

**HOW TO GET**

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**JOBS  
FOR  
ALL**

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**ISSUED BY  
WORKERS PARTY  
ELECTION CAMPAIGN  
COMMITTEE**

**5c**



154% enlargement

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**WORKERS PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

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## To Every Worker in New York

**W**HO will get your vote for Mayor in the November elections?

You say that you haven't given the matter any thought? You say that you spend your time worrying about whether you'll have a job and enough pay to live on?

So do we all.

**Then why not vote for a party that wants what you want and has a program for getting it?**

You say that there isn't any such animal? You say that the only jobs the politicians worry about are juicy jobs for themselves? In that case, voting would be a waste of time.

**BUT THE FACT IS** that *you* have it in *your power* to make the coming election different from all past elections. *You* can show the way to the workers of the whole country—the way to security and plenty for all the people of America.

The WORKERS PARTY in this pamphlet tells you why and how.

### **Is Unemployment Fun?**

Early in May, LaGuardia announced his retirement.

At once some people, including leaders of both AFL and CIO unions, proclaimed their affection for LaGuardia and demanded that the Democrats and Republicans choose a candidate who would continue "honest, clean, able . . . government."

Another voice (the *Daily News*) said New Yorkers

were fed up with honesty and wanted the return of Jimmy Walker and the Tammany machine, so the city could have some fun again. This might mean a little "honest graft," but that wouldn't matter much.

We are opposed to any kind of graft. The workers certainly get no benefit from it. But who could be against fun?

The trouble is that it's very hard to have fun when you're unemployed. The editors of the *Daily News* undoubtedly had both jobs and fun in Walker's day. The records show, however, that for every 100 New Yorkers who had factory jobs in the 1925-27 period, there were only 55 in the summer of 1932. Some fun for the workers who were pounding the streets!

About this time employed workers were having fun, too—making ends meet. Just compare the average wages in New York City machine and metal shops for the fall of 1929 and the fall of 1933:

	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>
<b>1929</b> .....	<b>\$35.00</b>	<b>\$18.00</b>
<b>1933</b> .....	<b>23.00</b>	<b>13.00</b>

## **Unemployment Not "Cleaned Up"**

That's enough about fun. Now, let's have a look at clean and able government under LaGuardia.

Six long years after 1932, in the summer of 1938, the factories of our city were still employing only 82 workers for every 100 of the 1925-27 period. Average weekly earnings in all the city's factories were about \$28.50.

This doesn't tell the whole story. There were thousands of young workers who had no chance for real jobs at all. The best they could hope for was the CCC or the NYA. Remember?

These young people, all over the nation and in New York City as well, came to be called the "locked-out generation." They weren't in favor of dirty machine politics, but "clean" government couldn't solve their problems, either.

By the middle of 1940, with the war in Europe already giving business a boost, New York factories still employed only 90 for every 100 in 1925-27.

But, because the working population increased, the census of 1940 showed the following picture for jobs of all kinds, factory and otherwise:

<b>Employed</b>	<b>On WPA, etc.</b>	<b>Seeking Work</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>82</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>

Out of every 100, there were 18 unemployed (as compared with 15 in the United States as a whole). Of the 18, the WPA and similar projects took care of only three.

Let's put it another way. According to the census, over 635,000 New Yorkers were altogether unemployed or on WPA.

The Negroes of the city, "last to be hired and first to be fired," were worst off of all. About 28 of every 100 were unemployed, and only eight or nine of the 28 were on WPA.

**That's how "clean and honest" government solved the job problem.**

"But," the top labor leaders say, "we aren't for clean government all by itself. We're against reaction. We're for Roosevelt's program. LaGuardia was honest and a New Dealer besides. That's the kind of candidate we're demanding from the politicians."

Good! Now we're getting down to something more

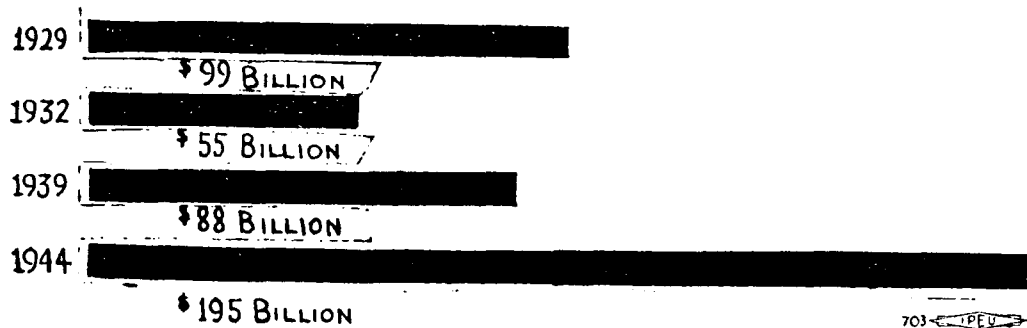
important. Not "clean" or dirty politics in one city, but Old or New Deal politics in the country as a whole.

