

The Farmer-Labor Party
A PROGRAM



An Open Letter to
Governor Benson



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From The
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
Minnesota Section

Governor Elmer Benson and the
Farmer-Labor State Campaign Committee
St. Paul, Minnesota.

Dear Friends:

We—the members of the Socialist Workers Party in Minnesota—gave our support to Governor Benson in the primaries, and we shall do our utmost to assure his victory in the coming election. In the trade union movement, we have thrown our influence to securing, not merely perfunctory endorsements for the Farmer-Labor ticket, but a real mobilization of the organized workers to make certain the defeat of the capitalist party candidates.

We had hoped that those guiding the Farmer-Labor campaign would realize the need of going beyond the issues touched upon in the 1938 platform adopted last Spring by the Duluth Convention of the Farmer-Labor party. Life itself, one would have thought, would impel the campaign committee to speak out on the problems confronting the workers and farmers of Minnesota.

Unfortunately, however, Governor Benson's keynote speech at Appleton on September 20th was no improvement over the Duluth platform. Consider, for a moment, the real situation now existing in this country—and ask yourself if the Farmer-Labor platform adequately answers the needs of the workers and farmers.

At no time since 1929 has the government's relief program been adequate. Today that program does not even pretend to be adequate. Harry Hopkins himself admitted that the WPA rolls, standing at 2,600,000 should be at least 4,100,000. True figures would stand three times higher, for millions of families who weathered 1932-1935 have now exhausted their resources. The Federal government continues its reactionary policy of passing on to the states the burden of direct relief; and the states pass a large part of the burden on to the municipalities. The result is that millions urgently need jobs and relief, and are not getting it.

Intolerable housing conditions are added to the burden of the unemployed and the poorly paid. President Roosevelt himself speaks of a third of the nation as ill-housed. Minnesota has more than its share of this. Nearly 17,000 homes in Minneapolis, for example, are authoritatively defined as "in a dangerous condition." Sixteen thousand family dwellings have no bathing conveniences. Six thousand families live without private toilets. And Minneapolis is probably the city of highest standards in the state.

A miserable living is the best that capitalism offers the people in the richest country in the world. And this in peace time—with war in the offing. Like every other capitalist country in the world, American imperialism seeks a way out of the crisis by preparing to fight for a larger share of the shrinking world market. Malnutrition in peace time, death in impending war—such are the prospects which capitalist America offers us.

Danger of Fascism

One other prospect capitalist America offers us: fascism. As America has been Europeanized economically—facing all the ills which Europe has faced since 1918—so now America faces the danger of fascism. The same causes breed it here as in Europe: shrinking profits drive the capitalists to pile ever greater burdens on the workers, and since this process is fought by working-class parties and unions, the capitalists go still further, go on to the total destruction of every vestige of workingclass organization.

Hordes of demoralized elements from the middle class of town and country will become prey to fascist recruiting for storm troop formations. We see the beginnings of this process in Minnesota, in the ever more desperate combinations of businessmen to smash unionism: the Minneapolis Civic Council, the Austin Businessmen's Association, the vigilantes in the timber strike in northern Minnesota, the "Minute Men," the "Associated Independent Unions," the Silver Shirts, the "Associated Farmers." As the crisis deepens more of these organizations are fostered.

Permanent economic crisis and growing reaction—these are the chief characteristics of the present situation in the world, in America, in Minnesota.

What solution to these problems is offered by the Farmer-Labor Party's program, adopted at the Duluth convention this year?

A simple way of stating our criticism of the Farmer-Labor platform for 1938 is that its "Preamble," in its first four paragraphs, accurately describes the terrible plight of the workers and farmers, but that the platform itself does not consist of the planks which would be required to solve the conditions described in the "Preamble."

We agree with the statement in the program that these conditions cannot be solved by action within Minnesota alone; we would be the first to insist that nation-wide action is necessary and to warn the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party against

creating the illusion that anything less than national action can serve.

Precisely for this reason, we call upon the Farmer-Labor Party to adopt a militant program which shall include bold demands upon Congress and President Roosevelt. The necessary demands, which we shall formulate below, are NOT in the present program.

Furthermore, the Farmer-Labor delegation in the halls of Congress plays no independent role whatever. Ask the average alert member of a Farmer-Labor organization what bills the Farmer-Labor delegation has initiated? He will not be able to mention a single one! And with good reason: the Farmer-Labor delegation does not exist as an independent entity, it is merely a tail to the Democratic kite.

