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Social security in a Soviet America

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by I. AMTER

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SOCIAL SECURITY
in a
SOVIET AMERICA

SOCIAL SECURITY IN A SOVIET AMERICA

By I. AMTER

NEVER before in the history of the United States have the workers been compelled to study their own condition so intensely. Now, after nearly six years of crisis, with the conditions of the workers hardly improving at all and with no prospect of the crisis coming to an end, the workers are asking themselves many questions: "What will the crisis lead to?" "What are we heading for?"

Nearly seventeen million workers are unemployed. They and their families face little possibility of work. After all, what do they want? What do workers who still have a job in the factory want? What do the farmers, who are being driven off their farms by poverty, want? What does the professional want? They all want security. They want the security of a job. They want to bring up their families in security. They want the assurance that if any calamity overtakes them, they will be able to earn a livelihood.

There is no security for the workers under the capitalist (boss-controlled) system. No worker has the assurance that tomorrow he will have an opportunity to work. Life for the whole working class is a series of fears.

"Greater Distribution of Wealth" an Illusion

Since Roosevelt has been President and in the two years of the "New Deal", we have been told that a greater distribution of wealth is going to take place. We have been made to believe that by slow, steady "progress" the *one per cent of the population of the United States—the handful of bankers and manufacturers—that controls 90 per cent of the wealth* will have part of its power taken away and the workers will receive more. But history shows the contrary. History shows that a class in power—and today that is the capitalist class—will not give up its power without violent struggle. The capitalists are in control over five-sixths of the globe. They will fight to the end to retain it. They

will only give up power when the workers take *united action* and drive them out of control and establish the power of the working class.

Workers Want Security

This is the lesson that the workers must learn from the present crisis—the crisis that is shaking the capitalist system to its roots. Only by detroying this system can we put an end to the insecurity, waste and destruction which characterize the capitalist system. Only under firm working class control can a new system be set up in which there will be *full social security*.

This security will consist of the full right to work, the full right to protection when the worker is unable to work, the right to enjoy to the full and participate in political, social and cultural activities, arts, science, invention. This will be a mighty step forward and upward, leading humanity to a new, higher level and finally leading to that freedom which all sincere men and women desire.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to bring forward the facts of the present situation, to explain clearly why we are in this situation, and point to the only way out. In the course of the pamphlet we will also discuss the various other proposals that have been made in order that the reader may gain a clear idea as to the proposals and methods of their achievement recommended by the Communist Party.

Masses Starving Today

Let us examine the present situation in this, the “best of all worlds”, in 1935, the sixth year of the crisis—a crisis that, we were told, would be solved by the “New Deal”.

In this “best of all worlds” and in this, the richest country of the world, with land and resources, with highly developed industries, with workers able and ready to produce in plenty for all, there are about 17,000,000 unemployed. Seventeen million workers denied the right to work! Misery, want, hunger, destitution in a land of plenty! These millions are not “bums” and “hoodlums”, who do not want to work. They are men and women, many of whom for years have tramped from shop to shop asking for work. “*Nearly one-sixth of all who are seeking work,*” Harry L. Hopkins states in the report of the Federal

Emergency Relief Administration of September, 1934, "*have been unsuccessful in finding it for nearly four years.*" Millions denied the right to earn a living for four long years. Is this due to a natural calamity? Have the factories burnt down? Have the sources of raw material dried up? Not at all. We "produced too much", and now we are out on the streets, hungry.

This one-sixth of the relief applicants, mentioned above, are not the only ones who have been jobless for four years. According to U. S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Zook, 7,000,000 boys and girls have graduated from the high schools and colleges in five years of the crisis. Of these, only one-third have obtained any work, and then only part-time work and at very low wages. In other words, nearly 5,000,000 boys and girls who in the past five years have gone to college, have come out into a world that offers them nothing—not even the right to work and earn a living. Millions more, who do not see the inside of a higher school of learning, face the same situation.

Who Are the Unemployed?

Who are these 17,000,000 unemployed? They include workers in shops, mines, offices, stores, railroads, workers on farms, in domestic, personal and professional service. They include former shopkeepers, managers, bank executives, artists, etc. Let us cite a few examples: 95 per cent of the architects of the country are unemployed; 85 per cent of the engineers and technicians are unemployed; 80 per cent of the building trades workers are unemployed. Construction—both public and private—is down to a very low level. In 1934, it amounted to only \$3,000,000,000 as compared with \$11,000,000,000 in 1918. This in spite of the ballyhoo campaign of the Roosevelt government about a "huge" construction program to re-employ millions of unemployed! If the building trades workers do not work, then the architects cannot work out plans, the engineers and technicians cannot put them into operation.

The unemployment situation is aggravated by the rationalization methods of the bosses. Rationalization is the method the employers use in order to lower the cost of production and increase profits. The capitalist is not in "business for love", but to make profits. He therefore tries to cut the payroll as much

as he can so as to earn more profits and dividends. This he does by (a) speeding up the workers; (b) putting a higher load on each worker, by the stretch-out system; (c) installing labor-saving machinery. This throws more workers out of a job, etc. The result is that workers are driven like mad. This gives the bosses an excuse for firing workers who are advanced in years. Thus in many industries workers over 40 years cannot get a job.

According to the Labor Research Association of New York, out of every five workers in the United States, two are unemployed, one is working part time, two work full time. Just think of it: two-fifths have not work at all, one-fifth work only part time, and only two-fifths full time. In face of these facts, some workers say, as Hoover did in 1932, that it would be better to divide up the work all around—"stagger" the work—so that every one would have a job. That would only mean *hunger for every worker*. That would mean only greater insecurity for the whole working population.

The N.R.A. was supposed to change this situation. But the Brookings Institute (a semi-government institution) in a report on April 19, 1935, declared that only 1,750,000 workers had gone back to work under the N.R.A. and that this had been brought about only through "spreading work and not creating new jobs". All the boasts of the "New Deal", therefore, are shattered and show clearly that the "progress" of Roosevelt has only been a duplicate of the Hoover stagger plan.

All the 17,000,000 unemployed are not on the relief lists of the country. On the contrary, in February, 1935, there were only 4,700,000 families and 700,000 single men on the relief rolls. That means that some 11,000,000 unemployed and their families are getting no relief at all.

One-Third of Population Depends on Relief

On Labor Day, 1934, William Green estimated the number of unemployed at 10,000,000. But he said: "These people represent a mass of 40,000,000 people who are dependent on relief". Green meant that the 10,000,000 unemployed with their families are dependent on relief. Forty million people—nearly one-third of the population of the United States—having to depend on relief! But they are *not* on the relief rolls. Harry L. Hopkins

reports only 21,000,000 persons—unemployed and their families—on relief. How do the other 19,000,000 live? No one knows—the bosses and the government do not care. That is not their worry—they are concerned only about reducing the relief rolls of the country—cutting relief appropriations!

There have been five, almost six, years of this misery and destitution. No one except the wildest ballyhooers talks about a return of prosperity. On the contrary, at this moment of writing, more people are on the federal relief rolls than ever before in the history of the country. These include many persons who have been trying to get along on their savings, who have been borrowing from friends, relatives, etc. But now they can borrow nothing more and therefore are compelled to apply for relief.

Relief Below Four Dollars Per Month

The relief that they obtain, however, has only the effect of driving them down still lower. In the state of Mississippi, for instance, in September, 1934, relief for a family of four was \$3.96 per month. In the same month, relief in Tennessee, Kentucky, South Carolina and North Carolina amounted to \$7.38, \$8.26, \$9.86 and \$9.92 respectively *per family per month*. (Report of Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Oct., 1934.) Is this not clear evidence of the shamefully low level to which the employers and the government of the United States are driving the workers?

But this is not all. During the months of August, September and October, 1934, when the number of unemployed was increasing, the government was actually cutting down the amount of relief. Thus in Phoenix, Arizona, the number of unemployed on relief grew from 6,502 in September to 7,555 in October, but the total relief outlay dropped from \$145,290 to \$137,189. In Denver, Colorado, the corresponding figures were 15,730 unemployed in September and 16,033 in October, with relief expenditures dropping from \$493,598 to \$457,473. Even Chicago did not hesitate to cut relief for the workers. In the same months the number of unemployed increased from 148,191 to 151,162, but the relief dropped from \$4,978,724 to \$4,966,573. (Same report.)

The report issued by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment Relief in New York, published on March 25, 1935, shows

a frightful situation in New York City. The committee admits that fully 1,000,000 are unemployed in New York City, that 660,000 families or 2,660,000 people are affected by unemployment. This is one-third of the population of New York. But only 344,000 people are on the relief rolls in New York City. In other words, nearly one-half, or more than 300,000 families, representing over a million persons, are without any means of livelihood. In addition, relief per family dropped \$9 a month from 1932 to 1935 while the cost of living has skyrocketed. What is true of New York applies to other parts of the country.

Government Relief Jobs Afford Six Dollars a Week

On the relief jobs, both federal and state, there is no definite standard. In some cases, in fact, the standard is even lower than on home relief. For instance, according to the U. S. Department of Labor report of October, 1934, there were employed on the emergency work program in the month of October 1,950,000 employees. The amount of the payroll during that month was \$51,000,000. This made an average of \$26.16 per month per worker, or \$6 per week. The federal government evidently considers this "adequate wages".

During the whole period of the P.W.A., from August, 1933, through October, 1934, the government employed a total of 5,285,981 workers. The total payroll for these 15 months was \$290,649,309. This makes an average of about \$55 per month per worker on these jobs. This again is what the government considers an "adequate" wage.

