

Vote for Security and a Living Wage

May 30 1934

SMASH

THE

PROFITEERS



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Published by

WORKERS PARTY
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

This booklet was prepared by IRVING HOWE, Labor Action Editorial Board

A. VICTOR, Campaign Director

P. BERN, Organizer, Local New York, Workers Party

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Illustrations by R. NANCY KEENE
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Published by

WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Brooklyn Headquarters
276 Fulton Street
2nd Floor
Brooklyn, N. Y.

114 WEST 14TH STREET
New York 11, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-9681

Harlem Headquarters
2143 Seventh Avenue
Room 106
New York City

•
Workers Party Branches meet every Wednesday at 8:00 P. M.
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Set up, printed and bound by union labor
Printed in U.S.A.



It'll Soon Be Election Time Again . . .

Ma Friends . . .

He's a crook . . .

He's a crook . . .

(They're both crooks!)

Ah'm here to protect
the Southern ladies from
minimum wage laws. . . .

Take away some of the
power of the trade unions. . . .

Ah'm labor's frien. I just LOVE labor. . . .

The Democratic Party is your frien. . . .

The Republican Party is your frien. . . .

Everybody is your frien . . . at election time. . . .

Turn off that radio! Let me read Terry and the
Pirates where the humor is intentional and the
tying is harmless.

That's the picture you get of election time, isn't



It? Can't say we blame you.
Yet here we are—we of the
Workers Party—asking you to
read this little booklet about
elections, and about our two
candidates for Congress in
New York City, *Max Shacht-*
man in the 15th District in
Brooklyn and *Ernest Rice Mc-*
Kinney in the 22nd District in
Manhattan.

We think we have answers to the questions that
buzz around in a fellow's head until they drive
him whacky.

The answers to questions like:

Why Black Market?

Why are food prices sky-rocketing? How much
is your dollar really worth?

Is there going to be another war? When? Why
war anyway?

Let's Look At It This Way . . .

The most important elections this year are for Congress. Therefore, let's see what the issues are. Let's take as our starting point the end of the war

—from then until this coming election—and see what's happened.

One thing we can tell you right off: all the glory-road speeches and the sugar-sweet rhetoric of the war days are pretty much forgotten.

Those of us who were in service remember listening to those dreary Information and Education hours (at least you didn't have to march — and if it was dark, you could sleep too) when they told us how wonder-

ful life would be once the war was over and the "democracies" had won. I suppose those of you who remained at home got the same line.

Well, we were pretty skeptical all along—we were socialists who believed that the war wasn't a holy crusade for "democracy" but rather an imperialist war; that is, a war for profits, for economic domination.

And it looks as though all the "democracy" talk—and the babble about the Four Freedoms—was just . . . talk. Talk to prod us into war and into blood and into death. Talk to make us give up the greatest right a workingman has: his right to strike.

But what's happened since?

Look at this world. Is it the world of the Four Freedoms?

Or of Three?

Or of Two?

Or even of One Freedom?

They talked about Freedom from Want. But: Starvation rules the world.

In India, 20,000,000 will probably starve to death in the next few months.

In Berlin, TB has claimed every second child.



In Austria, people live on 800 to 1200 calories, one-third of what is necessary for health.

In England, they've instituted bread rationing.

In America—but we'll come to that.

Crazy world, isn't it? The capitalist countries make A Bombs, B Bombs, C Bombs, Z Bombs. Millions, Billions, Trillions for Death. Europe fertilized by the bones of a generation. America, too. ... Of course, this country got off easiest... no starvation. But we had food shortages, black markets and skyrocketing prices.

Crazy World, Isn't It?

That's the society we live in. It's good for destruction, for war, for death. BECAUSE THERE'S PROFIT IN THAT!

But it can't utilize its vast resources for peace the way it can for war!

Let's take another look at this world. They said—all the gum-beaters who get paid to lie: the columnists, the propagandists—they said that this would be the last war and it would bring freedom and peace. Not 1918; **THIS ONE IS DIFFERENT!** they said.

Was it?

You know what's been going on. Just as soon as

the Second World War was over—they started preparing for the THIRD.

Who? All the powers! Including Stalinist Russia.

They begin dividing up the world in cynical fashion without as much as a "by your leave" to the people concerned. They give a piece of Europe to this country, a piece to that.

The Stalinist dictatorship draws its "iron curtain" over Eastern Europe and brings its bloody totalitarian dictatorship to Hungary, Rumania, Poland and Yugoslavia.

