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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
- 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
- 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 unem-
- 7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade
- 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 "cominunist" by Attorney General Jackson and Diesa 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 and vote against it?
words, a complaint that the government didn't. The Stalinists reds? No, they're yellow all the crack down harder on the Vultee strikers! And way through.

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 "disapointed" 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 physic-

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 ... It (the resolution) gave an opening which the redbaiters 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

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 caucussed, 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, deplores that resolution. Why didn't the Daily Worker's comrades and heroes vote against closing debate, speak out against the resolution,

Why The Farmers Voted NOTEBOOK Against Roosevelt

They Repudiated The "New Deal" For the Same Reason That They Voted Against Hoover In 1932

By PETER GRAVES

recent elections the farmers des- ival and extension. erted the "New Deal" in droves. received in the urban centers.

their problems.

Others like M. W. Thatcher (De- ence on WPA in the villages. mocratic Party lobbyist in Farmcosts, these people insist that lems, somebody must have been disloyal.

WHY FARMERS SHIFTED

All such explanations are false. New Deal because the New Deal only one way in which they can was not solving the farmers' prob- find any answer to their problems. started hunting for a program to enemy. relieve their acute distress. They deserted Hoover and the Repub-clean sharp break with both the licans, their traditional party, be- Democratic and Republican par cause they were disgusted with ties. Both old parties are owned the lack of government assistance and controlled by Wall Street and a fresh face like Roosevelt's would of prey. be able to cope with the prob- It is necessary for both urban debt and interest burdens and the silly jumping back and forth from dispossession of thousands of ten- the frying pan to the fire, to stop

gainst 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 workers and farmers. in easing farm credit, in stopping day Association and when the As- izations. Because such leaders | national labor party!

sociation became defunct. Wash- | thought it was smart politics to MINNEAPOLIS. Minn.-In the ington continued to fear its rev- seek an alliance with the New Such measures as were won willing to sell out the principles

states voted against Roosevelt, relative stabilization of farm electoral successes, and received though the President had hoped prices through the AAA, the Com- their just desserts by winding up his selection of Henry Wallace as modity Credit Corporation, etc., without even the electoral sucrunning mate would again bring were not giving farmers parity in | cesses. in the farm vote. Minnesota re- come to cover costs of production. mained in the Roosevelt column Farmers were still being forced only because of the heavy vote he off the land because of low farm prices. Technological advances The election results came as a such as tractor improvements, surprise to Wallace and his combines and power machinery friends. Conservative farm lead- generally, had actually made no ers-including many in the cessary larger farms for the most Grange and the Farm Bureau- economical use of machinery. The say the election indicates the rug- discrimination by the AAA agedly individualistic farmers want gainst small operators intensified sure of the politicians and the to be left alone, that they do not this trend toward larger farmers, want or need any help in solving thus forcing more farmers off the land to eke out a dreadful exist-

Yes, the vote in the farm states ers Union ranks) scurry about indicates that the farmers are in seeking a scapegoat. Interested a deep crisis and want to move in protecting Roosevelt at all towards a solution of their prob-

HOLIDAY COMMITTEES POINTED THE WAY

If farm leaders had the courage The true explanation is simple and the sense to tell the truth, and exactly what it appears to be: the farmers would-as they must lems, because the New Deal was That answer was pointed out not doing enough for the farmers years ago by the old Holiday comor was not doing the right things. mittees: a militant program of or- FLP was defeated. It is necessary to recall the re- ganized struggle, carried out tocent political shifts in the farm gether with the exploited workers vote. In 1932 the farmers really of the cities, against the common

Such a program will require a under Hoover and voted for Roos- its Sixty Families. These outfits evelt. They hoped desperately that are two wings of the same bird

lem of low farm prices, intolerable workers and farmers to cease this this meaningless journey from one In 1940 many farmers voted a old capitalist party to the other.

A NATIONAL LABOR PARTY What all the exploited must do is to unite in organizing their

Such a party need not repeat some foreclosures, the few minor the errors of the old-one-state ner. gestures of the Farm Security Ad. "third" parties like the Minnesota ministration in rehabilitating Farmer-Labor Party. The Farmbusted farmers and reestablishing er-Labor Party failed, not because tenant farmers on the land, had it was too radical, but because it nothing to do with admnistration was not radical enough. Because good-will. It was due entirely to opportunist leaders and profesthe militant struggle of the farm- sional politicians managed to take ers themselves, conducted under control of the organization away the leadership of the Farm Holi- from the farm and labor organ-

Deal. Because such leaders were A bloc of seven Midwest farm were pitifully inadequate. The of the movement for temporary