That all the workers do not receive the same wage can be gathered from the following: gang foremen received as high as \$140 a month, whereas laborers in July, 1934, received as low as 22c to 25c an hour; carpenters 51c an hour; carpenters' helpers 43c an hour, etc. Thus it is clear that the great bulk of the unskilled workers were living at a poverty level, while even the skilled laborers could eke out no more than a mere existence.

There is another interesting aspect to the government report. While the government spent \$290,000,000 in wages, it spent \$556,201,513 for "materials". In other words, *nearly two dollars for materials for every dollar on wages*. What were these "mate-

rials"? The U. S. Department of Labor report for October, 1934, shows what they were: "aircraft—\$4,284,000; airplane parts—\$4,453,000; railway cars, freight—\$34,644,151; railway cars—passenger—\$7,152,000; etc." (U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Trend of Employment*, Nov., 1934.)

Such material has nothing to do with "public works". It has very much to do with war preparations.

Wages Offset by Increased Cost of Living

The conditions of the workers in the shops also have not improved under the N.R.A. On the anniversary of the "New Deal" Mr. Richberg reported to President Roosevelt that although the payroll of the United States had *advanced 8.5 per cent, the cost of living had mounted 9.7 per cent*. This was in July, 1934. Since that time wages have not gone up; they have gone down.

Furthermore, since Roosevelt has been President, the cost of food, according to the federal government, has gone up 34 per cent, and during the coming months it will mount still higher. Food, it must be remembered, represents *45 per cent of the budget of a working class family*. Hence it is clear that under the "New Deal" the conditions of the workers have become far worse.

These facts, which government reports show quite conclusively, up to the present time have forced *nearly two and one-half million workers to go out on strike* for higher wages and in defense of their rights. They have driven the unemployed to battle for more relief. As a result of these struggles wages have been forced up to a higher level than they otherwise would have reached, and relief has been increased.

Nevertheless, we can see clearly from the above that the "New Deal" has been a complete failure as far as the workers are concerned. This is not because of the good or bad will of President Roosevelt, but because the "New Deal" was not intended to improve the conditions of the workers. Its real aim, as stated in the N.R.A., was to increase prices, raise profits, and to help organize the industrialists. It has not brought about increased security for the masses, but on the contrary has made their situation ever more precarious.

Negroes Suffer Fearful Hunger

Now let us look at the condition of certain sections of the

population. The worst sufferers at all times, and now particularly in the crisis, are the Negro workers. The twelve million Negroes in the United States live under a system of the worst oppression and are denied all rights. They are forced to accept any conditions in order to obtain a livelihood. Always paid less than the white workers, always the last to be hired and the first to be fired, now under the "New Deal" the Negroes suffer more than ever before.

Directly through the "New Deal" and the adoption of differentials under the codes, the life of the Negroes has been made harder. These differentials provide for lower scales in the South, first as a means of openly discriminating against the Negroes, and secondly, to divide the Northern from the Southern workers. The bosses use these differentials not only to drive the standards of the Negroes down to hunger scales, but also to lower still further the scales of the white workers.

The Negroes all over the country show a higher percentage of unemployment than the white workers. Thus, in Washington, D. C., the Negroes represent 79 per cent of those on relief although they are less than one-third of the total population. Because of the mass of unemployed Negroes in the South, the relief levels are extremely low—down to virtual starvation. But it is not only in the South that the Negroes suffer. In the North, too, the same thing holds true. Negroes are discriminated against on jobs, given the hardest work and the lowest scales, and are discriminated against in obtaining relief. Thus, in Harlem, New York, fully 80 per cent of the Negro workers are unemployed, but tens of thousands are getting no relief at all.

Police Terror Ferocious

But it is not only from this that the Negroes suffer. In the large cities where they are forced to live in the worst sections, the rents are outrageously high. A Negro has to pay one and a half to two times as high rent as a white worker for the same facilities. The result is that two, three and more families live in a flat, suffering from all the results of such congestion—disease, lack of air, conditions leading to degeneration, etc. Police terror against the Negroes is boundless.

These were the fundamental causes of the outburst of the

Negro masses in Harlem on March 19, in which they were savagely attacked by the police: four were killed, scores injured, and more than a hundred arrested.

A campaign has been inaugurated also against the foreign-born workers. These workers in the main are in basic industry—mining, steel, textile, railroad, construction, etc. Millions of them are unemployed. Now the government, with the aid of the A. F. of L. leadership and the Hearst press, is trying to get rid of the foreign-born who are on relief, by means of deportation. The reason for this is clear. By holding the threat of deportation over their heads, the government is trying to use them as a battering ram against the American-born workers for the purpose of driving down the conditions of the whole working class.

Today, particularly, everything is being done by the bosses and government to drive a still deeper wedge between the white and Negro workers, between the native and foreign-born workers. They want to prevent the unity of the working class, for *this unity would enable the workers to put an end to the evils from which they suffer today.*

Blank Future for American Youth

A situation of absolute hopelessness faces the American youth. As already stated, fully five million boys and girls are totally unemployed. These young people have never seen and most of them possibly never will see the inside of a factory or office. Millions of them have left home and are tramping up and down the country looking for work.

What has the government done for these young people? It put some of them into schools for the purpose of teaching them a trade or a profession. But how their parents are to maintain them while they go to school was not considered. In the schools they may learn a trade, but when they leave they can find no work.

The government also pretended that it wanted to help them, through the Civilian Conservation Camps. But this was not true. It did not take the boys who were in the jungles and put them in camps, but went to the homes of parents who were on the relief rolls. If they discovered they had boys between 18 and 24 years of age, they forced these parents to send the boys to the camps on a threat of stopping their relief. Whether these camps were for the purpose of giving physical, moral and mental train-

ing to the boys we will let Harry H. Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War, tell us. In the fascist magazine *Liberty*, of January 8, 1934, in an article entitled "The American Army Stands Ready," Mr. Woodring declared: "The organization of these camps (C.C.C. Camps) was the first real test of the army's plans for war mobilization, under the National Defense Act." Woodring further declared that they could be used also in case of "internal troubles", that is, against strikers, workers fighting for relief, etc. The government has the pick of the boys, the strongest and sturdiest, whom it is training into soldiers. More than a million boys have been at these camps, but according to government reports only 15 per cent of them obtained jobs on leaving the camps.

The young workers, like most single workers, obtain no relief from the government. Only in those cases and localities where, led by the Unemployment Councils, they put up a fight, have they been able to compel the government to give them relief. Single workers are thrown into flop houses, municipal lodging houses, etc. More recently, however, the government has established transient camps where single workers are compelled to work for their food and lodging—and 90 cents a week.

Children Starved by Government

Then look at the government's attitude toward the working class children. On the excuse of "economy", the state governments have slashed the school budgets. As a result, 2,500,000 children in the United States are getting no education whatsoever. In addition, the children of the migratory workers are always deprived of education. This applies particularly to the South. There the bulk of the children are Negro children, who in normal times receive an education at the hands of Negro teachers, who are poorly paid and have received little training. School terms are being cut every year, with the result that the coming generation will grow up without even the rudiments of an education.

According to reports of the U. S. Department of Labor, 25 per cent of the children of the United States are undernourished. In some localities this rises as high as 70 per cent. Even in so-called days of prosperity, the children of the workers, especially in such states as Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Mississippi, suffered from rickets, pellagra, etc. Now in the crisis, the children

are suffering more than ever. In the richest city in the world, New York City, one out of every five children is undernourished.

There are more than two million children working in the factories, sweatshops and on the farms of the country. One of the alleged "achievements" of the Roosevelt government is that it has "abolished" child labor. This is not true. Child labor was "abolished" in many states long before Roosevelt, but it flourishes just the same. Newsboys, messenger boys, children in factories, sweatshops, on farms and in homes, work for a few dollars a week.

A true test of the civilization of a country is the way it handles the children. In the United States the government destroys the lives of the children.

Girls Forced Into Prostitution

There were fully eight million women gainfully employed in the United States in the so-called days of prosperity. Fully two million of them are unemployed, many of them are homeless, and the government is doing practically nothing for them. Here and there, the government has established small camps where the women are taught the "domestic arts". This means the training of women as domestic workers. These domestics are working, many of them, for nothing more than their board and room, and in the best instances receive in addition a few dollars a month.

There are tens of thousands of homeless women tramping the country, wandering around the streets of the cities. Is it any wonder therefore that at a time of crisis prostitution increases? This in a country that supposedly "cherishes its womanhood".

White-Collar Workers on Breadline

White-collar workers and professionals are those who in the past felt secure and counted confidently on an opportunity for advancement. They hoped to become bank presidents, executives, etc. Some of them did reach their goal, but today they are on the bread lines. With the crash of the economic crisis, offices and stores threw hundreds of thousands out of work. Schools closed down, educational budgets were curtailed, with the result that today 250,000 school teachers are unemployed.

These white collar workers were proud and slow to take up any program of struggle. With the deepening of the crisis they

have learned that there is only one way that they can obtain anything, and that is through organization and struggle. Hence, we see in all parts of the country that they have forced the government to provide them with C.W.A. jobs and to consider their demands.

Farmers Face Misery

The farmers have always been regarded by the bosses as the backbone of the country, but they have been in a crisis for 14 years. During the World War, when food supplies were in demand, there was a rush to widen the farming industry. When the war was over and things got back to "normal" again, the farmers paid the penalty for the high prices they had paid for their land and inventory. The farmers are being crushed by mortgages and debts amounting to close to \$15,000,000,000. When the crisis broke, and the workers were no longer able to buy sufficient foodstuffs, the agricultural crisis was intensified. Hundreds of thousands of farmers lost their farms through foreclosure. The number of tenant farmers grew—45 per cent of all American farmers are tenants. Today 2,000,000 poor farmers and farm laborers are unemployed. In the South Negro and white sharecroppers and tenant farmers face a most bitter existence.