The British play their old imperialist game, too. They play both ends—Arabs and Jews—against the middle in Palestine. They help the Dutch imperialists suppress the Indonesian revolution.

The French government—weak and feeble though it is—does its part in the imperialist game: It suppresses the Indo-Chinese revolution for national independence.

The United States "frees" the Philippines but controls them with dollars and naval bases.

The American government, for all its protestations of nobility, is right in there squabbling over how to divide the world at those secret Big Four conferences. (Why are they secret? What are these "statesmen" ashamed of?)

It is the same old imperialist struggle. The people are never consulted.

And Then—The Atom Bomb

Remember the atomic bomb? Everyone played around with it as if it might go off one of these days—as it might.

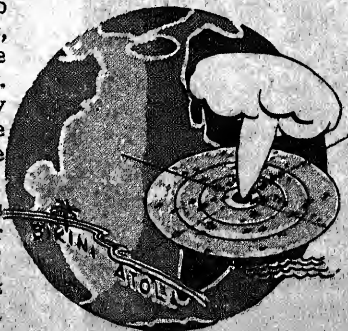
But they kept on manufacturing it. They went out to a lonely island in the Pacific and there they tested it.

And even before the test, a spokesman for the Army informed Congress that there was something else: a new kind of bacteriological warfare.

This new form of bacteriological warfare has a tremendous advantage. It destroys people, but it does not destroy factories. The atom bomb would destroy some of the things for which soldiers are sent to die; the factories, the wealth of the enemy country. But here is a new weapon. Kills the enemy; not the wealth.

Ain't progress wonderful?—for the capitalists!

It is against this background



—a world in deep social crisis; that we now turn to the main part of this booklet: a discussion of domestic events since August 1945. But we cannot forget this background. For we cannot separate ourselves from it; we are part of it.

The Great Strike Wave

What was the most important event, or series of events, in American life since the end of the war? We don't have to think twice to answer that one. It was the great strike wave.

The strike wave that swept the country from end to end: auto workers, packinghouse workers, steel workers, electrical workers, miners. Every major section of the American labor movement swept into action—it took one's breath away.

We all knew what it meant when it happened. Workers were tired—tired of being told not to strike because of the "national emergency" (the "national emergency" which didn't prevent fabulous profits); tired of long hours and tired of the rising price spiral which cancelled out wage increases.

So America's workers struck.

And of course you know who was at the head of that strike parade. It was the GM section of the United Automobile Workers (CIO).

These auto workers of GM are among the fightingest in the country. Usually what they say and do today, other sections of the working class will say and do tomorrow.

But even more important: **THEY HAD A PROGRAM.**

What was this program? We of the *Workers Party* and the weekly associated with it, **LABOR ACTION**, called it the GM Strike Program.

Ordinarily when workers go out on strike, they just ask for wage increases, improvements in conditions and let it go at that. But the GM workers saw the wage increases were being eaten up by price increases. It became a vicious circle. Therefore, they said:

—We want a voice in determining what their profits are going to be.

—We want wage increases without any increases in the price of GM products. Let the wage increases come out of the gigantic profits of the corporation.

And in order to accomplish this, we want the right to examine GM's books.



Open the Books!

Let's see what is going on. That doesn't mean how much profit you made last year; anybody can find that in the public library. It means: Let us take a look at your cost accounting system. Let us see what you are planning, for this year and next. We will prove you can increase wages without increasing prices!

This **GM STRIKE PROGRAM** represented a tremendous advance for the American workers. And that is why the *Workers Party* candidates for Congress, **Max Shachtman** and **Ernest Rice McKinney**, feel it is so important. Of course, the way Walter Reuther, who was associated in the public eye with the program, sometimes put it, the whole thing seemed merely a conservative "reasonable" request.

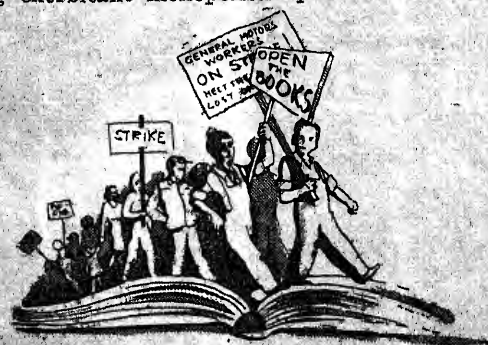
But when you considered the implications of this program, then you could see that it was dynamite —and for our side.