## **New Deal Fails Too**

Old Deal politics, Hooverism, failed completely. And New Deal politics? In spite of some long overdue reforms, the New Deal fell far, far short of solving the problem of the workers. The story for New York has been told above. For the whole United States, the record shows that in 1939, the last year before the war, there were at least ten million unemployed.

**Finally, we all did get jobs—not from the Old Deal, not from the New Deal, but from the War Deal. Only the war solved the unemployment problem—temporarily—in its own murderous way. And, for all its blood and destruction, this war did something else of value. It made clear to everybody how abundantly America can produce.**

Here is the record, for a few key years, of the total national production of goods and services:



### **HOW PRODUCTION GREW**

## **Whose Miracle of Production?**

Who accomplished this "miracle of production," as the newspapers call it? Not the capitalists. They refused to risk their money on new war plants in spite of big tax favors. The government invested \$5.00 for every \$1.00

invested by private industry. Then the plants—over \$15 billions in plants—were turned over to the great monopolies to run on leases or as “managers” on a fee basis. This was done by Roosevelt, not by Hoover.

**The government guaranteed profits—huge profits, two and a half times as big after all taxes as before the war.**

**The government provided raw materials from all over the world.**

**The government froze workers in their jobs and tied wages to the Little Steel Formula.**

**And so on—**

The monopolies complained about their taxes, abused the workers, boasted of what Ford, du Pont and the rest were doing for the war effort (in advertising paid for by the government) and raked in the profits.

**It was GOVERNMENT ACTION that planned the huge war production, not private business and its famous system of free enterprise.**

## ***Make Your Vote Count!***

What has the coming election in New York to do with all this?

The election gives us the opportunity, if we know how to use it, to say: “If we could have government action in wartime to plan full production and full employment, we must have equally strong government action in peacetime—not in the interest of profits and imperialist grabs, but for the benefit of all the people.”

That is what New York workers can say to workers all over the United States. The great problems of production and employment cannot possibly be solved in this city alone, but New York workers can begin to solve these problems for themselves by launching a movement for workers everywhere to follow.

## **New York No Exception**

At the time this is being written, cutbacks and layoffs are getting into full swing. Hours are being cut, while wage rates are frozen and prices keep rising. Workers are being down-graded. Entire plants are being closed. The great planners in government and business simply have "no plans" for these workers and these plants.

For every 100 workers in New York City's factories in February of last year, there were fewer than 92 in February of this year. In the machine and metal plants, where weekly earnings have been much higher than anywhere else, the drop was from 100 to 84.

## **How Veterans Are "Adjusted"**

We read that veterans in large numbers are collecting unemployment benefits—of \$20 or less—under the famous GI Bill of Rights. They could get jobs, says a New York City representative of the War Manpower Commission, but they "have a fantastic idea of what jobs are paying. . . . The veterans want to stay at home. They feel that New York can supply them with whatever jobs they want. But it can't. . . . In the long run, they generally come down a lot when they see they can't get the salaries they want. . . . Many men earned more in the service than they could get in private industry."

**What happened to that story we used to hear that the no-strike pledge and the Little Steel Formula were designed for the benefit of the boys in the foxholes and the dear ones they left behind?**

Another WMC representative, on May 28th of this year, described full employment in the future as only "a hope and a prayer."

On the same date a CIO member of the Regional War Labor Board stated that the picture was blacker than had been painted.



On the same date the City Welfare Commissioner said that unless the government takes "extraordinary" means to prevent it, the post-war years would see a "substantial" drop in employment. City officials take such a serious view of the situation, he added, that plans are already being made for a larger relief load with the return of peace.