An Inspiring Program Needed

The present program of the Farmer-Labor Party is one which can scarcely inspire the workers and farmers to close ranks and conduct the stubborn fight which is necessary for victory in the state elections. The truth is that the Farmer-Labor Party is in mortal danger of a defeat at the hands of reaction, unless the workers and farmers can be armed with a program which will spur them to the utmost efforts to achieve victory.

Let us now, before it is too late, draw the necessary lessons from the Farmer-Labor defeat in the St. Paul municipal elections. That defeat primarily resulted from the choice of a capitalist candidate for mayor and the conducting of the campaign on the basis of a program offering no incentive to the workingclass. If we fail to make this honest estimate of the causes of the St. Paul defeat, we will thereby pave the way for a similar defeat on a state scale.

To denounce the workers of St. Paul for their alleged "indifference and negligence," as the Union Advocate has done, is to blame the rank and file for the errors of their leaders. Yes, it is true that many workers of St. Paul did not vote, and many others made no effort to get votes for the Farmer-Labor Party. Why? Because the difference between the Farmer-Labor Party candidate and the other candidate was scarcely apparent, nor was there much difference in the CLASS character of the contending programs. To run the state election campaign on the same level as the St. Paul campaign would be to invite disaster.

The close shave in the gubernatorial primaries also makes imperative a new election program. Despite the undivided and officially-declared support of the leadership of the labor movement—the Twin Cities central labor bodies, the Min-

neapolis Teamsters Joint Council, the Union Advocate, the Labor Review and the Northwest Organizer—the small majority in Hennepin and Ramsey counties indicates that the rank and file did not turn out in full force.

Why? For the same basic reason that they did not turn out in the St. Paul elections: The Benson forces did not conduct a militant campaign to inspire the ranks of labor to come out and vote.

Must Double Labor Vote

The undivided backing of labor did get enough workers out to assure Benson victory in the primaries. But in the elections, at least two trade unionists must vote for Benson for every one that voted for him in the primaries, or he will lose. To double that vote is not easy. There is a limit to the efficacy of appeals by the leadership to the ranks. Unless the union leadership is aided by a new, militant Farmer-Labor program, it cannot assure the victory of Benson in November.

The platform adopted by the Duluth Convention is no better than the St. Paul campaign documents. The State Committee has the elementary duty, particularly in view of the constantly darkening situation in America and elsewhere, of immediately drafting an election program more in consonance with the real needs of the workers and farmers. We propose the following planks as part of such a program:

I. One plank, above all, must be part of an honest program. That plank is the defense of the only serious right which is left to the workers and farmers in a society based upon exploitation: THE RIGHT TO EMPLOYMENT AT A LIVING WAGE.

The right to employment is being taken away from the workers and farmers today by increasing unemployment. That right must be unconditionally defended by any party calling itself a workers' and farmers' party.

The young people between the ages of 16 and 25 might well be called "the locked-out generation." They are barred from jobs to an extent which is breath-taking to contemplate. Figures now available through the Minnesota Youth Survey show that of the 500,000 people of that generation in this state, 175,000 are not at school and are totally unemployed—37% of those able and willing to work cannot find jobs! Add

to these the many who are registered in school for courses in order to while away their time because they cannot find jobs, and the 50,000 who are working for room and board alone, and it is clear that at least one out of every two young people in this state needs and wants a job and cannot find it. Shall we let a whole generation disintegrate in heartsick idleness? Shall we permit them, demoralized, to become likely recruits for the fascist bands? Or shall we do our elementary duty, and help them get the jobs they must have?

Life and Death Question

In defending the right of everybody to jobs, we must repudiate all arguments by the employing class and their lawyers concerning the "unrealizability" of our demands. The question is one of life and death to the workers and farmers. If those who own all the riches, all the means of production, cannot provide the rest of us with a living, if capitalism can no longer feed its slaves, then let capitalism perish. What is "realizable" or "unrealizable" cannot be dictated to us by those who, if they could, would let millions starve rather than pay higher wages or taxes. The Farmer-Labor Party must categorically demand employment and decent living conditions for everybody.

