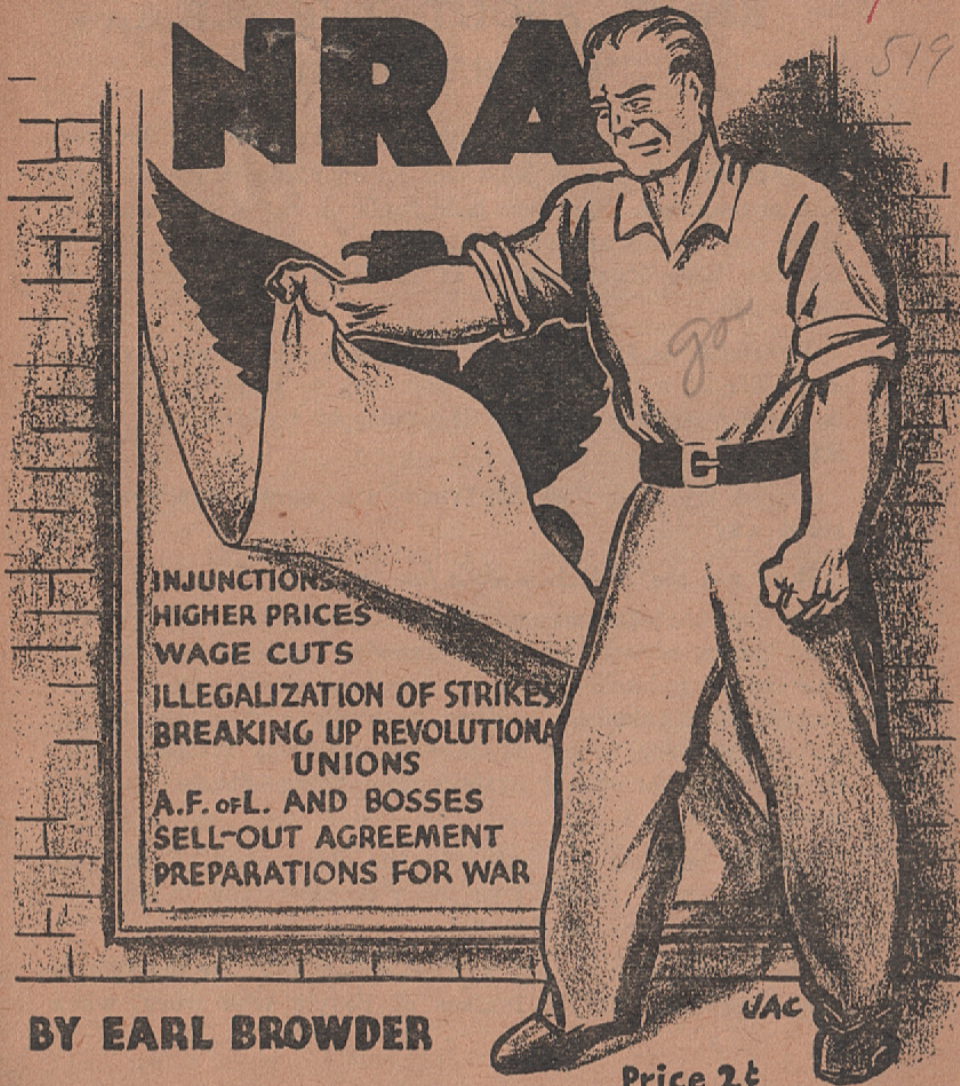


**WHAT EVERY WORKER
SHOULD KNOW ABOUT**

NRA



INJUNCTIONS
HIGHER PRICES
WAGE CUTS
ILLEGALIZATION OF STRIKES
BREAKING UP REVOLUTIONARY
UNIONS
A.F. OF L. AND BOSSES
SELL-OUT AGREEMENT
PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

BY EARL BROWDER

Price 2¢

WHAT EVERY WORKER SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE N.R.A.

By EARL BROWDER

EVERY newspaper is writing about the National Recovery Act and the industrial codes. Every radio carries speeches and propaganda. Speakers hold forth on the streets about it. Even our homes are visited by N.R.A. advocates to talk to us. The Blue Eagle stares at us from every window and signboard.

But what is it all about? What does it all mean in the daily life of a worker? It is not easy to learn the answers to these questions from all the mass of writing and speaking.

Let us try to get at the truth in a simple, easily understood way.

Why was the N.R.A. made a law by act of Congress?

Because the economic system of America had broken down. Four years of crisis, closed factories, millions unemployed and starving, banks unable to pay and closing their doors, wages being slashed, strikes breaking out--these things forced everyone to see that something was fundamentally wrong with the whole system. The thing simply wouldn't work any more.