Why?

Because (as *Max Shachtman*, the national chairman of our party, the *Workers Party*, wrote) "it signified a vote of non-confidence in the 'managers' of 'free enterprise,' a demand for direct intervention by labor in the running of the economy as a whole, for only the direct control of the

economy can make possible the regulation of wages AND prices AND profits. From this demand to the demand for a government which will control wages, prices and profits, in the interests of labor or of the 'consumer' there is only one step..."

Suppose, asked some people, suppose the corporations can't pay a decent wage without charging exorbitant monopolistic prices? What then?



Walter Reuther, who is still fiddling with the capitalist parties, had a hard time answering—because he'd been babbling about preserving the "rights" of the capitalists.

The *Workers Party* and its candidates, *Max*

Shachtman and *Ernest Rice McKinney*, who believe that the only right a capitalist should have is the right to go to work and make an honest living like the rest of us; we had a good answer to that one:

We said that if they couldn't pay decent wages and maintain low prices, the corporations were no good.

As *Max Shachtman* wrote to the GM strikers: "Your demands on GM are not only a challenge to the corporation; they are a challenge to the labor movement. If you say that industry can do these things and the monopolists say that industry cannot, then it is perfectly logical for YOU to take over industry and prove in practice that your demands are realizable. By their position, the monopolists have proved that they are SOCIAL bankrupts. Remove these bankrupts from control of industry by demanding the nationalization of the industry under workers control..."

The GM Strike Program led to the idea of workers taking over industry. It led to the idea of NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL. America's capacity to produce *plenty for all* is a proven fact. Our rich natural resources, our tremendous machinery of production and our skilled labor force need but a *central plan* to pour out products that will give

everyone a life of security, comfort and leisure. The only bottleneck is private ownership and operation for private profit. The huge industrial plants, mines, transportation and communication systems, banks and chain stores should be owned by the nation and operated *under workers' control* in accordance with a national plan of production. This is one of the main election planks of the *Workers Party*.

Simultaneous with the strike wave, there came a reaction from Congress and the Truman administration. Congress, you may remember, was in large part elected with the support of the Political Action Committee (PAC) of the CIO. The Truman administration claimed to be liberal.

Workers Have No Congress

But the true character of both Congress and the Truman administration—as of all capitalist governments—was completely revealed during the strike wave.

How they ranted and raved—these anti-labor congressmen—many elected with PAC support.

And Truman went out and broke the railroad workers strike.

Truman introduced into Congress a fascist slave labor bill which would have made it possible to draft strikers into the army.

Congress passed the Case Bill, which would have cut deeply into labor's right to strike.

On all sides, Washington hummed with anti-labor hysteria—Democrats and Republicans, conservatives and liberals alike. Labor needed its own men in Congress, but it didn't have them there.

That means, we said to the workers, you need a government of your own, a workers government. And to get that government, the *first* step, though not the last one, is to organize a political party of your own.

In fact, the two main weapons which workers need today are the GM Strike Program on the economic front; an independent labor party on the political front. For both of these, the *Workers Party* candidates stand pledged to fight.

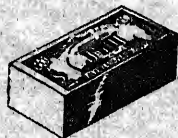
But . . . let's not get ahead of ourselves. We have already discussed the strike wave and the GM Program. We showed what strength the American working class has, how militant it can be. Now let's continue our story.



Let's Take A Look At . . .

PROFITS

(Their's: the bosses.)



AND WAGES

(Our's: the workers.)



AND PRICES

(They charge them;
we pay them.)



AND HOUSING

(They own them; we
pay rent, when we're
lucky enough to find
one to live in.)



And the idea we just discussed briefly: a *Labor Party*.

And then we'll wind up with a few words about ourselves, the *Workers Party*, where we stand, what we do and what we believe in—though all along we'll say a few words about our attitude toward each of these questions.

Profits!

You remember the scandal after the First World War.

Brother, that was nothing! Compared to this war, the profits in the First World War were like comparing a small storekeeper to the A. & P.

During the four war years of 1915-1918, U. S. industry made a profit after taxes of 28.5 billion dollars.



During the five war years of 1940-1945, U. S. industry made a profit *after taxes* of 56 billion dollars.

(A War for Democracy—they said to us—A War for the Four Freedoms—they said to us—A War for a Sacred Cause—they said to us.)