The government then decided to cut down production. *At a time when workers were starving and clamoring for food and clothes, the government ordered the farmers to plow under their crops, both grain and cotton.* When the workers were crying for food the government bought up whole crops and millions of pounds of beef and pork, and destroyed them. Certainly this did not help either the farmers or the workers. The government did this for the purpose of raising the price of food. At the same time the government put a so-called processing tax on all grain. This tax is supposed to be a bonus to the farmers, but it does not reach the poorer farmers. It goes to the bank, the insurance company or real estate concern which has a mortgage on the farmer, and is used as part payment on the farmer's debt. It goes to the landowner of the South as payment of part of the so-called debt of the sharecropper, particularly the Negro sharecropper.

Roosevelt Denies Government Responsibility for Relief

In face of these undisputed facts, what would you imagine

the government program would be? Certainly it should be one to help the workers and poor farmers, to raise wages, increase relief, provide jobs at decent wages, etc. But it is nothing of the sort. Its program is:

First point: Of the 5,000,000 on relief, the government has decided to transfer 1,500,000 so-called "unemployables" (that is, the aged, sick and infirm) to city and state relief. On January 4, 1935, at a time when the number of relief applicants was rising, Roosevelt declared in his message to Congress, that "the federal government shall and must quit this business of relief". This sounded like the lash of a tyrant driving his slaves out to perish. Roosevelt knew very well that the states and cities had not provided adequate relief in the past and would not do so now.

Everywhere, the Communists have demanded that taxes be imposed on high incomes to provide relief for the unemployed. But our rulers are very "democratic" when it comes to taxes. They refuse to touch the incomes of the big bankers and manufacturers. Everywhere the Communists have demanded that payments on the so-called public debt service, that is, interest paid to the bankers on loans they have made to the cities, shall be postponed for the period of the crisis, and this money be used for relief. But the politicians have replied that these debts are "sacred". Hence the unemployed must continue to starve.

Second point of the government program: The other 3,500,000 on the relief rolls are to be put on federal relief projects. Roosevelt originally proposed that they be paid an average of \$50 a month, but actually this will amount to as little as \$19 a month in the South and no more than \$85 a month for skilled workers in the North.

Who will receive these jobs? Mostly workers in the building and allied trades. The union scale of these workers is from 80c to \$1.20 an hour. Roosevelt's public works wage level will undermine these scales. It means not only a sharp reduction in the conditions of the building trades workers, but will be used to lower the scale of all workers in industry.

You would think that William Green and the other officials of the American Federation of Labor would fight against this wage. But they do not. They do not demand union wages, but only the "prevailing" scales. It is correct to fight for a higher scale,

but when Mr. Green says he is satisfied with \$50 a month provided the "prevailing" scale is held up, or even \$40 a month if that is based on the prevailing scale, he shows he is not interested in the wages of the workers, but only in scales. The workers on relief jobs must fight for union scales and a minimum of 30 hours a week.

In this plan, Roosevelt is putting through the program of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. This shows that the government is controlled by the bosses and acts in their interests.

Government Supports Company Unions

Third point: Wages in shops are not to be raised. On the contrary, real wages are going down. Under the N.R.A. and particularly Section 7a, the workers were supposed to have the right to organize into unions of their own choosing. This has been a huge joke, and a trap for the American workers who had faith in the Roosevelt-Wall Street government and the "New Deal". Some millions of workers joined the A. F. of L. But the outstanding result of Section 7a is the tremendous growth of company unions. It is reported that 2,500,000 are today organized in company unions. These unions in steel, auto, rubber, mining, etc., are completely under the domination of the employers, who thus are put in a position to lower the wages of the workers. The workers will be able to raise their wages only by organizing into bonafide unions and carrying on the fight.*

Fourth point: The government intends to extend the C.C.C.

* Since the above was written, the N.R.A. has been declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court. Only a short time before, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce demanded that the N.R.A., which was to expire on June 16, should not be extended. The Supreme Court did its bidding.

Why did the Supreme Court void the N.R.A. if, as we have pointed out, the N.R.A. was enacted only to help the capitalists and not the workers? The N.R.A. was no longer needed by the big trusts, which had managed during the past two years tremendously to increase their profits. The workers have learned from experience that the N.R.A. was a strike-breaking device and could no longer be deluded by its demagogy. The cumbersome machinery of the N.R.A. had therefore lost its usefulness to the big capitalists. The annulment of the N.R.A. signifies that the big capitalists are preparing to go into open attacks on the workers' rights and standards. The day after the Supreme Court decision was announced,

camps and to recruit up to *one million* workers, including *married* men. The government intends openly to carry on military training in the camps.

Fifth point: The government proposes to establish subsistence homesteads. These are tracts of land far removed from the city to which industrial workers, poor farmers and their families will be transported for the purpose of releasing the government from the responsibility of caring for them. These tracts of land will be divided up into lots on which homes will be erected. The workers will raise their own food on the land and will work in nearby factories. These pieces of land are not a gift of the government to the workers. On the contrary, they will cost the workers \$2,000 to \$3,500 each. They will pay the government by means of the scab wages they will earn in the factories. The purpose of this government policy is to get rid of the workers in the cities, and make it difficult for them to organize, to carry on a fight.

Fake Unemployment Insurance

The final point of the government program is so-called unemployment insurance as proposed through the Wagner-Lewis-Doughton Bill. This fake unemployment insurance bill *will not grant one single penny to the 17,000,000 unemployed and their families*. It is only a proposal to the 48 states to adopt unemployment insurance bills. It does not provide for any minimum of benefit or any period over which the workers shall get insurance. It makes it possible for the states either to adopt no bill at all or to adopt one that will be of little benefit to the workers. In addition, it lays down the principle of raising the unemploy-

reports reached Washington of wage slashes and tremendous lengthening of hours.

Is Roosevelt then a champion of the N.R.A. against the big capitalists? Not at all. He fixed the wages on relief projects as low as \$19 a month in the South and no more than \$85 for skilled workers and \$94 for professionals in the North. Thus he set a standard that will be followed by the employers in their drive against the industrial workers. If some of the capitalists now pretend that they will not reduce the scales or increase hours, it is done only owing to the threat of strikes in every industry, in every part of the country. But it is clear that a ferocious wage offensive awaits the industrial workers, and bitter attacks on the relief of the unemployed.

ment insurance fund through a tax on payrolls, which is nothing more than a sales tax passed on to the workers. This is Roosevelt's "unemployment insurance", promised in the election campaign of 1932! This is the program against which the bankers and manufacturers pretended to put up a fight. They did this in order to make the workers believe that Roosevelt was fighting against the bankers in the interests of the workers.

This bill was rammed through Congress in order to prevent the enactment of the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill, H.R. 2827. The Workers' Bill, which was originally drafted by the Communist Party, and which has the support of millions of workers, including 3,000 locals of the A. F. of L., is the only bill that provides genuine insurance for all the unemployed, and for part time work, sickness, accident, old age and maternity. The funds, according to the Workers' Bill, would be raised by means of a tax on all incomes above \$5,000, on inheritances, etc. This means that the bosses would have to pay. In preventing the passage of the Workers' Bill, Roosevelt and the Congress of the United States have been the willing servants of the bosses.

We have given you a brief picture of the economic situation of the workers and poor farmers of the United States, white and Negro, in the year 1935, the sixth year of the crisis: growing demoralization, impoverishment, complete hopelessness for the youth. We also have outlined the government program which supposedly is to help them. Hence the "New Deal" proves to be a *huge fraud* as far as the workers are concerned.

Bosses Receive Billions from Government

But it has not been the same for other sections of the population. On the contrary. While the income of the workers and of the farmers has been slashed to the bone, the profits of the bankers have been increasing. The report on the anniversary of the "New Deal" by Richberg declared that the profits of some of the big capitalist concerns had gone up nearly 600 per cent. Whereas at the end of 1934 the *wages of the workers were still 43 per cent below 1926, the profits of the capitalist concerns amounted to 150 per cent of 1926.* Annual interest payments during the whole period of the "New Deal" have hardly been affected, but

have remained at a figure of about *six billion dollars*. Although profits as a whole have declined, the big concerns have not only maintained their position but improved it.

This has not been due to the skill of the capitalist executives. On the contrary, the government has done everything in its power to put funds at the disposal of the big capitalist concerns. Thus, up to the end of 1934, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation paid out in subsidies and credits to the banks and railroads more than \$8,350,000,000. This was done supposedly for the purpose of putting millions of workers back to work. The millions, however, have remained unemployed. The capitalists have used these eight billion dollars for the purpose of paying out dividends and profits. This is the way the "New Deal" has worked as far as the bosses are concerned. Mr. Roosevelt proposes to subsidize the railroad and shipping concerns with further hundreds of millions of dollars.

If the crisis were due to a natural calamity and everybody suffered alike then we would say there is fairness and justice in it. But when we see that the workers and farmers have to bear the burden of the crisis while the bankers' profits increase, then we know there is and can be no such thing as fairness and justice under the present system .

Hitler Program Has Similar Character

Did you ever stop to think that in another country, namely, Hitler Germany, a similar program was developed? Just like Roosevelt, Hitler declared he was "against" the bankers, "against" the money changers, "against" the big industrialists. Just like Roosevelt, he declared he would restore employment, unemployment relief, and help the poor farmers. This was before he came into power. But when he came to the head of the government, we know what took place. Wages were slashed, the working class organizations were broken up, workers were thrown into concentration camps, compelled to do forced labor, relief was cut down and every semblance of democracy was destroyed.