Nobody believes any more in the old system. Everybody demands a new system. Everybody demands that a way out of the crisis shall be found.

The N.R.A. was the official recognition that the old system was smashed, that the masses of people who work, when

Library
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

they can get a job, and who depend upon a job in order to live, must be given something new.

That is why we have the New Deal and the N.R.A.

What does the N.R.A. promise to give to the workers?

It promises to remove the cause of the crisis. It promises to reopen the factories, restore production, bring back prosperity. It promises to remedy the disorder, the chaos, the anarchy of the economic system, and put in its place a planned economy without crises. It promises higher wages, shorter hours, and the right of the workers to organize according to their own desire.

All these things would be very fine, if we could get them. They would make life easier, they would remove the terrible conditions which today make life a horrible nightmare for millions of people.

These are wonderful things that have been promised. Even the simple promising of these things, before any of them are realized, made Roosevelt a popular hero with millions of people.

The masses want these things. They need them in order to live.

Therefore it becomes a very important question as to whether these things are being realized through the N.R.A.

We don't want to be fooled again, as we were fooled with the promises of Herbert Hoover, when he was President and promised us "prosperity in 60 days."

We have a right not to trust in anybody's words any more. We have been lied to so much, that we will be stupid fools to believe in any words that cannot be proven by facts.

So let us examine what facts we can find.

* * * * *

When we look for facts, it is no longer enough to read the newspaper headlines and front pages, or listen to the speeches of "big men." In such places we don't find those facts which show the true conditions. We must turn to the

Leon Kramer - 1125 Ego
JUN 11 1948

576368

financial and business pages, read the economic journals, and get reports from the workers in the industries all over the country.

Newspaper headlines tell us: "Roosevelt and the N.R.A. have started the factories to producing again. Prosperity is coming back."

Is it true? Millions of workers wish it to be true, but if it is a lie, then it is a cruel one, raising high hopes only to dash them to the ground again.

To judge this question, one must study the collected figures of the business of the entire country. Such figures are collected by organizations supported by the big capitalists; we can be sure that they will show the situation as favorably as possible. Such an institution, for example, is the Index Numbers Institute, Inc., whose figures are published in big newspapers all over the country. At random we pick up the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, for September 11, which publishes these figures. What do they show?

Economic activity for August 1933 (production, business, etc.), is represented by an index figure of 79. This means that if all economy of 1926 is represented as 100, then August 1933, would be 79, or 21 per cent less. Or if it is compared with a five-year period of pre-crisis times, which showed a combined index of 125, that means we are 40 per cent below "normal."

That is certainly not "prosperity," as yet, is it?

* * * * *

"But things are better than they were," say the newspapers. "No matter how bad they are now, they get better, and move towards prosperity."

Is that so? True, things were going up for a while; now they are going down again; up and down, up and down, that is the way the capitalist system is always going. But how far up?

Remember last year, during the presidential election, Herbert Hoover also told us things were getting better. And

they were—in the same way as in April to July this year. Hoover's boom rose almost as high as the Roosevelt boom this year—up to the index of 76. But that did not mean that we were approaching prosperity again; instead we were coming to a new crash, which followed in December, January, and February, the worst the country ever saw.

Remember also, that Hoover's boom, (which went almost as high as Roosevelt's boom this year) was brought about without much effort. Hoover did not do much of anything. Roosevelt's boom cost a thousand times the effort, and required inflation, going off the gold standard, the N.R.A., the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the new banking law, the codes, the Blue Eagle, and so on—and still it went only 3 joints higher than Hoover's, and now is already dropping below.

We cannot say, with any truth, that "things are getting better" until, at least, things get better than in the last year of Hoover's administration.

* * * * *

"Overproduction, which caused the crisis, is now being overcome," say the newspaper headlines.

Is it true? Has the N.R.A. reduced the extent of "overproduction"?

Unfortunately, the facts do not show it. On the contrary. No one will deny that last December there was "overproduction," that is, great stocks of unsold goods with nobody to buy them, which was the reason that more factories than ever closed down last winter.

Are things any better in this respect as we approach the winter of 1933-34? No, things are worse. *Today there is twice as much goods in the warehouses as in December, 1932.*

Production did go up in April to July. But instead of making things better, it made them worse, because most of the goods went into storage, increased "overproduction." The goods were not being sold for consumption.

But why would anybody buy and store up goods, if the markets were not expanding? Why did production increase, when the warehouses were already full?

The answer is: Because of *inflation*, the cheapening of the dollar, the going off the gold standard, which caused a tremendous *increase in prices*.

