





# MANSFIELD WORKERS VICTORIOUS IN TWO WAGE CUTS STRIKES

### Unemployed Council Gains in Membership; YCL Unit Sends 15 Delegates to Youth Meet

### Mansfield Charity Cuts Relief; City Plans to Cut Public School Teachers' Pay

Mansfield, Ohio.

Editor Daily Worker,

The capitalists in Mansfield are trying to make the workers believe that employment is gaining ground. They prove this by slashing wages, laying off more workers and to add to the prevailing misery they shut down charity. However, the workers in Mansfield are determined for better organization.

They prove this by the victories in the recent strikes, like the Empire Steel strike, where the workers organized themselves under the leadership of the T. U. U. L. and exposed the A. F. of L. fakers. They were thus able to receive their demands. Then, following the Empire Steel strike, another strike in the Martin Steel was won by the workers. A whole shop of 75 workers went out on strike after a 10 per cent wage-cut was effected. They went on strike Thursday, May 21, and they won their demands the next day. This strike ended so victoriously for the workers that the local capitalist papers were afraid to publish this victory for fear that it would be spread to the other factories who also received wage-cuts.

## MAJESTIC RADIO WORKERS DRIVEN AT LONG HOURS

### 'Common Sight to See Men Putting in 16 and 17 Hour Day'

(By a Worker Correspondent.)

CHICAGO, Ill.—It is quite a number of years that I have made my living as an industrial worker, and have worked at all types of jobs, experiencing exploitation of all kinds. But the Majestic Radio Co. went far beyond all that I have ever experienced.

We often cite the exploitation of Negroes in the South. We almost find the same conditions here in Chicago at the Majestic Co. Here are a few samples:

The work day is 10 hours and only a worker working over 49 hours gets paid time and a half for overtime, but there are only a few day workers in the factory. The rest all work on the piece system. The average worker is getting from 30 to 40 cents per hour. One worker I happened to get acquainted with works at a large punch press machine, working piece-work for 74 hours' work. In one week he earned the total of 27.83. Another worker who was working on the same type of machine boasted that he averages 40 cents per hour at piece-work in the refrigerator shop. Another worker, working in the radio department, during lunch hour told me that he was an experienced cabinet maker, and while working at piece system made from 50 to 55 cents an hour, and, if it so happens that the worker produces more, the company does not pay more than 60 cents per hour.

16-17 Hours' Work. While working nights it was a common sight to see workers that have started to work at 7 a. m. and work until 10 and 12 p. m., making the work day 16 to 17 hours. I was told that one worker that week worked 83 hours. These long hours and overtime does not happen so often, only when rush orders arrive, then the worker is driven to a frenzy. Soon the orders are filled and then the lay-offs.

The worker has to go through a half dozen agencies, doctors and all kinds of red tape before he can secure the slave job, thinking that at last he has found work. The results are that he is driven for a week or two at inhuman speed then laid off.

Although there is great discontent among the workers, the necessary steps are not taken towards organization. Seems like it is high time to do something to emerge from this slavery. The only road lies in organizing into fighting unions under the leadership of the T. U. U. L., and only then can we force the employers to give us a decent wage.

—A Laid Off Worker.

Landowners Lease Prisoners. When we had our trial they fined us \$10 and costs, which amounted to \$33 or forty-eight days hard labor. They leased us out to rich landowners after two days in jail.

I was handcuffed by the sheriff in company with a Negro who had been in the same convict camp before. He was framed this time for carrying a gun which he found in a trash pile. It was unloaded, rusty and half of it was gone. We were put in a Ford car by the county sheriff and his father and started for the camp.

The Sheriff's Slaves. We stopped at the sheriff's farm for lunch. We were given a small piece of bread and a glass of butter-milk. He ran a grocery store there and had a Negro family to do his farm work. His father lived in a big, fine white house, but the Negro family lived in a shanty more like a cow-shed. The sheriff kept him in debt for groceries and what clothes they wore were those the sheriff had worn out. They were not allowed to leave while they were in debt to the farm owner.

After dinner (so-called) we started out again and soon saw another Negro breaking ground. The sheriff called him over. The Negro acted very badly scared. He was also in debt. The sheriff threatened to put him where we were going if he didn't pay up, though this was impossible.

We went on our way until we reached the farm, where we were put in stripes. Here I met an Italian prisoner who said a deputy had slipped a gun in his pocket and caused him to get three months.

Convicts in Lumber Camps. At 6:30 the convicts started marching in from work. For supper he had unseasoned beans and hard cornbread, baked early that morning. We had a change to spinach every other day. We went to bed at 9 p. m., but every half hour a guard would ring a big church bell and strike a triangle at the heads of our beds to keep us from sleeping. I got very little sleep for the first three days. This was to keep us from being in a settled mental state in the daytime so we would give thought to how bad we were treated.

The next morning at ten minutes to four we were awakened. We had 20 minutes to get into our stripes and shoes and get our breakfast of two small pieces of bacon, two spoons of syrup and six hard biscuits baked the day before. What we didn't have time to eat we put in buckets for our lunch and at ten after four we were on our way to work. Our work was repairing and lengthening a tramway to the lumber camps.

On one occasion in the lumber camps an Italian strained his back lifting a rail. He was flat on his back in bed for three days. The first morning he was able to go to breakfast the warden asked why he wasn't working. The guard said that he strained his back. The warden said to put him in the hot box. To avoid this the prisoner went to work the next day.

Hot Box. The hot box was a place where the men were put for punishment. It was a box in the corner of the room extending from the floor to the ceiling with only enough room for a man to stand in it straight. Many prisoners were put into it. One Negro was put in because he was sick and not able to work. He was forced to work and when he came back in he was put in the box without supper, kept there all night and sent to work the next day without breakfast. The second night he was fed and put back in the box. He was given breakfast and sent to work again next day. He wasn't able to walk for his feet had burst open. They put him to crawling on his hands and knees, picking up sticks, and each night he was put into the box until he died. Other Negroes who served their sentences out were told that other charges were pending against them and were kept long over their time and worked hard.

One Southern white boy, about 20, got his foot smashed by the gang when dropping a rail on it through having to hurry so much. He was put into his cell without the bones being set or getting other medical attention. His foot and leg were turning black and giving him a lot of trouble when I was released. My father sent me \$20 to pay my fine. I was given \$1.70 to take me back to the town I was sent from.

Free. I was on my way back and had gone only a few miles when I was offered a job in another camp where most of the work was done by penitentiary labor. I was offered \$1.80 a

# Farmer Exposes Forced Convict Labor in Alabama Lumber Camps

Dear Editor:

As I have been reading the lies in the capitalist papers about the Soviet Union convict labor, I have got to write a few facts about my experience in the United States.

As I was forced to ride a freight train through the Southern states in search of work I had this experience. In Evergreen, Ala., five cops searched the train and caught two Negroes and myself. They search every train that comes through in order to get free labor and to keep the wages of other workers down.

They put us in jail and kept us on starvation rations for two weeks before we were tried. For breakfast they gave us two biscuits, a spoonful of grits and maybe a little syrup. For supper about the same portion of either beans or spinach and a small piece of bread. I was lucky to have a few dollars to buy something to eat from the outside.

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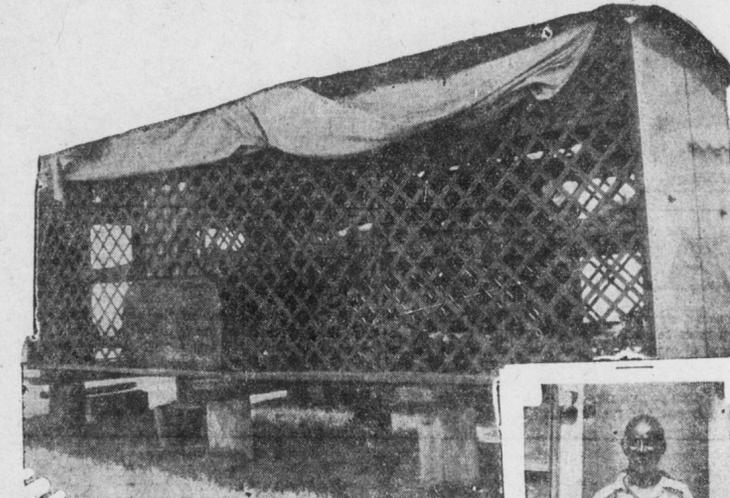
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A steel cage in a southern prison camp. Prisoners are crowded into such cages like wild beasts at the end of a day's forced labor. Most of the prisoners are Negro workers framed up on the charge of vagrancy and sold into slavery by the southern bosses.

day, out of which was taken \$1 a day for board, which would leave me 80 cents for clothes and other things. I took the job, but after working only ten minutes the man I was working with got fired and I followed him off the job.

## 'Fear Born in Slave Days Must Be Lost,' Says Negro Woman; Workers Must Unite

(By a Negro woman who was saved from eviction by the Unemployed Council.)

Pittsburgh, Pa. The Negro, brought into this country without his consent by the white slave-owners, has inherited that fear and distrust of the white man even today, especially when he sees that the lynching mob is composed of white people. What they must see now is that those who brought them here were those bosses, and these same bosses also brought the foreign-born workers into this country almost in the same manner. They went to Europe and other continents and spread lies about the wealth of this country in times of strikes, uprisings on the part of the American workers against the long hours and miserable conditions imposed upon them in the mines, mills and factories.

The Negro worker must also learn that those in the lynching mobs are workers who suffer the same miserable conditions but have been taught by the white and colored ruling class alike to hate the Negro for one purpose—the same reason for making the American born workers, colored and white, hate the foreign-born workers—so that the workers should be divided in all these different categories and fight against each other, instead of uniting and fighting against the bosses, colored or white.

The fear born in us from the slavery times must be lost and we must not stand afraid to trust our own people (all workers) in regards to solving the Negro problem. The Negro must realize today that the foreign born and Negro both stand as similar problems. So that they must put forth all of their energy and support to help fight and conquer that old race problem.

And only recently has it been seen that the Negro worker is breaking down that fear and is organizing, together with his fellow-workers of all races, because this is a workers' world and nothing but the workers can bring about real liberty. The Negro and white are organizing together to fight their common enemy, the boss.

