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The

CHALLENGE *of* **YOUTH**

By Sam Darcy

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YOUNG WORKERS COMMUNIST LEAGUE
OF AMERICA

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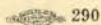
The Challenge of Youth

WHY EVERY YOUNG WORKER
SHOULD JOIN THE YOUNG
WORKERS COMMUNIST LEAGUE

By

Sam Darcy

National Secretary, Y. W. C. L.



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YOUNG WORKERS COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

1926

INTRODUCTION.

A NEW phenomenon is manifest in these United States—a new force which is destined to become a tremendous factor in making the history of this country. America feels for the first time, the influence of a fast developing movement of the working youth.

Isolated rumblings of dissatisfaction—small strikes, demands upon unions for organization, mass demonstrations, have increased so rapidly among the youth within the past few years that now they are considered ordinary events of the day.

The students in the high schools and the colleges, driven by stark necessity, have been organizing in school strikes with greater frequency against militarism, against all sorts of specialized systems of handing out capitalist dope, against the introduction of religious teachings, etc., etc.

With the tremendous trustifying of industry comes the inevitable—a corresponding increase in the use of child labor. This adds another cloud to the already too dark picture.

The capitalist class sees a storm coming. Against this they are building powerful forces—Citizens' Military Training Camps, Reserve Officers' Training Corps, State Militias, Boy Scouts, Young Men's Christian Associations, its Hebrew counterpart, and a thousand and one other bodies. They have met success. What shows this most is the fact that they are recruiting members for these organizations out of the very class against whom they are going to use them—the working class.

The succeeding pages tell the bitter story of what the youth are confronted with. The veil of phrases concerning this country being a place where equal opportunity is given to all, is torn away and instead we see a picture of misery, of rottenness, of degradation, the equal of which the world has hardly known.

We address this pamphlet especially to the young workers. You, who have attended our meetings and demonstrations, or have read our publications and are not as yet in the movement will find a message of vital importance here. It is a difficult task—that of tearing from the eyes of youth the screen of lies that has been put there by the schools, churches, movies, press, etc., and letting the one shaft of light show you the whole vista of the life that faces you. It is an important task, however, and history demands it be done.

S. A. D.

CHAPTER I.

John Doe—His Story.

JOHN DOE, Sr., was in tears. Never in all his fifty years of life had he admitted to himself that he was beaten. Today his head was bowed. When he was born in that small town in Ohio, his father swore between clenched teeth that this, his only son, would carry the name of Doe into the drawing rooms of America's aristocracy.

Towards this end he slaved all his life. When John, Jr., was fourteen years of age he was graduated from grammar school with honors. Doe, Sr., put on his best shirt for the occasion; Mrs. Doe was dressed in all her marriage finery, and both went to the graduation exercises with smiles of pleasure on their toil worn faces. There was doubt and great discussion between them as to whether it would be possible to send Junior to high school. However, when they saw him go up to the platform in his new suit and neatly combed hair and deliver the valedictory address they pledged to sacrifice everything they had to give their boy a better education. "By God! If I have to 'hock' my only Sunday suit, son won't have to work as I do, but will go to college and grow up to be a doctor or a lawyer," John, Sr., exclaimed as he left the auditorium with gleaming eyes.

Two years passed. Junior was in the fifth form at high. The last year he had rather fallen in his scholarship because he had to work after school to earn a little to help support himself. Dad hadn't been getting as much wages as he used to. He was getting old and could not work so hard . . .

And so that day he was in tears. He could no longer support Junior at all and so had to surrender to the dream he cherished for so long. He called his son into the room . . .

When Junior heard the news he was glad. He had been feeling some what guilty of "sponging" on his parents too long, and he was even tiring of having no time for play but working and studying all his waking hours. "It's all right, Dad," he smiled, "I'll get a job, make good, and then laugh at the world."

. . . It took him six months to get a job. When he did get it the wages were far below his expectations—twelve dollars a week—but the boss told him that he would have a fine chance for advancement if he should prove a bright lad.

. . . He worked for the firm four years and was getting eighteen dollars weekly. In the meantime he met Mary. But they could not marry on eighteen per. So they waited and wooed. . . and John worked hard to "advance" himself

Once there was a movement on foot to organize his shop. But John had faith that a raise was coming and he was not going to ruin his chances for it by getting mixed up in any unions. The shop was not organized.

John was rewarded several years later—he got five dollars at one

time making a total of twenty-three dollars per week. He rushed home, washed up, combed his hair as neatly as possible, put on his best suit—it was to be the big night!

Mary was tired from a hard day's work. She was reading the Saturday Evening Post on her way home and saw the pretty pictures of clean homes, with little children happily toddling about on bright new linoleum. It made her sigh. She wanted a "place" of her own to take care of; to invite her friends to, and to play with children—her own children. She sighed and wondered when John would be able to afford to support her, and a home.

She had just finished her supper when John rushed in and in a breathless whisper asked her to come for a walk with him. She thrilled at his excitement and went. The next day they announced that they would marry next June. . . and they were.

Soon there came the first child, then the second and third. John was working hard to keep them. Mary crimped. Their home was not as pretty as the pictures in the Saturday Evening Post "ads," yet Mary worked hard to keep it clean. The third child was a boy. They called him John—and his Daddy became John Doe, Sr. John, Sr., swore about his boy's future just as John the First had many years ago. But John the Third went thru the same evolution as John the Second.

However, when he was eighteen years old he heard what he had always heard described derisively in school and elsewhere as a "soap-box" orator. It came about queerly. They were trying to organize a union in his shop. The foreman said it was a bunch of "Reds" making all the trouble. And indeed, they were selling a paper called the YOUNG WORKER and published by an organization called the YOUNG WORKERS (COMMUNIST) LEAGUE. But yet he stopped to listen on his way home from work. The speaker was not a very good one. As a matter of fact, he was an ordinary looking fellow like any other worker. But he told some startling facts. It set John thinking.

The next day he heard discussions among his fellow workers while the foreman was out of the room. One of his shopmates even had literature that he said every young worker ought to read. John spent a few cents for some of the pamphlets and papers that were offered. He learned many things.



CHAPTER II.

Who Owns the United States?

JOHN remembered that in school they always taught him that this was his country.

He remembered that many of the songs contained such lines as, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," and "Hail Columbia, Happy Land."

He remembered that during the war all the posters read, "THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY—FIGHT FOR IT."

But no one ever gave him any facts to show him that this was his country. But now he read some interesting information about this in one of the books.

The Government in Washington, D. C., through its Federal Trade Commission, issued a report early in 1926 which says that the total wealth of this country is 353 billion dollars!

If the United States belongs to every man, woman and child who is in it, then each person should have about \$3,200.00. In other words, if there are six people in his family, father, mother and four children, then his family should have \$19,200.00 approximately. How many workers' families own that much. The answer must be NONE! How many own even half or a quarter of that amount? Again the answer must be NONE! And yet he always thought that this was his country same as any other person's. He never thought why this should be so? And if he and the many million others like him don't own this country, who does?

The Federal Trade Commission reporting in 1926, says that 13% of the people own 90% of all the wealth. This means that 87% of the people in this country own practically nothing besides some personal things such as clothing, household furniture, etc. The truth is that of the 400,000 corporations about 1,000 or $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1% control one-half of the United States. This is clearly shown by the income tax returns for 1923. These returns show the almost unbelievable profits that the trusts make. John was surprised to see how much profit this means to the 13% who own almost everything. Some outstanding industries are examples:

FARMING: While the farmer was being driven off his farm because of being unable to meet his mortgages, one company made over 38 million dollars profit or about 42% of all the profits made in agriculture.

MINING: One hundred and ninety-nine corporations made about 200 million dollars profit or about 70% of the total profits made in this industry.

TRANSPORTATION AND PUBLIC SERVICE: Forty-five corporations

in these industries made 700 million dollars or about 56% of the total profits.

MANUFACTURING: Out of the 85,199 firms, ninety-eight received almost a billion and a half in profits or about one-third of the total.

These are some of the most important industries. In addition to these he learned of some of the lesser important so far as the industry is concerned but even more striking so far as the amount of the profits received by a few hands. In the manufacturing of food products, less than 1% of the companies got 66½% of all the profits. In rubber, less than 2% of the corporations got 74% of all the profits. In chemicals and oils 1% of the corporations got 67% of the profits, etc., etc., throughout the entire list.

These facts are published by the Government printing house in Washington and so they can be taken as quite reliable. But while his teacher in public or high school was telling him that this is "his country," why did



Do these children have the same opportunities as those of the rich who ride in big cars and go to private schools?

she not also tell him about these facts? He compared the profits made by these Wall Street trusts with his twenty dollars per week wages and then asked himself whether or not this is "his country."

John was bewildered. They never taught this in school. It was always taken for granted that everybody owned this country together. Of course, he knew there were millionaires but he never dreamed that so few of them owned so much. He thought that his family was one of the few poor ones, but now he discovered that 87% of the people lived as poorly or even worse than he did.

He wondered whether there were many young workers who were as badly off as he. He looked for information and found it.

CHAPTER III.

How the Young Worker Lives.

JOHN found that there were many agencies, both Government and private, who have tried to establish the answer to the question—What is the least amount necessary in order to live decently?

In 1919, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, a Government agency, estimated that the minimum for a family of five was \$2,262.47 or \$43.51 per week. This was a very modest budget and certainly not an ideal one. It would provide for the family as follows:

1. Nourishing food.
2. Houses in low-rent neighborhoods and within the smallest number of rooms consistent with decency (about four rooms and a bath).
3. The upkeep of household equipment, but with no provision for the purchase of additional furniture.
4. Clothing sufficient for warmth, "but with no more regard for style than would permit one to appear in public without slovenliness or loss of self-respect."

One woolen suit, one woolen dress and one winter hat could be purchased every second year, but no silk stockings or dresses and no house slippers. The family could spend \$80 a year for doctor, dentist and oculist; \$20 for amusement and recreation—a vacation in the country would be out of the question; \$10 for union dues, \$13 for church and religious organizations, and \$52 for incidentals. A small amount could be set aside for insurance and carfare, but practically none for saving.

And yet, the average worker in 1919 was earning far less than this minimum; that, in the previous year, 1918, nearly seven out of every eight wage earners were getting less than \$2,000 a year, the average wage being less than one-half of the minimum (\$1,078).

In other words, even according to the figures of the U. S. Government, the average worker in this country is not getting enough wages to support himself and his family EVEN HALF decently. And when John realized this, he also realized that this includes the greatest part of the population, since there are 42,000,000 workers in this country and with their families they make up most of the population. So that despite all that the newspapers have been saying about prosperity, the above facts clearly speak to the contrary.

John heard much talk about how much money one section of the

working class, the highly skilled workers, are making. Though these workers get far more wages than the rest, yet even their wages are quite low, in most cases even below the standard necessary for living decently set by the U. S. Government.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler, in the February, 1926, issue of the Locomotive Engineers Journal, points this out very clearly. He says:

In estimating the yearly income of these workers, however, we must realize, with the Hoover Engineers, that the wage earners in the building trades are employed but 63% of the normal working days of the year. A carpenter working five and one-half days a week for ten dollars a day would secure \$55.00 per week. But this same worker employed but 63% of the normal working time would receive during the year an average wage of \$34.00 or \$35.00 per week. In Illinois during the fairly good month of October, 1923, the wage in the building and contracting industry averaged \$39.37.

The building trades are one of the most highly paid trades and yet, after the propaganda of the newspapers, concerning high wages and workers going to work in automobiles, is cleared away, we find that even they do not receive sufficient to live decently even according to the low standard set by the Government as shown above. In the transportation industry, another place where high wages are supposed to prevail, the National Bureau of Economic Research survey estimated an average weekly wage of \$31.00 in 1920 to \$25.53 in 1921.

