

YOUTH CONFRONTS THE BLUE EAGLE

BY
**GIL
GREEN**



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JUN 27 1940

Published by YOUTH PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 28, Sta. D

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New York City

November, 1933



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YOUTH CONFRONTS THE BLUE EAGLE

By GIL GREEN

IT is known that an eagle is a huge bird of prey, with powerful jaws and mighty claws, to catch and devour weaker animals. The fact that the eagle in question is blue instead of brown makes no difference. The claws of the Blue Eagle are the grasping hands of the parasite rich. The victims are you and I, members of that section of the population called the working people.

But not all of us realize this as yet. Our eyes are blinded by the ballyhoo of the daily newspapers, radio and movies. The sharp talons of the N.R.A. Blue Eagle have been hidden behind a veil of promises. Roosevelt is pictured as a miracle man who by using the marvelous formula N—R—A will hocus-pocus bring back prosperity, raise wages, shorten hours and give every one a job.

These things sound very nice—if they only were true. But they are not, as we shall prove. They are only paper promises used to hypnotize us into believing that this vulture of the air has suddenly become a dove of peace.

Let's not be blind! It is to our interest to penetrate the veil of promises and see the Blue Eagle as she really is.

The Blue Eagle Promises

Roosevelt has often said that through the National Recovery Act he would end the present devastating crisis and bring lasting prosperity. How does he promise to do this?

1. By increasing the purchasing power of the people. In this manner he promises to reduce the present stores of stocked-up goods and get the wheels of industry in motion again.

2. By providing work for all. This, Roosevelt says, is to be accomplished by the above, plus the shortening of the working day and the abolition of child labor.

3. By wiping out industrial competition and the anarchy of production and in its stead establishing a planned capitalist system.

All these appear very good. But let us compare these promises with the actual deeds of the N.R.A. administration and where they lead.

Is Purchasing Power Higher?

It must be clear to every young fellow and girl that in order to have increased purchasing power it is first of all necessary to have increased wages. After all, the bulk of our population is made up of wage-workers whose livelihood depends solely upon what they earn. Only if wages are raised can workers buy more food and clothing for themselves and their families.

Have wages been raised through the N.R.A.? No!

"But," you may protest, "I know some fellows who get more dough."

Well, we'll see. How do we determine when wages are higher or lower? Can we tell merely by the number of dollars one finds in his pay envelope? Obviously not. In Germany, immediately after the war, people had millions of marks (German currency) but could buy nothing with them. These marks were worth only the paper they were printed on. We cannot tell the level

of our wages by their paper content, but by their *real value*—their ability to buy food, clothing and shelter.

Higher Wages

Starting from this understanding let us see what all the talk about higher wages really amounts to. Yes, it is true that some young workers (not a majority—*some!*) received through the minimum wage agreements a few dollars more per week. But this in no way means that they received *real* wage increases. Let us take an actual example.

Mary is an Italian-American girl working at the Aerovox Radio factory in Brooklyn, New York. Some months ago her pay was \$8.40 a week. Then the girls and fellows went on strike. That same day the plant signed up with the N.R.A. The strike ended. Now Mary receives \$12.80.

You may say, "Well, what are you kicking about? Doesn't that prove my point?"

No, it doesn't prove the point. Let us look into this "raise" a bit more closely.

When Mary was getting her \$8.40 per week there was no inflation. Now the value of the dollar has fallen so that it is worth only sixty-four cents. That means every dollar Mary gets can buy thirty-six cents less worth of necessities than before inflation. This fact is admitted by all the capitalist newspapers.

The fall in the value of the dollar to the mass of the people means higher prices. This is not something that occurred accidentally. This policy of inflation is one of the most important planks of the Roosevelt program. It is the other side of the same coin.

Prices Shoot Up

Prices are rising with sky-rocket speed. Mr. Cox, President of the New York State Bakers' Association declared already in September, that: "Since February the cost of high-grade flours has gone up approximately 85 per cent." If Mary or her

mother buys bread at a grocer's, she pays three cents additional for each loaf. She pays from 3 to 15 cents a pound more for meat. For eggs which used to cost 28 cents a dozen she now pays 39 cents. Cream has gone up from 40 to 60 cents a quart, and butter from 26 to 34 cents a pound.

When Mary went to buy some clothes for the fall and winter months she found that prices had gone up from 30 to 40 per cent. Hats, shoes, dresses, skirts, underclothes, in a word, *everything* has gone up! Up! Up!

Mary's folks paid \$28.00 monthly for rent. This took a large chunk out of the family budget. But now, due to the rise in water and realty taxes in the city of New York, the landlord wants \$30.00, and he promises that rent will continue to rise.

