

masses to continue to live under capitalism. In reality we are fighting to improve the living standards of the masses; when revolution comes it will be because the rulers of this country have proved that there is no other way out, that there is no other way toward a secure life.

It is worth remembering, that after 1776, when our Declaration of Independence acted as the spark that set fire to the democratic revolution in France and throughout Europe, the reactionary forces of the world fought against the "dangerous" ideas that were supposed to be "imported from America." Today the same comedy is repeated but this time the revolution is said to be "imported from Moscow." In both cases, the deep reality behind the nonsensical slogan is that the country attacked is the one that is showing the way to the solution of the problem of the people. "Moscow", that is the Soviet Union, has adopted complete social insurance, has solved unemployment, is improving the living standards of all the people, is enormously expanding its economic life. Do a better job, or even just as good, and "Moscow" will be not the slightest danger.

Present proposals which, while denying real unemployment insurance, would enact some new alien and sedition laws, to crush down the growing demand for a better life, also recall moments in the past history of our country. We had a period of alien and sedition laws in the early 1800's, also adopted and carried out in the interests of established property and designed to crush a democratic movement arising from the masses of the people. The party which sponsored those laws went down in disgrace and defeat, the laws were repealed after long suffering and struggles, those against whom the alien and sedition laws were directed came into direction of the affairs of the country. Any attempt to solve today's problems by alien and sedition laws will be as futile as those of the times of Madison and Jefferson.

There is no substitute, there is no way to avoid, the demand for full unemployment, old-age, and social insurance. Its denial will only accelerate the growing revolutionary mass unrest, intensify the social struggles. The Wagner-Lewis bill is a transparent attempt to sidetrack this demand. The new legislation against the Communist Party is only a futile attempt to silence the movement. Neither can succeed. Only the workers' unemployment, old-age, and social insurance bill can satisfy the aroused masses of the useful people, the working people, of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Browder. Mr. Amter.

STATEMENT OF I. AMTER, NEW YORK CITY, REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL

Mr. AMTER. I represent here the National Unemployment Council, the national organization of the unemployed of this country, with a membership of approximately 500,000. I speak also in behalf of the 17,000,000 unemployed in the United States who with their families suffer the bitterest want and destitution.

The unemployed of the United States are against the Wagner-Lewis bill and brand it as a fraud against a large section of the population, viz, the unemployed and their families. This bill has been brought in to the United States Congress in order to offset the cam-

campaign for setting up the only genuine unemployment and social insurance system in the United States, viz, that proposed through the workers unemployment, old-age, and social insurance bill, H. R. 2827, introduced by Congressman Lundeen on January 3, 1935.

It is a noteworthy fact that although some parties, and notably the Republican Party, had declared against unemployment insurance as being "un-American", in the last election campaign every political party advocated unemployment insurance. Thereby those who only pretend to stand for unemployment insurance created the illusion that they intended to provide protection first of all for the millions of unemployed. There is no question, therefore, that many Senators and Congressmen were elected on the illusion they created. There is also no question that some of the Senators now sitting in the Senate Finance Committee, conducting the hearings on the Wagner-Lewis bill, were also elected on this illusion. The workers of this country are again paying the penalty for falling victim to demagogic promises of capitalist politicians.

The whole social-security program of the Roosevelt government is based upon the program laid down by the American Bankers Association, the National Manufacturers Association, and the United States Chamber of Commerce. They are bringing this program to Mr. Roosevelt through the contact committee which they have established. This program is manifest not only in the social-insurance proposals embodied in the Wagner-Lewis bill but also in the relief and works program advocated by Mr. Roosevelt.

Our first objection to the Wagner-Lewis bill is that it completely excludes from its provisions any protection for the 17,000,000 unemployed. We state there are fully 17,000,000 unemployed and base our contention upon the estimate and research work of the Labor Research Association of New York City, which we submit for the record. We wish to add that the number of unemployed under the beneficent hand of Mr. Roosevelt and the "new deal" is not diminishing but is growing. According to a report of William Green, president of the A. F. of L., the number of unemployed at the end of December 1934 was larger than at the end of 1933. This includes 5,000,000 youth, who, according to Dr. Zook, United States Commissioner of Education, and Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, have never obtained a job during the 5 years of the crisis. This includes likewise millions of Negroes in all parts of the country, who are the most oppressed even in so-called "normal times", and today are by far the worst sufferers from the crisis. It includes also millions of foreign-born workers, who, together with the Negroes, are being denied relief and are among the most destitute in the country. It includes hundreds of thousands of teachers, engineers, technicians, artists, doctors, writers, white-collar workers, etc.