But even these wages are very rare. There are, as has already been stated, forty-two million wage earners in this country. Of these only slightly over two million are organized into unions. This means that about 40 million workers are unorganized. It is about half the organized workers (about one million and a half) that are in the privileged trades—that is, those averaging thirty to thirty-five dollars per week all year round.

Now what do the other workers get? In 1920, the National Bureau of Economic Research estimated an average wage in all industries of \$20.73 a week. By 1921, this had fallen to \$20 a week. By 1926, though, there are no figures at hand as yet, still John found that it can be safely said that because of the wage cuts, etc., this has fallen even far lower than twenty dollars.

But how about young workers? Even in those industries where adult workers received fairly high wages, young workers though they may have been doing the same amount of work, received very low wages. So he found that in the mining industry, the engineers and machine miners, the highest paid miners, received about \$48.00 per week and trapper boys received \$17.00! And this is, for young workers, a highly paid industry comparatively.

For young workers there are no industries where anywhere near sufficient wages are paid.

He examined his wages to see if they are enough for you to live decently! Did his family live in a home where light, air, nearness to parks, are present so as to insure health?

In 1922, the National Biscuit Company, which employs tens of thousands of young workers made \$11,024,980 in profits. Holders of preferred stock made 45% on their investment. Yet wages in this industry are between twelve and fifteen dollars per week. The conditions under which these young people work are worse than any slave ever tolerated in the days before the Civil War.

In a book called "Nabisco," which was amongst the literature John had bought, published by the Young Workers (Communist) League, these conditions were graphically described thus:

In the packing departments, not a chair is to be found, and for that matter there are very few to be seen in the entire plant. No longer being able to stand and toil in the suffocating rooms, the girls shift from one foot to another. This action is greeted with yells from the foreman and lady supervisor to "stand straight and quit stalling." As the day drags this demand becomes impossible to fulfill and many break under the strain.

A worker in the New York plant wrote about their conditions there. He says.

The men work continuously, intensely, savagely in 110 degrees heat for eight hours each day. What it means working steadily in this heat is shown by the fact that the company is compelled to give 15 minute rest periods.

Nevertheless during the week of August 6 and 7 (1924), with the thermometer at 90 outside and 110 inside, everybody went on working and the result was that 40 men and 30 girls were carried into washrooms overcome. This was in my department alone. Then John looked up some other industries.

The mail order houses employ hundreds of thousands of young workers. In 1925, Sears Roebuck made 73% profit on their original investment. Wages in this industry are ten and twelve dollars per week.

The 5 & 10c stores employ many hundreds of thousands of young workers. Woolworth alone made 25 million dollars profit during 1925. Wages in Woolworth stores are about \$10 per week for fifty to fifty-eight hours work. Montgomery Ward and some other lesser mail order corporations rival to Sears Roebuck, made a cool hundred million in 1925. Wages here are \$12 per week.

The automobile industry employs many millions of workers—a large

part of them young workers. The Wall Street Journal reports that during 1925 the wealth of all the auto kings, even without Henry Ford, the biggest one, was increased by a billion dollars in profits. Returns on investments ran as high as 200% as in the case of Nash Motors, yet wages for young workers in this industry are about \$14.00 per week.

During this same year the Central States Electric Corporation, one of the largest of its kind, declared a 900% stock dividend. The First National Bank of New York earned 140%, etc., etc., etc. But wages? Ten and twelve dollars per week on an average.

John was getting dizzy!

Dizzy with the contrast between the prosperity of big well-fed masters and kings of industry, and the misery of the masses of workers, particularly the young workers. And this is the land of equality, of "democracy" and of "freedom" and "pursuit of happiness." It is a difficult pursuit on \$12.00 a week!



Got his hand caught in the machine, this boy was fired immediately after.

Then John thought that possibly the fact that families oft-times have more than one person working makes things much easier. He went on to see.

The most extensive survey of late into family incomes, as opposed to income of individuals, was made in 1918 by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in ninety-two localities in forty-three states. The survey included some 12,000 white families and approximately 750 colored families. The average family income for all the 12,000 families (having an average of five persons per family) was \$1,513. or over \$700 less than the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics declared to be such a minimum standard of health and decency. More than one-fifth of the families studied (22.7%) received less than 1,200 a year; a majority (55%), less than \$1,500; more than three-fourths (78%) less than \$1,800; over nine-tenths (92.3%) less than \$2,100 while but 2.92% obtained an income of \$2,500.

Thus nine-tenths of the families secured less than the minimum set by the Government for health and comfort.

Could he yet think that this is the land of prosperity?

The foregoing figures apply to the industrial population. But how about the "prosperous" American farmer on the more than 6,000,000 farms in this country? The farms in the United States are operated by owners, by tenants and by hired men. Various "farm management" surveys of the average profits of farmers were made between 1910 and 1918. The labor income of farm owners, as shown by twelve of these surveys averaged only \$491 a year or less than \$10 a week, while that for tenants (the deduction for interest on investment being smaller) was \$797 a year, or slightly more than \$13 weekly.

Dr. Bernhard Ostrolenk gives a list of twenty-eight investigations into farmers' incomes. In three of them the income was less than \$200 yearly; in one investigation, but \$49—this in a group of 800 cut-over farms in Wisconsin and Minnesota. In thirteen, the average ranged from \$200 to \$500, while in only four were the returns (minus interest on the investment) more than \$1,000. The highest average attained was \$1,817 for a group of cotton growers in Georgia during the great demand for cotton in the war year, 1918.

During the World War, the returns of the farmers in many parts of the country increased considerably, but, following the war, in the greatest agricultural depression in the history of the country with the dropping of crop values from about fifteen and a half billion dollars in 1919 to less than seven billion dollars in 1921—the condition of tens of thousands of farmers, particularly in the North-west, became a tragic one. A survey by the Department of Agriculture showed that 8½% of owner-farmers in fifteen states of the Middle West lost their farms with or without legal process between 1920 and the spring of 1923, and that, in addition, 15% of the owners, though bankrupt, held on to their property only through the leniency of creditors. In Montana in the fall of 1923 over 17% of the farmers had either abandoned their farms, gone through bankruptcy proceedings, or were so insolvent that they were in danger of foreclosure; in North Dakota, 10.5%; in South Dakota, 7.3%. In Hill County, Montana, over one-half (53%) of the total improved farm acreage had been foreclosed or was in process of foreclosure by the end of 1922.

John found the condition of the young farmer to be worse yet. There are no facilities placed at his disposal for the cultural life that he needs. His education is inevitably miserable because farm conditions make it so that he can find no time to study. He sweats his life away from early morning until late at night and barely exists.

John wondered about the children. Were they better off? He decided to find out for himself.



Picking berries. They earn about sixty cents a day.

CHAPTER IV.

Child Labor and Child Misery.

IN the reports of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor John saw a picture of American industry wherein millions of children wear their young lives away in fields, factories and tenement workshops to supplement the inadequate wages paid to their fathers.

In 1920 when the industrial depression had already released thousands of children from employment, the census showed over a million of them between the ages of ten and fifteen, working in agriculture, factories, etc. This census was taken at a time when not only had the crisis caused many of these children to leave their jobs, but was also taken in mid-winter when the percentage of children working on the farms is extremely low as compared to the summer and harvest times when it is very high.

Since 1920, several things have happened which gave him a true picture of the grand scale on which child labor and child misery exists. First, there was the declaration by the Supreme Court which legalized child labor. Then there was the increased use of child labor by the bosses as a tool with which to break the unions in their great union-smashing drive of 1921-22-23. In 1923, for example, Grace Abbott, the chief of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor reported that there was an increase of 43% in the use of child labor since 1921, when the figures were already considerably above the million-odd child workers in 1920. "During the first quarter of 1923," her statement says, "this increase markedly continued over the previous increase. In New York, Newark, Jersey City, Paterson, New Haven, New Britain, Waterbury, Hartford, Manchester, Baltimore, Detroit, Indianapolis and St. Louis, the average percentage of increase in the number of child laborers was as high as 240%."

John noticed with interest that wherever the unions and other workers' organizations were weak, child labor was strong. Thus in Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1923, there were eight times as many child workers as there were in 1922.

Children are working in ever increasing numbers in all parts of the country from the textile mills of New England and the Carolinas to the coal mining regions of Pennsylvania, the cotton fields of the South, the great farms beet fields, tobacco plantations of the East, Middle-West, and Northwest, the oyster and shrimp canneries, etc., etc. Child labor covers the whole country and is the scarlet lamp of our shame that we have permitted it to exist for so long.

In California, for example, the United States census in 1920 reported about 1,800 child laborers on the farms. In 1924, the California Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that this has increased to 5,000. In New York State, where a child labor law exists, child labor increased from 1922 to 1924 by well over 50%. In Connecticut, it increased from 98 to 178% from 1922 to 1923. In Springfield, Massachusetts, it increased 215%. In Manchester, New Hampshire, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Louisville, Kentucky, it increased four and five hundred per cent. Even exercising the greatest conservativeness in estimating the number of child laborers in 1926 we can safely say that the figures border on three million.

Almost every civilized country of the world has established legislative provisions to give protection to those children of fourteen years of age or less. These include Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The United States stands with India, China and Japan in exploiting its young on so large a scale.

John wondered what it meant to be a child worker. These statistics showed the huge scale upon which child labor exists. But is work for children a bad thing? He read in many papers speeches by men who said it was a good thing.

He decided to investigate some industries in which child labor is a big factor. The most outstanding ones are farming, textile, tobacco production and canning. The United States Childrens Bureau issued a report in which a study of child labor in representative tobacco growing areas is made. This report says as follows:

Two of the most tiring and disagreeable operations in the cultivations of tobacco, suckering and worming, are considered in some tobacco-growing districts distinctly children's work, according to the bureau. That suckering and worming are not fit for work for boys and girls is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the bureau's account of these two operations.

Suckering must be done two or three or even four times a season and in the hottest months of the year. It consists of breaking off the suckers or side branches that develop in the axils of the leavers after the top of the plant had been broken off. The chil-

dren complain that their backs ache from bending over the plants, that pulling off the suckers hurts their hands and that the strong odor from the tobacco makes them ill.

Worming is done at the same time as suckering or before. The worker must examine each leaf carefully and remove any worms found destroying them with a twist of the thumb and forefinger or putting them in a tin can or some other receptacle to be burned later. This work is disagreeable and irritating to the skin.

Most of the children both in the South and New England work long hours and were employed for a considerable length of time. Very few reported less than eight hours and ten hours was the usual length of the working day for a number of them.

Typical instances were those of an 11 year old boy who worked a twelve and a half hour day beginning at 5 A. M.; a 12 year old boy who had harrowed for 10 hours on one day and transplanted



These boys of thirteen and fourteen picking tobacco. This posture must be maintained for about ten hours a day.

for 12 hours another day, and suckered and cultivated as long as 13 hours on still another day.

In South Carolina and Virginia where most of the tobacco is "flue cured" by heated aid circulated thru the curing barn by means of flues, the furnaces require practically constant attention during the four or more days of curing and children often relieve their parents at this task. Very often the children remain at the barns until late at night and sometimes stay all night. One fourteen year old boy and his brother had kept the fires day and night for a week, taking turns sleeping and watching. A ten year old girl had helped at the barn virtually a month. A twelve year old girl had worked 11 hours a day and an eleven year old boy 11½ hours a day and helped on tobacco at harvest time 13 hours a day.

This gave John a terrible picture of the misery that exists among child labor in this industry. He then came across the following sections of the

report issued by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor on the cotton picking industry:

It is shown that cotton picking involves considerable exposure to cold, dampness, as well as to heat, inasmuch as it lasts from late August or early September into November or December, a period during which thermometers climb to 99 degrees and fall to 10 degrees above zero.