Besides the above, Mary pays all sorts of sales taxes when she goes to a movie, or buys her rouge. There is also an excellent possibility that she will pay 7 cents instead of the present 5 cents for fare on the subway before many months are over.

Now, where is that increase Mary got? She really got none! When we balance the slight increase in dollar wages with the tremendous increase in prices, we find that Mary actually got an indirect wage-cut.

But the worst is yet to come! Real inflation has not yet started. Roosevelt first wants to get the workers tied down to low minimum wage codes before he begins inflating in earnest by cutting down the gold and silver content of the dollar. Then watch prices rise! Compared to them the present rises will appear as a 1914 flivver to a latest model Lincoln.

What will Mary's wages amount to then? And wait. We forgot to tell you that her season ends just before Christmas and she stands 99 chances out of a hundred of losing her job.

Many Received Wage-Cuts

And yet, Mary is not a typical example. We chose her merely to prove that even those who receive a few dollars additional,

still have not increased their buying power. Many were brought wage-cuts via the Blue Eagle. Here is an example.

Timmy has worked for a number of years in the Navy Yard. Prior to the N.R.A. he made \$29.28 a week as a first class helper. Now he receives \$23.04, a cut of about 25 per cent. All workers employed in the Navy Yards received wage-cuts. And yet, the Navy Yards are government owned, and President Roosevelt has made such beautiful speeches about raising the purchasing power of the people!

Since the N.R.A., many plants are also firing workers who previously received higher wages because of added experience and skill, and re-hiring them for the \$12, \$13, \$15 minimum rates. This has happened in the Reading, Pennsylvania, hosiery mills. Is this other than wage-cuts?

Furthermore, thousands of bosses have no intentions of paying even the low minimum rates. They carry the Blue Eagle in their windows and pay any wage they please. The young workers often are forced to accept this for fear of losing their jobs. Let us quote an interesting letter to prove this. This letter appeared in the "Voice of the People" column of the *New York Daily News*, and reads:

Somebody Did Wrong

"Brooklyn.—My beloved employer signed the blanket code and I, in my wide-eyed innocence made bold to ask him why he didn't jack up my wages from \$10 a week. He fired me for asking that question. Did I do wrong?

"DAVE."

Yes, Dave, you did wrong! You were foolish enough to believe the ballyhoo of the N.R.A. You should have realized that only by organization and struggle with your fellow workers could you force your boss to pay you decent wages.

Codes Discriminate Against Youth

Most of the industrial codes also contain loop-holes through which the employers can pay lower than the minimum wage.



These jokers are especially directed against the youth. Let us analyze a few of these codes.

The electrical industry code provides for a minimum wage of 35 cents an hour. However, it states that this wage need not be paid in cities of less than 200,000 population. This sounds harmless enough until one discovers that only six of the twenty-two plants of the General Electric and Westinghouse companies are to be found in cities of more than 200,000 population. And these two firms dominate the industry!

This same code also provides that "office boys or girls, learners and casual employees" shall be paid no more than 80 per cent of the minimum wage. As was pointed out by the Electrical Workers Union, the term "casual workers" can be interpreted to apply to 90,000 of the 116,000 workers employed in the industry the first six months of this year.

Many codes in seasonal light industry are so framed as to permit youth to be hired for most of the season at lower than minimum wages. The code for the toy and doll industry provides for a minimum wage for all "except learners during the six weeks' apprenticeship." The entire season lasts approximately ten weeks.

This does not mean, of course, that after the "six weeks" minimum wages will be paid. In the Aerovox company mentioned before, learners remain in that category for five, six and eight weeks although the code states that after two weeks learners must receive the minimum wage. This same arbitrary lengthening of the learners' periods is taking place all over the country.

It is interesting to note here that in many industries the term "learner" was never known before the N.R.A.

The Bridgemen, Ironworkers and Riggers Union of America circulated a petition against the N.R.A. code which classified 60 per cent of the iron workers as "helpers." The vice-president

of the union, James J. Ryan, stated: "There never has been such a rating. It was a method by which wages were cut for the men."

The same is true of textile where suddenly thousands of youth have been placed in categories of "learners" and "apprentices." The artificial creation of these terms to lower the wages of the working youth is another one of the official blessings of the N.R.A.

The codes in the basic heavy industries do not, however, stop at "learners." These openly discriminate against all youth. Their brazen principle is "equal work for unequal pay."