Even in the days of so-called "prosperity"—February 1929—according to the National Committee on Economic Security, there were 2,817,000 unemployed. According to Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Director "nearly one-sixth of all who are seeking work have been unsuccessful in finding it for nearly 4 years (report of F. E. R. A., September 1934).

At the same time the cost of living is mounting to the skies. Food, which represents 45 percent of the budget of a working-class family, has mounted 30 percent in price in 16 months; clothing, 27 percent.

The farmers are destitute and hundreds of thousands of them together with their families have been driven off the land and are dependent upon relief.

You may dispute our estimate of unemployment. The Federal Administration, and Miss Perkins in particular, stated that there are 9,000,000 unemployed. The National Commission on Economic Security in its report to President Roosevelt on January 17 states that there are 10,000,000 unemployed. At the A. F. of L. convention held in San Francisco, Mr. Watt, executive secretary of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, declared there were 16,000,000 unemployed. We declare that Miss Perkins deliberately underestimates the figure. In March 1930, when Hoover was President of the United States and stated that there were 3,400,000 unemployed, Miss Perkins, who at that time was industrial commissioner of New York and a member of the Democratic Party, declared that Hoover falsified the figures to suit his own aims. Hoover said "prosperity around the corner." Mr. Roosevelt also tries to make us believe that conditions are improving and the number of unemployed is decreasing. This is untrue, as the reports from every industrial center clearly manifest.

Let us examine the Wagner-Lewis bill in some detail. The bill cannot go into effect until July 1936. If a worker who at that time is employed and should lose his job, he would be entitled to the equivalent of 50 percent of his wage as unemployment compensation, this not to exceed \$15 per week. No minimum whatever is established: The worker will not receive his insurance immediately but will have to go without compensation for a 4 weeks' waiting period. Since no minimum has been established, it is obvious that many workers will receive a starvation compensation. We call attention to the fact that in the pecan-shelling industry the minimum wage for 40 hours of work is \$6 per week. This shamefully low wage has been established by Mr. Roosevelt because the overwhelming majority of these workers are Negro workers, for whom Mr. Roosevelt has decided that \$6 per week is an "adequate wage." A pecan-shelling worker now employed, but who might lose his work after July 1936 would be entitled to \$3 a week unemployment compensation.

2. The bill further provides that the compensation shall continue for only 15 weeks. In the case of a pecan sheller it would mean a total of \$45. In no case could it amount to more than \$225. After the 15 weeks the worker has no further claim and would be transferred either to home relief or work relief. Only in exceptional cases where a worker has worked a long time would the period of compensation be lengthened. The whole purpose of this is to create a spirit of so-called "loyalty", that is, submission, to any conditions in the shop, in order that at a future date a worker might obtain more unemployment compensation. The purpose of this is to force workers to accept wage cuts and worse conditions within the shop.

3. The bill further provides that a tax on pay rolls amounting to 3 percent shall be raised from among the employers. This tax may be reduced to 2 percent or to 1 percent depending upon the business index in comparison with that of the period of 1923-25. This can have only one of two effects; either to reduce the amount of compensation, or to postpone payment of compensation.

4. The bill excludes from protection so-called "seasonal" and "casual workers," and workers in shops employing less than four workers. It deliberately excludes agricultural and domestic workers. There is practically no industry in the country which is not a seasonal industry. It is obvious, therefore, that a huge section even of the so-called "employed workers" will get no compensation.

5. The bill provides for taxes of 1 percent or 3 percent directly on the wages of the workers. This fact is being concealed, whereas the tax on pay rolls is emphasized. The pay-roll tax, as Senator Wagner, Miss Perkins, and William Green, testifying before the Ways and Means Committee, admitted, would be passed on to the consumer. The great bulk of the consumers are the workers themselves. By raising the price of his merchandise the employer will compel the workers themselves to pay for their insurance. Not only are the workers of the United States (whose wages were lower in September 1934 even than in September 1933) not in a position to pay for their insurance, but the whole Wagner-Lewis unemployment insurance plan is being placed before the working class of the United States as something that is being done for them, whereas in reality it is being taken out of the pay envelopes of the workers.