When prices began to go up, every speculator and profiteer rushed to buy and store up goods, in order to make gamblers' profits. With the prospect of prices going up 30 per cent, or 50 per cent, or even 100 per cent, they bought at the old prices, being willing to wait many months before selling until the much higher prices came into effect.

Now the warehouses are filled up. Prices are high. The speculators want to "cash in" on their speculative profits. They must sell their goods. But the real market, the consumers' market, is very little larger than it was before, and is shrinking again. The goods moving out of the warehouses therefore begin to squeeze out the goods coming from the factory. There is more than enough, already manufactured, to fill all demands. The factories are beginning to close up again.

"Overproduction" is with us again, stronger than ever. The N.R.A. which was promised to cure "overproduction," we now see, really caused it to be worse than before. Inflation and higher prices, which were a part of the whole plan of the N.R.A. and "New Deal," have prepared a new crash.

Roosevelt's boom lasts only a little longer than Hoover's.

The N.R.A. forced up the figures of production for a few months, but since July 15th they have been dropping faster than they went up before. We can trace these facts, for example, in the weekly business index figure of the *New York Times*. This shows the high point of 99 was reached on July 15, and then a drop, drop, drop, every week, until at the beginning of September it is below 85.

Clearly, the engine of the N.R.A., which promised to pull us out of the crisis, is missing fire, it is backfiring. It is the same old engine trouble that wrecked the Hoover administration.

* * * * *

"Even if all this is true," objects the spokesman of the N.R.A., "yet still some good has been accomplished; we are forcing the capitalists to pay higher wages for shorter hours, and thus improving the conditions of the workers."

Is that so? Again we can trust more in the statistics of the capitalists than we can in their newspaper ballyhoo. Looking at their figures, we find that they tell a different story.

Wages are worth what they will buy in food, clothing, and shelter. What they will buy depends upon prices. And prices are shooting upward like a skyrocket—this feature of the N.R.A. has been very successful. But the higher go prices, the lower go real wages—wages turned into the things which the wage earner needs.

How much have prices gone up? Different authorities give different figures, depending upon goods they base their figures on. Retail prices move more slowly than wholesale prices, but it is only a question of time when the higher wholesale prices will be passed on to the workers in higher retail prices.

The retail price of *food*, chief item in a worker's expenses, went up about 20% between April and the beginning of September, 1933. The *Consumers' Guide*, issued by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, admits that a family market basket, containing meat, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, rice, potatoes, flour, bread and macaroni cost only \$14.68 in April; but by the end of August, the family was paying \$17.74 for this monthly basket-load. Potatoes went up 120%; flour, 66%; navy beans, 49%; evaporated milk, 29%; lard, 27%. Bread rose 19%.

Total cost of living, including food, clothing, rent, fuel, lighting, and other necessities, went up at least 8.5% during the first six months of the "new deal", according to the most conservative estimates, while the Labor Research Association estimates that the correct figure is at least 14%.

What lies ahead is admitted by the employers' journals, in such statements as the following:

"... *the advance in retail prices has not been exhausted. Many consumers will be surprised when the ultimate advance has reached its height.*" (*Daily News Record*, October 9, 1933.)

"... there is ample evidence to substantiate the statements of manufacturers that opening prices for spring, 1934, will be anywhere from 33¹/₃% , most conservatively estimated, to 40% or more, compared with wholesale and retail prices prevailing last spring." (*Daily News Record*, October 13, 1933.)

If at the same time the total amount of wages paid to the workers (in terms of dollars) also rose by the same amount as the cost of living, then the total amount of real wages (in terms of what the worker buys) would be exactly the same as before, neither higher nor lower. If wages did not rise so fast, then real wages were being cut down.

Everybody knows wages have not risen so fast. At the very most wages rose only by 6% between March and September, according to the official figures of the U. S. Department of Labor and the Interstate Commerce Commission. This little 6% increase has been eaten up in the increased living costs—8.5% to 14% as we have seen. Thus, even if we use the more conservative figure of 8.5% for increase in living costs, the worker finds his real monthly income in September actually below March by 2.3%. What has actually happened, then, is a cut in real wages.

The situation was described in the businessmen's newspaper, *Daily News Record*, for August 30, as follows:

"The latest index number (of prices) is 43 points higher than it was at this time last year. Textiles, house furnishings,

and like commodities are increasing. The increase is having its effects in two ways: helpful for the producers (capitalists—E. B.), but not any too good for the consumer, for the reason that purchasing power has not increased proportionately."