Unlike most farm work, the labor done by children in these cotton areas extends over an uninterrupted period of months. Day after day is spent in the fields, the children working long hours under considerable pressure. Inexperienced pickers who have not acquired the knack of grasping the cotton so that the fingers take

Two tots picking cotton on a southern plantation. This is their opportunity to "pursue happiness."



hold between the sharp, dry carpels of the burr without touching them are likely to have very sore fingers at the end of the day.

It is shown that babies three years old work in the cotton fields, working 12 hours a day, a six-year old girl who had begun field work at the age of 4 picked 80 pounds a day and 4-year old twins in the same family working besides their mother in the field, put into her bag on an average 12 or 15 pounds a day.

Later he learned that cotton pickers are paid on an average of \$2.00 per hundred pounds. This means that all four children in the same family earn but \$2.00 a day for their labor.

On further investigation he discovered how completely American industry enslaves American children. Hardly a product is manufactured but child labor is involved. Even the American flag which has been pictured to us as a symbol of freedom is really made by the very slaves whose freedom it is supposed to represent. The cotton for the flag is picked on fields of torture by child laborers as young as three and four years of age who tear their fingers in the work. Cotton is shipped north on trains which

are driven by coal power that is mined by child labor, is sent into textile mills to be woven by looms which are manned by child labor where tuberculosis and kindred diseases are rampant. Then having thus had the lives of the children of this country woven into it, they tell us that it is a symbol of freedom. John gritted his teeth at the mockery.

He and millions of others were always told in the schools, movies, newspapers, etc., that this is a country where everybody has an equal opportunity. Even setting aside the misery of the whole working class as he had already seen, can they say that these three million child laborers have an equal chance for life with those of the rich?

There are approximately 20 million children under the age of 16 in the United States. He had already seen the conditions of life of three of those 20 million. The instances that he read about are typical examples of the conditions under which children labor. He had not found the extreme examples of the children in the oyster and shrimp canneries who are poisoned



Selling morning papers till long after midnight the night before. That's what "liberty" means to workers' children.

by their torn and bleeding fingers caused in the shelling nor had he learned of the children in the beet fields who work under so great a strain that few ever grow up to be real healthy men and women.

But how about the rest of the children of the working class? He once read a report printed in the newspapers under a Federated Press headline which gave him a glimpse of what is happening in Gary, the city of steel, which is so much advertised as a place where Judge Gary has evolved highly efficient methods of educating and caring for children:

"The great majority of the little children of wage earners in Gary, Indiana, are undernourished according to a study made by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. Less than one-half of one per cent of the children of pre-school age get the right amount of suitable food, says the Bureau, which points

out the rest in the fact that more than 95% of these children show physical defect. Coffee as a cheap substitute for milk, which is beyond the reach of the family pocket-book, was found to be characteristic of the diet of two-thirds of these children. In fact, only 19% of them were getting as much as a pint of milk a day, and 60% had no milk at all to drink.

"Milk is not the only desirable food which was little used," says the report, 'since vegetables, fruits, cereals, and eggs were likewise conspicuously lacking.' In other words, the foods which build strong bones and makes blood which overcomes disease, are one of the bitterest enemies of labor in the United States.

"Turning to results of this lack of necessary food the Bureau shows that about 65% of these little children had decayed teeth, that 15% had bone-defects which are the result of a deficiency in diet and that only 4.8% were physically fully equipped for life."

Thus are the children of the working class given an "equal opportunity" for life with those of the rich. He read of another city, which is

This little girl is enjoying the "freedom" of this country by beading all day and half the night, to earn \$2.50 a week.



typical of the United States. He again read from an official Government report which makes an exhaustive study of infant death rates in Baltimore:

"THE HIGHEST RATES ON INFANT MORTALITY WERE FOUND IN THE FAMILIES WHERE THE FATHER'S EARNINGS WERE LOWEST AND THE LOWEST INFANT MORTALITY WHERE THE FATHER'S EARNINGS WERE HIGHEST."

The report declares in discussing poverty as a direct factor in causing the death of babies.

These pen pictures taken out of Government reports, brief tho they are, gave John a cross-section picture of American life. Instead of generalizations carried in the newspapers about high wages and prosperity, he now

saw misery, rottenness and death spread everywhere. He realized that he was living under a system of society which makes possible the enslaving of those countries, even under a heavier yoke than that which weighs cost of living in order to increase profit, and which tries to fool the working population into thinking that they are living in a paradise. Child labor and child misery are symptoms of the great disease that is affecting the whole social order today—PROFITS.

On reading other books John found that the search for profits has taken the boss class outside the borders of the United States, and into the land



All the children are engaged in stringing milk tags. Their worn faces tell the rest of the story.

of those countries, even under a heavier yoke than that which weighs of many weak and conquered nations where they have enslaved the natives down the American working class.

He was fascinated and shocked to read that American troops enslaved other countries just like the British once tried to enslave the American colonies. And all for what? For greater profits to the bosses! He remembered how a recruiting officer once tried to get him to enlist "to see the world." He wondered.

But he waited to find out about these new colonies that the American government was subjecting so he read some history and more current facts.

CHAPTER V.

Conquering the World for Wall Street.

TOWARDS the middle of the nineteenth century, the rich of this country began to see the possibilities of getting control of most of the Western Hemisphere. The rest of the countries on the North and South American continents were backward in many ways, particularly, in the development of machinery both of peace-time and war-like purposes. The United States Government which represents the rich of this country, issued what has since become known as the Monroe Doctrine, which declared to Europe to keep out of the Western Hemisphere. It promised that American capitalists would not go to European countries or colonies for purposes of exploitation on condition that the powerful European countries would not come to the Americas for similar purposes. The capitalist class at that time was elated. They thought that now they had a vast empire which held out possibilities of exploitation even far beyond their power. However, with the end of the nineteenth century, American capitalism began to develop to the point where it reached out to European and Asiatic countries in order to exploit the people there because the profits reaped from the Americas did not satisfy their lust.

So John found that by 1926 not only has the United States succeeded in enslaving the peoples of the North and South American continents, but has also gained control of the industries of many previously powerful European countries for exploitation purposes. This, as he saw later, not only is for the good of the capitalists of this country only, but is distinctly harmful to the workers here. But he was amazed to see how big a part of the world the boss class of this country already controls.

U. S. has come to many countries to mean Uncle Shylock, for our government has sent the military forces into other lands not for the glory of the American flag, as some would have us believe, but because it wants to control the finances of these other countries for the benefit of the capitalist class of the United States.

Thus, it is that out of twenty Latin-American republics, eleven have their financial policies directed by official representatives of the American Government. Six of these agents have military forces to insure the carrying out of their orders.

In Cuba, where the land is rich for such tropical products as sugar,

tobacco, etc., the U. S. Government has distributed at strategic points thruout the island, numerous posts of marines which act as a club to warn the Cuban people against any struggle for freedom. The representative of the U. S. Government at Havana controls in this country, not only the financial, but also the political policies of the land—policies which are determined by absentee landlords and bankers living in the United States, and which are made not with any consideration for the welfare of the people but only with a view to great profits.

In Haiti, there are several thousand U. S. Marines who have helped American bankers to supervise the "election" there. Here too, an American financial advisor exercises complete control of its finances, collects customs and makes loans which the U. S. Government guarantees—loans which are extended by American bankers, thus giving us an excuse to keep soldiers there, so as to protect "American interests" abroad.

In Santo Domingo, the United States landed an army—without any declaration of war—dismissed the president and congress and for seven years ruled by military decrees under the supervision of an American representative and 25,00 Marines.

The great bourgeois hero, Theodore Roosevelt, took Panama with an "agreement" that disbanded the army of the country and provided that the U. S. could take over any additional territory it may deem fit for the protection of the canal.

In Honduras, the American minister, and two United States corporations are ruling the country.

In Nicaragua, a U. S. admiral, favorable as usual to American bankers, has confessed that at least 80% of the population are bitterly antagonistic to his rule and are continually on the point of revolt.

In all of these countries there are military forces guaranteeing the investments of American capital. In studying history, he was shocked at the idea of the Romans enslaving other nations. His history books are also filled with the heroic struggles of our own people against the British when they, on two or three occasions tried to enslave us, but now, we stand by and see Wall Street with the aid of the United States Army enslave these other colonies. There are some countries which voluntarily agree to let the U. S. Government control their finances so long as we could not send any armies into the country. So terrified are they by the thoughts of having the American Cossacks humiliate and dominate them for profits that they are willing to pay tribute in order to prevent it. This condition exists in Salvador, Peru, Colombia, Equador and Bolivia, where official representatives control the finances of the country and exploit the people for Wall Street.

In addition to these many countries listed above, where the United

States officially controls the governments, either by direct exertion of military power or the threat of the use of it, there are other Latin-American countries which are controlled by U. S. corporations who have bribed the national governments of these countries into becoming servants of Wall Street.

In Guatemala, for example, the United Fruit Company and other U. S. corporations have secured control of the railroads which have now become a part of the International Railways of Central America, the largest American railway enterprise outside of the United States.

In Costa Rica, after thirty years of peace, American oil and fruit interests have fomented a revolution and have used this to set up a government which acts as a broker for American capitalism.

In Mexico, United States capitalists own one-third of the nation's total wealth of two and one-half billion dollars. They own a major portion of the land and 73% of the oil land.

Out of twenty Latin-American republics, 11 are directly controlled by official representatives of the American Government. In these countries, U. S. Marines have left behind them a trail of terror that has been equalled only by the Russian Cossacks prior to the Revolution there. In these countries, the people hate the United States just as previously the small nations hated the yoke of the Roman Empire. United States corporations are not controlling these Latin-American republics merely because they are not civilized, as they claim, but because there are rich oil, coffee, tobacco, sugar, rubber, and other raw materials to rob from the natives. United States corporations, with the help of the Marines, make the natives go to work fourteen and sixteen hours a day for a couple of bananas in wages. The people of these countries live in abject starvation so that a few rich of this country can get richer yet.

But American interests do not merely extend to North and South America. The United States Army has enslaved 10,000,000 people in the Philippines. Ten million people who suffered for 350 years under the yoke of the Spanish oppression and who today are suffering under the still more tyrannical rule of the American military forces. Here, too, we find the people under the most miserable conditions conceivable by the human mind. Men are imported into the islands from the Asian continent in order to fill the need of cheap labor (about 3 cents a day), then they are given women for wives without any choice of their own. They sleep on the bare ground and work fifteen and sixteen hours a day, and should they dare revolt against these conditions, there is a powerful U. S. Army of some 20,000 men ready to pour lead into their midst.

But even this has not satisfied the greed for profit. After the World War, the United States Government forced upon the great German nation,

the now well-known Dawes Plan. This Dawes Plan provides in effect for the control of German industry by American bosses. It also provides that the German Government promises to increase the working day to ten hours or more, that wages shall be at a certain minimum and that should the German workers go on strike against these conditions, that the German Government will call the army out to suppress the strike.

In addition to this enslavement of Germany, the United States also controls and gets profit from a large portion of the industries of Hungary and other Central European countries in addition to collecting the interest and principle on the war loans.

Under these conditions it became very favorable for U. S. capitalists to invest in industry in other countries because the standard of living was very much lower in other countries than it was in the United States, wages were lesser, and more profits could thereby be harvested. Under the provisions of these various "agreements" such as the Dawes Plan, large amounts were invested by American bankers and bosses in European industry.