6. I call attention further to the fact that each employer in the categories specified will have to pay the 3 percent pay-roll tax. This includes the producer of raw material, the wholesaler of raw material, the manufacturer, the jobber, and finally, the retailer. Thus if each pays 3 percent, then by the time it reaches the consumer it may amount to 20 percent or more. This is nothing more than open robbery of the workers.

7. The Wagner-Lewis bill is not a Federal bill, but is merely a plan and system for recommendation to the State governments. The latter are at liberty to adopt it or not. The State governments may exercise discriminatory powers against certain sections of the population—for instance the Negro and foreign-born. The State government might decide on waiting period of 4 months, a minimum or even maximum compensation of \$2 per week, and that the period of compensation might be for 2 or 3 weeks. Thus the whole plan becomes a hoax, but a most serious hoax, since it involves the lives and welfare of the whole working population. The cost to the United States Government in this plan is practically nothing. This is based upon Mr. Roosevelt's contention that any and all insurance schemes must be upon a "sound basis." This "soundness" is not considered when the United States Government makes appropriations for war purposes. Thus at a time when the United States Government is talking "economy" it is appropriating for the coming fiscal year more than \$840,000,000 for war purposes, as last year it spent nearly 2 billion dollars in preparation for war. "Economy" also plays no part in the grants and subsidies of the R. I. C., which has given to the banks, railroads, and big corporations of this country more than \$8,350,000,000 supposedly for the purpose of putting the millions back to work. But the millions remain unemployed while these funds were used by the big corporations for the payment of tremendous profits and dividends, which according to Mr. Richberg, rose up to 600 percent during the first year of the "new deal", and for the purpose of paying the high salaries of officers of the big corporations.

8. When one looks at the old-age pension as embodied in the Wagner-Lewis bill, one observes the whole shamelessness of the bill. The Federal Government proposes that each person above 65 years of age, a citizen, and now destitute, shall receive a maximum of \$15 per month from the Federal Government; provided, each dollar is matched by another dollar furnished by the State government. In other words, a worker who has given the best of his life to the building up of this country and to the creation of wealth which is now in the hands of the Wall Street bankers shall have the munificent income of \$7 a week. But even this is not assured, since most States cannot or will not appropriate sufficient amounts to maintain the aged. There are States today which have old-age pension systems which grant the pensioners as low as \$7 a month. Obviously if they are to match dollar for dollar the pensioner will not be more secure in his position.

The State must raise funds in order to provide the pension. Today the States adopt only one method, which they are putting through with all energy, viz, by means of sales taxes. This again is a direct attack upon the living conditions of the workers.

9. However, in connection, both with the proposed unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, as State institutions and requiring previous residence of 5 years in the State, they put many workers completely beyond the scope of the bill. Workers are obliged to move from city to city and from State to State in search of work. Old men and women move about from son to daughter and to relatives in order to seek refuge. These people would be ineligible either for unemployment compensation or old-age pension.

10. As far as old-age annuity is concerned, we repeat that the wages of the workers are so low that they cannot afford to invest in protection against old age. This must come from other sources.

11. We wish to call the attention of the Finance Committee to the fact that in the provisions of the bill for old-age insurance, dependent children, social insurance, unemployment compensation, maternal and child health, crippled children, child welfare, public health—a whole series of supposed protective measures for the working population—the total expenditure of the Federal Government during the first year would be \$102,500,000 and during the successive years no more than \$267,500,000. With this paltry sum Mr. Roosevelt and the sponsors of the Wagner-Lewis bill pretend to provide “social security” for the American workers.

Is it not clear, therefore, why William Green who only a few years ago also opposed unemployment insurance as “un-American” and later was converted to support of the Wagner-Lewis bill, now, under pressure of the rank and file of the A. F. of L., has been compelled to denounce the Wagner-Lewis bill as “inadequate and unworkable”.

Perhaps the best characterization of the bill has been given by the Rev. Dr. Floyd Van Keuren, executive secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York, who according to the New York Times of February 17 declared:

Whoever actually wrote the bill, if he were honest about it, must have been in that generous but irresponsible mood usually associated with drunken sailors.