STALINISTS SERVED ROOSEVELT

These "practical" politicians, it that would answer the most ur-

gent of their immediate needs. In an "Open Letter to Governor Benson," issued before the 1938 clections, the Socialist Workers Party pointed out such facts as these. We pleaded with the Farmthe farmers have repudiated the eventually-realize that there is er-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

> 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. own national party independent of Carlson urged. Today only the all alliances with all capitalist most advanced workers and farmgroups. What is needed is a na- ers, the vanguard, see the truth tional labor party controlled and logic in this program. Tomanned and led by the organized morrow, by the thousands and hundreds of thousands, the exploited will flock to such a ban-

must be recalled, had as their al lies at that time the Communist Party, then the most ardent supporters of the New Deal (this was prior to the Hitler-Stalin pact). Thus, under the combined pres-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

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

Sailors Firm In Strike.

(Continued from Page 1).

strike. Finally they are indirectly appealing to Washington to embark on some kind of action were accepted a month later. against the Sailors Union.

were getting nowhere. The SUP, although the union with more men involved in steamschooner work than all the other unions combined, held up action in order to consult with the other unions. It offered them a united front: |

The offer was neither accepted nor rejected, but in the meanwhile, without consulting the SUP, the MFOW and the Cooks and Stewards took strike votes and tied up the ships.

UNITED ACTION REFUSED A few weeks later when it once again became clear that the shipowners were not at all disposed to grant any real concessions, the SUP once again appealed for united action. And making any real gains. We must once again the offer went abegging. Finally after weeks of of steamschooner cargo is still deadlock, with the large SUP moving up and down the coast steamschooner membership suf- despite the strike (Cargo is movfering most from the protracted ing in offshore vessels and by strike, the Stalinist Maritime truck and rail-Ed.) and that in Federation deadership signed the event we stay out we may agreements for the MFOW&W. not be able to prevent this. We ing force in pursuit of its objec-

Stewards, accepted wage increas- event of a protracted tie-up we es of \$7.50 and \$5.00 respectively are faced with a severe drain ter situation in a society based on and five cents an hour overtime. on our strike funds." crease with ten cents an hour might have added,

without consulting the SUP.

overtime. The shipowners had made similar proposals two weeks after the strike started; they It was therefore a tough gang

This disloyal factionalism has that the SUP had to negotiate characterized Stalinist policy with when they tried to wrest from the outset of the strike two some real demands for themmonths ago. At that time, the selves. The shipowners laid the SUP agreement with the opera- Firemen's agreement on the tors had expired. Negotiations table, offered it plus a few changes in working conditions. Take it or leave it! Besides, they refused to negotiate any further until the SUP membership had expressed itself. The SUP membership did: by a two to one vote it turned down the offer, The joint strike action and no agree- Masters Mates and Pilots likement signed until all unions had wise turned down an offer for a received satisfactory agreements. \$10 monthly increase and ten cents an hour overtime.

The present position of the SUP is best stated by the Negotiations Committee which said in its report to the membership:

"... we are faced with a split strike (offshore vessels operating while steamschooners are tied up-Ed), with three CIO unions ready to return to work and willing to do anything they can to prevent the Sailors from also remember that a great deal the MCS and the MEBA. Again are going to face a barrage of tive; but the oppressed class has publicity charging us with pro-The Firemen and Cooks and longing the strike, and in the in order to secure for itself a bet-

Nazis In France The London correspondent

of the JEWISH EXAMINER reports, in its Nov. 22 issue, mass arrests of "Trotskyists" by the Nazis in France, as a good-will gesture to Stalin.

Suddenly, says the correspondent, "the Nazis have taken to arresting great numbers of Jewish workers and intellectuals in the Germanheld zones of France on the sole charge that they are Trotskyists. This, of course leaves but one interpretation: that the Nazis are making a dramatic effort to insinuate themselves in Stalin's good

"London hears that the Soviet ruler is kept closely informed of this newest manifestation of Nazi friendship for him, and that he is assured by the Nazis that in 'their' France Stalin's bitter foes will not be permitted to

Whither England? Page 39.

Many 'Trotskyists' Reported Seized By

raise their heads."

"The oppressed class must support the oppressing class of its nation, when the latter is applynot the right to make use of force

Of an Agitator

Union Boy Gets Raise

Under the heading of "Trade Union Progress" or "Benefits of Organized Labor" we record the news that brother William Green was granted a wage increase by the AFL Convention from \$12,000 to \$20,000 per annum-and it is not Confederate money, either, Twenty grand is a nice piece of change any way you look at it, and the action of the convention shows what organized labor can do for a man who works neither with hand nor brain but only with the larynx.