The code for the auto industry states that 5 cents an hour less is to be paid to "all male employees over 16 and less than 21 years of age and to female employees." Here youth under 21 and all women are condemned to work for less even if they do the same work.

The code finally adopted for the soft coal industry establishes for Pennsylvania and Ohio a daily wage of \$4.76 for coal diggers. However, greasers, trappers, flaggers and switch throwers, who are in the main young workers inside the mine, get only \$3.00 a day. Outside workers, among whom the largest proportion is also youth, get from \$3.00 to \$3.84 a day.

Discrimination Against Negro Youth

Reports come up from the South showing that there is universal refusal to pay the Negro workers the minimum wage agreements set forth in the codes. The southern manufacturers and bankers work on the principle that Negro workers must be given lower wages than white workers. Where Negro workers refuse to accept these lower rates and dirtier jobs, they are fired and replaced with white workers.

To those who may think that this is only the fault of the southern bosses and not the responsibility of the national government, we ask: "What has Roosevelt or Johnson done about it?" By ignoring the situation, they have proven their agreement with it.

From the above it is quite obvious to see that all the talk of increased purchasing power for the mass of consumers—the working people—is only a myth. High prices have more than balanced the few dollars extra some young workers have received. While for others, the N.R.A. has meant direct wage-cuts, discrimination, speed-up, and loss of job.

Jobs For All

Once we explode the lies about increasing purchasing power and higher wages, we also see how shallow and false is the promise of Roosevelt to create jobs for all. The promise made by Johnson in June to send six million men back to work by Labor Day has proved just so much more talk. If the living standard of the working people is going down and down, how is it possible to liquidate the huge stores of stocked-up goods? It is impossible! Under such conditions overproduction will not diminish, but increase. Unemployment will not decline, but grow. This fact was admitted even by Johnson when he said:

"The distortion of increased prices is so rapid and the lag of purchasing power so great, that it is plain we can't stage industrial recovery with 12,000,000 men out of work."

What General Johnson did not admit is that the total of unemployed is much closer to 16,000,000.

But some fellows may ask: "Is it not true that since the N.R.A. production and employment have increased somewhat?"

Is Business on the Upturn?

It is true that production and employment did increase for a while—although both were greatly exaggerated. But what is happening now? Production is once more sliding down. Production in the steel industry, which can very well be taken as a barometer for general business conditions, has now declined to 36 per cent of capacity. Thousands of workers are being laid off.

What caused the temporary upturn in production a few months ago? Was it a result of a growing demand for goods and absorption of the tremendous surpluses piled up in warehouses? No, this was not the case. The slight upturn grew out of the promise of large-scale inflation (higher prices) on the part of Roosevelt. Manufacturers and merchants were interested in increasing their stocks of raw materials and finished products while prices were low, so that these could be sold at greater profits when prices rose.

In other words, this much heralded temporary upturn did not signify a lessening of the economic crisis, but a desire for speculation on the part of the bosses. This very temporary upturn has now increased stored up stocks to such an extent, that unemployment in the next months—especially after the Christmas season rush is over—will rise to proportions unseen before. This winter is certain to be the worst in the whole history of the American people!

This fact is fully recognized by the capitalists themselves. John Boettiger, Washington Staff Correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* wrote on August 20th:

"Some of the business men are pessimistic, holding that the signs they have seen are but temporary, and that when the adrenalin pumped into the heart of commerce wears off, *there will be a violent relapse* and Roosevelt's cure *will have failed.*" (Our emphasis)

Shorter Work Day and More Jobs

What about the 40 hour week? Will that provide work for many? Once again, no! The N.R.A. 40 hour week is nothing more than the Hoover stagger-plan dressed up in Roosevelt ballyhoo. The fact of the matter is that the average worker in the basic industry prior even to the N.R.A. did not average anywhere near 40 hours a week. This was admitted by Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, who

pointed out that in steel, workers had been working on an average of 28 hours per week. The only branches of industry affected to any extent by the 40 hour week are maintenance, transportation and government service. These under the Roosevelt stagger plan may provide work for some thousands—but what about the 16,000,000?

Child Labor

If there is any one question which has rallied the support of all the so-called liberals and Socialists to the banner of Roosevelt, it is his position on child labor. "No longer will children slave," "Millions of workers to replace children," shout the N.R.A. barkers. There is no more truth here than in the other promises and phrases of Roosevelt.

Why are children forced to slave in factory and field? Certainly not because they want to! Nor because their parents want them to! They are forced to work for a living because under the present capitalist system conditions of the workers get so bad they are forced to send their children to work.