This is an insult, to the sailors but shows the irresponsibility to the American people of those who are attempting to pass this legislation

through the United States Congress. The National Committee on Economic Security on page 7 of its report declared, "It must be remembered that a large part of the population will not be covered by unemployment compensation." It is in the name of these millions and of those who ostensibly will receive compensation, that the National Unemployment Council protests and demands the rejection of the Wagner-Lewis bill.

In its place we put before you for adoption the workers' bill, H. R. 2827. This bill provides that every worker and farmer in the United States above 18 years of age, be he employed or unemployed, with no discrimination as to age, sex, race, nationality, religious or political affiliation, shall come within the provisions of the bill for Federal unemployment and social insurance. No matter for what reason he or she cannot work, whether it be due to unemployment, part-time, sickness, accident, old age, or maternity, he shall be entitled to insurance equivalent to the average local wage, but at no time shall this be less than \$10 per week plus \$3 for each dependent and this compensation to continue for the whole period of his inability to work through no fault of his own. The funds for this shall be obtained from the United States Treasury and if necessary through a tax on all incomes above \$5,000, inheritances, gifts. The funds shall be administered and controlled by committees of the workers and farmers elected by workers and farmers organizations.

It is no wonder that this bill has the support of every working-class organization before which it has been brought. In spite of the vicious attacks that were made upon the workers' bill by the leadership of the American Federation of Labor more than 3,000 locals of the American Federation of Labor, 5 internationals, 6 State federations of labor, and 50 central labor bodies have endorsed the bill. In addition the bill has been endorsed by about 70 municipal councils, boards of county commissioners, and so forth. This includes such municipal councils as those of St. Louis, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Tacoma, Toledo, Buffalo, Allentown, and so forth. Fully 5,000,000 people stand behind the workers bill.

It is no wonder, therefore, that efforts are being made to rush the Wagner-Lewis bill through the United States Congress. The purpose is to offset the tremendous movement that is growing in this country for genuine social insurance—the movement that recognizes that there is only one bill aimed to furnish genuine social insurance, and that is the workers bill, H. R. 2827. The workers' bill has been introduced in the United States Congress and also in 10 State legislatures, including Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Minnesota, Ohio, Washington, Oregon, California, and so forth. It has the support of practically every unemployed group and organization in the country as well as organizations of white-collar workers, fraternal, Negro, youth, farm, veteran, and professional organizations.

If the unemployed are not to come within the provisions for social insurance in the United States then what does the Government intend to do with them? On Labor Day of last year William Green declared that the 10,000,000 unemployed represent "40,000,000 people in the United States who are dependent on relief." Mr. Hopkins reports 20,000,000 on the relief rolls in the United States. This means that 20,000,000 are getting no relief whatever. Mr. Roosevelt does not concern himself with these 20,000,000. On the contrary; he demands .

that of the 5,000,000 family heads now on the relief rolls 1,500,000 shall be transferred to State and municipal relief. The States and cities are bankrupt and, everywhere are placing the burden of maintaining the unemployed on the shoulders of the workers by means of sales taxes. When one considers that even with Federal contributions, relief per family of four in Kentucky in October amounted to \$8.23 a month; in South Carolina to \$9.08; in North Carolina \$9.92 a month, and on a similar level in various parts of the country, then it is obvious that if the Federal contribution is withdrawn the condition of these workers will be driven down still lower.

The Federal Government further proposes to put 3,500,000 unemployed on work relief and "promises" an average of \$50 a month. There is no basis for this promise since in the Emergency Works program of October, 1,950,000 workers received \$51,000,000 in wages or only \$26.16 a month. However, this proposal is an attack upon the organized workers of this country, particularly the building-trades workers, who will have their scale reduced more than 70 percent. It is a dire threat against the living standards of every worker in the United States and is the signal for a vicious offensive of the employers against the trade-union movement of this country.

Further points in the Government program are transient camps, affording food and shelter and 90 cents a week for single men; semi-military C. C. C. camps for nearly 1,000,000 youths who in the camps represent, according to Harry H. Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War, "the first real test of the Army's plans for war mobilization under the National Defense Act"; as well as subsistence homesteads to which 1,000,000 workers from the cities and their families are to be transported to the country-side and to work out an existence of their own without Government support.