## **Time to Act**

**The time to act and act boldly is NOW! The pre-war past is already becoming the post-war future.**

What must be done? This is the program proposed by the WORKERS PARTY:



**CAPITALIST POST-WAR PLAN**

# I: The Guaranteed Annual Living Wage

**G**OVERNMENT planning provided goods in unheard-of quantities for a destructive war.

Government planning can provide as much and far more for peacetime abundance and security.

It is now possible for every American family to live in comfort. There is no excuse at all for allowing one-third of the nation (the true percentage was higher than that) to go ill-clothed, ill-housed and ill-fed.

A writer in *Readers' Digest* of May, 1945, states:  
"Already there are discharged veterans who are saying: 'The country could feed me and give me clothes and furnish medical care, so long as I was fighting. We can provide jobs for everybody while the war is on—why can't we do the same thing in peacetime . . . ?'"

The government has guaranteed profits both during the war and (by tax refunds and subsidies) for several years after the war to the big corporations and the big farm interests.

**THE WORKERS PARTY says:**

**The government must now guarantee, without any strings, the very modest annual wage of \$2500 (\$50 a week) to all who want to work, to veterans and non-veterans, to men and women, to white workers and to Negro workers.**

This is a minimum wage. The CIO union of shipyard workers has already demanded a HIGHER minimum in its industry for first-class mechanics—\$3,000 a year.

**THE WORKERS PARTY says further:**

**The government must guarantee an annual income of \$5000 to every family.**

## ***For the Unemployed and Veterans***

For the immediate period ahead, while working men and women are being laid off, the WORKERS PARTY demands:

1. Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependencies to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs.

2. All workers thrown into unemployment during the reconversion period should be absorbed into industry by a reduction in the work week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

3. All demobilized veterans should receive a two years' base pay grant, with the option of going to trade school or institutions of higher learning at government expense, while their families are guaranteed adequate maintenance. All veterans must be guaranteed decent jobs.

## ***Can it Be Done?***

Of course, the capitalists and their politicians say that this can't be done—right now. What they mean is that they and their profit system can't do it.

“Scrap the ships,” they are saying. “Close the plants. Get back to normal. The government will stop buying. Who else can buy?”

The workers would like to buy? That's quite a joke. Let the business editor of the New York Times speak:

"Business men have learned that the huge wartime savings are pretty well concentrated in the hands of a few thousand and cannot be averaged up for millions of consumers. This takes a lot of bloom off the market rose."

The capitalists don't see how they can guarantee any wage, let alone \$50 a week. Still these hard facts remain, and the paid agents of Morgan and du Pont can't get around them:

1) Production more than doubled between 1939 and 1944—rising from \$88 billions to \$195 billions—over a one hundred per cent increase.

2) BUT the working force increased by less than 25 per cent. That means: Five workers in 1944 produced as much as eight workers in 1939.

3) AND eleven million of the ablest workers were in the armed forces.

**The lesson is plain to see. The guaranteed annual wage, which will mean plenty for all, AND A MAXIMUM 30-HOUR WORK WEEK AS WELL, are at hand—**

**IF we do not allow the capitalists and their profits stand in our way.**

**IF we do not allow the capitalists to control the government.**

## 2: Draft Big Business

**TO KEEP** production up, to raise it still higher, we propose that big business be drafted by the government (*nationalized* is the technical word for it) to serve us all.

This is putting into action what has been said in so many fine speeches by so many lying politicians: Human life and human rights stand above property rights.

*Men were drafted to fight and die. Business must be drafted so that all of us can work and live!*

Our plan does not apply to little stores and shops, more and more of which are being driven to the wall every day, but to the big industrial corporations, the railroads and other transportation systems, the telephone, telegraph, and power companies, the great stores, the mines and the banks.

### ***Auto Workers Post-War Plan***

We don't claim that this draft of industry is an idea held by us alone. The leaders of the world's greatest union, the United Automobile Workers, CIO, have published a "Post-War Plan" that contains the following statements:

"In so far as private industry is unable to utilize the productive resources of the nation, the government must undertake this responsibility. . . .

"Every able-bodied person in America must be given the opportunity for useful work. . . .

“Government or municipal (city) ownership and operation of monopolistic industries. . . .

“Government control and regulation of other industries to prevent the abuses of monopoly and to assure production in the public interest. . . .”

## **Words Are Not Enough**

The leaders of the Auto Workers, as well as other union leaders, put a program like this down on paper, and then proceed in elections to support the old parties, which stand for anything but this.