Roosevelt promised that the N.R.A. would increase the purchasing power of the toiling masses, the workers and farmers. But in reality the opposite has occurred. There has been a tremendous cut in real wages. Under Roosevelt and the N.R.A., the millions of workers are getting less food, less clothing, less shelter, than they did under Hoover.

* * * * *

Illusions are stubborn things. We showed the above facts to an enthusiastic supporter of Roosevelt and the N.R.A. He said:

"Maybe all you say is true. It is hard to deny, because these figures come from the Government and the big capitalists themselves, who have every interest to show things not worse but better. But still the N.R.A. has given more jobs by reducing hours, and increasing production even temporarily."

Again we will play safe and ignore the newspaper ballyhoo, in order to take a look at the facts shown by official statistics.

Production in July was 30 points higher than a year before. But employment was less than 12 points higher.

What does this mean?

It means that a terrible speed-up has been put across on the workers in the factories. It means that every worker must produce more than ever before, even with shorter hours. It means more workers displaced by machines. It means constantly fewer and fewer jobs for the same amount of production.

It means a great increase in permanent unemployment.

It means more starvation and catastrophe for the workers. That is what Roosevelt and the N.R.A. have given the workers in the matter of jobs. The reality is the opposite to the promise.

* * * * *

"But at least the N.R.A. has given one thing to the worker," argues the enthusiastic supporter of the Blue Eagle; "it has given the worker the right to organize and fight for better conditions."

In law and in theory, the workers have for many, many years had the full right to organize and strike. When this is written into a new law, and proclaimed again by big politicians, this still doesn't give the workers anything they didn't have before. It is still only a law, worth not one cent more or less than previous laws.

Do you remember the War Labor Board, under President Wilson? Do you remember how it worked to strangle the strike movements of 1918-1919, and hold down wage rates? Perhaps you do not remember that it conducted its work under a declaration of government policy, stated in almost exactly the same words as Section 7 of the N.R.A. The War Labor Board declared:

"The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever."

What was this worth to the workers? Just exactly nothing. Under it they had the rights they always had, to organize and defeat their enemies if they could, the right to take what they were able to get with their own power. Strikes were prevented or strangled by "arbitration." Under this declaration the steel workers, for the first time in history, organized and went on strike to enforce the "collective bargaining" guaranteed by the War Labor Board. But the U. S.

Steel Corporation "denied, abridged, and interfered with" their rights, fired the workers who joined the union, and broke their strike with armed force, both with private police and government forces. No one ever heard of Judge Gary, the president of the Steel Trust, being arrested and tried for this crime against the law. But thousands of workers were jailed, and many killed, for trying to get these rights "guaranteed by law."

The same thing is being repeated today.

The N.R.A. "grants" the rights which the workers already have, in order to establish control over their organizations, tie them up in "arbitration," squeeze out or crush the militant trade unions, and in general to prevent strike movements by all possible means.

* * * * *

"But the N.R.A. has given the opportunity for organization, which the workers can take advantage of by organizing into the American Federation of Labor. Wm. Green is even on the National Labor Board. Give it credit for that much."

Thus pleads the advocate of the N.R.A.

What is this "opportunity," whose is it, and how has it been used? These are interesting questions.

The A. F. of L. officials had the opportunity to help work out the industrial codes before Roosevelt signed them. How did William Green utilize this "opportunity"?

Green and his A. F. of L. fellow-bureaucrats signed a steel code, which fixed the existing wage-scales and hours of labor as the legally approved ones without any change whatever. This was done at a moment when rising prices and strike movements had succeeded in forcing wage increases in most other industries. This was at a moment when steel workers themselves, in Buffalo, in McKees Rocks, in Cleveland, had shown by example that it is possible now to *strike and win* substantial wage increases also in the steel

industry. But the leaders of the A. F. of L. signed away this movement to the Steel Corporation and the N.R.A.

Clearly, the "opportunity" in the steel industry was grasped by the Steel Trust, with the help of the A. F. of L., to prevent either a wage increase or a strike movement.

In the automobile industry, Mr. Green put the name of the A. F. of L. to the Roosevelt code which gives government approval to the "open shop."

Truly, this was a wonderful opportunity—but for General Motors, and especially for Henry Ford, who gets all the benefits without even signing the code, and for the whole "open shop" movement of the Chamber of Commerce of the U. S.

Or take the coal code. Before it was adopted, after months of jockeying about, already it effectively was used to choke the strike of 60,000 Pennsylvania miners, and actually prevent even such wage increases as the workers are winning by their own actions in other industries under the pressure of rising prices.

The coal code was thus also an "opportunity"—for the coal barons to stifle the fighting movement of the miners. The miners will win better conditions, not through the code, but through fighting against the code.