This is the program that we can only characterize as a hunger program of the Roosevelt government. The National Unemployment Council will fight against this program and is mobilizing the unemployed, both those belonging to the trade-union movement and the unorganized workers, for a struggle against the whole program. In spite of the growing terror in every part of the country, strengthened by the vicious Hearst press and the Dickstein-McCormick committee; in spite of the semifascist proposals of Father Coughlin and Senator Huey Long; in spite of the fantastic schemes of Dr. Townsend, the utopians, E. P. I. C., and so forth, but above all, in spite of the inherent fascist line of the Federal Government and the organization of such fascist gangs as the vigilantes, crusaders, silver shirts, American Liberty League, and so forth, the fight against the hunger program goes on.

Now, in the sixth year of the crisis, with no prospects but of a deepening of the crisis and of another world war, the workers of the United States are demanding some form of security. We do not ask what the cost will be. When the United States Government decided to enter the World War, it did not ask what it would cost. There is no greater war today than the war against hunger. We demand that the wealthy of the country be compelled to pay for the relief and for social insurance for the poor. We demand that the Senate Finance Committee reject the Wagner-Lewis bill and urge that it endorse the workers' bill, H. R. 2827, and report it for passage by the United States Senate.

In conclusion we wish to say that regardless of what your action may be, we will continue the fight until we compel the United States Congress to enact the workers' bill. The National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance held in Washington on January 5 to 7 was a step in the building of the united front of all sections of the working population. This united front will be broadened and deepened in spite of the efforts that are being made by the enemies of the workers, both inside and outside our ranks. This united front is the guarantee that we will march forward shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for genuine social insurance, in the struggle for our rights.

I am submitting the data that I referred to.

JOBS, WAGES, AND PROFITS DURING THE CRISIS YEARS

Prepared by Labor Research Association

The data which follows is presented for the purpose of showing certain trends in employment and earnings of workers and the profits made by corporations during recent years. The figures speak for themselves, showing the contrast between the amounts received by the wage-earning class—due to unemployment, part-time employment, and wage cuts—and the amounts which were reported as profits during the same period by leading corporations in various industries.

These figures show very clearly the way in which the position of the workers has become less and less secure, and, in the absence of unemployment insurance, they show just what it has cost the working class to carry the crisis on their shoulders while corporations were reporting substantial profits which in a large number of cases were translated into dividends for the investing class.

EMPLOYMENT, PAY ROLLS, AND ANNUAL EARNINGS

Severity of the decline in employment in manufacturing industries in the United States between 1929 and 1933 is clearly indicated by table I which shows the percentage declines industry by industry. In some instances the decline was as much as 50 or 60 percent. The greatest declines are noted in such producers' goods industries as electric manufacturing, lumber, and foundry and machine shop products.

The list of selected manufacturing industries given in tables II and III includes all industries which employed over a hundred thousand wage earners in 1933 with exception of the motor vehicles industry, which covered about 98,000 wage earners in 1933. Table I shows that out of every 100 wage earners employed in 1929, only 40 were employed in the electrical industry in 1933, only 43 in the motor vehicle industry, only 45 in lumber and timber products, etc.

This sharp decline in employment between 1929 and 1933 was accompanied by an even sharper decline in pay rolls or the total amount of wages paid to the workers who were still employed. As indicated by table I, pay rolls dropped as much as 74.6 percent in the electrical machinery industry; 73.2 percent in lumber; and 71.7 percent in the motor vehicle industry. This greater decline in the pay roll column was of course due to the wage cuts forced upon the workers as well as the part-time work prevalent under the stagger or share-the-work system, under which the workers actually shared their misery with one another.

The effect on individual workers of the relatively greater decline in pay rolls than in employment may be better observed from table II, which shows the decline in average yearly earnings from 1929, 1931, and 1933, industry by industry. Here we find that average yearly earnings of workers in some industries dropped as much as 46.4 percent, for example in steel works and rolling mills. It should be noted also that some industries that showed relatively smaller declines in average yearly earnings were those that showed a very low average to begin with in 1929. The lowest in 1929 was cotton goods which declined to \$570 in 1933.

Compared with the drop in the cost of living, as measured by the budgets of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics—a drop which amounted, even according to their figures, to only 23 percent between 1929 and 1933—we find that the decline in average yearly wages in most industries was far greater. In one

of them—steel works and rolling mills—the wage drop actually doubled the drop in the cost of living.