Thus, John realized that the bosses of American industry can now produce the very same goods, that they previously produced in this country, in Europe at a cheaper wage rate. Under these circumstances the European worker outbids the American worker because he accepts a lower standard of living and if the American worker is to meet this competition, he too, must accept lower wages and longer hours. John figured that exactly this development must have taken place in the textile industry.—His friend who works in a textile mill told him about it.—The textile bosses have invested in German textile industry \$45,000,000. Because of the fact that the American boss is now getting cheaper labor in Germany, he is not afraid to cut wages in the United States, for, should the American workers go on strike, his German factories would still be producing goods. So that, not only does the American worker not benefit from this exploitation of other countries, but distinctly loses by it and all for the sake of the rich.

But John soon came to understand that the young worker is hit hardest of all by this. The adult worker, at least has unions which fight against the lowering of wages, the young worker is not admitted to the unions and in most cases there are no unions in the industries in which he is engaged. Even in industries where the adult workers get fairly well paid, the young workers' wages are very low. When, because the boss can get his goods produced cheaper in other countries, he shuts down his factories or cuts down production, not only does the young worker who is already in the industry lose his job, but those young workers who are first leaving school and entering industry cannot find jobs.

United States capitalists are therefore looking for more foreign markets so that they could keep on producing and yet be able to sell their

produce. This brings them into conflict with other large countries such as Great Britain and Japan who are trying to do the same. Thereby comes a clash between America and the other countries and war is declared.

This was really the cause of the World War of 1914. Germany was taking away the South American markets from the United States. She was also succeeding in capturing African territory from England. She held Alsace Lorraine which was rich in coal that France needed so much for her industries.

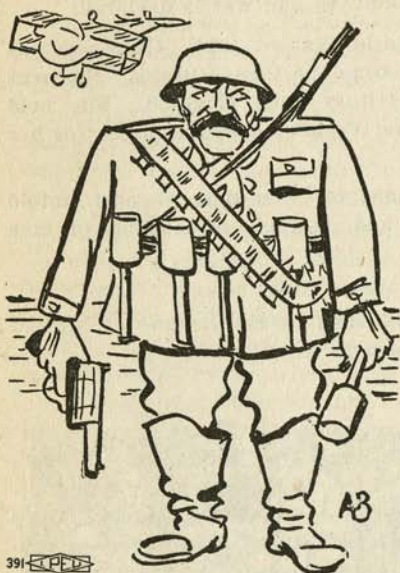
But the World War which was fought for this purpose cost untold fortunes in property, caused the deaths and maiming of millions of men and broke up whole nations of families.

Who gained from this war?

John looked up the official figures published by the League of Nations and other official bodies. It gave him much to think about.



"Victory"



"Our country, right or wrong."

out anyone being able to find record of them. We can figure the estimate number of people maimed, killed and wounded in the World War as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Known dead | 9,998,771 |
| Presumed dead | 2,991,800 |
| Seriously wounded | 6,295,512 |
| Otherwise wounded | 14,002,039 |

33,288,122

This figure is too tremendous for him to really have understand it. It represents three-quarters of the population of England. It represents one-third of all the people of the United States. But the figures themselves didn't tell the whole story. The real story he got when he saw and read of pictures of the horrors and suffering of the great war; of men driven mad by bursting shells; of men having arms and legs torn off and then dying on the battlefield because there was no one to care for them; of men being

CHAPTER VI.

The World War—What Did We Get Out Of It?

AN estimate of the cost of the World War was difficult to get because of the tremendous losses which are yet untold. However, the most conservative estimate that has been made, John found in reports made by the League of Nations.

This report says that about ten million men were killed in the war. It was difficult to imagine what a tremendous figure this represent. If every man, woman and child in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia were to die tomorrow, the number of dead would equal the losses caused by the World War. The League of Nations lists about three million as lost, with-

driven mad because their buddies, standing next to them, healthy and fresh the day before are dead today.

And the wounded; one writer, whose book he read, was an employe of the War Risk Department Dental X-Ray Service. The horrors of war were no better than they were in those X-Ray laboratories. Wounded soldiers with pus oozing from their gums instead of blood; whose teeth could be picked out with the thumb and forefinger with almost no energy exerted; men whose bodies were rotten with every conceivable sort of disease, from syphilis and gonorrhea to shell-shock and madness; men whose lives were worthless to themselves and to society. More than one begged during the process of taking pictures, that the technician should drop his tube just a little lower so as to electrocute them and thereby end their misery. But it wasn't only these men. Thirty-three million men killed, missing or wounded, have caused hundreds of millions of heart-aches. All nations were thrown into mourning and misery.

John realized that the World War was a bloody butchery, a sacrifice made to the altar of GREATER PROFIT for Big Business in Wall Street. The League of Nations also estimates that the material cost of the war was well over two hundred fifty billion dollars. The United States is the richest country in the world. Two hundred and fifteen billion is about 70% of the total wealth of this country. Very few people can conceive of how much two hundred fifteen billion dollars is, but possibly a slight picture might be given if we were to say that everybody in the United States could quit working for three years and yet there would be enough to go around to support everybody in health, comfort and decency far superior than that which we are living under today.

If one or two billion dollars were available today for the budgets of France, the greater part of the panics caused by the downfall of the franc would be done away with. The cost of the World War represents approximately fifteen times the total wealth of Canada. Look around and see all the wealth about you and realize that all this wealth is but a drop as compared to the total amount lost. And if these figures are not appalling enough, most of them can safely be doubled and still be well within the facts, or if there were thirteen million killed there were at least that many non-combatants who died of disease, worry and starvation because of the war. And if the direct cost of the war is over two hundred billion, it is safe to say that the indirect cost was that much too. In fact, it may be a great deal more, for we, in this country and other countries as well, are by no means done paying for the war havoc. Neither are we through paying for it in lives. Deaths occur every day which are traceable to the war.

But who benefitted from the war? Was it the working masses? John had already seen that the condition of the working masses of today is more

miserable than it ever was before. So that it is clear that the working masses did not benefit from the war. And if the working masses of the United States did not benefit from it, certainly the working masses of Europe are still far worse off. Did the soldiers benefit from it? The young workers who made up the bulk of the army certainly found it no picnic as the above facts have shown.

John read an article by Jacques Doriot on the effects of imperialist war on the working youth. He saw that the extraordinary increase during the war in the diseases arising from poverty (tuberculosis, etc.) was marked among the exploited youth. A German official statement has shown that young men from 19 to 25 years suffered 44 per cent of the total sum of mortal losses of the war. In France, the 1913, 1914, 1915 classes were almost without exception annihilated. In England the conscription system crushed the whole youth; in Belgium the age limit for military service (about thirty years) threw the whole burden of active service upon a comparatively small stratum of young workers; while in the United States, out of the hundred odd thousand workers killed in the war, the bulk was young workers.

John could not help but think of a letter which was received from one of the veterans of the World War which received wide publicity and reprinting in many papers:

The Editor of the Star:

Sir:

We are hearing much of how to stop war. In the first place let us begin with the children in the schools. Don't teach them the nonsense such as glorious charges made and one man killing a dozen or more of the enemy. Don't erect statues to so-called war-dogs, generals, etc. Tell them how the troops existed among dead bodies, in shell-holes and filth, etc., also troops poisoned and blinded by gas by the hundreds. Tell them about rats eating the bodies of the dead and lice eating the bodies of the living. Tell them about the amount of men thrown aside on the labor market, shell-shocked and mentally weak through the horrors of war.

Let's tell our children the truth and cut out all this buncombe of the glorious war, etc. . .

Ex-Corporal Pat Ryan, D. C. M.

Toronto, May, 26, 1926.

When Russian Czarism was at its worst, when the black monarchy spread its mantle of terror and engulfed an unhappy people, there came from out of the ranks of the Imperial Army stories that made the world gasp. In the United States today we find a very similar condition. It has been difficult to get the facts, for the government has put a high wall of bureaucratic secrecy around itself. But even the highest and thickest wall, when it begins to rot, will spring a leak.

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wounded, suffering and dying, these men were treated inhumanely, and I was told so by the men themselves.

"I have had fathers tell me, with tears streaming down their eyes, tell me when I knew that their hearts were broken about the mistreatment of their sons. . . There was the case of David Brown . . . who had only one son inclined to be tubercular. Any doctor competent to practice should have known he was unfit for service; but he was sent to one of our camps in Georgia; he was brutally mistreated and left to die.

"One of the leading doctors in the State Sanitarium of Georgia told me. . . that in one night 65 of these young men died of pneumonia because they were not sufficiently covered with blankets and did not have sufficient blankets."

The evidence went on to show of a certain Captain Harding of Ohio, who gave every soldier who was brought before him, twenty years confinement at hard labor whether, to use the witnesses' expression, "he stole some grapes or deserted"; of the soldiers, who, sickening of the slaughter, refused to carry guns and were bayoneted by the officers for it; of Negroes being hung on charges of suspicion that they raped children—charges which were never proven in court, etc., etc.

The officers of the American army are very carefully drawn from the bourgeoisie through such institutions as West Point etc., to which institutions very few if any young workers ever are admitted. Evidence given at one time in the Senate showed that officers committed unspeakable crimes and were never arraigned for it. One officer was virtually accused by the Secretary of State of having squandered \$600,000,000, and yet was never brought to trial; while privates were hung because they incurred the dislike of these very officers. In the Congressional Record of November 5, 1921, there are dozens of letters from ex-service men and their organizations which tell a terrible story of the brutalities committed in the army.

These facts were read into the record on the Senate floor. The Senate breathed hard—not because of the horror that was exposed, but because the facts could not be suppressed. But they worked harder and the facts finally were suppressed—no investigation was ever held, and none of the guilty were ever brought to trial. Can even the blackest acts of the Czar compare with these brutalities? And all this in democratic and "free" America.

But the exposures of 1921 were a warning to our Government. Since 1921 any suggestion of possible exposure of conditions in the army were met with the severest reprisals.

In February, 1925, two soldiers stationed in Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, unable to bear any longer the conditions imposed upon them after they

had signed up "to see the world," organized a section of the Communist movement, the Hawaiian Communist League, with about seventy-five members. This was done quite openly due to the inexperience of the organizers, Paul Crouch and Walter Trumbull, who were later arrested and given 40 years and 26 years respectively. Thus the Government sentences two soldiers who were fooled into joining the army to 40 years' imprisonment for crying out against the injustice being done to them and their fellows, and protects officers who commit crimes of real proportions in the very same army. Why? Because the private comes from the working class and the officer from the bourgeoisie.

In the April 17th, 1926, issue of the "**Young Worker**," Walter Trumbull openly accuses the Hawaiian officers of framing soldiers, accuses the U. S. Government of arresting native labor organizers, without cause except that they are labor organizers. Yet there has thus far been no answer to these charges. How can the Government answer charges such as these—except to admit their truth. But they are still issuing the same lies in their advertising matter and consider it wiser to keep silence so that the many hundreds of thousands of young workers who are yet ignorant of the facts will continue to be fooled and will sign to join military bodies and be tortured for their fool-hardiness.

John thought that the facts quoted above are dated in previous years. Since then perhaps there has been considerable improvement. But he found this is not so. In the Congressional Record of March 22, 1926, new exposures of the maltreatment of soldiers come to light.

In Washington there is an institution called St. Elizabeth's Hospital. It is an institution that cares for mental defectives. Commissioner Frederick A. Fenning, a very influential member of government political circles, has had himself appointed guardian for many of the soldiers who are supposed to be mentally defective. But what did the evidence show?

First, that many of the soldiers were not defective at all, but were confined for other reasons, which he discovered later.

Second, that many of the soldiers had parents who had applied to have their sons released but had been refused this because Commissioner Fenning didn't want to give up his guardianship.

Third, that the coroner of Washington, Dr. Ramsey Nevitt, is a brother-in-law of Commissioner Fenning so that when patients die in St. Elizabeth's Hospital, reports are made which show the facts of the death in such a way as not to reflect upon Fenning.