Or look at a smaller but equally illuminating example: The Radio and Television Workers of Philadelphia seized the "opportunity" to organize into the A. F. of L., in Federal Labor Unions Nos. 18368 and 18369. Mr. William Green used the "opportunity" personally to supervise the negotiation of a "contract" with their employers, "establishing their right to collective bargaining," with the personal collaboration of General Hugh Johnson. This wonderful contract also deals with wages. To obtain an increase? No, no, not at all! On the contrary, to guarantee to the employers that the workers *will not demand any increase!* The contract declares that the unions:

"will not demand an increase over present scale of wages rates unless such increased rates are incorporated in the N.R.A. code for the Radio industry accepted and approved by the President of the United States."

Yes, indeed, this was a wonderful "opportunity"—for the Radio employers to secure the A. F. of L. guarantee that the N.R.A. "minimum" code shall also be in reality the maximum, without any inconvenient strikes by the workers!

And if the workers go on strike anyway? Then the N.R.A. also gives a great "opportunity"—for the capitalists to fight the strike with material and moral support from the government, from the A. F. of L. and also from the Socialist Party, whose leader, Norman Thomas, has declared that, in view of the "New Deal" and the N.R.A.: "This is not the time to strike."

Truly, the N.R.A. creates many "opportunities"—for the capitalists!

* * * * *

"But the N.R.A. gives the right to join any union the worker wants", say the Blue Eagle boys; "If you don't like the policy of William Green and the A. F. of L. join another Union, such as the fighting unions of the Trade Union Unity League, or an independent Union. The N.R.A. will protect you in that right."

Yeah? You don't say! But take a look at what the government and the employers, with the help of the A. F. of L., try to do to those who would exercise these "rights."

The tobacco workers of Tampa were organized in the Tobacco Workers Industrial Union, affiliated to the T.U.U.L. The government of Florida came in, destroyed its headquarters, sent its leaders to prison on frame-up charges so flagrant that even the U. S. Supreme Court was forced to reverse the verdict, and turned hundreds of its members over to the Washington authorities who deported them out of the country as "undesirable citizens" for daring to take their rights of organizing a union.

Later, when the N.R.A. became law, the Tampa workers' faith in their legal rights revived—enough to organize an entirely independent union of their own on a local basis. They sent a delegation to Washington to talk with the N.R.A. administration. General Johnson and his aides refused to talk with them. When the delegation returned to Tampa, they were arrested, turned over to the Ku Klux Klan, who beat them up severely and ran them out of town. The union headquarters were again wrecked, and the members dispersed by police terror.

That is the reality of the "freedom to join any union," as the Tampa tobacco workers found it.

Or consider the case of the miners of Utah and New Mexico. In these two fields the miners, by overwhelming majority and secret ballot, decided not to join the United Mine Workers of the A. F. of L. They didn't trust it, because its officers came into the field as the personal friends of the coal operators and government officials. Instead they joined the National Miners Union. They went on strike and won wage increases and union recognition. Then came word from Washington, from the N.R.A. administration, that the local employers made a mistake to settle with the Union. The employers broke their agreement. The union went on strike again. The governors of Utah and New Mexico, with the open help of the U. S. Army, of which Mr. Roosevelt is Commander-in-chief, declared military rule, martial law, arrested all leaders of the N.M.U. and hundreds of its active members, holds them incommunicado without trial, while the A. F. of L. officials openly issue calls for scabs to come in and break the strike.

These are typical examples of what is going on, in one form or another, all over the country, in all industries. "Unions of their own choice!" What a mockery!

* * * * *

"But even if everything you say is true", argues the blind follower of Mr. Roosevelt, "that only means that we must all

make some sacrifices for the common good that will come from an organized planned economy under the N.R.A."

It is true that sacrifices are being demanded—and taken—under the "New Deal" and the Blue Buzzard. But who makes the sacrifices?

First, the working class, whose income has been cut by two thirds, to less than one third part of what it was five years ago, and is being further reduced by higher prices every day.

Second, the poor farmers, whose income has been reduced about the same as that of the workers, and who are losing their farms to the bankers and other mortgage holders, thus being turned into tenants or wage workers.

Third, the veterans of the world war, who are not only denied payment of the bonus (a debt acknowledged by the government by formal certificates) but who have further had taken away from them by Mr. Roosevelt and the "New Deal," a half-billion dollars per year from their pensions and disability allowances which they received under Hoover.

Fourth, the Negro people, most of whom suffer as workers, poor farmers and veterans, and suffer further as an oppressed nationality, whose wage-rates are omitted from even the N.R.A. codes, or deliberately set at figures from 25 to 50 per cent lower than the general starvation level, who are more than ever being jim-crowed and lynched in this time of N.R.A.