## Czarist Flag and 'Old Glory' Side by Side

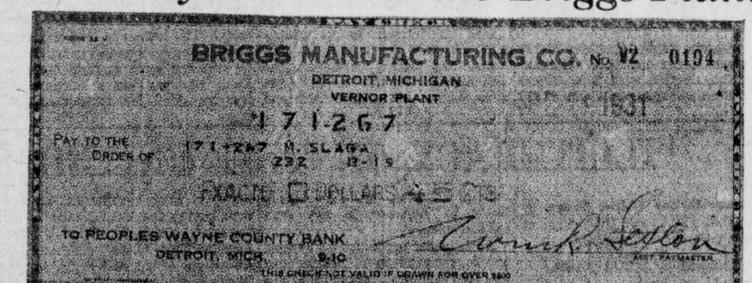
(By a Worker Correspondent.) NEW BRITAIN, Conn.—One hundred members of the Russian Brotherhood, who came to this city for a state convention, celebrated the 25th anniversary of their organization by parading behind the Russian flag. When the Russian workers learned that the New Britain Russian priest had ordered the Tsarist flag to be carried in the parade they did not take part in the parade. Thirteen cops on foot and on motorcycles and as many dicks formed a

square in the parade, in the center of which was the Tsarist flag alongside of the American flag.

If we can judge by the associates of the Star Spangled Banner in this parade then we can say that the Star Spangled Banner is getting very degenerate. The cops are bad enough, the dumb brutes, but the White Guards of the Tsar, together with the cops, made a splendid demonstration of degeneracy.

—Factory Worker.

## Detroit Auto Worker Gets 45c for Day's Work in the Briggs Plant



Dear Comrade Editor: Herewith I am sending a check for 45c for a fellow worker, who has been working at the Briggs Manufacturing Co., Cernor Ave. plant (formerly Waterloo plant), that is building auto bodies for the "great philanthropist" Ford, the Hudson-Essex, and the Chrysler-Elymouth. This worker was hired as a production man on the basis of a piecework rate on body work. He was ordered to come to work in the morning and started at 7 a.m., April 29. From 7 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. he was working like hell, naturally so because his job was a piece work job. At 11:30, they ran out of stock and told him to go home and come back the next day. He asked how much money he had made, and he was given the slip that he had made exactly 45c. He got damn disgusted that he did not come back the next day. In other words he quit. He thought that if he has to starve,

## Worker in Murray Plant Earns \$2.50 A Week

he is not going to starve working. This 45c for 4 hours work means even more than actual starvation.

\$2.25 a Week! This is not only an individual case, but this has been shown by another worker's experience at the Murray Body plant. This fellow worker at the first day, 9 hours and made \$1.25, on a piecework bonus basis, and was also told by the foreman to buy himself the necessary tools. The tools required cost him \$1.50. And when he came to work the next day, having the tools and everything ready to proceed to work, there were some small wooden blocks about 1-2x2-1-2x8 inches that he could not get

from the stockroom, and when he told the foreman that he needed the stock or else he couldn't proceed to work. He was told to go home and come in the next day, and if he wanted to be sure of his job, he should bring some of the wooden blocks from home, and he would not have to wait until the company gets them. When the week was over, all the earnings was \$2.25. He nearly spent the whole amount on street car fare and besides that had to borrow money to buy tools and his lunch, and supplies for his family at home and all necessary things to be counted in.

Another worker in the Briggs Manufacturing plant was coming to work regularly every day, waited for four hours and was sent home. This kept on for a whole week. After the week was over his pay check was somewhere around \$3.46.

# UNEMPLOYED WORKER TELLS OF MISERY AT LAS VEGAS DAM SITE

### Workers Pouring in, Hoping for Job; Single Workers Sleep At City Dumps

### Whooping Cough Epidemic Raging; Workers Showing Militancy; Ready for Organization

Las Vegas, Nevada.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Conditions here in Las Vegas speak more eloquently than words of the confusion, calousness and cruelty of the present system as concerns the working man. Through misleading statements in the press, the workers have been pouring in. The single workers are now sleeping behind billboards, in alleys and near the city dump. Their lot is terrible to the nth degree.

At the present time due to the bad conditions and food, a whooping cough epidemic is raging. This epidemic has spread until now a considerable portion of the school children are affected.

Contrast. When watching the crowds one is immediately struck by the two distinct categories into which they fall. The first are the familiar, overalled and shabbily dressed figures of the unemployed. The next are the well-tailored, inclined to be stout gentlemen. The latter are the concession hunters. The government, as you know, is about to build a town here at the dam site (private contract, of course), and rather than sell at a minimum to the workers, they will lease the shirt, grocery, etc., concessions to these concessioners, who will sell at a maximum. Another interesting phase of capitalism.

I cannot help comparing conditions here with conditions as they would be in a similar project in the Soviet Union. First of all, the government engineers would be on the job with the preliminary surveys. Then the more detailed projections would be laid out. The detailed plans would be drawn up. The press notices would come from the engineers on the job. The necessary workers put through the recognized channels. But here in Las Vegas we see confusion, starvation and despair, with the continual rush of workers to the dam site. Workers who spend their last few dollars to get there. I wish that the capitalists at Washington and in Wall Street could hear the radical talk that goes around in all the campfires here. Their half would turn gray overnight. These parasites will have to go to Mars pretty soon, because things are getting pretty hot, much too hot.

—An Unemployed Worker.

Chased Trooper With Sickle. In one home that I went to I was told that during the last strike a miner chased a state trooper with a sickle. When asked what he was going to do with it, he said that he intended to cut the trooper's head off with the sickle in case the trooper attacked him.

All of the miners are talking about the National Miners Union. They say this union is not yellow and will strike against starvation to a finish. The miners' wives say they are glad school is over. They had to dress and feed the children then; now the children play and sometimes they forget about food.

It seems that the miners are experts in finding out who the stool pigeons are who are working for the bosses trying to keep the miners from joining the National Miners Union. For organization these miners would walk miles and give their last cent.

Every night they get together and discuss what is going to happen next. These workers are ready for a strike a hundred per cent. I am from a steel town where the steel workers are sure suffering, but the miners are in the lead when it comes to suffering and starvation.

—A Steel Worker.

## PA. MINERS WILL WALK MILES FOR ORGANIZATION

Suffering Appalling; Miners Solid For Strike

Pittsburgh, Pa. Daily Worker: I heard so much about the rotten conditions of the miners that I desired to find out things for myself.

I went to Export, Herminie, Etna, etc., and suffering is terrible. All miners know that the coal companies are robbing them. The miners' wives that I talked to said that this strike is going to be a different struggle than the previous strikes. They say this is going to be a fight against starvation.

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## Ford Docks Half Hour Pay for 15 Minute Lay Off

Workers Dare Not Even Go to Toilet

Dear Editor: In my department where I work last Tuesday we went home 15 minutes before the quitting time and were docked 30 minutes. The next day I asked the foreman: "What is the big idea that they cut our time?" He said: "You are damn lucky that you work and what the hell more do you want? If you complain too much you'll get kicked out."

Yes, comrades, as long as the workers are not organized the bosses can treat them any way that they please. The only way that the workers can defend themselves against the bosses is through organization.

Not only this, the workers are even terrorized from going to the toilet, because if they are caught in the toilet they get fired. The Ford Co. has invented a new method how to hunt the workers. Partitions and impenetrable glasses of some toilets are torn down so the servicemen can see workers without going in the toilets. This is also a part of Ford slavery and speed-up system. Just imagine, we, the poor workers, have to work eight hours steady without going to the toilet. This is the worst way to ruin the workers' health. It is up to us workers to organize and learn how to fight against the bosses' slavery system.

—Ford Worker.

## Sioux City Workers Form Workers Group

Dear Comrades: We have organized a correspondence group here composed of four comrades. Each member is to write articles on the conditions of the workers, their struggles, etc., and turn them over to me as chairman of the group.

In this way we can always have something of interest to our local workers appearing in the Daily Worker. This will not only reflect our struggles here, but will help to increase the circulation of the Daily in Sioux City.

—G. S.

## AMERICAN TINPLATE FIRES AND STAGGERS WORKERS

(By a Worker Correspondent.) ELWOOD, Ind.—The American Sheet and Tinplate Co. of this city, in an effort to increase their profits at the expense of the workers, laid off several workers in both the plant and in the office during the past week. The working schedule has been reduced to three days a week.

Northwestern Railway Shopman.

## Wash. Lumber Mill Threatens Closing

### Unemployment Grows in North West

(By a Worker Correspondent.) HOQUIAM, Wash.—With Hoover, Doak, Green, Woll and all the other high officials of the government, and the A. F. of L. saying that there is improvement in unemployment, here in the Gray's Harbor country just the opposite is the truth.

In Aberdeen, the Bay City Lumber mill served notice on the workers that most of the lumber mills were contemplating a close down.

Here is a real task for the Unemployed Council to show their leadership, and point out to the workers the danger of such a move.

In Hoquiam the conditions of the unemployed is growing noticeably worse. Only one saw-mill and a few small factories are running; the pulp mill gives work on the stagger plan to a few workers.

One worker reporting to this writer from Shelton, which is about forty miles from the Harbor, said "We need you and the T.U.U.L. down in that town." The Reed sawmill will close down for the summer on the third of June, and on the 15th all of the logging camps of this company will also close. There is a pulp mill there but it runs so little that it is about as good as nothing so far as work is concerned.

Workers Have No Fuel Texas Bosses Burn It at Overflow Outlets

(By a Worker Correspondent.) BRECKENRIDGE, Texas.—In the midst of this petroleum field, where there is plenty of natural gas to serve all the people in the town, many workers' families must do without this fuel because they haven't the money to pay for it.

Detroit Gas. Instead of letting the workers have gas, overflow outlets are burned up; a big flame is kept going night and day just outside of the city.

Crops are good here—a fine field of oats, especially. But farmers face ruin with the prospect of 15-cent oats and 30-cent wheat.

GIVE YOUR ANSWER TO HOOVER'S PROGRAM OF HUNGER, WAGE CUTS AND PERSECUTION!

STRIKE!



MINERS SPREAD STRIKE AGAINST STARVATION

By VEEN SMITH.

We went into Horning, Pa., where the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Co. has its Mine No. 4. One side of a dingy gully is the mine, and the house of a boss...

No, the family had had nothing to eat that day. They hoped to get something to eat at night, if the relief committee sent out to gather food in the surrounding neighborhood was lucky.

That was all there was in that room. Up a narrow dark staircase, were two rooms. One had an old army cot in it with a bed tick so old that when you lifted one end, whole handfuls of stuffing came out of holes that tore with each movement.

The last room had a bed, bigger but just as frail and here there was one chair. Here too there was a rope, on which hung an apron, and some miners' clothes.

All the rooms were dark. All were small, about 12 by 14. That's the way they live in Horning. The company furnished the house, but the man himself had to buy the furniture.

This is a typical home of Horning, and Horning is typical of hundreds of mining camps all around over this part of the state.

Now this is why human beings live this way. Before the present strike these men were working two or three days a week, for what the company said was 45 cents a ton.

There was no coal to be taken out, the men had to stay underground all day in the cold, anyway. There was a lot of dead work (work that did not immediately and directly produce coal) and this they were never paid for.

biggest of the several hundred pay slips shown us by the miners of Horning, was \$26.26. Average pays were \$17.14, \$13.23, \$19.92, \$17.88, \$19.92, \$17.88 and \$18.92.