If you study the conditions in the United States carefully, you will see that we are traveling very rapidly in the same direction. Workers are denied the right to organize unions of their own choosing, they are compelled to accept government

arbitration of disputes, and if the bosses of this country succeed in accomplishing their aim, strikes will be outlawed as is proposed in the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill. The government has already shown its intention of discontinuing unemployment relief, and has given the workers only a mock unemployment insurance bill.

Further developments along this line are manifested by the formation of vigilantes, crusaders and other patriotic organizations, and show what we are headed for in the United States. We are moving in the direction of what exists in Germany today, namely, fascism. This can be prevented if the workers unite their forces and smash the fascist developments.

Fascism—Brutal Dictatorship

Some people think that fascism is a different kind of state. No, it is not. It is the brutal, open dictatorship of the most reactionary sections of the boss class, by which all the so-called "democratic rights" of the workers are taken away, their organizations broken up, and the conditions of the whole working population lowered. Fascism comes at a time when the capitalist system is in a crisis and the bosses can no longer retain control by allowing the workers the rights that they formerly had. Under such conditions, so-called "democracy" disappears and the iron fist of the government openly shows itself.

This is what we have in Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain and several other countries in Europe today. This is what is taking on form in the United States at the same time. Fascism is promoted by people who also use demagogic, radical phrases to deceive the workers, as Father Coughlin and Huey Long are doing at the present time, as Hitler did before he came to power in Germany. It may be done under cover of 100 per cent Americanism, the method of Hearst and Macfadden. However, its aim is clear. The capitalists see their power slipping and are determined by hook or crook to hold on.

War Danger Sharpened by Fascist Developments

This is due to the sharpening economic crisis, as a result of which the capitalists find an ever smaller market for their goods. This leads to a wider search also for foreign markets and must

necessarily result in conflicts with the bosses of other countries who seek the same thing. This ultimately leads to war.

This is the answer to the question: "War—what for?" Certainly we American workers do not want war. We want decent wages. We want ample return for our labor. The unemployed want work or unemployment insurance. We have no reason to hate the workers of other countries. But we workers will have to fight the wars of the American capitalists. The workers in other countries are in the same situation. War will be declared, the workers will be sent out to fight, the capitalists will reap the profits, and those of one country, by winning the war, will conquer new markets. *But the workers of all countries only lose by such wars.* Millions will be killed. Millions more will die of hunger and disease. Billions of dollars of wealth will be destroyed. Billions of debts will be piled up that the workers and farmers will have to pay in taxes.

When the war is over, the situation will be far worse. There will be accumulated debts—remember the billions of debts from the last war have not been paid off! The nations will be impoverished, markets will have shrunk still further, unemployment will be still greater, hunger will envelop the whole capitalist world.

Even though the capitalists know this from the experience of the last World War, there is no other way out for them. Hence they are preparing with all energy for the coming war.

The United States, France, England, Italy, Japan—every capitalist country has increased its war budget to a figure unknown since the World War.

Take the United States, for instance. Last year the government spent nearly two billion dollars for war preparations. This did not only come through direct appropriations for the army and navy. In 1933 the N.R.A. established a "Public Works" fund of \$3,300,000,000. A great part of this fund has been used in preparation for war. Thus, \$700,000,000 has been spent for the C.C.C. Camps, \$238,000,000 for warships, \$50,000,000 for the building of airplanes, tens of millions of dollars for barracks, etc. This year (1935) the biggest budget for the army has already been appropriated—\$400,000,000—and \$457,000,000 for the navy. The United States government is determined to have a navy

second to none and an air fleet superior to that of any other nation. This is the government whose chief, President Roosevelt, said: "The federal government must and will quit this business of relief!"

Similar preparations are going on in every other capitalist country. Japan has appropriated its biggest war budget. Germany is arming in spite of the restrictions placed on her by the League of Nations. France and England are building tremendous armaments. Italy has put every boy nine years of age under military training. The workers and poor farmers are starving in these countries.

Today we are on the brink of war. The capitalist nations are not arming for the sake of spending money for arms, but because they believe that this is the only way out of the crisis.

War Will Not Solve Crisis or End Unemployment

The question is: "Can war solve the crisis? Can it end unemployment?" War can not solve the crisis at all. It cannot solve the crisis because it cannot solve the contradictions of the system—the increasing productive capacity of industry contrasted to the diminishing purchasing power of the masses—which leads periodically to crises. This is part and parcel of the capitalist system, which is based upon profit. War will merely cause the destruction of more millions of human lives and wealth, the piling up of more debts and the beginning over again of a cycle of sharper exploitation and oppression.

War cannot solve unemployment. Remember that during the World War, when four million men in this country were under arms, there were more than a million unemployed. The industries will turn out war production instead of peace production. Millions of men will be taken out of the shops and women will be put in their places. Machinery will be speeded up, labor-saving machinery will be installed, and the process will continue as heretofore.

War, on the other hand, will increase profits as it did during the World War—up to 3,000 per cent. Today, with 17,000,000 unemployed, the capitalists will not have much regard for human life. They will be glad to get rid of millions of unemployed in the hope that this will help them solve their problems. War is no solution for any of the problems that face the working class

and is only a desperate measure that the capitalists apply in the hope of getting out of the crisis.

Why are there crises under capitalism? Why is it that every few years there is a "depression" or a "panic" or a "crisis"? Many older workers remember that this country has gone through many crises and has come out successfully. They therefore come to the conclusion that this time, too, the United States will not only survive the crisis but will really come out on top, as John D. Rockefeller says.

Crises Due to Private Ownership

One cannot separate crises from the present system under which we live. As long as the boss controlled system exists, there will be crises. *Crises arise from the private ownership of the means of production*, and as long as this continues, the system must get into a jam. Under this system the workers get only subsistence wages, while the capitalists amass big fortunes by squeezing out of the workers profit, interest and rent. The capitalists reinvest their profits in the industries to increase their wealth by exploiting more workers. The capitalists must find markets for the goods which the workers produce but cannot buy. Since this takes place in every country of the world and the bosses of the other countries also must seek markets, a point is reached when no markets can be found; industries must slow down or close down entirely and the workers are fired.

The present crisis is not like past crises. First of all, it occurs in a different period, at a time when the whole capitalist world is divided up and no new markets can be found. Secondly, it is an international crisis occurring at the same time in *every* capitalist and colonial country. Thirdly, it is the *longest* crisis in the history of the world.

But the main feature of the present situation is that we are now in the midst of the general crisis of the capitalist system. This is not an ordinary crisis, which has occurred more than twenty times in the United States. The present world-wide crisis is of a different character and shows the complete inability of the present system to continue to function. This is due to the fact that the productive machinery has developed a capacity far beyond the buying power of the masses—beyond the world markets,

which because of the impoverishment of the masses, have shrunk since the World War. The World War accentuated the conflict between increasing productive capacity and the declining buying power of the masses. In fact it was this growing conflict that led to the World War.

But since the war this situation has been sharpened—sharpened by the war itself. One-sixth of the globe is no longer open to capitalist exploitation and profit. This is the Soviet Union, which, with its 180,000,000 people and endless resources, can no longer be used by capitalists for making profits. Hence the capitalists, who do not produce to cover the needs of the people, but only to make profits, place more burdens on the workers in the capitalist countries and the colonial peoples. They cut wages, take away rights, increase terror. Forced to resist and seeing the advantage of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the workers put up a fight. The situation in the capitalist countries becomes sharper, struggles take place. Revolts arise in the colonies. It also sharpens the conflicts among the imperialist powers and leads to war. This is what we are witnessing today.

Roosevelt's policy is to "cut production to meet consumption". This is for the purpose of ensuring profits. But it means permanent mass unemployment and mass starvation and the gradual, if not sudden, breakdown of the whole system.

Capitalist Planning Impossible

Roosevelt has told us that he will be able to do away with crises by means of "government planning". Talk of government planning is not new in the United States. Hoover had a "ten-year plan"; Matthew Woll a "twenty-year" plan. For the last two years we have heard a great deal about "planning", but we are in a worse situation than we were before. The only planning that can be done and has been done under capitalism is not that of *more* production—or of "plenty", which Roosevelt likes to talk about, but the planning of *destruction* of production, or of *restriction* of production. This means *scarcity of goods, higher prices, and starvation for the masses.*

Why is planning impossible under capitalism? Even though an individual capitalist can do planning for his own enterprise, it is clear that the government can plan for the whole country

only on the basis of complete control of industrial production, complete knowledge and control of all resources and of the markets available, etc. The government of the United States does not own the industries. But even if it did, it could, under capitalism, only plan production on the basis of the low buying power of the masses which would necessarily cut down the amount of production. Such planning cannot improve the condition of the workers and cannot even do away with crises. On the contrary, with the purchasing power never equal to productive power, crises will continue as long as the present system continues. It is obvious, therefore, that Roosevelt's "American way out of the crisis" is leading us into a deeper morass. It is leading in the direction of fascism, no matter how much the government and its spokesmen may try to deny it.

Workers Never Had Prosperity

Let's look back to the days of so-called prosperity and especially that year of the "highest prosperity"—1929—to which the capitalists want to return. Was there work for everybody? Was everybody happy? Were wages high? Even in 1929 there was widespread unemployment due to the reasons already explained. Between three and four million workers remained unemployed while others were worked long hours. Speed-up was very intensive. Government reports show that in 1928, although production was reaching its highest level, 1,250,000 less workers were employed in the factories of this country than in 1923. *More production, less workers, more unemployment!*

Wages for the masses of workers were also not high. It is true that certain industries, such as the auto industry, which reached a high level and required skilled workers, were compelled to pay the workers relatively high wages. But the masses of the unskilled workers in textile, steel, mining, etc., were paid miserable wages. Thus, according to the Brookings Institute, 11,500,000 families in 1929 had an average income of \$1,000 a year. This represented 42 per cent of all the families in the United States. The report characterizes the income of these families as a "subsistence and poverty" level.