Fifth, the small bank depositors (some workers and many middle-class people) whose savings have been confiscated by the so-called "bank failures" (which is only another name for the process of big banks eating up the little banks). Many billions of dollars have been "sacrificed" in this way—to go into the vaults of J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Mellon, and the rest of the little group of "rulers of America."

Sixth, the small business men are also making sacrifices. The abolition of the anti-trust laws has removed the last

small restraints upon chain stores, monopolies, and big trusts. They are free to use their mass resources to the full to crush and absorb the little fellows. At the same time these monopolies are writing the "industrial codes" under the N.R.A., in such a way as to guarantee monopoly profits while squeezing out entirely the little fellows.

On top of all these sacrifices, which all go to swell the treasuries of monopoly capital, of Wall Street, further billions of dollars are being taken by the government through taxation of the masses, and through the operations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, are being passed on to the banks, insurance companies, railroads and great industrial corporations.

These sacrifices made by the broad masses of the people for the benefit of Wall Street, of monopoly capital—these are called, with a grim humor peculiar to the N.R.A., *establishing a planned economy*.

But this is nothing else than a gigantic *trustification of capital* at the expense of the masses and of economy.

This increased trustification does not and cannot overcome the crisis. It was the previous trustification that made the crisis so deep-going and protracted. It does not organize economy to overcome those features which bring about crises and catastrophes. It only deepens the crisis and drives the world even faster to the further disaster of a new world war.

"But the N.R.A. has nothing to do with war", says our faithful supporter of Roosevelt; "the New Deal means more friendly relations with other nations. Therefore, why do you talk about war?"

So, Roosevelt is also going to abolish war? Yes, much the same as he is abolishing the crisis! Just as the N.R.A. talks higher wages but actually cuts real wages, so does the new deal talk about peace but really prepares for and carries on war.

The N.R.A. established a three-billion dollar fund, sup-

posedly for "public works." This is being expended mainly to launch the greatest navy building and military program the world has ever seen.

All these warships, bombing planes, tanks, poison gases, army camps, etc., these are the means for establishing "more neighborly relations"? Yes? Tell that to Japan and England, and see how much they believe it!

Japan and England, France, Germany, and Italy—all are feverishly making the same sort of preparations for "more neighborly relations"! All arm to the teeth against each other—and all try to unite for a moment for war against the Soviet Union.

How strange, how typical of the topsy-turvy times in which we live, that such blatant hypocrisy can fool anyone even for a moment. And such a moment, when the whole world knows that it is faltering on the brink of the most destructive war the world ever witnessed!

Even the most "constructive" measure of Roosevelt's "New Deal," the Tennessee River development around the Muscle Shoals hydroelectric plant, is a senseless thing until it is seen as a part of a war program. At the same time that Roosevelt pays out many hundreds of millions of dollars (taken from the masses by special sales taxes) to the farmers in order to persuade them to *reduce production*, to plow under every fourth row of cotton, to leave stand idle every fourth acre of wheat land, to slaughter six million pigs to reduce the production of meat—at this same moment he spends more hundreds of millions to complete and put into operation the Muscle Shoals fertilizer plant. To produce fertilizer is useful to *increase production in agriculture*, the opposite of Roosevelt's program. But the method in this madness can be seen when we recall that Muscle Shoals is a fertilizer plant only by afterthought. In the first place it is a monster *munitions plant, to produce explosives for war*.

The N.R.A. is from beginning to end a part of the program of war and preparations for war!

"Yes, the selfish, bad capitalists are doing all the things you describe", admits our Rooseveltian enthusiast; "But Roosevelt himself is a good, well-meaning man who is doing his best for us, and fighting against all these bad things."

That reminds me of a story. An old Scotchman had for many years been a member of a savings and loan association. Came the day when he wanted to obtain a loan. He went to his old friend, the Chairman of the Board, with his application. The chairman said: "Sandy, I'd do anything in the world for you personally. But this is something that must be decided by the entire Board." Sandy visited each member of the Board and got the same reply from each. Contentedly he waited for the Board to meet, sure of the support of each member as his loyal personal friend. After the Board meeting, the astonished Sandy was informed by the chairman that his application had been turned down. "Well," said Sandy, sadly disillusioned; "personally each member of the Board is a good man and my personal friend, but collectively I must say that you're the worst bunch of bastards I ever met."

And so it is with that "good man" Roosevelt, who is such a firm "friend" of the workers and all the oppressed. He is at the same time the chairman of the Board that must make all decisions "collectively." He is the chairman of the executive committee of the capitalist class. That is what the job of President of the United States means.