Brother Green is not the only union boy who got something in his stocking a month before Christmas. Brother Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL, got raised from \$10,000 to 18,000. And that, as the saying goes, ain't hay. Green and Meany are still trailing behind John L. Lewis who is sacrificing his life for \$25,000 per year from the coal miners. Lewis swears by the Bible, especially that page where it says "The laborer is worthy of his hire"; and he is also strong for the other scriptural injunction, "Thou shall not muzzle the oz that treadeth out the corn." Lewis treads heavily, has a big muzzle and needs a lot of corn. But even he has been nosed out in the race for big money by Tobin who got raised from \$29,000 to \$30,000 per year at the recent convention of the big hearted teamsters.

Topping them all, is brother Jimmy Petrillo, head of the Musicians, who doubles up on two jobs; drawing down \$20,000 as president of the Chicago local and \$15,000 as International President-a total of 35 grand, and this of course doesn't include expenses and birthday presents. These are only a few who stand out conspicuously by the extraordinary size of their honoraria. The unions are lousy with run-ofthe-mill labor skates who struggle along on ten grand or so in regular salaries. Sidney Hillman, for example, puts up a poor mouth and does the best he can on \$12,500 per annum.

Who's against these wage scales which enable the labor leaders to keep body and soul together and have a little spending money in their pockets at all times? Many appealing arguments can be made and have been made for providing the labor leaders with a standard of living to which the rank and file are not ac-

(1) It gives the workers a sense of vicarious satisfaction to see their servants living on the fat of the land-they feel rich by proxy.

(2) It is a form of insurance to the unions against their representatives keeling over from malnutrition in the very midst of a conference with the bosses.

(3) It puts them on the same social plane as the bosses and frees them from inferiority complexes.

(4) It keeps them-or ought to keep them-from stealing from the union treasury.

Another important thing to remember is that Green got his raise without striking for it. In fact on the very day (or the day before) he opened his pay envelop and discovered eight thousand extra dollars peeping out at him, he was sounding off against strikes in "defense" industries in general, and the Vultee strike in particular.

On the same day (or the day after) he got his raise our hero pinned his ears back, oiled up his throat and gave out an oratorical and oracular pronouncement in favor of the "capitalist system." And no doubt he meant it sincerely, insofar as he knew what he was talking about. He was speaking from a practical and personal standpoint. Green, of course, is hardly a profound student of the history and anatomy of social systems, their origins, development, decline and replacement by others. This couldn't be expected of him. Since he quit coal mining 50 odd years ago his time has been pretty well taken up with preaching, praying, orating and drawing his pay check.

Green may not know much about the historical, philosophical and theoretical aspects of "the capitalist system," but he has got a damned good hunch about the practical side of the question. What he lacks in knowledge of the law of value and the automatic regulation of prices, he makes up in mother-wit and good old fashioned horse sense; and he figures that a system which makes it possible for a man to simply open his mouth, lean back on his haunches and bellow at regular intervals that "all is well," and then find an annual check for twenty thousand in his hand-

that is a first class system no matter what you call it. So far, so good. The workers who pay the bill are not stingy, they might as well be broke as the way they are, the fat salaries make the labor leaders happy and may keep them from stealing, so what the hell?

What These Salaries Actually Do

The main hitch is that the ten-twenty-thirty thousand a year salaries for the labor leaders provide thema standard of living far removed from that of the rank and file of the workers. The leaders live like pettybourgeoisie, and not so petty at that, and soon ccase to think like the poverty-stricken masses who have the dubious blessing of capitalism interpreted to them in the shape of inadequate diet, restricted educational possibilities for their children, unemployment, eviction notices and the policeman's club on the picket

Every once in a while this glaring contrast between the over-fed leaders and the under-fed masses is expressed in the most dramatic form. The concurrence of Green's raise of salary to \$20,000 per year and the strike of the Vultec workers against a wage scale of 50c. per hour was such an occasion. The workers went on strike, said nuts to the threats and pleas that they keep slaving at the old rate "in the interests of national defense," and inched up their pitiful wages to 621/2 cents. Green denounces the strike, praised the system which exploits and enslaves the masses, and calmly drew down a hike on his pay check from twelve thousand to twenty thousand per

They were both right-in their way. Only, they were each speaking from opposite sides of the picket line. The Vultee strikers spoke for themselves and for their oppressed class for whom "all" is not "well" by a long shot. Green spoke for himself-as an agent of the exploiting class operating in the labor movement. That is why they could not find a common

language on the question of strikes. There is a lesson in this coincidence. No doubt, oppression. Thus reads the bour- Green deserves his twenty grand. But why should The Engineers accepted a \$10 in- Thanks to the Stalinists, they goods criminal code."—Trotsky, the workers pay it? That's where the swindle comes in.