In the same year of "prosperity" 5,750,000 families could not save a penny from their income to tide them over a bad situation.

These are the facts taken from the history of the U.S. *There never was prosperity for the masses of the workers.* There was only the illusion that a worker could rise out of his situation provided he was industrious and loyal to his masters. But the introduction of the machine and the establishment of large-scale industry and trusts drove the idea that he would be able to become independent out of the mind of the worker. The saving of a few dollars to go out West and become an independent merchant became a dream of the past. "Prosperity" had come to an end and now the worker faced stark reality, a reality to which he was awakened by the crash of 1929. After Hoover and his "rugged individualism" came Roosevelt and his "New Deal". This is what we have today.

No Crisis in the Soviet Union

Only in one country of the world is there no crisis. That country is the Soviet Union. There cannot be a crisis in the Soviet Union because instead of producing for the profit of the owners of industry, *production in the Soviet Union takes place for the benefit of those who produce.* Before November, 1917, the workers and farmers of Russia lived under conditions similar to those of the United States or any other capitalist country. Russia was a backward country with not many factories, although those that existed were of big dimensions. Forced by the conditions oppressing them and led by the Communist Party, the Russian workers and poor farmers overthrew the capitalist system and established a Soviet government—a Government of the Workers and Farmers. The banks and industries were taken away from the capitalists and became national property under the control of the Workers' State—a State run not for the benefit of the bankers, but for the workers and farmers. The land, too, was nationalized. The farmers, however, were allowed to hold and cultivate the land, but could not sell it. Under the leadership of the Soviet government the farmers gradually learned the value of working their land in common. As a result of this experience the bulk of the land has been combined, and today we have in the Soviet Union both collective farms and state farms of tens and hundreds of thousands of acres worked by the farmers collectively. They are given every support by the Soviet government and today have the advantage of modern machinery, tractors, combines, etc. The

result is increased production and higher returns for the farmers.

Only in a country like the Soviet Union, where the workers and farmers are in control, do and can the workers and farmers receive the full social value of their production. In the United States or any other capitalist country, the first thing taken out of production is *interest, rent and profit*. This is the first charge on industry, and only when industry can make ample returns in this respect does it continue to operate. In the Soviet Union all of this is eliminated and all production in one form or another goes back to the workers and farmers.

Soviet Union Rapidly Forging Ahead

The result is that the Soviet Union is the only country where production has steadily increased. Today the Soviet Union stands *second* in the world in the production of oil, steel and iron, having overtopped all European countries. The Soviet Union is *first* in the production of agricultural machinery. In all factories wages are being *increased* while in the capitalist countries wages have gone down. Consider the one fact that *in the United States wages in 1934 were 40 per cent lower than in 1929, whereas in the Soviet Union they were exactly 40 per cent higher.*

A certain amount of the production in the Soviet Union, of course, is used for *social* purposes, that is, for the extension of all the social services that are necessary for improving the welfare of the workers and farmers. Part of the wealth produced is turned into capital for the extension of industry. The Soviet Union, starting from a low industrial foundation, is rapidly forging ahead as a result of building tremendous power stations, gigantic factories, dams, etc. These factories will enable the Soviet government to modernize the country beyond anything ever dreamed of in any capitalist country.

Certain amounts of capital are also dedicated to the extension of schools, hospitals, nurseries, playgrounds, etc. Whereas in the United States the educational and cultural budget has been cut down, in the Soviet Union it is continually being increased. No country in the world is spending so much money for scientific investigation, so much for the building of schools and universities, so much for art and culture, as the Soviet Union.

Whereas in the United States millions of people live in fire-traps, cellars, in buildings long condemned by the authorities—

and in tsarist Russia people lived in similar and worse conditions—in the Soviet Union workers' homes with all modern appliances are rapidly being built. To be sure, in face of the rapidly growing population, housing still remains a serious problem in the Soviet Union, but it is advancing at a rapid pace. Full provision is made for the care of children, of sick people, of old men and women. This all comes out of the production of the workers and farmers and is considered one of the social obligations toward the working class as a whole.

Soviet Union Stands Against Imperialist War

A part of the resources and of the industrial production of the Soviet Union is necessarily used to build the defensive forces of the country. The Soviet workers and farmers have not forgotten their experience with the intervention armies in 1918-20, and they are well aware of the constant danger of a new imperialist attack. They do not propose to remain at the mercy of the imperialists. They are therefore building up their armed forces, but only as a force for peace, and not for conquest.

The Soviet government is the fortress of peace. Since November, 1917, the Soviet government has proven to the whole world that it desires no conquests. In spite of every provocation, the Soviet government has maintained its peace policy.

You may ask, why is the Soviet government not interested in war? It has no interest in the carrying on of a war because, with the economy of the country organized on a Socialist basis, with exploitation eliminated, it has no reason to fight for markets, for robbing or plundering any other country. It desires no colonies, but on the contrary, is doing everything possible to build up its own country and to make it an example to the workers of the whole world.

The imperialist governments know that as long as the Soviet government exists it will show the workers not only how capitalism and its destructiveness can be ended, but how the new system of Socialism can be built up. Therefore the imperialists are doing everything in their power to instigate war against the Soviet Union and to mobilize the forces of reaction against her. Japan on the East and Hitler Germany on the West are planning to invade and destroy the Soviet Union. These two robber governments are not acting independently, but are being aided in

one form or other by other imperialist governments, particularly by those of England and the United States. Therefore it is necessary for the Soviet Union to defend herself against any attacks. To this end the government has built up the Red Army, the Red Air Fleet and the Red Navy, made up of workers and farmers, backed by the whole population, ready to defend this fatherland of the working class of the world against all attacks.

Soviet Union—Land of Marvel

For the unemployed the Soviet Union presents a marvel. The Soviet Union is the only country in the world in which there is *no unemployment*. For some time after the November, 1917, Revolution, there was unemployment. This was due to the fact that many factories were destroyed by the counter-revolution and the Soviet government was not in a position immediately to rebuild them. This was intensified by the armed intervention of the imperialist governments which tried to overthrow the Soviet government. Even American troops were sent to the Soviet Union for this purpose, but these plans were defeated by the heroic resistance of the Soviet workers and farmers, and because the workers in the imperialist countries fought against intervention.

After the factories began to be built, more workers were needed. The factories offered an attraction to the surplus population on the land and many peasants and farm workers moved to the city. These latter people, however, were not in a position immediately to do factory work, and many could not immediately be put to work. The government took care of it by means of unemployment insurance. Today, with the rapid growth of industry, there is no longer any unemployment. It has been completely abolished and now there is a big demand for workers.

We have already stated that the Soviet Union was spared the crisis because production in the Soviet Union is based upon use and not on profit.

Only the Soviet Government Can and Does Plan

The Soviet government has full control of all industries of the country. Therefore, it is possible for the government to plan the whole economic life of the country. This is done in a very simple manner. The Soviet government makes a survey of all the factories in the country, the man power, the machine power, the

farms, etc. It knows how much can be turned out under certain given conditions. Taking all these factors together and deciding how much shall be produced in this or that factory, how many men will be required, what machines will be necessary, how many more factories can be produced in a given time, how much food can be turned out with the aid of the available machinery, how much more can be produced with machines to be delivered, the Soviet government can plan each year.

In fact the Soviet government worked out a Five-Year Plan. This plan was based upon the existing conditions and the possibilities of production. A certain amount of capital was devoted to increase the number of factories, building homes, increasing agricultural production, building schools, etc. These plans worked out originally by the government were submitted to the trade unions and to the workers in the shops who brought forward counter-plans, that is, plans to increase production and to lower the costs. As a result of investigation and comparison, the First Five-Year Plan was finally adopted and went into effect in 1929. This First Five-Year Plan was completed in four years, and in 1933 the Second Five-Year Plan went into operation. Why was the First Five-Year Plan completed ahead of time? Because the workers enthusiastically took up the task of increasing production, since this meant that there would be more available for the working class as a whole.

In the United States more production with a limited market means more unemployment. As a result, new inventions are either kept out of industry, or if introduced, cause greater unemployment. In the Soviet Union the introduction of a new invention lowers the cost of production, increases production, and thereby makes available more products for the whole working population. There is no limit to production in the Soviet Union except the limit of the productive capacity and the needs and desires of the population. When production reaches a figure above what the Russian people need, working hours will simply be cut down, the workers will get increased returns and they will have greater leisure than ever before. Of course, this does not happen in the United States under capitalism. On the contrary, when there is overproduction, factories close down, the workers are fired, and have to go hungry.

Youth—Hope of Soviets

In the United States, as already shown, there are millions of youth with no prospect of work. In the Soviet Union the youth are the hope of the land. The Russian boy and girl learn to work while going to school, work being considered the highest form of activity in the Soviet Union. Study is combined with industrial education. Thus up to 14 years of age, boys and girls attend school for six hours and get an industrial training for two hours per day; from 14 to 16 years of age, they study four hours and take industrial training for four hours. Today there are 500,000 working class boys and girls in the technical schools and colleges of the Soviet Union being trained as engineers, technicians, etc. The youth is the driving force in the Soviet Union, whereas in the United States it is a drug on the market.

There are more than 100 nationalities in the Soviet Union, living in perfect harmony. This is due to the fact that no nationality exploits the other, but on the contrary, all are working together as brothers and sisters, building up the new system—Socialism. It is economic exploitation that leads to national hatred. Once this exploitation is eliminated, then the hatreds disappear and the people live together in peace and harmony.