As preliminary steps toward securing this right, the following immediate demands must be made:

A. Double the WPA jobs quota for Minnesota from the present 68,000 to a quota of 136,000 jobs.

Not the least of the reasons why Minnesota has received no substantial increase in its WPA quota is the fact that the Farmer-Labor Party, the Minnesota Leader and Governor Benson, have uttered no word of criticism of Roosevelt's hopelessly inadequate relief program. The record of relief increases during the past five years proves conclusively that no "friendly relations" with the Administration, no behind-the-scenes conferences with Roosevelt and Hopkins, can secure increased relief. Sharp, public criticism of the government's relief program, constant and reiterated concrete demands, through the press, the governor's chair, etc., discussion and adoption of resolutions by Farmer-Labor bodies, high and low, embodying these demands; mass meetings and demonstrations of workers, farmers and young people called by the Farmer-Labor Party—these are the ways, and the only ways, to secure for Minnesota an increase in WPA jobs from 68,000 to 136,000.

B. A State Housing Authority Act providing the necessary legal basis for launching an immediate housing program.

The United States Housing Authority is expending eight hundred millions of dollars but not a penny of it in Minnesota. It is a disgrace to the Farmer-Labor Party that it has not made every effort to provide the housing acts, without which Minnesota cannot receive one penny of this money. Under the USHA, Minnesota housing authorities would be entitled to borrow up to 90% of the cost of a housing project. Minnesota should be leading the country in housing projects, fighting for further increases in the funds available.

New housing will provide jobs for a category of workers particularly hard hit by the depression—the building trades.

We therefore propose that, in addition to housing built with Federal funds, additional projects be launched by the State.

Must Rally Masses for Housing

Naturally, the landlords who own the rotting tenements and shacks in which so many are now compelled to live will oppose bitterly such a housing program. They want neither Federal nor state-financed housing, which will lower their rents. It will be necessary to rally the workers and farmers in order to assure the enactment of the housing program. It cannot be a mere legislative fight, but must involve every section of the Farmer-Labor Party, the organized workers and farmers, in order to beat down the landlords and their bankers.

The United States Housing Authority is, unfortunately, merely a supervisory agency. Unlike the PWA housing division which preceded it, the USHA has no authority to build houses. Centralized direction of a housing program on a national scale and a long term program should be our aim, and the Farmer-Labor Party should fight for it.

All the states which have passed enabling legislation providing for housing authorities have passed the buck to the localities. The U. S. Housing Act, however, permits a state to set up a state-wide housing authority. This should be the form of legislation adopted by the State of Minnesota. The Farmer-Labor Party must not and dare not follow the reactionary parties of other states in passing the buck to local communities, no more in this field than in the field of relief.

Furthermore, the enactment of the housing program will not of itself guarantee its fulfillment. The reactionaries will

seek by every legal or subterranean method, including packing of the personnel of the housing authorities etc., to sabotage the program. A committee of representatives of workers and farmers organizations must be empowered to supervise the program, and the trade unions must have a real voice in determining the wages and working conditions under which the housing program is carried out.

In addition to funds secured from the USHA, the Farmer-Labor Party must propose and fight for a state appropriation, both for covering the 10% not provided by the USHA and for independent state housing projects, of not less than \$25,000,000 as a beginning.

C. Public Works, Opening of Closed Factories.

The housing projects and WPA jobs will provide employment for only part of the unemployed. They must be supplemented by other national and state public works projects.

The Farmer-Labor delegation in Congress and the State Legislature must take an aggressive stand for a long-term public works program. It is purposeless to provide makeshift jobs for the moment. What is required is a general economic plan to provide work over a considerable number of years for the millions who will never be re-absorbed by private industry. Within the framework of this plan, there should be included resumption of work in private businesses closed as a result of the crisis, such resumption being on the basis of declaring such businesses and factories to be public utilities operated by the government.

The capitalists will undoubtedly seek to discredit both the public works and the operation of the formerly privately-owned factories as unproductive, etc. This sabotage can be guarded against only by empowering workers' committees to manage such reopened factories, and to have access to the books and other records of the public works projects. Since long-term planning can scarcely take place on the basis of individual projects or re-opened factories, committees representing the individual enterprises should meet together to set up joint committees covering all similar enterprises.

This is the essence of the "State Industries Bill" prepared by the Legislative Committee of the St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly and now being considered by an interim committee of the Minnesota Federation of Labor. That bill should be immediately introduced into the legislature by the Farmer-Labor delegation. In addition, the Farmer-Labor Party should take a stand for the immediate launching of state

public works projects, apart from housing, financed by an initial appropriation of \$25,000,000.