The data on separate industries as given in table III shows the extent of the actual decline in various manufacturing industries from 1929 to 1933. It will be seen that even those industries such as meat packing and steel that showed some increase in employment between 1931 and 1933, registered at the same time a still further drop in annual earnings.

TABLE I.—Decline in employment and pay rolls in selected manufacturing industries in the United States, from 1929 to 1933 ¹

INDUSTRY	Percentage decline, 1929 to 1933	
	Employment	Pay rolls
All food industries-----	11.6	31.2
Bread and bakery products-----	9.2	28.4
Boots and shoes, other than rubber-----	7.2	36.1
Electrical machinery, apparatus, and supplies-----	60.2	74.6
Foundry and machine shop products-----	52.4	71.0
Furniture, including store and office equipment-----	45.5	68.6
Lumber and timber products-----	54.8	73.2
Meat packing, wholesale-----	7.6	32.3
Motor vehicle bodies and parts-----	34.2	59.5
Motor vehicles-----	56.7	71.7
Nonferrous metals and their products,-----	40.2	62.4
Printing and publishing-----	24.0	42.2
Steel works and rolling-mill products-----	29.8	62.4
Textiles and their products-----	13.7	41.3
Clothing, women's-----	14.8	47.7
Cotton goods-----	10.7	33.3
Knit goods-----	9.0	37.3
Silk and rayon goods-----	15.4	46.1

¹ Based on United States Census of Manufactures. With the exception of motor vehicles industry, all industries covered had 100,000 or more wage earners in 1933. All 1933 figures used for this table are preliminary. Slight corrections may be made in the final census tabulations.

TABLE II.—Average yearly earnings and percentage decline, 1929-33, in selected manufacturing industries in the United States ¹

Industry	Average yearly earnings			Percentage decline, 1929-33
	1929	1931	1933	
All food industries-----	\$1,198	\$1,142	\$931	22.3
Bread and bakery products-----	1,367	1,307	1,078	21.1
Boots and shoes, other than rubber-----*	1,082	900	744	31.2
Electrical machinery, apparatus, and supplies-----	1,388	1,135	885	36.2
Foundry and machine-shop products----- ^c	1,535	1,153	933	39.2
Furniture, including store and office equipment-----	1,256	987	724	42.4
Lumber and timber products-----	1,006	793	598	40.6
Meat packing, wholesale-----	1,354	1,261	992	26.7
Motor-vehicle bodies and parts-----	1,656	1,286	1,018	38.5
Motor vehicles-----	1,621	1,162	1,060	34.6
Nonferrous metals and their products-----	1,409	1,150	586	37.1
Printing and publishing-----	1,801	1,717	1,368	24.0
Steel works and rolling-mill products-----	1,746	1,279	935	46.4
Textiles and their products-----	1,015	871	690	32.0
Clothing, women's-----	1,301	1,088	797	38.7
Cotton goods-----	763	666	570	25.3
Knit goods-----	1,011	840	696	31.2
Silk and rayon goods-----	1,054	892	672	36.2

¹ See footnote, table I.

TABLE III.—*All food industries* ¹

Year	Wage earners	Wages (thousands)	Average yearly earnings
1929.....	753,247	\$902,143	\$1,198
1931.....	635,359	725,669	1,142
1933.....	666,237	620,558	931
BREAD AND BAKERY PRODUCTS			
1929.....	200,841	\$274,562	\$1,367
1931.....	183,161	239,331	1,307
1933.....	182,382	196,672	1,078
BOOTS AND SHOES (OTHER THAN RUBBER)			
1929.....	205,640	\$222,408	\$1,082
1931.....	181,374	163,271	900
1933.....	190,914	142,054	744
ELECTRICAL MACHINERY, APPARATUS, AND SUPPLIES			
1929.....	328,722	\$456,378	\$1,388
1931.....	180,106	204,488	1,135
1933.....	130,857	115,750	885
FOUNDRY AND MACHINE SHOP PRODUCTS			
1929.....	454,722	\$697,509	\$1,535
1931.....	284,909	328,459	1,163
1933.....	216,439	201,940	885
FURNITURE, INCLUDING STORE AND OFFICE EQUIPMENT			
1929.....	193,399	\$242,832	\$1,256
1931.....	127,605	125,972	987
1933.....	105,488	76,346	724
LUMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS			
1929.....	419,084	\$421,585	\$1,006
1931.....	196,647	155,87	793
1933.....	189,367	113,183	598
MEAT PACKING, WHOLESALE			
1929.....	122,505	\$165,867	\$1,354
1931.....	106,707	134,530	1,261
1933.....	113,193	112,266	992
MOTOR VEHICLES, BODIES, AND PARTS			
1929.....	221,332	\$366,503	\$1,656
1931.....	150,649	193,770	1,286
1933.....	145,745	148,322	1,018
MOTOR VEHICLES			
1929.....	226,116	\$366,479	\$1,621
1931.....	134,866	156,756	1,162
1933.....	97,869	103,785	1,060