But this is not all. In all capitalist countries the ruling class forces the workers and farmers to adopt the language, practices, etc., that the rulers desire. In the Soviet Union each nationality is allowed not only to preserve, but also to cultivate its language, its culture, etc. As a result, the most wonderful forms of culture are being developed, peculiar to the various nationalities.

Full Social Security in Soviet Union

Only the Soviet government can provide full social security for the workers—security of a job to which every worker has the right, security against involuntary conditions, such as accident, sickness, old age, maternity, etc. Here in the United States the Roosevelt government has palmed off on the workers a so-called "social insurance" system—a system which will give nothing to those who are now unemployed and that will give almost as little to the workers now employed.

In the Soviet Union, social insurance is a direct charge upon industry and all workers are protected. All phases of social insur-

ance are handled through the trade unions. The trade unions in the Soviet Union are not like the unions in the United States which comprise only about 15 per cent of the workers. The trade unions of the Soviet Union are the most powerful in the entire world, having in their ranks nearly 19 million members and embracing over 90 per cent of the working class.

When a worker in the United States falls ill, he generally is left to his own resources and whatever clinical aid he can obtain to recover his health. He rushes back to his job as quickly as possible for fear of losing it. The unemployed are almost helpless. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, with human life as the first concern of the government—the government of the workers and farmers—a worker who falls ill goes to a hospital, if necessary to a rest home or seaside resort, and does not return to work until fully recovered. This service he receives as part of his income. It is paid for by the social insurance funds. If a worker suffers an accident, the same thing takes place. When a worker reaches the age of 55 years he may retire from work or he may continue working, but he receives social insurance. In the United States, on the other hand, a worker 40 years of age—that is, at the very height of his skill—is fired. When he reaches old age, he is dependent on his children or has to go to the poorhouse. In the Soviet Union an expectant mother does not, as frequently happens in the United States, work until the last moment at the machine and bear her child in misery, not knowing what will happen to the child when it is born. In the Soviet Union eight weeks before childbirth and eight weeks after childbirth the mother is released from industry and receives social insurance and the best of care.

Thus, with the right to a job and with full provision for every emergency, the worker at last finds full social security, security for himself and his family. He knows that his sons and daughters receive every opportunity to go to school and the university, to develop art and science and to participate in every phase of the life of the people. This is what the workers of all countries aspire to. This and this alone will make it possible for the country to receive the benefit of all the creative genius of the whole population and not be subjected to the will and whim of the capitalists who either exploit it for their own use

or destroy it. This represents a new and higher stage of society.

U. S. Soviet Government Will End Unemployment

What will a Soviet government in the United States do? The United States is the most highly developed country in the whole world. We have the biggest industries, the most highly developed technique and railroads, unequaled by any other country. We have a well trained working class, and engineers and technicians capable of directing the work in the factories.

When the industries of the United States are taken over by the workers, and the workers and farmers begin to operate them for their own benefit, what a glorious country this will be. The workers, the engineers, the technicians who today operate the industries, will begin to operate them not for the bosses any longer, but for the workers and farmers.

As soon as the working people are in power, the Soviet government will open up all the warehouses and granaries and feed and clothe the unemployed, the hungry and naked. It will immediately open up all the vacant homes and put them at the disposal of the homeless. It will take over the fine palaces of the rich and place in them those who today have no roofs over their heads.

It will open up the factories that now stand idle and put the millions of unemployed back to work. It will call upon the engineers and technicians to put on full steam ahead in every factory in the country. Clothes and shoes will be produced in plenty, so that no one need go unclad.

U. S. Soviet Government Will Provide Plenty

The Soviet government will call upon the farmers not to plow under, not to cut down production, but to produce as much food as possible so that not only will no one go hungry, but everyone will have plenty.

The Soviet government of the United States will immediately establish a planning commission, planning the future of the United States.

This will include the tearing down of all obsolete factories, the extension of the most modern ones and the building of new ones, the removal of all slums and the building of workers' homes, the erection of hospitals, nurseries, schools, etc. Every invention

available will be at the disposal of the working class government so that improvements can be effected with astonishing speed. Not only that, but new inventions will be encouraged so as to lower the cost and time of production, thereby furnishing more leisure to the whole working class.

The boys and girls who today loaf upon the streets and can find no job, at last will be given an opportunity to work. The hungry boys and girls, who have longed to go to college but have been unable to do so because of the poverty of their parents, will for the first time see the university doors open to them. When they graduate, they will not see the doors of industry closed to them, but, on the contrary, they will find unlimited opportunities to work.

The children will immediately be removed from industry and all labor. They will go to school and get the free training to which every child is entitled. Women will work, not because they are compelled to do so as in the United States today, but because they will demand the right as free women to participate in the work of the working class nation.

Discrimination against the Negroes will end and the Negroes will be placed on a par with whites. All the discrimination, Jim-Crowism and insults that the Negroes have to submit to now in the United States will become a crime in the eyes of the working class.

The year 1929 was the year of the highest production in the United States, but this will be as nothing compared to what will be accomplished under a Soviet government. In fact, it has been established by the Brookings Institute that if the industries of the United States and the farm establishments had been operated at full capacity in 1929 without the addition of a single new machine, it would have been possible to create, not ninety billion dollars of wealth, but one hundred and thirty-eight billion dollars.

More Production—Less Work—More Leisure

Think, then, what we can produce if all the old, small, old-fashioned factories were done away with and new, modern, ventilated factories, with the latest appliances, were erected? Think how much there will be for distribution among the masses of workers and farmers, if the billions that now go in interest and

profits to the bankers become the property of the masses! Think what will happen if the billions that are squandered today by the competition of rival concerns through the employment of hundreds of thousands of useless salesmen, advertising agencies, etc., are put to productive use! Think what a return this will be for the productive workers! Think how hours can be reduced to a minimum, to even three or four a day, if all waste is cut out! Think how the masses of the American workers, developing their own genius, will create in the United States a working class culture such as America has never dreamed of!

Social Insurance for All

Genuine social insurance for the first time will be introduced. The workers having the right to build unions of their own choice—nay, even having the *task* to form trade unions for the purpose of building Socialism in the United States—will build up their ranks rapidly to assist their own government in installing and developing the new system. Just as in the Soviet Union, they will have to establish the conditions in the shops, the methods of production. At the same time they will have the task of managing the social insurance system—caring for the workers who temporarily are out of work because of the shift of industry, or have suffered accidents, sickness, reach old age, or for maternity. This will become one of the most important tasks of the trade unions.

Causes for war will be eliminated. Like Soviet Russia, so the Soviet government of the United States will have no reason for making war on any other country since it will not have any need or desire to exploit another country. The Soviet government of the United States will defend only its own frontiers. It will make peace with all other governments and have the most brotherly relations with other working class governments.

Just as in Soviet Russia, so too under a Soviet government in the United States, for the first time in their lives, the American workers will have *democracy*. There can be no democracy for the workers as long as they are dependent upon the bosses for the right to a job, which means the right to live.

Look at the situation today in the United States. Woolworth's daughter, who has never done a stroke of work in her life, inherited forty million dollars, while a worker's son is turned out

in the streets. A poor man steals a loaf of bread and goes to jail for two years, but a plunderer like Mellon becomes a Cabinet officer. Equal opportunity, they tell us, but the son of a worker is doomed to be tied to his machine and to die in poverty, while the son of a capitalist has the whole world before him.

No Democracy in the United States

They tell us that in the United States we have a "democratic" government. People like Hearst, Hamilton Fish, Matthew Woll, and Roosevelt like to talk about "American democracy". They declare they are against any kind of a dictatorship and they try to conceal the fact that we have a capitalist dictatorship in the United States. They talk about all men being "equal", about the use of the ballot, etc.

Let us take up these pretensions. Every citizen in the United States is supposed to have the right to vote. It is a fact, however, that for decades workers have lost the electoral right by having to move from place to place while looking for a job. Millions of Negroes in the South are denied the right to vote. In many states the right to vote depends upon the ownership of property or the payment of a poll tax. As a result of the crisis, many unemployed and large sections of the employed workers cannot vote.

Then let us ask who writes the platforms, who nominates the candidates for the elections? Certainly not the American workers and poor farmers. The candidates are nominated by the big bankers and manufacturers. Congress and the government carry out their will. To be sure the candidates make many promises in the election campaign, just as Roosevelt did, as the governors and the legislators in the states do, as mayors and city aldermen do. But these promises are quickly forgotten, because the candidates are not responsible to the "people" who elect them, but to the bankers.

Capitalists Try to Take Away Rights

But as soon as any so-called "rights" become dangerous to the capitalists, they try to take them away. We are told we have the right of free speech, free press and free assemblage, but when workers exercising these rights endanger the interests of the capitalists, then the police are brought in, meetings are stopped and the workers are arrested. The workers are told they have the right

to join the union of their own choice, but when these unions become a danger to the bosses, they fire members of the union and suppress the union. The workers are told they have the right to strike, but the moment a strike menaces the bosses and their profits, then thugs and the police are brought in, the workers are clubbed, shot down, arrested, and sent to jail.

Thus it is clear that we have a capitalist dictatorship and in the final analysis the government is only the *armed power* of the capitalists.

Only Soviet Government Representative of Workers

Under a Soviet government of the United States, just as in the Soviet Union, the government will represent only the workers of hand and brain and the poor farmers. The Soviet government will be composed of representatives of workers elected from the shops, factories, mines, offices, and from among the farmers on the land. Every worker will have the right to vote and to participate in the government. Coming together from the bench and lathe and knowing the interests of the workers and farmers, they will run the government really in the interest of the people of this country.