D. An immediate state relief appropriation for direct relief of \$40,000,000.

The last session of the legislature, in June, 1937, appropriated eleven million dollars for state contributions for direct relief for a period of two years. Within less than a year, over eight out of the eleven millions had been spent. Not even the Republican legislators dared to publicly defend the proposal to limit state relief to the remaining three millions of dollars for the coming fourteen months!

It is true that the Farmer-Labor Party proposed an appropriation of seventeen million dollars, which was whittled down to the eleven millions adopted. We must say, in all frankness, however, that the Farmer-Labor Party did not put up a fight for its proposal. Yes, the Farmer-Labor legislators wrangled with the Republicans in the Capitol. But the real fight could have been and should have been waged in the cities and the countryside, in special editions of the Farmer-Labor press, in mass meetings and demonstrations around concrete demands. This was not done. Undoubtedly one reason it was not done was the feeling of many legislators—who often have more faith in the vitality of capitalism than do the arch-reactionaries—that the country was experiencing an economic upturn which would alleviate distress.

With the recent catastrophic decline, that illusion is now gone. The unemployed workers and farmers *must* have jobs and relief. Even with the proposed doubling of the WPA quota and the launching of the housing and public works projects, hundreds of thousands of others will still need relief. The proposed \$40,000,000 appropriation is the least that can be applied to this task during the coming months.

E. A real program to help the farmers produce. Down with curtailment of production!

The working farmers of Minnesota are in desperate plight. The workers in the cities must awaken to the fact that their allies of the countryside are often much worse off than the workers who, gathered together in the cities, can more easily organize and fight for their rights. The workers must take the lead in helping the farmers.

For a time the farmers looked to the Frazier-Lemke mortgage moratorium act, the AAA and the Federal Land Bank re-financing plans, as if these would solve their prob-

lems. But all the AAA committees can do is carry out the orders of the Secretary of Agriculture, and the payments to the farmers by the AAA constitute but a small fraction of farm income. As for the Federal Land Bank and moratoriums, bitter experience has taught the farmer that the capitalist courts will not permit him to write off his debts, though the same courts permit that to the big corporations. In a word, the New Deal has failed the farmer.

Even in the honeymoon days of the New Deal, every decent farmer was outraged by its orders to plough under food that was desperately needed by the poor in the cities. That sense of outrage grows ever stronger. The Farmer-Labor Party is doing irreparable damage to itself in supporting the Roosevelt farm program. The farmer is trained to produce, not to curtail production, and he becomes easy prey to the Republicans' hypocritical attacks on the curtailment program of the New Deal.

We must break with the New Deal's farm program. The Farmer-Labor Party must take as its farm program the slogan: **LAND AND A LIVING TO THOSE WHO TILL THE SOIL!**

A five-year moratorium on all farm mortgages, reduction of the legal interest rate, equal treatment for rural counties in wage scales and working conditions on PWA, housing, WPA, state projects and relief, cancellation of debts for seed and feed loans and a new seed and feed loan program with provisions enabling the farmer to repay loans in kind, the first claim on farm income to be an adequate living for the man who tills the land—these are but some of the steps which must be immediately taken to assure the farmer land and a living.

II. To achieve the foregoing program, we need a taxation program which will secure sufficient funds to ease the tax burden of the worker, the small home owner and the farmer.

The so-called "Peoples Tax Program" in the 1938 platform, significantly enough, does not pledge to raise a total of returns which will be greater than the returns from the present tax program. But precisely such a pledge is necessary to assure sufficient funds for the relief, housing, public works and farm programs.

Actually, the 1938 plank on taxation represents a sharp turn to the right as compared to the 1936 plank. In 1936 the Farmer-Labor Party explicitly pledged advocacy of in-

creases in taxation of corporate excess profits, gross earnings of large telephone companies, railroads' gross earnings, occupation and royalty taxes on iron ore, graduated net income, inheritance and gift taxes. Why do NONE of these proposals appear explicitly in the 1938 platform? The mere phrase, "taxes to be levied in accordance with ability to pay" is no substitute for the necessary concrete pledges. Instead of re-treating from the 1936 plank, it is necessary to hammer out concrete proposals and demonstrate that the total increase from taxation will finance the State's relief program and relieve the staggering burden of the home owner and farmer.

The State Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party should enunciate its acceptance of the principles of taxation stated above and should convene a conference of representatives of labor and farmer organizations on a state scale which, after due discussion, shall elect a permanent Farmer-Labor Taxation Commission which shall work out the taxation problem in all its details.