¹ Source, same as tables I and XI. The last column is obtained by dividing the third column by the second one.

ECONOMIC SECURITY ACT

TABLE III.-All food industries I--Continued
NONFERROUS METALS AND THEIR PRODUCTS

Year	Wage earners	Wages (thousands)	Average yearly earnings
1929.....	314,741	\$443,467	\$1,403
1931.....	203,855	240,177	1,150
1933.....	188,271	186,722	886
PRINTING AND PUBLISHING			
1929.....	281,119	506,290	1,801
1931.....	255,480	438,630	1,717
1933.....	213,786	292,472	1,368
STEEL WORKS AND ROLLING MILL PRODUCTS			
1929.....	394,574	689,016	1,746
1931.....	264,634	338,387	1,279
1933.....	276,847	258,803	935
TEXTILES AND THEIR PRODUCTS			
1929.....	1,707,798	1,733,031	1,015
1931.....	1,420,808	1,238,179	871
1933.....	1,474,325	1,017,301	690
WOMEN'S CLOTHING			
1929.....	187,560	243,851	1,301
1931.....	173,890	189,187	1,088
1933.....	159,832	127,418	797
COTTON GOODS			
1929.....	424,916	324,289	763
1931.....	329,962	219,680	666
1933.....	379,445	216,384	570
KNIT GOODS			
1929.....	208,488	210,714	1,011
1931.....	178,011	149,589	840
1933.....	189,698	132,030	696
SILK AND RAYON GOODS			
1929.....	130,467	137,547	1,054
1931.....	109,225	97,409	892
1933.....	110,322	74,110	672

SPECIAL MEMO ON COAL MINING

The problem of the coal industry is not simply a result of the present great depression. Progressive unemployment and decline in wages began in the years preceding 1929. The data given below show that coal miners in the bituminous and also in the anthracite fields have been exposed to severe unemployment and wage cutting for an even longer period of time than workers in other "industries.

In all, about 325,000 miners were dropped by the coal industry in the 10 years between 1923 and 1933, according to figures from the United States Bureau of Mines, shown in table IV. In 1923 the soft-coal industry employed 704,793 workers, while in 1929 the figure was 502,993. In 1932 the number employed in soft-coal mines was 406,380. In 1933 total employment was still only 418,703 in the bituminous industry. In other words, 286,000 men had jobs in this

industry in 1923 were out of the industry in 1933. Nor do preliminary figures for 1934 indicate much improvement in employment.

TABLE IV.-Average number of men employed at mines in operation

1923.....	704,793	1931.....	450,213
1929.....	502,993	1932.....	406,380
1930.....	493,202	1933.....	418,703

Anthracite mining dropped about 40,000 men between 1923 and 1932. From 157,743 workers employed in 1923, the number fell to 151,501 in 1929, to 139,431 in 1931, and then to only 121,243 in 1932. The index of employment in anthracite mining in November 1934, as given by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in Trend of Employment, shows employment in anthracite mining standing at only 60.7 percent of the 1929 level.

About 325,000 mine workers, including 286,000 from the bituminous industry and about 40,000 from the anthracite industry, are the jobless mine workers who cannot find work in or around the coal mines of the United States.

A report just issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics under the title Wages and Hours of Labor in Bituminous Coal Mining, 1933, shows how wages of soft-coal miners have fallen since 1922.

Here is the summary conclusion of this Government Bureau in reporting the earnings of miners, loaders, and other wage earners in all occupations in the industry, during the early part of 1933:

“The various studies made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of wages and hours of labor of wage earners in the bituminous-coal industry in the United States show that there has been a continuous decrease in average earnings in the industry from 1922 to 1933.