Let us take little Joe of New Bedford, Massachusetts. Joe is 13 years old and in the eighth grade. His father, born in Portugal, has been in this country for the past 17 years. All of this time he has lived in New Bedford and worked in one of the textile mills. His wage averages about \$15 weekly.

Joe has five brothers and sisters, all younger than he. Ever since he can remember the lot of the family has been extreme poverty and sickness. Sometimes it would seem as if things would get better, but always these hopes were destroyed by a lay-off, or by one or another of the children getting sick. But still the family continued to kid themselves that some day luck would turn their way.

Suddenly Joe's mother became desperately ill. Money was sorely needed. The charities refused to help. They claimed there were needier cases where no one was working. It became clear that all their hopes of sending Joe at least through grade

school were doomed. Monday morning found Joe looking for a job.

What do President Roosevelt, Mr. Thomas, and the other slippery-tongued, full-bellied "liberals" offer to Joe as a way out? Higher wages for Joe's dad would help—but don't be foolish! Government support for Joe would solve the problem—but once again don't be foolish! Mr. Roosevelt has no such intentions.

Will the N.R.A. codes actually abolish the exploitation of children? They will not! Little Joe of New Badford, and the millions of other Joes in the Southern textile mills and cotton fields, will continue to slave—because that is the only way they can live. They will go into the mills and factories hiding their real ages. They will be bootlegged into the factories and fields by bosses who can squeeze from their tender flesh and bones enormous profits. For this "favor" they will work for much lower wages and under worse conditions.

The N.R.A. codes also contain loopholes by which more children can be exploited. Many of the light industry codes speak of "outside" and "home" workers. These are exempt from the wage and hour agreements. This means that Joe's father or mother will take work to be done at home. The records will show their names, but it is obvious that Joe and his kid brothers and sisters will do much of the work. Thus, instead of working in factories for a maximum of 40 hours a week, these children will toil at home ten and more hours a day for a few cents.

This is how Mr. Roosevelt abolishes child exploitation. With a flourish of the hand, and midst the cheers of the "liberals" and their like, he has abolished child labor from the statistical records. But the cry of toiling children, hungry and tired, will rise and record the fact that only the doing away of poverty, through the abolition of capitalism, will for all time do away with the exploitation of children.

And so another promise of Franklin D. Roosevelt to provide work for the unemployed proves to be just so much noise.

Speed-up Versus Jobs

Not alone will the N.R.A. fail to give work to the present unemployed, but it logically leads towards the creation of more and more permanent unemployed. Industry is being speeded up so that fewer and fewer workers can produce more and more. According to statistics compiled by the Federal Reserve Board, 8 per cent less workers in the steel industry produced 70 per cent more than a year ago. It has become a recognized fact that even if industry could get back to the production level of 1929, the highest ever reached by America, from seven to nine million workers would still remain permanently unemployed.

The N.R.A. speeds up this process. A few days before the textile code went into effect, bulletin boards appeared in the Southern mills telling the workers that only those who could average \$12 a week at piece work rates would keep their jobs. Others would be fired. This was how the minimum wage was applied.

In the Curtiss Candy Company in Chicago, approximately 1,000 girls got fired every Saturday and a new thousand hired the following Monday. This went on for several weeks. In this manner the company was weeding out the slower workers and keeping only those who could work at top speed.

It is logical that this growing speed-up will result not alone in less workers employed, but in a faster destruction of the vitality, energy and health of the average worker. Young workers in their prime of life, will, after a few years of work, be tired and worn, ready to be thrown on the scrap-heap.

What About Unemployment Insurance?

This is the question that the millions of young unemployed must place before the government. But this is exactly what Mr. Roosevelt wishes to dodge. He knows that the N.R.A. will not do away with unemployment—will not even create more jobs. At the same time he wants to confuse the masses of unemployed with his ballyhoo. He wants to make them think that jobs are

coming. In this manner he wants to stifle the demands for unemployment insurance. He wants the people to forget that prior to his election he and his party promised some form of insurance.

Why is Roosevelt opposed to unemployment insurance? Because it will mean billions of dollars from the coffers of the rich—his masters. Because he knows that the mere acceptance of the principle of unemployment insurance will make the millions of jobless realize that unemployment is here to stay. It will make them, especially the millions of youth who have never worked, realize that capitalism is bankrupt, is on the decline, and is directly responsible for their plight.

**Capitalism
Is
Bankrupt**

Every young worker must understand that this is the main lesson to learn. *Capitalism is bankrupt!* The N.R.A. cannot change this. It cannot abolish over-production, unemployment and mass misery. The N.R.A. cannot abolish competition. It cannot create a planned system.