What Taxation Really Is

Let us tear the veil of mystery off taxation! Taxation, at bottom, is the grand strategy whereby the burden of society is placed on one class or another. It is not a technical problem primarily, although this conception of it has been deliberately cultivated by bankers and business men in order to befuddle their victims. In addition to its task of preparing a taxation program, such a Farmer-Labor Taxation Commission, in order to secure enactment of its program, will take it to the people, popularize it and educate the toilers concerning the real nature of taxation.

One of its chief tasks will be to expose the reactionary content of the proposals for decentralization of relief and public works, which is a device whereby reactionaries seek to throw upon small home owners and farmers the main burden of relief, and thereby split these people away from the unemployed. Municipal and county taxation is almost necessarily primarily taxation of real property. Thereby the big corporations escape from the full taxation to which they should be subjected. The central thought that only the state and the Federal government have the adequate means and authority to tax entrenched wealth—to popularize this will be one of the chief tasks of the Farmer-Labor Taxation Commission.

III. An immediate special session of the legislature.

The above program must be put into effect immediate-

ly, but that cannot be done without formal enactment by the legislature. It cannot wait for the regular session next January—months hence. *Governor Benson has the authority and the duty to call a special session immediately.*

Not only economic necessity, but also the fall election campaign, dictates immediate convocation of the legislature. What greater inspiration could the Farmer-Labor organization, the trade unions and farm organizations, have for conducting an election campaign with unparalleled vigor, than the sight of the Farmer-Labor Party using the legislature as the tribune from which to spread its message to the people? What better method to expose the full reactionary content of the Republican program than to force its legislators out on the floor of the Capitol in the pitiless light of publicity? Businessmen conniving for special favors, place-seekers, the rich agricultural operator masquerading as a farmer—these would be repelled from the Farmer-Labor Party by a special session of the legislature. But those who, in any event, must be mobilized to bring victory to the Farmer-Labor Party, the organized workers, the working farmer, the youth, the white collar worker, the small home owner—they would be rallied to the banner of the Farmer-Labor Party not merely as voters, but as agitators who will win others.

IV. The Fight Against Fascism. Organizing of Union Guards to Combat the Fascist Gangs.

While we gird ourselves to fight for the foregoing program, while the trade unions continue their day to day struggles for better wages and working conditions, the reactionary vanguard of the capitalist class is not sitting by silently. Boss Hague's onslaught against the workers in Jersey City was but a portent of what is coming everywhere. In Minneapolis recently there have been openly-organized meetings of fascist Silver Shirts, where capitalist-financed fascist leaders brazenly called for armed attacks on union halls. Every advance of the workers, whether registered in union contracts or in legislation, drives the reactionaries to further encouragement of fascist gangs.

There can be only one answer to the fascist gangs: mobilization of the most devoted trade union members into well-trained contingents of UNION GUARDS. No form of legislation can throw back the fascist gangsters, for they do not obey legislation. No courts can stop them (even if the reactionary judges were not secretly sympathetic to the fascists), for the fascists do not obey judicial edicts. The police

look the other way when these capitalist hirelings assault workers. The National Guard is absolutely untrustworthy as was demonstrated by their strike-breaking role—in spite of the wishes of Governor Olson—during the drivers' strikes of 1934. No, there is only one agency which can stop the fascists, and that is workers themselves, through the Union Guards.

The Farmer-Labor Party can aid in the formation of the Union Guards, by telling the workers the truth about the role of the police and the National Guard, by refraining from deluding the workers with the hope that police, soldiers or courts will save them from the fascists. The Farmer-Labor Party must say, clearly and unambiguously, **ONLY THE WORKERS CAN SAVE THEMSELVES AND THEIR UNIONS FROM DESTRUCTION BY THE FASCIST GANGSTERS.**

V. The Fight Against War.

We need not enlarge in detail on what a menace to the workers and farmers is involved in the war preparations now being made by the Roosevelt government. All too tardily, but still not too late, the Farmer-Labor Party, through the medium of the Minnesota Leader, did begin to awaken its readers to the military dictatorship which the Sheppard-May Bill proposes to foist on us in war-time. The May Bill is, however, but one of the steps toward war. The successful drive of the Roosevelt regime to foist upon us the biggest war appropriation in history in the regular budget and the Naval Expansion Bill was accompanied by a lynch spirit against the Ludlow amendment supporters. Neither the Leader nor any other agency of the Farmer-Labor Party fought the government policy on these issues. The Leader took no position on the Ludlow amendment; it did not even report the Farmer-Labor congressional delegation's vote in defense of the Ludlow amendment!