**THE WORKERS PARTY takes the program more seriously. We are starting to put it into action by openly campaigning for it and by giving workers an opportunity to vote for it.**

## **Don't Give Away the People's Wealth!**

Even without drafting any industries, the government already owns one-fifth of the total manufacturing capacity of the nation. Take a good look at the graph, which shows what large parts of aluminum, rubber and other industries belong to the government.

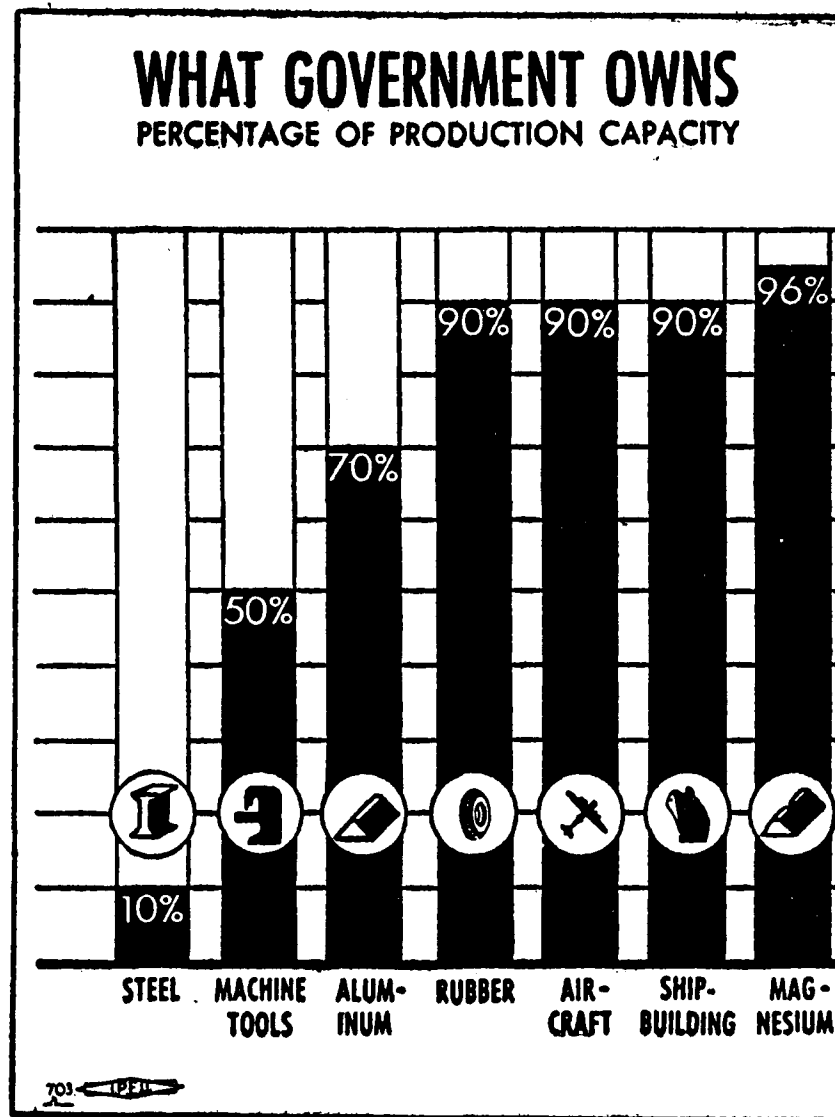
The present plan is to sell (or lease) these plants, which belong to all the people, to the great monopolies, which year by year gobble up more of the total profits of business. The sales will, of course, be at bargain prices.

## **Capitalist Wizards Don't Help**

The present plan is to close down the plants that the corporations don't want. The great Willow Run plan, which Ford has been operating, cost the government \$96.5 millions. Reports say that it is going to be used to store old bombers, after its 22,000 workers—and thou-

sands of others in feeder plants—have been thrown into the streets.