How childish it is to think that the "goodness" or "badness" of the individual Roosevelt can make the slightest difference in regard to the policies of government!

The government, with Roosevelt at the head, is trying to save the capitalist system. To save the system makes necessary to put the burden of the crisis upon the workers, farmers, and middle classes. They follow the class logic of their class position.

In order to improve the situation of the masses, of the workers and farmers and impoverished middle classes, it is

necessary to start out from the position, not of saving the capitalist system but of changing the system, of moving toward substituting for it a socialist system.

Such an issue is above all questions of personal virtue or lack of it. It is a *class issue*. Roosevelt is bad for the workers because he is the leader of the capitalist class in its attacks upon the working class.

To be a "friend" of the working class in any real—that is, political—sense, requires being against the system of private ownership of the means of production by the capitalist class. It requires building up the organized power of the working class in struggle against the capitalist class. It requires helping the working class to take governmental power out of the hands of the capitalists, and establishing a Workers' Government, which takes the means of production away from the capitalists and organizes them on a new socialist basis, as the common property of all.

* * * * *

"Oh, so you're a radical, a Red", exclaims our defender of the Blue Buzzard; "You are one of those anarchists who want a bloody revolution in America, who preach force and violence. You are opposed to Americanism. That's why you criticize the N.R.A.!"

What is a "radical" or a "Red"? Read your capitalist newspaper again and you will see that this name is applied to everyone and anyone who calls upon the working class to organize and fight for its rights, who helps to lead this fight, who refuses to trust in the promises of the class enemy, who exposes their tricks and maneuvers, who fights with all energy for better conditions *now* and who points the way to the final solution of all the problems, the revolutionary solution, the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

You see, then, it is not so terrible to be a "radical" or a "Red."

But we are not anarchists, we are not for disorder. The

only real anarchists are the capitalists, who by their wild competition, their ruthless grabbing for individual profits, create this world-wide disorder and chaos of the crisis, of the many wars going on, of the bigger war preparing.

We are not for violence and bloodshed! It is the capitalists who every day carry out the violent and bloody suppression of strikes. It is the capitalists who bring upon the world that supreme example of violence and bloodshed—imperialist war. We fight against all such violence and bloodshed with all our power. The abolition of all such violence and bloodshed can only be achieved by the accomplishment of our aim, the overturning of capitalist power and the establishment of a Workers' Government.

We are not for the destruction of goods and houses! It's the capitalists and their government which is destroying wheat, cotton, milk, fruits—all the things people are dying for lack of—which destroys the productive forces by keeping them standing idle, rusting away, which keeps the buildings standing empty while millions freeze for lack of shelter. We are against all this destruction. We want all the wheat and cotton given to the people to feed and clothe them with. We want all the factories to open to make more things for the masses to consume. We want the houses opened up for the homeless to live in!

We are not un-American! Since when has it become un-American to revolt against oppression and tyranny? Since when is it un-American to call for revolutionary struggle to overthrow a tyrannical and destructive system? The United States was born in "treason" against King George and the British Empire. The U. S. was born in revolutionary struggle. It was born in the confiscation of the private property of the feudal landlords. That good old American tradition of revolution is today kept alive *only* by the Communist Party. We are the only true Americans. The Republican, Democratic and Socialist Parties are all renegade to the basic American tradition of Revolution.

These fundamental features of Americanism were explained long ago by that eminently American historian, John Lothrop Motley, in the following words:

"No man on either side of the Atlantic, with Anglo-Saxon blood in his veins, will dispute the right of a people, or of any portion of a people, to rise against oppression, to demand a redress of grievances, and in case of denial of justice to take up arms to vindicate the sacred principles of liberty. Few Englishmen or Americans will deny that the source of government is the consent of the governed, or that any nation has the right to govern itself, according to its own will. When the silent consent is changed to fierce remonstrance, the revolution is impending. The right of revolution is indisputable. It is written on the whole record of our race. British and American history is made up of rebellion and revolution. Many of the crowned kings were rebels or usurpers. Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell; Washington, Adams and Jefferson—all were rebels. It is no word of reproach. But these men all knew the work they had set themselves to do. They never called their rebellion 'peaceable secession'. They were sustained by the consciousness of right when they overthrew established authority, but they meant to overthrow it. They meant rebellion, civil war, bloodshed, infinite suffering for themselves and their whole generation, for they accounted them welcome substitutes for insulted liberty and violated right. There can be nothing plainer, then, than the American right of revolution."