Why is this so? First, we must remember that all the wealth of present day society is created by the labor of the working people. How could we get along if miners did not take the coal from the bowels of the earth, if farmers did not plant and harvest their grain, if workers did not turn cotton into cloth and clothing, and if they did not do the thousand and one other functions which make up our complicated economic life?

But the "crazy" thing about the present system is that all wealth, while produced by the toil of the working people, becomes the property of the wealthy people—the capitalist class. The workers receive in turn only a small portion of what they produce—just enough to keep alive and working. The result is that there is always what is called "over-production". This does not mean that more is produced than the people need, but that the working people who make up the bulk of the population can never buy back the wealth which they themselves have created.

Secondly, under capitalism every boss or company produces independently of the other concerns. He has no knowledge of how much of his goods will find a market or how much of the same goods his fellow capitalists are producing. He is solely interested in having his workers produce as much goods as possible, as cheaply as possible, so that he can undersell his competitors. This lack of a planned economy is called the "anarchy of production."

It is these fundamental questions which the N.R.A. cannot solve. On the contrary, the N.R.A. only aggravates them. The economic crisis will only deepen. Over-production will only increase with its resulting feverish competition for markets. A new imperialist war will be the result.

How do we draw these conclusions?

Despite all talk, the codes of "fair" competition cannot abolish competition. What they will help to do, is wipe out the small manufacturer in the interests of the big trusts. This process of trustification will result in even greater mass production. But at the same time the market does not expand. The purchasing power of the people drops lower and lower in relation to the increased production.

Competition Grows

For this reason, it is nonsense of the first order to speak about the abolition of competition. As long as more goods are produced than the people can buy back—and this is always the case under capitalism—so long will there be a scrap over markets—competition. It's the old tale of two dogs with one bone. The fact that the "little fellows" have been eliminated, only makes the fighting more keen and fierce on the part of the "big fellows."

Present Crisis a World Crisis

It is true that by trustification and inflation, the American capitalists hope to capture a larger share of the world market.

But let us take a look at the world today and see if this is so simple.

To start with, remember that every country in the entire world with the exception of one, the Soviet Union, is suffering from the same economic crisis. This is so because every country except the Soviet Union is a capitalist country, which means that its industries are run not for the interests of the people, but to line the pockets of the rich.

Every capitalist country is hunting for markets to absorb its over-production. But the markets of the world are limited. The most powerful capitalist countries such as the United States, England, France, Japan and Italy, have already divided the territories of the whole world amongst themselves. Each has its colonies and spheres of influence. England has India as a colony. America has Cuba, Haiti and the Philippines. England has a sphere of influence in lower South America. The United States controls and dominates the countries of the Caribbean. In this manner the whole world is divided between these imperialist giants.

As a means of capturing some of the markets of other powers, the United States is constantly trying to lower the value of the dollar in relation to foreign currency. This means that foreign money could buy goods in the United States at much cheaper prices. This policy is nothing more than dumping, but the American capitalists have no objections, as higher prices at home will make up for the lower profits from foreign sales.

But the other capitalist powers are also desperate and do not take these attacks lying down. A majority of the countries of the world are already off the gold standard. The British pound is putting up a stiff fight against the American dollar. England for the first time in history has set up tariff walls in order to keep out foreign goods. France has raised its tariff walls! The battle for markets gets hotter and hotter!

N.R.A. Is War Program

What is the outcome? A new and more horrible 1914—a new imperialist slaughter. *This is the essential meaning of the whole program of Roosevelt and Wall Street.* They realize that the only temporary solution to the present crisis is an armed fight for the re-division of the territories of the world among the imperialist robbers.

Everyone today knows that the war of 1914-18 was not fought "to end all war," or "to save the world for democracy." It was a war for markets—for profits. And just as it was a minor shooting in Sarajevo in 1914 which ignited the powder fuse, so today any little spark at any moment may bring the new explosion.

The whole world is an armed camp! Hitler's coming to power in Germany further increases the danger of war. Every day finds new alignments, new pacts, new intrigues, new war plots.

War Is On

Not alone war plots, but war itself is already on! Thirty American battleships have their guns trained upon the Cuban people who are fighting for liberation. In South America war has been on for the past year, financed and encouraged by American-British rivalry. In the Far East, Japan continues its drive into China. Manchuria has already been converted into the vassal state of Japan. The armies of Japan continue to move closer and closer to the Soviet borders.

An Oasis on the Desert

There is only one land in the world which is interested in maintaining peace, because it suffers from no crisis. This is the land of the Soviets—Russia.