56 BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF IT!

During this war the number of billion-dollar companies in the U. S. increased by 11, making a total of 43.

Net profits *after taxes* during the five war years (1940-1945) averaged 250 per cent above pre-war levels.

Since Pearl Harbor (1942-1945) profits *after taxes* averaged 300 per cent higher than pre-war levels.

Let's break this down a little.

Here are some of the percentage increases in 1944 profits as compared with average (1936-1939) profits.

Motor vehicle parts	896%
Iron, Steel and by-products	252%
Lumber, Timber and by-products	1064%
Electrical machinery	434%

Aircraft equipment	318%
Transportation equipment	1686%
Food and Food products	150%
Meat products	271%
Rubber products	698%
Bituminous and other soft coal	1148%

The United Auto Workers made a study of 26 aircraft companies and their earnings which is staggering.

1936-1939	\$20,554,274
1941-1944	173,598,422
Increase	745%

But wait a minute. The corporations will soon be getting a flat ten per cent rebate on war-time payments of excess profits tax. This sum alone will amount to about \$2,840,000,000.

Yet these profit-soaked corporations had the gall to say they "couldn't afford" to pay higher wages before the recent strikes!

The *Workers Party* candidates stand for:

A 100 per cent tax on all war-time profits! Let no man have profits from the war in which our brothers spilled their blood!

A \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes of individuals!

A graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth to provide the funds necessary to build houses, hospitals, schools, to provide adequate unemployment insurance for the unemployed, to take care of socially necessary projects.

SOAK THE RICH! Against all sales taxes and other hidden methods of picking the pockets of the poor!

There's one side of the story: fantastic, incredible profits for the corporations. Now let's see how the workers made out.

Prices and Wages

When the author of this booklet began preparing material for it, he collected some statistics on prices. By the time he put them together, prices had risen again. The profiteers can raise prices faster than you can collect information about them. . . .

But then the author thought: why give statistics on prices anyway?

You know about it in terms of your own pinched budget. You know that you get less and less for

your dollar when you go to the store to buy something.

Take, for instance, an increase which the OPA allowed as "reasonable"—an increase in the price of butter of 11 cents a pound, an increase in the price of cheddar cheese of 6 cents a pound, and in evaporated milk of one cent per can.

That hits you in your pocketbook, of course. But imagine what it means on a nation-wide scale.

It means an increase to the consumers—that is, the working people and their wives primarily—of a total in one year of \$250,000,000!

And that's just for small items. Imagine the really big price jumps.

For instance: the price increases in meat which took place in the **FIRST TWO DAYS** after OPA lapsed come to about 40 per cent. That means, even if it had not gone up another penny, there



was an additional cost to consumers—and additional profits to the meat packers—of **\$2,600,000,000!**

Two billion six hundred million dollars. In meat alone!

Another example: the milk companies say they'll "have to" ("have to"—who's forcing them?) raise the price of a quart of milk by four cents. In a year that would cost the consumers an additional—**\$900,000,000!**

When you have to pay two cents more per bottle of milk and if you use two bottles a day, that means:

Fourteen dollars and sixty cents more a year—just for milk!

That's what the price increases would mean. And that's only the beginning. (This booklet is being written a few days after the new businessmen's OPA has been adopted by Congress and signed by President Truman. The price spiral is continuing to mount; God



only knows where it will be by the time you read it.)

Before OPA was abolished, the cost of living had risen by 50 per cent. (The cost of cotton garments went up 84 per cent.) And that was only the beginning.

To stem this tide of profiteering, OPA proved to be a dike with many holes. It was flabby and weak. One incident tells the whole story about its character. Its then director, Chester Bowles, denounced in December 1945 the leather companies for having made profits of 730 per cent over pre-war levels. A few days later he allowed them an increase of four and a half per cent in the price of shoes. OPA was really a kind of "controlled inflation."

Yet even that annoyed some of the profiteers and blackmarketers. They wanted a run-away market. They wanted a field-day in which they could filch the people without restraint. And Congress, ever responsive to their desires regardless of the suffering and hardship it might impose on the masses of people, came through nobly for the profiteers. The bill it passed was so rotten that even President Truman had to veto it.

After three weeks of labor and consumer demonstrations and buyers strikes Congress finally created a new zombie OPA—a walking corpse. A busi-

nessmen's OPA without real price control but with a guarantee to profits. Prices are rising and therefore our pay envelopes are getting smaller each hour. What shall we do?