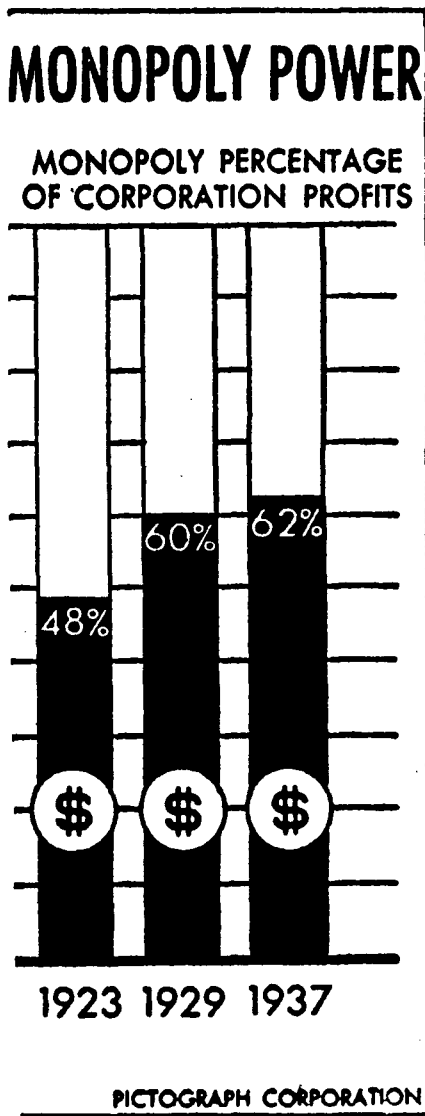
Ford once talked big about making tractors and other peacetime goods at Willow Run, but in the end he announced that the plant, just like the bombers it had produced, would have to be charged up to the waste of war.



A stupid lie! The Liberator bombers destroyed whole cities of factories, but this plant can and should produce goods that will help to liberate our people from want.

When wonderman Ford refused to produce, top union leaders begged the shipbuilding wizard, Henry J.

Kaiser, (who got rich and famous on blood without even using his own money—the government advanced the capital to buy Willow Run and turn out automobiles and other peacetime goods. But Kaiser was too busy laying off his own shipyard workers.



Then a smart government official, who didn't want to be bothered by union complaints any longer, told union leaders to make him an offer to buy or lease the plant themselves. They answered that running plants wasn't the job of a union.



## **Workers' Planning and Control**

Why not? The union leaders are always calling for an equal share in all planning. Aren't they serious?

**THE WORKERS PARTY program calls for planning and control by organized labor in all the government-owned plants and in drafted plants as well.**

The great geniuses of capitalism have had their chance to give us full production in peacetime, and they have failed. It's time for labor to take over!

**But the unions should not have to pay a cent for the plants. During the war, the government gave the monopolists everything — plants, equipment, and huge profits into the bargain.**

The unions should operate the plants, which belong to all of us, for all of us. They would operate them steadily, they would turn out what we actually need the most, and there would be no exorbitant profits. Nor would there be, for the sake of profits, bookkeeping tricks, defective goods or black market operations.

**All plants can and must produce . . . PRODUCE FOR USE!**

## **3: A Great Construction Program**

**T**HE government should plan to spend \$250 billions on housing and public works to give every American a decent home and decent surroundings. Fifty billion dollars a year for each of five years.

The government did not hesitate to spend more than this sum for war. We should not tolerate a government that will spend less than this for the homes, schools, hospitals, and recreation centers that are so badly needed.

According to the city government, New York alone has over 500,000 families who live in slum dwellings. That doesn't mean that all the others live in good homes but that these two million people live in very bad ones.

## Housing in Our Lifetime

Up to now the low-cost housing program, started by the New Deal, has taken care of only 17,000 families over a period of ten years. Post-war plans call for a little more speed. Even so, the rate is so slow that present slums would not be cleared for another 75 to 80 years. As La-

### A Program With Plenty of Sock!



Guardia recently admitted, the program for this city hardly scratches the surface of the housing problem. He says that private capitalists will have to finish the job.

The WORKERS PARTY says:

Private enterprise has already done a job: It has produced a city where over two million human beings live in slums. It is high time for the government to step in and plan for peace as it planned for war.

### ***Produce for Life, Not Death!***

The government reached and surpassed the "impossible" goal of 50,000 planes a year. Production in May of this year reached the super-impossible rate of 80,000 a year. Before V-E Day cutbacks in plane-building alone were at the rate of \$23.5 billions a year.

**The total cost of the war to date for the United States alone, said a government official recently, could have meant a new \$8,000 home for every single family in the nation.**

If such sums can be spent to destroy cities and lives, they can far better be spent to rebuild cities and lives.