1930 to April 15, 1931. Each pay was for two week's work. But he got no money. They took out \$10 a month for the rent of the miserable shack he lived in.

We could not find one man who had anything but contempt for this doctor. The company charges him \$2 a month for light, whether he uses it or not.

All the miners have to buy in the company store, the "Mutual Supply Co." On the front of a heavily screened entrance, the manager of this store had a sign up: "The policy of this company is to handle standard known brands and to sell them to you at the lowest possible prices that quality and service will permit; also, to have our employees serve you in every possible way and we feel that it is because of this policy that you favor us with your business and not because some of you may be employees of the coal company and feel that you should deal with us."

"Feel that you should deal with us," is gentle irony. The miner loses his job right away if he doesn't. He gets brass money put out by the company to buy with at the company store.

We saw numerous store bills. Prices run: Flour, 4 cents a pound; canned milk, 13 cents; hamburger, 45 cents; lard, 20 cents a pound; bread, 10 cents a loaf—all the prices from 30 to 50 per cent higher than in non-company stores.

We asked a group of children lined up in front of the store: "Do you ever get any milk?" They hardly knew what it meant. No, they don't get any milk.

"What do you eat for breakfast?" "Bread and coffee," they answered. "And eggs," said one. None spoke of cereal, or of fruit.

clatter of traffic came the shrill voice of a newsboy. "Red Riot at Capitol. Police Club Hunger Marchers." Mrs. Marvin wished she had been there instead of begging at the Charities. Better to die in the quick excitement of fighting than this slow agony of starvation.

There was a knock at the door. She hurried to it. Maybe the Charities had realized her need and were sending her something tonight. But she was mistaken. It was only a boy trying to sell a Liberty Magazine.

The knock had wakened Eva and she began to whimper now for something to eat. Mrs. Marvin brought her a glass of water, but after a swallow she pushed it away.

"There now, hush, darling, go to sleep and tomorrow we'll have something to eat." But Eva kept up her whining.

Joey was still awake. He said, "Keep still, Eva. I'm hungry too." Mrs. Marvin went into the other room and closed the door. She walked back and forth across the floor, stuffing her fingers in her ears to shut out the sound of Eva's crying.

"My God! I can't stand this. I'll go crazy. I'm always telling them tomorrow—tomorrow. And I can't go on living off the Straubs—him working only two days a week. They haven't enough for themselves. Why is it—I'm strong, able to work, willing to do anything—and yet I'm helpless. There is no work but everywhere people trying to sell something."

She stopped for a moment and took her hands from her ears. Eva was still crying. She clenched her fists and pounded them against her ears.

For a long time there had been no sound from the next room. Silence everywhere save the ticking of the big alarm clock on the shelf over the sink, and occasionally the faint rumble of the elevated a block away. The room was cold and Mrs. Marvin had sat huddled in her chair so long she could scarcely move at first. She had put a bathrobe over her dress for extra warmth—

In the Land of Plenty

By ZELL.

The neat little secretary at the Charity Organization Society picked a card out of the file and looked it over. "Yes, Mrs. Marvin, we'll do something for you just as soon as possible."

"But the investigator came last week—I thought maybe today—" Mrs. Marvin hesitated. "We have been having so many calls, all of us have worked overtime trying to keep up with them, but I'll make a special effort to have your case put through right away. Haven't you heard from your husband yet?"

"No, I haven't heard. I thought maybe right now—you see, we haven't anything."

"I'll do all I can for you, Mrs. Marvin. You might come in again tomorrow."

The secretary examined her polished nails, twirled a ring on her finger and went back to her typewriter. Mrs. Marvin turned away. It was as though someone had struck her a blow that made her dumb. She couldn't cry out, she couldn't argue, she couldn't speak. She had taken her last nickel to come up to the subway to the main office of the Charities, thinking she might get some money, or at least an order for groceries. Now she must walk home—from Twenty-second St. clear down to Baxter. She didn't mind that so much, though the icy pavements bit through the thin soles of her shoes. It was facing the children and telling them she didn't have anything for them.

A sharp wind had swept the usual veil of fog and smoke from the city and the towers of Manhattan stood out hard and brittle against a blue sky. Cars rushed by on the avenue in a steady stream. On top of a building farther down the street was a large sign—a rosy-cheeked child biting into a big slice of bread and jam. The red letters beside the picture said, "Eat more bread." A man on the corner was polishing apples and putting them in a row on top of the box. His hands were rough and blue with cold, and his nose red and shining as the apple he was polishing. He held it out to Mrs. Marvin as she passed and said plaintively, "Buy an apple."

By the time she reached Baxter St. her feet and hands were so numb it felt as though she didn't have any. It was good to be in the shelter of the hallway, out of the sharp, stinging wind. She stopped a moment to get her breath before climbing the stairs. The radio in the little cigar store on the ground floor was going loud enough to be heard all over the block. "...milk, the perfect food. Each child should have a quart of milk a day. Drink more milk."

Slowly she climbed the three flights of stairs to her own floor. She had left the children with Mrs. Straub who lived across the hall. She stood



Drawn by a young Chicago worker, AXEL CARLSON.

for a moment, dreading to go in. How could she face them and tell them she had failed. But she couldn't stand there forever. She tapped on the door.

Mrs. Straub, opening the door, saw the despair in Mrs. Marvin's face and was quick to come to the rescue. "We thought it was about time for you to be getting back. I have some hot soup all ready. We were just waiting for you to come and eat with us." Mrs. Straub added a dipper of water and a pinch of salt to the already too thin soup and turned the gas a bit higher. Here, you sit by the radiator and get warmed up while I fix the table."

Mrs. Marvin took the proffered chair and rubbed her hands, which were beginning to sting unbearably now that she was in the warm room. Her three-year-old baby, Eva, came and climbed up in her lap. How cold and soft her little hands around the red, swollen fingers. Joey, the boy aged five, leaned against her chair. He looked up at her with dark, solemn eyes and said: "I'm hungry, mama."

"Yes, I know. Mrs. Straub is fixing dinner for us. We'll have it in a minute. Here, take my hat and put it on the bed."

Joey did as he was asked and came back to his mother's chair. Mrs. Straub poured out seven bowls of steaming soup for her own family of four and for the three Marvins. It was rather watery soup, but it was hot and fresh and for the moment it filled them up. Not until they had finished eating did Mrs. Straub question her.

"Didn't you get anything from the Charities?"

"No, they said maybe tomorrow." Mrs. Marvin took Joey and Eva home and put them to bed. If she could just get them to sleep before they got hungry again.

"Didn't you get anything, Mama?" asked Joey as she tucked him in. "No, not today, Joey. Maybe tomorrow."

Mrs. Marvin went to the window and opened it for a moment. She leaned out, looking down thru the iron bars of the fire-escape to the street below. Above the rumble and

a shabby, faded brown thing with frayed cuffs and holes in the elbows.

There was a cord around the waist. She undid the cord and tested its strength. She pulled with all her might—it did not break. She turned on the light and examined a gas pipe that ran across the ceiling. She couldn't reach it from a chair, so she pulled the table over and climbed on it. She took hold of the pipe and swung her full weight from it. It didn't give way—it was strong enough—

It must be Joey first. If he should waken she couldn't go on. With Eva it didn't matter so much. She wouldn't understand. Mrs. Marvin tip-toed to the door and opened it carefully. The light shone thru the doorway and fell on the bed where Joey was asleep. Yes, he was sound asleep now, his breathing was slow and regular. What a tiny mound his body made under the covers. The hair curled thick and dark above his ear. There was a rather prominent vein on the side of his neck. Even in the dim light she could see it move as the blood pulsed through it. Joey, her first born... a smart boy... a handsome lad... everyone said so. But she must not look at him. She must remember hunger—she must remember fear... Eva crying in the night... Joey's eyes knowing she had failed. She must do it quickly, before she lost her nerve.

Carefully she slipped the cord of the bathrobe under his neck... how soft and warm his flesh... and tied it in a loose knot. Then she shut her eyes and gave the cord a quick, firm jerk. There was scrambling, a struggle, but there was no sound. With her eyes still shut she pulled on the cord with all her strength... for hours it seemed... until her muscles gave way from exhaustion. She relaxed the cord slowly. There was no movement... no sound. She undid the cord without opening her eyes. She dared not look at the thing she had done.

Again Manhattan was roaring with life. Six million people surged thru the streets, were sped up from subways and sucked into the skyscrapers of New York. Six million people in a mad race for money, for fame, for pleasure, for success... a mad scramble... and some were trampled under... No sound came from the Marvins' apartment. The morning sun lit up a thousand buildings that thrust themselves defiantly into the air. It glittered on their tops of tile and polished metal. It penetrated a dingy window on Baxter Street and touched a faded brown bathrobe hanging in the middle of the room. It touched the stiff, stick-like legs that dangled underneath.

A piece of last night's newspaper had blown up and caught in the fire escape beside the window. It hung there now like a pennant—a head-line in forty point type—"Police Club Hunger Marchers."

Maxim Gorki Returns to Workers' Russia to Stay

By V. ANDUR.

Thousands of workers, office employees, and school children, numerous representatives from State, social organizations were at the railway station to welcome the great Russian



proletarian writer to the Red Capital. Gorki intends to take up permanent residence in the USSR in order to enable him to have a whole-hearted and active personal participation in the great Socialist construction.

The name of Gorki (in Russian this word means "bitter") is of course a household word throughout the world. His writings which are universally recognized to be masterpieces of creative effort breathing the spirit of oppressed millions who once groaned under the iron heel of the cursed tsarocracy are read and known in every corner of the earth. Gorki is essentially fitted to portray the misery, ignorance, superstition and desolation that prevailed among the Russian peasantry of czarist days. He himself is a son of the people and sprung from its lowest and poorest stock. Born in a poor working class family and raised in the family of his grandfather among numerous relatives, living in the utmost squalor, he was subjected to untold cruelties at the hands of his uncles and aunts. From his very infancy little Maxim tasted the bitterness of life.

Later, Gorki, still at an age when boys should be at school, struck out for himself. He shipped down the volga as galley-boy, and then over a period of years was dock-laborer, baker, painter, watchman, boot-maker, railwayman, draftsman, lawyer's clerk, reporter on various provincial papers and finally he took up writing as a profession.

He went on foot from one end of the country to the other and in many respects was a tramp pure and simple but with this vast difference that all he observed, the sufferings he saw, the terrible, miserable hand-to-hand existence in the struggle for life that

he came up against during his trampings were analyzed, dissected, weighed and stored away in his heart and mind. These experiences and observations were later by their simple, creative, sincere intensity to shake the whole world to a realization of the indescribable hellish conditions and slave-like existence of the Russian toiling masses.