But before we answer the question of what to do, let's discuss for a minute one very important related problem.

It's a Lie!

I'm sure you've heard that the reason there's not enough food in America is that we're sending a lot of it to feed Europe.

This kind of talk is vicious. It is not only vicious—it is untrue.

And here's why:

There is plenty of food in America; enough for ourselves and for many of the people in other countries.

You know where that food is?

It is being deliberately held back by the profiteers who have created artificial scarcities in order to jack up prices.

The food is being held back by the large cattle ranchers.



It is being held back by the packing house companies—WHO ARE REVELING IN THE BIGGEST PROFIT KILL OF THEIR HISTORIES!

It is being held back in the warehouses by the wholesale companies.

And that's where the clothes are, too!

Held back by these highway-robbers whom,

in moments of politeness, we call capitalists—held back to smash price control—held back to squeeze us dry—held back to create artificial scarcity!

The N. Y. Times of June 28th reports, for instance, that "Wheat Elevators Are Bulging." Then why not relieve the bulge?

How explain that practically no cattle was coming into the Chicago stock yards on June 30th—and on July 2nd, after the OPA had lapsed and the packing houses could legalize their black market prices, cattle poured into the stock yards in enormous quantities?

Let's not be fooled by this demagogic talk about food being diverted to Europe. Let's not allow the vicious characters who print tripe in the Hearst, McCormick and Patterson papers to create a spirit of hatred between us and our brother workers in Europe.

The *Workers Party* candidates say:

Our real enemies are at home.

They are the capitalists!

They are the blackmarketeers!

They are the profiteers!

They are the big ranchers!

They have conducted a great conspiracy against us. They are trying to squeeze out of us in prices what we won in wages through hard and bitter struggle on the picket lines of this country; through our blood and sacrifice; through our unions and struggles.

This conspiracy must be smashed!

When it was a matter of producing for war, the capitalist system of America performed miracles. Why can't it do the same for peace-time needs?

And if it can't, what good is it?

What Shall We Do?

We've got to do something! We think we have some answers. None of the following ideas by themselves will do the trick; they have to be taken together as a unified program for militant labor activity on the price problem. This is what the *Workers Party* candidates propose:

POINT 1 IN THE FIGHT ON PRICES

Who really causes the shortages and high prices? It's the big companies. They have a stranglehold on distribution. How could there be a black market in meat if the big packers weren't somehow involved?

That's why when the GM section of the United Automobile Workers went on strike recently, they said: We want a wage raise but the wage raise should be taken out of profits. If there were a jump in prices as a result of our wage increase and if the same thing took place in other industries, then the wage increases wouldn't be worth a damn.

Therefore, the *Workers Party*, basing itself on the GM Program, says: let the workers in each

industry, through their unions and 'stewards' committees and special price committees, control the prices of **THEIR OWN** industry. If each union held the price line in its own industry, then we could hold the price line everywhere. (And if there were some unorganized factories around, a few visits from the CIO and AFL Councils might convince them.)

Such committees would get to the price problem at its source. For who knows better than the workers in any given industry what kind of chiseling is going on.

POINT 2 IN THE FIGHT ON PRICES

Prices can be controlled throughout *the process of distribution* by committees of workers consisting of railroad men, truck drivers, warehousemen, clerks, office help, etc.



POINT 3 IN THE FIGHT ON PRICES

The wives of the men in the shops have to move into action as well. Prices can be controlled at the *point of sale*. They should form neighborhood committees to cooperate with labor against local profiteers. They can organize Buyers Strikes. Even if it might not lower prices directly, a buyers strike would be

a dramatic demonstration to help mobilize the people in the fight.

POINT 4 IN THE FIGHT ON PRICES

Trying to keep prices down won't do the trick alone. *Wage raises* are long overdue.

The Packinghouse Workers (CIO) have a good idea. They demand a minimum annual wage, plus

a bonus arrangement by which wages go up in proportion to the cost of living, but don't go down when prices get lower. In other words, wages keep pace with prices.

POINT 5 IN THE FIGHT ON PRICES

The biggest culprit is the food industry, which means primarily the packers and wholesalers.

Why not nationalize the food industries? Why not take them over under government ownership and have local committees of the workers involved, control the plants and packing houses?