Why is there no crisis in Russia? Why is there no unemployment? Why is production growing by leaps and bounds while

in every other country of the world it slides further and further down? Because in Russia the workers and peasants have taken power. Because in 1917 they kicked the Czar off the throne, took the factories and land away from the capitalists and land owners, and since then have been running the country for their own interests.

Professors and so-called "learned people" in the United States tell us that everything would go to the dogs if the bosses were thrown out. This certainly is not the experience of the Russian people. Before they took the industries and land into their own hands they also suffered from economic crises, from unemployment. But by abolishing classes, by doing away with exploitation of man by man, the Russian people have destroyed the basic cause of economic crises.

We are often told that if we do away with the profit system, there will be no incentive to create, to build, to progress. This is nonsense! It is precisely by doing away with the drudgery and misery of capitalist society that the native ability, initiative and energy of the Russian people were tapped. This has astounded the capitalist world. But it should not be surprising to us.

The workers in Russia realize that they are building their own world, that every step in progress results not in lining the pockets of the rich, but in the good of the whole toiling population. They realize that the industrialization of their land will not result in unemployment, but in a higher standard of living and more leisure time for cultural development. That is why they have shown such spirit and sacrifice in building their new society.

Let us see how this has affected youth labor. In the Soviet Union when a young fellow or girl leaves school he is sure of a job. In fact, for a number of years prior to his leaving school he takes vocational training at full wages which prepares him for his future work. Every youngster is aided in choosing the occupation for which he is best fitted. If he shows talent in a special line he is given additional education at the expense of

the government so that he can become a trained engineer, doctor or scientist. Instead of cutting educational budgets as in America, the Soviet Union is constantly increasing its expenditures on educating the people. 21,000,000 children attend elementary school in the Soviet Union today compared to 7,000,000 in 1914. In the universities and high schools there were over 1,250,000 students in 1932. Illiteracy has been practically wiped out. The circulation of newspapers has increased from 2,700,000 in 1913 to 36,000,000 in 1932. 53,800 book titles were printed in 1932.

The Soviet Republic has also done away with the discrimination of youth labor. Young workers under 18 work only six hours but get paid for a full day. Young workers are protected from injuries and get full social insurance in case of sickness or injury. Young workers also get a month's vacation with full pay every year.

With the further development and growth of Socialism, the Soviet Union will create for its people a material and cultural standard higher than the world has yet seen.

The Soviet Union is an oasis of Socialism on the desert of world capitalism.

War Plans Against U.S.S.R.

As the capitalist nations sink deeper and deeper into the crisis, as they fight harder and harder for markets, more often do they throw envious glances at the Soviet Union.

"Let's stop fighting among ourselves and clean up on Russia," they say. "The Soviet Union covers one-sixth the surface of the globe and would be a nice prize to capture. Furthermore, this Soviet Republic with its continuous progress, is a damned bad example to have around for our workers to see." This is what many of these imperialist powers are thinking.

The Four Power Pact, recently signed by Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany, is a direct attempt to organize a united front against the Soviet Union. This was pointed out by Rear Admiral

Fiske, retired from the United States Navy, when he said as quoted by the *New York Times* of October 1, 1933:

"Now how is Europe going to stop them? (Referring to the Soviets). The Four Power Pact seems the immediate answer, with Japan assisting on the Eastern side. That such a war is possible, in fact, more than possible, there are many reasons for believing.

"The Four Power Pact is an actual instrument which makes it possible for Germany, France, Great Britain and Italy to resist by force the actual threat of communistic Russia to overwhelm Europe."

Admiral Fiske, it must be understood, does not represent his own personal views alone. He, because retired, can say bluntly what Roosevelt due to his position, cannot publicly admit.

The seriousness of this situation must be understood by every young man and woman, by every boy and girl, by every young worker, farmer and student. It is the youth who give their lives on the battlefields of war. It is the youth who must be the first to rally to the fight against the preparations for this new war for profits.

The working class youth must not be taken in by the peace talk of Roosevelt and the others. Talk is cheap. Actions speak louder.

Billions for Militarism

Compare Roosevelt's pacifist words with his war-like deeds! The bulk of the \$3,300,000,000 building program for "providing work for the unemployed", is nothing more than a huge war fund. Millions of dollars are being spent for new army and navy bases, for mechanizing and motorizing the army, and for building more battle planes, tanks and submarines. Secretary of Navy Swanson has publicly declared that America is out for a navy, "second to none". \$238,000,000 have already been appropriated

for 32 new war ships. \$77,000,000 additional has been given for reconditioning old war ships. The military budget of the United States today is greater than even that of 1917, the year America entered the world war.