At a very early age Gorki became associated with the young but growing revolutionary movement in Russia; first among the student movement and later with the workers.

His creative efforts express that period of gigantic social changes when the capitalistic elements had overthrown the feudal landowning structure and when on the social arena appeared a new class—the Proletariat.

While he was preparing for entrance to the Kazan University (this he never succeeded in doing) he organized underground political circles among the student body of the university. In 1892 at Mskope, in South Russia, he was arrested for organizing a Cossack rising; and again in 1901 fell into the hands of the Okhrana (secret police) in St. Petersburg (Leningrad), where he had established contact with the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, for writing a "criminal" and "treasonable" Manifesto to the Sormov workers.

Continuing his political activities, Gorki was delegated in 1907 to the Fifth Congress of the R. S. D. L. P., held in London. In the following years of reaction after the 1905 revolution, he settled on the Island of Capri (1908) where he founded a school for Russian worker propagandists.

In 1910, just after the publication of "Mother" and "Enemies," two epoch making books of the 1905 revolution, Lenin wrote of Gorki thus: Maxim Gorki is, without doubt, the greatest representative of Proletarian art, who has done much and will do still more for it. Gorki's creative efforts undoubtedly signalizes the beginning of a Proletarian art in our country."



Proletarian art, who has done much and will do still more for it. Gorki's creative efforts undoubtedly signalizes the beginning of a Proletarian art in our country."

"ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES"

Illiteracy in the United States, by Sanford Winston, University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

Reviewed by MYRA PAGE.

ILLITERACY is a problem which intimately concerns the working masses. It is they who must labor under its handicaps; it is they who are most determined that their children shall be freed from this blight, and attain more knowledge than their elders had a chance to get.

A real analysis of illiteracy in the United States, therefore, could be of much value to the revolutionary movement. However, this study of Mr. Winston's is of almost no worth, since it not only fails to give a basic analysis of the problem, but even fails to present any fresh, significant facts.

The author obviously does not understand the essential connection between the problem of illiteracy and the class rule of Wall Street. To him there is no relation, for example, between the ruling class policies of oppression of thirteen million Negroes, the colonial peoples and American Indians, and the fact that here we find the most appalling

rates of illiteracy. Child labor as a factor in illiteracy is not even touched upon.

While in the population as a whole one in every 16 to 17 persons can not read or write, among the Negroes, one in five is so handicapped and among the Indians, one in every three. In Porto Rico, Haiti and other colonies one-third to one-half are kept in this extreme of enforced ignorance. In the Black Belt, where the overwhelming majority of the population are exploited Negro peasants, every third person is illiterate.

Yet the author, ignoring such facts, concludes (page 79), that as the older generations die off, "even if no further efforts were made to reduce the illiteracy and provided conditions remained the same, it may be assumed that the illiteracy rate for native whites of native parentage would approach one per cent."

In other words, in the natural course of events, illiteracy will "practically" disappear. Only one million poor white farmers and workers and three million Negroes and Indians will still be illiterate in ten years' time! There is nothing to worry about! What if the United

States is tenth on the list of nations having the highest rates of illiteracy in the world. What if more than 1,400,000 toilers' children are always out of school laboring in the fields and factories. Ignore such facts as that in this richest country on the earth, there are thirty times as many illiterates (in proportion to the population) as in Germany and Denmark. Middle class native whites of native parentage, thank god, are well fed and college-bred. Some of them are even able to spend months of analysis on a problem and write a book which is well received in the academic world—but which is a superficial farce from beginning to end.

This book offers another glaring example of the utter bankruptcy of what passes in capitalist-run universities as social science. Only Marxism and its dialectic method can furnish a genuine analysis of such problems as illiteracy; only a revolutionary workers' and farmers' government can remove this, along with other burdens from the shoulders of the toiling masses. Soviet Russia is demonstrating this. In 1913, under the rule of the czar, three out of every four of her population on the average, were illiterate.

The more than five million toilers in the United States condemned to illiteracy under the rule of Wall Street will learn this lesson, as well as others, from their Russian brothers. "Down with Illiteracy," in order to be achieved, means "Away with Capitalism," and "Up with the Soviets."

Proletarian Cultural Clubs Confer to Form Federation

By WILLIAM GROPPER.

Chairman of the Conference Committee for the Launching of a Proletarian Culture Federation.

Tomorrow morning representatives of a large number of proletarian cultural organizations will meet in Irving Plaza to found a federation that will embrace all the cultural groups in the New York area. The federation will be formed on a broad base, to include many sympathetic elements. Through the federation it will be possible:

- 1) To co-ordinate the activities and to clarify the aims of all proletarian cultural groups of all nationalities, functioning in such diverse cultural forms as art, literature, drama, dancing, music, sports, cinema, education, nature-study, Esperanto anti-religious work, etc.
- 2) To develop more effectively than in the past cultural programs for meetings, demonstrations, strikes and political campaigns.
- 3) To stimulate cultural activities within trade unions, fraternal organizations, workers' clubs, etc.
- 4) To set in motion an exchange of experience and material among the various cultural groups, thus improving their effectiveness in the class struggle.
- 5) To form closer contacts with the proletarian cultural movements in other countries, particularly the American colonies and Latin America.
- 6) To reach broader masses of workers, especially Negro workers.

The federation will be loose, but it will not be a paper organization. It will help develop to the highest standard the proletarian arts as weapons of struggle. We must become the

leading force in every field of expression, and in that way, win over the unidealized workers as well as the intellectual—writers, artists, scientists, students, teachers, chemists, engineers, etc.

The motion picture is a powerful propaganda medium. The cost of the silent film is comparatively cheap and within the means of many organizations which could produce revolutionary working class films. A federation can help to exhibit such films on a wide scale.

The same applies to victrola records of workers' songs, to proletarian literature whose publication can be made possible by subscription, and to exhibitions of proletarian art which can be sent to all clubs and organizations.

This will at the same time stimulate the individual writers, artists, musicians, dramatists and others to create for the revolutionary movement.

Definite programs can be planned for national and international contests and socialist competitions can be arranged in every field of cultural work. It is impossible in the space of a short article to discuss in detail all the advantages that will be derived from the federation. The conference tomorrow is only a beginning; the federation will undoubtedly within a short time expand into a national organization, embracing the nearly 100,000 workers who are engaged in some form of cultural work and carrying its activity into the ranks of the hundreds of thousands more who are in the grip of the churches, the YMCA, sport clubs, and other bourgeois cultural agencies.

They March in Pennsylvania

By A. B. MAGIL.

THEY march in Pennsylvania! 2,000, 5,500, 9,000, 15,000, 20,000 Who'll stop them?

The miners are marching, the dark stony faces are marching, the swinging arms, the eyes like mine-pits dug deep by hunger are marching. Who'll stop them?

Strike! Down tools! They're marching, they're marching: Gilmore Buffalo Bertha Kinloch Avella Coverdale Wildwood Westland Renton

GENERAL STRIKE SWEEPS PITTSBURGH MINE DISTRICT They march, the years of hunger march, the bones of misery—the fighting fists are marching in Pennsylvania!

STRIKE! When the flame is leaping from mine to mine What downpour of scabs can quench it? It's spread the strike! Build the union! Clean out the scabs! Better starve striking than working! It's Fight, Fight, Fight! TWO STRIKERS SHOT IN COAL MINE RIOTS Shoot, you bastards! O it's death to the old life when they march in Pennsylvania!

# THE FIVE YEAR PLAN—BUILDING A SOCIALIST WORLD

The yesterday's article showed that the Soviets use their power to build Socialism and to eliminate capitalism in Russia. Capitalist economy produces for profits and therefore causes unemployment and starvation. Socialism produces for need and therefore will do away with unemployment and starvation. The Five-Year Plan is a tremendous step toward Socialism. It was preceded by the NEP. The NEP followed War Communism. The article shows the respective roles of War Communism, the NEP, and the Five Year Plan in the construction of Socialism.

By MAX BEDACHT.

## IV. The Five Year Plan.

The Five Year Plan is a sectional plan of minimum accomplishments in the building of socialism. Within five years it provides for a fixed minimum advance in the development of industry, in the development of electric power and of means of transportation; it demands a fixed minimum of advance in socialization of all production including agricultural, a minimum of advance of the living and cultural standards of the toiling Russian masses, and last but not least, a minimum accomplishment in the dissolution of the capitalist class.

The hysteric ravings of the American capitalists about the Five Year Plan and the echoes of these ravings in the New York Evening Post and other capitalist papers can be understood only in the light of these collective aims of the Plan. Mere industrial development of Russia could never result in such universal capitalist antagonism. The "crime supreme" of the Soviets is that they carry through this industrial development without and even against the capitalist class. The capitalists of the world desire nothing more than the development of Russian industries—for their private profits; but they abhor, denounce, condemn and anathematize industrial development of Russia in the interests of the Russian masses. However, Hoover and Woll, Fish and Hillquit, the New York Evening Post and Chicago Tribune notwithstanding, the Soviets proceed successfully with the building of socialism on the basis of the Five Year Plan.

### Capitalism Cannot Plan Its Economy.

Although the Five Year Plan is primarily a series of economic measures, yet its major import is political. Its very starting point is planned economy. Planned economy is impossible under capitalism. Planned economy bases itself on an accurate and detailed analysis of the co-relative facts and factors of public needs and the means to supply these needs. Planned economy systematically develops public needs as well as the means to supply them. Capitalism cannot fulfill any of the two provisions of planned economy. It cannot ascertain public needs. Capitalist commodity production is not based on needs; it is only concerned with the ability to buy. Capitalist commodity production planned on the basis of public needs would lead to hopeless overproduction; those that have the greatest needs usually have the least ability to buy; and capitalism does not care for the needs of anyone who is unable to pay.

But capitalism is also unable to distribute production systematically. Systematic organization of production means the assignment of definite production quotas to every factory, workshop or mine; it means the elimination of small and inefficient and the favoring of the big, modern and efficient establishments. Such a distribution of production by a capitalist government would violate the inviolable rule of American capitalism that business must go into the government, but that under no conditions must government go into business. It would also violate the blessed capitalist individualism and would kill the doubly blessed capitalist initiative; it would result in a cat-and-dog fight between the capitalists themselves.

The Five Year Plan therefore presupposes the political fact of a workers' government. All the ink spilled by "liberal" capitalist economists about the advisability of adopting a five year or any other plan for capitalist economy in America to overcome the present crisis, is therefore just so much waste of ink.