The *Workers Party* candidates say:

NATIONALIZE THE FOOD INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL:

This is the *Workers Party's* idea of how to conduct a price control



campaign. The job is up to the labor movement. Every militant unionist should raise these matters in his local. And a vote for *Shachtman* and *McKinney* is a vote for this program.

Clear the Slums!

A few days ago a veteran in Los Angeles, unable to find a place to sleep, parked his family in the city hall area and set up housekeeping. The news hardly received much publicity; it was old stuff by now. This incident symbolized a nationwide state of affairs.

America has never had enough decent houses. There are still

Eleven million homes without running water

Fifteen million without private toilets

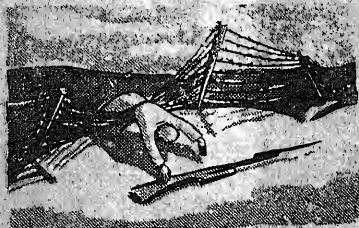
Seventeen million without private baths

Seven million in need of major repairs.

By the end of 1946, according to the National Housing Agency, we shall have 3,401,000 families forced to live with relatives or to double up with others.

Why has at least one-third of the nation always had to live in slums? The real estate interests preferred to build expensive apartment houses or collect high rents on slum property.





\$400 BILLION FOR WAR



**WHY NOT \$250 BILLION
FOR HOUSING?**

During the depression there was very little building. During the war, there was next to no building of permanent homes, and a cessation of repairs and improvements.

And the housing crisis threatens to become worse. The returning veterans desire—and rightly so—a place of their own in which to live. (There's nothing like a barracks to develop one's taste for privacy.) In New York City, at the present time, 211,000 veterans' families are unable to obtain a place to live.

What are our needs for the coming years? There is today a shortage of eight million homes in this country. Ten years from now, we will have another five to six million new families in need of homes.

That means that in the next ten years we must clear eight million units which are unfit for human habitation and beyond repair; we must repair four and one-half million units which are in bad condition; and we must build at least 16 million new housing units. (These statistics are based on surveys in *Fortune Magazine*, CIO studies and figures of National Housing Agency.)

But private construction companies have never succeeded in building more than one-half million new homes in a year. Our needs are at least five times as much.

What is clearly needed then, is an immediate bold program of slum clearance and housing construction. The *Workers Party* candidates advocate:

A 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at reasonable rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.

A national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 26 million permanent, low-cost housing units.

THIS PROGRAM SHOULD CONSTRUCT HOMES FOR WHICH WORKERS CAN PAY— THAT IS, AT RATES OF \$7 TO \$12 PER ROOM! IF YOU CUT OUT PRIVATE PROFIT FROM HOUSING CONSTRUCTION, THAT IS PERFECTLY POSSIBLE.

This country found it possible to waste \$400 billion for an imperialist war. Why not spend \$250 billion for homes, for schools, for hospitals, —a constructive purpose. This must be the demand which the workers raise.

Lynch Mobs Ride Again!

There is one section of the population which is still learning the bitter lesson of what it means to be an oppressed minority group under capitalism. The Negro people, one-tenth of the nation, were wooed and enticed during the war years; when the capitalist government needed Negro youth to die on the battlefields, to work on the Ledo Road, it began to speak about abolishing discrimination. It even created the Fair Employment Practices Committee which was supposed to outlaw discrimination in employment. Of course, the



FEPC was a pretty weak business all along, but the very fact of its existence was a victory.

Now, however, that the war is over and the capitalist government no longer needs the Negro youth as it did during the war, the old pattern is returning. Congress has just killed the FEPC. Job discrimination is returning. Negroes are again tasting the terror of mob violence and police brutality —as witness the tragedies of Columbia, Tennessee; Freeport, Long Island, and the lynchings in Georgia on the heels of the Talmadge campaign. The scandal of race discrimination, that living mockery of all

the talk about "democracy" in America, is still with us.

Operation Dixie, the unionization drive in the South, will not only raise the standard of living but will also create the mass base for trade union committees to defend racial minorities. The workers organizations must organize the defense of its own people.

Max Shachtman and *Ernest Rice McKinney*—the latter of whom is the *Workers Party* candidate in Harlem and has a long history as a leader of the Negro people in their struggle for democratic rights—stand committed to the following planks:

FOR FULL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR NEGROES!

MAKE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT, IN HOUSING, AND ALL PUBLIC PLACES A CRIMINAL OFFENCE!

SUPPORT LEGISLATION FOR EFFECTIVE ACTION AGAINST LYNCHING!