New York's share of a \$50 billion yearly program would be about \$2.5 billions, or \$12.5 billions for five years, half of what was being spent for warplanes in a single year. With this sum, many more than 500,000 families in the worst homes could be rehoused, and in apartments much better than the present government projects. And there would be plenty of money left for new schools, hospitals, parks, public theaters and recreational facilities of all kinds.

## 4: Raise the Money by Taxing the Rich

**T**O get a program like this going will take a great deal of money. How is it to be raised?

The WORKERS PARTY says:

1) *By really taking the profits out of war.* In the drafted plants, no more than five per cent on their actual investment should be allowed the capitalists. This is more than fair, and the capitalists always claim that they want only a "fair" profit.

2) *By cutting top yearly income for any person to \$25,000 a year*—no more than five times the minimum income proposed for every family. This, too, is more than fair.

Mr. Roosevelt suggested something like this, but with some nice big loopholes. First, he said that the \$25,000 should be a full \$25,000 after all taxes. Second, he said that his limit applied only to income from salaries, not from investments. It's well known that the best people don't depend mainly on their salaries, big as these are.

In any case, Congress wouldn't hear of Roosevelt's idea. The Republicans were against it, and so were the Democrats, including almost every one of the great and liberal New Dealers, including Harry S. Truman.

**THE WORKERS PARTY proposal means a TOTAL income that is not over \$25,000.**

3) *A graduated capital levy on accumulated wealth over \$50,000.* That means: besides the income tax, there should be a tax on capital—on the money, stocks and

bonds, real estate and other property of the wealthy. The greater the wealth, the higher the rate of tax, just as the income tax is now graduated.

The rich will be left with more than anybody really needs, and the money will make possible a program that will lift the vast majority of the population to a level of comfort.

**On the other side of the picture: No sales taxes on everyday needs and comforts. No tax on incomes of \$5,000 and under. Taxes should not lower the minimum standard of comfort for a family.**

## **5: An Independent Labor Party and A Workers' Government**

**N**O FULL employment program is worth the paper it is written on unless there is a government that will carry it out.

Labor has long tried to get "influence" in the government by supporting so-called "friends" in the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Last year's presidential election saw the formation of the CIO's Political Action Committee, through which labor entered politics more aggressively than ever before.

The PAC won the frightened admiration of most old-line politicians because of its efficient, streamlined methods of organizing and campaigning. But the PAC used its tremendous power in the service of that old idea of supporting "friends" and defeating "enemies."

### **Who Won the Election, Anyway?**

Only a few weeks after the election, in which labor's "friends" triumphed, workers everywhere were asking,

"Who won the election, anyway?" Roosevelt, the greatest "friend" of them all, called for a labor draft, refused to budge on the Little Steel Formula, and filled the State Department with representatives of Wall Street.

**The policy of supporting "friends" has been proved a failure again and again. It is time for labor to lead instead of being led. It is time for labor to form its own party and to aim at a workers' government. Organized workers and their families form by far the largest group in the country. Millions of the unorganized, thousands of shopkeepers, small farmers, and professional people will follow, if the unions furnish a political program worth fighting for.**

## ***Labor's "Friend" in New York***

Even in city affairs—and these are important, though not the most important issues in the coming elections—the capitalist "friends" of labor have, by actual experience, been proved no friends at all.

Take little lawyer LaGuardia, who is considered one of the very finest "friends." Labor leaders were terribly upset by his announced retirement. They are eager to have either him or somebody just like him as the next Mayor. Let's look at some highlights of his record:

1) He proclaims that he holds a card in an AFL union. Yet he pays even college graduates working for the city wages of \$21 or \$22 a week. It was recently reported that 22,000 city employees were earning less than \$25.50 a week.

To firemen, organized in an AFL union, he "gave" a war bonus of \$420 a year and put them on an 84-hour week. Union leaders who wrote letters of protest to the newspapers—a simple democratic right, you would think—were railroaded to posts in the "sticks" hours away from their homes.

2) LaGuardia is registered in the American Labor Party but does not have a single worker or labor leader on his appointed Board of Education.

3) In his weekly radio broadcasts he poses as the working class housewife's best friend, but he insists that meat prices should be raised to end the black market.

4) He wants to boost the five-cent subway fare, as demanded by the real-estate big boys and the bankers, but he doesn't dare to say so too openly. He, therefore, proposes rent taxes on tenants or an additional sales tax. Meanwhile, with the big landlords making more money than ever, he reduces their taxes two years in a row.