### Five Year Plan Builds Socialism.

Starting from the political premise of a workers' government, the Five Year Plan proceeds to its aim: Socialism. To achieve this aim it must not only overcome the physical resistance of the remnants of capitalist elements in Russia, the NEP-men and the Kulaks, but it must also overcome the mental resistance of large masses of poor peasantry. These poor peasants are individualists—according to the capitalists the peasants are "natural" and therefore incurable individualists. However, their individualism is only the reflection of the primitive individual tools with which they till their tiny parcels of land. It is not the "natural individualism" of the peasant that erected the fence around his small holding. It is the primitive individual farm implement; it is this implement which can only be used on small parcels of land, together with the fence around his small parcel of land, that maintained the individualism of the peasant. The tractor, the gang-plow, the cultivator and the combine will break down the fence.

In America too the "individualism" of the farmers is cited by the capitalists as the unconquerable barrier to socialism. But developments in America, too, disprove the

eternal character of this individualism. Though it is a rule incomparably larger than the holding of the European peasant, the farm of the poor American farmer is still too small to make profitable individual use, for instance of a combine, even if the farmer had the money to buy one. Yet this combine by its very existence and use elsewhere lowers the cost of production of grain and thereby reduces the poor farmers' income. Therefore even the poor American farmer will have to look toward collectivization of small farms to make possible the use of the most modern farm machinery. This is the only possible method to lower the cost of production for the poor farmers. The need for such collectivization in America grows daily. Its growth undermines the "natural individualism" even of the American farmer.

### Tractor Breaks Down Peasants Fence and Individualism.

With the fence around his holdings will also gradually break down the mental capitalist fence around the ideas of the Russian peasant. As the primitive implements which can only be used individually on small holdings are exchanged for modern implements which demand the breaking down of the fences between the small holdings, and also demand collective efforts of the peasants, there will also take place a change of the narrow individualist peasant of the capitalist days into the collective agriculturist of socialism. The economic fact of the tractor causes the political fact of death to the peasants' individualism. Therefore the Five Year Plan tackles the problem of socialization of agricultural production and of the agricultural producer with an extensive program of collectivization of the small peasant economies throughout the country by means of the tractor.

Of the present population of the Soviet Union of about 161 millions, approximately 125 million are rural (agricultural) population. This rural population is distributed over about 23 million individual farms. Less than a million of these farms are kulak holdings. The rest are poor and middle peasants. The present quota for collectivization of agriculture of the Five Year Plan demands that 50 per cent, or about 60 million of the agricultural population must be gathered in collectives by the end of 1931. At this moment in May, 1931, this quota is already fulfilled. At the beginning of the Five Year Plan, in October, 1928, 2.3 per cent of the Soviet peasant holdings were collectivized. On April 20, 1931, 47.1 per cent had been collectivized.

This collectivization also undermines the existence of the kulak. The kulak is the village usurer. According to an apt American expression, the kulak farms the farmers. The collectivization of the small peasant holdings is making the poor peasant economically independent of the kulak. At the same time it rapidly increases the productivity of farming. These facts make the kulak an entirely unnecessary public nuisance. The workers' government deals with

him accordingly. The kulak is told categorically to stop living on the labor of others and to work himself for a living. This is one of those terrible "crimes" of the Soviets which neither Hamilton Fish nor Morris Hillquit, neither Hoover nor Woll, neither the A. F. L. nor the Daughters of the American Revolution are ever willing to forgive. The whole capitalist world complacently watched the iron heel of czarist oppression and exploitation on the necks of 125 millions of Russian peasants. But now when the masses of toilers of Russia tell the handful of kulaks: "Work if you want to eat and work yourself, not others," then the capitalist world gets indignant and the spokesmen of the American government solemnly declare that they could not recognize the Soviet Union because it violates every principle America stands for. And it seems that the Soviet Union is guilty too. But at any rate—capitalist noise or no noise—the class of kulaks is dissolved in the process of collectivization of agriculture and thus an anti-social substance is removed out of the way of the socialist advance.

### Industrialization Is Necessary for Collectivization.

Without tractors and gang-plows and combines there can be no collectivization of agriculture. Therefore this collectivization is a problem of industrialization. To be able to supply the tractors and combines, factories must be provided to produce them. These factories need motive power and necessitate the erection of electrical power stations. They also need steel, iron, tin, copper, etc. These things cannot be supplied without the development of metal mining and the establishment of smelters, rolling mills, etc.

Industrialization of the whole machinery of production is not only necessary for the collectivization and socialization of agricultural production. It is in itself an indispensable step in the building of socialism. The whole industrialization program presupposes the development of the means of transportation. Railroads must be built. This takes more steel and more machinery. Autos must be manufactured. More raw material and still more machinery are needed to accomplish this. And roads must be built. Roads cannot be built without cement, asphalt and tar. Consequently the manufacture of these necessities must be taken in hand. There can be no running motor vehicles without fuel. Therefore the oil production must be increased and oil refineries must be built and equipped. Steamships must be built. Rivers must be made navigable and canals must be dug. Chemicals are needed for fertilizer to increase the productivity of agriculture and to fit into the mechanization of agricultural production. The increase of the productivity of agriculture in turn must free additional labor for the further development of industry.

The Five-Year Plan is designed to supply these needs. It is an intricate scheme of industrial construction and industrialization of agriculture which is to solve all of these prob-

lems on the basis of a minimum plan of total accomplishments.

The Five-Year Plan provides, for instance, for a five-fold increase in the capacity of electric power generation during the five years. This will bring the production of electric power in the Soviet Union to not less than 25 billion kilowatt hours in 1933. The Soviet Union will then be third in line of electric power producing countries, the United States being first and Germany second.

The Five-Year Plan provides for the doubling of the oil production. But this goal was reached within two and one-half years.

In the tractor production, the Five-Year Plan provided for 6,500 Soviet-made tractors in 1930. The total amount of tractors in use in the U.S.S.R. was to be increased to 170,000 tractors in 1933. In fact, however, the Soviet tractor production amounted to 13,400 in 1930 and the total number in use in 1933 will reach 350,000. At this moment the Soviet Union has already 106,000 tractors operating. Canada has only 95,000 operating, Germany only 30,000.

Similar aims were set by the Five-Year Plan for all industries and in all branches of production. Similarly, too, the real achievements in all industries and in all branches of production outstripped the quotas of the Five-Year Plan. The accomplishment of the Five-Year Plan in four years will therefore be a reality.

The most important achievements of the Five-Year Plan, however, are not these increases in industrial output and erection of new industries. Capitalism too developed industry although never with such rapidity. But capitalism always paid for its achievements with the sweat and the blood and the lives of the workers. Its intensified exploitation drives the workers to premature old age. Its industrial development worsens absolutely, but in every case relatively, the standard of living of the workers. It increases and multiplies the wealth and riches of the few capitalists, while it pushes down into the class of propertyless proletarians ever larger masses.

On the other hand the immediate and planned result of industrial construction of the Soviet Union is the rapid and systematic improvement of the living standards of the Russian masses. The standards inherited by the Revolution from czarism were at an unbelievably low level. During 1931 over one billion dollars are being spent by the Soviets for social insurance. Capitalist America does not spend one cent. For the erection of workers' dwellings, almost a billion and a half dollars have been appropriated by the Soviets for the Five-Year Plan. The Five-Year Plan provides for a 50 per cent increase of the income of the workers. This increase is exemplified in the constantly climbing wages and reflects itself also in the fact of meat consumption per head of the population which is constantly on the increase in the Soviet Union. In the United States it is on the decrease. The Hoover report on "Recent Economic Changes" claims that this decrease comes from the adoption of a more scientific diet on the part of the workers. Any miner or steel worker could have told the eminent engineer Hoover that if the worker ate less meat now than he did some years ago, it is not because of a more scientific diet, but because he cannot buy as much meat any more as he used to.

Egg consumption in the Soviet Union has almost doubled since the inauguration of the Five-Year Plan, all the reports of starvation in Russia by the inventive capitalist news liars notwithstanding. The much advertised shortage of necessities in the Soviet Union is a reflection of the rapid growth of the standards of living. Industrial development cannot keep pace with this growth. Therefore it cannot satisfy completely the growing needs of the market. In this respect the Soviet Union economy again distinguishes itself from capitalist economy. The productive capacity of capitalism grows faster than its markets. The internal market of the Soviet Union grows faster than its productive capacity. This phenomena is a fact of socialist development. Profit was the incentive of rapid capitalist development in America. The needs and the well-being of the masses is the basis of the Five-Year Plan development of the productive forces in the Soviet Union. Every new factory opened under the Five-Year Plan increases the productive capacity of the Soviet Union and consequently increase the share of the Soviet worker. The increase of the share of the Soviet worker in turn increases his capacity to consume and consequently creates additional demands upon production.

Every step forward in the Five-Year Plan liquidates remnants of capitalism and insures the Soviet worker against the recurrence of unemployment and against the possible downward revision of its constantly improving living standards. Every step forward in the Five-Year Plan is at the same time an invitation to the workers of the capitalist world to stop paying tribute to the capitalists, but instead to take over the organization and administration of production themselves through a workers' government. Only such a step could put a definite end to unemployment in America. Only such a step can basically change the position of the masses in America. In capitalist America the masses of workers and poor farmers are forced to fight for a bare chance to live—which chance capitalism in many instances cannot provide. In the Soviet Union the few remaining capitalists must fight for a chance to live—and can always get it if they agree to work themselves instead of working others.

## Force Withdrawal of Bar to Hunger March in Illinois

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

contingent will leave.

Each section will ride to city and town limits where the trucks and automobiles will be temporarily abandoned and the delegates, each wearing a band reading "Illinois Hunger March," will parade through the town. Then the automobiles will be resumed, with additional cars joining from each town along the way.

Courthouse Square, Joliet, will be the scene of the first meeting the Chicago section will hold. The Chicago section will stop over night in Bloomington.

Fifteen hundred miners in Spring Valley elected five delegates to the Hunger March yesterday. The miners here are mobilizing for a meeting in the Public Square for the marchers when they pass through on their way to Springfield. Prior to the meeting in Spring Valley, a Peru-La Salle mass meeting will be held in the largest park in Peru, Washington Park. Here the section from the Tri-Cities will meet another section starting from Rockford. The next big meeting along this route will be held in the State House Square Sunday morning at 9 a. m.

The United Mine Workers of America has a united front with the operators here the same as in Pennsylvania. They tried to hold a meeting of 300 miners yesterday at Long Run, but the miners took over the meeting in the name of the National Miners Union. All five Hanna mines, the biggest company in the district, have struck. Five hundred miners in the Shinnston area, West Virginia, struck yesterday.

The attitude of the authorities was shown yesterday in a statement of the Belmont Sheriff: "No quarter will be shown radicals from outside

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## STRIKE SPREADS TO WEST VA.; SOME OPERATORS OFFER TERMS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

the county who have come from outside the county to freighten peaceful working men into leaving mines." As a matter of fact, every National Miners Union organizer here works in Belmont County mines.

A statement issued here today by Bob Sivert, District Secretary of the National Miners Union, protests the and children, and demands the withdrawal of the armed forces of county, state and professional thugs of the coal operators from the strike area.