FULL SUPPORT TO THE UNION DRIVE TO ORGANIZE THE SOUTH!

Pretty Good Idea— But How?

Perhaps as you have been reading this booklet you have been thinking, pretty good idea, but how are we going to get it? We can't expect the Democrats and Republicans to do that for us....

Exactly. That's just the point! We can't expect the Democrats and Republicans to do these things for us, because that's not THEIR job. Their job is to serve the basic interests of the ruling class of this country, that is, the capitalists, the monopolists, and profiteers—America's Sixty Families. They may sometimes pretend to be friends of labor—they break into that rash regularly, like the seven-year itch, around election time—but that's just to get votes. One of them may be more liberal than the other; one may be better; but as a group they are not *our* representatives.

REPRESENTATIVES CELLER AND POWELL.

Even the Democrats who also run on the American Labor Party ticket in New York are not our representatives.... Democrats like Emanuel Celler and Adam Clayton Powell. They cannot fight for the above program on a national scale. Such a fight means creating a national Labor Party based

on the trade unions. Creating such a labor party means a definite break with the Democratic Party; the party of Bilbo and Rankin. Are Representatives Celler and Powell breaking with the Democratic Party? Of course not! They are running for another term on the same party ticket with Bilbo and Rankin.

Do they even want to break with the party which maintains the system of profiteering, the Democratic Party? If so, why did Emanuel Celler introduce an amendment to the Constitution to fix a permanent tax limit of 25 per cent on income? People with incomes below \$5,000 per year *should pay no income tax*. But the profiteers who make than \$50,000 a year *should pay more than half of their income in taxes*. Representative Celler is a member of a large and prosperous law firm; he organized the Brooklyn National Bank and was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Brooklyn National Corporation before becoming a congressman.

Celler and Powell are not Labor Congressmen. They *belong* with the Democrats.



It's like supporting company unions. It doesn't pay. A company union, whatever its promises, isn't responsible to the workers; it's responsible to the bosses. And a capitalist party, whatever its promises, isn't responsible to the workers; it too is responsible to the bosses.

The time has come for a declaration of political independence by American labor. Through its unions, numbering more than 15,000,000 members, it has demonstrated its economic power—but only to see this power always frustrated in Washington. Its gains won on the picket line were often lost in Washington.

It is time for labor to organize itself for **INDEPENDENT** political action against the capitalist class. That is—**A LABOR PARTY**.

A national labor party, independent of all ties with the two capitalist parties and in active opposition to them, would signify American labor's coming of age.

Such a labor party should have as its program the points of labor struggle we have outlined in the preceding pages. It would then be the political

arm of the American workers as the trade union movement is its economic arm. It could carry into the political arena the voice of labor and it could fight for its demands.

A labor party would signify once and for all that the American workers were through with any kind of flirtations with the two capitalist parties, that they were no longer the "poor cousins" of American politics. It would mean that, on the contrary, the American workers were on the road to taking what their numbers entitle them to—the power of government. For the logical outcome of the growth of a labor party would be a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT. Such a government really could put into practice the things we have written about here; such a government would represent us, rather than the bosses. Such a government is the hope of our class and the first step toward it is to create an independent labor party.

And now, before we sign off, just a word about ourselves, that is the party in whose behalf this is being written:

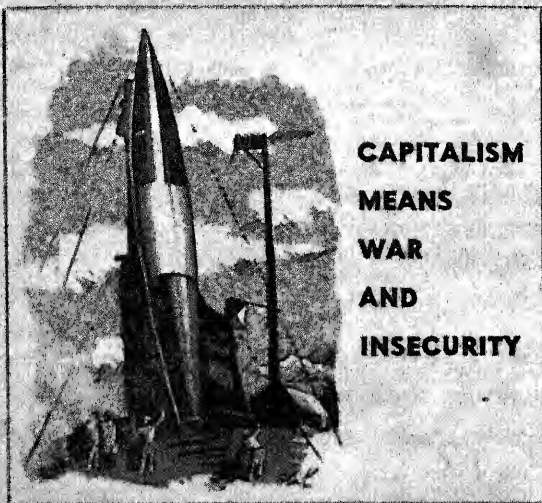
The Workers Party

We are a party of revolutionary socialism. That is—we believe in the need for a complete and total change in the form of our society. That's why we say we are revolutionary. We also believe that this change should take the form of a democratically organized socialist society—one in which the people own the wealth together and produce for use rather than for profit.