The new generation of working class youth is being militarized for this new war. 800,000 youth are under arms in the United States. This does not include the steps taken by Roosevelt to militarize the unemployed youth. 312,000 youth from 18 to 25 years of age have been herded into semi-military forced labor camps under the direct supervision of the army. Millions and billions for war, but nothing for the unemployed, this is the program of Roosevelt.

N.R.A. Used to Develop War Hysteria

Under the slogan of "War on the depression!" the N.R.A. is used to develop patriotism and war spirit. In the movies the Blue Eagle and the American flag are dramatically flashed across the screen. In the schools the children are being mobilized behind the N.R.A. More and more is the drive for the N.R.A. compared with the last war by the four-minute speakers of the Roosevelt administration. General Johnson in his speech at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, called those who were fighting for higher wages and against the slavery codes "slackers" and "ten percenters".

A war hysteria is consciously being developed. If you oppose the N.R.A. you are branded as an undesirable citizen. President Roosevelt in a speech lauding the life of Samuel Gompers, said:

"Just as in 1917, we are seeking to pull in harness; just as in 1917, horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral."

What could be stated more plainly? Jails for those who opposed the war in 1917—jails for those who oppose the N.R.A. and its preparations for a new war today!

The Right to Organize

Roosevelt further realizes that a war cannot be successful without a submissive working class. The N.R.A. attempts to accomplish this. The growing cry of the workers for organization and better conditions is taken advantage of by Roosevelt to create unions controlled by the employers and the government, which can at a moment's notice become part of the war machine.

The National Recovery Act says: "Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor or their agents". What beautiful sentiments! But what do they amount to?

In Tampa, Florida, thousands of tobacco workers formed their own independent union. The police arrested their leaders. The government deported some of them. Others were "taken for a ride". Gunmen took over the union headquarters and calmly informed the members that the union would from then on be part of the American Federation of Labor.

In New York City, the police, employers, A. F. of L. and local Socialist Party leaders, united to crush the left-wing trade union of the fur workers. Here also gunmen attacked the headquarters, leaders were bombed and one was killed, injunctions were issued, but the unity of the workers could not be broken.

In Baltimore, Maryland, the workers of the Glenn L. Martin airplane plant took the promise of the N.R.A. seriously. They began to organize. The company fired twenty-four of the most militant of these workers.

In Trenton, New Jersey, 900 young boys and girls formed their own independent doll and toy union. By militant struggle they won considerable improvements in their wages and conditions. One day the employer informed them that the contract with their union no longer existed and that he had signed up with the A. F. of L. The young workers went out on strike. The A. F. of L. sent in scabs and broke the strike.

These are incidents that could be multiplied a hundred times. Behind these cold facts are stories of heroic struggle, of murder and terror, sponsored and guided by the N.R.A. administration. The right to organize? What a farce!

Why is Roosevelt ready to accept the A. F. of L.? Not because he wants the workers to organize into their own trade unions. He would much sooner have them accept company unions. He realizes that the workers are out to organize for themselves and for this reason he wants to drive these masses into an organization the employers and government can control—the A. F. of L.

A. F. of L. Leaders Betray Workers

The leaders of the A. F. of L. have repeatedly proven their willingness to repeat their stunt of 1917. They are only too glad to serve their masters in the preparations for this new war. Today they use radical phrases to catch the workers. Tomorrow they intend to deliver these workers to the altar of war as tribute to their lord and master, the capitalist class.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L. serves on the N.R.A. Labor Board as did Samuel Gompers before him on the War Labor Board of 1917-18. Green and the A. F. of L. have cooperated in every way possible with the putting over of the various industrial slavery codes. He and his fat-bellied pals have gone out of their way to praise the N.R.A. to the skies. No wonder Roosevelt and Wall Street have implicit confidence in them!

The Socialist Party is also preparing to repeat its betrayal of 1917. Still masquerading as a "party in opposition", its main role has been to disarm the workers in the fight against the N.R.A. The *New Leader*, the *Milwaukee Leader*, Abe Cahan and Norman Thomas, have praised Roosevelt and the N.R.A. Thomas, as quoted by the *New York Times* of August 20, said:

"Unquestionably this revolution (New Deal) has already achieved certain things. . . . It has given hope and

some more substantial advantages to farmers and workers. It has ended or gone far towards ending child labor and the long working day in the textile and other industries."

Is there any doubt as to whether Mr. Thomas was for or against the N.R.A.? Today, due to the growing discontent of the workers, Mr. Thomas is trying to ride two horses at the same time—the N.R.A. to him has both its good and its bad points!