An Ohio and West Virginia mine strike conference will be held at Roma Hall, Bellaire, Ohio, Sunday at 10 a. m.

Belmont County authorities voted \$25,000 for added deputies to break the strike. Thousands of unemployed here are starving as there is no relief.

A conference of coal operators, the Governor, and the Attorney General will be held Thursday to discuss the strike situation, announced that troops were kept ready to dispatch to the strike area.

The United Mine Workers of America has a united front with the operators here the same as in Pennsylvania. They tried to hold a meeting of 300 miners yesterday at Long Run, but the miners took over the meeting in the name of the National Miners Union. All five Hanna mines, the biggest company in the district, have struck. Five hundred miners in the Shinnston area, West Virginia, struck yesterday.

The attitude of the authorities was shown yesterday in a statement of the Belmont Sheriff: "No quarter will be shown radicals from outside

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# Districts! "Save Daily"

## Tag Days June 26, 27, 28! Make Preparations Now!

National Tag Days, June 26, 27 and 28 for "Daily" benefit should be kept in mind. This does not mean that other campaign work must stop. The drive is half over and yet only one-third of the \$35,000 has been raised. Make preparations NOW for the above dates but don't let it interfere with other work. The "Daily" is still in a very critical condition. There must be no letting down in activity. REMEMBER THE DATES! ...

Solidarity of Negro and white workers in the campaign for \$35,000 will pull the Daily Worker out of its financial rut and make it an even greater fighting organ in behalf of the working class. The importance of a united front in defense of the workers' paper is made clear in the following letter from a comrade in New York:

"Because I feel the solidarity of Negro and white workers, I, white worker, a few days ago, helped two Negro workers to get jobs at the same place that I was working. On the next day one of these two Negro workers wanted to present me with \$2. I told him I was not a grafter and spoke to him about the Communist movement which unites under its banner of struggle Negro and white workers. He was pleased with the idea and they both agreed to send the Daily Worker the \$2 as subscription for this Negro worker. I am sure he will soon join our ranks."

### BUILD D. W. IN SOUTHERN STATES.

The Scottsboro "Sacco-Vanzetti" case, the Youngstown, O., National Youth demonstration attacks, the Post Knickerbocker Crusade against the Soviet Union, miners' strikes in the Pennsylvania coal regions, strikes all over the country against wage cuts, etc., makes the necessity of keeping the "Daily" alive—a responsibility which every class-conscious worker must keenly feel. Solidarity in defense of the "Daily" in its hour of distress will save our revolutionary paper—Negro and white workers! Rush support funds at once!

The Scottsboro case presents a splendid opportunity for organizing Negro workers into D. W. clubs. Alabama workers should be made acquainted with the struggle of their brothers in Western Pennsylvania and in other sections. Why have

Wednesday's totals went up \$1,436.35, but only through an accident. A friend of the Daily Worker in the New York district, whom the Daily had borrowed \$500 from, cancelled this debt Wednesday and contributed the money. Otherwise the day's totals would have been only \$936.35, a decline from the previous day. This indicates that there has been a flagging of activity in the districts outside of New York, and a glance at the figures shows it.

District 2 (New York), with its contribution of more than \$1,900, raises its totals to within \$500 of its quota of \$10,000—a splendid showing. But not a single other district has even raised one-half of its quota though the drive is half over. Districts 6 (Cleveland) and 8 (Chicago), which spurred the day before, dropped off badly Wednesday. District 9 (Minnesota) has been pretty dead. District 3 (Philadelphia) and 7 (Detroit) improved slightly over the previous day, but they are still travelling at a snail's pace. District 13 (California), after actually contributing \$1 on Tuesday, found the effort too much for it and took a rest Wednesday. A special wire to District 13, telling of the critical situation and demanding immediate action, has evidently been carefully filed away and forgotten. Workers of Districts 3, 7, and 13, get on the job at once; rally to your Daily!

District 1	Comrades, La W. 10.00	District 10	H. C. Carpenter 2.00
District 2	U. S. Peabody, 14.35	District 11	O. J. Oehlert 2.00
District 3	T. B. Roxbury, 1.35	District 12	E. W. Sandell 1.00
District 4	H. S. Boston, Mass. .50	District 13	Rose Johnson 5.00
District 5	Freiburg, Boston 1.75	District 14	Portland, Ore. 1.00
District 6	H. K. Newark .25	District 15	Total \$6.00
District 7	R. E. N.Y. 2.00	District 16	D. U. Unit 2.00
District 8	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 17	H. W. Harris 1.00
District 9	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 18	K. P. Ramon 2.00
District 10	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 19	Mykyten 1.00
District 11	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 20	P. Chaban 1.00
District 12	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 21	Mykyten 1.00
District 13	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 22	P. Chaban 1.00
District 14	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 23	Mykyten 1.00
District 15	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 24	P. Chaban 1.00
District 16	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 25	Mykyten 1.00
District 17	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 26	P. Chaban 1.00
District 18	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 27	Mykyten 1.00
District 19	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 28	P. Chaban 1.00
District 20	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 29	Mykyten 1.00
District 21	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 30	P. Chaban 1.00
District 22	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 31	Mykyten 1.00
District 23	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 32	P. Chaban 1.00
District 24	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 33	Mykyten 1.00
District 25	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 34	P. Chaban 1.00
District 26	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 35	Mykyten 1.00
District 27	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 36	P. Chaban 1.00
District 28	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 37	Mykyten 1.00
District 29	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 38	P. Chaban 1.00
District 30	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 39	Mykyten 1.00
District 31	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 40	P. Chaban 1.00
District 32	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 41	Mykyten 1.00
District 33	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 42	P. Chaban 1.00
District 34	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 43	Mykyten 1.00
District 35	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 44	P. Chaban 1.00
District 36	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 45	Mykyten 1.00
District 37	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 46	P. Chaban 1.00
District 38	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 47	Mykyten 1.00
District 39	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 48	P. Chaban 1.00
District 40	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 49	Mykyten 1.00
District 41	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 50	P. Chaban 1.00
District 42	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 51	Mykyten 1.00
District 43	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 52	P. Chaban 1.00
District 44	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 53	Mykyten 1.00
District 45	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 54	P. Chaban 1.00
District 46	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 55	Mykyten 1.00
District 47	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 56	P. Chaban 1.00
District 48	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 57	Mykyten 1.00
District 49	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 58	P. Chaban 1.00
District 50	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 59	Mykyten 1.00
District 51	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 60	P. Chaban 1.00
District 52	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 61	Mykyten 1.00
District 53	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 62	P. Chaban 1.00
District 54	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 63	Mykyten 1.00
District 55	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 64	P. Chaban 1.00
District 56	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 65	Mykyten 1.00
District 57	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 66	P. Chaban 1.00
District 58	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 67	Mykyten 1.00
District 59	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 68	P. Chaban 1.00
District 60	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 69	Mykyten 1.00
District 61	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 70	P. Chaban 1.00
District 62	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 71	Mykyten 1.00
District 63	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 72	P. Chaban 1.00
District 64	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 73	Mykyten 1.00
District 65	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 74	P. Chaban 1.00
District 66	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 75	Mykyten 1.00
District 67	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 76	P. Chaban 1.00
District 68	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 77	Mykyten 1.00
District 69	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 78	P. Chaban 1.00
District 70	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 79	Mykyten 1.00
District 71	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 80	P. Chaban 1.00
District 72	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 81	Mykyten 1.00
District 73	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 82	P. Chaban 1.00
District 74	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 83	Mykyten 1.00
District 75	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 84	P. Chaban 1.00
District 76	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 85	Mykyten 1.00
District 77	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 86	P. Chaban 1.00
District 78	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 87	Mykyten 1.00
District 79	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 88	P. Chaban 1.00
District 80	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 89	Mykyten 1.00
District 81	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 90	P. Chaban 1.00
District 82	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 91	Mykyten 1.00
District 83	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 92	P. Chaban 1.00
District 84	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 93	Mykyten 1.00
District 85	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	District 94	P. Chaban 1.00
District 86	H. P. N.Y. 1.75	D	

# Full Report of Com. Litvinov's Speech in the European Commission

## Delivered at the Session Held on May 18, 1931

(The European Commission of the League of Nations held its sessions between May 15 and May 21. Comrade Litvinov took part in the sessions for the Soviet Union and delivered the speech which we reprint here, in installments, on May 18th. The speech will be published as a 24 page pamphlet at 2 cents a copy. Order yours now. This is the fourth and last installment.—Ed.)

There are some people, particularly people connected with the press—I am not sure that it is worth while taking them seriously—who contend that the Soviet government has adopted a devilish plan to secure the disorganization of the capitalist economic system by selling goods below cost price. It would be difficult to imagine anything more absurd than such a plan, which would have no effect whatever on the final fate of capitalism, but which would result merely in cutting down the income of the Soviet Union from its export trade and as a result, reducing the important trade of the Soviet Union. The net result would be that the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union would be delayed, and this work is a much more important factor in the struggle between the two systems than anything else.

It is no less absurd on the part of our enemies to forge plans for the struggle against our foreign trade. First of all such plans would not materially affect the future of our foreign trade, and secondly they would be a boomerang for the capitalist states because as a result of them the existing crisis would be still further aggravated.

On the other hand, of course, it would be naive to pretend that the capitalist states are working conscientiously and impartially to assist the building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union, or that the Soviet Union attempts in any way to strengthen the capitalist system. The truth of the matter is simply that there must be economic agreements and trade relations between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union, and that these agreements and business relations are profitable to all parties concerned. There are many such agreements to be met with.

For the moment I will ignore the possibility of a military attack on the Soviet Union, and

deal only with the possibility of a period of peaceful relations extending over a generous time. I think that the moment has come for the capitalist governments to realize that the Soviet Union is a fact, and a fact that must be reckoned with. The Soviet Union is not to be removed from the face of the earth by the conjurations or resolutions of certain groups or certain individuals who dream of achieving this desirable consummation by some magic trick.

The States which are now represented here, met together at a world conference which took place four years ago in Geneva and decided to adopt a resolution proclaiming the possibility of a peaceful parallel existence of two systems prevailing at a definite historical moment. How much more reasonable it would be were they now to decide to put this resolution into practice. The Soviet Union is much stronger today than it was at that time. During the last four years it has achieved feats of economic reconstruction which have won the admiration of both friends and foes of the Soviet regime, and fostered the enthusiasm of the masses of the people of the Soviet Union without which these feats could never have been accomplished.

A Commission for the Study of the possibilities of a European Union cannot base its work on a campaign or an appeal for a campaign, against a country or against a certain group of countries, without coming into contradiction with the principles and the aims which it has set itself.