Under a Soviet government of the U.S.A., just as in Soviet Russia, the workers will have the right to criticize every institution of the government. They will have the right to criticize the foremen or superintendent in the factory, the method of production, etc. In fact, in Soviet Russia today this is being encouraged for the purpose of improving production and raising the welfare of the whole population. Imagine in the United States today if such a thing occurs. Every worker knows what happens; the moment he opens his mouth in the factory he is in danger of losing his job.

Thus it is clear that only under a Soviet government will the working people have a representative government run in their interest, a government really of, for and by the working people.

Thus, and thus alone, will the workers of the United States obtain social security and the rights they are fighting for today. If we want security, if we want our rights, if we want peace, not war, then we must prepare to fight with all energy against the present system and to install the new system. We must carry on a struggle to destroy the war-makers, the capitalists of all countries,

to establish the power of the working class through Soviet governments throughout the world—through a worldwide Soviet Union.

Workers' and Farmers' Government Only Through Revolutionary Struggle

This is what the Communist Party is fighting for. The Communist Party declares that this is the goal of the struggle of the workers. The choice today is either continued mass hunger, the development of fascism and its outcome, war, or *the revolutionary struggle against the crisis, against fascism and war, for the destruction of the system that produces hunger and war, and for the establishment of a Soviet Government of Workers and Farmers.*

This cannot come about merely by wishing for it. Although the capitalist system is going through a crisis and the whole system is crumbling, it will not die automatically. The capitalists will not give up power simply because we ask for it. Today they use troops against us in strikes, they frame and assassinate militant workers. Can we therefore imagine that they will give up control of society, that they will give up their wealth, without using the maximum force to hold on? Only a child would believe this, for it is contrary to all history.

Therefore the only way that the workers will get control is through *revolutionary struggle*, by building up the fighting organizations of the working class, the militant trade unions; by transforming the A. F. of L. unions from class collaboration into class struggle organizations with militants in the leadership; by building fighting unemployed organizations, especially the Unemployment Councils; by carrying on a struggle for full and equal rights for the Negro people, against lynch terror, and for the right of self-determination of the Negro people in the Black Belt; by building up unity of action against war and fascism through the American League Against War and Fascism; by bringing about united action of all oppressed sections of the population, employed and unemployed, Negro and white, native and foreign-born, manual, white collar and professional workers; by moving forward to revolutionary struggle together with the poor farmers.

Our aim must be to drive out the capitalists and destroy their power; to put an end to the capitalist dictatorship that today crushes the life of the working class in every capitalist and

colonial country, and to put in its place the proletarian (working class) dictatorship, functioning ruthlessly in the interests of the workers and farmers of the United States.

This is the aim of the Communist Party. The Communist Party is accused of only being interested in stirring up trouble to promote its own political aims. But it was the Communist Party that *first* raised the question of "work or wages", unemployment relief and unemployment and social insurance. Shortly after the crash of 1929—on March 6, 1930—on call of the Communist Party, 1,250,000 workers came into the streets all over the country to demonstrate for unemployment and social insurance. These were workers of all categories—trade unionists, shop workers, unemployed, poor farmers, etc. The Communist Party drafted the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill, H.R. 2827, which today is supported by millions of workers, including more than 3,000 locals of the A. F. of L.

Communist Fighters in Front Ranks

The Communist Party immediately set about building up fighting unemployed organizations—namely the Unemployment Councils. The latter took up the fight all over the country to procure relief for the unemployed, whose number was growing by leaps and bounds. They fought against discrimination against Negroes and foreign-born workers, for relief for single, young and women workers. With Communists in the forefront, the Unemployment Councils grew up all over the country, carried on their activity through demonstrations, marches, on a county, state and national scale. As a result of these demonstrations and marches, the relief standard has been raised in all localities, but especially where there is an Unemployment Council.

The Communist Party is the only Party that correctly analyzed the National Industrial Recovery Act and showed what its real aim was—namely, to lower the conditions of the workers, to raise profits, to suppress strikes, to introduce the beginnings of fascism in preparation for war. The leaders of the A. F. of L. and of the Socialist Party—and, of course, the Democratic and Republican Parties—saw in the "New Deal" a way out of the crisis. Every worker today knows that the "New Deal" was directed against the working class. In most of the strike struggles that have taken place, Communists have been in the forefront.

As a result of the militancy that was developed in these strikes by the Communists and militant workers in defense of workers' rights, the most brutal terror was unleashed against the workers who were fighting for relief, unemployment insurance, for higher wages, for the right to organize and strike. We have but to point to the savage attacks on the unemployed in California, Oregon, Colorado, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Ohio, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, etc., by the authorities, with the use of police, thugs, tear gas and machine guns. We only have to remember the brutal attacks on the strikes in Toledo, Milwaukee (Socialist town), Minneapolis, San Francisco, New York, and during the Textile General Strike (in which 16 workers were killed).

Capitalists Trying to Suppress Workers' Struggles

Because of the rising tide of struggle, the state and federal governments have begun a campaign of terror against the Communist Party. Attacks by vigilantes, enactment of criminal syndicalism laws, long sentences to jail, have been the answer of the bosses and the government to the workers in struggle. Through the Hearst and Macfadden press, through the McCormack-Dickstein Congressional Committee, efforts are being made not only to raise a wall of antagonism against the Communist Party, but to outlaw the Communists. Militant foreign-born workers—Communist and non-Communist—are to be deported, some of them to countries where they will meet with instant death at the hands of fascist governments.

These attacks on the Communist Party are not directed against the Communist Party alone. The purpose of these attacks is an attempt to destroy the Communist Party in order to launch an offensive against all working class parties and against the whole working class movement, especially the trade unions. This is part of the fascist development in the United States, organized and instigated by the employers and operated through the federal and state governments.

Does not this attack on the Communist Party demonstrate clearly that the Communists are the *real fighters* for the interests of the workers and poor farmers? Does it not show that when the workers refuse to submit to the hunger program of the government, they will have to meet these attacks?

Will the workers accept this program, or will they follow the line laid down by the Communist Party?

Father Coughlin and Huey Long Promote Fascism

Other plans are being brought forward to solve the crisis. We refer to those of Father Coughlin and Huey Long, the proposals of Upton Sinclair (Epic), Townsend, the Utopians, etc. Let us look at these proposals.

Father Coughlin has a very demagogic program. He pretends to speak for the workers and farmers. He attacks the Wall Street bankers, very sharply criticizes the Roosevelt government. He advocates the bonus. But what is the *real* program of Father Coughlin? Father Coughlin built his church with and generally employed non-union labor. He favors company unions in the auto and other industries. He tries to stir up national hatred and especially that most dangerous form of hatred—anti-Semitism. He has not a word to say about the suffering of the Negro people. He is against unemployment insurance. He fights for inflation, which would bring higher prices and an indirect wage cut. He favors even a bigger navy and air fleet than Roosevelt has proposed. He favored the Patman bonus only because it would lead to inflation, that is, drive down the value of the dollar which would mean lower buying power for the masses. Father Coughlin works in very close contact with groups of Wall Street bankers who certainly do not support the interests of the workers. He is aiding fascist developments in this country.

Coughlin is especially eloquent about the right of the unemployed to work at decent wages. In the state of Michigan, relief is low and discrimination is widespread, especially against the Negroes and foreign-born. Coughlin has not a word to say about this. Shouting through the radio, "Roosevelt or Ruin", Coughlin has not said a word about the miserable wages Roosevelt has fixed for workers on relief projects. Being against unemployment insurance—but proposing nothing for the 12,000,000 unemployed who will receive no aid either through Roosevelt's work program or relief from the communities—Coughlin demonstrates that his program for the unemployed is a program of hunger.

Huey Long talks of "sharing the wealth", of cutting down the big fortunes and incomes. Long pretends to have the support of

organized labor. It is a fact, however, that in the state of Louisiana where Long has exercised an open dictatorship over the whole state, the unions are among the poorest organized in the whole country, with only a few thousand members. Wages on public works are as low as 10c per hour.

Long talks about cutting down wealth and the income of the rich. This is nice talk, but in the meantime, Long, who controls Louisiana, has seen to it that the state did not furnish more than 1 per cent of the relief funds doled out in Louisiana. In fact, Louisiana is among the states with the lowest relief budget in the country. Negroes have to fight to get relief, and many a battle has been fought with the police because of the miserable pittance handed out in the name of "relief". Fine words and promises—while the masses starve!

Long has carried on an alleged campaign against the big corporations of the state, notably the Standard Oil Co., but at the same time he has reduced their taxes. Long's attitude to the Negro people is that of a lyncher. Just as all dictators, Long does not hesitate to use the National Guard against workers on strike, as he proposed during the carmen's strike in New Orleans last year. Long is another representative of fascism in the United States.

Other Fantastic Plans

Upton Sinclair's plan (Epic) is nothing more than Roosevelt's subsistence homestead plan. He proposes to place a tax upon the state for the purpose of buying up idle factories in which to put the unemployed to work. This would be welcomed by the factory owners and at the same time would compel the unemployed to work at scab wages and exchange their products in order to live. Sinclair openly said that this would not harm the capitalists for they could continue to exploit the employed workers.

Townsend, the would-be "friend of the aged", is a dreamer. Townsend's plan is to pension off all persons above 65 at the rate of \$200 a month, with strict injunctions to spend it all during the month. This expenditure, according to Townsend, would make it possible to hire all younger persons and thus the crisis would be ended. Where does Townsend intend to get the money from—it would amount to about fifteen billion dollars? Very simple—

he would simply put a sales tax of at least 10 per cent on all workers. It could not be raised by a 10 per cent tax, but would have to be increased. But it would only mean that thus the workers themselves would have less buying power and the situation *would not be changed*. This proposal was introduced in order to evade the issue of genuine unemployment insurance to be paid by the bosses.