The Farmer-Labor Party must become the sponsor for and the Farmer-Labor congressmen introduce into Congress a bill rounding out the democratic demand partially contained in the Ludlow amendment: for a popular referendum before Congress can declare *any* war and providing for participation in such referendum of all citizens over eighteen years of age. If boys of eighteen can be sent into the slaughter and girls of eighteen work in explosive manufactures, they should be eligible to vote. The referendum on any war is required not only because any war undertaken by the government is absolutely certain to be a war of conquest

but for the added reason that the capitalist-party majority in Congress certainly cannot be trusted to define (as the Ludlow amendment permitted it) whether the war is one of aggression or defense.

Furthermore, the struggle against war must be waged by linking it with the deepest desire of the masses for jobs and relief. Otherwise, the demoralized unemployed can be swung to support a war as the only way out of their misery. The Farmer-Labor Party must raise the demand for the transfer of all funds allocated to army, navy and other war appropriations to the use of the existing relief agencies for a program of WPA, public works, housing and direct relief.

V. For a Nation-Wide Labor Party— Break With the “New Deal.”

None of the measures outlined above can be carried out, so long as the Farmer-Labor Party remains in Roosevelt's camp. Every proposal outlined can be won only by head-on collision with the Democratic machine. It is time to end the disgraceful situation whereby the Farmer-Labor Party, in actual fact, functions as the Minnesota section of the Roosevelt machine!

The real allies of Minnesota's workers and farmers are already on the march throughout the country. A vast movement is stirring, moving towards the Labor Party. The Farmer-Labor Party must be thrown into the scales in favor of this movement.

The LaFollette “national party,” from its very inception, is deliberately designed to forestall the Labor Party movement. Its “all-class” character carries within it the seeds of fascist reaction, as does its mystical appeals to unity, its symbolism, etc. Let us have no more of the feelers now being put forward in certain groups of the Farmer-Labor Party toward a bloc with La Follette! The Farmer-Labor Party must immediately and publicly propose national collaboration with the American Labor Party and Labor's Non-Partisan League in creating a Labor Party.

VI. Down With Stalinist Wreckers!

If the above program cannot be carried out without a sharp break with the Democratic machine nationally, neither can it be carried out until the Farmer-Labor Party makes a clear ideological break with Roosevelt's most vociferous supporters, the most determined pro-war group in the country today, namely the Communist Party. The way in which this

group was able at the Duluth convention to amend the already reactionary plank on the war question, into a war-mongering plank for “quarantining the aggressor” was a last warning. While we do not believe in measures of expulsion, we demand that the leadership of the Farmer-Labor Party take a clear-cut position against the pro-war, pro-Roosevelt, union-splitting and union-wrecking policy of the Communist Party.

Despite our conviction that only a Workers and Farmers Government, with authority from nationwide Councils of elected representatives of the workers and the farmers, can solve the economic and social problems of the American people, we have during the last few years, through our forces in the trade union movement, as well as in the name of our own party, given critical support to the Farmer-Labor Party in the elections as against the capitalist parties. We have done so primarily on the basis that the trade unions and farm organizations of Minnesota are affiliated to the Farmer-Labor Party, and in spite of the fact that these economic organizations of the workers and farmers are discriminated against in the county committees, state committee and conventions of the Farmer-Labor Party, the elections for these bodies giving an absurdly disproportionate weight to the ward and township clubs. The organizational step of giving the trade unions and farm organizations their full voice in the Farmer-Labor Party bodies must accompany adoption of this program.

The raging economic crisis necessitates more positive action by the Farmer-Labor Party than hitherto, if it is to deserve and get the enthusiastic support of the organized workers and farmers. It is for this reason that we are proposing the above program. We do so not in the spirit of an ultimatum, but rather in a spirit of joint discussion.

Accordingly, we request that a committee of your organization meet with a committee from our party to discuss our proposals.

In the meantime, we are publishing this letter so that it will be available to the workers and farmers of Minnesota for general discussion. By showing them the ways and means for bettering their conditions, we shall be inspiring the workers and farmers to bend their energies to assuring a Farmer-Labor victory in the coming election.

Fraternally yours,
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY,
Minnesota Section,
By V. R. DUNNE,
Organizer

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