### The Dangers of the Preference System.

I began my remarks by declaring that I had no intention of proposing any remedy for the solution of those conflicts in the capitalist system which are the basis of the present world economic crisis. However, I believe that something could be done to remove certain contributory factors which intensify these conflicts and lead to the aggravation and pro-

traction of the present crisis. First of all, everything should be avoided which is calculated to increase the atmosphere of suspicion, an atmosphere which makes it impossible to speak of any peaceful economic cooperation between the peoples.

I do not know whether any effective proposals will be made to this Commission. I only know that much as has been said and written on the subject, and that the so-called preference system has been in particular the object of interest. I do not know exactly what is meant by this term preference system. Does it mean perhaps that each European State is to grant preferential customs treatment to the export of certain other European States? It seems to me, however, that something different is meant, namely the extension of preferential customs treatment and other privileges to a certain group of States, or simply to certain States. If this be the case, is it not practically the extension of those methods used during and after the war on the field to the economic field? These methods showed no very favorable results in political life. Would not the result be the intensified division of Europe into economic groups, instead of the unification of Europe, which is the avowed object of this Commission? Such a procedure would not lead to cooperation, but to an intensified struggle, whereby the occasion of the struggle would be rather political than economic motives. It will be recalled that when the question of assistance for those States, referred to under the general term of Danubian States, was raised in Paris, M. Fotitch, the representative of the Yugoslavian government, if I remember rightly, declared that such assistance would take on a social rather than an economic character. We observe, therefore, that this question was dealt with only from a political standpoint, and that the economic crisis was not taken into consideration thereby. It seems to me that the creation of new blocks and groups which al-

ready exist, and the granting of artificial economic assistance to certain States to the disadvantage of other States would result only in intensifying the economic and political struggle which already exists, in increasing the prevailing confusion, and in arriving at a solution which is directly opposed to the aim which this Commission pursues and for which it was created.

### The Economic Non-Aggression Pact Proposed.

If all governments, and particularly the governments of European countries, could agree to adopt a uniform attitude, then the carrying out of the program of this Commission and the peaceful cooperation of the peoples would be greatly facilitated. Of course, it would be necessary for each European State to grant equal treatment to all other European States, and to exclude ruthlessly all elements no matter what their nature, calculated to produce any differential treatment.

I must point out that with my proposal I have no intention of limiting the sovereignty of States which have historically and economically a special position from the point of view of economic relations. However, one principle must be inviolable: the right of every nation to join groupings or federations of nations so long as this is done voluntarily and so long as it is not a question of temporary combinations directed against other States. I may say that my proposal is a sort of economic non-aggression pact. I have laid down my idea of this pact in a special draft resolution to which I permit myself to draw your attention. I do not know what you will think about it, but at least this draft resolution will prove the willingness of the Soviet Union, which is confident in its own strength and which is thoroughly engaged in the tremendous tasks of the constructive work it is conducting, to maintain firmly as in the past the principle of the peaceful parallel existence of the two economic systems which exist simultaneously at a definite historical moment. The draft resolution will serve as an earnest of the fact that the Soviet Union harbors no aggressive intentions either of a political or economic character against any other State.



By JORGE

### The Fake Bill for Fake Relief

One of the comrades on the staff was noting around through the N. Y. Times of April, when he ran across a story dated April 7, at Albany, N. Y., telling what the N. Y. State Legislature was doing at that time, just before adjourning. There were many items, and our staff member, examining the list to see what the bosses' government did, found the following paragraph:

"It passed the Fake bill appropriating \$75,000 to provide for relief for sick and disabled veterans of the World War. Under 'he measure, veterans who are partly disabled may receive up to \$250 a year."

Now \$75,000, divided up in chunks of \$250, would go only to 300 veterans. These selected ones, picked by politicians among themselves and friends, "may"—as the story states, get such relief. The others "may" do without. It was a Fake bill, all right! Introduced by Representative Fake, and fake every other way, too!

All we got to say is that veterans who are workers should join up with the Workers' Service League, and fight to get the rest of the bonus, also—to help the general struggle for unemployment insurance.

### "Dumping"—But Not the Soviet Kind

Mr. Knickerbocker and the N. Y. Post will no longer have a little bit about the following story of an outrageous case of dumping. You figure out why they won't. The headline (Chicago Tribune, June 9) said:

"Brazil Dumps 534,000 Pounds of Coffee Into the Ocean."

That's about enough to make workers wild isn't it? Coffee still costs 35 cents a pound in New York, a nickel a cup (and some places 10 cents) in restaurants. But... we'll give you the whole story:

"Rio de Janeiro, June 8.—The National Coffee Council here today destroyed 534,000 pounds of coffee, excess stocks, by throwing it into the ocean 17 miles from shore. This method has been approved as more satisfactory than burning or dumping it near the shore. The latter method has led to the coffee being reached by the poor."

So! You see that the wild anger of the capitalists against the Soviets is because the Soviet refuses to dump food into the ocean so "the poor cannot rescue it" and by destroying such food thus keep up a monopoly price that the poor cannot afford. Isn't capitalism perfectly lovely?

# FORCES AND TACTICS IN MINERS' STRIKE AGAINST STARVATION

By BILL DUNNE

NEVER in the history of the desperate struggles in the mining industry in Western Pennsylvania have the workers as a whole—Negro men and women, striking miners, unemployed miners, men, women and children—displayed such heroism and determination as is to be seen every day and night—on the mass picket lines and marches on what the Pittsburgh papers call the "70-mile coal mine battle front."

This is not alone the opinion of organizers of the National Miners' Union—who might be accused of being partial—but of cynical newspaper reporters and federal labor conciliators who have observed the bitter struggles—and betrayals—of the miners for the last decade. More than this: The miners consciously and willingly accept the program and leadership of the N.M.U. and their Rank and File Strike Committee elected right from the mines.

A federal conciliator who visited the office of the N.M.U. June 9 said: "My checkup of the strike field shows that 95 per cent of the miners are for the N.M.U. There is no denying this."

Even in this district where every mining camp has been the scene of fierce class battles for a decade, in the steel trust-controlled state whose state police made clear to American workers the meaning of the term "cossack" for Russian workers under the czar, the attacks on the picket lines and mass marches, the intimidation in the homes of the miners, the scope and character of these attacks, the size of the armed forces employed in these assaults, are practically without parallel.

### U.M.W.A. Exposes Itself.

The U.M.W.A. officials—Fagan and Co.—have denounced the National Miners Union but they have remained unmoved by the sight of 300 men, women and children of the mine fields beaten and bleeding from club and bullet wounds received at the hands of coal and iron police, state cossacks and sheriff's deputies. They remained unmoved by the sight of dozens of unarmed victims of the scientifically equipped state forces gasping from tear gas, unmoved by the sight of wounded miners arrested by their "victorious" assailants, charged with inciting to riot, held under \$5,000 bail or sentenced to 90 days in jail for "resisting arrest."

Pardon my error: I said they remained unmoved. On the contrary, they are gladdened by all this. Not only have they issued no statement denouncing the attacks but they fraternize openly with the armed thugs and after each attack issue press statements saying that "the U.M.W.A. is making progress." Parenthetically, we might remark here that on the afternoon of June 9 Pat Fagan personally made very rapid progress—out of the town of Mollensaur, with 800 enraged miners at his heels.

The strike continues to spread. Miners at mines which no N.M.U. organizer has been able to reach call up and report that they have struck and elected a strike committee. The picketing goes on. The mass marches and demonstrations are carried through. Mass meetings continue in spite of sheriff's proclamations to the effect that any gathering of more than three persons in the strike area is illegal and will be dispersed.

It would be foolish to say that the attacks and the huge display of military force had not created great difficulties. It would be insane to think that the state of Pennsylvania does not possess sufficient military and police resources to crush the strike by force. But the unadorned facts are that the men, women and children of the Western Pennsylvania coal fields show no awe whatever in the face of the armed forces,

that they have reformed their picket lines as many as four times in some instances and charged through a tear gas barrage behind which lay barricaded professional killers armed with machine guns. The workers had only sticks and stones they had picked up along the roadside.

Brave men, these uniformed defenders of the coal operators who will fire a machine gun burst fearlessly into a line of working men and women—and children—armed with the weapons of primitive man—sticks and stones. The Pittsburgh papers lavish much praise on these heroes and commend their courage in the highest terms. Of course to the Pittsburgh papers—and especially in the view of their special writers like one Lytle—three women with broomsticks and one child of 10 hurling a decayed turnip constitute an "angry armed mob." (If there is anything lower than the sadistic brutes who are the sworn guardians of the Keystone state—with the emphasis on the coal operators and steel barons—it is the "liberal" governor who fabricated excuses for his bloody attacks on starving workers, and if there is anything lower than this in the human scale it is an operator's bootlicker in the form of a U.M.W.A. official, and if there is anything lower than this it is a special writer for the Pittsburgh papers. Well, maybe a Pittsburgh city editor. As a southern textile worker once said to me in the course of a very fruitful discussion on the ancestry and traits of this species: "They could put on a silk hat and walk under a snake's belly without tickling him.")

The exact numerical strength of the defenders of "law and order" is hard to estimate but undoubtedly Governor Pinchot, that sterling "friend of labor," who has sent so many well-equipped emissaries to maintain close contact with striking miners, could give exact figures. The gloating statements of the local coal and steel shels, however, enable one to form a general estimate. For instance, the Pittsburgh Press (Scripps-McRae) said on June 9: "...hundreds of state troopers, deputies and coal police stood guard along the 70-mile coal front in three counties." The Sun-Telegraph (Hearst) on the same date said: "Those districts marked by disorders yesterday became armed camps as additional deputies equipped with tear gas bombs and saved-off shotguns went on duty." In the very first days of the strike Sheriff Cain of Allegheny County publicly declared his intention of enlisting "10,000 deputies if necessary." He has since issued what loyal vassals of this barony undoubtedly consider an unnecessarily humanitarian ukase, i.e., this tender-hearted captain of the condottieri has prohibited women and children from appearing on the picket lines and taking part in the marches.

This is nothing more or less than the notice usually given to the enemy in "civilized" warfare for the evacuation of those considered non-combatants before the strafing begins. It is the second step in the war on the starving miners and their families. This "legal" formality was ignored in the recent big push of June 8 and dozens of women and children were ridden down and clubbed. Rumor has it that some of the weaker-stomached liegemen who have not yet learned the thrill that comes from clubbing haggard mothers and half-fed children were alarmed lest this social error exercise a bad effect on "the public."

But the loyal Post-Gazette had anticipated these spineless waverings and asserted sternly that "any weakening on the part of the authorities" would have had consequences. It is quite clear that the rulers consider this strike a serf revolt in which no quarter is to be given but that at present it is believed uneconomic to exterminate the entire mine worker population.

### "Business might pick up."

II

In the face of certain injury for many and probable death for others, the strike front extends and the rear is being consolidated. This tells the story of the morale of these workers who have not as yet received one dollar or one pound of food as strike relief.