Guardians of such soldiers are entitled to ten per cent of the income of the soldier's estate. Here John came to the core of Fenning's desire to be appointed guardian. He is today guardian for 103 wards in one hospital alone. The exact number of soldiers involved has as yet not been dis-

covered, but when there are in one hospital 103 wards, there are undoubtedly many hundreds more, for at least a few other hospitals are known to contain his wards. Whenever it had developed that a "new arrival" has an estate or is to receive monthly compensation from the government, the information is tipped off to Frederick A. Fenning and steps are immediately taken to have him appointed guardian and he accordingly receives ten per cent of the principle of the estate and ten per cent of the income. And when one is guardian for at least 103 wards, this adds up to a neat sum.

Congressman Blanton of Texas, in speaking about these conditions on the floor of the House, gives the suggestion that our government harbors a wide cricle of grafters, among whom there is very efficient co-operation:

"Yesterday there were 4,417 patients in St. Elizabeth's. Many die there annually. New ones are taken in each month by 'squad'. The turnover is enormous. Until a short time ago the firm of John Gawler's Sons enjoyed an exclusive monopoly on all undertaking business at St. Elizabeth's. . . Commissioner Fenning is alleged to be Gawler's attorney. I have some very interesting statements from Washington citizens familiar with affairs at St. Elizabeth's concerning White, Fenning and Gawler."

St. Elizabeth's is only one example out of a multitude. In Pittsburgh, at the Aspinwall Hospital, the veterans have petitioned for an investigation noting in their petition that the conditions have become unbearable. There isn't any room here to list and go into every such case.

John saw a ring of blood-suckers who drain the veins of the soldiers from the time he enlists or is drafted until the time that he dies. Not the least prominent of this ring are the profiteers who sell rotten material to the government endangering the lives of the soldiers in this way.

The toll of dead and wounded among the American young workers who are now in the army and navy and are victims of peace time preparations for war is a warning sign of what can be expected in the coming war. Secretary King of Utah, in an article in Current History, says in illustration of this point:

"In the last ten years the government has expended \$150,000,000 for submarines. Practically the whole of this money has gone into the hands of private contractors who have delivered to the government 120 submarines. AT LEAST TEN OF THESE SUBMARINES, BECAUSE OF DEFECTIVE MECHANISM, HAVE GOTTEN BEYOND THE CONTROL OF THEIR CREWS AND HAVE SUNK, IN MOST CASES CAUSING THE DEATH OF MEMBERS OF THEIR CREWS. . . IN 1924, EXPLOSIONS ON THE BATTLESHIPS MISSISSIPPI AND THE TRENTON ALONE CAUSED THE DEATH OF 60 MEN."

Eight thousand automobiles sold to the government for war service were found to be defective. Lest the profiteers be exposed, they were placed at the fork of two rivers at Lyons in France just before the annual flood. When the flood came—the cars were reported damaged beyond use. The facts were given the Senate several times, but that august body is yet silent. Miles and miles of vehicles were stretched out along the road and soldiers were put to the job of destroying them. They could not be used because of factory defects and the profiteers had to be protected.

He realized that these are but examples out of many. The Graft Ring around the army is very complete, and this necessitates the extreme severity on the part of the U. S. Government against any soldier who complains, for the Ring and the Government officials are very closely tied up. When the soldier first joins there is graft in connection with his equipment; then graft in connection with his ammunition; then the Y. M. C. A. preys upon him on the battle field by charging and over-charging for comforts for which they have collected at home under the pretense of distributing them free; then grafted upon as he lies wounded in the hospitals; and finally grafted upon by the undertaker when he is buried.

These are not wild statements; John read them in documents carefully culled from the Congressional Record and government reports of investigations.

What forces are there at work in whose interest it is that big armies and big navies should be built and wars be engaged in? Statistics conclusively show that the standards of living for the masses of the workers is considerably lower now than before the last war. The workers therefore can expect nothing from war. From the above facts it can be seen that the soldiers have little to gain from war. When we take large industrial corporations, however, we come nearer to the solution. It will be very enlightening to examine the following facts—comparing the profits of certain large corporations as they were effected by the war:

Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Schwab's plant, "earned" for the period 1911, 1912, 1913, the years before the war, an average of \$3,075,108 per year. In 1915 the profits jumped to \$17,762,813. In 1916, it jumped again to \$43,503,968. For 1918 this increased to a profit of \$57,188,769. This is after improvements and extensions of the plant had eaten up some fifty-five million dollars. In other words, the Bethlehem increased its profits from approximately three million dollars before the war to about sixty million dollars after the war.

He looked up the example of another corporation which supplies material for war purposes, the Du Pont Powder Corporation. Quoting directly from their financial report of 1918:

"The stock of the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours Powder Company,

the predecessor of the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours Company, sold during the early months of the war at \$125 per share. The share of debenture stock and two shares of common stock of E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, which were exchanged for former security, are both worth in today's market (Dec. 31, 1918) \$593, or an increase in value of 374 per cent. In the meantime (1915-18) the total dividends on the common stock of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Company and on the exchanged securities of E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company have amounted to 458 per cent on the par value of the original stock. It is difficult to imagine a more satisfactory financial result."

True, it is "difficult to image a "more satisfactory" result for du Pont, but it is easy to see the trail of misery that this "satisfactory" result has carried along with it for the workers.

He again read of another large corporation from whom the Government buys. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company paid \$65,275,000 in cash dividends during the years 1915 to 1918. It also paid off a funded debt of \$15,000,000 in the same period, and invested, besides, \$54,466,703 in improvements. After this outlay, it had, on January 1, 1919, a net quick surplus of \$39,926,000 as compared with \$4,688,204 in 1914.

The United States Steel, with a total capital invested of \$750,000,000, made a profit in 1916 and 1917 of \$888,931,511. This, coupled with the gain in foreign markets as already told was the incentive to going to war.

This is the story of all the large corporations. While the battlefields were fertilized with the rotting blood and flesh of the soldiers, the millionaires at home reaped a harvest of gold.

And in the army the soldier is spied upon, watched, driven and preyed upon by all sorts of schemes to make him a more efficient murder machine. The propaganda for enlistments screams louder than ever the lies that make a soldier enlist. When Walter Trumbull was released from jail he said that hardly a soldier would remain in Hawaii if it wasn't that they were unable to get off the island.

Never had John seen such a picture. He could hardly believe it. But the facts were there and could not be denied. The war, he remembered the posters said, was fought "to make the world safe for democracy." But has it been made safe? Apparently not, for today, there is a greater race than ever in making preparations for war and the U. S. Government leads the race. He remembered having seen some facts along this line somewhere. He again began searching determinedly. He felt not like a bookworm but like a hero on adventure. He was learning about the world, things he never even dreamed of before.

CHAPTER VII.

Cost of Preparing for the Next War.

"Eighty-three cents out of every dollar is being spent for military purposes in 1926, and only seventeen cents out of every dollar which the government gets in taxes is used for all other government functions. This, in itself, makes it clear that the chief task of our government is to carry on war."

John heard this alarming statement from a "soap-box" orator.

President Coolidge, in his last message to Congress, in delivering the budget, which was finally adopted, outlined that over THREE MILLION dollars would be spent for war purposes while slightly over TEN MILLION would be spent for education. John realized that this means that 83 cents out of every dollar would be spent for wars, past, present and future, about one-third of a cent out of every dollar is being spent for education. Combining the appropriations for education, public health, science and research, he finds that for all this the United States Government spends only $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ out of every dollar.

All money for war appropriations is being spent in order to buy equipment, ammunition, to make plans and to enveigle the young workers into the army, navy and other military forces so that we shall have greater power to conquer new nations for Wall Street.

Battleships and the like are not as effective as they used to be in war. Today there are two things most necessary in order to make effective war weapons. These two things are the air forces and large masses of men that can replace those mowed down so easily by the "enemies'" guns. The United States Government is therefore concentrating most of its military expenditures on these two things, namely, on the building of an air force and the militarizing and training of the whole civilian population for war purposes. "Make every civilian a soldier," is their slogan.

Rear Admiral W. L. Rogers of the United States Navy, in an address before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown on August 9, 1924, clearly expresses the fact that another war is coming. "If our successors remain a virile people. . . they will remain armed to take what they want at the expense of others." John figured that when he said "our successors," of course, he meant the ruling class who have been "taking what they want at the expense of others" even up till now. The struggle for world markets

as he had already seen and the desire for greater profits and the subjecting of other nations to this desire, makes war inevitable.

The government well knows that another war even larger and more devastating than the World War is inevitable and it is grooming the forces of militarism very carefully for this purpose. Much ink has been spilled in the jingo press concerning the insufficiency of "our" forces at the present time. John's investigation of the budget appropriations brought some very remarkable facts to light. The increase in appropriations for the air service alone went from about one million dollars to over one billion dollars in the short space of four years, as follows:

| | |
|------------|---------------|
| 1916 | \$ 1,800,000 |
| 1917 | 26,033,000 |
| 1918 | 685,000,000 |
| 1919 | 1,172,343,877 |

The outlays authorized by Congress for increase in the navy, which cover new construction, have in the last ten years amounted to one and one-half billion dollars. The total naval appropriation for the last decade amounts to \$6,980,641,947.

In dollars alone the above figures gave John a staggering picture of the gigantic cost of preparing for new wars. The United States boasts that it has a standing army only of some one hundred and forty thousand men. This, of course, does not include the navy and the marines, which are among the very largest in the world. But it also fails to include a tremendous reserve army that the U. S. is building among the civilian population through Citizen's Military Training Camps, Reserve Officers' Training Corps, War Colleges, etc., all of these but recent phenomena in war preparation. So that if the United States standing army itself has not increased in very great proportions the militarization of the civilian population has really increased the extent of militarism to an almost unbelievable degree.

Citizen's Military Training Camps really began as late as 1921. Since then they have increased as follows:

| | |
|------------|--------|
| 1921 | 10,681 |
| 1922 | 22,000 |
| 1923 | 25,000 |
| 1924 | 34,000 |
| 1925 | 35,000 |

General Pershing in an article which John read in all the newspapers, wrote, "The time is not far distant when instead of training 25,000 young men we will be training 100,000 each year."

Reserve Officers' Training Corps were organized under what is known as the National Defense Act, according to which the president is authorized

to appoint a reserve officer in any public school having over 100 students. The function of this officer to give military training to the students in the school. Under the authority of this act, 3,392 young army men were made second lieutenants at the end of 1924 for the purpose of administering this training. During the school year, 1924-1925, more than 226 educational institutions in the United States had their students receive this training. The exact number is extremely difficult to obtain. Two hundred and twenty-six institutions maintained units of the R. O. T. C., but the secretary of war reports that many schools which do not officially maintain units nevertheless give military training. Even without these the total number of students taking military training during this period runs to the number of 125,504. R. O. T. C. units were instituted as late as 1916. There are at least forty military schools alone. Every important college and almost every second rank college has an R. O. T. C. unit. The program of militarization of the young workers is carried on largely through the Citizens' Military Training Camps, while that of the young students through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. Both these institutions are cheap and effective means of training armies to serve as cannon-fodder in the next war. The total number of those young men being groomed for military purposes totals to well over 1,500,000. This is a very conservative estimate in view of the existence, in addition to the above, of the state militia in most of the states, which can be turned into federal units on a moment's notice.

The American government is carrying on an extensive propaganda to show that the U. S. S. R. is maintaining a large standing army, but when we take into consideration the various forms of militarization in this country and work out a proportion on the basis of population, we see that the United States has approximately three men trained to bear arms to every one in the first workers' republic. And this despite the fact that Soviet Russia has an area to defend many times that of the United States and has the bourgeois governments of the whole world plotting against it.