The Utopians promise a "utopian commonwealth" by the building of clubs. Making promises particularly to the unemployed, the Utopians participate in self-help enterprises, which means sharing hunger, but carry on no struggle for relief, jobs, on unemployment insurance. They pretend they can win over a majority of the population for a change of state by vote, and think that the capitalists will submit. Thus they keep the workers under their influence from organizing to carry on a real struggle.

Socialist and Other Reformist Parties Support Capitalism

The attitude of the Socialist Party, and particularly its leadership, is of great importance to us. These leaders have distorted the teachings of Marx and Engels, the great leaders and organizers of the revolutionary working class movement. When the N.R.A. was adopted the Socialist Party leaders declared that it was a "step in the direction of socialism". Just as the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor assisted in spreading illusions about the N.R.A., declaring it a "new charter of labor", so, too, the Socialist leadership thought the N.R.A. was working in the right direction but did not yet go far enough. They work hand in hand with the reactionary and reformist leaders in the unions to tie the workers to the present system. Even though at times they criticize and use radical phrases, nevertheless, they do not prepare the working class in the United States for the struggle for their rights, for the struggle against fascism and war. Thus they are playing the game that the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties of Germany and Austria did. Instead of mobilizing the workers for struggle against the present system, they carry out policies that help the establishment of fascism. They reject the united struggle of all workers for their rights. They talk about the socialist commonwealth as though it would drop from heaven, or be ushered in by working class votes, while at the same time

a torrent of anti-red laws threatens the existence of Socialists, Communists, and the trade unions.

The Farmer-Labor Party declares that it is no longer "progressive", but "radical". It also pretends to be "against the capitalist system". This party represents the middle class, especially the small business men and middle farmers, and uses radical phrases to keep the workers from struggle. Governor Olson of Minnesota is the exponent of this "radicalism". He used the National Guard against the teamsters of Minneapolis last year when they went out on strike. This shows what his "radicalism" amounts to. The Progressive Party of Wisconsin also uses radical phrases, but at the same time employs the same coercive measures against the workers when they go out in militant struggle.

Unity of Workers Imperative

What is needed in this situation? *Unity of the working class is needed above all, if the workers are to carry on a struggle against hunger, for their rights, against fascism and war.* The workers feel the need of unity. When they go out on strike they try to build up their united ranks, secure the solidarity of other workers in order to carry on an effective struggle. The workers have learned from experience that the bosses are united against them and that the state intervenes in support of the bosses. If there is disunity among the workers and they fight among themselves, then it is impossible for them to achieve their aims.

This united front being built up on the economic field should be formed on every field. We need today a *Labor Party* formed by the trade unions and other organizations of the workers and fighting for their immediate needs and interests. There are various kinds of labor parties being proposed. One might be a middle class party, taking advantage of the disillusionment of the masses in the "New Deal" and their growing distrust of the two major capitalist parties. In other words this would be a catch basin for the workers of the United States who are rapidly being radicalized. Or it might be a party led by reaction and sham progressive leaders of the American Federation of Labor, and leaders of the Socialist Party, but excluding the militant and revolutionary organizations. But these reactionaries support the N.R.A. A labor party of either of these two types would but hinder the

working class from developing real struggles in defense of its class interests.

Fighting Labor Party Needed

What we need is a Labor Party led by the militant workers and controlled by the rank and file of the trade unions, the unemployed organizations, farm organizations, etc., *uniting the workers on the basis of a program of immediate needs and demands, such as genuine unemployment and social insurance, the right to organize and strike, for the rights of the Negroes, against fascism and war—a fighting class party, uniting the workers of all political beliefs, on a common platform of struggle.* It is one of the most immediate tasks of the American working class to establish a fighting anti-capitalist Labor Party.

Struggle is not unknown to the American workers. The history of the American labor movement for more than 100 years is one of struggle against the employers and the government, which have used brutal terror and force to crush the workers' struggles.

Beginning with the struggles of the Philadelphia guilds in 1824, the local and state governments have used troops against the workers. The gigantic strikes of the past and of today, the great railway strike led by Eugene V. Debs, the strike of the Western Federation of Miners, the great steel strike of 1919, the strikes of the ore and coal miners, marine, needle and textile workers, all have exhibited the greatest militancy and determination on the part of the workers in spite of the use of troops, gangsters, thugs, etc., against them.

America Born in Revolution

Revolution also is not unknown to the American people. On the contrary, the United States was born in revolution. When, in 1775, the efforts of the manufacturers, landlords, and bankers of the colonies to free themselves from the tyranny of Great Britain were thwarted, when the right to manufacture and trade freely was denied them, after they had petitioned and sent delegations to England and these delegations were rejected, then the colonial fathers recognized that there was only one way by which they could obtain their freedom and that was by building up their own forces for revolutionary struggle. They built their colonial army. They formed Committees of Correspondence, composed of

groups of colonists established in every hamlet and village. When the bankers and landlords of New England decided the time had come, they dispatched their messengers, the Paul Reveres, they called out their Committees of Correspondence from under the surface of the ground, and the army was ready. This colonial army was made up of farmers and workers. They fought the revolution for their masters. The revolution was won by the workers and farmers, but they got nothing out of it.

The Declaration of Independence had been drafted and proclaimed the equality of all people. *It also proclaimed the right to revolution.* When the farmers and workers saw that they were betrayed in the revolution, they went into rebellion and only then was the so-called Bill of Rights inserted into the Constitution.

These revolutionary traditions, later again expressed by Abraham Lincoln, must be born anew. In the year 1935, with the rights of the workers being taken away, the Communist Party declares that the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is being trampled upon as never before. The Communist Party calls upon the workers and poor farmers again to rouse their revolutionary spirit, to unite their forces, and this time to fight *not* for the bankers, manufacturers and landlords, but for the interests of the workers and poor farmers.

We Fight for Socialism

The American workers are taking up the challenge of the crisis. More and more they are moving to the left, in the direction of the Communist Party. Communism is growing throughout the world. In 62 countries the Communist Party exists, united in the world party of the working class, the Communist International. It is developing the workers' forces in every capitalist and colonial country, uniting the workers and poor farmers in struggle, attacking capitalism on its every field. The capitalists, seeing their system slipping and their power weakening, are attempting to crush the revolutionary movement by fascism. Will the working class surrender? It will not, because it dares not. The American working class will fight because it has its class Party, the Communist Party. It will fight because it refuses to accept slavery and to give up its rights. It will fight because there is no other way out but the workers' revolutionary way, against fascism, for Socialism.

Socialism will be created after the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship. The Soviet system will be a society governed by the working class, fighting against all its enemies, who even after the revolution will try to restore their power. The Soviet Union is a clear example of how, even 17 years after the revolution of November, 1917, the enemies inside and outside the Soviet Union conspire through assassination, sabotage and war, to attack and destroy the Soviet Union. Before and immediately after the American Soviet revolution, the capitalists will blow up factories; they will corrupt and poison the minds of their followers. They will form secret conspiratorial bands for the purpose of sabotage and for destroying the working class revolution. They will seek the aid of other capitalist governments for destruction of the Soviet government of the U.S.A. It will be years before these forces are destroyed, before all the capitalist sabotage is ended. As long as this exists, just so long the Proletarian Dictatorship must exist, must strengthen itself, must be merciless in the pursuit of all working class enemies.

When, however, all these influences have been destroyed, then the need of a government will grow less and less. Governments exist only to serve the need of one class for the suppression of another class.

The influence of the capitalist system will not disappear overnight. It will take some time for the greedy, grasping, exploiting ideas of the capitalists which are even put into the minds of the children in the schools today, to be eliminated. When, however, as a result of the experiences in developing Socialism, these influences are destroyed, then step by step we will pass into a society in which everyone will enjoy security, abundance and freedom to a degree scarcely imaginable today.

Under such a society everyone will contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs. The need of government will have disappeared, the Proletarian Dictatorship will have no function, and we will enter into the ultimate form of society—Communism.

Unemployed Must Fight

Of all the groups of the American population, the unemployed today face the worst situation. Unemployment is permanent for a large number of workers. Even if there should be an increase in production, millions will remain unemployed. As the crisis

drags on, the situation of the unemployed will become worse, their misery will grow, hunger will increase.

The present army of unemployed, the growing army of unemployed youth, the millions of part-time workers, have nothing to expect from the present system. There is not even the promise of any protection for them under capitalism. No worker has any security whatever. Capitalism has doomed them. Our only hope is through organization and struggle. For the unemployed and employed the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the way proposed by the Communist Party, is the only hope. Our tasks therefore are:

1. To organize into fighting Unemployment Councils, to carry on the struggle for adequate relief, for union wages on jobs, against evictions, against discrimination against Negroes, foreign-born, single and youth workers.

2. To unite forces with the workers in the unions and shops in the struggle for the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill H. R. 2827, which alone will afford protection both to the unemployed and the employed workers who are fighting for better conditions in the shop, for the right to organize and strike.

3. To unite with the farmers in joint struggle for the interests of the workers and farmers, to struggle against the oppressors.

4. To unite with all sincere elements within the population in the struggle against fascism and war through the building of the American League Against War and Fascism.

5. To build a fighting Labor Party, based on the trade unions, unemployed organizations, etc., and led by militants on a fighting program.

6. To build the Communist Party and the Young Communist League (organization of the fighting young workers), the organizations which are building up the ranks of the fighting workers not only for our daily needs but to put an end to the present system, and to build the new system, Socialism, which means security and a life of abundance, peace and freedom.

Join the Communist Party and fight for Socialism—the only system guaranteeing security!

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