What is the reason for this iron determination? Implicit in the chief slogan of the struggle, "Strike Against Starvation," is both the main reason for stern determination of the workers and the character of this struggle in which the class lines are so clearly defined. "Strike Against Starvation" is not a mere alliterative and evanescent catchword but a battery which expresses in the most concise form the actual condition of the mass of the working-class population in the mining camps, and the only way at present to defend their right to live. Let me cite one or two concrete cases, quite typical of miners who are forced to trade at company stores:

At Rainey mines near Pricedale, the wage paid is 55 cents for a "wagon" holding about 41-2 tons of coal; loading 10 tons of coal is a good day's work. This is a little less than 15 cents per ton or about \$1.50 per day. By heart-breaking exertion it is possible to run this up to two or even three dollars per shift. But the mine works only one, two or three days per week. Prices at company stores are far higher than at ordinary stores. For a single man it means continual hunger. For a married miner and his family it means slow starvation and the disgusting diseases of malnutrition.

Go into such camps as this at six, seven or eight o'clock in the evening and one still hears the day shift dumping cars and the rattle of the coal on the tipples. The company store is an charge of an undernourished girl. The whir at the shafthead stops and after a while coal-blacked miners come into the company store with scrip and buy bread, beans, canned tomatoes and maybe a little coffee. They go home.

All this means that having no surplus from day to day, they must wait until the last pound of coal is weighed so that they can buy the bare necessities for supper. In dozens of company stores this scene is enacted evening after evening. Of course, when the mine doesn't work they don't eat. "Nothing over and above what the weigh slip calls for" is hard and fast precept on which the company stores operate. The operators make much of their kindness in keeping the company store open evenings so as to accommodate the miners but no Pennsylvania coal operator has ever been known to die from enlargement of the heart.

In the Rainey mines just before the strike the operators were experimenting with a new type of wagon which would contain an entire cutting of coal. The strike stopped the experiment but it is probable that in a burst of generosity the operators would have raised the price per wagon to 80 cents, been liberated over by the Pittsburgh papers for their contribution to increase the buying power of their employees in this trying period of depression and—reduced the tonnage rate practically to zero. No miner knows how much coal he digs or loads. According to the miners a cubic yard of pig iron on the scales of the average coal company weighs slightly less than one of Clara Bow's red tresses.

A Pittsburgh editor would shudder if one even hinted that there is anything in the nature of forced labor in the Western Pennsylvania mines. But right across the river from the Rainey mines is an "independent" mine which does not force its employees to trade at a company store and therefore is "good" to the miners. But this mine had not paid wages for four months. The miners cannot leave since there are no

jobs elsewhere. They have no money to pay for moving. But of course the operator is performing a public service by "continuing operations under exceedingly difficult conditions."

In all Western Pennsylvania there were not more than 28,000 miners working when the strike began and the great majority of these were working part time. Four years ago there were 80,000 miners. There was chronic mass unemployment here two years before the present general crisis. Wages have been hammered down to the cooie level and the miners speeded up beyond endurance.

The Pittsburgh papers harp continually upon the great differences in operating conditions in various mines and the tremendous problems these supermen, the coal operators, for the most part simply the raw material experts of the steel companies, are forced to face. Some mines have very favorable conditions, others have great technical difficulties, according to the press. From the miners' standpoint under present conditions there are no good mines. The difference consists in this: Some are worse than others.

Facing starvation and intolerable hardships on the job the miners themselves coined the phrase: "It's better to starve striking than to starve working." These conditions, coupled with the facts that the miners have had a long training in struggle and that they have developed a fighting leadership out of their own ranks in the National Miners Union, account for the militant and resolute character of the present struggle. Furthermore, the struggle involves practically the whole working class in each mining community. It is a mass revolt.

### III.

It takes more than widespread terror and legal suppression to break such a strike. The most skillful of the operators know this and have won most of the others for their tactical program. Even the rabid union hating Post-Gazette has lined up for the policy first given public expression by the Pittsburgh Press. The essence of this policy consists in revival of the U.M.W.A. as the company union for Western Pennsylvania. The operators and their various spokesmen are now declaring that they are not against organization in principle. They are trying by every means to set up, under the guns of the police and state cossacks, fascist unionism in the coalfields.

The Pittsburgh Press for June 8 carried an editorial headed: "Why not revive the U.M.W.A.?" The next day it said editorially: "Let the whole Pittsburgh district be organized (by the U.M.W.A.—B.D.) There will be no difficulty about wages or working conditions. In West Virginia organization has been accomplished at wage scales lower than any reputable Pittsburgh operator is paying. (The U.M.W.A. recently signed an agreement with the small Purglov's mine in northern West Virginia for 30 cents per ton, a checkbookman appointed by the company—and a checkoff of \$1.50 per month.)"

The Post-Gazette has followed suit although it took several days for it to make up its editorial mind—meaning that the coal operators were not as yet agreed upon this policy. But on June 10 the Post-Gazette said editorially: "The statements of Sheriff's Seaman of Washington County and Johnston of Westmoreland County that none of the violence in their fields is attributable to striking members of the United Mine Workers of America simply confirm the general observation. They have not only their own good sense, but fidelity to the wise counsel of their leaders to refrain from any act of disorder. Effective cooperation is possible only through proper organization of both miners and operators. The United Mine Workers... has experienced both victory and defeat... it deserves public support now for the very manner in which it

is combating the radicalism that would go to the point of violence. Its local leaders in the field are men who have been known for years to the miners and the fact that they have held their offices through many severe trials speaks for itself of their trustworthiness."

Let us say first that the U.M.W.A. has not a single member on strike in Western Pennsylvania. It has not called any strike, it has organized no miners and its handful of members consists of hangers-on of the companies and the political machines of the various counties and towns who are not working in the mines and have not been in the mines for years.

The U.M.W.A. leadership activities in this struggle are openly directed by the operators and their press. They are trying to put over the most shameless and brutal betrayal in the history of the class struggle since the steel strike of 1917-20.

Governor Pinchot is assisting this program to the best of his ability. As a result of the tremendous pressure of this mass revolt, and following a sharp and public letter to Pinchot by the National Miners Union demanding the withdrawal of armed forces from the strike area, and citing the numerous cases of murderous attacks. Two days later Pinchot announced in the earlier editions of the press that he had ordered an investigation. The N.M.U. and the Pennsylvania District Rank and File Strike Committee immediately issued a statement declaring that they were prepared to furnish the investigators thousands of statements, or affidavits if necessary, to prove that the majority of the miners and their families and the unemployed in Western Pennsylvania are living under slave and starvation conditions; that the military mobilization against the miners is more extensive than in any previous struggle; that the violence in the strike areas is the result of attacks of the armed forces of the operators which the Pinchot government had either authorized or sent in; that unarmed miners had been forced to defend the lives of themselves and their wives and children against military forces equipped with the most modern armament; that they were prepared to prove the existence of a conspiracy of the U.M.W.A. and operators to drive the miners back to work under starvation conditions.

In the later editions of the papers Pinchot announced that his investigation would be secret. The coal operators showed how much they feared Pinchot's investigation by having their deputy sheriffs at the Kinloch mine shoot down three strikers in coldblood about two hours after the announcement had been made—on the afternoon of June 10.

Pinchot's investigation is designed to wash the blood of miners from the hands of the operators—and his own—and to further the starvation and enslavement of the miners and their families. Governor Pinchot shares equally with the coal operators, the coal and steel paper editors, and the army of thugs now in the coal camps, the blame for the shooting, clubbing, gassing and jailing of starving men, women and children.

The front against the miners extends from the federal government in Washington, through the capital of the Keystone state, to the city administration of Pittsburgh, the home of Andy Mellon, secretary of the U. S. treasury, now abroad on a mission of peace and goodwill—that is, organizing the imperialist forces against the Soviet Union—to the steel and coal barons, the county governments, the press and the coal and iron police, state cossacks, and sheriffs and their deputies—and the officials of the U.M.W.A. These are the forces against the miners and their families—75,000 members of the working class.

As the 226 members of the Western Pennsylv-

vania ank and File District Committee were holding their weekly meeting in Pittsburgh on June 10, a delegation of 20 miners from Eastern Ohio marched in and announced that the strike had spread into their district and into northern West Virginia. The Ohio and West Virginia miners, suffering under the same starvation conditions as the Pennsylvania miners, are also on the march—in the ranks of the N.M.U.

The striking miners in the Harlaw district of eastern Kentucky have been deserted and repudiated by the U.M.W.A. because of their militant struggle (see editorial in the June 1 issue of the journal of the U.M.W.A. entitled "Fine Bedfellows"—B. D.) and they too are joining in the fight led by the N.M.U. In the coal fields of Illinois, Indiana, the Hocking Valley, in all the mine fields of the U.S.A. and Canada there is a great stirring among the miners.

These are the immediate reserves coming into the struggle on the side of the Pennsylvania miners who have shown the way. The struggle is taking on a national character.

The other sections of the working class must be drawn into the fight. Relief is needed as it has been needed in no other strike in this country. It must be sent and it can come only from the working class. In the struggles which develop in other mine fields and in other industries around the collection of relief and the campaign against the terror in Pennsylvania, the local grievances and demands must be kept in the foreground.

The struggle to "smash the united front of the U.M.W.A., the coal operators, federal and state governments" against the 75,000 men, women and children of the Pennsylvania coal camps can best be fought by organization of rank and file strike committees and determined strike struggle of workers in all industries against the 75,000 men, women and children of the Pennsylvania coal camps can best be fought by organization of rank and file strike committees and determined strike struggle of workers in all industries against wage cuts, speed-up mass unemployment and mass starvation.

Especially has the great struggle in the Western Pennsylvania mine field shown two things: One, that the right to organize and strike, the right to picket, the demand for the repeal of criminal syndicalism and deportation laws and all other oppressive measures, the fight against injunctions and company towns, the fight against the removal of armed forces from working class districts and strike areas, the fight against evictions, the fight for unemployed relief and insurance, the fight against discrimination and special measures against Negroes, are all living issues for which workers will fight heroically when the connection between these issues and the struggle for better wages and living conditions is clearly made—as it has been made in the rapid development of this strike.

Second, the Pennsylvania coal strike—and the spread of the strike into West Virginia and Ohio—has shown that the boundless initiative of the working class finds ready expression when the tactical line of the Red International of Labor Unions is applied, i. e. when elected rank and file strike committees, committees of action, etc. are made the leading organs of the mass struggle.

All support to the resolute struggle of the 75,000 men, women and children of the working class in the Pennsylvania coal camps—all support for their heroic struggle against starvation and slavery!

At the same time learn and apply the lessons of this mass strike in the developing struggles in other industries and thus be able to extend more rapidly and effectively the counter-offensive of the working class against the capitalist offensive.