5) A great "friend" of the Negro people, he has granted tax and other favors to the gigantic Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. for a post-war housing project that will bar all Negroes.

## ***ALP Not a Labor Party***

This is the man whose retirement almost caused labor leaders to weep—and not with joy. In the case of the ALP, New York wing of the CIO's Political Action Committee, it isn't surprising. The ALP was captured last year, after a bitter internal dispute, by the Communist (Stalinist) Political Association. These people are willing to change their tune overnight on everything from the war to strikes, whenever Stalin's needs require it. They are not in the least concerned about the needs of the working class.

Willing to support anybody who they think will speak kindly of Russia, they were strong for LaGuardia whose past victories have been due largely to the Republican machine and to some "good government" outfits tied up with the bankers. But they said they could be satisfied with O'Dwyer, a Democrat, or Newbold Morris, a "good" Republican.

The ALP and the Communist Political Association are often called "Reds" and "communistic." They no

longer have any claim at all to those names, since they do not fight for the interests of the working class.

## **Liberal-Republican-Tammany Mixture**

Of the other labor leaders, many are now in the new Liberal Party, having quit the ALP when the Communists won control from them. The Liberals are willing to back any capitalist candidate who is 1) "clean" and 2) against the Communists. They claim, like the ALP, to be the best of New Dealers, but they find it easy to join up with the Republicans. And together with the Republicans, they are ready to back an ambitious Tammany Democrat, Judge Jonah Goldstein.

**Don't Be a Sucker--Build Your Own Party!**





## ***Against Company-Unionism in Politics!***

Neither the ALP nor the Liberal Party is an independent Labor Party. They trail along after one or another of the capitalist machines, pleading with shabby politicians to select "good" candidates. These candidates, "good" or "bad," are not responsible to labor. They are the capitalist candidates of capitalist parties.

**Labor has through its great trade unions organized itself as a class for economic action against the employers. It is time for labor to organize itself for independent political action against the capitalist class. An independent mass party of labor is the need of the moment. It is from the labor movement, with its fifteen million members, that such a party can and will arise. That is why the WORKERS PARTY day in and day out urges the formation of an independent Labor Party with a fighting program and with candidates from its own ranks.**

## ***The Workers Party and the Labor Party***

Wherever and whenever an independent Labor Party exists, the WORKERS PARTY will support it, campaign for it, be in it and of it. We shall work for our program in its ranks, confident that our ideas will come to be accepted by other members of the Labor Party as theirs.

**At present there is no independent Labor Party on a national scale. There is no independent Labor Party in New York City. Therefore, the WORKERS PARTY campaign is at one and the same time a call to workers to support our program for full employ-**

**ment and to join us in championing the idea of a mass Labor Party.**

**Full employment cannot become a reality until the workers take what their numbers entitle them to take—the power of government. The first step toward this goal is the independent political party of labor.**

**LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY!**

**LABOR NEEDS CANDIDATES FULLY RESPONSIBLE TO LABOR!**

That is what MAX SHACHTMAN, candidate of the WORKERS PARTY, stands for in this election.

A vote for Shachtman is a declaration of labor's political independence. It is a vote in favor of the formation of an independent Labor Party.

It is a vote for a labor program of using America's resources fully to achieve plenty for all.

New York workers, you can show the way to the labor movement of the whole country.

**DON'T WASTE YOUR VOTE THIS TIME!**

**VOTE FOR SHACHTMAN!**

# The Workers Party Fights for Socialism

**WE BELIEVE** that almost every worker will agree with us that the Five-Point Program presented above is both possible and necessary.

**POSSIBLE**—because America's productive machine has proved in the war that it would be easy to turn out plenty for all.

**NECESSARY**—because working people face an either-or proposition: **EITHER** a program like this **OR** an unemployment crisis unparalleled in history.

**Yet that is only one part of a still greater "either-or."**

You may be saying to yourself that the capitalists will not accept the Five-Point Program. That's right, they won't. Not even if a majority votes for it in elections! No, not even then.

In fact, the capitalists don't accept present wage standards or working conditions, do they? As the bloody but golden war contracts are lost, the corporations—with the help of their government—are driving towards lower ("normal" is their word) wage rates, fiercer speed-ups, and higher prices, aren't they? Their motto is: "Human beings may suffer. Profits must not."