In 1924 and 1925 the appropriation for military purposes totaled approximately 59 per cent of the entire budget, while in 1926 the government announces that appropriations for military purposes have increased to 80 per cent of the entire budget. Simultaneously with these announcements come pious statements from the war and state departments of attempts at world disarmament and for the establishment of "eternal peace."

The government has been pretending that all the military training that it gives to the civilian youth is only for the purpose of making them better men, more upright, healthy, etc. General Summerall, in a statement to the press, March 21, 1926, said that "the idea of military training was not to inculcate a military spirit into the youth of the country, but was to improve the lads mentally and physically." During the struggle of the City College

students against compulsory military drill, John read some very interesting facts in the newspapers which gave lie to this statement. There is, for example, the military text-book that is used in the college. John bought a copy in the store. The book is the 1923 edition of the Manual of Military Training, written by Col. James a Moss, U. S. A., and Major John w. Lang, U. S. A.:

"Bayonet fighting is possible only because red-blooded men naturally possess the fighting instinct. This inherent desire to fight and kill must be carefully watched for and encouraged by the instructor."

These instructions are given on page 1, Chapter XXXVIII of the manual. On page 24, Appendix I, the manual gives instructions in killing holds and kicks. It reads:

"Force him (your opponent) to the ground and break his neck by suddenly throwing the feet well to the rear and falling forward, tightening the arms and pressing the shoulder tightly against the back of his head. This hold wen properly executed will break the opponent's neck, or, failing, is still effective as a strangle hold.

"Raise the right knee until the thigh is horizontal, and at the same time slightly bend the left knee. Kick out viciously, then bring the foot back to the original position in order to avoid its being caught in a leg or toe hold. If the opponent is down, attack with the usual type of kick to his vulnerable parts."

In instructions on "Defense Against Attacks," the manual reads:

"When the opponent secures a hold from the fornt, dig the thumbs into his eyes, forcing his head back, and follow up by driving the knee to his crotch.

"When the opponent secures a rear body hold, drive the heel into his instep and at the same time butt his face with your head. Also attempt to grasp one of his fingers and either twist or break it."

"NOTE: To finish an opponent who hangs on, or attempts to pull you to the ground, always try to break his hold by driving the knee or foot to his crotch and gouging his eyes with your thumbs."

Instructions in hand-to-hand fighting on page 23, Appendix I, read:

"The principles of sportsmanship and consideration for your opponent have no place in the practical application of this work. Ina fight with a bigger and stronger man, avoid aimless struggle and work deliberately to disconcert him by butting with the head,

kicking his shins, grabbing his gas-mask, etc., so as to make an opening for a disabling hold or blow."

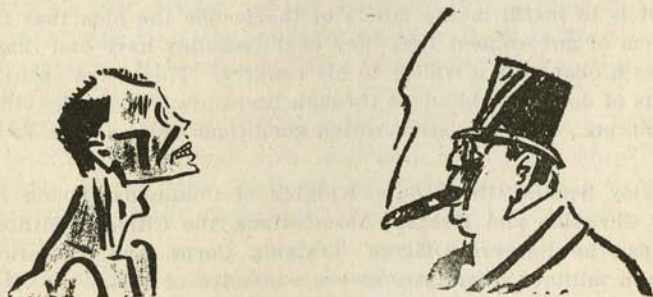
On the first page of the book it is stated:

"Everything that you do in military training is done with some immediate object in view, which, in turn has in view the final object of winning battles. The object of all military training is to win battles."

John thought that the huge cost of preparing the next war, the cold-blooded horror and brutality of the preparations exceeded only by reality in the battles themselves, ought to make every young worker realize and concern himself with what is taking place. But then he himself was once ignorant. But he understood this. Many millions upon millions of dollars have been poured into pro-war propaganda and has blinded the young workers to the point where they do not at all realize what is actually happening and the result is that they even give support to many organizations which are mainstays of a system which breeds such conditions as have been recounted thus far. Such, for example, as the Citizens' Military Training Camps, Boy Scouts, Y. M. C. A., etc.

But who supports the C. M. T. C.? Who supports the Boy Scouts? The R. O. T. C.? The war propaganda generally? And who is it that finances and builds those organizations, who though not directly militaristic, yet, inculcate in the minds of the young workers, jingoistic and ultra-patriotic ideas which make the young worker receptive to the very organizations which are preparing for his slaughter. John was thinking of the Y. M. C. A., Y. M. H. A., Big Brotherhood organizations, the Campfire Girls and scores of similar bodies.

It is the young worker who makes up these organizations. But he is only fooled into joining them. John knew this. But who does the fooling? This he had yet to discover.



"There is no class struggle!"

CHAPTER VIII.

Fooling America's Young

IN the previous chapters John saw successively that a few bosses own the United States and the masses are poverty-stricken; he saw the misery of the young worker, child laborer and the children of workers; he saw that the bosses are now reaching out into other countries and enslaving those people to the detriment of the workers at home and our foreign cousins; he saw that in doing this they come in conflict with capitalists of other countries and that this brings war; he saw the horrible cost of war and the tremendous profits that the bosses make; he also saw that at present the capitalist class is preparing for new wars and that we are paying the cost of them while they reap ever greater profits. Now he thought of the question that is the only logical one to ask: if the bosses are so few as compared to the many workers, why is it that they succeed in doing all this without being challenged to battle by the workers? The answer to this question is very interesting.

The bosses undoubtedly understand that they cannot long continue their present robbery of the people without having a revolt develop against them. They have learned to realize this particularly during the last twenty-five years or so when the organizations of labor began to develop to such strength that they could challenge the existing conditions and fight for better ones. The labor unions, strong labor fraternal organizations, workers' parties etc., have been a warning to the bosses of the growing opposition to existing conditions.

They have therefore set up a number of counter organizations whose purpose it is to instill in the minds of the people the idea that this is the best system of government that they could possibly have and that anybody who wants a change is a traitor to his country. They have spent hundreds of millions of dollars to blind up through literature, the movies, the schools, the church, etc., to the existing rotten conditions as is shown in their own reports.

The Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Knights of Columbus, Young Men's and Women's Christian and Hebrew Associations, the Citizens' Military Training Camps, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and a score of other civilian and military organizations are examples of this.

John had been so blinded by the propaganda of the capitalist class that

he doubted the fact that it is bosses who dominate and control the organizations that even he may be a member of. He doubted that the organizations are for the purposes stated above. He thought that they are democratic organizations who want to give him a good time. Let us examine some of the most outstanding of these and see whether what we say of them is true.

The Boy Scouts of America is undoubtedly the biggest organization of its type. Their officials claim a total of about 700,000 registered scouts, 41,000 scout masters and assistants, and 125,000 councilmen and committeemen. These figures are largely exaggerated. Their overturn in membership is from 50 to 95% annually. In 1925, for example, they drew in about 226,000 new members and lost about 223,000. John's close scrutiny of their membership showed it to be about 250,000. But no one can certainly deny the fact they bear great influence even among those children who are not members, and this gives their movement the quality of importance.

Who controls and finances this organization which contains so many workers' children? The answer is the enemies of the workers! Every union-smashing boss of real importance, all the bankers, every Wall Street broker, every labor hater and the rest of those who are always trying to make the workers work longer hours for less wages than previously. Here is the list of the executive board. Examine it. All of them millionaires, bankers and corporation heads:

PRESIDENT: C. LIVINGSTONE, Omaha banker and railroad magnate.

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

MORTIMER L. SCHIFF, Banker, partner to Kuhn, Loeb & Co. (the biggest banking house in Wall Street); director Los Angeles & Alst Lake R. R.; U. S. Mortgage and Trust Co.; U. S. Safe Deposit Co.; Western Union Telegraph Co.; American Railway Express Co.; Wells-Fargo Oil, etc, etc.

WALTER WM. HEAD, banker, president Omaha Safe Deposit Co.; Omaha Trust Co.; vice-president National Bank of St. Joseph; The St. Joseph Life Insurance Co.; president of the American Bankers Association.

CHARLES C. MOORE, director of the Coast Counties Light and Power Co.; The West Coast Life Insurance Co.; Ocean Shore Ry. Co.; Golden States Milk Products Co.; expresident of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce; Anglo and London-Paris National Bank.

BARON COLLIER, director of banks too numerous to list here. One of the most powerful capitalists.

JOHN SHERMAN HOYT, director American Car and Foundry Co.; Fidelity and Casualty Co.

GEORGE B. PRATT, director Third National Bank, Holyoke Water Power Co.

J. H. FINLEY, owner of the majority stock of the Equitable Life Insurance Co.; the New York Life Insurance Co.

FRANK PRESBY, director of numerous life insurance companies and banks in New York City.

JAMES J. STONOW, banker, director of mining corporations, railroads, rope companies, Underwood Typewriter Co.; Essex and Nash Motor Corporations.

What a list! Bankers, corporation heads and directors. Bosses, every last man of them. In whose interests, John wondered, did they run the Boy Scouts organization? Certainly their own. That is only natural. Thus they claim they are non-militaristic. Yet during the World War they made a report to Congress. In that report they say that **boy scouts make the best soldiers.**" It must therefore be that they give the scouts some training which makes them better soldiers. Yet they claim to be non-militaristic.

In the lectures that their scout masters give them they are taught to oppose labor unions, and to honor "successful business men." It is to such organizations as these that the worker sends his child. To be poisoned against his father by the people who got money from his father's boss. Yet the scout organization with its pretenses of just outdoor life has attracted millions of working class children and filled them with jingoistic labor-hating propaganda. Their success is shown by the fact that they have an organization of about two hundred thousand members, two hundred thousand scout masters and assistants, a magazine with a circulation of one hundred and fifty thousand, and ideas which have penetrated and made the scout the "ideal American Boy," in the eyes of the workers' children. Their motto is a militaristic one, "Be Prepared," and their purpose is clearly to train military technicians in case of war as is shown by their resolution adopted at their National Council session on March 25, 1918, which says, "that the actions of the Board (Scout Executive Board) since the declaration of war is giving definite leadership to a national program of war activities."

John found that the most open of the capitalist organization used for the purpose outlined in the opening part of this chapter, however, is the Y. M. C. A. and its related bodies.

First, he found it interesting to see the composition of their board of trustees, their most authoritative body. Here is the list:

LUCIEN CALVIN WARNER, chairman Board of Directors,

Warner Bros. Co.; president of Warner Chemical Co.; director of Home Insurance Co.; CAPITALIST.

GILBERT COLGATE, soap manufacturer; president of Colgate & Co.

ROBERT CLUETT, president of Cluett, Peabody & Co. (shirt and collar manufacturers) ex-vice-president National City Bank.

CLEVELAND H. DODGE, V. P. Phelps Dodge Corp. Trustee New York Life Insurance & Trust Co.; Atlantic Insurance Co.; director National City Bank.

ROBERT F. CUTTING, chairman board City and Suburban Homes Co.; New York Trustee Americian Exchange National Bank; Mexican Telegraph Co.; American Tube and Stamping Co.

J. C. HAVEMEYER, partner to Havemeyer Bros. & Co.; J. C. Havemeyer Bros.

J. E. LEAYCRAFT, millionaire real estate owner.

C. M. PARTT, treasurer Standard Oil Co.; director of Pratt & Lambert; Union Mortgage Co.; Self-Winding Clock Co.; Chelsea Fiber Mills; president Pratt Institute of Brooklyn.

WM. SLOANE, president W. & J. Sloane, Inc.; V. P. Nairn Linoleum; trustee U. S. Trust Co.; director Manhattan Co.; trustee Bank for Savings; Provident Loan Co.

A. E. MARLING, president of corporation Horace S. Ely & Co.; Real Estate Brokers; trustee of Fulton Trust Co.; Mutual Life Insurance Co.; New York Life Insurance & Trust; Columbia Trust Co.; Bank for Savings; director of the Anhover Insurance Co.; Fifth Ave. Bank; Bond & Mortgage Guarantee Co.; Commercial Union Assurance Co.; president Real Estate Exchange; president Chamber of Commerce, New York; member of Bankers Club.

