, by the thousands and hundreds of thousands, the exploited will flock to such a banner.

The Socialist Workers Party calls upon the members of the Farmers Union to press within their organization for a national labor party, to break with the two old capitalist parties, who can give us all only increasing misery and war. Take the road forward with a national labor party!

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