They are already planning the next steps after these: new wars, the destruction of unions and all other labor organizations, the enslavement of the workers. That is the meaning of their feverish campaign for peacetime conscription of every American boy. That is why Con-

gress and the state legislatures have been flooded with anti-union laws. That is why Roosevelt pushed so hard for a slave labor ("national service") act, when the war was already drawing to its close.

Above all, that is why the capitalists give money to support the union-busting, Negro-hating, Jew-baiting bands of would-be American Hitlers—Gerald Smith, Joe McWilliams, Robert Reynolds, and the rest. Henry Ford's strong-arm man, Harry Bennett, has admitted his contributions to the notorious Smith. He has confessed openly what many other capitalists have done in secret and what many more will do in the days to come.

The capitalist system cannot furnish peace, employment, and democracy. To maintain their profits and their power, the capitalists see no other choice before them but a permanent system of wars, slave labor, and fascism. Their leadership can only mean a return to the Dark Ages for all humanity.

## **Either—Or**

There you have, in a few words, the basis for the greatest either-or crisis in all history.

**EITHER the capitalists lead America and the world back to barbarism—**

**OR the working men and working women lead humanity forward to a new age of peace, plenty and the fullest economy.**

This new age in human history, when freedom from want and freedom from fear for all people—whatever their race or nationality—will become living realities instead of deceitful slogans, we call the Age of Socialism.

The WORKERS PARTY believes that the struggle for our Five-Point Program, so clearly necessary to meet the immediate needs of the working class, is a struggle that will usher in the Age of Socialism.

The WORKERS PARTY says to every reader of this pamphlet:

Whether or not you now know about and believe in socialism, our election platform raises and answers the problems that face you today. It is a platform which we seek at all times, elections or no elections, to make the possession of the whole labor movement. It is the only platform worth voting for this November.

If you are not sure about socialism, we are confident that our platform will inspire you with the desire to learn why the Workers Party, in the face of endless abuse



and lying by the well-paid propagandists of capitalism, openly and proudly proclaim itself a party of revolutionary socialism.

In the course of this campaign, in our literature and in our meetings, the candidate and the other members of the Workers Party will explain socialism, answer your questions about it, and invite you to join the **WORKERS PARTY** in the great struggle for the Age of Socialism—a struggle that enriches with new meaning the life of every man and woman who seriously shares in it.

# The Workers Party Candidate

**M**AX SHACHTMAN, candidate of the WORKERS PARTY for Mayor of the City of New York, has been an active and leading member of the working-class socialist movement for twenty-five years as speaker, writer and organizer. He joined the communist movement in 1920 and was a leader of its youth organization for several years.

A prominent official of the International Labor Defense, he was especially active in the great campaigns to free Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, and Sacco and Vanzetti.

In 1928, he was among the leaders of the Communist Party who were expelled for supporting the internationalist-socialist principles of "Trotskyism." Since that time, he has been an outstanding leader of the Trotskyist movement which he helped to found in this country and throughout the world.

In 1934, he was arrested and then deported from Minneapolis, under martial law, for his activity in the strike of the Teamsters of that city.

In February, 1939, he led the great anti-fascist demonstration of 50,000 New York workers against the provocative meeting of the Nazi Bundists at Madison Square Garden.

In 1941, Max Shachtman was also candidate of the WORKERS PARTY for Mayor of the City of New York, and on two other occasions he was candidate for the office of Councilman from the Borough of the Bronx.

He is known by tens of thousands of workers throughout the country as a militant and uncompromising speaker and organizer in the cause of the working class and of socialism. Equally well-known are his numerous writings, booklets and pamphlets. At the present time, he is editor of the *New International* and National Secretary of the Workers Party.

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# Here Is Your Chance

## To Put Labor on the Political Map

1. Pass this pamphlet on. Show it to your friends and shopmates.
2. Read LABOR ACTION, America's fighting labor newspaper.
3. Campaign in your union for an independent labor party.
4. Sign the nominating petition to place MAX SHACHTMAN on the ballot.
5. Circulate a nominating petition for signatures among your friends.
6. Contribute and ask others to contribute to our campaign fund. We depend entirely on your support.
7. Join the SHACHTMAN - FOR - MAYOR CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.
8. Be sure to register. This year your vote can mean something.

# VOTE FOR SHACHTMAN

*Join the Workers Party for a Socialist America*

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**THIS IS YOUR FIGHT!**

**DO YOUR FULL PART!**

**Workers Party Election Committee**

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