Judging from their Board of Trustees alone he guessed that this is one of the labor-hating organizations. But in their activities he saw not only a labor-hating organization, but one of the bitterest anti-labor and union-smashing outfits there ever was. He read, for example, their prospectus on Railroad Y. M. C. A. work. In outlining to their organizers how to build the Y. M. C. A. they point out as follows:

"The moral and financial support of the company is considered essential to the work of the organization as now conducted. No Railroad Association had continually done or is doing efficient work without corporate support."

And if this is not a frank enough statement pointing out that the railroad bosses control the Y. M. C. A., the following which gives reasons why the companies will help the Y. M. C. A. put it more frankly. Under

the heading of "REASONS THAT RAILROAD COMPANIES HELP," they says as follows:

"3. The results obtained by the association (Y. M. C. A.) are usually more than commensurate with the assistance given.

"4. Because railroad managers believe the support given in the direction is a vital help in the successful and economical operation of the railroad and a legitimate part of its operating expense."

And further down it says:

"The company usually pays the salary of the Y. M. C. A. secretary."

This puts the situation very frankly. Of course, the Y. M. C. A. did not expect John to read their organization instructions, and so were somewhat too frank in pointing out that Y. M. C. A. officials are on the payrolls of the corporations and that managers used the Y. M. C. A. as a means of controlling the men on the road.

Their railroad work is quite interesting and shows more clearly than anything else the character of their strike-breaking organization. The New York Railroad Association, which is one of their largest, was founded by Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., one of the best known and notorious capitalists of the country. He founded the organization in 1880 on a division of the New York Central and found it so useful a tool in the hands of the company, that several years later, he gave it a building costing \$125,000 as a gift. In 1894, George H. Roberts, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, seeing the success of the New York Central in controlling its men through the "Y" organized one on the Pennsylvania.

Their management boards are so constructed as to make it impossible for an ordinary railroad worker to get on them. In outlining the qualifications for this office, they say in point 4 that "the candidate must have more than ordinary spare time," and in point 5 they say that "he must be able to donate considerable additional funds besides the membership fee."

Their total endowment fund is about two million dollars. The J. Gould Memorial is alone \$100,000. This fund is invested as follows:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| Railroads and othre bonds | \$750,000 |
| Real Estage Bond and Mortgages | 550,000 |
| Securities | 51,000 |

In addition to these funds, they own three million dollars in real estate holdings including two and a half million dollars in the United States and over a half million dollars in Korea, China, Philippines and other outposts of U. S. imperialism.

This, too, is an organization that has met considerable success in their nefarious work. Despite their open anti-labor stand as shown in the above documents, they have succeeded in enlisting, through their lying pre-

tenses of being merely a social center, a total of 560,000 members. Sometimes they become somewhat careless and then their true character is exposed. Thus, for example, Sherwood Eddy, one of their most prominent officials, went to Russia in 1926 with a group of other Y. M. C. A. workers and there became very favorably impressed with the workers' government and brought back a report which told of the great work that the Soviets were doing for the workers and farmers.

The Chicago Tribune became very much aroused at Mr. Eddy having dared to tell the truth about Soviet Russia and wrote a leading editorial in its issue of August 13, wherein, in its blind rage it forgot itself and told the truth about the Y. M. C. A. It demanded the immediate expulsion of Eddy and others who might have his views. Mr. Eddy is in no sense a radical, not even a liberal, but a fairly honest conservative. This, however, does not effect the Tribune which says in its editorial as follows:

"The men who contribute so liberally to its (Y. M. C. A.) upkeep including the payment of salaries of Y. M. C. A. workers, are capitalists and believers in capitalism. We think an inquiry as to the number of Eddys among Y. M. C. A. workers would be useful."

John went on to take each organization of this type and study its real character.

The Citizens' Military Camps, for example, supported by every large capitalist organization in the country from Sears-Roebuck, which has been rightly called the "FACTORY WHERE PROSTITUTES ARE MADE," because of the terrible working conditions there, to Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the Wall Street brokers.

It is through these bodies that the bosses find it so easy to delude the workers and keep them satisfied with the miserable conditions under which they live. This is really the answer to the question of why it is that despite the terrible circumstances under which most workers live throughout the country they do not rise in revolt. These organizations, together with the schools, press, etc., and the teachings they spread, confuse the workers into thinking that the boss is their friend, keep them from understanding the methods they should use in fighting against the bosses and make them hate the revolutionary organizations of the workers which are really their only friends.

This has particularly expressed itself in the failure of the American workers to becoming aroused to a real friendly attitude to Soviet Russia. They believe the fake stories and do not know the true conditions. They think Bolsheviks are monsters and those in this country who support the Bolsheviks are equally monstrous. It is for this reason that John devoted some time to a recount of the conditions in Soviet Russia and the treatment of the workers and farmers there so that he might compare them to the conditions at home.

CHAPTER IX.

How the Young Worker Lives in Soviet Russia.

JOHN had learned how the young worker lives in America, under a capitalist government. The thing that struck him most was that these rotten conditions under which he lived are all during a period of prosperity under the most favorable circumstances. John found that in Russia, however, they have had from 1914, the beginning of the war, to 1917, the year of the revolution, periods of chaos and terror such as the world has never known. The lists of dead and wounded in the World War while the Czar was yet alive was greater in Russia than any other country of the world, even including France, the scene of most of the battles.

Immediately after the overthrow of the Czar in March, 1917, by Kerensky (the Socialist who claimed to be a friend of the workers, but really was a tool of the Allies) and his followers, the armies were reorganized and again were marched to the front. This brought new invasions and still greater havoc. It was then that the Communists of Russia sent out the call of "Peace, land and bread," and rallied the masses of workers and farmers against those who would continue the war. They overthrew Kerensky but not without having sustained great losses. They found themselves in control of the government, but after having surveyed the condition of the country they found nothing but waste, devastation and chaos, disease, hunger and death brought on by the three and a half years of havoc caused by war and betrayals.

They set about the task of reorganizing industry and rebuilding their devastated country. The allies poured in millions upon millions of dollars to the setting up of armies around such mercenary generals and Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenitch, Wrangel, etc., in order to overthrow the Bolshevik government (the government of the workers and farmers) which wanted to make peace. The people in defense of their revolution had to now meet the greater danger of these counter-revolutionaries and so could not direct their attention to rebuilding their industries. They defeated all the counter-revolutionaries and the allies realized that they could not hope to send in armies to Russia and overthrow the Soviet government because the people were willing to sacrifice everything in support of it. They therefore threw a huge blockade all around the borders of Russia and prevented all the materials that Russia needed to rebuild her industries from entering that country. Great farms were without tools with which to plow the land. The allies hoped to starve Russia into surrendering. The Russian workers and farmers, however, were determined to save the revolution and fought with great heroism as is only comparable to that with which the revolutionists

of 1776 fought at Valley Forge. They defeated the purposes of the allies, but not without inflicting great damage upon themselves. The great Volga Valley did not get sufficient rain and a great famine and drought set in. Twenty million people starved, suffered, and a great many of them died. Despite this, however, they continued to fight back the capitalists who had sent their soldiers into Russia. Even the United States, without officially declaring war, had sent an army into Russia because the bosses of this country well knew that they would not be able to enslave the people of Russia as they had those of the other countries. Because of the brave fight of the Russians, however, the capitalist national governments of the whole world realized that it was useless to continue their efforts in the manner which they were pursuing and so gave up their attempts. This was as late as 1921. At the end of this period of great struggle, the Russians, for the first time found that their energies were not needed on the battlefields and began to devote their time to their industries. It is now only five years since that period, and already the workers and farmers government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has created better conditions for its population than that which is generally the case in the United States. This is particularly true of the young workers, and young farmers of Russia. For in Russia the government does not make children work in factories under terrible conditions as the capitalist government of this country does, but gives them a decent chance to live.

In November, 1924, only three years after Russia had begun rebuilding its industries, and its devastated country generally, the British trade unions decided that because of the conflicting reports that came out of Russia, they had better send a delegation of their own there to find out what was the true situation. They chose a delegation of very conservative trade unionists and for the first time a responsible group went to Russia from the English speaking world to give us an honest report.

John read their report. On page 19, in the edition called "Russia Today," published by the International Publishers, the delegation says as follows, concerning the children:

"The children appeared to us to be happy. They were undoubtedly well cared for. Their eyes were bright and full of young life. We saw no signs amongst them of extreme poverty and it appeared to us that a special effort was being made to make the lives of the young happier and more pleasant by the changes which had already been made."

John realized the difference between this and the three million children who suffer and wear their lives away in the factories in the United States. Yet he had always supposed this to be a free and democratic country, and Russia an autocratic dictatorship.

In the United States, children of the workers are organized into Boy

and Girl Scout movements where the scout masters preach against union labor and workers who go on strike for better conditions. In Russia, however, they are organized into the Young Pioneer movement concerning which the delegation says that it is "in every way admirable. It has no militarist element but aims at creating a civic conscious and class consciousness on collective lines. The children are brought up under, it might be considered by us, precocious; but they appear to be extremely happy, are well cared for, are careful of their persons and proud of their corp traditions. Their moral tone is high and influence among other school children is all for the good."

But John was more anxious to learn about the young workers in Soviet Russia. . . and he did.

First, on the matter of wages. In the United States, since the war, the workers have had wage cuts and a lowering of standard of living. While in America, as industry made greater profit, the bosses got the profit, in Russia, as industry made greater profit, the workers got increases in wages. Quoting from page 188 of this report on this question, he read as follows:

"It is almost impossible to compare wages under war Communism with pre-war wages or with wages at the present time. But since the return to money wages under free contract there has been a steady rise amounting from 150% to 200%, and a steep rise between October, 1922 and September, 1923, amounting to as much as 70%."

Thus in barbarian Russia, the country of the murderous Bolsheviks, wages increased in a period of about three years by 150 to 200 per cent, while in democratic America they have fallen continually since the war by 10, 20 and 30 per cent.

John was never so surprised as when he learned about the conditions of work there. Every capable person in Soviet Russia is entitled to a job, and if the government cannot supply a job it pays the unemployed person wages during his or her period of unemployment so that no one starves. This is quite different from conditions in our own country as John well knew, where the government does not help anyone to get a job and certainly does not support one while unemployed. On page 183, the report speaks as follows:

"The minimum unemployment benefit is one-sixth of the average wage, the normal being one-third. . . Unemployment relief includes the free use of public services, lighting, heating, water, meals at half cost, one month's rent and no taxes. . . Sick benefit has lately been raised to 100% of wages but chronic invalids only get half benefits."

Thus he found that in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics no worker starves while he is unemployed nor when he is sick.

In Russia, young workers are not merely thrown out on the labor market to find a job as best they may without any preparation. Young people do not go to work before they attend the factory and workshop schools. These schools teach the young persons a trade so that he can get a fairly good paying job because of being a skilled worker. These factory and workshop schools have generally a three or four year course and to prepare workers not only for a definite trade but also provide a good general education. If the young worker cannot afford to go through these schools the government supports them while attending, so that he is not slighted merely because he is poor.

Wages for young workers and apprentices have been on the constant increase since the beginning of the reconstruction of industry. From 1922 to 1923, wages for young workers increased approximately 85%. From 1923 to 1924 they increased another ten per cent. From January, 1924 to November, 1924, they increased another 30%. Let us now take some specific industries.