“The amount earned per hour averaged 85.3 cents in 1922, 78.8 cents in 1924, 76.3 cents in 1926, 65.9 cents in 1929, 59.8 cents in 1931, and 41 cents per hour in 1933. The decrease between 1922 and 1933 was 62 percent, and between 1929 and 1933 was 38 percent.” (Italic our emphasis-L. R. A.)

For miners and loaders, representing nearly two-thirds (63.3 percent) of all the mine workers, the drop in average hourly earnings was even greater. Where miners and loaders averaged 91.5 cents per hour in 1922, they averaged only 39.5 cents an hour in 1933. The report points out that this average per hour in 1933 is 57 percent less than the 1922 average and 34 percent less than the 1931 average.

Miners and loaders averaged \$7.03 a day in 1922. By 1931 average earnings per day had dropped to \$4.82, and by 1933 to \$3.18.

Yet while wages fell, the average time per day spent in the mine increased from 8.3 hours in 1922 to 8.9 hours in 1933. Miners must now spend more time in traveling to get from the mine mouth to the working face and back, as the mines in the United States are gradually worked out. Here are a few figures that show how earnings fell, while hours increased, for miners and loaders:

TABLE V.-Bituminous-coal mining, average hours and earnings of miners and loaders, 1922-33

	Average hours (time in mines)	Average earnings			Average hours (time in mines)	Average earnings	
		Half month	Per day			Half month	Per day
1922.....	8.5	\$62.60	\$7.03	1929.....	8.8	\$49.85	\$5.50
1924.....	8.6	54.44	6.60	1931.....	8.9	33.82	4.82
1926.....		61.61	6.46	1933.....		22.53	3.18

But this Government report just issued does not point out that N. R. A. code wages for miners in 8 of the 17 districts have now been set at a rate lower than the average for all miners in 1931. Where the general average 4 years ago was \$4.82 a day, the N. R. A. basic day rate is \$4.60 in District C and only \$3.80 in Alabama, Georgia, and southern Tennessee.

In November 1934, according to the Trend of Employment issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the total pay roll in bituminous mining was still only 58.3 percent of the 1929 level.

In anthracite mining the same Federal Bureau shows total pay rolls in November 1934 as only 51.2 percent of the 1929 level.

ECONOMIC NOTES

[Labor Research Association, February 1935, p. S]

Summary of Labor Research Association's estimate of unemployment in November 1 934 (preliminary)

Occupation	Wage earners	Salaried employees, independents, owners	Total
Agriculture-----	719,000	1,070,000	1,789,000
Forestry and fishing-----	81,000	4,000	85,000
Extraction of minerals:			
Coal-----	165,000	4,000	169,000
Metal mining-----	85,000	9,000	139,000
Quarries and nonmetal-----	45,000		
Oil and gas wells-----	30,000	7,000	37,000
Manufacturing and mechanical:			
Building-----			2,041,000
Manufacturing ² -----	2,629,000	631,000	3,260,000
Transportation and communication:			
Railroads (steam)-----			621,000
Telephone, telegraph-----			182,000
Postal Service-----			34,000
All other-----			612,000
Trade:			
Wholesale, retail ³ -----			903,000
All other-----			427,000
Professional service-----			852,000
Domestic and personal service:			
Laundries, cleaning, dyeing, etc.--			60,000
Hotels, restaurants, etc-----			276,000
All other-----			865,000
Public service-----			132,000
Industry not specified-----			643,000
Increase in number of gainful workers since 1930-----			3,227,000
Deficiency in unemployment census, etc-----			800,000
Total-----			17,157,000

¹ Includes unemployed family labor and farmers.

² Includes auto repair, railroad repair shops, and independent hand trades.

³ Includes automotive agencies.

In this estimate of unemployment, part-time workers are as usual considered as employed. Persons working on Government relief projects are considered as unemployed. These workers on special government funds were estimated by United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for October 1934 as follows:

On construction projects financed by Public Works Administration-----	508,000
Emergency work program-----	1,950,000
Emergency conservation work-----	392,000
Total-----	2,850,000

Excluding these 2,850,000 on special relief and public works, the total completely unemployed in November 1934 was about 14,307,000.

A separate report giving comparison with our 1933 revised estimate is available for those subscribers desiring it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Amter. Mr. Nathan Cronheim, Local Action Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.