Masks Off

Despite the speeches of the Greens and Thomases, the workers realized that better conditions could only be won by militant struggle. Strikes involving thousands of young workers swept the country. Thousands of workers continued to organize into independent unions. More and more strikes were organized and led by the militant unions affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League. The newspapers became alarmed! The N.R.A. was in danger! The Roosevelt program was failing!

It was then that the liberal mask covering the face of Roosevelt began to slip. No longer were honeyed words of sympathy extended to the workers battling for better conditions. A special board was created to stop the strikes. But the strike movement only grew!

The mask slipped a little more:

Johnson openly declared that strikes must stop. He threatened the leaders of the A. F. of L. that if they could not stop them the government would. Guardsmen were sent against the striking miners of Utah and New Mexico. State troopers shot and murdered mine and steel strikers in Western Pennsylvania.

The hideous face of fascism showed itself behind the mask of liberalism!

* * *

The Only Way Out

The N.R.A. program does not show the way out for the American youth. Its path is one which leads to deeper crises, more unemployment, greater misery, a new imperialist war and fascism. As the workers and farmers continue their fight for better conditions, the mask of liberalism will fall more and more away, and the N.R.A. will stand exposed as the program of Wall Street, as the program for a new war.

Is there no way out for the young generation of America? Are we in the grip of some horrible famine or plague which is beyond human control? No! The present widespread crisis is not the result of famine or earthquake. America is still the most plentiful land in the world. American soil still yields the most bountiful crops. American industries still turn out the finest of merchandise. No country in the world can compare with it for technical development.

But why in the midst of all this plenty is there hunger and cold? Why must those who build the beautiful skyscrapers and palaces remain homeless? Why must those who sow and reap the grain remain hungry? Why must those who make the clothes remain naked?

Because our capitalist rulers are solely interested in profit. They are ready to keep the factories shut until their warehouses are emptied. While millions need food and clothing, they are dumping milk into rivers and plowing cotton and wheat under ground to keep prices high. They are destroying this land built through the sweat and toil of our fathers and forefathers.

How We Could Solve the Crisis

The economic crisis could be easily solved if we, the workers, took over the industries and government. We would open the warehouses and feed and clothe the hungry and naked. We then would once more start the wheels of industry moving. Everybody would be given a job including those who don't want to work. He who would not work would not eat. Unemployment and

over-production would disappear as industry would be run for the benefit of all the people.

The slums of our cities would disappear. Workers' families would be moved into the present spacious apartments of the rich. New apartments would be erected on the basis of scientific planning. Schools would spring up everywhere to replace the old crowded fire-traps. Working hours would be shortened so that all could participate in the development of a new culture. Hunger and cold would become unknown. Work, instead of a drudgery, would become a pleasure. Class divisions would disappear and the whole human race would rise to a new material and cultural level.

This is not a fantastic dream. Such a society is at this very moment being built in the Soviet Union.

What is necessary to accomplish this? First we must organize. We must get together with the other workers and fight against every attack on our living standards. We must fight for unemployment insurance, against lower wages, against speed-up, for the rights of the Negro people, and for the right to organize into our own political and economic organizations.

Through the daily battles for existence, the workers will learn the need for changing the present system. They will become strong in their unity. They will become capable of overthrowing the present ruling class and taking power in the interests of the vast majority of the people.

This process is taking place today. That is why we have the Communist Party and Young Communist League, the political organizations which lead the fight against capitalism and prepare the workers for the creation of a Soviet America.

The ruling class fears this growing power of the working people. They fear the growing strength of the Communist Party. That is why they do all in their power to make the Communists appear as destructive people—as people who are trouble-makers. We ask you, young workers, Negro and white, you who suffer from unemployment, low wages, lynchings and

war—what is wrong with the program of the Communists? Are we wrong because we want to take the billions from the wealthy and give them to the poor? Because we want to do away with starvation? Because we want to do away with prostitution? Because we want to stop the wail of hungry children? Because we want to create a world in which there will be happiness instead of misery? Are these aims bad?

We have nothing to be ashamed of! We are proud to be Young Communists—fighters for the new day!

We young people of America, the sons and daughters of workers and farmers, must understand that only by working for the Soviet America is there any future for us. Capitalism offers us nothing but unemployment, starvation and war—a future dark and dreary.

The path towards tomorrow is not one strewn with roses. It is filled with sacrifice and struggle. But when was it said that the American youth were cowards? We are not! We shall carry on the fighting traditions of the American working people!

Ours is the future!

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