INCREASE IN WAGES FOR YOUNG WORKERS IN U. S. S. R. IN 1922.

| Industry | From Oct., 1922 to Dec. 1923 Jan., 1924 to Nov., 1924 | | |
|-----------------|---|----|----|
| | Per Cent Increase | | |
| Metal | 50 | 25 | 9 |
| Textile | 110 | 8 | 14 |
| Mining | no increase | 20 | 14 |
| Food, etc. | 60 | 5 | 3½ |

John well knew that no young workers in America ever got such steady or such large increases.

If this is not sufficiently agreeably startling, John was further surprised to see how many hours young workers in Russia are employed. Here also it would be wise if the young workers of this country would compare their working hours with those of the young workers in the Soviet Union. About 30% of the total number of young workers work 4 hours per day and less. About 58% more work between 4 and 6 hours, and only about 10% work between 6 and 8 hours. One-third of one per cent work more than 8 hours.

John realized that these conditions of course do not also hold true for the adult worker whose average working day is about 8 hours. But in Soviet Russia, the youth are given special consideration because of their years. So that while in capitalist countries young people of 16 and 18 work longer hours than adult workers, in Russia, their hours are much shorter. The average working day for a Russian apprentice is 5½ hours. In the United States, it is between 8 and 12.

Each young worker is given a month's vacation every year and is sent away to a summer camp, generally one of the summer homes of a former noble or Czar, there to rest at the expense of the industry.

John got a slight glimpse of what is happening over there when one learned that from the 2,000 or so educational institutions existing under the Czar, they have increased to about 64,000 and from the comparatively few pupils (sons of army officers, nobles, rich merchants, etc.) they have a total school roll of four and a half million and this does not include trade union club schools, classes for adults or schools of the other Soviet Republics such as Armenia, Georgia, etc., but includes only the schools of Russia. It is significant, we might add here, that today the sons and daughters of the workers and farmers are given preference in being given the choice of seats in the school to those of the merchants, and former upper classes. They have not been able as yet to build sufficient schools to take in all the children though this work is proceeding fast. But of those that are taken in, children of workers and farmers get first choice.

John knew that conditions in Russia are not yet as good as they will be in the near future because Soviet Russia has not succeeded in improving the bad conditions that existed immediately after the war when they took over a country which was so devastated by intrigue and secret treaties and strife with the allies and the Kaiser. But this improvement is going on rapidly and those to benefit from it are the masses, the workers and the farmers and their children. While in this country the greater the profit there is, the richer the boss gets, while the worker only suffers from larger cuts in wages.

What shall we do to remedy this situation? Is there anything we can do?

This is a land of rich resources and great industry. Yet, throughout the country we find misery and suffering and this while the country is apparently in a condition of prosperity according to the reports by the authorities. In Russia, with the industries backward, the Republic of Workers and Farmers has succeeded in establishing far better conditions than what we have in this country. We ought to take a lesson from this. What lesson, though, is it that we can take?

CHAPTER X.

What Shall We Do About It?

THUS far John was shown many bad conditions, but nowhere did he learn the cause of this. And unless he found out the cause he could not decide what to do about it.

Wages are low, conditions are bad, children have to go to work, colonial people are enslaved, wars are fought. And why?

Is it because there are some bad people who want to make wars? Or create bad conditions? Purely out of malice? Or make trouble generally without reason? John thought not.

Society is organized at present as follows: There are a few who own

all the land, machinery, buildings, etc. The great majority of the people own nothing. We have to go to work for the people who are rich and own factories, farms, and the other means of production. These people are called bosses.

The bosses are always trying to make profit. In order to do so they give us as little wages as they can possibly get away with and make us work as long hours as they possibly can. They refuse to do anything that is beneficial to the health and well being of the workers because it may cost them money and thereby reduce their profits.

In order to make even more profits they go to weaker countries, that can be conquered, and enslave their people and make them go to work under even worse conditions than do the home working class. Then in trying to exploit these subject countries they come in conflict with other big capitalist national groups like the English and the French and the Germans, etc., who are trying to do the same. Then a war breaks out. In preparing for the war huge military machines, both human and material, must be built. Young men must be gathered and trained and this costs tremendous amounts of funds. Taxes are increased and the workers become even poorer. The young worker suffers most in this situation because he has fewer means to defend his interests. And why? All for the sake of piling high the profits for a few millionaires who never do a stitch of work in their lives.

What can be done about it? John knew he must fight against it. That should be clear to every young worker who has his eyes open. That's how the Young Workers (Communist) League began. In 1922, about thirty delegates, representing groups of young workers, gathered in New York City to discuss the proposal of building an organization of young workers which shall fight to better our conditions. These delegates formed a permanent body and elected a national executive committee, with headquarters in Chicago, to begin the tremendous work. At first the organization was called the Young Workers League of America. Later, however, in carrying on our work, we soon realized that we were not the only organization in the world that was doing this work. There was an organization called the Young Communist International which helped all organizations of our type to grow and become stronger. At our next convention in 1923, we affiliated with that organization and called ourselves the Young Workers (Communist) League of America. Since that time we have gone through several years of activity which have shown that our organization really serves an important purpose and is very necessary if the young workers are to improve their conditions. Today, in 1926, only four years after the idea was first conceived, the organization is stronger than ever before. The young workers throughout the entire country are fast realizing that their place is in the League.

Why is this?

Because the League fights for the youth!

It fights against militarism. It has consistently raised slogans and organized the students in the schools and colleges against compulsory military training in Reserve Officers' Training Corps. It has fought against the false propaganda spread by the bosses' agents about the Citizens' Military Training Camps. It has fought for better treatment for soldiers. It has carried on a campaign to reduce military appropriations by congress. It has torn the mask of hypocrisy from the smooth wordy politicians who speak about making the world safe for democracy and under a curtain of official lies prepare for greater and bloodier conquests which cost the lives of so many millions of youth who are conscripted into the army. It has shown the people that a greater and bloodier war is being prepared and is organizing the sentiment of the youth, the possible army of the next war, against it.

The League is also arousing the young workers and making them join because it fights for their economic interests. It is continually striving to help the young workers organize into labor unions. It fights against the tendency among the adult workers to exclude young workers from organized labor unions and tries to get the adult unions to start special organization campaigns to bring the young workers in. It has been winning the young worker over to the idea that they ought to join unions and thereby be stronger in fighting the boss for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions. It has also been the champion of the young workers in organizing them for a fight for higher wages even where the unions were unable to do so. In each industry the League raises the special questions that face the young workers and tries to help them solve them. Everywhere it raises the question of the pauperizing of the young and consistently fights against it.

Let us take for example the question of child labor. The liberals and socialists say that they are in favor of a law to abolish child labor. And it is true that they are fighting for such a law. But will this help the child laborer? No. No child goes to work for fun. He goes to work only because the extremest necessity drives him or her. He and the rest in the family need food, clothing, etc. Suppose we abolish child labor. We cut off the possibility of this child and those dependent upon him from living. In other words, the liberals and socialists by their actions, which are supposed to be friendly, will drive the child worker and his dependents to starvation. They do not do this because of hatred. No. But because they are not of the working class and do not understand the workers' problems. They are mostly groups of lawyers, doctors, and professional politicians. The Young Workers (Communist) League, however, fights not only for the abolition of child labor, but side by side with that, for a law which shall tax the large incomes of the rich and that money should be used to provide the necessities of life for child laborers and their dependents.

The League, in addition, has been fighting for freedom for the Philippines, and other colonies; for just as in 1776 the revolutionists fought against English merchants enslaving us, so in 1926 we justify the fight of the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, etc., against their enslavement by American bankers.

But John learned that the real difference between the Young Workers (Communist) League and the labor unions and other workers' organizations is as follows:

The labor unions, etc., fight only for the improvement of certain specific things, such as wages, hours, sanitary conditions, etc. That is good, and the League helps them in their fight and does its best to strengthen their fight against the bosses. But that is not enough. Why?

Because the workers will never do away with all these evils unless the thing that causes them is also done away with. If, for example, one has a piece of wood in one's finger and a large amount of pus gathered around it, it will do no permanent good to squeeze the pus out and then leave it. Because so long as the wood is there more pus will gather and blood-poisoning will always threaten. It will, however, relieve the pain to squeeze the pus out, but in doing this one must also prepare to take the wood out at the earliest possible moment.

It is the same thing with the bad conditions that face us. The workers fight for higher wages, and better conditions. That is, the pus must be squeezed out to be relieved of our suffering. But one must also do away with the cause of the misery, that is, the thing that causes the continual attempts to reduce wages and increase hours of work. What is that cause?

It is the system of having the bosses own the factories, offices, farms, etc., and having the large mass of the people go to work for them, and pile up profits for them.

While one squeezes the pus out, that is, fight for better conditions, one must also prepare to take the wood out, that is, abolish the ownership of things by a few and make them the property of the workers who have built them and are operating them today and every day.

John wondered how the workers will accomplish this? The Socialists say by the ballot. Can a working man's party ever win by the ballot? Hardly. Because the bosses have too much money for the workers to fight against this way. John knew of some examples. In Pennsylvania and Illinois the Republicans and Democrats spent over a million dollars to win the nominations for each candidate they proposed. Not to elect him, but only to nominate him. Is it possible that a workingman's party can ever raise so much money. But suppose the bosses think that there is a possibility that the workers will win, then they will equip an army of fascists (as in Italy, Spain, Greece, Hungary, Finland, Poland, etc.) and set up a dictator and control the government by force. John knew that that is possible in the United States because he saw the way the Southern capital-

ists built up the Ku Klux Klan. Also the way they have built up the nucleus for such organizations in the Boy Scouts, Y. M. C. A., and all similar organizations. He saw the way they have prejudiced the people today against labor unions, against workers' organizations generally and against the Communist movement more than anything else, because it fears the Communists are its strongest enemy. The Communists know the only way they can solve the problem is to organize the tremendous strength of all the adult and young workers and set up a government of workers and farmers instead of a government of capitalists.

What could he do as a young worker?

Well, he would not join the Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus, Boy Scouts, Citizens' Military Training Camps, National and State Guards, and similar organizations and fight for the capitalists, the workers' and young workers' enemies. He and others had been doing this for years and are now worse off than ever after having fought the bosses' wars and produced their wealth.

But should he join the Young Workers (Communist) League? Should he help the rest of the young workers, men and women of his kind, fight for a government of workers and farmers, instead of a government of bankers and other millionaires? Should he help to fight for better conditions, his own better conditions, or should he continue to support the lying organization controlled by the bosses who will knife him at the first opportunity?

CHAPTER XI.

John Doe Wakes Up.

JOHN DOE looked up from his reading. He had been reading most of the night. His eyes were blinking. He leaned back in his chair and closed his eyes.

He could hardly conceive how stupid he had been. Why had he believed everything they had told him in school? Why had his parents believe it? Only because there was no one to show them better, he guessed. But this new information! Now he began to understand it all. He began to understand why it was that he was so poor when he worked so hard and his boss so rich when he hardly did any work.

He must sign that application card. He did.

Soon after he joined the League he found out that rich people do not come by their fortunes honestly. That the whole capitalist system was one of robbery and thieving and exploitation. He also found out many other things, but there is not nearly room to list them all here.

It was not long before he was one of the active members and most intelligent young workers helping to lead his kind, his class, in the struggle against the bosses and out of the mire of ignorance and prejudice that was starving them.

Listen!

IF you are man and woman enough to fight
for a better life rather than die in rat-
hole factories or poor homes

IF you have the intelligence to understand
the best way to improve your condi-
tions is to organize into a movement of
your class—the working class

IF you have the ability and courage to want
to help lead your class out of the misery
its in

IF you understand the life and experiences
of John Doe, Jr.,

**THEN FILL OUT THE BLANK BELOW
AND JOIN THE LEAGUE**

YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE
1113 W. Washington Blvd.
CHICAGO, ILL.

I want to join the Young Workers (Communist) League of
America. Please send me further information.

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Address

City State

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