Americans have always been able to solve a basic crisis by revolutionary means. In 1776 we smashed the fetters of reactionary feudal rule by the European absentee landlords. In 1861 we smashed the feudal remnants of Negro slavery. With the same resolute and revolutionary determination we must, in 1933, turn to the task of smashing the oppressive and destructive rule of the Wall Street monopolist capitalists who have brought our country to the brink of destruction.

"If that be treason, make the most of it!"

"That's a beautiful dream", admits our admirer of General Johnson and his blue bird, "but it's Utopian. It wouldn't work. We can't get along without the capitalists."

That used to sound like a crushing argument. But that was long ago, when the capitalist system was working, after a fashion, and there was no other example of social organization except the feudal, pre-capitalist societies. But today such an argument falls very flat.

It is exactly capitalism that doesn't work. The whole system has cracked up so completely that nobody pretends to deny the fact any more.

The only country in the world that has no crisis today, is that country where they got rid of all their capitalists. That is Soviet Russia, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Russia, when it was ruled by the capitalists and feudal landlords, under the Czar, was the most backward country of Europe. But after the Russian workers and farmers defeated the old government and its landlord and capitalist class supporters, after they set up their own government of Workers' and Farmers' Councils (Soviets), after they chased out the capitalists or put them into overalls—since then that backward old country has made amazing strides forward.

Just look at a few things they were able to do, at a time when our capitalist system was falling about our ears and threatening to destroy us.

In Soviet Russia production has increased three-fold over the pre-war figure. Meanwhile, our production dropped more than one-half.

The Soviets abolished unemployment entirely. In America we threw 17 millions out of their jobs.

The Soviets multiplied their schools and cultural facilities by five or six times, and turned billions of dollars into this

development. In America our school system is falling to pieces, its revenues are drying up, our school teachers are unpaid, our culture is stultified.

In America all is confusion, uncertainty, chaos, disaster.

In the land of the Soviets, all is orderly advance, progress, certain planned economy, and an ever-growing socialist prosperity.

Why this contrast? Why did we fall behind? Why do they forge ahead?

A few years ago America was the richest, most prosperous land; Russia was the poorest, most backward.

We had everything, they had nothing.

So it seemed. But in reality it was *our capitalists* who had everything—we really had nothing.

The Russian workers, because they had abolished capitalists and capitalism, while they seemed to have nothing, yet had everything required for a glorious development of a new working class society—of socialism.

Because it was *our capitalists* who had everything in America, that is why we have fallen into starvation in the midst of riches.

The Soviet Union proves that there is a simple and quick way out of the crisis.

Push aside the capitalists, open the warehouses, distribute the goods to all who need them. They will soon be consumed. No overproduction any more.

Then open up all the factories. Give everyone a job. Produce all we need to fill the warehouses up again as fast as they are emptied. Nothing needs to be destroyed, and the unemployment problem is solved, and everyone has enough of everything.

In America there are such enormous productive forces, such a wealth of factories, mills, and mines, that if they work only eight hours a day in two shifts of four hours each, they will produce twice as much as we need in this country and

the rest we can give to our less fortunate brothers in other lands until they catch up with us.

There is no reason to be pessimistic about our country. What the Russian workers accomplished in a poverty-stricken land through years of painful efforts, we can accomplish in this country in a few weeks. We already have all the productive forces they had to create from the ground up. And our working class will prove to be just as capable when it becomes conscious of its power and its tasks.

The Russian workers had the tremendous advantage of the leadership of Lenin.

But we also have the teachings of Lenin to guide us, and of Lenin's teachers, Marx and Engels, and of Lenin's outstanding disciple and successor, Stalin, organized in our American section of the International Communist Party.

We have a working class that is learning to fight for its interests, even against Roosevelt and the N.R.A. It is learning how to build up its own fighting trade unions to win higher wages and better conditions, by successful strikes; to build up powerful Unemployed Councils and to win adequate relief and Unemployment Insurance.

As we learn how to expose the fakery of our class enemies, such as the ballyhoo around the Blue Eagle, as we learn to win the daily struggles for bread and the right to live—by this road we are also moving forward to defeat not only the N.R.A. attacks, but also to defeat the whole capitalist system, to overthrow it, and to establish a Workers' Government, a socialist society.

There are only two roads before the working class. One is the road of the capitalist class, the road of Roosevelt and the N.R.A., the road of wage-cuts, starvation and war. The other is the working class road, the road of revolutionary struggle for our daily needs, and the ultimate overthrow of capitalism, of socialist prosperity and peace.

Published by WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D. (50 E. 13th St.) New York City, Oct., 1933

Second Edition, Nov., 1933