We urge you to think about the society in which we live. Hasn't it shown its bankruptcy? Its uselessness? Its inability to give the masses of the people what they want and need? Its constant movement toward war?

The vast productive capacities of this country which were so completely utilized for war purposes—if they were used for peaceful, constructive purposes in a socialist society where no profiteering and no selfish interests would stand in the way of the common good, what a magnificent life of plenty and peace and good we could have!

That is what our aim is. But we are also deeply



involved in the day to day issues and needs of the working class; our eyes are not only fixed on the future, but are aware of the present.

We are, we have said, a party of revolutionary socialism. A word of distinction is necessary about

that. We are not the same as the Norman Thomas Socialist Party, which wavers between the milk and water variety of parlor socialism and just watery pacifist liberalism. We are a party that believes in the need for struggle, and not for lady-like preaching.

We have even less in common with the so-called "communist" party (Stalinists), which is merely the



puppet of the totalitarian dictatorship of Stalin in Russia and which dances to whatever tune Stalin whistles. The Stalinists are the most vicious and deadly enemies of a free labor movement; they have nothing in common with socialism.

We, on the contrary, believe that socialism means not merely a thoroughly complete change in society, that is, a revolutionary one, but also that this change must be directed toward a new society which is thoroughly democratic and socialist in character.

And those of our readers who live in either the 15th Congressional District in Brooklyn or the 22nd Congressional District in Manhattan, we urge you to vote for the candidates which our party has put up in those districts, as a means of expressing your solidarity with our program.

Every vote for the candidates of the Workers Party will strengthen its campaign to win the labor movement for the above program. However, its elected representatives, while relying primarily on the direct action of the organized working class, would fight for such legislation as would facilitate the carrying out of this program.

Our party advocates and fights for that new society. Our party also struggles for a whole host of immediate needs of the working class, as we have outlined in these pages.

We urge you to read more of the literature of our party, as advertised on the following pages of this booklet. We urge you to come up to our headquarters so that we can talk about many of these things in greater detail. We urge you to write to us.

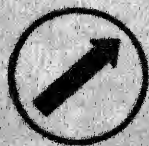
VOTE FOR

MAX SHACHTMAN

IN THE 15th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN BROOKLYN

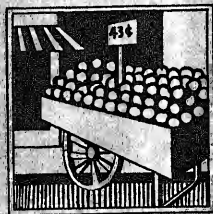
ERNEST RICE McKINNEY

IN THE 22nd CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN MANHATTAN



***VOTE* WORKERS PARTY**

Program of the Workers Party



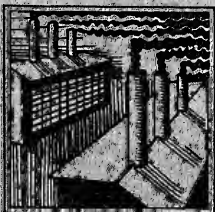
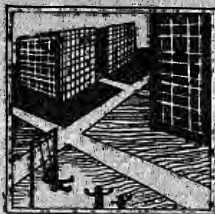
I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

Wipe out profiteering and high prices by action. Only the workers can control prices. Labor must have the decisive voice in determining the prices of consumer commodities. For wage increases without price increases. For popular price control committees.



II. For a Living Wage

1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.
2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.
3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$2,500 annual minimum.



III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.

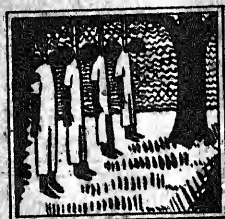
2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 26 million permanent low-cost housing units.

IV. Tax the Profiteers

For a 100 per cent tax on all war-time profits above five per cent on invested capital. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.

V. Nationalize Big Business

For the nationalization of the big monopolies: the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks. To be owned by the nation and operated under workers control.



VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

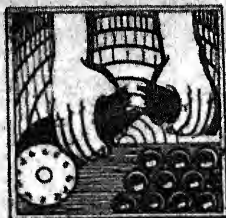
For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

1. For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.
2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.

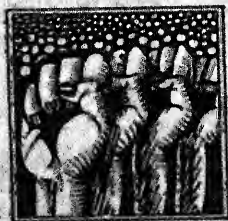
VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

1. Readjustment allowance, on the job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.
2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.



IX. For Peace and Freedom

1. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.
2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.



X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

For an independent Labor Party of the workers and working farmers based on the trades unions. Break with the Republican and Democratic Parties. For a government of, by and for labor.

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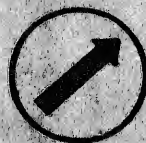
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